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How the Dutch media writes about repatriation: a comparative analysis of national newspapers in the Netherlands in 2017 and 2022

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Malou Hoogduin

Image on front page:

The confiscation of the contents of an art dealer's gallery

Francois Bunel the Younger (attributed to)

1590, oil painting, 28 x 47 cm

In the collection of the Mauritshuis, currently not on display

Was part of the Goudstikker collection during the Second World War

<https://www.mauritshuis.nl/en/our-collection/artworks/875-the-confiscation-of-the-contents-of-an-art-dealer-s-gallery/>

How the Dutch media writes about repatriation

a comparative analysis of national newspapers in the Netherlands in 2017 and 2022

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Master Thesis Heritage and Museum Studies 1084VTHMY

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1 Introduction

In the beginning of 2019, the Wereldmuseum (World Museum) in the Netherlands (in 2019 still called the National Museum of World Cultures¹) published a document with guidelines about how to handle repatriation requests of objects in their possession called *Return of Cultural Objects: Principles and Process* (Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, 2019). Even though this document still put most of the responsibility and work in the hands of the requester, it was the first time an official cultural agency of power acknowledged and put effort into matters of repatriation in the Netherlands, regarding cultural objects from before the Second World War. At the time I was interested to see how much more was being written about repatriation, looted art and colonial collections in the Netherlands and was surprised to find that, apart from a handful of scholars, most information came from news agencies, not academia or other agencies involved with art and culture. Therefore, I decided to research how the Dutch media writes about these issues in the Netherlands. In this chapter an overview of developments relating to repatriation and the current repatriation discourse in the Netherlands is given, before further delving into the research question and methodologies.

§1.1 What is repatriation?

Discussions regarding repatriation are held in academia, government agencies, and media. In this context repatriation means the return of cultural objects to source communities after items have been taken when talking about physical objects. It can also mean the return or reintroduction of the rights to express cultural identity after these expressions of cultural identity have been taken away or forbidden, usually by a colonial or other oppressive government body (Oost, 2018, p. 146). A cultural object is a physical item and can therefore be moved and also physically owned (Vrdoljak, 2006, p. 7). Many issues of repatriation are associated with colonial times and (former) colonial powers, as these were largescale areas in which expressing and owning cultures was often repressed or taken away. Another historical

¹ The National Museum of World Cultures was a foundation consisting of four National Museums in the Netherlands: Volkenkunde in Leiden, Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, Afrika Museum in Berg en Dal, and the Wereldmuseum in Rotterdam (Tropenmuseum, n.d.), which were all ethnographic museums with different focus areas. As of October 2023, these four museums let go of their former names and continued together under the name Wereldmuseum (World Museum), with only the name of their location to differentiate between the four museums (Wereldmuseum Leiden, 2023).

area in which matters of repatriation are discussed is the Second World War, in which the Nazi regime took mainly decorative art and sculptures from Jewish people, which often disappeared after the war (O'Donnell, 2017, pp. 10-16).

In the second half of the last century these issues were raised and discussed primarily by the victims or affected communities, rather than the agencies of power or current owners of these objects. Established museums and governments were hesitant to raise or respond to these issues, as they felt it threatened their position in the world and challenged their own views of the past (Colwell, 2015, p. 266). This has slowly been shifting, with some early agreements such as the Washington Principles on Nazi Looted art in 1998. Here the foundation for the return of art stolen during the war was established, and an interest from the academic world in the provenance of cultural objects started to grow (United States Department of State, 1998). However, these earlier conversations started mainly in the United States and Canada than Western Europe. The discussion started much later and slower in Western European countries where the discussed objects belong to nations from (old) colonized areas overseas. While in the United States and Canada, the discussed objects often come from the country itself, but are now in the possession of the (colonialist) State rather than the indigenous source communities (Thornton, 2002).

This has led to a widely varying approach and stance towards these discussions. The first convention that dealt with oppressed cultures in relation with the colonial past was the UNESCO convention in 1970, which constructed a framework to limit the illegal trade of cultural property (UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 1970), however it only focusses on property and objects that were stolen according to the laws that are and were in place at the time of displacement, which is still the case in many situations as of today (Campfens, 2020a, p. 261). The United States also changed laws in the 1970s that allowed forms of self-governance and self-determination for Native American tribes and citizens (Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, 1975). This was a pivotal moment, but it would take many years before countries with overseas (former) colonial territories to enter this discussion. In 2008 UNESCO hosted a conference which talked about the return of cultural objects in Athens where it was concluded that in the coming decades we enter an age of returns, and it was observed that there was a slow shift towards the return of cultural objects to their source communities both on legal and ethical grounds (UNESCO International

Conference on the Return of Cultural Objects to their Countries of Origin, 2008; van Beurden, 2012, pp. 11-12).

The main theme of current discussions on repatriation is whether or not something can be considered stolen or otherwise unrightfully taken away. In some cases this is clear, however, most often it is difficult to determine, because either the provenance of the object is unknown or unclear, or it was taken during such a power imbalance it is difficult to determine the legal framework of the exchange. Therefore, in many cases the current situation is often kept and the benefit of the doubt given to the current owner of an object (Campfens, 2020a).

§1.2 Repatriation in the Netherlands

Discussions about repatriation in the Netherlands have mostly been focused on two things: art objects that were stolen during the Second World War, and cultural objects that were taken during colonial times, mainly from Indonesia and other former Dutch colonies. The main arguments in the Netherlands are the same as in the rest of the Western world, but more focused towards the Dutch own colonial past and territories. The side of the laws on repatriation is mainly focussed on Nazi-looted art and has a different point of view because here the Netherlands sees mainly itself and/or (former) inhabitants as the victim of the Nazi-regime and the art that was relocated during the occupation of the Netherlands (van Beurden, 2021, pp. 214-216). The Netherlands uses an ethical model when it comes to repatriation issues of Nazi looted art, where a committee judges each case individually to determine whether or not restitution should take place (Campfens, 2020b, p. 17), this committee is called the 'Restitutie Commissie' and was founded in 2001. The definition of restitution in this context is "the legal restoration of ownership rights" (Oost, 2018, p. 146). However, there are a few issues with this approach: often the interest of the museum and an item as (inter)national heritage outweighs the interest of an individual claimant according to the committee (Campfens, 2020b, pp. 17-22; Oost, 2018, p. 163). Another key factor in repatriation cases is the unclear definition of what is actually considered Nazi looted art, the current position of the Dutch law is that the loss of an object must have been forced and therefore the question of force is often a key element in repatriation cases (Campfens, 2020b, p. 4), or instead of force an involuntariness of loss as described by Oost (2018, p. 159). When it comes to Nazi looted art there has been a shift from the legalist paradigm to a more victim-

group-oriented paradigm (Oost, 2018), the latter also overlapping with the ethical approach of the Netherlands.

These rules and approaches are quite specific to Nazi looted art in the Netherlands, but when it comes to other cultural heritage and objects there are different conversations. Expert Jos van Beurden has been writing on looted art and colonial collections for a while in the Netherlands. Especially in his later works there is a large focus on the Dutch colonial past and power imbalance between the former colonial countries in the southern hemisphere and the current holders of many artefacts in the northern hemisphere. Already in 2012 he wrote a book on the return of cultural objects in the Netherlands (van Beurden, 2012) although this was more focussed on artefacts that were stolen or smuggled from their source countries in the past century rather than earlier. In his 2017 book *Treasures In Trusted Hands* the focus shifted more towards colonial cultural objects and the dialogue needed around these objects (van Beurden, 2017). His book *Inconvenient Heritage* (2021) focuses almost solely on colonial collections in the Netherlands and Belgium. His work has been highly critical of current procedures and he advocates for introspection from the Netherlands and Dutch museums towards their colonial past and collection and a far more open communication from Western countries towards old colonies and other communities that request repatriation or restitution (van Beurden, 2021).

During 2020 the Dutch council of culture (Raad van Cultuur) advised the minister of culture to reverse the burden of proof and return all stolen cultural heritage unconditionally to the country of origin. This advice was implemented in 2021 when the government reversed the burden of proof in restitution cases so that from now on forward, it is up to the state to prove that an object was removed from the country of origin legally, otherwise it has to be returned. However, it does state that these rules are only for objects taken from former Dutch colonies and makes no mention of objects taken from other places and/or in other times. Besides this, the Netherlands will also take a more proactive stance towards provenance research on the objects in its own collection to find objects that might qualify for repatriation (Raad van Cultuur, 2020). After the publication of the document on repatriation of the Wereldmuseum and the advice from the Raad van Cultuur, museums in the Netherlands started to shift their stance on repatriation, and establish internal programmes that actively research the provenance of their objects and whether or not they might have a problematic history.

During this period there were also two research programmes that were started by museums and the government. One is 'Pressing Matter: Ownership, Value and the Question of Colonial Heritage in Museums', a four-year programme that is a collaboration of the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam and the National Research Agenda with heritage institutions in the Netherlands that started in 2021. Its main focus is to research colonial cultural heritage in the Netherlands through objects and their impact on society (Pressing Matter: Ownership, Value and the Question of Colonial Heritage in Museums, n.d.). The other programme is the 'Pilot Project Provenance Research on Objects of the Colonial Era' which is a collaboration of the Wereldmuseum, the Rijksmuseum and the NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust, and Genocide Studies. The programme focuses on creating a methodology for provenance research of colonial collections and took place from 2019 until 2021 (NIOD Instituut voor Oorlogs-, Holocaust- en Genocidestudies, n.d.).

§1.3 Recent notable events regarding repatriation issues

Repatriation of looted art, colonial collections and other cultural objects that have been taken under dubious circumstances has become a more debated subject over the last few years in both the public and the political debates. In 2017 president Macron gave a speech at the University of Ouagadougou in Burkino Faso, in which he proclaimed his intentions to start an investigation of African art in France's state-owned cultural collections. This led to the following report published in 2018: 'The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Toward a New Relational Ethics' (Sarr & Savoie, 2018). This was the first time a state leader from Western Europe voiced their intentions to return cultural objects and make amends in this way for the colonial history of the country. In response to these developments, the NRC published an opinion piece by Eveline Campfens. She argued that the Netherlands has focused too much on the Second World War when it comes to repatriation and that it is time to start investigating objects from Dutch colonial regions (Campfens, 2018).

The document on repatriation that was published by the Wereldmuseum in 2019 (*Return of Cultural Objects: Principles and Process*) was one of the first steps taken by Dutch museums and the first to do so in Europe. However, it also sparked debate because it lacked a proactive stance towards repatriation (Khaddari & Wiegman, 2019). It only described guidelines for repatriation requests, not guidelines on how to handle objects that are known to have problematic provenance. Because it only describes requests, it still puts the responsibility of

making the request and therefore of the entire repatriation case with the (descendants of) the source community. The publication of the document did lead to much media attention, with many articles written about the document and interviews with the managing director of the Wereldmuseum (van Dongen, 2019). In Germany the ministers of Culture from several states came together during a conference to discuss artefacts in Germany that were taken during its colonial reign. This resulted in a document that presents the guidelines for returning artefacts taken during this time that are in the possession of the German state (Erste Eckpunkte zum Umgang mit Sammlungsgut aus kolonialen Kontexten, 2019). Later in 2019 the Volkskrant published an opinion piece about an exhibition in the Mauritshuis in The Hague. The exhibition focuses on the history and the life of Johan Maurits, after whom the museum is named, and his role in the Dutch colonial history. The opinion piece was written by historians who occasionally work with the museum and with co-creators of the exhibition. They were negative towards the exhibition arguing that as an art museum it should not involve itself with history but rather just focus on the art itself. They also state that not everything should be focussed on the slave trade of the Dutch Golden Age and accuse the museum of being indulging in left-wing activist historiography with this exhibition (Emmer & den Heijer, 2019; Johan Maurits en het Mauritshuis, n.d.). Other co-creator and historian Karwan Fatah-Black responded to these opinions in a video that this is precisely what an art museum connected to someone so influential in the past should do, as it shows the multiple sides of a single person and how his actions influence us still to this day (Fatah-Black, 2019), the main creators of the exhibition also defended it in another opinion piece published by the Volkskrant a few weeks later also arguing that all sides of history should be presented (van der Vinde & Odegard, 2019). These discussions show that academics and museum professionals do not always agree and the discussion about restitution and reflection on colonial history is still a highly debated topic, and in this case conducted through mass media for all to read.

In 2020, the Dutch government returned a dagger to Indonesia that had been requested for return in 1975 but only resurfaced in a depot from the Wereldmuseum recently after staff had restarted the search in 2017. The dagger, known as the Kris from Prince Diponegoro, was returned to the Indonesian ambassador by the Dutch minister of education, culture and science (Perdani & Syakriah, 2020). Later that year an activist walked out of the Afrikamuseum with a statue belonging to a Congolese tribe, which was big news in the Netherlands. The activist claimed the statue belonged to his ancestors and was illegally taken from Africa. This

action sparked further debate on how the Netherlands and Dutch museums are handling their own colonial past (van Gruijthuijsen, 2020). The activist wanted to draw attention to all the African art housed in Europe, and performed similar actions in France. A major global event that started in the United States made its way to Europe and especially the Netherlands as well was the surge of the Black Lives Matter movement, that drew attention to not only the systemic racism but also the colonial history and its connection to slavery of the Netherlands (NOS, 2020). In 2022 the Dutch Prime minister issued a formal apology for the violence in the former Dutch colony of Indonesia just after the Second World War (van der Mee & Boere, 2022) and in 2023 the King of the Netherlands formally apologised for the Dutch actions in the history of slavery (Klaassen & Schmale. 2023).

§1.4 Research and methodology

All these events described above show that the debate regarding colonial history, repatriation and cultural heritage has taken place across many platforms. Even though government agencies and museums have started to take their places in these discussions more and more in the last few years, most critical responses and reactions to events have been published in newspapers and on social media, where a quick and personal response might be easier to publish than through academic or official channels. Therefore, it would be interesting to research what and how the Dutch media reports on matters of repatriation and if their stance is similar to that of the museums and government agencies or not. At the end of 2021 another thesis was published that researched articles on looted art (*roofkunst* in Dutch) that were published in Dutch newspapers in the two weeks after the announcement of the advice from the Raad van Cultuur (reference the thesis here). The research was done from a journalistic point of view and researched the frames that were used in the articles. It concluded that the articles were only written when an event relating to looted art had just taken place and that the most used frame was the responsibility frame in which the Netherlands was framed as the responsible entity. Quality newspapers had a more positive stance towards repatriation than popular newspapers (Heij, 2021, p. 1). However, this is the only research that has been done towards repatriation discourse in the Dutch media and is very specific towards one event and small time frame, namely the year 2021. Therefore, in this thesis the timeframe researched is broader. I took a period of 5 years starting a bit earlier than the 2019 Dutch museum report and ending a bit later, and researched both ends of the

spectrum. Because a singular instance (the year 2021) is already researched and there have been so many changes in the last decade, newspaper articles from 2017 and 2022 were researched and compared with each other, to see if there have been significant changes in how the Dutch media reports on repatriation. The main research question therefore will be:

How has the way Dutch national newspapers write about repatriation and looted art changed between 2017 and 2022?

In order to answer this question, the following sub questions will be answered first:

- What and how was written about repatriation and looted art in Dutch National Newspapers in 2017?
- What and how was written about repatriation and looted art in Dutch National Newspapers in 2022?

The next chapter will provide the theoretical framework for the research and delve into discourse and media analysis. In the third chapter the research methodologies will be presented and explained, as well as the newspapers that were used as a data source. In the fourth chapter the data from 2017 and 2022 will be presented separately. They will then be compared and discussed in chapter 5 in order to answer the main research question. The conclusion will present the answer to the research question and present further research recommendations. In order to maintain the readability of the text most of the tables that support the analysis chapter are added at the end in appendix A and links to online versions of the full datasets that were collected are added in Appendix B.

2 Theoretical framework

§ 2.1 What is a discourse?

Discourse is a broad concept, which can have different meanings and definitions. Most definitions however, continue on from the foundational work laid out by French philosopher Michel Foucault. In *The Archaeology Of Knowledge And The Discourse On Language* (1969/1971/1972) Foucault argues that the history of ideas and the history of knowledge are two different things. The history of knowledge is the analysis of texts and papers, whilst the history of ideas is more concerned with thoughts and opinions, rather than facts (Foucault, 1969/1971/1972, pp. 136-137). Discourse is what is said and thought about particular subjects and objects and therefore they contain a certain power and truth. Foucault also argues that the archaeology of knowledge is the research that does not study the subject of a discourse, but rather the discourse itself and how they exist in a culture and obey certain rules (Foucault, 1969/1971/1972, pp. 138-140).

When searching for the meaning of a discourse one can look to many different fields of study to find varying definitions. In this thesis the focus will be on the definition of a discourse from a linguistic point of view, as the data that will be analysed is media text. According to Jørgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 2) the definition of the word discourse in science is not always clearly defined, and they propose the following definition of a discourse: “a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)” (2002, p. 2). They also argue that discourse analysis can be described as the analysis of the patterns of how the language is structured when people take part in certain domains of social life (Jørgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 3). Rigney (2007, p. 313) describes it as “the set of themes, concepts, and values that certain individuals have in common when they talk (or write) about the world” (2007, p. 313). Most discourse analysis approaches have a shared underlying belief that people's way of talking and sharing text and information does not only reflect their world, social relations or identity, but also in turn plays an active role in creating and changing their world (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002, 2). Because the term discourse refers to the specific ways language is used to talk about a shared world it is also closely linked with the concept of representation (Rigney, 2007, p. 313).

Stuart Hall describes the concept of representation as the connection of meaning and language to a culture. He proposes three theories as to how meaning can be connected: 1

Reflective: Language reflects a meaning that was already there, 2 Intentional: Language can only express what the writer or speaker intended they wanted to say, 3 Constructionist: meaning can be constructed through and in language and therefore be connected to a culture (Hall, 1997, pp. 1-4). In this thesis I will analyse the data with the constructionist approach of Hall and work with the definition of discourse as the language and ideas that are used by people when talking about a certain topic. Therefore, all that is written about repatriation, looted art and colonial collections fall into the discourse of repatriation and will be analysed as part of a discourse.

§ 2.2 Media discourse analysis

The term media encompasses all channels of communication and within media there are many different forms of communication to distinguish. Within media there is mass media, one-to-one media, and interpersonal (a conversation between multiple individuals) media. Newspaper articles and radio shows are mass media, because the message is sent from one source to multiple destinations and (mostly anonymous) recipients. However, with the newer internet media technologies such as social media the line between mass and interpersonal media is becoming more blurred (Goddard & Carey, 2017, p. 205). All articles that are published in newspapers are part of a media discourse, because they contribute to the language and ideas that are shared about a subject.

