

To find your own voice

Heritage education between cultural pride and critical analysis

The employment of cultural heritage in heritage education in the Netherlands and the potential for a critical heritage education.

Jacqueline Vroemen

May, 2017

Master Thesis Master of Museology, Reinwardt Academy, Amsterdam

Thesis supervisor:

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Introduction

0.1. Introduction

For about fifteen years I have worked as an educator in heritage education, first for a provincial Heritage House, the last four years as a self-employed person. As an educator, I designed heritage education projects concerning local heritage and I wrote articles on (the benefits of) heritage education. Although I always was and still am convinced of the great (potential) worth of heritage education, at the same time I had my doubts about the (sometimes quite high) expectations, as voiced in the teacher's manuals and leaflets we wrote for the schools, for what heritage education can do and should accomplish.

During the Masters course of the Reinwardt Academy I discovered the dynamic approach to heritage that is advocated in the Master's program. A frequent discussed topic was the notion that heritage cannot be viewed as something that 'is' – such as, an artefact from the past with inherent qualities – but that, on the contrary, heritage is something with a personal significance to individuals, that has to be attributed over and over again; in other words, I learned to view heritage as a process instead of as a 'thing'.

Then, I read Hester Dibbit's "Delen van het verleden, erfgoed en educatie in de 21e eeuw"¹ and I learned that she carries out a research program on heritage education in the context of her LKCA² professorship at the Centre for Historical Culture at Erasmus University, and in the context of the research program on heritage education at the Reinwardt Academy. I asked her if I could align my thesis with this research. I wanted to make a connection between the dynamic approach to heritage and my own questions about the learning goals of heritage education projects as I knew them.

0.2. Thesis subject

My thesis subject is whether heritage could or should be employed in education in a different way than is mostly done at present. This 'different way' would be described as 'erfgoedwijs'. Projects that can be labelled 'erfgoedwijs' aim to make the young aware of and alert about the uses of heritage in the same way as media literacy projects make the young aware of and alert toward the media they use every day. For these kinds of projects, Hester Dibbits has coined the term 'erfgoedwijsheid', which is translated in this thesis as 'heritage literate', in analogy of 'media literacy'.

I wanted to discover whether the critical, dynamic approach to heritage offers a solution for the issues I have seen in heritage education projects. Those issues involve the expectations, in many projects, that through those projects, pupils will feel more "at home" in their neighbourhood; that to learn "the stories behind the heritage" will make pupils feel "more rooted"; that working with heritage will give a feeling of "belonging"; and that pupils who "get to know their forefathers" or "their own history" will get to know themselves better, because it is important for everyone to "know where you come from". Behind all of these expectations is the idea that heritage education is beneficial for the forming of a strong identity. Also, it is believed that heritage education will teach pupils respect for heritage itself, and in this way a new generation of heritage guardians will be raised. My main question was, in fact, how all of this 'works': where is the link between the teaching

¹ Hester Dibbits, "Delen van het verleden, erfgoed en educatie in de 21^{ste} eeuw." Inaugural address accepting the office of endowed professor Historical Culture and education at the Centrum voor Historische Cultuur (ESHCC) of Erasmus University Rotterdam, October 16, 2015.

² Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst (LKCA): National Knowledge Institute Cultural Education and Amateur Art.

about or with heritage and the furthering of feelings of belonging and connectedness or self-knowledge?

Next to the identity formation goals there is the idea that heritage can be used within the history lesson as a 'tool' to illustrate the 'big picture' of history and to enrich the history lesson by making it more personal and more tangible. The more I learned about the dynamic nature of heritage, the more I wondered how 'the facts' that are taught within the history lesson, can be joined with the utter subjectivity that heritage represents.

Before I could answer my main question, I had to do research into the existing goals and expectations. After all, at the time of determining my thesis subject I was still speaking only from my own experience.

Thus, my first sub-question was: What are the goals and expectations of heritage education projects in the Netherlands at present?

My second sub-question was: Can these goals and expectations be met with the use of the common heritage education projects?

My third sub-question was: If not, how could the existing projects be tailored or framed in such a way, that the goals can be met and/or that it becomes clearer what a given project can achieve and what not?

Finally, I could try to answer my main question: are there different ways to employ heritage in education and can such projects avoid or overcome the issues I have seen?

0.3. Methodology

I carried out my research in a number of successive steps, and for every step I used different types of sources: an internet search, a digital enquiry, interviews, and a variety of publications in books, articles and reports (web and print).

0.3.1. Inventory of projects

First, I created an inventory of all the heritage education projects I could find, to obtain a general overview of what types of heritage education projects are currently offered within the Netherlands. This overview does not explain how often certain projects are used or whether they are used at all. The aim was to determine what educators³ want to offer, since this can reveal what they (and/or their organisations) believe is important, 'good', or could be successful with regard to heritage education (projects).

For the sake of being complete, I state that the learning objectives that are set for a given heritage project influence the way in which heritage is employed in the lesson.

Then, I realized that giving an overview of existing projects and their aims, would not be enough: I needed to know why the educators 'do what they do': where do they get their knowledge, inspiration or guidelines from?

0.3.2. Study of knowledge base in the Netherlands

I studied the literature, the programs of two important academic programs on heritage education, the websites of national heritage/cultural organisations and the government reports and policy guidelines. With this, I made an overview of what could be a knowledge base or source of inspiration

³ With 'educators' I mean the people who develop (or oversee the development of) heritage education projects, professional or voluntary. The focus is on the *creation* of projects: people who only teach are not included.

that educators use or have used and that could have influenced their views on heritage and what they perceive to be (good) heritage education and how heritage should be employed in education.

0.3.3. Digital enquiry for educators

Then, I made a digital enquiry for educators in which I asked them what their most important learning goals are when they develop projects and to provide their definition of heritage. With the results I hoped to achieve a deeper understanding of educators' thoughts with regard to what is important to teach children using heritage and whether that notion is connected to their views on heritage.

I examined whether the notions on 'good' heritage education of heritage specialists, academics and the government (the knowledge base) are reflected in the learning objectives that educators have stated are important to them and in the kind of projects that are currently offered within the Netherlands (the field). However, I must note that the division between the 'knowledge base' and 'the field' is not so sharp and, in fact, impossible to determine. 'The field' is constantly influencing the 'specialists, government and academics' and vice versa.

I further developed a scheme that describes the main ways in which heritage is employed in Dutch education, and why (the goals). This scheme builds upon the threefold division from Hester Dibbits: 'to make, guard or analyse [the heritage]'.⁴ The scheme was to serve as a tool for the analysis of heritage education projects.

0.3.4. Assessment of heritage literate projects on the basis of critical heritage literature

Once I had an image of the 'heritage field', I started with the second part of my research.

'Behind' views on heritage education, there are the views on heritage itself.

Based on the extant critical literature regarding heritage, I described the issues with the heritage education projects as they are presently developed and executed. I further attempted to formulate solutions to these problems.

Important sources in this debate include Laurajane Smith, who (in *Uses of heritage*) introduces the term 'hegemonic discourse about heritage', which describes what heritage in the common (mainstream) knowledge 'is' and what should be done with it. This, in addition to the works of, *inter alia*, Willem Frijhoff, John Gillis and Sharon Macdonald, Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo, David Lowenthal and Ad de Jong, is important for the understanding of what 'is happening' in many heritage education projects. Those works are also important for a better understanding of the (presumed) links between heritage and identity.⁵

⁴ Hester Dibbits, "Delen van het verleden."

⁵ David Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade and the spoils of history*. Cambridge University Press, 1998. Jo Littler & Roshi Naidoo (eds.), *The politics of heritage. The legacies of 'race'*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2005). Laurajane Smith, *Uses of heritage*, (New York: Routledge, 2006). Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands – Heritage and identity in Europe today*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2013). Willem Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, (Nijmegen: SUN, 2007). Willem Frijhoff, "Toeëigening: van bezitsdrang naar betekenisgeving," *Trajecta* 6, aflevering 2, (1997). John R. Gillis, (ed.) *Commemorations. The politics of national identity*, (Princeton University Press, 1994). A.A.M. de Jong, *De Dirigenten Van De Herinnering. Musealisering en nationalisering van de volkscultuur in Nederland 1815-1940*, (Nijmegen: Sun, 2006).

Literature on heritage is useful for the research on heritage education, because if it is taken into account that heritage is a process, then everything that is 'done with it' is 'heritage work' or 'heritage making'; thus, heritage education is also a form of heritage work, or heritage making.

I have found little literature on critical heritage education itself. But I did come across the research project into heritage education of three Spanish professors, who take an interdisciplinary perspective from within the field of Experimental and Social Science Education.⁶ They have done research into the concepts of heritage that educators and teachers have, in order to contribute to an understanding of heritage teaching. They start from the observation that heritage education, just like in the Netherlands, follows a "traditional approach", while they argue for a "kind of heritage teaching which rewards a symbolic, identity-oriented, interdisciplinary and critical conception".⁷ In order to achieve this, they advocate a training for teachers in both primary and secondary education and of educators in 'the field', which is directed towards a different understanding of the concept of heritage and how to translate and use this concept in a meaningful way in education.⁸

0.3.5. Interviews about heritage literate projects

I interviewed seven educators who developed a project that I would label heritage literate. The aim of those interviews was, first, to obtain a more detailed view on the different influences at work before and during the development of a project. One reason for this was that I wanted to discover if, and how, educators actually use the aforementioned knowledge bases and theories on heritage education. Second, I wanted to determine under what circumstances heritage literate projects arise. By analysing the seven projects I investigated whether these projects solve the previously noted issues. Furthermore, the projects can function as examples of the various ways in which heritage literate projects can be created to help future educators develop more such projects.

0.4. Scope of analysis

This thesis is about what the Dutch government, heritage specialists, academics and educators expect from heritage education and how they try to accomplish this. In addition, I explore the possibilities for other ways to accomplish certain goals.

Not included in my research is how pupils respond to heritage education projects and what they learn from those projects. In general, this is an aspect of heritage education that has not yet received much attention. Sometimes, heritage projects are evaluated, but this is not always the case. Often, the teachers are asked to fill in a form that is sent to them by the museum/institution. It is my own experience that less than half of the teachers actually fill in a questionnaire, which are, in addition, not very detailed (my own examples are from Landschap Erfgoed Utrecht and Kunst Centraal for the Province of Utrecht and Cultuurnetwerk Zeist for the municipality of Zeist).

Literature review also learns that there has not been much research on if and how the goals of heritage education are reached in the Netherlands.⁹

⁶ Roque Jiménez Pérez et.al., "Heritage education: exploring the concepts of teachers and administrators from the perspective of experimental and social science learning," *Teaching and teacher education* 26 (Huelva: University of Huelva, 2010): 1320.

⁷ Idem, 1320.

⁸ Ibidem, 1327-1330.

⁹ "Evaluation research into museum education is rare". (Evaluatieonderzoek naar museumeducatie is zeldzaam.) Melissa de Vreede, *Zicht op... ontwikkelingen in museumeducatie. Achtergronden, literatuur en websites*, (Utrecht: Cultuurnetwerk Nederland, 2008), 8.

In: *Zicht op... erfgoededucatie* by Cees Hageman 2010, there is no mention of any research into the results of museum education. Hageman focusses on the achievements in collaboration and networking.

The same goes for the evaluation of the nation wide project 'Erfgoed à la carte', by Peter van der Zant, Bureau ART in 2009: Peter van der Zant, *Erfgoed meetbaar goed? Eindevaluatie van het vierjarig project Erfgoed à la*

What I have not done either, is assess whether certain learning objectives are ‘good’ or ‘bad’. Heritage can be used to exclude certain people (who are not the ‘proper heirs’ for instance), to install nationalistic pride, or to obscure unpleasant facts from the past. The same can happen within heritage education projects. Indeed, many heritage education projects aim for the furthering of cultural pride. Whether that is a ‘good’ aim falls outside the scope of this thesis. But what I did look into, was if this or other goals could be reached with the methods that are used at present in heritage education projects. I have tried to make clear what exactly is expected, whether those expectations are feasible or not, and how best to use heritage to meet the different expectations. Although I do not take a stance toward ‘good’ or ‘bad’ goals, I do advocate the development of more heritage literate projects. The reason for this is, that such projects could be a good means to reach many of the aims that are currently considered important, that deal with identity formation and learning to be a responsible citizen in a globalized, multicultural world.

0.5. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is globally constructed out of two parts. The first part (chapter one to four) concerns a broad overview of the Dutch heritage field at present. The second part (chapters five and six) deals with the critical study of heritage and the possibilities for a critical heritage education.

In the **first chapter** I provide an outline of the positioning of heritage education within the Dutch curriculum in primary and secondary education and the historical background of this situation, e.g. a history of history education and heritage education in the Netherlands; furthermore, I discuss several incentives from the government to stimulate heritage education.

The **second chapter** presents the views on heritage education in two leading and influential Dutch academic programs. In the **third chapter** I present a scheme and a description of how heritage is mainly used in Dutch education and why. The ‘why’ question deals with the views on heritage education and what it should accomplish of the Dutch government and its advisory bodies, leading heritage organisations and specialists, and the answers from educators to the enquiry.

Chapter four presents the results of the inventory of projects and the enquiry among educators.

The **fifth chapter** is focused on the literature that deals with the dynamic approach to heritage.

The **sixth chapter** presents the results of my interviews with seven educators who have developed projects that I thought were, in some or in many aspects, heritage literate. The seven projects are analysed in order to determine whether those projects show us a way of employing heritage in education that overcomes or avoids the issues I touched upon earlier. Finally, this chapter outlines how such projects could find a place inside the Dutch curriculum.

The sixth chapter is followed by the conclusion and a recommendation for further study.

The educators that I know – including myself – and have interviewed for this research, are, without exception, idealists. They strongly believe in the benefits of heritage education and the great worth it can have for children. Time – not in the least, the pupils’ time – and money are spent to meet all of the delineated ambitions.

With my analysis, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of what is being done in heritage education at the moment, and how, if necessary, some elements can be improved.

Carte van Erfgoed Nederland, Bureau Art, 2009, accessed June 2, 2016, www.bureau-art.nl/publicaties/erfgoed_en_geschiedenis_36.doc.

Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel state in *Erfgoed, onderwijs en historisch besef. Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden*, (Hilversum, 2014), 7, that “we do not know much about what students think of heritage education”.

Chapter 1. Heritage education in Dutch primary and secondary schools

1.1. Introduction

In the Netherlands, local history (heemkunde) evolved in the 1930s. Through heemkunde, the young could be educated in patriotism, it was believed, because the knowledge of and love for their own environment, would later be translated to the national level. Heemkunde possessed a number of surprisingly modern traits. It was interdisciplinary and the aim was to help pupils experience and discover things in their immediate surroundings by themselves. It was also believed that from knowledge of the peculiarities of one's own environment, a desire to protect one's heritage would follow.¹⁰ Heemkunde as a means of teaching the young about their environment has never completely disappeared¹¹ and upon examination of its aims, it has many connections with present day heritage education.¹² However, it is difficult to establish whether heritage education stems from heemkunde and when exactly heritage education became more prominent.¹³ The fact is, that from 1981 onwards, the Dutch government has stimulated, first, the cooperation between schools and cultural organisations¹⁴ and since 1997, the integration of heritage into education.¹⁵ Over time this led to a need for a definition of heritage education and of cultural education in general.

At present, four terms are used, sometimes interchangeably: cultural education, artistic education, artistic orientation and heritage education.¹⁶ In its report *Cultuureducatie: Leren, creëren, inspireren!*, the Raad voor Cultuur¹⁷ has stated that cultural education is the umbrella term for art education, literature teaching, heritage education and media education.¹⁸ However, cultural education can sometimes only refer to education in the arts. Regardless, a final and generally accepted definition or description of what ('good') heritage education is and what it should accomplish has yet to be found. As heritage education is, in the Dutch curriculum, often linked to history education (see section 1.3), it is necessary to provide a short overview of the history of history education in the Netherlands and how this history is connected to that of heritage education. Thus, it can be observed that school history, under the influence of developments in society, shifted away from fostering nationalistic

¹⁰ De Jong, *De dirigenten*, 542 – 546.

¹¹ e.g. Yvonne Bakx, *Met het verleden de toekomst in. Onderzoek naar de positie van Stichting Brabants Heem*, (Tilburg: Tilburg University, Wetenschapswinkel, May 2006).

¹² cf. Kaat Wils, "Geschiedenisonderwijs en erfgoed. Een terreinverkenning," *Hermes* Jaargang 14, nr. 47, (March, 2010).

¹³ Also in the US and the UK it is very difficult, if not impossible, to indicate the first beginnings of the concept of heritage education. Cf. Cathleen Ann Lambert, "Heritage Education in the Postmodern Curriculum," (Masters Thesis, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 1996), 5, accessed February 20, 2017, http://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1357&context=hp_theses; and John Hamer, who stated that 'although much of what takes place under the title of "heritage education" is not new, the use of the specific term appears to be of relatively recent origin.' John Hamer, "History teaching and heritage education. Two sides of the same coin, or different currencies?" in eds. Jo Littler and Roshi Naidoo, *The politics of heritage. The legacies of 'race'*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), 159.

¹⁴ Piet Hagenaars, "Doel en streven van Cultuur en School," *Cultuur+Educatie 21: Pegasus' vlucht gevolgd. Cultuur en School 1997-2007: doelstellingen, onderzoek en resultaten*. (Utrecht: Cultuurnetwerk Nederland, 2008): 12-17.

¹⁵ Cees Hageman, "Zicht op... erfgoededucatie," 7-10.

¹⁶ Cultuureducatie, kunsteducatie, kunstzinnige oriëntatie, erfgoededucatie.

¹⁷ The Dutch Council for Culture, the advisory body for the government in the field of arts, culture and media.

¹⁸ "Cultuureducatie: Leren, creëren, inspireren! Advies van de Raad voor Cultuur," (Raad voor Cultuur, Den Haag 2012), 6, accessed on January 20, 2017, <https://www.cultuur.nl/upload/documents/adviezen/advies-cultuureducatie.pdf>.

pride and toward being considered more scientific and neutral in the 1960s. Quite recently, school history shifted back toward contributing more to the formation of the Dutch cultural identity. Heritage education, on the other hand, can easily avoid claims of neutrality and scientism and hence, can respond to the demand to further national (or local) pride. For this reason heritage (education) is quite often used within the still ‘neutral’¹⁹ history lesson.

1.2. History education and heritage education

In “Geschiedenisonderwijs in de moderne samenleving” (History education in the modern society), history didactician J.G. Toebees has described how, between approximately 1860–1960, history teaching in the Netherlands (and in Germany, the United Kingdom, France and the United States) served to strengthen a national feeling – and sometimes even an aversion to other nations.²⁰ Often, this also meant the creation of loyalty to the Royal House. Especially in primary education, these aims played an important role in the teaching of history. Pupils were primarily educated in political history and a significant amount of attention was paid to ‘great men’ and ‘great occasions’: political-military events. This was related to the academic discipline of history, which had for ages been at the service of rulers (i.e. those same great men). Contemporary history was neglected. Most important was the ‘big picture’ of history, in which factual knowledge played a major role. Facts were considered extremely important since knowledge was the enemy of prejudice and superstition. Cultural history held an important position in school; the transfer of culture was considered important in the education of the young. Knowledge of history was also important in other subjects such as language, arts, law and economics: to understand how things had *become* meant to understand how they *were*. This was a general trend, as also described by British historian J.H. Plumb: “. . . to explain the origins and purposes of human life, to sanctify institutions of government, to give validity to class structure, to provide moral example, to vivify his cultural and educational purposes, to interpret the future, to invest both the individual human life or a nation’s with a sense of destiny”.²¹ Thus, it was more important to transfer and keep tradition (or culture) alive than to question it. Between 1955 and 1960, this concept of school history began to lose its legitimacy under the influence of changes in society.²²

In the Netherlands, history education, static as it was, fell into a crisis: in 1960 the State Secretary of Education said that history could be ignored in secondary education. History teachers, startled, immediately promised to give more weight to contemporary history and not long after, the subject of sociology was introduced. A number of critics claimed that such an occurrence would never have been necessary had history education been up to date.²³

¹⁹ It is important to state here that history education is never ‘neutral’, as all school history is the result of choices of what is deemed important to teach the young, and in what way. However, the *aim* for school history is more one of neutrality than is, most often, heritage education.

²⁰ J.G. Toebees, “Geschiedenisonderwijs in de moderne samenleving,” in *Geschiedenis op school. Deel 1 Grondslagen*, ed. L.G. Dalhuisen et.al. (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1982), 18-56. Hamer, “History teaching,” 160.

²¹ J.H. Plumb, *Crisis in the humanities*, Harmondsworth 1964, in Dalhuisen 1982, 23.

²² Toebees, “Geschiedenisonderwijs in de moderne samenleving,” 23; also in the United Kingdom: Hamer, “History teaching,” 162.

²³ Toebees, “Geschiedenisonderwijs in de moderne samenleving,” 18-25.

History as a school subject changed and was – again, but belated – brought in line with the (changed) historical discipline of the time.²⁴ Pupils nowadays are “taught to adopt a critical stance towards the past and to use skills that are characteristic of historians when studying the past”.²⁵

Roughly ten years ago, school history came under fire again. Critics claimed that the subject focused far too much on skills, while historical facts were forgotten. As a result of immigration and the seemingly widespread fear of losing ‘Dutchness’, while there was no consensus on what ‘Dutchness’ ‘was’, it became necessary to rediscover this identity through the study and knowledge of a common history. To understand ‘the big picture’ was once again deemed important and subsequently was re-introduced by means of the canon of Dutch history. As the Onderwijsraad²⁶ put it in its advice “De stand van educatief Nederland” on January 17, 2005: “Education can contribute more to the formation of the Dutch cultural identity”. According to the Onderwijsraad, respect for others can be furthered if citizens know who they are and what their history is. Knowledge about one’s identity strengthens understanding for others. Indeed, education should teach the young about their own past (the “story of the Netherlands”).²⁷

In 2010, the use of the canon in history lessons in primary school was declared obligatory,²⁸ although many historians and politicians were against this.²⁹ Hubert Slings, secretary of the Canon commission, replied to their critique in an article titled “Canon niet als probleem maar als kans” (Canon is a chance, not a problem), that the canon had filled a gap in the history education: the facts that are a substantial component of the collective memory of the Netherlands.³⁰

Nevertheless, the canon only kept the critics at bay for a short period of time. Once again history as a school subject now seems to be regarded as outdated and not fit to prepare children for the challenges of the modern, globalised world. Facts can be found on the internet, critics state, and as such, all that children need to learn are the skills to find and use them. Discussion has once again turned toward removing history as a subject from schools altogether.³¹ Instead, pupils need more classes on civics, sociology and 21st century skills.³²

²⁴ Van Boxtel & Grever, 2011, in Geerte Savenije, “Sensitive History under Negotiation: Pupils’ historical imagination and attribution of significance while engaged in heritage projects,” 4, (PhD diss., Erasmus University Rotterdam, 2014). <http://hdl.handle.net/1765/77453>.

²⁵ Savenije, “Sensitive history,” 4.

²⁶ The Dutch Board of Education, advisory body for the government in the field of educational policy and education.

²⁷ ‘Respect voor anderen kan toenemen als we weten wie we zelf zijn en welke geschiedenis wij hebben. Kennis over de eigen identiteit versterkt het begrip voor anderen. Naast het bijbrengen van kennis over het eigen verleden (‘het verhaal van Nederland’) kan het onderwijs jongeren helpen een moderne invulling te geven aan het begrip ‘burgerschap’. Een canon voor het onderwijs levert hieraan een belangrijke bijdrage.’ “De stand van educatief Nederland,” Onderwijsraad, 17 januari 2005, accessed February 20, 2017, <https://www.onderwijsraad.nl/publicaties/2005/de-stand-van-educatief-nederland/item612>.

²⁸ “Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden”, jaargang 37 (2010).

²⁹ Maarten Muns, “Coalitie verdeeld over verplichte invoering Canon van Nederland,” *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, (November 24, 2008), accessed 20 February, 2017, <https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/nieuws/12287/coalitie-verdeeld-over-verplichte-invoering-canon-van-nederland.html>.

³⁰ Hubert Slings, “De canon niet als probleem maar als kans,” *En toen.nu*, (October 31, 2008), accessed 20 February, 2017, <http://www.entoen.nu/actueel/de-canon-niet-als-probleem-maar-als-kans>.

³¹ “Debat over het geschiedenisonderwijs in Nederland,” *Historici.nl*, accessed February 20, 2017, <https://www.historici.nl/groups/debat-over-het-geschiedenisonderwijs-nederland>. See links on page.

³² See also the report “Visie van Platform Onderwijs 2032” in which a future for Dutch education is outlined. *Onderwijs 2032*, Accessed April 3, 2017, <http://onsonderwijs2032.nl/advies/>. The ideas for history education in this report received a lot of critique from professionals. See for instance Bas Heijne, “Schaf geschiedenis niet af,” *NRC*, May 21, 2016, accessed April 3, 2017, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/05/21/schaf-geschiedenis-niet-af-1619825-a377750>; Cees van der Kooij and Ton van der Schans, “Schaf het vak geschiedenis op school

In the meantime, heritage education appears to have taken over the educational role of the 'old' history education, with the aim of transferring not only culture, but also a feeling of common history, love for one's country (through love and/or respect for the heritage nearby) and a feeling of shared identity – and in this way, heritage education is not only an echo of the old history teachings but also of the old *heemkunde*.³³ The reasons for this accepted subjectivity lie in the (perceived) nature of heritage education: this form of education is about stories and meaning making, which are definitely not neutral.

As will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4, traces of the old, more nationalistic school history and *heemkunde* can be found in many present day heritage education projects.

1.3. Heritage in the Dutch curriculum

Despite all the discussion about history education, for the time being it remains a well-defined school subject with more or less fixed guidelines like the Dutch canon³⁴ and the ten time periods,³⁵ compulsory in two of the four profiles in secondary education and with national exams with final attainment levels. Conversely, heritage education is not a fixed school subject and every teacher can structure it according to their own insights. The question is, therefore, where or when in the school program is heritage education being taught?

Before answering this question, I provide a short overview of the way in which the Dutch curriculum is organised, especially with regard to the subjects that relate to heritage education. I also provide an overview of the policies of the Dutch government created to stimulate heritage education, especially the aims of the government and the objectives it wants to reach with these policies. It is my assumption that these aims have an influence on the (kinds of) projects that are designed in the Netherlands; in other words, that (parts of) the government policies are part of the knowledge base used by educators.

In the Netherlands, all children aged 5 to 16 years are obliged to attend school. From roughly 4 to 12 years of age, children attend primary school. Secondary education comprises pre-vocational education (VMBO, 4 years), higher general education (HAVO, 5 years) and pre-university education (VWO, 6 years).