Matheson (2005, p. 1) states that the reason the media is studied is because it is assumed that (mass)media (television, newspapers, text messages and other forms of communication) can play an important role in the mediating of the society it is embedded in. It is also assumed by those who study media studies that both individual members of a society and institutions such as radio stations, newspapers and prevailing ideas contribute to the shared world of a culture. The analysis of media discourse can therefore allow us to study and understand the meaning of this sharing in close detail (Matheson, 2005, p. 1-2).

Bednarek and Caple (2012, p. 6) argue the importance of media discourse analysis because in our current world we consume media and news for large parts of the day, with the potential to have a great influence on our way of thinking. It can even go as far as modifying behaviour and ideas based on what one has read or seen in the media. This also exemplifies the power that media can have on a society. There are many theoretical and methodological approaches when it comes to discourse analysis from a linguistic point of view, however, the

critical approach is the most prominent one in new discourse analysis (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 10). This approach aims to look beyond the texts and also look at the context in which the text was written. Another approach relevant to a comparative study is the diachronic approach which aims to research changes in news discourse over a certain period of time (Bednarek & Caple, 2012, p. 9).

§ 2.3 Mass media and public opinion

As already described above, the media can influence a society's way of thinking. Mass media (such as newspapers and television) and public opinion are closely intertwined (Stromback, 2012, p. 1). The news media alerts the public of changes and events that occur in the world, some of which might be beyond a person's immediate environment. But according to McCombs (2014, pp. 1-4) they do much more than that, they do not simply report the occurring events and issues but they select what is reported and sometimes how. Therefore, they focus the attention of the public and influence the perception of the news and issues of the day (McCombs, 2014, pp. 1-4; Christen & Huberty, 2007, p. 217). Especially well known and established newspapers have a high credibility among the public (Christen & Huberty, 2007, p. 218). The opinions of an individual are shaped by their environment, such as conversations with friends, reading, or watching television (Hu & Zhu, 2017, p. 394). Individuals often think about what other people's opinions are and allow this to shape their own opinion and way of thinking (Gunther, 1998). However, they will often assume what the others are thinking when it goes beyond their immediate social network and therefore often conclude that what the media is portraying, is what the public is thinking, even though this might not always be the truth (Gunther, 1998, p. 487). Therefore, the media does not only influence an individual, but also the perception of the individual on general public opinion (Gunther, 1998).

Herman and Chomsky (2002) described mass media as a form of propaganda. They argue that for mass media to be able to fulfil its role as a communication system to the public it requires a form of propaganda to function as it currently does, where it serves the elites in our societies (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, pp. 1-4). This propaganda does not necessarily come from the government of a society, especially where most mass media outlets are in private hands and part of the media's role is to expose the government and those in power. They argue that the media becomes propaganda because of how it is organised and how they get

their information. First and foremost, they are profit oriented and for most newspapers advertisement is a large part of their income. They also rely on information usually approved by agents of power in a society. Therefore, it is impossible for a newspaper to be unbiased, whether they are aware of this themselves or not (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, pp. 2-7). Media therefore adapts to the demands of a system and is not truly free itself (Herman & Chomsky, 2002, p. 383). Therefore, even though the media itself influences the public by the choices they make, their choices might not be as free as we would like to think. It will be interesting to see if the news articles that I will study in this thesis show signs of being pushed in a certain direction or favour certain agents of power that are connected to restitution and colonial collections in the Netherlands.

Silverstone (1988) proposes that museums are also a form of mass media, as they convey information to a larger public. A museum is an agent of representation, as it chooses which information to display and what to withhold. Museums must also compete with the other forms of mass media and keep up with their dynamic and swiftly changing styles (Silverstone, 1988, pp. 231-232). They can therefore reinforce or contradict information that is fed to the general public by the other forms of mass media whilst also carefully considering their role as mediator between the general public and specific knowledge that is not always easily accessible to the general public. One major difference between mass media forms such as newspapers and television and museums is the presence of real, tangible objects in a museum. Therefore, the visitors can interact with the information and objects presented to them on a different level than with just written text or images (Silverstone, 1988, pp. 232-233). This presence of real objects and the choices of what to display and convey in an exhibition make a museum a powerful agent of representation that can influence public opinion and shape discourse in a society (Silverstone, 1988). In this thesis I will work with the notions that although they have their differences, museums are indeed a form of mass media and can influence a discourse in a society.

§ 2.4 Repatriation discourse in archaeology and museum studies

Repatriation has been discussed within archaeology and museum studies for a long time. An argument that is often used and heard for a long time in the West opposing repatriation, is that museums are public institutions that are meant to safeguard and protect cultural objects and knowledge of other cultures and the past. Therefore, repatriation threatens this

position and the loss of important objects could make museums less successful in serving the public interest (Colwell, 2015, p. 266).

At the beginning of the century there was still very much this 'universalist approach' to larger museums with the thought behind it being that museums that offer a broad geographical selection in their collection are able to offer more insight and perspective than a museum with only local objects (Curtis, 2006, pp. 117-120). In 2002 a declaration on the importance and values of universal museums (2002) was signed by a list of major museums in the Western world, the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam being one of them. This declaration was based on the universalist approach and states that too much repatriation threatens the positions these museums have as an institution for the global public. The declaration talks about objects, however it should be noted that the declaration was mainly signed by art museums and less by ethnographic and history museums. Already at the time of publishing the document was not met without criticism. Curtis argues that one of the main issues in the declaration is that it deals with indigenous communities completely on the "our" (Western cultural) terms and that even the idea of a 'source community' can sometimes be a product that is designed by Western culture. All 'source' and indigenous communities are also compared and contrasted with Western culture in the document which always makes them the other or them, in a us versus them type of argument (Curtis 2006, pp. 121-124).

According to Breske (2018) there are two main schools of thought on cultural property ownership that fit in with the Western narrative of ownership in general: the cultural property internationalism paradigm and the cultural property nationalism paradigm. The internationalism paradigm ties in with the universalist approach and argues that cultural objects are part of an international cultural identity and shared past (Breske, 2018, p. 348). The cultural property nationalism paradigm focuses more on a national identity created through cultural heritage based on geographical and political/cultural continuations of past cultures (Breske, 2018, pp. 348-349). However, both of these paradigms leave little room for Indigenous cultures and their connection to cultural heritage. Watkins (2005) argues that they can be a third group with a different approach to cultural heritage he calls "cultural intra-nationalists". They are the communities that live within a (colonialist) nation but are also apart from it and often wish for more control of their own cultural heritage (Watkins, 2005, p. 79). Breske therefore argues that there should be a more focus on a fourth paradigm: the cultural property indigenism, which is a more legally based framework that gives an international

guidance to repatriation claims (Breske, 2005, pp. 349-350). In this thesis I will be studying the articles to see if they can be fitted into one of these paradigms, and whether or not this thinking has been demonstrably changed.

Current owners of cultural objects (museums and cultural institutions included) also often use the law as a way to justify their actions and ownership of these objects. Traditional international law on cultural heritage has focussed on its preservation and protection from harm and the accessibility for the general public (Campfens, 2020a, p. 265). However, these arguments might limit the rights of the (traditional) owners. It has also been proposed various times to use a more international approach which makes cultural heritage the property of mankind (Campfens, 2020a, p. 263) which ties in more with the universalist approach used by museums as described above. However, indigenous communities consider these international law approaches and universal approaches to common heritage and international identities through cultures and acts of renewed colonialism because they still cannot decide over what they regard as their cultural heritage (Vrdoljak, 2006, p. 6).

Over the last years this way of thinking has slowly changed and museums and society in the western world are more open to starting a dialogue about the subject. As already mentioned above there is a notable difference between Western Europe and North America here as well. In many texts already from the 1990s it is clear that discussions about ownership started earlier in North American countries than in Europe (Thornton, 2002). However, there are still a lot of people and institutions who have a universalist approach at the base of their arguments and the us versus them arguments are still often heard as well. Another important detail is that most people (scholars, journalists etc.) who write about issues of repatriation that are published in or reach the Western world are themselves from a western cultural background and therefore this western point of view and contrast with the indigenous 'source' communities is still very present in a lot of discussions (Curtis, 2006). Even though the arguments are still often based on this them *versus* us idea, museums and governments are talking about repatriation and objects gathered in colonial situations more. Some museums and governments are also slowly starting to take action and even implementing research and other resources to repatriation issues (van Beurden, 2021, p. 32). However, one of the main issues with repatriation today is the difficulty to determine what defines an object to be suitable for repatriation. Sometimes art was brought to its current owner via illegal or problematic ways. However, often the complete journey of an object is undocumented or was

legally bought in the past. In this discussion we again see multiple sides. Some will argue the legal point of view, in which anything that was not literally stolen from someone else is not problematic. Others argue that anything traded or gifted under a (often violent) colonial regime can be considered an object with a problematic history due to the power imbalances during these times (van Beurden, 2021, pp. 34-36). For this thesis I will work with the latter point of view, considering all objects gathered under a colonial regime, or during other oppressions to be possibly looted art. Also, I think these universal and international approaches do not leave enough room for moral justification or the emotions that can be involved with cultural heritage. I will keep in mind that most current thinking still stems from these approaches in the rest of my thesis and try to understand if the articles that I read are written from this point of view as well or not.

3 Methodology

The dataset of this thesis consists of articles from Dutch newspapers. The articles were retrieved from Nexis Uni, an online database that holds all the articles published in Dutch physical and online newspapers. Because the articles analysed were published over the course of multiple years, it is not feasible to go through all these daily newspapers physically to collect the articles that are relevant for this research. Therefore, the articles were collected on the basis of relevant search terms, which will be described below. For this research articles published in two different years will be compared with each other. The years chosen to analyse and compare are 2017 and 2022. These years were chosen because of multiple reasons. 2022 was chosen because it is the most recent complete year to collect articles from and will therefore give the most recent information on what is written about repatriation and restitution in the Netherlands. At first the idea was to compare these articles with articles from ten years ago, in order to have a considerable time gap in between. However, when searching for articles from 2012 the total number of hits was so small (see Table 3.1), that it would be incomparable with 2022. Instead, 2017 was chosen, as 5 years ago is still a considerable time gap and because many developments have taken place after 2017 regarding repatriation issues in the Netherlands (as described in the introduction). Therefore, it will be interesting to see whether or not these changes in law and culture are reflected in the newspaper articles.

§3.1 Newspapers in the Netherlands

There are multiple sources for articles related to history and heritage in the Netherlands. There are specific magazines such as *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, *Archaeology Magazine*, and *National Geographic*, local newspapers and national newspapers (van den Broek et al, 2015, pp. 57-58). In this thesis only articles from national newspapers will be analysed, because they reach the broadest public in the Netherlands without geographical bias. At this moment there are nine national newspapers in the Netherlands (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, pp. 15-19):

De Telegraaf	est. 1893
De Volkskrant	est. 1919
Trouw	est. 1943
Algemeen Dagblad (AD)	est. 1946
NRC Handelsblad (2017) / NRC (2022)	est. 1970
nrc.next (2017) / NRC (2022)	est. 2006
Reformatorisch Dagblad	est. 1971
Nederlands Dagblad	est. 1967
Financieel Dagblad	est. 1943

The *NRC Handelsblad* and *nrc.next* fused in the spring of 2022 and continued under the name of just *NRC* (Hinke & Eijvoogel, 2022). The *Financieel Dagblad* is a financial newspaper that focuses solely on economic news and will therefore not be part of the rest of this thesis.

Newspapers in the Netherlands have a negligible share of newsstand sales for the weekday edition of their newspaper, but instead reach most of their readers through subscriptions (van de Plasse, 2005, p. 122). Only the Saturday editions are bought independently slightly more often. All the newspapers are morning newspapers, except for *NRC Handelsblad* and *Reformatorisch Dagblad* who publish in the afternoon. The sale of printed editions was in a slow decline until 2020 but has slowly risen again in the last few years (Grimm, 2021). All the newspapers also offer a digital/online version of their newspaper that readers can access, with some offering cheaper subscription models for just online access (Grimm, 2021), which has helped lift sales. Each of these newspapers tends to reach a different part of Dutch society, therefore there can be a bias within these newspapers in which kind of articles are written (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, pp. 17-21). This will be taken into account when analysing these newspapers. Below each newspaper and their target audience that is used in this thesis will be briefly introduced:

De Telegraaf

De Telegraaf is the oldest newspaper that still exists today in the Netherlands. The newspaper has an eventful history since its establishment in 1893. At first it was a socialist and liberal orientated newspaper that focused on fighting for equality and against poverty, after the First World War it shifted towards the more conservative side of the political landscape and became a more expressive paper with photographs and capitalised headlines

(Wolf, 2009, p. 16). During the German occupation of the Netherlands it tried to continue publishing newspapers like before as if nothing had changed, but had to relent and eventually came into the hands of the Germans. After the war it was therefore banned from publishing until 1949, when the newspaper restarted and started to focus mainly on first scoops and more sensational news like sports, celebrity news and crime. During the 1970s the newspaper started to shift towards what it still is today, a conservative and sometimes even populist voice for the masses (Wolf, 2009, pp. 16-17). It has both quality press news articles and more tabloid articles, although these are less sensational than articles published in specific tabloid newspapers or magazines. The current readership of *De Telegraaf* is seen as a cross-section of Dutch society, having a broad and varied target audience. It is the newspaper with the most sales and largest amount printed, closely followed by the *Algemeen Dagblad*. In 2017 there were 2.4 million paid newspapers in circulation daily in the Netherlands of which the national newspapers part of this thesis contributed slightly less than half of this number all together (1.15 million). *The Telegraaf* sold the most copies of all the national newspapers with an average of 385.501 newspapers in circulation daily in 2017, which is 35 percent of all the national newspapers in circulation daily (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, pp. 15-16; Nationaal Onderzoek Multimedia, n.d.). Unfortunately the circulation figures of 2022 are not available at the time of publication of this thesis for the newspapers discussed in this section.

De Volkskrant

De Volkskrant is one of the three newspapers in the Netherlands that is fully regarded as quality press. The newspaper started in 1919 as a weekly magazine for the Catholic labour movement and became a daily newspaper only two years later (Hemels, 1981, pp.74-76). In the beginning of the Second World War the chief editor was forced to resign and replaced with someone sympathetic towards the occupant's regime. However, its readership dwindled quickly and most patriotic journalists left the newspaper within the first few months. Therefore, the newspaper was closed down for the remainder of the war (Hemels, 1981, pp. 219-230). Only three days after the liberation of the Netherlands, *De Volkskrant* published its first newspaper again after closing down and rebranded itself as the Catholic newspaper for the Netherlands, letting go of its labour movement background (Hemels, 1981, pp. 278-300). During the late 50s and early 60s the newspaper slowly lost its Catholic background and started to shift towards a more progressive and left-wing point of view. It removed the under

title of Catholic newspaper for the Netherlands officially in 1965 (Hemels, 1981, pp. 357-367). Because of these changes *De Volkskrant* started to cater towards a different demographic during the 70s and 80s, a younger and more educated readership than before, however it also kept reporting on issues relevant for the working class (Hemels, 1981, pp. 360-367; Mooij, 2011, pp. 15-28). The last few decades the newspaper has continued its more progressive and left-wing course, whilst also focussing on publishing less opinionated pieces with more background information (Mooij, 2011, pp. 213-225). Its current readership has on average a higher education and higher income (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, p. 16). When it was founded it started as a catholic newspaper, but nowadays it is left wing and has a more progressive tone. On average it had 239.319 newspapers in circulation daily in 2017 (Nationaal Onderzoek Multimedia, n.d.).

Trouw

The *Trouw* is also one of the quality press newspapers of the Netherlands. It was founded during the second world war as a resistance newspaper and for the first decade after the war it turned into a newspaper for the community of the reformed churches in the Netherlands². In the 1960s it merged with the *Nieuwe Provenciale Groninger Courant* (a regional newspaper from Groningen) and in the 1970s it started an editorial collaboration with the regional newspaper from Rotterdam (van de Belt, 2021, pp. 38-39). After this it turned into a broader newspaper, without the religious basis, that focuses on a wide variety of social issues and has a main focus on world religion and philosophy. Its current readership has also on average a higher education and income (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, p. 16). On average it had 98.882 newspapers in circulation daily in 2017 (Nationaal Onderzoek Multimedia, n.d.).

Algemeen Dagblad

The *AD* is the second largest newspaper in the Netherlands and is comparable to the *Telegraaf*. Its readership is a cross section of Dutch society and it prints both quality press articles and more tabloid news like the *Telegraaf*. It aims to be politically and religiously neutral, and has the largest sports compartment (together with the *Telegraaf*) (van der

² The reformed churches of the Netherlands is a Christian denomination and part of the reformed sub movement of Protestantism. The reformed movement based on Calvinism has become the largest protestant movement in the Netherlands (van Dam, 2018, pp. 169-173).

Hoeven & Wijfjes, 2019, p. 268, 274). Apart from the national paper it also has seven regional titles that are a combination of the national version of the newspaper with an extra regional section that is automatically part of the subscription of the regional area that it covers (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, p. 16). For this research only articles that were published in the national section of the newspaper are part of the dataset. On average it had 340.758 newspapers in circulation daily in 2017 (Nationaal Onderzoek Multimedia, n.d.).

NRC Handelsblad, nrc.next and NRC

The *NRC Handelsblad* was established in 1970 and was originally an afternoon newspaper. It is a quality press newspaper with a liberal and progressive approach and a relatively large international correspondent team. Its readership is roughly the same as the other two quality press newspapers in this list: on average a higher education and income than the median in the Netherlands (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, pp. 15-16). In 2006 the *nrc.next* was founded in addition to the *NRC Handelsblad* as a separate newspaper that was published in the morning (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, p. 16). Its primary aim was to reach a younger and well-educated audience, the content of this newspaper partially overlapped with the afternoon edition of the *NRC Handelsblad*, but there was more of a focus towards background information and shorter stories (NRC, n.d.; Broersma, 2019, p. 306). On average the *NRC Handelsblad* had 138.589 newspapers in circulation daily in 2017 and the *nrc.next* 31.464 (Nationaal Onderzoek Multimedia, n.d.).

In the beginning of 2021 the NRC media group stopped with the name *nrc.next* and called the paper *NRC*. One year later, in April 2022 the two newspapers were fused together and continued under the name NRC as a single morning newspaper (Hinke & Eijssvoegel, 2022). Therefore in the overviews of articles from 2022 in the rest of this research, there is no separate column for the *NRC Handelsblad* articles and all the articles are grouped together under the name NRC.