Dutch schools are relatively independent. Compared to Germany, England and France, Dutch primary schools have much more freedom to arrange their curriculum at their own discretion. There are seven disciplines for which so-called core objectives have been set of which schools must work within the boundaries.³⁶ In 1993 the first (122) core objectives were established by the SLO³⁷, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences for the various subject areas. In 1998, when the Amendment to the Primary Education Act (*Wet op het Primair Onderwijs*) was established, the

niet af," *Volkskrant*, March 12 2016, accessed April 3, 2016, <http://www.volkskrant.nl/opinie/schaf-het-vak-geschiedenis-op-school-niet-af~a4261175/>.

³³ See also Dibbitts, *Delen van het verleden*, 8, and Kaat Wils, "Geschiedenisonderwijs en erfgoed. Een terreinverkenning," *Hermes* Jaargang 14, nr. 47, March, 2010.

³⁴ En toen.nu, "De canon van Nederland," <http://www.entoen.nu/>.

³⁵ "De tien tijdvakken van de Nederlandse geschiedenis," <https://www.tijdvakken.nl/>.

³⁶ Core objectives are the objectives the pupils should be able to meet at the end of their primary school career. This means that core objectives are something like the minimal requirements; schools have to make it clear that, with the arrangement of their curriculum, the core objectives are guiding. (Teunis Ildens and Marjo van Hoorn, "De kunst van het sturen. Cultuureducatiebeleid 1985–2013" *Cultuur+Educatie* 13 nr. 38, (Utrecht: Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst LKCA, 2013), 29.

³⁷ Nationaal Expertisecentrum Leerplanontwikkeling (SLO) (National Foundation of Curriculum Development).

second generation core objectives (103) became implemented. These were intended for the ‘fields of education’³⁸ and a number of other more general objectives had been added, for instance, concerning the development of autonomy, learning strategies or working with computers. With the Amendment to the Primary Education Act, Artistic orientation (including becoming acquainted with cultural heritage) became one of the fields of education that schools had to consider.³⁹

The third generation core objectives were created in 2006. The third generation only included 58 core objectives,⁴⁰ meaning that the schools were allowed more freedom in the design of their educational programs. The general objectives were integrated into the various objectives for the fields of education. The fields of education are: the languages, numeracy/mathematics, ‘orientation on yourself and the world’, Artistic orientation and physical education.⁴¹ ‘Orientation on yourself and the world’ contains topics like nature and technique, biology, geography and history. The third generation core objectives were enforced for the 2009/2010 school year and onwards.⁴²

Dutch and Mathematics are core subjects and consequently, more core objectives have to be met. This means that the government is more involved in the content of core subjects than in topics like cultural education; schools have more freedom with non-core subjects.

However, schools do more than ensure that core objectives are met. They are seen as ideal places in which to tackle societal issues.⁴³ Schools should encourage healthy behaviour, digital literacy, life skills and (good) citizenship. Heritage education is often seen as a means through which to achieve these goals, especially becoming a responsible citizen and having respect and empathy for different opinions and cultures.

Since the core objectives guide the arrangement of the curriculum, teachers will, when a project is offered to them, want to know whether this project has taken one or more core objectives into account.

There are three core objectives each for Artistic orientation (54, 55, 56) and Orientation on yourself and the world – subject: time (51, 52 and 53).

Heritage is only mentioned in core objective 56, which belongs to Artistic orientation. Thus, in principle, educators can always mention core objective 56 to apply for all of their projects. In practice, since heritage education is often seen as a positive way of enriching a history lesson, core objectives 51, 52 and 53 are also often mentioned as being covered by a heritage project.

This is in accordance with the statement from the Raad voor Cultuur in 2012, that the knowledge bases for music, dance and drama belong to the knowledge domain Artistic orientation and the knowledge base for history is part of the domain Orientation on yourself and the world, and it is in this area that heritage education “receives attention”.⁴⁴

³⁸ ‘Fields of education’ are broader than ‘subject areas’ the first generation of core objectives were intended for.

³⁹ IJdens en van Hoorn, “De kunst van het sturen,” 27.

⁴⁰ Nationaal Expertisecentrum Leerplanontwikkeling SLO, “Kerndoelen,” accessed April 3, 2017, <http://www.slo.nl/primair/kerndoelen/>.

⁴¹ Nederlands, Engels, Friese taal, Rekenen/wiskunde, Oriëntatie op jezelf en de wereld, Kunstzinnige oriëntatie, Bewegingsonderwijs.

⁴² See for an overview of the 5 fields of education, the school subjects that are covered by those, and the 58 core objectives: “Kerndoelen primair onderwijs,” accessed April 3, 2017, <http://tule.slo.nl/Inleiding/kerndoelenboekje.pdf>.

⁴³ IJdens and Van Hoorn, “De kunst van het sturen,” 29.

⁴⁴ Raad voor Cultuur, “Leren, creëren, inspireren,” 35.

Also in its recent report, *Agenda Cultuur 2017 – 2020*, the Raad has noted that especially with heritage education, links can be established with other topics “like history and geography”. The Raad has mentioned within this report that there are more possibilities to make heritage part of the school curriculum. “For instance, visiting monuments, archaeological sites or archives can further the historical knowledge and general development of children”.⁴⁵ Despite the fact that the Raad clearly considers heritage to be a dynamic phenomenon, it does not advocate its study on the meta-level; heritage should be used within the history lesson.

According to the Onderwijsraad also, heritage education – which should always be, according to the Onderwijsraad, environmental education – is closely connected to the school subjects history and geography, but can also play a role in other social sciences subjects.⁴⁶

Figure 1. Core objectives Orientation on yourself and the world > Time and Artistic orientation⁴⁷

CORE OBJECTIVES ORIENTATION ON YOURSELF AND THE WORLD > TIME
51 The pupils learn to use simple historical sources and they learn to handle indications of time.
52 The pupils learn about characteristic features of the following time periods: (...)
53 The pupils learn about the most important historical persons and occasions in the Dutch history and they can link these in an exemplary way with world history.
CORE OBJECTIVES ARTISTIC ORIENTATION
54 The pupils learn to use images, language, music, play and movement to express feelings and experiences and to communicate.
55 The pupils learn to reflect on their own work and that from others.
56 The pupils acquire some knowledge about and gain appreciation for aspects of cultural heritage.

In 2013 at the request of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences, the Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie (FCP)⁴⁸ and the Dutch Open Air Museum, the LKCA investigated the positioning of heritage education in primary education in the Netherlands. One of the most important questions was: Should heritage education be part of history education within the discipline Orientation on

⁴⁵ ‘Erfgoededucatie kan bij uitstek verbindingen maken met andere vakken, zoals geschiedenis en aardrijkskunde. Toch wordt er binnen het onderwijs nog onvoldoende aandacht besteed aan de vakoverstijgende mogelijkheden die erfgoed te bieden heeft. (...) De raad ziet meer mogelijkheden om erfgoed in den brede onderdeel te laten zijn van het onderwijs. Zo kan ook bezoek aan monumenten, archeologische opgravingen of archieven bijdragen aan de historische kennis en algemene ontwikkeling van kinderen.’

“Agenda Cultuur 2017 – 2020 en verder. Advies van de Raad voor Cultuur,” 43.

⁴⁶ Onderwijsraad, “Onderwijs in cultuur,” 17.

⁴⁷ KERNDOELEN ORIËNTATIE OP JEZELF EN DE WERELD > TIJD.

51 De leerlingen leren gebruik te maken van eenvoudige historische bronnen en ze leren aanduidingen van tijd en tijdsindeling te hanteren.

52 De leerlingen leren over kenmerkende aspecten van de volgende tijdvakken: jagers en boeren; Grieken en Romeinen; monniken en ridders; steden en staten; ontdekkers en hervormers; regenten en vorsten; pruiken en revoluties; burgers en stoommachines; wereldoorlogen en holocaust; televisie en computer.

53 De leerlingen leren over de belangrijke historische personen en gebeurtenissen uit de Nederlandse geschiedenis en kunnen die voorbeeldmatig verbinden met de wereldgeschiedenis.

KERNDOELEN KUNSTZINNIGE ORIËNTATIE.

54 De leerlingen leren beelden, taal, muziek, spel en beweging te gebruiken, om er gevoelens en ervaringen mee uit te drukken en om er mee te communiceren.

55 De leerlingen leren op eigen werk en dat van anderen te reflecteren.

56 De leerlingen verwerven enige kennis over en krijgen waardering voor aspecten van cultureel erfgoed.

⁴⁸ The FCP (Fund for Cultural Participation) manages the government funds for local and regional cultural education projects and promotes active cultural participation.

yourself and the world (core objectives 51 – 53) or part of the discipline Artistic orientation (core objective 56)?⁴⁹

According to the LKCA, “heritage education should be seen as a substantive part of Orientation on yourself and the world; therefore a heritage ‘learning line’ should be developed in this context”.⁵⁰ Thus, according to this LKCA report, heritage education belongs primarily to the history lesson. Finally, the heritage consultants of the Professional Dialogue of Heritage Consultants have also stated, in their document about ‘good’ heritage education, that (and this was the first criterion) it “links up with the curriculum and the wish of the schools”. For instance, they wrote that when used in history education, heritage education can be linked to the ten time periods of the curriculum and to the Dutch History Canon.⁵¹ The provincial heritage consultants wrote this statement about heritage and heritage education in 2013. The reason for this was the enormous amount of, sometimes conflicting, definitions and viewpoints on heritage and education within the field.⁵²

In secondary schools, the junior grades also have to work with core objectives; the senior grades have no core objectives since they have to meet the final attainment levels.

Cultural and Artistic Education (Culturele en Kunstzinnige Vorming CKV) is a compulsory school subject in secondary education (at the VMBO it is only a subject in two of the four levels). Heritage can be a part of this (the ‘C’ of Culture), but it is not compulsory.

Heritage is not mentioned in the final attainment levels or in the 2017 exam program for HAVO and VWO.⁵³ The core objectives (48 – 52) in the junior grades only concern art and do not mention heritage separately,⁵⁴ although the pupils do have to learn about the historical background of artistic expression.⁵⁵ Thus, whether heritage is part of the school curriculum or not, and if it is, whether it is a subject within cultural education, history education, geography or citizenship, depends on the choices made by teachers.

In practice, in secondary education also, heritage education is most often linked to subjects like history, geography and citizenship⁵⁶ and this is in accordance with the core objectives.

In conclusion, the positioning of heritage education in school is dependent on the specific circumstances. Schools have to include heritage, but how the lessons are executed depend on the policy of the school or the efforts of the teacher. Heritage education might be taught in a serious and thoughtful way but it might also be done only as a yearly excursion to the local museum without it ever becoming more than an outing.

⁴⁹ Piet Hagenaars, *Erfoededucatie in het primair onderwijs, een verkenning*. (Utrecht: Landelijk Instituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst LKCA, 2014), 5.

⁵⁰ Ibidem. And this is in line with daily practice: according to the Monitor Cultural Education in primary and secondary education in 2008-2009 (a sample of, among others, 800 primary schools), 83% of the respondents offered some form of heritage education. And this was most often linked to subjects like history or geography and much less to the art subjects. Oberon. “Cultuureducatie in het primair en voortgezet onderwijs. Monitor 2008-2009,” (Utrecht, 2009), accessed January 20, 2016, <https://www.oberon.eu/data/upload/Portfolio/files/cultuurmonitorpoenvo-2008-2009.pdf>.

⁵¹ Erfoedconsulenten, “Blik op erfgoededucatie. De rol van erfgoed in onderwijs.” (Versie 15 02 13), 6.

⁵² “Blik op erfgoededucatie.”

⁵³ “Examenblad 2017. Culturele en Kunstzinnige vorming,” accessed April 2, 2017, <https://www.examenblad.nl/examen/culturele-en-kunstzinnige-vorming-2/2017>.

⁵⁴ LKCA “Cultuuronderwijs onderbouw VO,” accessed February 20, <http://www.lkca.nl/voortgezet-onderwijs/kerndoelen-en-eindtermen/kerndoelen-onderbouw-vo>.

⁵⁵ “Examenblad 2017.”

⁵⁶ Oberon, “Monitor cultuuronderwijs voortgezet onderwijs 2015,” 6, accessed January 20, 2017, http://www.sardes.nl/uploads/publicaties_downloads/rap_monitor_cultuuronderwijs_vo.pdf.

1.3.1. How heritage education projects come about

Heritage education projects are most often created inside a network of a (large) number of different people with different interests and visions. An educator (the person who develops a project) has to take into account the guidelines and standards of the organisation for which she works and/or the guidelines of the funding organisation (a private fund or foundation, the municipality, an organisation that provides governmental funding). She is further often dependent on historical/heritage information from local ‘heritage guardians’ (a miller, curator, local historian). She has to also consider the wishes of the school(s) for whom she is creating the project, which she either obtains from the schools themselves or she finds out in a more general way from the internet. She can search for advice and examples of ‘good’ heritage education on the internet; for instance, on the websites of the LKCA or the SLO. She can also ask for advice from one of the provincial heritage consultants, who commonly have knowledge of (museum/heritage) education and the local heritage, and who often manage the contacts with the schools – or at least know how best to approach them. Below, I discuss the most important (possible) sources of influence on educators. I provide an overview of government policy to stimulate heritage education, the visions for heritage education of two Dutch academic programs and the visions for heritage education from leading heritage organisations (see figure 2).

This thesis is not intended to uncover all of the influences on all the projects currently in the Netherlands; nevertheless, in the seven conducted interviews, I asked the educators about the context in which their projects were developed. These seven examples illuminate from where the educators got their information, whose/which guidelines they had to follow and what are their own views on heritage education (discussed in more detail in chapter 6).

The seven examples show that the circumstances in which projects are developed are exceedingly diverse. It is clear that creators have to take into account of many different wishes, demands and guidelines; they form the bridge between all these parties – the centre in a web of interests.

1.4. Incentives from the government to stimulate heritage education

1.4.1. Introduction

Incentives from the government can influence the way heritage education is perceived by teachers and educators (and therefore, how projects are designed), and when government funding comes with guidelines on how heritage education has to be executed, or which goals have to be met, this also influences the project design. Although as Teunis IJdens and Marjo van Hoorn have stated in “De kunst van het sturen”, it is not clear what exactly is the effect of the good intentions contained in policy resolutions.⁵⁷ Apart from this, many cultural organisations that develop programs for heritage education receive funding not only from the funds that are connected with governmental incentives, but also from the provincial or local government. The goals and expectations of lower authorities will sometimes, or often, match those of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science. Nevertheless, they sometimes focus on different objectives. For example, a number of provincial or local governments might be more interested in teaching children pride (of the local history and artefacts) and respect (for the local heritage) than in educating them to appreciate different cultures (a governmental objective). As the Raad voor Cultuur noted in 2012: “The policies of governments in the field of education vary strongly. This leads to a fragmented cultural infrastructure, which is hard

⁵⁷ IJdens and Van Hoorn, “De kunst van het sturen,” 42-44.

to understand for out- as well as insiders”.⁵⁸ Furthermore: “The municipalities tune their policy with the province, but are free in the design of the policy”.⁵⁹

As previously stated, while it is impossible to know exactly how each and every educator is influenced, and by whom, when developing heritage education programs, the organisations and recommendations are part of the context in which the educator operates.

In the following I describe the two most important regulations since 1994.

1.4.2. Cultuur en School

From 1981 onwards, the Dutch government implemented several projects and incentives to encourage cooperation between schools and cultural organisations. With these projects, the Ministries of Education and Sciences attempted to integrate the cultural offerings from cultural organisations into the school curriculum. Simultaneously, cultural organisations did not know what schools needed and most schools did not pay structural attention to cultural activities.⁶⁰

Until 1994, the then Ministry of Education and Sciences was responsible for education. The Ministry of Health, Welfare and Culture implemented cultural policies from 1982 onwards, but this Ministry did not interfere with education. In 1994, Culture again became part of the Ministry of Education and Sciences.⁶¹

In 1994, State Secretary Aad Nuis from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences declared the improvement of the relation between culture and education to be of high priority. Supported by the Raad voor Cultuur and the Onderwijsraad, the Ministry declared that cultural education was to be at the core of the curriculum. A new program was launched in 1996: *Cultuur en School* (Culture and School). *Cultuur en School* was a “collection of objectives, measures and actions to give cultural education more attention and a fixed place within primary education, secondary education, vocational education and adult education”.⁶² The programme came into effect in 1997 and lasted until 2007. It started in senior secondary education with a new subject (Cultural and Artistic Education (CKV))⁶³ and from 2004 onwards, *Cultuur en School* was implemented into the entirety of elementary and secondary education.

CKV is still a compulsory school subject in secondary education.

Furthermore, in 1997 the Ministry established the Bureau Erfgoed Actueel in Amsterdam (a special Heritage Agency). The stimulation of heritage in education started with the furthering of awareness: what is heritage and how it can be implemented in education. Erfgoed Actueel collaborated with, among others, Cultuurnetwerk Nederland. The effort primarily focused on the development of a national infrastructure for the promotion of heritage and starting in 2001, the development and support of networks between schools and heritage organisations. In 2007, Erfgoed Actueel merged with several other heritage institutions into Erfgoed Nederland. Its mission was to place education on the agenda within the heritage field and to further its quality. One of the initiatives taken was the establishment of the special chair for Historical Culture and Education in collaboration with Erasmus

⁵⁸ ‘Het beleid van overheden op het gebied van educatie varieert dan ook sterk. Dit leidt tot een versnipperde culturele infrastructuur, die voor binnen- en buitenstaanders soms nauwelijks te begrijpen is.’ Raad voor Cultuur, “Leren, creëren, inspireren!”, 19.

⁵⁹ ‘De gemeenten stemmen hun beleid af met de provincie, maar zijn vrij in de vormgeving van het beleid.’ Raad voor Cultuur, “Leren, creëren, inspireren,” 21.

⁶⁰ Hagedoorn, “Doel en streven van Cultuur en School,” 12.

⁶¹ IJdens en Van Hoorn, “De kunst van het sturen,” 35.

⁶² ‘[...]een verzameling doelstellingen, maatregelen en activiteiten om cultuureducatie meer aandacht en een vaste plaats te geven in het basisonderwijs, het voortgezet onderwijs, het beroepsonderwijs en de volwasseneneducatie.’ Hagedoorn, “Doel en streven van Cultuur en School,” 10.

⁶³ Hagedoorn, “Doel en streven van Cultuur en School,” 13-17.

University in Rotterdam. Dr. Carla van Boxtel was the first endowed professor of this chair⁶⁴ (more about the research program in section 2.3).

As stated above, from 2004 onwards, *Cultuur en School* was implemented throughout elementary and secondary education. In the same year, strengthening cultural education in elementary education became priority. Elementary schools that participated in the *Regeling versterking cultuureducatie in het primair onderwijs* (rule strengthening cultural education in elementary education) obtained money and time to formulate a vision on cultural education and to establish a structural program of activities within the field of culture and heritage. The aim was to develop educational curriculums (learning lines) from the first to the last grade.⁶⁵

From 2009 onwards, government funds for local and regional cultural education projects were included in the budget of the new Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie (Fund for Cultural Participation).⁶⁶ This fund promotes active cultural participation in the Netherlands with subsidies and networking activities.⁶⁷

From the start, *Cultuur en School* not only aimed to strengthen cultural and artistic education, but also to strengthen the cultural dimension of other subjects like history and geography. This could be seen as a defensive strategy that was meant to give the impression that an increase in cultural education would not be at the expense of 'old' subjects. While many schools consider cultural education to be important, they view it as extraneous, and something that has to compete with numerous other important topics in school.⁶⁸

Initially, an important objective of *Cultuur en School* was to develop the cultural competencies of children and the youth. Throughout the years, however, more and more objectives have been added. In 2004, there were fourteen. Important new objectives became to learn to appreciate different cultures and their cultural expressions, to strengthen the position of heritage education and to further the quality of cultural education.⁶⁹

As Hagenaars has also indicated, it is clear that the government regards cultural education in school as a means to (cultural) citizenship and social cohesion. In 2004, Minister of Education Van der Hoeven and her State Secretary Van der Laan stated that "learning about traces of earlier generations . . . teaches us to put into perspective our own way of thinking and living and to be open to other cultures, ideas and beliefs".⁷⁰

In 2007, State Secretary Plasterk stated that the government should make sure that everyone can participate in society as a cultural citizen. Cultural citizenship can only be achieved if citizens can study their past or express themselves in some form of art, he wrote.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Cees Hageman, "Zicht op... erfgoededucatie," 7-10.

⁶⁵ Hagenaars, "Doel en streven van Cultuur en School," 13-27.

⁶⁶ IJdens en Van Hoorn, 36.

⁶⁷ Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie, accessed March 20, 2017, <http://www.cultuurparticipatie.nl/over-het-fonds/missie-en-doelstellingen/>.

⁶⁸ Hagenaars, "Doel en streven van Cultuur en School," 25.

⁶⁹ Idem, 20-21.

⁷⁰ 'Door kennis te nemen van de sporen van vorige generaties (...) leren we de eigen denk- en leefwereld relateren en open te staan voor andere culturen, opvattingen en overtuigingen.' Hagenaars, "Doel en streven," 23)

⁷¹ 'Cultureel burgerschap staat of valt met de mogelijkheden van burgers om zich te verdiepen in hun verleden of zich te uiten in een kunstdiscipline.' Hagenaars, "Doel en streven," 24.

1.4.3. Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit

Cultuur en School ended in 2007. In 2011, the State Secretary of Education, Culture and Science announced a new policy for 2013–2016: *Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit in het primair onderwijs* (Cultural education with quality in primary education). In 2012, the Ministry further shaped this policy in collaboration with the Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst (LKCA) (National Knowledge Institute for Cultural Education and Amateur Art), the Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie (Fund for Cultural Participation) (FCP) and representatives of provinces and municipalities.

The main objective of this program was to increase the quality of art and culture education in elementary schools. At the time, the majority of schools had implemented cultural education in some way. However, schools often lacked structural plans and policies for their cultural activities. Indeed, they needed adequate curricula, educational subject planning and educational curricula (learning lines) for all the topics within cultural education. Moreover, teachers and educators in cultural organisations needed to be trained, the long-term cooperation between schools and organisations furthered and assessment tools for the pupils had to be developed. The Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie (FCP) subsidized local and provincial organisations that work on those objectives under the condition that provinces and municipalities equal the contribution from the funds.⁷² The new program changed the focus from cultural participation outside the school to more and better practicing of artistic topics inside the school. Apart from the educational curricula, another important ambition was to better link Artistic orientation⁷³ to other topics such as history, citizenship and digital literacy. Cultural organisations further had to tailor their offerings to the core objectives and the school curriculum.⁷⁴

One of the supporting measures was that the Ministry compelled subsidized cultural institutions (the basic infrastructure) to provide educational activities. Secondly, the Stichting Leerplanontwikkeling (the Foundation of Curriculum Development) (SLO) developed an educational curriculum for primary education. This framework “provides an authoritative description of content and inspiring good cultural education, which can lead to a nationally shared vision”.⁷⁵

The subsidy scheme *Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit* was, in 2016, prolonged until 2020. The main goals have not changed; the Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie and the Ministry want to strengthen what has been realised in 2013–2016 and increase the number of participating schools.⁷⁶

In conclusion, the various government incentives indicate that schools and heritage organisations struggle with the practical realisation of heritage education in the school curriculum. To streamline supply and demand, several initiatives were implemented. In 2004, the development of learning lines was promoted and in 2013 the learning lines were once again part of the program. The ‘leerplankader’ (curriculum framework) from the SLO (2015) finally appears to offer educators some much needed support (see chapter 6). Nevertheless, heritage education remains a difficult subject to design for many schools. The great amount of more or less ‘official’ views on what heritage education should be and accomplish (see chapter 3) are proof of this ongoing uncertainty.

⁷² IJdens en Van Hoorn, 38.

⁷³ Here, the term seems to mean cultural education, which is, in my view, broader than Artistic orientation.

⁷⁴ “Redactioneel,” in: *Cultuur+Educatie 13 nr. 38*, (Utrecht: Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst LKCA, 2013), 5.

⁷⁵ ‘... biedt een gezaghebbende en inspirerende beschrijving van inhoudelijk goede cultuureducatie, die tot een landelijk gedeelde visie kan leiden’. IJdens en Van Hoorn, 39. More about this framework in section 2.4.

⁷⁶ Rijksoverheid, “Cultuuronderwijs,” accessed March 20, 2017, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/kunst-en-cultuur/inhoud/cultuuronderwijs>).

Considering that it was only twenty years ago that a special agency (Erfgoed Actueel) was established to further awareness of heritage, because at that time this was still an unfamiliar concept, it should not come as a surprise that the heritage sector is still struggling to define its structures, concepts and aims.

Figure 2. Organisations and infrastructure

<p>Policy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschappen OCW (The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science) Raad voor Cultuur (The Council for Culture): advisory body for the government in the field of arts, culture and media De Onderwijsraad (The Board of Education): advisory body for the government in the field of educational policy and education
<p>Organisations established by the Ministry of OCW to further heritage education</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bureau Erfgoed Actueel 1997 – 2007. In 2007 heritage education was transferred to: Erfgoed Nederland 2007 – 2012. In 2012 heritage education was transferred to: Cultuurnetwerk Nederland (Dutch Cultural Network) 2001 – present, and in 2013 heritage education was transferred to: Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst LKCA (National Knowledge Institute Cultural Education and Amateur Art) 2013 – present. Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie FCP (Fund for Cultural Participation): 2009 – present; manages the government funds for local and regional cultural education projects. Promotes active cultural participation in the Netherlands with subsidies and all kinds of networking activities. <p>And: Nationaal Expertisecentrum Leerplanontwikkeling SLO (the National Foundation of Curriculum Development). For all schools and all subjects. Also SLO gives advice to the government.</p>
<p>Provincial organisations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Umbrella heritage organisations (e.g. heritage houses) in most of the provinces Overleg Provinciale Erfgoedinstellingen Nederland OPEN: national representative for provincial heritage houses in the Netherlands Umbrella support organisations for cultural education, often affiliated with the Raad van Twaalf (Board of Twelve)
<p>Other important organisations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Nederlandse Museumvereniging NMV (Dutch Museum Association)
<p>Networks</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Platform Erfgoededucatie (Platform Heritage Education). <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Policy: Directie erfgoed van het Ministerie van OCW (Heritage Board of the Ministry of OCW) President: LKCA Science: Erasmus University Professional education: Reinwardt Academy Knowledge/policy: Cultuurnetwerk, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed RCE (State Service for Cultural Heritage) Practice: Vakoverleg Erfgoedconsulenten and director of Entoen.nu (representatives of the Professional Dialogue of Heritage Consultants and the Dutch Canon). Every three months, representatives of OPEN and the Board of Twelve have a conference, together with a representative of LKCA.