Reformatorisch Dagblad

The *Reformatorisch Dagblad* is one of the two national newspapers that still has a religious point of view. It was founded in 1971 after most of the other newspapers in the Netherlands let go of their religious context and as a reaction to the changing attitude of the *Trouw* (van den Belt, 2021, pp. 63-66). It focuses mainly on the reformed communities in the

Netherlands with a focus on national and international news from the more religious areas. It has therefore taken over the religious readership of the *Trouw*, but aims for a broader protestant reformed readership from multiple reformed protestant denominations. The reformed movement in the Netherlands is quite strict and sober, which is reflected in this newspaper and its readers (van de Belt, 2021, pp. 86-87). After the fusion of the *NRC* and *NRC Handelsblad*, RD is the only newspaper that still appears in the afternoon (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, pp. 15-16). On average it had 41.513 newspapers in circulation daily in 2017 (Nationaal Onderzoek Multimedia, n.d.).

Nederlands Dagblad

The *Nederlands Dagblad* is the other national newspaper with a religious base. Just as the *Reformatisch Dagblad* the *Nederlands Dagblad* was founded out of disagreement with the religious views of the *Trouw* and internal unrest within the Protestant community in the Netherlands (van den Belt, 2021, pp. 63-66). As there are many different reformed denominations in the Netherlands with slightly different views on scripture, the Vrije Kerk denomination founded this new newspaper, which was done by changing the name and approach of a newspaper that was already being circulated within this community (van den Belt, 2021, pp. 50-54). As the *Nederlands Dagblad*, it tried to cater to a broader audience, which are currently mainly protestant orthodox and evangelical church communities, instead of the stricter reformed communities (Bakker & Scholten, 2019, pp. 15-16; van den Belt pp. 286-289). Its current readership mainly consists of members of the orthodox protestant and evangelical churches. On average it had 19.116 newspapers in circulation daily in 2017 (Nationaal Onderzoek Multimedia, n.d.).

§3.2 Search terms

In order to find the articles that are relevant for this study a few keywords were used to search for the articles per year. These words are in Dutch as the articles are in Dutch as well, after an initial translation these words will be written down in Dutch and italics from here on forth, to avoid confusion and possible misinterpretation. These words are:

<i>Roofkunst</i>	looted art
<i>Koloniale collectie</i>	colonial collection
<i>Culturele objecten</i>	cultural objects
<i>Teruggave</i> ³	translated as refund or return, literally meaning to give back. In this context it can be used as the translation for restitution and repatriation in the Dutch language.

However, using these search terms to find news articles, especially with the first two search terms, there is already quite some bias in these terms that should be taken into account during the research. An article that is found when searching for *roofkunst* or *koloniale collecties* will have a certain point of view in the article because these words are used. Already we are dealing with colonialism and looted art in these articles and are perhaps missing some more nuanced articles written about repatriation and restitution. The word *teruggave* is a more neutral term, partially because it has multiple meanings outside of heritage and because its broader meaning is not necessarily directly linked to repatriation discourse. All the terms will still be used in order to obtain as many relevant articles as possible and although perhaps biased, the difference between the articles and use of these words between 2017 and 2022 can still be researched with these terms.

§3.3 Dataset

For each of the search terms the parameters were set to only show articles from the eight aforementioned newspapers and specifically only from 2012, then 2017 and lastly 2022. This yielded the following result shown in Table 1.

³ The term '*teruggave*' in Dutch can also be used in a monetary context such as taxes or grants, therefore many articles that are found using this keyword are not relevant to this thesis.

Table 1 The total number of results per search term after the source and year parameters were set.

	Y2012	Y2017	Y2022
<i>roofkunst</i>	5	51	75
<i>koloniale collectie</i>	-	8	12
<i>culturele objecten</i>	1	2	1
<i>teruggave</i>	105	120	183
Total	111	181	271

Not all the results are articles that are linked to the subject of this research. Some more obviously than others such as all the articles found with the term *teruggave* that have a monetary subject and therefore are not relevant. However, for most search terms there are some results that even though they come up using these words, a quick scan will clearly indicate they are not relevant to this research, because they are not about history, heritage, archaeology or otherwise linked because the database connected the words incorrectly to an article. For example: just below the end of an article a summary of the newspaper or description of the newspaper section might have been added to the version in this database that contains one of the search terms and therefore it came up as a result. However, the article itself has nothing to do with these descriptions and is therefore irrelevant to this research. This showcases one of the limits of using an online database to semi-automatically search for articles because the search engine does not look at where these words are located. All these articles will have to be excluded from the dataset and after exclusions the results are as follows in Table 2:

Table 2 Total number of results relevant to the thesis per search term with the total number before exclusion in brackets.

	Y2012	Y2017	Y2022
<i>roofkunst</i>	5	47 (51)	64 (75)
<i>koloniale collectie</i>		8	9 (12)
<i>culturele objecten</i>	1	2	1
<i>teruggave</i>	15 (105)	38 (120)	77 (183) ⁴
Total	21 (111)	95 (181)	151 (271)

Especially after the exclusion of irrelevant articles, 2012 yields very limited articles. As already described above, 2012 will be excluded from this research, and just 2017 and 2022 will be compared. But it is still interesting to see the progressions in useful hits over the years.

Some articles came up under multiple search terms, because their text might use both the words *teruggave* and *roofkunst* or other combinations of the search terms. Therefore, the total number of relevant hits per year is not the same as the total number of unique articles that can be analysed or that are published by each newspaper. The total number of unique articles per year is shown in Table 3. This slims down the total number of articles to use for this research. The difference is more significant in 2022 than 2017, indicating that more articles use multiple of the terms used to search for these articles.

Table 3 Total number of unique relevant articles per year.

	Y2017	Y2022	total
Unique articles	71	112	183

⁴ Interestingly enough most articles found with this term in 2022 are about the restitution of corona support that big companies got from the government during the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic.

§3.4 Research methods

All these unique articles were collected, analysed and described in a database where the following information about them was gathered:

- Name of the article
- Newspaper it was published in
- Author
- Number of words
- Section of the newspaper
- Type of article
- Is the article about something in The Netherlands? (and if not, is the Netherlands mentioned?)
- Time and/or theme indication
- Broad subject
- Specified subject
- Is the word *roofkunst* used in the article to describe the objects discussed?
- Extra information on the subject if relevant
- Interviewee (if the article is an interview)

The articles are categorised as follows: interview, review, opinion piece, news article news analysis and feature article. A news article is a short article relaying factual news about current events, a news analysis is a slightly more in-depth news article about current events where the journalist did some research on the subject and gives a bit more background information and context. Feature articles are usually longer articles that detail certain areas of or whole subjects. They do not have to be about the most current events and often explore more points of view and context than a news analysis. It can also contain more opinion from the author as they choose and steer what sides of the subject to touch on (Photinos, n.d.).

Articles have main subjects that are either related to or located in the Netherlands, or not. I recorded whether an article is about the Netherlands or not in order to track this ratio and determine if it changes over the years.. An extra option is added for when the main focus of the article is not about the Netherlands, but an event, institution or law in the Netherlands relating to the subject of the article is mentioned. A fourth option has been added for articles

that centre around a general theme or subject not bound by geography. In such cases, this aspect of data collection is not applicable to the article. They are respectively catalogued as yes, no, no/yes and n/a.

The time and/or theme indication is used to define what moment in history or what theme is the main focus of the article. The broad categories that are used are:

- the Second World War
- Colonial history
- Looted artefacts after the Second World War
- Art theft after the Second World War
- Looted art(efacts) (only in 2022)
- Other

The 'looted artefacts after the Second World War' and 'art theft after the Second World War' are divided as such because they have a different character. The second one categorises articles that are about art that is stolen from museums by art thieves. The first one categorises articles that are about smuggled items that were taken from other countries, often during conflict, in the last decades and are now resurfacing in private collections and auction houses. For the articles in 2022 an extra broad category was added, as there was a notable number of articles about looted art or artefacts in general that discussed both items from before, during and after the Second World War. If the theme of the article cannot be defined by these timeframes, its broad description is 'other'. In the second, more specified, column of time/theme indication the other articles are categorised as homogeneously as possible whilst still accurately described. In this column the articles about colonial history are also specified per country or geographical region if applicable. The extra information section is mainly designed to add information that might be relevant or repetitive and can therefore give interesting insights during analysis. For each article it is also determined if the word *roofkunst* is used to describe the object or subject of the article. Especially in combination with the timeframe it might be interesting to see what this word is used for in news articles. It should be noted here that the word *roofkunst* means looted art, however using the term like this and not *geroofde kunst*, which would literally translate to looted art or art that is looted, is not always used in the same context and might have different connotations. The term *roofkunst* as one word is more exclusive to repatriation and restitution discourse in the Netherlands and at least until the turn of the century was avoided as much as possible (Langfeld, 2023, 18:55).

After all this data was collected for each article, the data was analysed. The data and analyses are presented in the next chapter per year, in order to create an overview of how repatriation and looted art were written about in the Netherlands per individual year. In chapter 5 the results of these two years will be compared and the changes between the years discussed.

4 Analyses

§ 4.1 Analysis of the newspaper articles from 2017

In this first main section of chapter 4, the data collected from the 71 unique articles of 2017 will be presented, analysed and discussed. The tables with more extensive information can be found in Appendix A. The main data will be presented in figures and described in the running text. When applicable it will be cross referenced with other data to give the most complete overview of what has been written about repatriation and looted art by the newspapers in 2017.

§ 4.1.1 Newspapers and authors

The NRC group has by far published the most articles in 2017, as shown in Figure 1, which is 48 percent of the total number of articles. With the further analysis of the articles from 2017 it should therefore be taken into account that almost half of the articles were written by a newspaper that caters towards a target audience with a higher education and income. As even though the NRC Handelsblad and nrc.next were still different newspapers in 2017, they already catered to a very similar part of Dutch society.

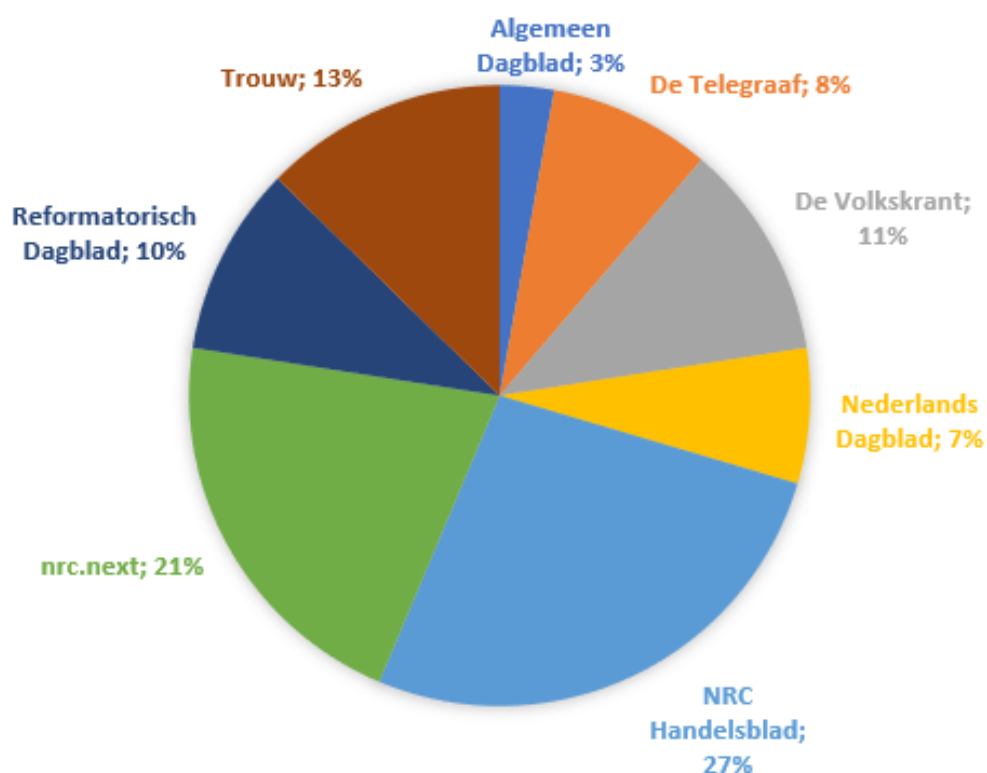


Figure 1: The number of articles published per newspaper in 2017 in percentages. N=71

There are only a few authors that wrote more than once about these subjects in 2017 and there were also quite a high number of articles that did not have a credited author. Three articles were credited as taken straight from the ANP (Algemeen Persbureau Nederland)⁵. All the authors wrote for only one newspaper, except for authors from the NRC group, who wrote for both the *NRC Handelsblad* and *nrc.next* (Table A1). In total 28 articles were written by authors who wrote more than one article in 2017. This is 39 percent of all the articles written. The authors that wrote more than once for the NRC group are responsible for 17 of the 34 articles written for the NRC, 50 percent. Michiel Kruijt wrote more than half of the articles for *De Volkskrant*, 4 out of 7. For the *Trouw* there were also 2 authors responsible for almost half their articles, 6 out of 13.

§ 4.1.2 Types of articles and word count

The number of words used for the articles varies to a great extent. The shortest article is 75 words long and the longest is 2635. There is clearly a correlation between the number of words and the type of article. The factual news articles that solely report an event are the shortest and the more in-depth feature articles and interviews are the longest. The average word count per article is 861.

This brings us onto the types of articles written in 2017. By far the most articles that were written were news articles (Figure 2), which with 45 percent is close to half of all the articles written. Feature articles are the second largest group, which means that after the news articles, newspapers give more room to long articles that give more in-depth analysis. News analysis and interviews were both published nine times, however, considering there were also three feature article/interview combinations published there was still a larger platform for the personal stories of the interviewees than the news analysis articles that provide slightly more background information than the news articles. This indicates that the preference of the newspapers was either a very factual relay of a newsworthy statement or event, or a more researched article that is not necessarily immediately related to current events.

⁵ The Algemeen Persbureau Nederland is an independent news agency that does not own or publish a newspaper, but rather uses its resources to fact check the news and developments relating news in the Netherlands and relays this information to all major news outlets in the Netherlands. It is not uncommon for the ANP to be credited by news outlets for (part of their) news. They also focus on providing images for newspapers and sites that are checked for tampering and are credited correctly (ANP, n. d.).

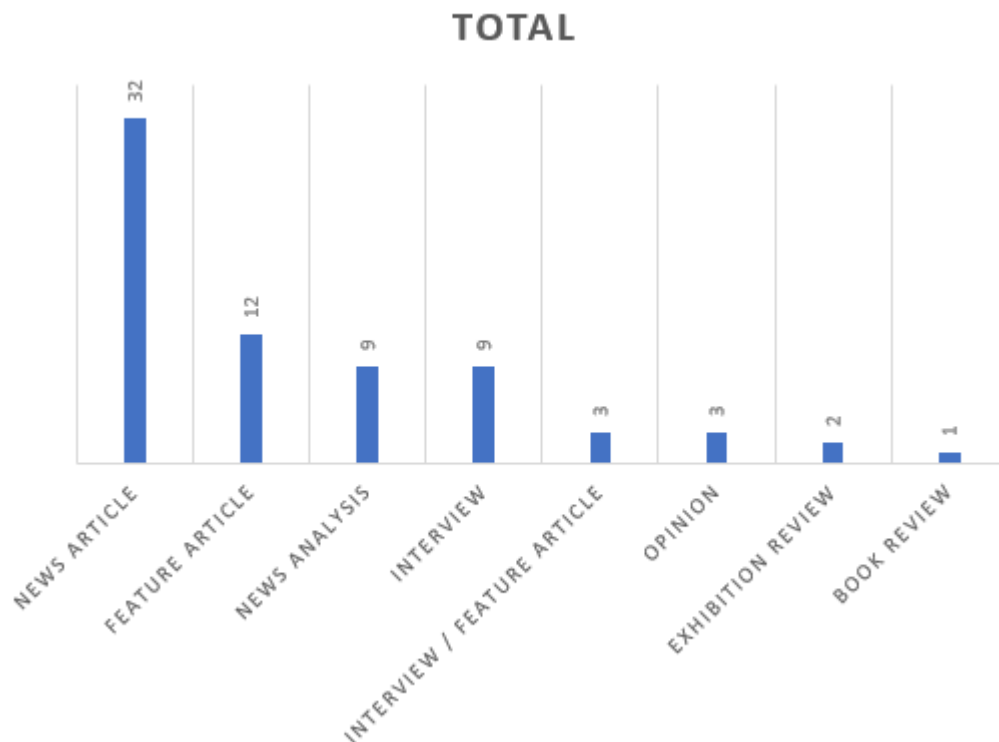


Figure 2: Types of articles written in 2017, counted per type. N=71.

All the newspapers published news articles, and the total of 32 news articles is relatively evenly spread out between all the newspapers, with each writing between 2 and 6 in 2017 (Table A2). Some other types of articles are less well distributed between the newspapers. The *NRC Handelsblad* is the only newspaper who published opinion pieces and together with the *nrc.next* it published 7 out of 9 interviews. If we take the combination of interview / feature article into account it is slightly less in percentage; 8 out of 12 which equals 66 percent. This might indicate that the NRC group focuses more on interviews than just that, whilst the other newspapers that published something similar decided to take a different approach and write an article around the interview as well. The feature articles (with and without the interview combination) are all written by the NRC group, *De Volkskrant* and the *Trouw*. Newspapers that are generally known for their more quality type articles and progressive views. Of the interviews one article was published by a newspaper outside of this group, the *Telegraaf*⁶. The people who were interviewed were mainly directors of museums and/or historians, and some individuals were interviewed for their personal stories and family histories related to looted

⁶ Interesting is that this was an interview with the heirs of Goudstikker, that was also published on the website of the *Telegraaf*. However, when I am writing this thesis (2023-2024), the article seems to have been deleted and apart from a defunct link on google and a third-party website, all evidence of its online presence has disappeared. No other interviews or messages from the heirs can be found online either.

art (Table A3). There are only 3 opinion pieces published in 2017 (Table A2), they were all published by the *NRC Handelsblad*. One was an editorial from the NRC, the others were written by authors with knowledge of and connection to philosophy and science (Table A4).

There were also 2 exposition reviews published, 1 by the *Trouw* and 1 by the *nrc.next* (Table A2). They both reviewed an exhibition on looted Nazi art in the Netherlands, which was held that year in the Bergkerk in Deventer. The book review published by the *Reformatorisch Dagblad* is about the book *Koh-I-Noor*, which details the history of the diamond of the same name that was taken to the United Kingdom during its colonial reign in India.