Chapter 2. ‘Good’ heritage education in Dutch academic discourse

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter I outline the thoughts on what heritage education should be and accomplish, as stated by two important Dutch academic programs: *Cultuur in de Spiegel* (2009–2016), a collaboration between Groningen University and the SLO, led by Prof. Dr. Barend van Heusden; and *Heritage Education, Plurality of Narratives and Shared Historical Knowledge* (2009-2014), led by prof. dr. M.C.R. Grever of the Centre for Historical Culture of the Erasmus University Rotterdam and prof. dr. C.A.M. van Boxtel of Amsterdam University. Carla van Boxtel was from 2008 to 2014 a special professor of Historical Culture and Education at the Centre of Historical Culture at Erasmus University Rotterdam. This chair was established by the National Knowledge Institute for Cultural Education and Amateur Art LKCA.⁷⁷

These two programs are important for the field of heritage education, because the views of both the Erasmus program and *Cultuur in de spiegel* are reflected within many influential programs and publications, including the framework from the SLO, which is used by educators as a guideline and a tool for developing their own learning lines. The views voiced within these programs are also found in the document on heritage education “Blik op erfgoededucatie” from the provincial heritage consultants and which is, in turn, an overview and summary of the most important theories within the heritage field.⁷⁸ The provincial heritage consultants often operate as advisors for all kinds of heritage project-designing organisations (like Heritage Houses, small museums and networking organisations) in their respective provinces.

2.2. Cultuur in de spiegel

According to the *Regeling versterking cultuureducatie in het primair onderwijs*, to qualify for subsidy in 2005, schools needed a policy plan for cultural education. This appeared to be a difficult task. Nobody knew exactly what cultural education was, and even if this term was divided into arts, media and heritage education, it remained unclear what exactly to do with arts, media and heritage education and whether there was a connection between the three, and if so, what kind. Thus, a theoretical framework was needed that would help schools and organisations formulate a vision on cultural education and enable them to develop their own learning lines for cultural education. The framework would have to take into account the core objectives and the final attainment levels.

To solve these issues, the research program *Cultuur in de spiegel* (Culture in the mirror) was founded in 2008. It was a collaboration between Prof. Barend van Heusden from Groningen University and the SLO. *Cultuur in de spiegel* offers a theoretical framework for cultural education, which was put into practice by the SLO’s development of a framework for a cultural ‘leerplankader’ (curriculum framework) in 2015.⁷⁹ This framework offers a guideline, with ideas and examples, for educators and teachers on how to develop learning lines for every element of cultural education.

⁷⁷ LKCA, “onderzoek in erfgoededucatie,” accessed April 2, 2017, <http://www.lkca.nl/erfgoededucatie/onderzoek>.

⁷⁸ “Blik op erfgoededucatie”

⁷⁹ SLO, “Leerplankader Kunstzinnige Oriëntatie – Cultureel Erfgoed,” May 20, 2015, accessed January 20, 2017. <http://kunstzinnigeorientatie.slo.nl/leerlijnen/kunstzinnige-vakdisciplines-en-cultureel-erfgoed/cultureel-erfgoed>.

Central to Van Heusden's theory is the idea that cultural education concerns pupils' cultural (self)consciousness.⁸⁰ According to Van Heusden, individuals understand the world through their memory of the things they see and experience. However, reality and memory never completely overlap: things grow old and situations change. Culture is, claims Van Heusden, nothing more than our handling of the difference between memory and reality. It is everything we know and are able to do and the way in which meaning is given to every concrete occurrence, with the help of our knowledge and skills. The basic skills with which we handle reality (including ourselves: cultural education develops the ability to be self-conscious) are to observe, to represent, to conceptualise and to analyse. This means that culture is something that we *do*, day in and day out.

What then, is cultural education? According to Van Heusden, this is the implementation of the aforementioned four basic skills within the subject of culture in the narrow sense.⁸¹

Van Heusden believes that "the rise of heritage education is a result of the influence of science in historiography. Academic historiography can and will not tell us which past, or which aspect of the past, matters. Yet, people feel the need for interpretations, especially in times of fast changes and globalisation, to know what is worth keeping and cherishing, and what not. Heritage education wants to meet those needs: it approaches history with, eventually, a very practical question: which past defines our present, how does it do this, and what do we think about this?" Heritage education is, according to Van Heusden, a source of insight and knowledge, which is of practical meaning in daily life.⁸² Thus, Van Heusden's explanation of why traces of, as I articulated in section 1.2, the 'old', more nationalistic school history and heemkunde can be found in many present day heritage education projects.

Van Heusden 'translated' his theory into questions that could serve as a guiding principle for the development of a learning plan for a learning line in cultural education. These questions include: What is the culture of the pupil? What is known of the development of the cultural self-awareness at a given age? Which basic skills do we want to practise and which not? Which medium will be used: body, objects, language or graphic symbols, and why? Which materials will be used? To which subjects will this education be linked? How can the core objectives/final attainment levels be linked?⁸³ As can be seen, his first concern is the level of knowledge and skills of the pupils and subsequently, he suggested to examine the demand from the schools. The question about the basic skills is third (out of fifteen questions).

⁸⁰ Barend Van Heusden, *Cultuur in de spiegel. Naar een doorlopende leerlijn cultuuronderwijs*, (Groningen, 2010), 9.

⁸¹ Van Heusden, *Cultuur in de spiegel*, 6-20.

⁸² 'De opkomst van de erfgoededucatie lijkt een gevolg te zijn van de invloed van de wetenschap in de geschiedschrijving. Net als de kunstwetenschap probeert de geschiedwetenschap een zo objectief en nauwkeurig mogelijke beschrijving, interpretatie en analyse te geven van haar object – het verleden. En net als in de kunstwetenschap hoort het geven van oordelen over wat wel of niet de moeite waard is daar eigenlijk niet bij. Zoals de kunstwetenschap ons niet kan vertellen welke kunst wel of niet de moeite waard is, kan en wil de academische geschiedschrijving ons niet vertellen welk verleden, of welk aspect van het verleden, er toe doet. Toch hebben mensen er behoefte aan, juist in een tijd van snelle veranderingen en mondialisering, te weten wat van het verleden de moeite waard is om te bewaren, wat gekoesterd moet worden, en wat niet. Erfgoededucatie wil in die behoefte voorzien: het benadert de geschiedenis vanuit wat uiteindelijk een heel praktische vraag is: welk verleden bepaalt ons heden, hoe doet het dat, en wat vinden wij daarvan?' Idem, 8.

⁸³ Idem, 28-29.

2.3. The research program of Erasmus University

In 2009, the Centre for Historical Culture of Erasmus University launched the research program "heritage education, plurality of narratives and shared historical knowledge". This research program was financed by the Netherlands Organization of Scientific Research (NWO). The program and research leader was Prof. Maria Grever, while Prof. Carla van Boxtel was the research leader. The program resulted in a large number of publications in which the research team voiced their ideas on heritage education.

One of the reasons why heritage is employed in the history lesson, Grever and Van Boxtel have argued, is because it can bring the past closer to the pupils. To handle or watch tangible remains makes it easier to engage with the past from which those remains come, especially when those remains are presented as heritage – something that was and is considered important enough to preserve.⁸⁴ This engagement, Van Boxtel and Grever have noted, can come to stand in the way of a critical view on the past: history teachers are sometimes a bit fearful of this. "... historians appreciate distance when attempting to understand the complexity of the past because it provides sufficient detachment to look at that past from various perspectives".⁸⁵ According to Grever and Van Boxtel however, in heritage education it is also possible to remain critical and view history from different angles, namely, through a dynamic approach to heritage.

In the introduction to *Heritage education: Challenges in dealing with the past*, an impression of the initial findings of the studies, Grever and Van Boxtel have noted that "several heritage education programmes focus on developing a sense of respect for the environment or for a particular heritage, such as a historical building. The underlying idea is that pupils will view and experience a place differently if they are better informed about its history. Furthermore, heritage learning activities can support pupils in the process of learning about themselves and in understanding others. In this way, heritage education contributes to a sense of connection and belonging that is crucial for citizenship. In particular, when heritage is related to sensitive histories such as the Holocaust, educational resources are often aimed at value development and encouraging pupils to reflect on such values as freedom and equality. It is precisely the indissoluble alliance between heritage and identity that leads us to consider a dynamic approach to heritage as being important for heritage education. Although heritage lessons may encourage respect for other cultures, tolerance and social cohesion, they can also help strengthen community identities, with the risk of exclusion and a reinforcement of existing social boundaries. In a dynamic heritage approach, heritage has no static, essentialist meaning and is not bound to one static identity".⁸⁶ In dynamic heritage education students are stimulated to explain the representations from the past (tangible and intangible remains from the past) from different perspectives, with respect for historical facts.⁸⁷

An important consequence of the dynamic approach is the acknowledgement that pupils are meaning makers themselves and that, in heritage education, they should be able to share their views. They should learn and experience that there are, throughout history, multiple perspectives and that their perspectives are part of this whole.⁸⁸ "The aim of dynamic heritage education is to further cultural and historical understanding amongst the young through critical reflection on

⁸⁴ Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel, *Verlangen naar tastbaar verleden*, 93.

⁸⁵ Idem, 53-66.

⁸⁶ Carla van Boxtel and Maria Grever, "Reflections on heritage as an educational resource," in eds. Carla van Boxtel, Stephan Klein, Ellen Snoep, *Heritage education: Challenges in dealing with the past* (Erfgoed Nederland, September 2011), 11-12.

⁸⁷ "NWO Meerwaarde Dynamisch erfgoedonderwijs."

⁸⁸ Van Boxtel and Grever, "Reflections," 12.

tangible and intangible remains from the past",⁸⁹ is the starting point for the NWO project "Meerwaarde dynamisch erfgoedonderwijs", which is connected to the Erasmus program. Furthermore, in heritage education pupils can explore identities. They can identify with people who are like themselves, but also with people with a different background. If and when pupils can give their own personal meaning to heritage, this can contribute to their identity formation. Through understanding people, they can learn about their own beliefs.⁹⁰

In her dissertation, *Sensitive history under negotiation*, Geerte Savenije, who was a member of the research program, defines the question of meaning making (attribution of significance), more clearly. "Little is known about the ways in which pupils attribute significance to what is presented as heritage, particularly sensitive heritage. . . . the significance of heritage is often presented as a given, although it may be at odds with the pupils' own attributions. . . . Heritage projects appear to be ideal opportunities for pupils to reflect on their own and others' attribution of significance to history and historical traces. However, pupils' understandings of this significance may challenge the attributions of significance as expressed by educators in heritage projects".⁹¹

She cites Willem Frijhoff, who has stated that "a dynamic approach to heritage focuses on the production of heritage instead of the objects of heritage".⁹² However, it appears that the kind of heritage education that the members of the Erasmus Program advocate does not focus so much on the production⁹³ of heritage – the meta-perspective – as on the different meanings that have been given to the various objects of heritage throughout time. This is in accordance with Grever and Van Boxtel's aim to focus on the connection between heritage education and the school subject of history (and thus, not on the meta-perspective.)⁹⁴ If the focus was on the production of heritage, then a heritage lesson should deal with, amongst others, why heritage is considered heritage in the first place, and what that means, and how the heritage lesson is contributing to this heritage production.

2.4. The SLO Leerplankader

In the SLO Leerplankader (curriculum framework), the four basic skills are part of the learning process. Moreover, the senses, the personal experience and the imagination/representation are exceedingly important, which is in accordance with Van Heusden's theory that cultural education concerns the cultural (self)consciousness of pupils. Heritage is not only around, but also inside of the pupil, as the SLO has stated (and this is an elaboration of the first question: What is the culture of the pupil?). Central to heritage education is, further according to the SLO, the story and the meaning that are given to cultural heritage: "now, in the past and in the future. Students will experience that their surroundings are meaningful and that cultural heritage is related to themselves".⁹⁵

The SLO framework advocates the use of heritage as a historical source for learning historical skills, as is advocated in the Erasmus program: the pupils will be stimulated to explore different perspectives in the past (multiperspectivity). "By reflecting on the heritage, the pupils can give

⁸⁹ "NWO Meerwaarde Dynamisch Erfgoedonderwijs".

⁹⁰ Carla van Boxtel, Pieter de Bruijn, Maria Grever, Stephan Klein, Geerte Savenije, "Dicht bij het verleden. Wat kunnen erfgoedlessen bijdragen aan het leren van geschiedenis?" *Kleio* 7, (November 2010), 18-21.

⁹¹ Savenije, "Sensitive history," 22.

⁹² Idem, 7.

⁹³ Or: construction: Lowenthal, 1998, Smith, 2006.

⁹⁴ Van Boxtel and Grever, "Reflections on heritage as an educational resource," 9.

⁹⁵ 'Leerlingen ervaren dat hun eigen omgeving betekenisvol is en dat het cultureel erfgoed met henzelf te maken heeft.' SLO "Leerplankader".

meaning to the past and the present, and appreciate it (core objective 56)".⁹⁶ Education in cultural heritage will teach them that places, landscape, buildings, customs and rituals were different in the past. Linked to history education, heritage can contribute to the development of historical awareness. When heritage is also part of Artistic orientation, the creative process is used to process the experience and imagination of cultural heritage.⁹⁷

The translation of Van Heusden and the Erasmus program's vision in the SLO framework has resulted in a guideline for heritage education. In the view of Van Heusden, heritage education belongs to cultural education, whereas in the view of Grever and Van Boxtel it should be part of the history lesson. This last view is dominant within the SLO framework: heritage is to be used as a source in the history lesson. However, the four basic skills from *Cultuur in de spiegel* are important in the curriculum framework with regard to building a learning line, which connects to the skills that the pupils master throughout the years. Both academic programs view heritage as useful for identity formation and the practise of skills, with the Erasmus program focussing on historical skills and *Cultuur in de spiegel* focusing on the four basic skills. Both can be found in the SLO framework. Both *Cultuur in de spiegel* and the Erasmus program assert that heritage is dynamic and that this should be taken into account in heritage education. Furthermore, this aspect of heritage is seen as an advantage of this learning source or 'tool'.