The division of types of articles per newspaper gives a different overview. All the articles published by the *Algemeen Dagblad* are news articles (Table A5). The *Reformatorisch Dagblad* published mainly news articles, apart from one book review and one news analysis. The *Nederlands Dagblad* only published news articles and news analysis, with more articles of the latter category. *De Telegraaf* published four news articles and two other types, meaning a third of its articles were news articles. *De Volkskrant* only has 50 percent of its articles in this category, with all its articles as feature articles (/interview). Making it the newspaper with the highest percentage of feature articles between all the newspapers, though not the most in absolute numbers. The *Trouw* and both NRC newspapers have the most variety in types of articles, with the *Trouw* and the *NRC Handelsblad* publishing 6 out of 8 types categorised, and the *nrx.next* 5 out of 8. Their news articles are still the highest percentage; however they are closely followed by the news analyses. The *NRC Handelsblad* and *Trouw* both have the lowest percentage of news articles compared to their other articles; 32 and 33 percent respectively.

§ 4.1.3 Main theme or event of the articles

Just over half of the articles written in 2017 are about events that happened in or related to the Second World War (Figure 3). About half as many articles are written about colonial history, constituting almost a quarter of all the articles in 2017. Both art theft and looted artefacts after the Second World War are written about a few times, but even together not as much as colonial history. In Table A6 the 'other' category is divided into more detailed subjects and the topographical divisions of the colonial history articles are added. There are still three articles defined as just colonial history, because they are not linked to a specific colonial power or location, but rather discuss colonial history in general.

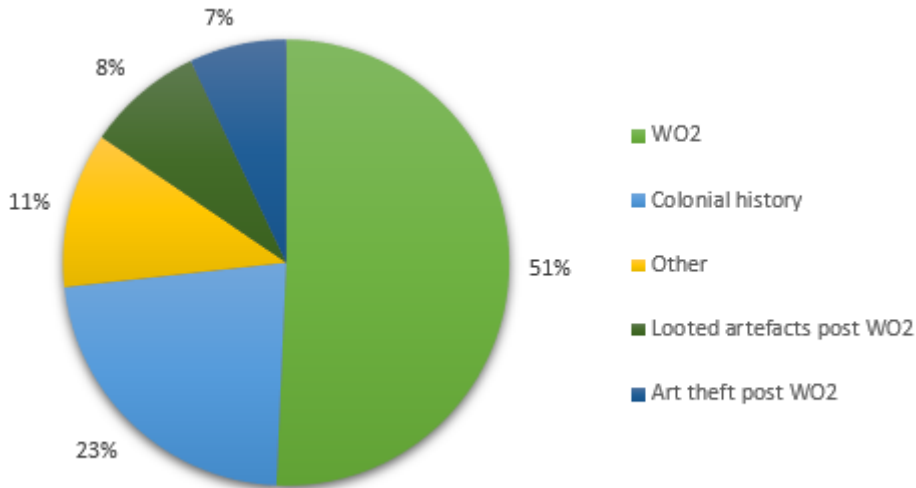


Figure 3 Grouped main theme and/or event of the articles written in 2017 in percentages. N=71

Dutch colonial history is clearly the main focus among the articles about colonial history, 11 of the 16 articles, and only two articles are specifically about another colonial power. In the 'other' category there are articles about both historic events and contemporary subjects.

In Table A7 the main categories are divided per article type, in order to see what types of articles are written about which timeframes and/or subjects. All the articles that are written about art theft after the Second World War are news articles, indicating that this particular subject was only worth reporting on as factual news, not for more in depth analysis. Colonial history is written about in almost every type of article, apart from an exhibition review and the interview / feature article combination, as is the Second World War with every type except from the book review. The Second World War is not only the most written about in general, it also dominates as the highest percentage written about per article type in almost every type of article except for the news analysis, where it ties with colonial history (Table A8). The difference is the largest in the news articles, feature articles and interview/feature combination. Which suggests that it was a topic both worth reporting news events on and more in-depth analysis. Apart from the singular book review, only the opinion pieces are more about another theme; colonial history. When looking at the type of articles published per theme in percentages (Table A9) it is also clear that the news articles is by far the largest category. However, the division between the other types per theme is fairly evenly distributed.

When the articles relating to colonial history are specified per region and compared to the type of articles written about them (Table A10), it is clear that the regular news articles are only about Dutch colonial history. The others, whether specified or about colonial history in general, are all more elaborate articles. The two opinion pieces that are written about colonial history are also about Dutch colonial history. As most of the articles are about Dutch colonial history and the articles about colonial history in general are feature articles and interviews that also involve the Dutch, it is clear that articles specifically about other colonial powers were not relevant or considered in 2017. Especially considering the article that is categorised as being about British colonial history is a book review about the Koh-I-Noor diamond. This does mainly involve the British monarchy and its colonial history but the article itself reviews the book, not the British colonial history.

§ 4.1.4 Relation to the Netherlands

For all the articles it was also catalogued whether or not it was about the or something in the Netherlands, regardless of the main time or theme indication of the article. This division is presented in Figure 4.

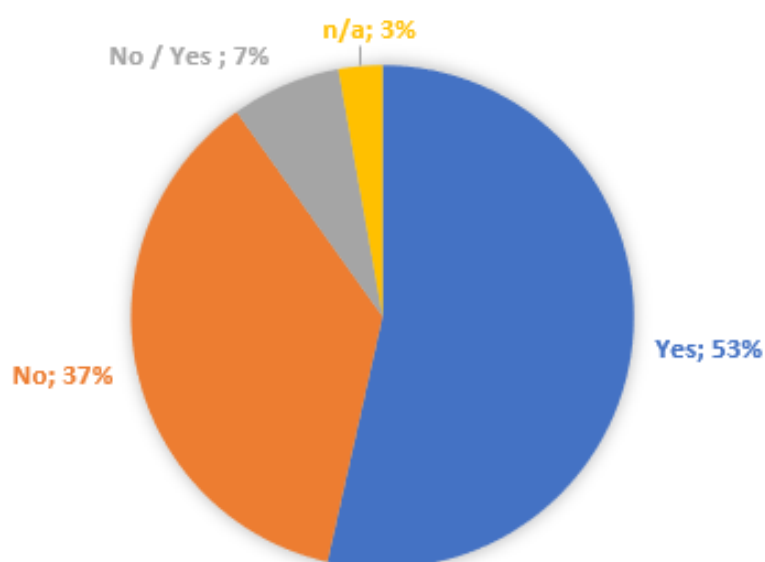


Figure 4 Division of the articles from 2017 that discuss subjects relating to the Netherlands or not percentages. N=71

Just over half the articles are mainly about the Netherlands. A considerable amount however is not about the Netherlands and does not involve or relate to the Netherlands at all. Only in 5 articles that are not about the Netherlands, a connection with the Netherlands in any shape or form is made. In order to see which type of articles and about what theme this information is cross referenced with this data. As already mentioned earlier in this chapter, the exhibition reviews are about an exhibition in Deventer therefore are about an event in the Netherlands. The divisions between feature articles and interviews are relatively even as seen in Table A11. There are more feature articles not about the Netherlands than there are about the Netherlands, 7 versus 4. However, out of these seven not about the Netherlands, two articles do connect to the Netherlands within their articles. The interviews are evenly split and there is no interview that is not about the Netherlands that does connect to the Netherlands. For both type articles there is one that is not linked to a country or geographical specific event. Two out of three opinion pieces are about the Netherlands, the other one is not and does not connect to the Netherlands as well. The news analysis articles are slightly more about the Netherlands than not, however also here there are two articles not about the Netherlands that do make a connection to the Netherlands. The only type where a more significant difference is visible is the news article, with slightly more than a third of the articles not about the Netherlands and two thirds about the Netherlands. These numbers indicate that apart from the shorter factual news articles there was not much difference between the type of articles and whether or not they are about the Netherlands.

Articles about the Second World War are fairly evenly divided between being about the Netherlands or not, and only two articles are not about the Netherlands but do make a connection (Figure 5). In the articles about colonial history there is a clear preference for articles about the Netherlands, but this was already established by the division between the articles about colonial history themselves as seen in Table A6. The articles about art theft after the Second World War are almost all about theft that happened in the Netherlands, whilst the articles about looted artefacts after the Second World War are more focused on other regions. However, 2 of the 5 articles not about the Netherlands do make a connection to the Netherlands.

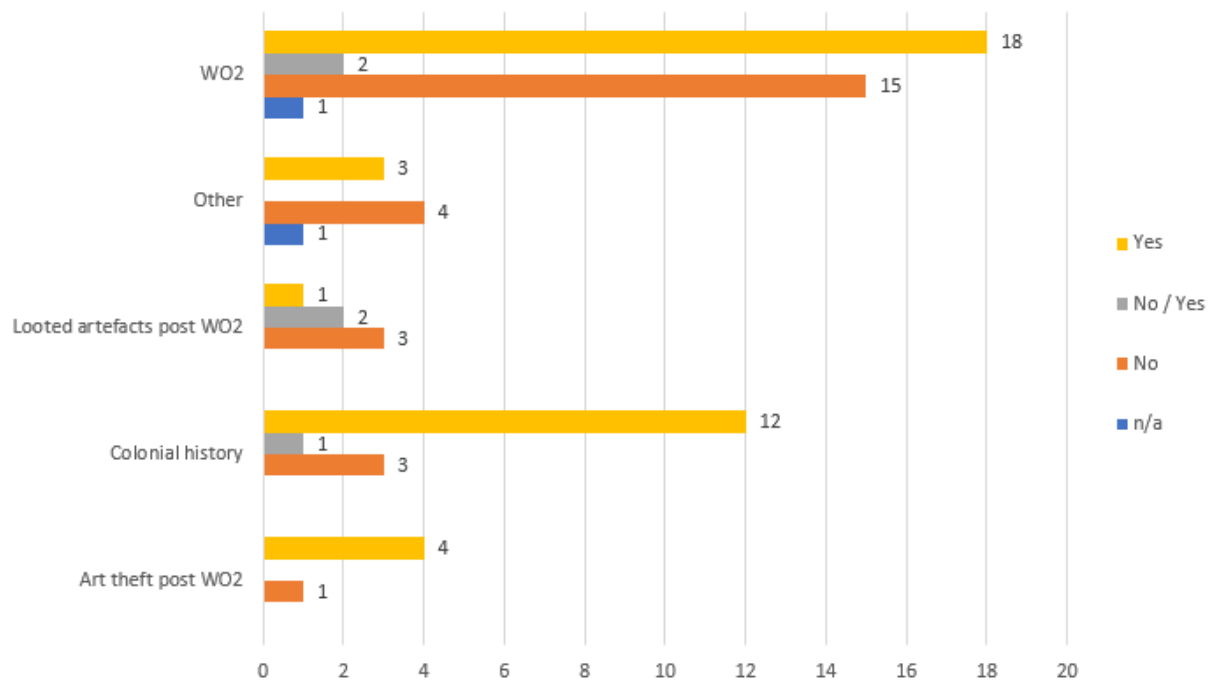


Figure 5 Main theme and/or time frame of the articles from 2017 and their relation to the Netherlands.

There are only a few things that stand out in the divisions of this category. First it is notable that Dutch newspapers report only slightly more often on Dutch related events in their newspaper than not. Despite this marginal difference there are more news articles written about the Netherlands, where only short factual news is relayed and more feature articles about other regions, which explore a topic in more depth. However, it should be noted that in 2 out of the 7 feature articles not about the Netherlands, a connection with the Netherlands is made.

§ 4.1.5 Is roofkunst defined in the article

Even though *roofkunst* was one of the search terms used to collect this dataset and therefore a bias towards articles that use this word is ingrained in the results, it can still be useful to research how many articles from the unique article dataset actually use this word in their text to define the objects that are being written about. Regardless of how they were found, the word *roofkunst* was used to define the subject in 47 out of 71 articles, two thirds of the total number of articles. To determine what was defined as *roofkunst* this category was cross referenced with the main theme of the articles in Figure 6. What is clear from this table is that *roofkunst* is mainly used in the context of the Second World War and looted artefacts

from after the Second World War. In only 3 of the 36 articles about the Second World War is the word *roofkunst* not used and in only 1 out of 6 articles about looted artefacts. Even though the larger part of the articles about colonial history do not use the word *roofkunst*, 11 out of 16 means the other 5, almost a third, does.

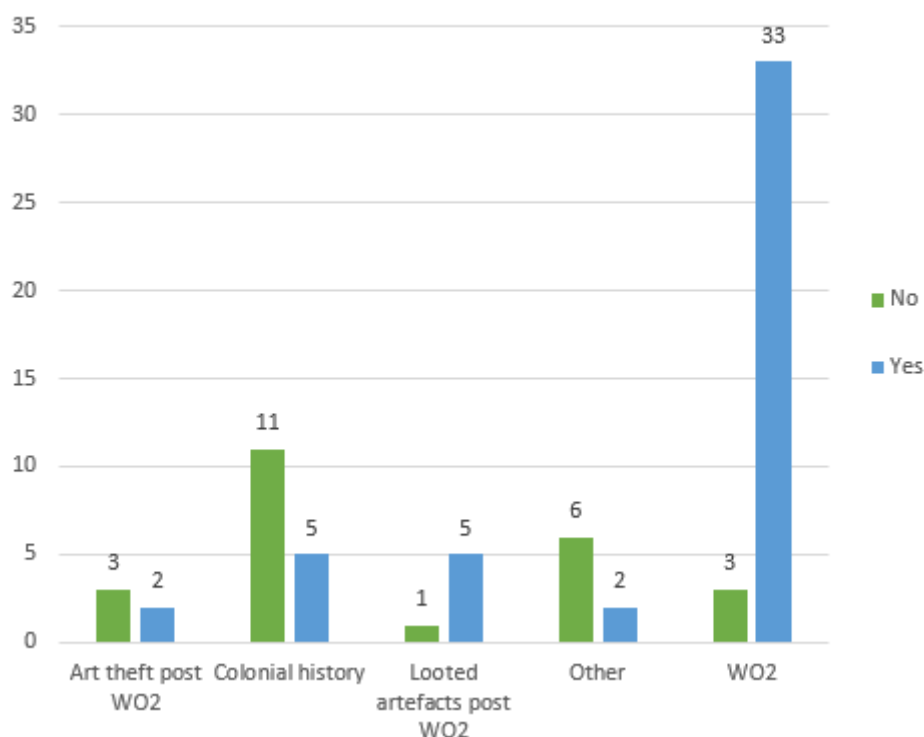


Figure 6. Overview of how many articles use the word *roofkunst* per main theme in 2017. N=71.

When the more specified list of main themes is used (Table A12) it becomes clear that all the articles about colonial art that do use the word *roofkunst* are about Dutch colonial history. In the 'other' category the two articles that use *roofkunst* are about modern art / the Second World War and the contemporary art world.

What is interesting here is that objects that are described in the articles about the Second World War are mainly paintings and a few sculptures, whilst looted artefacts from after the Second World War are often archaeological objects rather than paintings. However, the articles about art theft after the Second World War use *roofkunst* only two out of five times even though these are all about paintings, whilst the objects discussed in articles about colonial history are all archaeological artefacts. This suggests that in 2017 the object itself was not a determining factor in the decision to call something *roofkunst* or not but, rather, the

geographical location or historical context. In which mainly objects from the Second World War and looted after the Second World War are defined as looted art.

§ 4.1.6 Recurring subjects

During the collection and analysis of the articles it was clear that some specific objects or events were reported on repeatedly. This is to be expected when analysing multiple newspapers from the same year, as they will in general report on the same notable events. Returning subjects were noted in the extra information section of the analysis, in order to give an overview of the main and most reported events in the Netherlands in 2017. Most subjects are talked about in multiple combinations, especially subjects relating to the Second World War (Table A13).

Unsurprisingly, Deventer is written about on 10 occasions, which in this case all refer to the exhibition held that year in the Bergkerk Deventer about art stolen by the Nazi regime. In combination, both the names Ekkart and Goudstikker are mentioned twice. As explained in 4.1.2, Rudi Ekkart is an art historian specialised in art taken by the Nazi regime and he is cited in four different articles in total. The name Goudstikker is mentioned in 6 articles. Jacques Goudstikker was a Jewish art dealer and collector from Amsterdam who died whilst fleeing from the German occupation in May 1940. Most of his collection ended up in the hands of high-ranking German officials and after the war, the Dutch state (den Hollander, 1998, pp. 60-65, 155-172). His heirs are still searching for and claiming works that were in his possession when fleeing the country.

Gurlitt is another name that is mentioned often and in multiple configurations, and refers to the Gurlitt collection and Cornelius Gurlitt, an art collector from Germany who inherited many works from his father who collected them during the war. Multiple works in this collection have been proven to be illegally obtained or looted during the war, which Cornelius Gurlitt first denied but later restituted some works to the heirs of the original owners. His name is connected to Bern and Bonn a few times as well, as he left his entire art collection to the Museum of Fine Arts in Bern when he passed away in 2014. In 2017, the museum in Bern set up an exhibition about this specific art collection together with the Kunstmuseum in Bonn. Two other names connected to looted art from the Second World War are also mentioned more than once: Lewenstein and Altmann. Lewenstein is a Jewish art collector from Amsterdam who died before the war, but his heirs lost a lot of his art during the occupation

and have been trying to get it back ever since. Altmann refers to Maria Altmann, a Jewish woman who fled Austria during the Second World War and lost most family paintings. Most notably a portrait of her aunt painted by Klimt, the story of its loss and eventual return detailed in the film: *Woman in gold*.

One more name on the list of recurring subjects is related to the Second World War: Boijmans van Beuningen, an art museum in Rotterdam. The articles that mention the museum are about the discovery that one of the namesakes, and donor of a substantial part of its collection, of the museum (van Beuningen) might have dealt in art during and with the German occupation and the collection could therefore contain looted art.

The articles about the Yangchun mummy detail a case of looted art after the Second World War. The mummy was first thought to be a statue and was taken from a small Chinese village during the 1990s. It resurfaced later on as it was discovered there was a mummy inside the statue. The citizens of Yangchun, the city it was taken from, are claiming it as a cultural artefact that was stolen from them and are asking for its restitution. The main reason it seems to get this publicity in the Netherlands is because a Dutch art dealer was involved and the case is being heard in a Dutch court.

The four articles about the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam start with an interview with the museum's head of history that announces the museum will start to actively look into their colonial collection and perhaps return some objects to former colonies if the objects prove to be of unclear provenance or were clearly taken under unfair circumstances. The other articles reprint some of these claims and/or respond to the claims being made in the interview.