In the next chapter I elaborate on the different ways in which heritage is at present employed in Dutch education.

⁹⁶ 'Door te reflecteren op het erfgoed kunnen leerlingen aan het verleden én heden betekenis toekennen en het waarderen. Zij verwerven zo enige kennis over en krijgen waardering voor aspecten van cultureel erfgoed (kerndoel 56)'.

⁹⁷ SLO "Leerplankader kunstzinnige oriëntatie."

Chapter 3. The uses of heritage in Dutch education

3.1. Introduction

Chapter 1 explored how heritage education is most often linked to history education in the Dutch curriculum. Heritage has a strong natural link to history and the concept of time; indeed, much of our heritage was formed in the past; and in the present, people want to preserve it and transfer it to future generations. In 2013, Minister Bussemaker wrote in her “Visiebrief”, a ministerial letter which contains her vision on a certain topic, that “the direct contact with authentic objects and stories in museums, archives and libraries, but also with the environment in the form of monuments, archaeology and architecture make us understand what is the difference between then and now, here and there, and between yourself and the other”.⁹⁸

Heritage can be seen as a positive way to let pupils experience history, according to the Raad voor Cultuur: “Visiting monuments, archaeological sites or archives can further the historical knowledge and general development of children”.⁹⁹

For these reasons it appears logical that heritage education can best be placed under the umbrella of the history lesson. If heritage is treated in an analytical manner, as is the practice of historians, heritage can be used in the history lesson to practise source criticism and to further historical thinking, as advocated by Grever and Van Boxtel. This is also the way in which heritage education is promoted through the SLO framework.

Together with the use of heritage as a historical source, whether it be used for the teaching of local history or the furthering of historical thinking, heritage is often treated as a ‘valued heirloom’ that must be passed on to future generations. This notion is embodied in the only core objective that covers heritage: “The pupils acquire some knowledge about and gain appreciation for aspects of cultural heritage”. This vision of heritage education has historical roots: the most important aim for heemkunde was to further knowledge of the environment and in this way, achieve appreciation of the local heritage, as explained in section 1.2.

A third way to treat heritage in education is to study and dissect it as a meta-cultural phenomenon. In this notion, heritage is seen as sources of *social* knowledge, not historical knowledge. In chapter 5, I elaborate on this further.

Apart from these three substantive ways to employ heritage, there are two other reasons to use heritage in education. One is that heritage is seen as a ‘rich learning environment’ that makes it possible to learn in practice and to do cross-sectoral work. Since the beginning of heemkunde, this has been seen as a special advantage of the use of heritage in education. The latest set of skills that is supposed to be practised with heritage education are the 21st century skills, as was also mentioned in the overview of the government incentive *Cultuureducatie met kwaliteit* in section 1.4.3.

The other advantage of heritage education, that applies for all the different ways to employ heritage in education, is the idea that it can be used for identity formation.

In the following, I elaborate on the different ways heritage is employed in Dutch education and what the visions and ideas of leading heritage specialists and governmental implementation organisations

⁹⁸ ‘Het contact met de authentieke objecten en de verhalen in musea, archieven en bibliotheken, maar ook met de leefomgeving in de vorm van monumenten, archeologie en architectuur doet ons beseffen wat het verschil is tussen toen en nu, tussen hier en daar, en tussen jezelf en de ander. Kortom: cultuur geeft inzicht in onszelf, maar vooral ook in de beleevingswereld van anderen.’ Bussemaker, “Cultuur beweegt,” 2.

⁹⁹ “Agenda Cultuur 2017 – 2020 en verder. Advies van de Raad voor Cultuur,” 43, quote in section 1.3.

are in this respect. I will leave out the use of heritage, ‘as a rich learning environment’. This is or can be a mixture of all kinds of goals and methods, because here, heritage is used as an opportunity to practice various kinds of skills, and, as can be seen in the scheme, almost everything can be done with it in this instance.

The scheme in figure 3 takes into account the results of the inventory of heritage education projects and the digital enquiry after learning goals (chapter 4).

Figure 3. Heritage education model

How we use heritage in school	Motto	What the pupil is supposed to do with it	Most common place in curriculum	What the pupil learns	Heritage as a means to further identity formation
As a historical source	‘how it was’	To study	History, geography	Local history; Source-criticism; multiperspectivity; historical thinking.	To learn ‘where you come from’. To learn about yourself through empathy and understanding of other cultures.
As an heirloom	‘how we want it’	To appropriate	History, geography, cultural education	Appreciation of heritage; the desire to keep, guard and pass on the heritage; knowledge of ‘the stories’.	To feel pride for one’s heritage; to get to know oneself better through knowledge about one’s ‘forefathers’.
As a meta-cultural phenomenon	‘how it is’	To dissect	Civics, cultural education	Sociological, anthropological and psychological insights.	Understanding of culture and society.
As a rich learning environment	‘what you become’	To use	History, geography, economics, cultural education, artistic education, technique, language; at best cross-sectoral.	21st century skills; to be a creative, flexible citizen and employee.	To understand the modern world better; to become a ‘good’ citizen.

This figure presents the different ways in which heritage can be employed in education and how this correlates with how the pupil has to ‘handle’ the heritage (third column) and the expectations of what the pupils will get out of it (fifth column). The last column displays in what way identity formation could be furthered in the different uses of heritage in education.

3.2. Heritage as a historical source

3.2.1. To learn about local history

Heritage can be employed in the history lesson to learn about local history. As we will see in chapter 4, this is the most important aim for educators and this is also reflected in the projects currently offered in the Netherlands.

Sometimes, the heritage in the vicinity of the school is linked to a subject in the history lesson that the pupils deal with at a certain moment. For instance, heritage projects centred around ‘life a hundred years ago’ are often done in the fifth grade, because part of the fifth grade history lesson deals with this time period. Likewise, projects centred around industrial heritage are often done in the seventh grade and World War II projects are often reserved for the seventh and eighth grade. This means that the time period in which the heritage was produced as a landscape or artefact (a

middle-aged castle, a 19th century factory building) or the time period the heritage refers to (a monument that was erected in 1980 but that refers to World War II or a primeval garden that was constructed ten years ago), determines whether (and when) it will be used for a learning experience. However, the ‘guardians’ of the heritage (museum curators, millers, educators at a monument, etc.) have their own goals, the most important being that the heritage is brought to the attention of as many people as possible, and schools are a popular target group. This is due to the fact that it is most often deemed important to teach the youth about their heritage, since they will (or should) be its future guardians. On the other hand, once there is a connection with a school, the heritage (museum, monument, etc.) is assured a high amount of visitors, which is often a necessary element to receive funding (and apart from that, a broad level of public support is necessary for every public institution).¹⁰⁰ Consequently, heritage organisations sometimes offer educational projects that do not automatically match with the school curriculum. For example, the Philips Museum in Eindhoven offers the history of light, Museum De Gevangenpoort offers the history of the prison system, Museum Boerhave offers the history of health care and the Siebold Museum offers the history of Japan and Japanese–Dutch relations. The challenge for these museums is to find a way to link their story to the history curriculum of the schools. This is much easier to accomplish when the museum tells the story of the Second World War or when it has a large collection of objects from the Middle Ages.

Often, projects concerning local history do not link to a historical (school book) subject very clearly. They ‘just’ deal with local history, as will be seen in chapter 4.

3.2.2. To practise historical skills

When heritage is used as a historical source, this does not always imply that heritage is treated as a fixed thing from the past with fixed characteristics. The dynamic notion of heritage is in accordance with the awareness, common among history scholars, that historical sources always have to be handled with suspicion because every source, especially written sources, were created by humans with opinions and ‘agendas’. Furthermore, history scholars understand that the way people examine things is always changing. For instance, slavery was common in ancient times and was not considered (as) reprehensible, as it is now. In this way, heritage can play the same role as any other historical source in the history lesson. Pupils can practise source-criticism and historical thinking; by understanding historical contexts and understanding that (and how) the past is different from the present, pupils can learn historical empathy. Furthermore, with the help of heritage, which is often tangible and ‘lively’, pupils can more easily engage in the past and in this way, learn about multiperspectivity: they can, for instance, walk in the shoes of the master as well as the servant and thus, learn that a person’s (social) background was a determining factor in the way he lived and understood life.

Often, pupils are also asked to ‘give their own meaning’ to the heritage they have investigated, which means, often, that they are asked to give their opinion on a certain issue or piece of heritage (e.g. What do I think of the slave-trade? or Do I think we should preserve this castle?). This is an extra tool to teach the pupils that heritage is dynamic: because the meaning of heritage changes throughout the years, the pupil can and should also give (his own) meaning to the heritage.

This use of heritage is in accordance with the views and opinions of academics – especially Grever and Van Boxtel from the Erasmus research program. Meaning making is also important in the view of Van Heusden’s *Cultuur in de spiegel*.

¹⁰⁰ Jacqueliën Vroemen, “Small museums and secondary education,” Unpublished paper (February 5, 2016).

That heritage is a dynamic phenomenon is also the leading vision of the important implementing organisations of the government and of leading Dutch heritage specialists (see figure 1 for an overview.) The Raad voor Cultuur has stated that museums are the main keepers of a collective shared memory, which has become all the more important in our plural society.¹⁰¹ However, this collective memory “is not self-evident”. Making sense of traces from the past is the work of human beings and this also goes for the transfer from one generation to the other. “Every generation forms its own collective memory, which is dynamic as well as malleable”.¹⁰² Museums play a very important role in the transfer of the historic facts and historical awareness is needed to understand and work with this cultural diversity. Because of this, education is a fundamental task for every museum.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, there is a difference between history and heritage. Indeed, as the Raad has stated: heritage is not about the past in itself, but about the way history is being instrumentalized, used and employed in daily life. Museums are continuously transforming history into meaningful heritage, from which local, regional or national societies draw their identity.¹⁰⁴

The Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie follows the views of Carla van Bortel and Maria Grever: “If we take the idea of pupils as meaning makers seriously and want an inclusive approach, then our heritage lessons should provide pupils with opportunities to explore different perspectives on the significance of heritage. Reflecting on different interpretations and beliefs may contribute to pupils’ awareness that their own and other people’s identity influences their interpretations of the past”.¹⁰⁵ As previously noted, this is also the vision of the SLO.¹⁰⁶

In “Blik op erfgoededucatie” the provincial heritage consultants have stated that adequate heritage education should contribute to the development of historical awareness and is dynamic and dualistic: it furthers multiperspectivity.¹⁰⁷

3.3. Heritage as a valuable heirloom

Together with the use of heritage as a historical source, the aim might be to teach the pupils to respect and appreciate heritage, as mentioned in core objective 56. At the Ministry of Education, this notion was, in 2004, articulated as follows: “Learning about traces of earlier generations, gives us [amongst others] respect for cultural heritage”.¹⁰⁸

One reason for this is that if the young people learn to respect the heritage now, they will want to take care of it when they are older.

This is, however, a circular argument because the question remains why it is important to respect heritage so much that we want to preserve it. Nonetheless, many heritage education projects are

¹⁰¹ Raad voor Cultuur, “Ontgrenzen en verbinden,” (2013), 19, accessed July 29, 2016, <https://www.cultuur.nl/upload/documents/adviezen/Ontgrenzen-en-Verbinden-21032013.pdf>, 11.

¹⁰² ‘Sterker nog, iedere generatie vormt zijn eigen collectieve geheugen, dat zowel dynamisch als plastisch is.’ Idem, 23.

¹⁰³ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁴ Idem, 23-24.

¹⁰⁵ Carla van Bortel, cited in Fianne E.M. Konings and Barend P. van Heusden, “Culturele instellingen en een doorlopende leerlijn cultuuronderwijs. Richtlijnen,” 16, (Utrecht: Fonds voor Cultuurparticipatie (FCP) June 2013), accessed July 29, 2016, <http://www.rug.nl/cultuuronderwijs/bibliotheek/beleid/pdf/f-konings-cult-inst-en-doorl-ll-co-richtl.pdf>.

¹⁰⁶ SLO “Leerplankader kunstzinnige educatie.”

¹⁰⁷ Idem, 6.

¹⁰⁸ The full quote is: ‘Door kennis te nemen van de sporen van vorige generaties krijgen we respect voor het cultureel erfgoed, wordt kennis en inzicht verworven over de historische context, leren we de eigen denk- en leefwereld relativeren en open te staan voor andere culturen, opvattingen en overtuigingen.’ See also note 6. Hagenaars, “Doel en streven van Cultuur en School,” 23.

aimed towards this goal. The idea is that when the pupils learn about heritage, “hear the stories” and “understand” the heritage – for instance, this old tower that students pass every day on their way to school becomes a “meaningful” building once they know the stories “behind it” – they will start to appreciate it. The hope is that the pupil will embrace the heritage and feel it as “his own”. Often, the word ‘appropriation’ is used.