Lastly, the Suriname archives were detailed in three articles. These describe the event of returning the Suriname archive to Paramaribo, after they had been kept in the Netherlands since Suriname was colonised.

This overview of recurring subjects clearly shows that most of the recurring subjects are related to the Second World War. Specifically looted art by the German regime from mainly Jewish collectors and art dealers, 31 out of 41 articles categorised as recurring are about these subjects. From the other 10, 7 are about different parts of Dutch colonial history. All the data presented in chapter 4.1 clearly indicates stolen art during the World War was the largest and most important topic of 2017. Not only did it have the most articles written about it in general, it also was the main focus of many types of articles and had the most recurring subjects written

about it. This can, however, be partially explained by the fact that there were multiple events happening in 2017 that directly related to these subjects, therefore prompting newspapers to report on and write more about these specific subjects. Of the articles written about the Second World War only half were about (an event in) the Netherlands, whilst articles about colonial history were almost all about the Netherlands, even though there were far less articles about colonial history than the Second World War. What is also an interesting fact about the articles written in 2017 is that no matter the subject, more in depth articles were written about other countries or regions than about the Netherlands. This could mean that subjects farther from home are considered more interesting, or safer in a way to analyse further. The term *roofkunst* was used mainly for looted art during the Second World War and looted artefacts after the war, not so much for objects taken during colonial occupation or modern art theft.

§4.2 Analysis of the newspapers from 2022

In this second main section of chapter 4 the data collected of the 112 unique articles of 2022 will be analysed. The collected data is presented and discussed in the next subsections. It should be noted that of these 112 articles, one is technically not a unique article, as an article of the *Trouw* was reprinted verbatim by the *Reformatorisch Dagblad* at a later date. However, because it was actually printed again in a different newspaper with a different target audience, it has been included in this analysis as an ‘unique article’ as it was truly a different hit in the database, not a double hit from the exact same newspaper and date.

§4.2.1 Newspapers and authors

The 112 articles from 2022 are divided between the newspapers as shown in Table 4.19. The NRC is the largest contributor of relevant articles, however, *De Volkskrant* and the *Trouw* are not far behind. These are exactly the three newspapers that are considered the be the most quality press papers. The newspapers that still have a strong religious voice have written the least number of articles, although the *Reformatorisch Dagblad* did reprint an article from the *Trouw* as mentioned above.

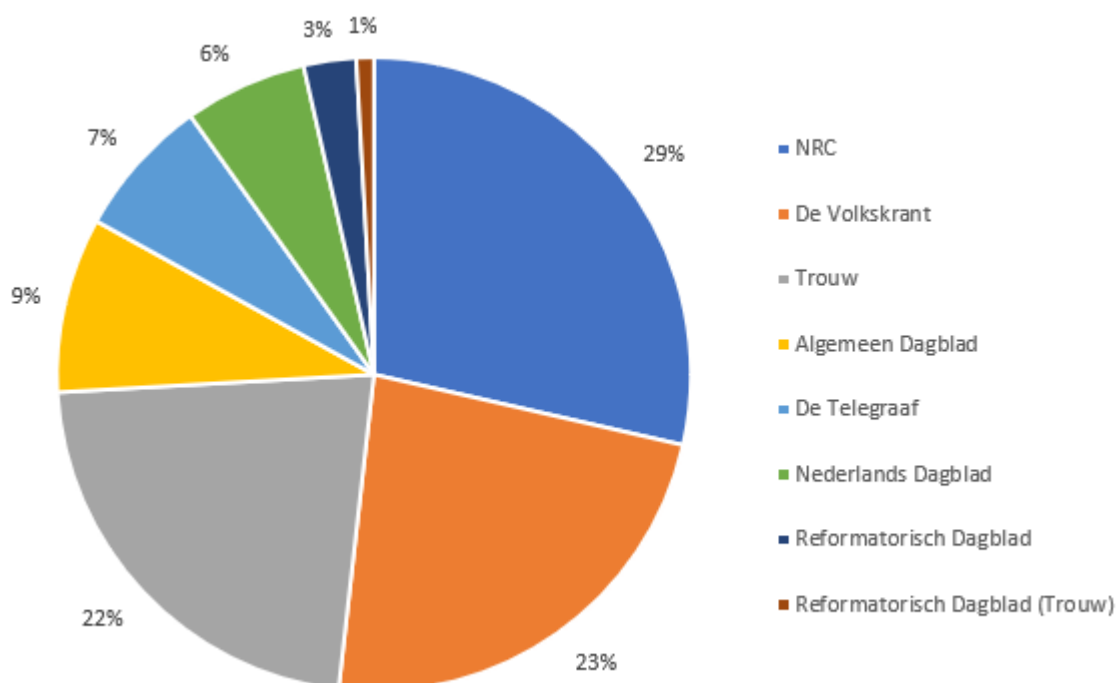


Figure 7. Number of relevant unique articles published per newspaper in 2022 in percentages. N=112.

There were 11 authors who wrote more than one article in 2022, plus Erik van Zwam who is credited twice for the same article in the *Trouw* and the *Reformatisch Dagblad*. All the authors only wrote for one newspaper in 2022 and two articles were credited as taken directly from the ANP.

Of all the articles written in 2022, 27 were written by authors who wrote more than one article, which is 24 percent of the 112 articles (A13). What is interesting is that even though the NRC published the most articles, it only had two authors who wrote more than once, with the authors published more than once only contributing to 4 out of 32 articles (7%). The *Trouw* meanwhile has only one author more who wrote multiple articles but together they wrote 10 out of the 26 articles published (38%). *De Volkskrant* had the most authors who wrote more than one article, who together wrote 9 out of 29 articles published by the *Volkskrant* (35%). This would suggest that the *Volkskrant* and *Trouw* had a few authors who were interested and/or passionate about the subject and wrote multiple times on issues and events relating to the subject, whilst this seems not necessarily to be the case at the NRC.

§4.2.2 Types of articles and word count

The number of words used per article varies to a great extent as well in 2022, with the shortest article being 37 words and longest 3514 words. The average number of words for articles published in 2022 is 826. Just as in 2017 there is a correlation between the type of article and the number of words used, with the feature articles and interviews being the longest and the news articles and reader send-ins being the shortest.

There were 8 types of articles published in 2022 (Figure 8). The type of article that was published the most is the news article, followed by the slightly more extensive news analysis type article. Feature articles make up 13 percent of the total amount of articles published, closely followed by the opinion pieces. Apart from the 11 opinion pieces there were also two columns published, which are often also considered opinion pieces as the author is usually free to discuss their own interests and opinions. They are categorised separately here because the newspapers themselves presented them as columns, therefore it will be analysed separately. However, it will be taken into consideration that these articles are written from a personal point of view and will likely contain personal opinions. There were only four interviews published in 2022 and the interviewees will be detailed below. The reader send-in

format is from *De Volkskrant* and the *NRC*, which allows readers to present short responses to news that was discussed in earlier newspapers.

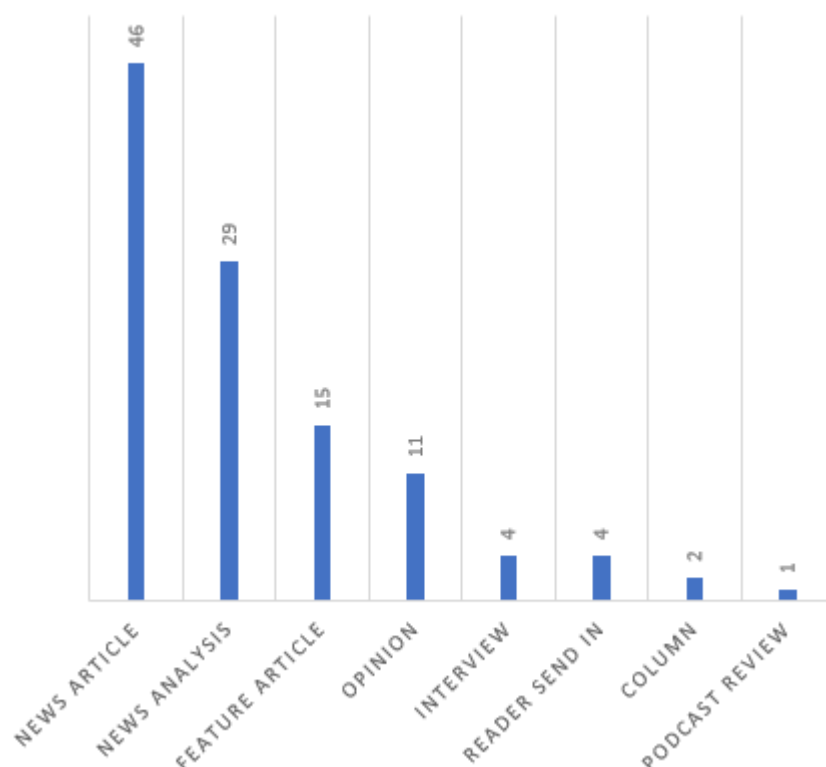


Figure 8. Types of articles published in 2022. N=112.

De Volkskrant published the widest variety of articles, closely followed by the *NRC*, the only difference being a podcast review that the *Volkskrant* published (Table A15). The *NRC* did publish the most feature articles, 8 out of 15. News articles are published the most by all the newspapers except for the *Reformatorisch Dagblad* and the *Volkskrant*, but for the *Trouw* and the *NRC* these articles are only a small part of the total number of articles published (Table A16). Apart from *De Telegraaf* and the *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, all the newspapers published an opinion piece in 2022.

The 4 interviews were published by the *Algemeen Dagblad*, *De Volkskrant*, and the *NRC*. They were mainly (former) directors/curators of museums and one personal history (Table A17). Most authors of the opinion pieces and columns are either working in fields that directly relate to or have to deal with looted art and colonial history or are scientists specialised in areas that have a relation with these subjects (Table A18 and Table A19), one opinion piece was published by the editors of the *NRC*.

§4.2.3 Main theme or event of the articles

In 2022 there is one more broad main theme than in 2017 as explained in the methodology chapter. With this theme included Figure 9 shows the number of articles published per main theme. Articles about colonial history clearly take the lead in 2022, with two thirds of all the articles written around this subject. The Second World War is still written about, however only 18 percent of the articles are about this topic. In comparison only a few articles are about looted art from after the Second World War and looted art(efacts) from multiple periods. Because of the definition of this last category there are possibly articles put into this category that, among other themes, also discuss colonial history and therefore the number of articles that include colonial history might be even larger. There were two articles in 2022 that did not belong in one of these four broad categories. One of them is an article about linguistics where the word *roofkunst* is discussed, the other very specifically about artefacts stolen from the Netherlands during conflict and the occupation from other European countries during the early modern period.

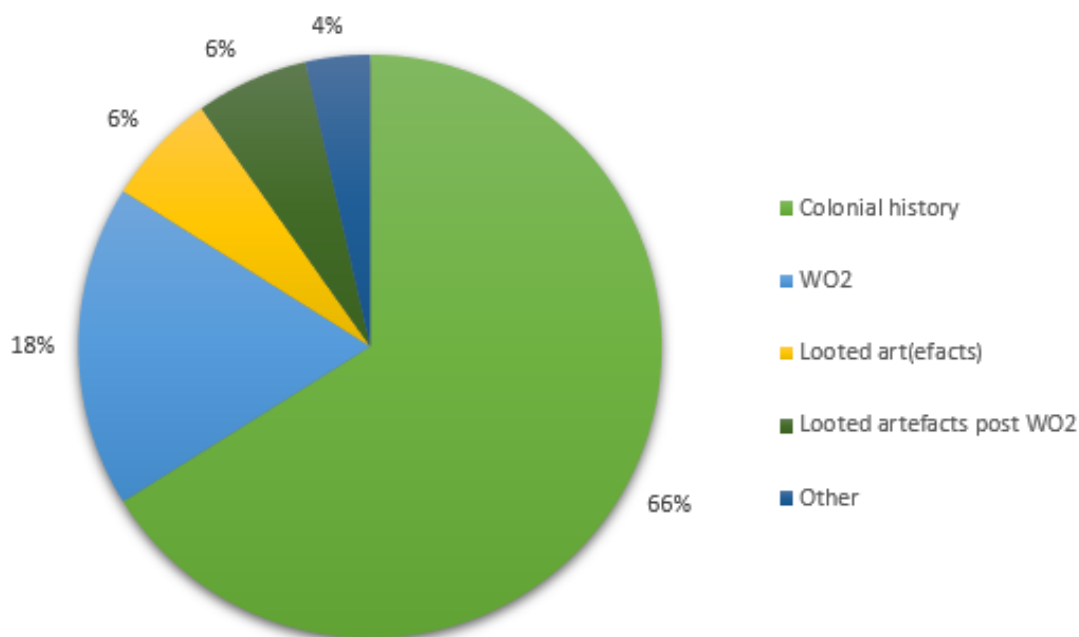


Figure 9. Broad main theme and/or event of the articles written in 2022 in percentages. N=112.

In the category colonial history, most articles are about a single country's colonial history, some are about colonial history in general and some discuss colonial history together with another main theme, like the Second World War (Table A20). It is clear from this table that the highest number of articles are about Dutch colonial history. There are 37 articles solely about Dutch colonial history and then another two about Dutch colonial history and the Second World War, together this is 50 percent of all the articles about colonial history (Table A21). Unspecified colonial history is the second largest within the colonial history theme; this category has 11 articles plus another three in combination with looted artefacts stolen after the Second World War, totalling 18 percent of the articles written about colonial history (Table A21). Both the British and Belgian colonial periods are written about eight times. Only half of that was German colonial history with 4 articles, American colonial history with 2 and the Spanish colonial history was written about once. There were three articles that were not specifically about a country, but did focus on European colonial history. It should be noted that most articles about colonial history are automatically about Europa as most colonial powers are from this region. However, because American colonial history was also discussed in 2022 and the articles categorised as European history themselves wrote about European history as one entity instead of separate countries, this category is used as different from colonial history in general. With the added combined articles about colonial history there are not 74, but 79 articles that include colonial history. For articles about the Second World War this means there are two more, 22 instead of 20 that include the Second World War in their topics.

Because there are quite a few articles about Dutch colonial history, a subdivision was made for specific regions or part of the Dutch colonial history that the articles are about, when applicable (Table A22). For people familiar with Dutch colonial history, it will not be surprising that the most written about topic is Indonesia, given the Netherlands tumultuous and up until quite recently colonial power in this country. Nine articles are about unspecified areas of Dutch colonial history and four relate to the Dutch history with Suriname. Two articles were written in 2022 that connect the Royal family of the Netherlands with its colonial history, which is interesting because at the time of the colonial expansion, the Netherlands was a republic, not a kingdom. However, when it became a kingdom, nothing changed for the colonised regions until the last century.

Next, the articles' main theme was cross-referenced with the types of articles, in order to see what type of articles were written about which subjects. Colonial history is represented in all the article types apart from the interview (Table A23). Colonial history is the sole subject for both the column and opinion articles, as well as the singular podcast review and three of the four reader send-in articles (Table A24). The interviews are 75 percent about looted art(efacts) and 25 percent about the Second World War (Table A24). Of the feature articles 11 (73 percent) are about colonial history while there are two about looted art(efacts), one about looted artefacts specifically after the Second World War and one about the Second World War itself (Table A23 and A24). Table A25 shows that even though there are 29 news articles written about colonial History and 12 about the Second World War (Table A23), these 29 are only 39 percent of the articles written about colonial History whilst the 12 news articles about the Second World War are 60 percent of all the articles written about this theme, indicating that there was more interest in just relaying factual news about this period rather than in depth analysis. The largest category though, both in absolute number and percentage, is the news articles written about colonial history, which is 26 percent (Table A26). With about two thirds of this amount are the news analysis articles about colonial history with 15 percent, followed by the news articles about the Second World War with 11 percent (Table A26). Both the feature articles and opinion pieces about colonial history are 10 percent of the total amount of articles written. These numbers indicate that colonial history was not just written about the most, but was also the main interest for more in depth analysis and to share personal opinions on in 2022.

As mentioned above, because the colonial history category is very large, the article types are also cross referenced with the category divided per country/region in Table A27. What is most remarkable is the opinion and column types. Both columns are written about Dutch colonial history and seven out of eleven opinion pieces as well. Of the four remaining opinion pieces three are about more general themes: European colonial history and colonial history. Only one opinion piece is specifically about another country: the United Kingdom. Notable as well are the feature articles, six out of twelve are about Dutch colonial history, exactly half. The others however, are distributed amongst almost all the other regions, with each getting one feature article. Only the Dutch colonial history / Second World War and the Spanish colonial history categories are not represented in the feature articles. The three interviews on the other hand are only about the combination categories. This would suggest that in 2022

there was a large focus on the Netherlands and its colonial history itself for analysis and opinion within the newspapers.

When presenting the types of articles written about the specific parts of Dutch colonial history it is clear that the most in depth and opinion articles were written about the Dutch colonial history and Indonesia (Table A28). However, when taking the percentage of each article type per subject, it is clear that the division is not as large as it seems in absolute numbers (A29). It does indicate that Dutch colonial history in general and about Indonesia specifically were the only ones more written about with in depth style articles.

§4.2.4 Articles related to the Netherlands

The number of articles in 2022 that are about or relate to the Netherlands is 60 percent (Figure 10), the other 40 percent are not about the Netherlands but 7 of those do make a connection to the Netherlands within the article.