3.4. Heritage as a meta-cultural phenomenon

The third way in which heritage can be used in education is to study (and use) it as a meta-cultural phenomenon. This kind of heritage education focuses on the formation of heritage, or: heritage as a socio-cultural and intangible process. This ‘meta-perspective’ was described in 2004 by anthropologist and professor at the Tisch School of the Arts in New York, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in “Intangible heritage as a meta-cultural production”. The first UNESCO list of Masterpieces of oral and intangible heritage of humanity in 2001 was, according to Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, a meta-cultural artefact in itself.¹⁰⁹ The point is, that *everything* that is done with heritage, whether it be the digging up of artefacts, storing them in a museum, placing them on a list, the safeguarding of a site, indeed the ‘declaring’ of anything as heritage is part of the process of heritage making.¹¹⁰

In heritage education projects that reflect this vision, the time period in which a piece of heritage is formed is not leading for the choice whether or not to use it in class and when. More important in the choice of heritage is, in this model, the extent to which it is considered to be relevant for the pupils. Indeed, this relevancy is considered from the view of the pupils and not from the providers or ‘guardians’ of the heritage. Often then, heritage as a meta-cultural phenomenon projects use contemporary heritage; or the pupils are asked to bring their own valued objects or choose their own valued buildings, museum objects or land- or cityscapes. However, they can also be invited to ‘dissect’ an existing piece from the ‘heritage canon’.

To get to ‘know’ a piece of heritage is, in this model, the study of its biography: when was it ‘born’, where has it been, who has possessed it, handled it, discarded it, preserved it, loved it, used it? Why was this done? What was at stake? Whose agenda? The same is true for modern heritage that refers to older times such as war monuments or primeval gardens: Why was this erected or constructed? For whom? What are we supposed to do with or in it and who says so? Whose needs are we serving? Whose stories are we transmitting and why?

This way of using heritage in education is not overly common, but it is used in several projects. For instance, when children learn about the value of objects (often in grades one to four), why they are collected, why they are put in a museum or why buildings are transformed into monuments, this refers to heritage formation.

3.5. Heritage as a rich learning environment

Heritage education was always considered to be ideal for interdisciplinary education, learning in practice and the practise of a multitude of skills. In fact, this was already the case with heemkunde. The provincial heritage consultants in their list of criteria for ‘good’ heritage education mention these benefits. ‘Good’ heritage education lends itself to cross-curricular work and it furthers the

¹⁰⁹ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Intangible heritage as metacultural production,” In *Museum International*, no. 221-222 vol. 65. (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 56.

¹¹⁰ Camila Del Marmol, Marc Morell, Jasper Chalcraft (eds.), *The making of heritage. Seduction and disenchantment*, (New York: Routledge, 2015).

development of diverse competencies like investigation, asking questions, collaboration and presenting.¹¹¹

In recent years, 21st century skills have become popular. These are “competencies that students need to successfully participate in the society of the future”.¹¹² The focus of the benefits of heritage education has shifted to a more economic viewpoint, Hageaars observed in 2013.¹¹³ Creativity is considered to be important for the economy and society. Artistic orientation is important for the personal development of every child, State Secretary Halbe Zijlstra stated in 2011, but also for the creativity of society as a whole. Children will develop an investigative approach, which is of enormous importance for our information society.¹¹⁴ His successor, Minister Jet Bussemaker, also stated that the art subjects play a role in the development of creative skills. Creativity and innovative capacity are “preconditions for the further growth of our information society”.¹¹⁵ In her “Visiebrief”, she wrote of cultural education: “meaning all the education with and about art and heritage”. She does not use the term heritage education. In her view, cultural education is of great societal value. She refers to, *inter alia*, 21st century skills.¹¹⁶ “More attention to creativity in the curriculum is good for the competitiveness of our country”, the Minister recently wrote in her Letter to the Chamber. “A dynamic labour market requires a flexible workforce with the willingness and ability to continue learning. Employers in the 21st century require more and more that their employees can think of inventive solutions for issues”.¹¹⁷

3.6. How heritage can further identity formation

Identity formation is an aim – or a desired outcome – of heritage education that is envisaged by the government, its implementing organisations, in the two aforementioned academic programs, and the heritage advisors alike. As stated in section 1.4, the government regards cultural education in school as a means to (cultural) citizenship and social cohesion. Moreover, in its advice to the Minister “Ontgrenzen en verbinden”, the Raad voor Cultuur stated that heritage is important for identity formation, social consciousness and connections between groups in society and between the past

¹¹¹ “Blik op erfgoededucatie,” 6.

¹¹² Remco Pijpers, 17 juli 2015, “Alles wat je moet weten over 21ste eeuwse vaardigheden,” Kennisnet, accessed February 23, 2017, <https://www.kennisnet.nl/artikel/alles-wat-je-moet-weten-over-21e-eeuwse-vaardigheden/>.

¹¹³ Piet Hageaars, “Onderzoek voor een stevig fundament voor cultuuronderwijs,” *Cultuur+Educatie* 13 nr. 38, (Utrecht: Landelijk Kennisinstituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst LKCA, 2013), 53.

¹¹⁴ ‘Ook Zijlstra’s kwaliteitsimpuls voor cultuuronderwijs is ingegeven door economische motieven, namelijk het belang van creativiteit voor economie en samenleving. Zo noemt hij in zijn beleidsbrief het leergebied kunstzinnige oriëntatie ‘belangrijk voor de persoonlijke ontwikkeling [van elk kind] en voor de creativiteit van onze samenleving als geheel’ en is de “onderzoekende houding” die kinderen daarin ontwikkelen “van groot belang voor onze kennissamenleving” (Zijlstra 2011, p 8).’ Piet Hageaars, “Onderzoek voor een stevig fundament voor cultuuronderwijs,” 53.

¹¹⁵ ‘Ook zijn opvolger minister Jet Bussemaker stelt dat juist de kunstvakken een functie hebben in het ontwikkelen van creatieve vaardigheden en ze noemt creativiteit en innovatief vermogen ‘voorwaarden voor de verdere groei van onze kennissamenleving’. Idem, 53.

¹¹⁶ Bussemaker, “Cultuur beweegt,” 2-3. See also section 1.4.3.

¹¹⁷ ‘Een dynamische arbeidsmarkt vraagt om een flexibele beroepsbevolking met de bereidheid en bekwaamheid om te blijven leren. Werkgevers in de 21ste eeuw vereisen steeds meer dat hun werknemers vindingrijke oplossingen kunnen bedenken voor vraagstukken.’ Kamerbrief cultuuronderwijs najaar 2016 Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap, 2, accessed April 8, 2017, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2016/11/23/kamerbrief-cultuuronderwijs-najaar-2016>.

and the present.¹¹⁸ The Raad further included the museums in this perspective: “Museums have a social-cultural task through which they contribute to the functioning of an open, democratic society that enables and invites citizens to participate. Museums are the most preferred institutions to shape cultural citizenship via arts and heritage”.¹¹⁹ Thus, Museums are regarded as the main keepers of a collective shared memory, which was said to have become all the more important in the Netherlands as a plural society.¹²⁰ The Nederlandse Museum Vereniging also stated that museum education “furthers citizenship”.¹²¹ The Minister of OCW Jet Bussemaker stressed the importance of heritage for identity. In 2013, she sent an advisory letter “Ontgrenzen en Verbinden” about the Dutch Museum Structure to Parliament in response to the aforementioned advice from the Raad voor Cultuur. In this letter she wrote that heritage is one of the factors that defines our identity and contributes to a common reference framework. “It helps us to reflect, to look critically, and to be empathic. Those are important characteristics in a democratic society”.¹²² In her “Visiebrief”, she wrote that culture¹²³ offers insight into oneself, but also into another person’s world of experiences and feelings.¹²⁴ This view mirrors the aim of learning multiperspectivity that Grever and Van Boxtel have advocated since 2009, stating that: “heritage learning activities can support pupils in the process of learning about themselves and in understanding others”.¹²⁵ In “Blik op erfgoededucatie” the heritage consultants have stated that good heritage education “contributes to the personal development/identity formation”. Indeed, ‘good’ heritage education improves one’s understanding of the culture and historical backgrounds of others and oneself, so that one can adapt a responsible attitude toward others. Moreover, it fits into a learning line that contributes to the development of the cultural self-awareness (personal or collective) of the pupils.¹²⁶ In this last criterion, the influence of *Cultuur in de spiegel* can be observed.

In the LKCA report on the positioning of heritage education, the LKCA reflects Maria Grever and Carla van Boxtel’s view of heritage education: the aim is to strengthen cultural and historical thinking.

¹¹⁸ Raad voor Cultuur “Ontgrenzen en Verbinden,” 19.

¹¹⁹ ‘Musea hebben een sociaal-culturele taak waardoor zij bijdragen aan het functioneren van een open, democratische samenleving die burgers in staat stelt en uitnodigt om te participeren. Als geen ander zijn musea aangewezen instellingen om via kunst en erfgoed vorm te geven aan cultureel burgerschap.’ “Ontgrenzen en verbinden,” 55-56.

¹²⁰ Raad voor Cultuur, “Ontgrenzen en verbinden,” 11.

¹²¹ Nederlandse Museumvereniging, “Jaarverslag 2015 Museumvereniging,” 11, accessed August 1, 2016, <https://www.museumvereniging.nl/Portals/0/6-Publicaties/Bestanden/20160517%20Jaarverslag%202015%20Museumvereniging.pdf>.

¹²² ‘Erfgoed bepaalt mede onze identiteit en draagt bij aan een gemeenschappelijk referentiekader. Het helpt ons reflecteren, kritisch te kijken en ons te verplaatsen in de ander. Dit zijn belangrijke eigenschappen in een democratische samenleving.’ “Kamerbrief over advies ontgrenzen en verbinden naar een nieuw museaal bestel,” March 28, 2013, accessed April 8, 2017, <https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/dossier/32820/kst-32820-74?resultIndex=212&sorttype=1&sortorder=4>.

¹²³ It seems that ‘culture’ here means heritage because that was the subject of this section, but I am not sure.

¹²⁴ Bussemaker, “Cultuur beweegt. De betekenis van cultuur in een veranderende samenleving. Brief met de visie van minister Bussemaker op cultuur,” Parliamentary paper, (June 10, 2013), accessed July 29, 2016, 2, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/ministeries/ministerie-van-onderwijs-cultuur-en-wetenschap/documenten/kamerstukken/2013/06/11/cultuur-beweegt-de-betekenis-van-cultuur-in-een-veranderende-samenleving>.

¹²⁵ Grever and Van Boxtel, *Challenges in dealing with the past*, 11.

¹²⁶ “Blik op erfgoededucatie”

Heritage education should contribute to the study of history, to civic education and to identity development through value creation, because the pupils give personal meaning to heritage.¹²⁷ However, when heritage is used to teach pupils about local history and not to further historical thinking, this can also contribute to the formation of a strong identity. This adheres to the notion that the pupil who “gets to know” his forefathers, will better understand himself: it is important to know where one “came from”. As mentioned in section 1.2, in 2005 the Onderwijsraad wrote that education should teach the young about their past (“the story of the Netherlands”). According to the Onderwijsraad, respect for others can be furthered if pupils know who they are and what their history is. Knowledge about one’s identity strengthens understanding for others.¹²⁸ In 2007, State Secretary Plasterk stated (see section 1.4.2) that cultural citizenship can only be achieved if citizens are able to study their past or to express themselves in some form of art.

In conclusion, heritage is employed in Dutch education in different ways. Visions, methods and aims often overlap and are sometimes conflicting. Pupils should learn that heritage is dynamic and from this, they should learn empathy for other people and cultures. This is good for their own identity formation, but it will also make them ‘good civilians’ in a globalized world, which, combined with 21st century skills that can be practised with cultural education, is good for the economy. Simultaneously, heritage should be (and is) used to teach children about local history. It is difficult to combine this with the notion that heritage is dynamic and the result of choices that are still being made. In several instances, pupils are invited to be meaning makers themselves. Within these projects there is the risk of overlooking the fact that the dynamic nature of heritage is not only a question of different perspectives throughout the ages, but also of the very personal act of meaning making that people in the present undertake. Moreover, the transfer of knowledge of heritage is in itself an act of meaning making and therefore, of the construction of heritage.¹²⁹

Respect for heritage is the aim of the only core objective that mentions cultural heritage and this is also a strong motive in many views on cultural heritage education. However, this aim is not easily combined with a critical stance toward heritage.

The fact that it is difficult to combine all the objectives, could be the reason that, in most heritage education projects, the teaching of history takes the lead while the dynamic nature of heritage is dealt with ‘half-heartedly’, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹²⁷ Piet Hagaraars, red, *Erfgoededucatie in het primair onderwijs, een verkenning*, (Utrecht: Landelijk Instituut Cultuureducatie en Amateurkunst LKCA, 2014), 8.

¹²⁸ Ibidem

¹²⁹ Here, I would like to refer to the statement of the Raad voor Cultuur (section 5.3): ‘Making sense of the traces from the past is the work of human beings and *this also goes for the transfer from one generation to the other*’ (my italics).

Chapter 4. Heritage education in the Netherlands: projects and learning goals

4.1. Inventory of projects

4.1.1. Introduction

The inventory of heritage education projects currently offered in the Netherlands was done via the internet in the last months of 2016 and the first month of 2017. I visited the websites of the members of the Nederlandse Museumvereniging¹³⁰ in addition to searching for museums and antiquities rooms that are not members, through the tourist websites that almost every Province has. Furthermore, I visited the websites of the Provincial Heritage Houses or similar provincial support organisations (the ten members of OPEN: Overleg Provinciale Erfgoedinstellingen Nederland (national representative for provincial Heritage Houses in the Netherlands)).¹³¹ I also examined the websites of archives and I searched for projects with words like (and variations of these words) ‘erfgoededucatie’, ‘cultuureducatie’, ‘erfgoedleerlijn’ and ‘leerlijn cultureel erfgoed’.