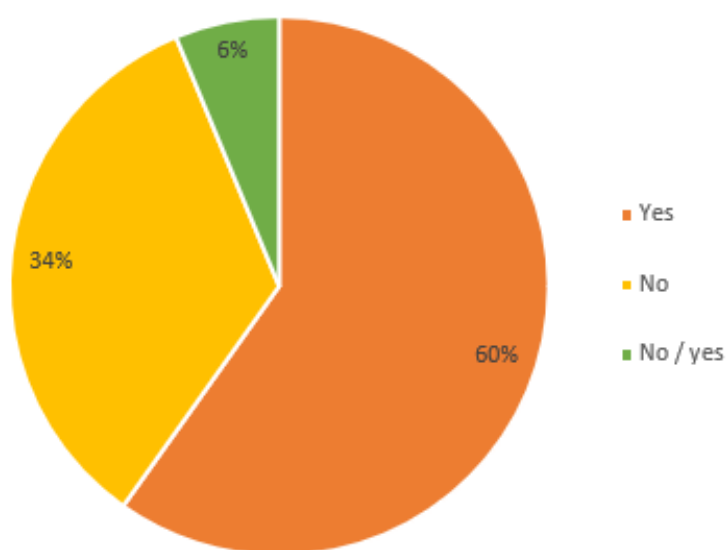


Figure 10. Division of the articles from 2022 that discuss subjects relating to the Netherlands or not in percentages. N=112

The news articles published in 2022 are slightly more about the Netherlands but not by much (Table A30). The news analysis is clearly more about the Netherlands, whilst the feature articles are more evenly distributed. Eight out of 15 articles are about the Netherlands, from the seven remaining two more are not about the Netherlands primarily but do make a connection. The opinion and interview articles are both more about the Netherlands than not, with the single interview not about the Netherlands making a connection. Both the column

and reader send-in types are all about the Netherlands. What can be concluded from the data presented in Table A30 is that there was a slightly higher interest to write in-depth articles about the Netherlands than about other regions, but more so in the news analysis articles than the feature articles. This suggests that when a topic was in the news as an event, Dutch related events or subjects were more likely to receive some more background information or analysis, whilst news from other regions was just relayed without extra information. The longer feature articles show that larger research topics were still written about for both the Netherlands and other areas.

When cross referencing whether articles are about the Netherlands or not with the main theme of the articles, it is not surprising that there are many articles about colonial history that are also about the Netherlands, given the number of articles written specifically about Dutch colonial history (Table A31). The division between articles relating to the Second World War is a bit larger, with more than twice as many articles about the Netherlands than not. Looted art(efacts) articles are almost only about the Netherlands, with only two articles that are not but that do make a connection. Articles about looted artefacts after the Second World War however are more focused on other countries and regions, with no articles that make a connection.

With 60 percent of the articles written about the Netherlands there seems to be a small preference for news relating to the Netherlands, especially with the more in-depth type articles and opinion pieces. Within the colonial history articles the division is roughly the same, with 57 percent of these articles being written about Dutch related subjects, however of the remaining 43, 6 percent does relate to the Netherlands. With most of the articles about the Second World War about the Netherlands, but only a few from the looted artefacts after the Second World War it seems that news relating to the Netherlands is more focused on events further back in history.

§4.2.5 Is roofkunst defined in the article

Regardless of which search terms was used to find the article, the word *roofkunst* was used in 61 of them to actually define the artefacts or subject discussed in the article (Figure 11). The yes/no category was added in 2022 for the articles that actively discuss whether or not something should be called looted art.

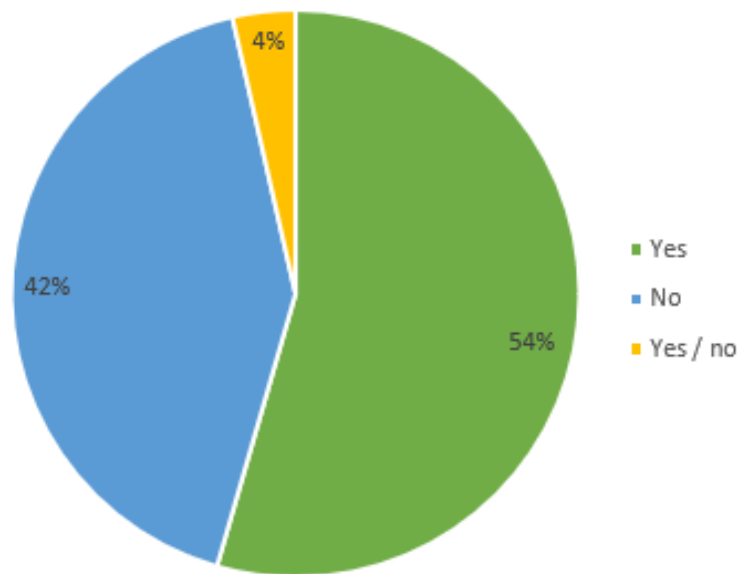


Figure 11. Number of articles that use the word *roofkunst* as a definition for its subject in 2022 in percentages. N=112

When cross referenced with the broad themes of the articles, the division between articles that define looted art is almost even (Figure 12). What is interesting however, is that the four articles that actively discuss whether or not something should be called looted art are all about colonial history. It is to be expected that articles that are about looted art in general more often do define the objects as *roofkunst*, with 7 out of 9 articles using the word to define its subject. For looted artefacts specifically after the Second World War though, the division is again almost even, with 3 not using the word against 4 articles that do. The division in articles about the Second World War is not as even, with about a third not using the word *roofkunst* and two thirds using it.

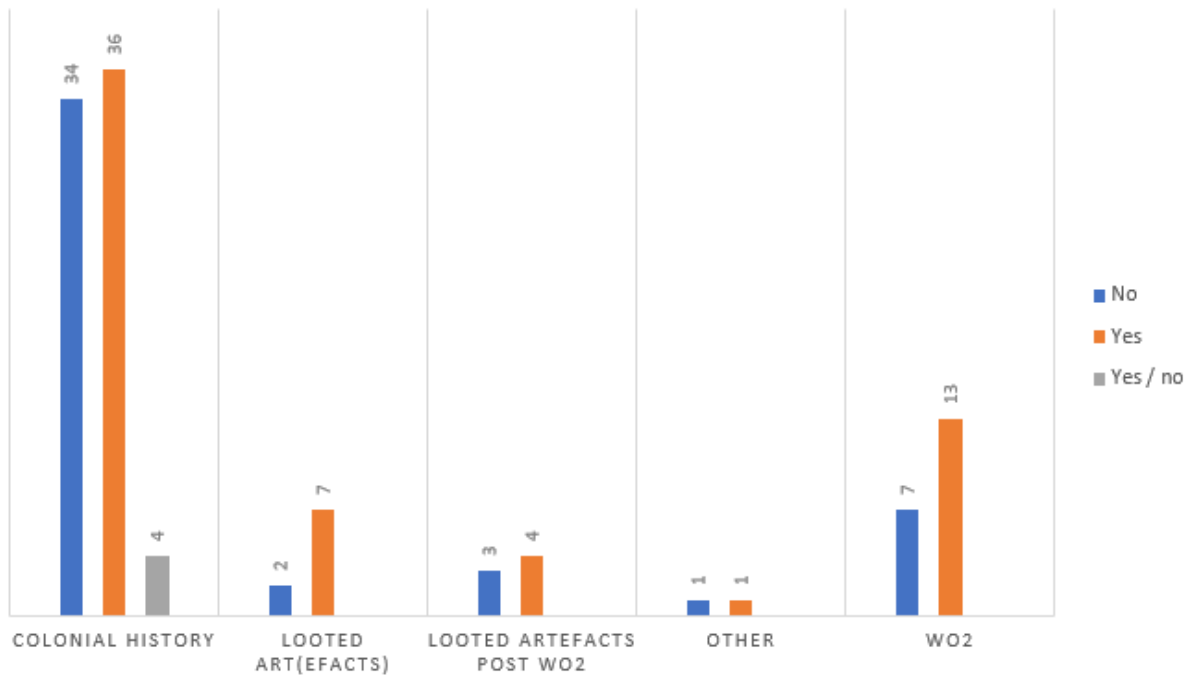


Figure 12. Overview of how many articles use the word *roofkunst* per main theme in 2022. N=112.

If the specific regions of colonial history are taken into account it is clear that the articles that combine colonial history with the Second World War almost all define their subject as *roofkunst* (Table A32). The number of articles about Dutch colonial history that define *roofkunst* are split evenly, with one article discussing the definition of *roofkunst*. The more general articles define *roofkunst* more often in their articles, whilst the specific countries do not except for the articles about German colonial history.

These numbers suggest that the term *roofkunst* does not seem to be as clearly defined per historical period. It is discussed as a term only for colonial history and the fact that about half the articles use the word and have not would suggest not each author is as prepared to use this word or even of opinion that this is the right word to use in this context. The division between articles using the word *roofkunst* for looted artefacts after the Second World War and during the war as well indicates that there is not a clear relation between geographical or type of artefact and art that indicates whether or not something is stolen art, but more likely the specific context of an object is considered, before claiming it as *roofkunst*.

§4.2.6 Recurring subjects

Out of the 112 articles published in 2022, 63 discussed events or subjects that recurred in newspapers more than once (Table A33). Not all the recurring subjects are together in one row, as many subjects recurred in combination with other subjects or events. By far the most published about subject is the 'Javamens', a collection of fossils from the Homo Erectus, found by Eugène Dubois during fieldwork in 1891-1892 on the Indonesian Island Java, a Dutch colony at the time (Drieënhuizen & Sysling, 2021, p. 192). They are currently in the possession of and on display in Naturalis, a natural history museum in Leiden, the Netherlands. Even though it is not the first time Indonesia asked for the fossils, a renewed claim was made in 2022, which as can be seen here, prompted many newspapers to write about the Java man and the Dubois collection. The Javamens itself was mentioned the most, 16 times, whilst Naturalis was mentioned 14 times. Dubois himself or his collection was mentioned 11 times. It is interesting that these names were not mentioned together in all the articles about this subject, suggesting that some articles took a different approach or point of view on the subject.

Nine articles were written about Congo, a former colony of Belgium. Two of these articles mention the Royal Museum for Central Africa (Afrika Museum) in Tervuren in Belgium, which houses items mainly from Congo. Five of the nine articles were about the return of the tooth of Lumumba, the first Prime Minister of the Republic of Congo after gaining its independence from Belgium, who was shot to death in 1962 under dubious circumstances. His murder has been an area of conflict between Congo and Belgium ever since, with Congo claiming Lumumba was murdered by the Belgium government and his body disposed of (Klep, 2007). It was not until the early 2000s that more research on this topic was conducted and one of his teeth discovered in Belgium. The government of Belgium returned the tooth to Congo in 2022, which is the main event these articles cover.

The Benin bronzes were written about 7 times in total, twice specifically mentioning Nigeria and twice mentioning the Humboldt Forum, an art and anthropology museum in Berlin. The Benin bronzes are a collection of statues and sculptures that were taken by the British Army from the city of Benin in 1897. The city was part of the Benin Kingdom and was situated in what is currently Nigeria. The collection consists of over 3000 objects that by now have found their way into private collections and many museums in Western countries (Hicks, 2020, pp. 2-6). The Benin bronzes have been a topic of discussion for many years in both academia and the media, but in 2022 both the Horniman Museum in England and the

Smithsonian in the United States returned a number of bronzes to Nigeria, creating a renewed interest in the bronzes in the media (Brits museum geeft beelden uit Benin terug aan Nigeria, 2022; Dahhan, 2022).

There were six articles dedicated to paintings of Kandinsky that were returned to its pre-war owners. Three articles about the Kandinsky in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam and three about the Kandinsky in the Van Abbe museum in Eindhoven. Both are the results of long-lasting claim trajectories and legal discussions. Both were first determined to be kept by the museum but after a second claim and legal prosecution were returned to the heirs of the Jewish original owners (Schilderij Kandinsky terug naar erven Joodse vrouw, 2022; van Os, 2022).

There are a few other subjects that were written about twice in 2022, they are the death of Queen Elizabeth the Second in relation to the return of cultural objects from the British (former) colonial areas. Egyptian sarcophagus and other artefacts that are in Western Museums with an unknown or dubious provenance. The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (antiquities) and its collection, the Rosetta stone which was taken by the British under its colonial rule of the area it was found as well as the Elgin marbles from Greece that are currently in the British Museum. The Humboldt Forum in Berlin, the restitution committee of the Netherlands that mainly decides about Nazi looted art. The Inuit and their treatment under the Canadian government and lastly the Tropenmuseum and its child in formaldehyde from Suriname that was taken during the Dutch rule there. Most of these subjects are related to colonial history, only the articles that mention the restitution committee and specifically the Egyptian sarcophagus are not. They are about the Second World War and Looted artefacts post World War 2 respectively.

Most of the recurring subjects in 2022 are related to or about colonial history and a few about the Second World War. In general, there seem to have been more events in 2022 that related to colonial history that sparked the media's attention and interest and the most discussed subjects described above were also written about more than once by the same newspaper, indicating a high interest in the subject for further reports and also more in-depth analysis. However, even though there were also events in 2022 about the Second World War, they were rewritten about less in comparison than colonial history. Colonial history was written about the most in general (73 percent of all the articles) and the distribution of articles

types per main theme also indicates that colonial history was the most interesting subject in 2022. All the opinion pieces, columns and most feature articles were written about it. Looted artefacts after the war and the Second World War in general were written about more in news articles and analysis.

The word *roofkunst* was used to define the subject in about half the articles and colonial history articles used the word the most. However, when looking at the percentages of articles per main theme and the use of the word *roofkunst* it is clear that out of all the articles about colonial history just over half used the word *roofkunst*, whilst for the articles about the Second World War this is almost two thirds. This indicates that in general the word looted art is still more easily connected to events and objects taken during the Second World War. It should be noted here however that there were also a few articles in 2022 that actively discussed the term *roofkunst* and its application, as well as the many articles written about the Javamens. Because these bones are considered more in the region of natural science it is often not determined as *roofkunst*, but rather as (looted) natural treasure. Therefore, there are also some articles about this subject that do not discuss whether or not it is *roofkunst*, but rather whether or not it should be determined as such and therefore treated the same as other cultural objects that are considered *roofkunst*. Because of the many opinion pieces and columns as well as the feature articles that are mainly about colonial history, it seems that besides the main focus on colonial history there is much more room for debate in general, with a wider focus on opinions and emotions, instead of just law. This is proven as well in the most returning subjects (Javamens, Congo-Belgium and the Benin Bronzes) as these are all subjects that deal with specific objects and where they belong. The word *roofkunst* seems to be more readily used but also debated and no can be used in any historical and geographical context.

5 Discussion

In this chapter the results of the previous chapter will be compared with each other in order to answer the main research question of this thesis. This will then be interpreted and, where possible, explained. There will also be a section discussing the limitations of this research and its methods.

§5.1 Changes between 2017 and 2022

The previous chapter presented how looted art and restitution were written about in 2017 and 2022. These results show notable differences between 2017 and 2022. First and foremost, this can be seen in the main theme that was written about most frequently in each year. In 2017 the Second World War was by far the main focus of the publications, not only in numbers but also the most in-depth articles were written about this subject as well as most recurring subjects relating to the Second World War. In 2022 however, this seems to have shifted towards colonial history, with a vast majority of the articles focusing on different aspects of this. In 2022 this shift can also be seen in the types of articles and recurring subjects, with this year the most in depth and all the opinion articles written about colonial history as well as most of the recurring subjects relating to colonial history. There were also articles written about colonial history in 2017 but there also seems to have been a shift of focus within this theme as well between the years. In 2022 there seems to be more focus on the colonial history of other countries as well, as the articles about colonial history in 2017 are mainly focused on the Netherlands, whereas this division in 2022 is almost even with half the articles about the Netherlands specifically and the other half about other countries or colonial history in general. This shift is less pronounced in the articles about other subjects and the main division between articles written about or relating to the Netherlands does not seem to have changed much between the years. Another change between 2017 and 2022 is a shift towards more opinion pieces and columns as well as some reader send-ins that were published, almost all relating to colonial history. This could indicate that in 2022 there was more space for debate and personal opinions regarding this subject and that these were considered important enough to publish in the physical newspaper. There were only a few opinion pieces in 2017 of which two were about colonial history and one about the Second World War.

The term *roofkunst* was used in both years to define the main subject of the articles, however, it was used more often in 2017 than in 2022 (66 and 54 percent respectively). In 2017 almost all the articles about the Second World War used the term *roofkunst*, whereas only a third of the articles about colonial history did. In 2022 almost half the articles about colonial history used the term *roofkunst*, a considerable jump especially taking into account that the number of articles about colonial history increased vastly as well. Of the articles about the Second World War almost two thirds use the term *roofkunst* in the articles, a considerable decrease compared to 2017. The changes of the use of the term *roofkunst* in the other main themes has not changed significantly. These changes could indicate that the meaning and or application of the term *roofkunst* is changing and has changed between these two years, mainly in its application within a colonial context. There seems to be a less restricted definition of what is considered and defined as looted art, with many articles about colonial history focusing less on whether or not it was legal at the time to take an object but rather the on the modern perspective on history and the moral justification of taking and keeping objects in the Western world that are not originally from this region. Considering the types of articles published as well as the recurring subjects of 2022 there seems to be a larger focus on discussion and introspection on more ethically difficult subjects in this year than in 2017. By 2017 the consensus on art(efacts) taken during the Second World War, especially from Jewish owners, was that they should be restituted. The only debatable subject was whether or not it could and should be proven by the (heirs) of the original owners that they are the rightful owners and they have a quantifiable link with the object they are requesting. This seems to fit into the legalist framework as presented by Campfens (2020b) that does take ethics into account in regards to Nazi-looted art, but still has the basis in law. It is difficult to place the restitution of Nazi-looted art in one of the cultural ownership paradigms as it treated as such a separate and isolated event in 2017 when it comes to restitution. However, as it identifies ownership on the basis of cultural continuation, it can therefore be fitted into the cultural nationalism paradigm as presented by Breske (2018, pp. 348-349). This is especially the case because the ethical approach of the Netherlands, in this case, diverts from the internationalism and universalist approach of a shared cultural identity and instead places the interest of the (heirs of) the original owners during and before the war above the interest of the general public who usually had access to these objects in museums. As the articles about colonial history are more news articles, they cannot be clearly fitted into one of the paradigms

as well. It seems that colonial history is not a big part of the public discourse in 2017 and focusses mainly on events that are happening or statements made by the cultural sector. What is clear however in both these main subjects is that there is still very much a them *versus* us mentality as explained by Curtis (2006), as the articles are written by and the professionals chosen to be interviewed are mainly part of Western culture, or in the case of Nazi-looted art not of Jewish descent, but are the ones that get to have a say in the media.

In 2022 the focus was more on subjects that have a debatable past and provenance. Especially in the recurring subjects it is clear that the objects talked about the most were taken during colonial times by colonial powers and are now in possession of and in the country of this colonial power. The rise in opinion articles indicates that there is more room or need for discussion on these subjects. Also, the shift from articles about colonial history being mainly about the Netherlands in 2017 towards more articles about colonial history in general and the colonial history of other countries indicates that the subject in general became a larger part of the discourse in the media. These discussions and themes of the articles seem to indicate a shift in the nationalist versus the internationalist paradigms in repatriation discourse when it comes to cultural objects from this period. Especially in the recurring subjects as mentioned above, where there are many articles about the same subjects that are highly debated with articles and opinions that can be placed into both the internationalist and the nationalist paradigms. The main shift in thinking might be the fact that word *roofkunst* is used more often for objects from colonial regions that in Dutch indicates that these objects are now viewed as items with a problematic past that need research and discussion. However, just as in 2017 the articles, opinion pieces and interviewees as well are mainly people with a Western cultural background and therefore the them versus us discussions are still in place.

Lastly the number of articles in general that related to any of these subjects and therefore were relevant for this research has gone up significantly between 2017 and 2022. With 71 versus 112 articles this is an increase of 57 percent. This alone indicates that, in general, discourse relating to looted art and repatriation has become more ingrained in the news media in 2022. What has not changed however is the them *versus* us point of view of the articles that were written in both years. What can be tied in here as well is not only the them *versus* us but also the fact that the most writers of opinion pieces and interviewees are agents of power in the field: museum and academic professionals. Not many representatives from source communities or victims of cultural injustice have been given a platform in these two

years. It cannot be determined in this research why this favouritism for agents of power in the field comes from, but the fact that they are the main group that gets to voice their opinion in the media supports the theory of Herman and Chomsky (2002, pp. 2-7) that the media is not unbiased and not completely free to report whatever they want. In this case this might mean that they relay information only from one side of the conversation which gives a biased overview of the discourse about repatriation. Apart from this bias there is also the bias of each newspaper itself as it caters towards a different part of society as described in the methodology chapter and will therefore have different representations of the same subjects. When working from Halls constructionist point of view (Hall, 1997, pp. 1-4), this means that what each newspaper writes about these subjects is in their truth and therefore part of the truth of the discourse itself, because when people read the articles they will assume that this is how the general public thinks, though this is only the representation of the part of society that this specific newspaper caters to and unlikely to represent all the opinions and point of views that are present in the community. When analysing all the newspapers however, one might get an overview of all these representations that share space in the discourse. As already mentioned before, the types and number of articles written by each newspaper and the part of society it caters to seems to indicate that repatriation issues are mainly discussed in newspapers that cater towards a higher educated audience and therefore the discourse in the media is mainly constructed by academia and professionals. As the museums are considered a form of mass media, they are also part of the discourse created through media and they actively participate in the newspapers as well, therefore it seems they are not just competing with this form of mass media but actually using it to broadcast their opinions and take their place in the discourse. This seems to have happened slightly more in 2022 than 2017, however in 2017 museums already started to use the newspapers to voice their opinions on colonial history as well as the restitution on Nazi-looted art that is in their possession.

At first glance, it seems that the change between the years has been more a shift in main subject than a change in how repatriation was discussed in general. The shift therefore is the fact that in 2022 cultural objects taken from colonial areas get the same recognition and attention as Nazi-looted art did before. However, I will argue below that the way newspapers write about repatriation did actually change, as the discourse in 2022 is broadened and encompasses more subjects and opinions than in 2017.

§5.2 Changes between 2017 and 2022 explained

Between the two years researched in this thesis, some aspects seem to have changed more than others, but how can these changes or lack thereof be explained? A lot has happened in the years between 2017 and 2022 as presented in the introduction. These events relate mainly to colonial history and the power imbalance between the (former) colonies and the colonial powers and the current social and economic imbalance that stems from it. Apart from the exhibition in Deventer on Nazi-looted art and a handful of paintings that were returned to the heirs of the original owners, there were not many large developments in these years that related to Nazi-looted art. Macron's ADD YEAR speech seemed to have been a starting signal for discussions on repatriation regarding cultural objects from colonial regions. In the years between 2017 and 2022, but arguably more in the second half of this time frame, there were developments in government and cultural institutions that focused on the colonial past in relation to restitution of cultural objects. Such as the advice from the Raad van Cultuur and the document published by the Wereldmuseum. However, a not to be underestimated quantity of actions were led by activist and professionals that used the media to voice their opinions and concerns regarding the slow progress of acknowledgement and actions towards the restitution of cultural objects and social injustice in general. In the articles collected in this research it is clear that, by 2022, the discussions regarding repatriation in relation to colonial history had become a large part of the repatriation discourse in the Netherlands. It is possible that many professionals that feel that the progress of the official agencies is too slow and take to the mass media to gain a broader audience for their opinions that will also allow the response to be faster than within larger institutions. This has clearly already happened in 2019 with the whole discussion around the exhibition in the Mauritshuis and is repeated in 2022 with all the articles relating to the Dubois collection in Naturalis.

In 2017 however, there were less of these events and cultural institutions and government agencies were not yet as developed with their introspection in their own collection. The Rijksmuseum did already use the media to make their intentions to research their own collection clear with an interview and multiple other articles as well, stating a strong moral intention as the driving factor of this research. However, they did not disclose what they would actually do with this information when the research was complete. Apart from this, there were no direct events relating to colonial history in 2017 and yet the newspapers did write about more than just this single instance. This indicates perhaps that this shift from

focusing on Nazi-looted art towards colonial history was already starting at least within the newspaper discourse on repatriation. It is not possible to conclude if the newspapers influenced the speed of the change in discourse regarding repatriation from this research. However, I would argue that it does have an important space within the discussions and has therefore influenced the discourse itself as well. By allowing the discussions on repatriation to take place on their platform and actively participating in them as well, newspapers have a position of power in choosing what to publish and what not, therefore shaping this part of the discourse. The question that must remain unanswered here though is whether or not the newspapers allowed for more discussion in 2022 than in 2017, or if there was more interest from the cultural field to participate in the discourse through this medium, or perhaps it is a combination of both as a result of the changes over the years. This means that what the newspapers write about repatriation cannot be ignored by agencies of power and one must assume that what they write is at least what they think the community wants or needs to hear regarding these subjects. The fact therefore that there has been such a shift towards colonial history is a reflection of the discourse in society. It is important to differentiate between the newspapers here however, as the newspapers that cater towards the higher educated part of society published most of these articles and the others less. This as well is a reflection, indicating that repatriation discourse is mainly focussed within (or aimed at, or undertaken by) this part of society.

6 Conclusion

This thesis started because when the document on the return of cultural objects was published by the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen in 2019, it seemed that most of the discussions about this document and repatriation in general were taking place in the media rather than in academic or cultural institutions. Therefore, to understand the repatriation discourse in the Netherlands, the news articles are the most effective route. To answer this, this study aimed to identify how the Dutch national newspapers write about repatriation and how this has changed between 2017 and 2022. By analysing relevant newspaper articles published in both these years this thesis has shown that newspaper articles are a part of the repatriation discourse in the Netherlands. Apart from the writing of their own authors and editorials, the newspapers are used as a platform by academics and professionals in the cultural sector to plead their cases and voice their opinions and are often focused on agents of power within the professional field. The data shows that the main focus of the news articles has shifted from the topic of Nazi-looted art to colonial history between 2017 and 2022. Whichever topic was the most discussed in the respective years was published about both with topics relating to the Netherlands and other countries and in both years connections with other countries and the Netherlands was rarely made in the articles. The data also shows a shift in the use of the word *roofkunst*, as it is applied more often and for more topics in 2022 than in 2017. The data from the articles reflect the change in the society that is refocusing on history and its moral implication to this day and shows a shift from a more legalist towards a more ethical framework when it comes to repatriation and *roofkunst* discussions. The increase in the number of articles published in 2017 and 2022 prove that the subject of repatriation and looted art in general have become a larger part in the discourse of society. The fact that most in-depth and opinion articles were published by newspapers that are considered quality newspapers that cater towards the highly educated part of society means that the importance of this discourse is not shared within the entire community, but rather only a small section. How the articles were written mainly changed in the type of articles written with the significant increase in opinion articles. They allowed for more input from points of view outside of the newspaper authors. There is more room for debate and emotions as well regarding the subjects of repatriation, although this is mainly true for articles that focus on

colonial history. With these changes newspapers are changing the discourse and have a position of power as well in choosing who gets to have a platform and which opinions are presented to the world.

The implications of these findings are twofold. Firstly, the fact that both the academic and cultural professionals use the media as their platform for discussions means that what the 'media' writes about repatriation is not necessarily a reflection of the newspapers or societies opinions but rather is still part of the academic/professional discourse outside of these institutions. Secondly, the media does shape the discourse on repatriation as it gives this platform and allows for the changes in subject to be presented even though it does not change how this is presented. This suggest the media does not want to change how reparation is written about, but rather regulate the subjects that are being written about. As the media does hold power over public discourse - which can influence museums and cultural institutions as they want and need to keep up with the newspapers and public discourse as a form of mass media - it can be argued that the discourse as shaped by the newspapers influenced the discourse within the adamic and cultural intuitions and possibly government agencies as well. However, this claim cannot be directly supported by this dataset due to its limited scope and further research is needed to substantiate this argument.

§6.1 Limitations and suggestions for further research

Some of the limitations of this research were already touched upon in the methodology chapter, but I will present them here as well. First and foremost, the use of search terms to collect the dataset will have inevitably created some bias in the collected articles and perhaps excluded some that did relate to the subject of this thesis but did not use any of the terms used to collect them. However, to limit the bias and change of excluding articles, multiple and broader terms were used as well. Secondly the use of such a database in general brings opportunity and limitations in itself. There is access to all articles published by any news agency in the Netherlands from 2017 and 2022 so technically the most complete overview can be found here. However, using such a database also has its problems, as I encountered when collecting the articles. Nexis Uni can group double entries but did not always do this well, and the counting of the number of articles per newspaper was usually wrong. Besides this the tool to set the perimeters of the search such as the sources and timeframe of the search was tricky

to work with. If one detail in the perimeter or term was changed after a search had been done in the search engine, all the perimeters that were added reset at once. This meant it was susceptible for errors in the collected dataset when not caught in time that the perimeters were no longer set, which lead to articles that had to be taken out later in the process. The search engine on the website also had limited options to frame the search term especially when using multiple words. Compared to searching through physical newspapers though this online database was the best option for both time and effort. It is important though to realise the limitations of the database and work around them as best as possible.

Another limitation here is that even though all the articles that were collected were part of the research, not every word was analysed in the article but rather the broad scope and theme of the article as well as the type. This does give an interesting and complete overview of all the articles published but perhaps lacks the information a further in-depth, and in this case probably more linguistic, analysis could give on the tones used and stances taken by the author. As this research only encompasses two years further apart it is not possible to give a clear indication of who came first in the discourse; the media or the cultural sector. This was not part of the research question asked here but would be an interesting analysis none the less. Therefore, my recommendations for further research would be both a more in-depth analysis of articles from a particular timeframe or research a broader scope of articles to get a better grip on the changes that have taken place over the years and relate them to the changes in repatriation discourse. Another recommendation for further research is to analyse who came first: media or cultural institutions? In order to support the argument that discourse as shaped by the newspapers influenced the discourse within the academic and cultural intuitions and possibly government agencies as well. Do the newspapers report what has already happened within cultural institutions and government agencies, or are there actions clearly shaped by the discourse that is presented in the media?

Abstract English

In the past decade the discussion regarding repatriation has slowly started to gain more traction in the Netherlands. At first the main focus in these discussions was on Nazi-looted art and the legal frameworks that define items as looted art. What has been notably absent in these discussions for a long time in the conversations on repatriation are cultural objects in the Netherlands taken during its colonial history. In 2019 the Wereldmuseum was the first institution in the Netherlands to publish a document on repatriation called Return of Cultural Objects: Principles and Process. In the years that followed the discussions on repatriation became more prominent as items were returned, but also activism and critical feedback made their way into the public discourse mainly through newspaper articles. As the newspapers have a large audience and influence over public discourse this thesis aimed to research how and what was reported about repatriation in the Dutch national newspapers and if this has changed over the last years.

Therefore a comparative research was conducted in which newspaper articles published by the national newspapers in the Netherlands from the years 2017 and 2022 were collected and analysed. 2017 was chosen because it was before the main legislation changes and publication of the document by the Wereldmuseum and 2022 as it is after these and other notable events regarding repatriation in the Netherlands. Four search terms were used to find these articles: roofkunst (looted art), colonial collections, cultural objects and return. Of the articles data was collected about the authors, source, subject and timeframe they discussed, if they were about events in the Netherlands and whether or not they used the term roofkunst to define the subject of the article.

The research shows that the main focus of the articles in 2017 was the Second World War and the articles that use the word roofkunst are either about the Second World War or archeological artefacts that were looted in the last few decades. In 2022 there was a major shift towards colonial history with more than half the articles published relating to this subject. The word roofkunst was still used in relation to the Second World War but also on many occasions in relation to colonial history. The types of articles shifted as well with more opinion pieces and room for debate and emotions regarding these issues in 2022. Apart from the writing of their own authors and editorials, the newspapers are used as a platform by academics and professionals in the cultural sector to plead their cases and voice their opinions

and are often focused on agents of power within the professional field. This means that what the media writes about repatriation is not a direct reflection of the opinions of the society as a whole, but the media does shape the discourse by choosing who to allow a platform and what to publish in their papers. However, the scope of this research cannot determine whether or not the newspapers influence the discourse before or after events and legislation regarding repatriation has already happened, or if they influence government bodies and cultural institutions with their discourse towards change. This will be a good question to answer in further research.

Abstract Dutch

In de afgelopen decennia is er steeds meer aandacht gekomen in Nederland voor gesprekken rondom de teruggave van roofkunst. Voor een lange tijd lag de focus voornamelijk op kunst dat was geroofd door de Nazi's tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog en de wetten rondom het definiëren van roofkunst en de teruggave daarvan. Wat een lange tijd afwezig was in deze gesprekken waren culturele objecten die zich momenteel in Nederland bevinden die zijn verzameld tijdens het koloniale verleden van Nederland. In 2019 publiceerde het Wereldmuseum een document met de naam *Return of Cultural Objects: Principles and Process* wat de eerste keer is dat een instituut in Nederland aandacht geeft aan deze objecten. In de jaren daarna werd roofkunst een steeds prominenter onderwerp en werden objecten teruggegeven. Maar daarnaast kwamen er ook steeds meer activisten die de aandacht op roofkunst vestigen en werd er kritiek geuit op de wetgeving en gang van zaken rondom roofkunst, voornamelijk via kranten en andere nieuws media. Omdat kranten een groot en breed platform hebben kunnen zij invloed uitoefenen op de discourse rondom roofkunst. Daarom is er in dit onderzoek voor gekozen om te onderzoeken hoe en wat de Nederlandse nationale kranten schrijven over roofkunst en of dit is veranderd de afgelopen jaren.

In het onderzoek worden de krantenartikelen uit 2017 en 2022 geanalyseerd en met elkaar vergeleken. Het jaar 2017 is gekozen omdat dit nog voor de publicatie van het document en het veranderen van een aantal wetten ligt en 2022 omdat dit juist daarna is. De artikelen zijn verzameld aan de hand van vier zoektermen; roofkunst, koloniale collecties, culturele objecten, en teruggave. Van de verzamelde artikelen is er data verzameld over het onderwerp, de bron, de auteur, of het artikel over Nederland ging en of het woord roofkunst gebruikt word om het onderwerp te definiëren.

Het onderzoek toont aan dat de artikelen uit 2017 zich voornamelijk focussen op de Tweede Wereldoorlog en het woord roofkunst wordt gebruikt in relatie met de Tweede Wereldoorlog of voor archeologische objecten die zijn gestolen in de afgelopen decennia. In 2022 veranderd dit naar een voornaamste focus op artikelen over koloniaal verleden en wordt het woord roofkunst nog steeds gebruikt in relatie met de Tweede Wereldoorlog maar ook steeds meer in combinatie met koloniaal verleden. Het type artikelen veranderd ook naar meer opiniestukken en ruimte voor debat en emoties betreffende de onderwerpen van roofkunst. Naast het publiceren van artikelen geschreven door journalisten en de redactie van

kranten worden er ook artikelen gepubliceerd van wetenschappers en mensen uit de culturele sector die het platform gebruiken om hun meningen en beweegredenen te uiten, dit gaat vaak om mensen met een invloedrijke positie binnen de culturele sector. Dit betekent dat wat de media publiceert over roofofstelen niet per definitie een reflectie is van de meningen van de samenleving, maar dat de media de discourse vormgeeft door te kiezen wie er gebruik kan maken van dit platform en welke meningen gedeeld worden. Dit onderzoek kan echter niet aantonen of de media alleen in reactie op evenementen en wetgeving publiceert of dat zij met de keuze van publicatie invloed uitoefenen over wetgeving en culturele instituties. Dit is een goede vraag voor verder onderzoek.

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Appendix A

Table A1 Authors who published more than one article in 2017.

Author	Newspaper	Number of articles
Arjen Ribbens	NRC group	8
Henny de Lange	Trouw	4
Michiel Kruijt	De Volkskrant	4
Pieter van Os	NRC group	3
Daan van Lent	NRC group	3
Joke de Wolf	Trouw	2
Dirk Vlasblom	NRC group	2
Bas Blokker	NRC group	2
Total		28

Table A2 Types of articles written in 2017 per newspaper.

Row Labels	Algemeen Dagblad	De Telegraaf	De Volkskrant	Nederlands Dagblad	NRC Handelsblad	nrc.next	Reformatorisch Dagblad	Trouw	Grand Total
Book review								1	1
Exhibition review						1		1	2
Feature article			3		5	3		1	12
Interview		1			3	4		1	9
Interview / feature article			1		1			1	3
News analysis		1		3	1	1		1	9
News article	2	4	4	2	6	6		5	32
Opinion					3				3
Grand Total	2	6	8	5	19	15		7	71

Table A3 List of interviewees in 2017.

Interviewee	Article	Information
Tasoula Hadjitofi	Interview	A cultural activist and has been working on repatriation of stolen artefacts since the 1980s (Don, 2017).
Bob Habold	Interview	International art dealer (van Lent, 2017a).
Peter van den Brink	Interview	Museum director of Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum in Aachen (Ribbens, 2017).
Marei and Charlene von Saher	Interview	Heirs of Jaques Goudstikker, whose art collection was stolen during the Second World War ('Ik wil ze thuis aan de muur', 2017).
Rein Wolfs	Interview	Director of the Kunsthalle in Bonn (van Lent, 2017b).
Bas van Lier Lex van Leeuwen Paul Hedeman	Interview	Heirs to art and other cultural objects that were stolen during the Second World War which were returned to them (van Lent, 2017c).
Leonor Faber-Jonker	Interview	Historian who curated an exhibition about the German mass murders in Namibia in 1904 (Brummelman, 2017).
Jos van Beurden	Interview	Researcher of colonial history and looted artefacts from colonial times, has a phd and wrote multiple books on the subject (de Lange, 2017a).
Martine Gosselink	Interview	Art historian specialised in colonial history. Head of the history department at the Rijksmuseum (Blokke, 2017).
Jozef Sznajer	Interview / Feature article	Jewish Polish citizen who is seeking justice and repatriation for the properties and objects that were stolen from his family during the Second World War and the Communist regime in Poland (Vervaeke, 2017).
Rudi Ekkart	Interview / Feature article	Art historian and former director of the Dutch Institute of Art History, and professor of art history at the Utrecht University. Has been researching art that might be stolen during the Second World War and looking for their original owners during that time (de Lange, 2017b).
Steven Hooper	Interview / Feature article	Professor of ethnography at the University of East Anglia in Norwich, grandson of James Thomas hooper who collected artefacts from Polynesia (Bronwasser, 2017).

Table A4 Authors of the opinion pieces published in 2017.

Author	Article	Information
Hendrik Spiering	Opinion	Writer of science articles for the NRC and formerly chief Science at said newspaper, author of multiple history books. (NRC, n.d.b).
Paul van Tongeren	Opinion	Philosopher and theologian, occasionally writes for the NRC group and Trouw (van Tongeren, n.d.).

Table A5 Types of articles written in 2017 per newspaper in percentages.

Row Labels	Book review	Exhibition review	Feature article	Interview	Interview / feature article	News analysis	News article	Opinion	Grand Total
Algemeen Dagblad	0%	0%	0%	0%		0%	0%	100%	100%
De Telegraaf	0%	0%	0%	17%		0%	17%	67%	100%
De Volkskrant	0%	0%	38%	0%		13%	0%	50%	100%
Nederlands Dagblad	0%	0%	0%	0%		0%	60%	40%	100%
NRC Handelsblad	0%	0%	26%	16%		5%	5%	32%	100%
nrc.next	0%	7%	20%	27%		0%	7%	40%	100%
Reformatorisch Dagblad	14%	0%	0%	0%		0%	14%	71%	100%
Trouw	0%	11%	11%	11%		11%	22%	33%	100%
Grand Total	1%	3%	17%	13%		4%	13%	45%	100%

Table A6 Specified main theme and/or event of the articles written in 2017 in absolute number and percentages.

WO2	36	51%
Dutch colonial history	11	15%
Looted artefacts post WO2	6	8%
Art theft post WO2	5	7%
Colonial history	3	4%
Religious heritage	2	3%
Ethnography	2	3%
Russian revolution	1	1%
WO2 and modern art	1	1%
Contemporary art world	1	1%
Britisch colonial history	1	1%
German colonial history	1	1%
Dutch history	1	1%
Grand Total	71	100%

Table A7 Main theme and/or event of the articles written in 2017 divided per article type in absolute numbers.

Row Labels	Art theft post WO2	Colonial history	Looted artefacts post WO2	Other	WO2	Grand Total	
Book review		1				1	
Exhibition review					2	2	
Feature article		2		1	1	8	12
Interview		3		1	1	4	9
Interview / feature article					1	2	3
News analysis		4		1		4	9
News article	5	4		3	5	15	32
Opinion		2				1	3
Grand Total	5	16		6	8	36	71

Table A8 Percentage of the main theme and/or event per type of article in 2017.

Row Labels	Art theft post WO2	Colonial history	Looted artefacts post WO2	Other	WO2	Grand Total
Book review	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Exhibition review	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	100%
Feature article	0%	17%	8%	8%	67%	100%
Interview	0%	33%	11%	11%	44%	100%
Interview / feature article	0%	0%	0%	33%	67%	100%
News analysis	0%	44%	11%	0%	44%	100%
News article	16%	13%	9%	16%	47%	100%
Opinion	0%	67%	0%	0%	33%	100%
Grand Total	7%	23%	8%	11%	51%	100%

Table A9 Percentage of the type of article per main theme and/or event in 2017.

Row Labels	Art theft post WO2	Colonial history	Looted artefacts post WO2	Other	WO2	Grand Total
Book review	0%	6%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Exhibition review	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	3%
Feature article	0%	13%	17%	13%	22%	17%
Interview	0%	19%	17%	13%	11%	13%
Interview / feature article	0%	0%	0%	13%	6%	4%
News analysis	0%	25%	17%	0%	11%	13%
News article	100%	25%	50%	63%	42%	45%
Opinion	0%	13%	0%	0%	3%	4%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table A10 Types of articles written about colonial history in 2017, specified per geographical region.

Row Labels	Britisch colonial history	Colonial history	Dutch colonial history	German colonial history	Grand Total
Book review	1				1
Feature article		1	1		2
Interview		2	1		3
News analysis			3	1	4
News article			4		4
Opinion			2		2
Grand Total	1	3	11	1	16

Table A11 Types of articles and the relation of their contents to the Netherlands from 2017.

Row Labels	n/a	No	No / Yes	Yes	Grand Total
Book review		1			1
Exhibition review				2	2
Feature article	1	5	2	4	12
Interview	1	4		4	9
Interview / feature article		1		2	3
News analysis		2	2	5	9
News article		12	1	19	32
Opinion		1		2	3
Grand Total	2	26	5	38	71

Table A12 Overview of how many articles use the word *roofkunst* per specified main theme in 2017.

Row Labels	No	Yes	Grand Total
Art theft post WO2	3	2	5
Britisch colonial history	1		1
Colonial history	2	1	3
Contemporary art world		1	1
Dutch colonial history	7	4	11
Dutch history	1		1
Ethnography	2		2
German colonial history	1		1
Looted artefacts post WO2	1	5	6
Religious heritage	2		2
Russian revolution	1		1
WO2	3	33	36
WO2 and modern art		1	1
Grand Total	24	47	71

Table A13 Recurring subjects in 2017.

Altmann / Women in gold	1
Bern / Bonn	1
Booijmans van Beuningen	2
Deventer	3
Deventer / Ekkart	2
Deventer / Goudstikker	2
Documenta Athene / Gurlitt	1
Ekkart	2
Goudstikker	3
Goudstikker / Gurlitt / Palmer	1
Gurlitt	6
Gurlitt / Altmann / Women in Gold	1
Gurlitt / Bern / Bonn	1
Gurlitt / Bonn	3
Lewenstein	2
Mummy Yangchun	3
Rijksmuseum	4
Suriname archives	3

Table A14 Authors who wrote more than one article in 2022 and which newspaper they wrote for.

Author	Newspaper	Articles
<i>Merijn van Nuland</i>	Trouw	4
<i>Annelies Bontjes</i>	Trouw	4
<i>Michiel Kruijt</i>	De Volkskrant	3
<i>Paola van de Velde</i>	De Telegraaf	2
<i>Mark Schenkel</i>	De Volkskrant	2
<i>Dennis Boxhoorn</i>	NRC	2
<i>Ghassan Dahhan</i>	Trouw	2
<i>Noël van Bemmelen</i>	De Volkskrant	2
<i>Pieter van Os</i>	NRC	2
<i>Maartje Bakker</i>	De Volkskrant	2
<i>Hendro Munsterman</i>	Nederlands Dagblad	2
Total		27

Table A15 Types of articles written in 2017 per newspaper.

Row Labels	Algemeen Dagblad	De Telegraaf	De Volkskrant	Nederlands Dagblad	NRC	Reformatisch Dagblad	Reform: Trouw	Grand Total
Column			1		1			2
Feature article			5		8	1	1	15
Interview	1		1		2			4
News analysis	1	1	9	1	6	2	9	29
News article	7	7	6	5	9		1	46
Opinion	1		1	1	4		4	11
Podcast review			1					1
Reader send in			2		2			4
Grand Total	10	8	26	7	32	3	1	112

Table A16 Types of articles written in 2017 per newspaper in percentages.

Row Labels	Algemeen Dagblad	De Telegraaf	De Volkskrant	Nederlands Dagblad	NRC	Reformatisch Dagblad	Reform: Trouw	Grand Total
Column	0%	0%	4%	0%	3%	0%	0%	2%
Feature article	0%	0%	19%	0%	25%	33%	0%	13%
Interview	10%	0%	4%	0%	6%	0%	0%	4%
News analysis	10%	13%	35%	14%	19%	67%	0%	26%
News article	70%	88%	23%	71%	28%	0%	100%	41%
Opinion	10%	0%	4%	14%	13%	0%	0%	10%
Podcast review	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Reader send in	0%	0%	8%	0%	6%	0%	0%	4%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table A17 Interviewees in 2022.

Interviewee	Information
Rein Wolfs	Former director of the Kunsthalle in Bonn (2013-2019), former head of presentations at Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen Museum (2001-2007) (den Hartog, 2022).
Dieuwertje Blok	A Dutch (childrens) television presenter of Jewish descent who is interviewed about the experience of her family during the Second World War and the book she wrote about her family's history (van Houweligen, 2022).
Daniel Soliman	Curator of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden (Funnekotter, 2022).
Marcus Desandro	Professional singer and director of opera's in South Africa, as of 2022 the new managing director of the Prince Claus Foundation in the Netherlands (Schenkel, 2022).

Table A18 Authors of opinion pieces in 2022.

Author	Information
Carel von Vaupel Klein	Retired former professor of systematic zoology at Leiden University (von Vaupel Klein, 2022).
Frank Westerman	Former editor of the NRC and author of multiple non-fiction books about history and humanity (Westerman, 2022).
Jos van Beurden	Expert on looted art and author of multiple books relating to the subject including <i>Inconvenient Heritage Colonial Collections and Restitution in the Netherlands and Belgium</i> (van Beurden, 2022).
Dirk van der Plas	Retired Egyptologists (van der Plas, 2022).
Andreas Weber, Caroline Drieënhuizen, Robert-Jan Wille and Fenneke Sysling	Historians connected to the university of Twente, the Open University, the University of Utrecht and the University of Leiden respectively (Weber et al., 2022).
Saskia van Westhreenen	Journalist and head of the news department of the Algemeen Dagblad (van Westhreenen, 2022).
Steven Engelsman	Former managing director of the Rijksmuseum for Volkenkunde (part of the National Museum of World Cultures) and the managing director of the Welt Museum in Vienna (Engelsman, 2022).
Louis Zweers	Art historian and author of multiple books on cultural heritage and colonial history (Zweers, 2022).
Miko Flohr	University lecturer at the faculty of Archeaology at Leiden University (Flohr, 2022).
Berber van der Woude	Former employee of the ministry of foreign affairs, currently works as an advisor for systematic changes in company organisation (van der Woude, 2022).

Table A19 Authors of the columns in 2022.

Author	Information
Louise O. Fresco	Scientist specialised in food sciences and philosophy, author and formerly connected to the University of Wageningen and the University of Amsterdam (Fresco, 2022).
Bert Wagendorp	Author of Dutch Literary works and regular columnist for the Volkskrant since 2006 (Wagendorp, 2022).

Table A20 Main theme and/or event of the articles written in 2022, with colonial history specified per country or region in absolute number and percentages.

Dutch colonial history	37	33%
WO2	20	18%
Colonial history	11	10%
Britisch colonial history	8	7%
Belgiums colonial history	8	7%
Looted artefacts post WO2	7	6%
Looted art(efacts)	4	4%
German colonial history	4	4%
Looted artefacts post WO2 and colonial history	3	3%
European colonial history	3	3%
Dutch colonial history/ WO2	2	2%
American colonial history	2	2%
Spanish colonial history	1	1%
Linguistics	1	1%
Artefacts stolen from the Netherlands	1	1%
Grand Total	112	100%

Table A21 Articles about colonial history per country or region in percentages within the colonial history category.

Dutch colonial history	47%
Colonial history	14%
Britisch colonial history	10%
Belgiums colonial history	10%
German colonial history	5%
European colonial history	4%
Looted artefacts post WO2 and colonial history	4%
American colonial history	3%
Dutch colonial history/ WO2	3%
Spanish colonial history	1%
Grand Total	100%

Table A22 Articles about Dutch colonial history per region or subject.

Dutch colonial history	9
Dutch colonial history / Indonesia	22
Dutch colonial history / Royal family	2
Dutch colonial history / Suriname	4
Grand Total	37

Table A23 Main theme and/or event of the articles written in 2022 divided per article type in absolute numbers.

	Colonial history	Looted art(efacts)	Looted artefacts post WO2	Other	WO2	Grand Total
Column	2					2
Feature article	11	2	1		1	15
Interview		3			1	4
News analysis	17	3	2	1	6	29
News article	29	1	4		12	46
Opinion	11					11
Podcast review	1					1
Reader send in	3			1		4
Grand Total	74	9	7	2	20	112

Table A24 Percentage of the main theme and/or event per type of article in 2022.

	Colonial history	Looted art(efacts)	Looted artefacts post WO2	Other	WO2	Grand Total
Column	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Feature article	73%	13%	7%	0%	7%	100%
Interview	0%	75%	0%	0%	25%	100%
News analysis	59%	10%	7%	3%	21%	100%
News article	63%	2%	9%	0%	26%	100%
Opinion	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Podcast review	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Reader send in	75%	0%	0%	25%	0%	100%
Grand Total	66%	8%	6%	2%	18%	100%

Table A25 Percentage of the type of article per main theme and/or event in 2022.

	Colonial history	Looted art(efacts)	Looted artefacts post WO2	Other	WO2	Grand Total
Column	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Feature article	15%	22%	14%	0%	5%	13%
Interview	0%	33%	0%	0%	5%	4%
News analysis	23%	33%	29%	50%	30%	26%
News article	39%	11%	57%	0%	60%	41%
Opinion	15%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%
Podcast review	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Reader send in	4%	0%	0%	50%	0%	4%
Grand Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table A26 Main theme and/or event of the articles written in 2022 divided per article type in percentages.

	Colonial history	Looted art(efacts)	Looted artefacts post WO2	Other	WO2	Grand Total
Column	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%
Feature article	10%	2%	1%	0%	1%	13%
Interview	0%	3%	0%	0%	1%	4%
News analysis	15%	3%	2%	1%	5%	26%
News article	26%	1%	4%	0%	11%	41%
Opinion	10%	0%	0%	0%	0%	10%
Podcast review	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%
Reader send in	3%	0%	0%	1%	0%	4%
Grand Total	66%	8%	6%	2%	18%	100%

Table A27 Article written about colonial history in 2022 per region/country per type of article.

Row Labels	American	Belgiums	British	Colonial history	Dutch	Dutch colonial history/ WO2	European	German	Looted artefacts post WO2 and colonial history	Spanish	Grand Total
Column					2						2
Feature article	1	1	1	1	6			1		1	12
Interview						1				2	3
News analysis	1	3		5	8	1					18
News article		4	5	2	12		2	3		1	29
Opinion			1	2	7		1				11
Podcast review			1								1
Reader send in				1	2						3
Grand Total	2	8	8	11	37	2	3	4		3	79

Table A28 Articles written about Dutch colonial history in 2022 per region or subject per type of article.

Row Labels	Column	Feature article	Interview	News analysis	News article	Opinion	Reader send in	Grand Total
Dutch colonial history	1	1		3	2	2		9
Dutch colonial history / Indonesia	1	5		5	6	4	1	22
Dutch colonial history / Royal family					2			2
Dutch colonial history / Suriname					2	1	1	4
Dutch colonial history/ WO2			1	1				2
Grand Total	2	6	1	9	12	7	2	39

Table A 29 Types of articles published about Dutch colonial history in 2022 per region or subject in percentages.


Row Labels	 Column	Feature article	Interview	News analysis	News article	Opinion	Reader send in	Grand Total	
Dutch colonial history		11%	11%	0%	33%	22%	22%	0%	100%
Dutch colonial history / Indonesia		5%	23%	0%	23%	27%	18%	5%	100%
Dutch colonial history / Royal family		0%	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
Dutch colonial history / Suriname		0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	25%	25%	100%
Dutch colonial history/ WO2		0%	0%	50%	50%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Grand Total		5%	15%	3%	23%	31%	18%	5%	100%

Table A30 Types of articles and the relation of their contents to the Netherlands from 2022.

Row Labels	No	No / yes	Yes	Grand Total
News article	21	1	24	46
News analysis	9	2	18	29
Feature article	5	2	8	15
Opinion	2	1	8	11
Interview		1	3	4
Reader send in			4	4
Column			2	2
Podcast review	1			1
Grand Total	38	7	67	112

Table A31 Broad main theme and/or time frame of the articles from 2022 and their relation to the Netherlands.

Row Labels	No	No / yes	Yes	Grand Total
Colonial history	27	5	42	74
WO2	6		14	20
Looted art(efacts)		2	7	9
Looted artefacts post WO2	5		2	7
Other			2	2
Grand Total	38	7	67	112

Table A32 Overview of how many articles about colonial history use the word *roofkunst* per region in 2022.

Row Labels	No	Yes	Yes / no	Grand Total
American colonial history		2		2
Belgiums colonial history		5	2	8
British colonial history		4	3	8
Colonial history		3	7	11
Dutch colonial history		18	18	37
Dutch colonial history/ WO2		1	1	2
European colonial history			3	3
German colonial history		1	3	4
Looted artefacts post WO2 and colonial history			3	3
Spanish colonial history		1		1
Grand Total		35	40	79

Table A33 Recurring subjects in articles in 2022.

Benin bronzes	3
Benin bronzes / Humboldt Forum Berlin	2
Benin bronzes / Nigeria	2
Colonial objects in the Dutch royal family	2
Congo	1
Congo / AfrikaMuseum Tervuren	3
Congo / tooth of Lumumba	5
Death of Queen Elizabeth II	2
Egyptian artefacts in European museums	1
Egyptian sarcophagus / Louvre	1
Egyptian sarcophagus in Metropolitan NY	1
Elgin Marbles	2
Humboldt Forum Berlin	2
Inuit	2
Javaments	2
Javaments / Naturalis	1
Javaments / Naturalis / Britisch Museum	1
Javaments / Naturalis / Dubois collection	11
Jos van Beurden	2
Kandinsky Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam	3
Kandinsky Van Abbemuseum Eindhoven	3
Louvre / Polack	1
Naturalis / Malasia / Javaments mentioned	1
Restitution committee	1
Restitution committee, Rijksmuseum	1
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden	1
Rijksmuseum van Oudheden / Nefertiti	1
Rosetta stone	1
Rosetta stone, Dutch art in the Louvre	1
Tropenmuseum / Slavernijmuseum	1
Tropenmuseum / Suriname / child in formaldehyde	2
Grand Total	63

Appendix B

Dataset 2017

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1-XR_9g3bxOS7pVhltljzswhKNAa3u8sV/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115396290875634968844&rt_pof=true&sd=true

Dataset 2022

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1iIDIDFaisvcxMXheT0v-Dy0XcSBC3q1b/edit?usp=sharing&oid=115396290875634968844&rtpof=true&sd=true>