I found 1,387 projects, developed and/or offered by museums, Heritage Houses, archives, heritage sites (like fortresses, national monuments or archaeological spots) and ‘non-authentic’¹³² heritage sites such as primeval gardens or monuments (like churches, mills, manor houses and foundations that develop projects for an assembly of similar monuments in a region, like Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken); provincial or municipal cultural education organisations like Kunst Centraal in Utrecht; foundations that make projects in collaboration with schools and cultural organisations with the use of different sources of funding, like Omgevingseducatie Gooi, Vecht- en Eemstreek; and ‘cultural networks’. Those networks are mostly organised and/or paid by the local government and are often a collaboration between several organisations like the local museum, library and archive, or the music school and the library, or the arts centre with library, historical association and antiquities room; sometimes, the actual developer of the cultural networks projects is a hired freelancer who has the specific knowledge and skills to make content for educational purposes.

I included projects that are part of a learning line as separate projects for the different target groups (primary school grades; I did not find learning lines for secondary education). A number of projects, often those offered by provincial Heritage Houses, are distributed among a significant number of municipalities. Examples include a project named ‘Bouwen in de stad’ (construction in the town, i.e. the Middle Ages), which is mainly about daily life in a given town and which was adapted numerous times to match with the local specificities; and a project named ‘Op stap met Jet en Jan’ (out and about with Jet and Jan), which consists of a fixed format and which was also ‘translated’ to fit with the particularities of every municipality (where Jet and Jan live, the profession of their father, the work of the eldest sister, sometimes also the clothes they wear, etc.). I counted these ‘mother projects’ as separate projects for every location. In some provinces, a vast number of learning lines have been developed; every little village has its own. Within those learning lines some projects were specially made for the village, while other projects are the same as those in nearby learning lines. In this case, my counting was not always consistent.

¹³⁰ Museumvereniging. “MuseumVereniging.Museum.UI.List.” Accessed March 3, 2017, <https://www.museumvereniging.nl/Devereniging/Leden.aspx>.

¹³¹ OPEN. “Leden.” Accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.openerfgoed.nl/>.

¹³² With ‘non authentic’ I mean sites that are newly made for educational and/or recreational purposes and where there is no real link with the represented past.

For every project I noted the title, the (historical) subject, whether it concerns tangible heritage and/or intangible heritage and/or the formation of heritage and whether there was room for the pupils to do ‘heritage work’¹³³; there was also a column for extra information that I used for selection reasons. Furthermore, I noted the target group, the supplier, the location (if necessary) where the project should be executed and whether the project was part of a learning line.

This method yielded semi-exact results. One reason is that the differences between tangible and intangible heritage are not always so clear. While a project about a castle concerns tangible heritage and a project about feasts concerns intangible heritage, many projects mix the two forms, in different quantities and in different ways.¹³⁴ For instance, a project about a still existing castle (tangible heritage) that the pupils visit and learn about: when was it built, why and by whom (history) and the way people lived there in the middle ages (intangible heritage) is not quite similar to a project in the same castle which focuses on the daily life of the inhabitants and in which the pupils dress up in a harness or a princess dress, learn about middle-age etiquette and perform a court dance. Moreover, if in the end the pupils are asked to consider whether the castle should be preserved or not, the project is also, in a modest way, about the formation of heritage. If the pupils are asked to ‘adopt’ the castle and take care of it together on a regular basis (help with restorations, work in the historical garden, clean up an old wall), give a presentation to the public once a year on the day the castle was founded and share their own experiences; then they are also involved in a form of ‘heritage work’.

A second reason is that from the material I found on the internet, it was not always clear what exactly occurred in a project. It is certain that I may have missed assignments within projects that were about the formation of heritage and/or heritage work. Another difficulty is that projects are not often exact, either in the subject or the aims. While a majority of the websites do state one or two main objectives per project, often these objectives are broad and not very precise.

For instance, many projects deal with ‘former times’ or the way ‘your grandparents lived’ in ‘your own village’. These ‘time of your grandparents’ projects range from around a hundred years ago (which is actually more the time of the great-grandparents for present day pupils) until the 1950s. Sometimes these projects are called “the story of ... (name of village)”, but there are many other variations such as the wide range of ‘translations’ of ‘Op stap met Jet en Jan’. Experienced educators have an image of what these projects are about (a mixture of daily life in and around the house, a specific local craft or profession, the handling of replicas of old objects and some ‘old and new’ images of the village for instance), but what exactly is done can only be known upon studying the complete teacher’s manual and all the materials the pupils use, from instructions to work sheets; this is something I did not do.

Nevertheless, the inventory helps understand the state of heritage education in the Netherlands in 2016: which subjects were popular, the ratio between tangible and intangible heritage, how many projects concerned the formation of heritage and how often the pupils were able to do ‘heritage work’.

4.1.2. Target groups

The majority of the 1,378 projects found were aimed at primary schools, with an upward trend toward the higher grades. Most projects are aimed at the seventh grade. The reason for the decrease of projects in the eighth grade is the fact that, in this year, the pupils and teachers spend a

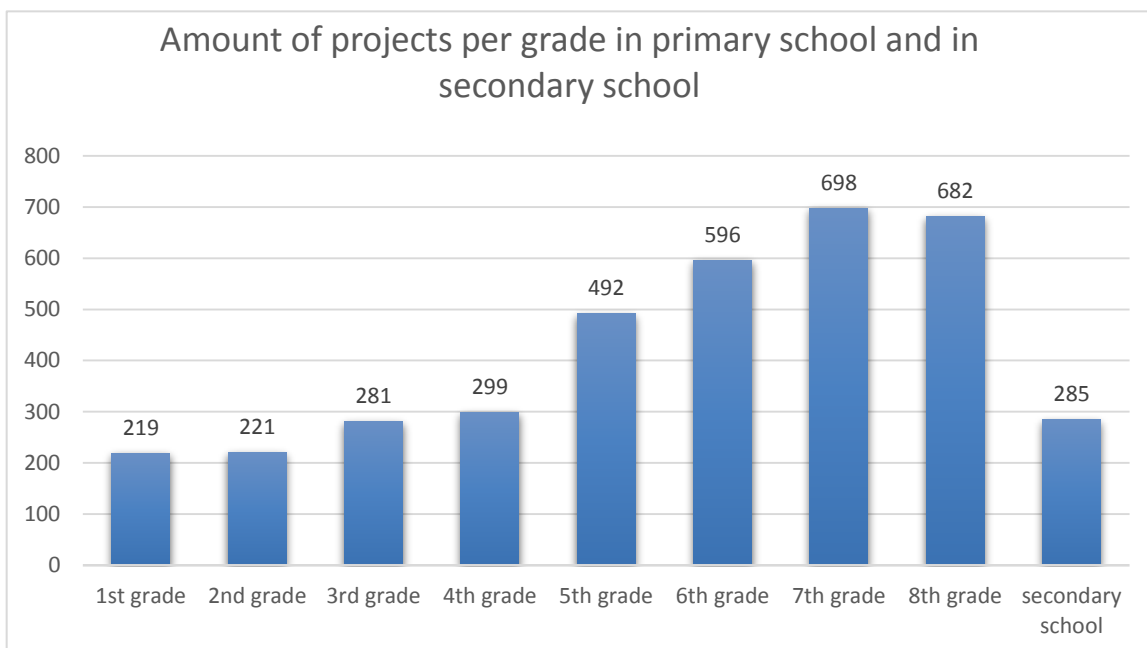
¹³³ See chapter 8.

¹³⁴ And then there is also the idea that all heritage is, basically, intangible, because it is the stories and memories that ‘make’ the artefacts into heritage, but in my research I do not follow this reasoning, because it does not play a role for educators. Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 54.

substantial amount of time preparing for the Cito primary school assessment test, which is taken between April 15th–May 15th (Rijksoverheid, Toelating Voortgezet Onderwijs). The sharp rise in the fifth grade can be explained by the fact that, in this grade, in most schools the ‘real’ history lessons start¹³⁵ (and this simultaneously shows that heritage is indeed often used within the history lesson). An explanation for the fact that less projects are offered in secondary school could be that most stimulation programs from the government are aimed at primary schools. However, this does not mean that less attention is paid to cultural heritage in secondary school. According to the *Monitor Cultuuronderwijs VO 2005*, almost every secondary school teaches cultural heritage, primarily by visiting museums.¹³⁶ It is possible that in secondary education, lessons with cultural heritage, which are, in secondary education also, most often part of the history lesson, are often taught by the history teacher (who then does not need a special project). Many museums do not offer special projects for secondary schools (or, at least, less than for primary schools), but they do offer guided tours for this target group.¹³⁷

From the side of the providers of educational programs, small museums outside the big cities in the Netherlands focus a majority of their educational programs on primary education.¹³⁸ The reason for this appears to be that this target group is ‘easier’ and more accessible.¹³⁹ Interestingly, this is not only the case in the Netherlands. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill’s research demonstrates that the highest percentages of school visits were made by primary schools in England as well. Indeed, “primary schools are perceived by museum education staff as their core bread-and-butter users”.¹⁴⁰

Figure 4. Amount of projects per grade in primary school and in secondary school.



¹³⁵ In grades 1 to 4 attention is paid to aspects of history, such as ‘time’, past and present, old and new, the days of the week, etc., but from grade 5 onwards historical events are being taught.

¹³⁶ Oberon, “Monitor cultuuronderwijs voortgezet onderwijs 2015,” 7.

¹³⁷ My inventory of projects.

¹³⁸ Stichting Museana, “Museumcijfers 2014,” 20. Amsterdam, 2014.

¹³⁹ Jacqueliën Vroemen, “Small museums and secondary education,” Unpublished paper (February 5, 2016).

¹⁴⁰ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and education. Purpose, pedagogy, performance*, London, New York: Routledge 2007, 88.

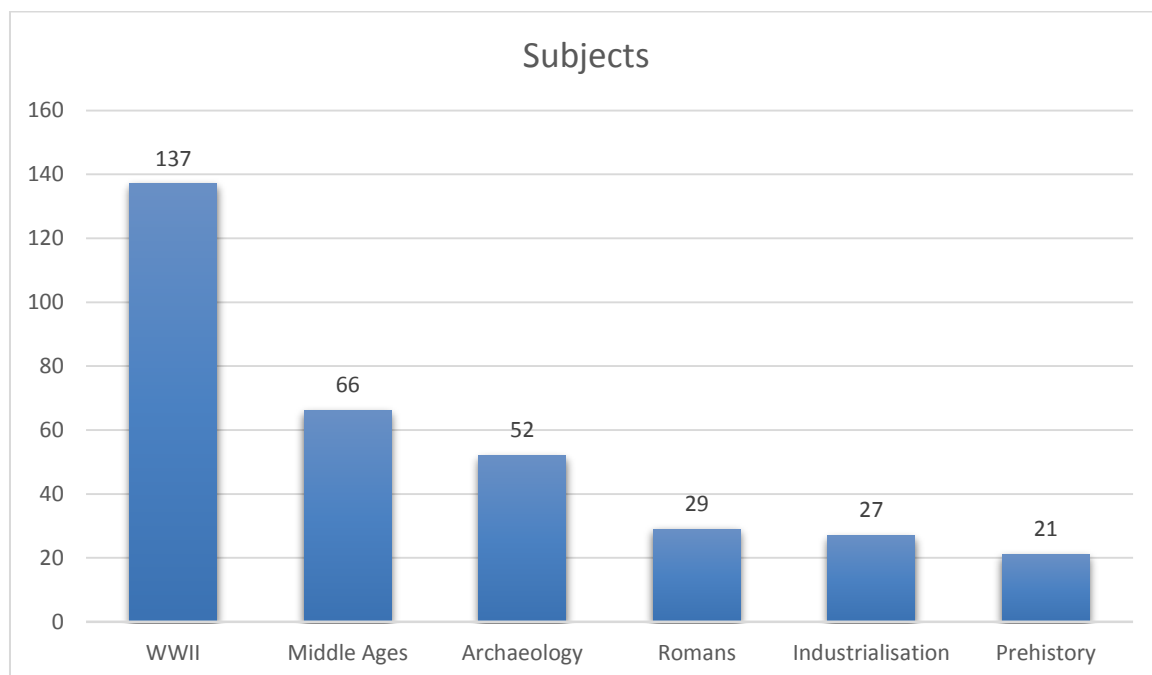
4.1.3. Historical subjects and links to the curriculum

There are several ways to categorize the projects. One way to categorize the projects is by examining the historical subjects. However, the largest amount of projects do not deal with a well-defined historical subject; the most important subject, or area of interest, for any project, is the local heritage and/or history. Most projects are concerned with the history of the village or town, while the exact time period or historical subject is of secondary importance. Many such projects deal with ‘the past’ in an unclear manner (e.g. ‘old times’, ‘the past’, ‘yesteryear’ or ‘then and now’). For local history projects, any era between 50 and 100 years ago is a useful time period, because traces from this era are easily found on the streets (houses and other buildings like railway stations or post offices) and in many collections of local museums and archives (old pictures); objects from this era can be bought second hand (for the pupils to handle) and many people (grandparents for instance) are still alive that can be interviewed by the pupils. Stories are an important element in heritage education projects, and to hear them from people that are alive is another way to ‘bring the past closer’ to the pupils.

However, a number of projects handle a well-defined historical subject. For example, when the local heritage/history is linked to the ‘big story’: a project focused on traces of World War II in the village, or a project around the remains of a middle aged city wall or a nineteenth century factory, can be linked to specific subjects in the history school book.

The following figure presents the ‘historical subject’ heritage projects that were found more than 20 times in all of the projects.

Figure 5. Subjects.



In chapters 1, 2 and 3, I stated that heritage education is often linked to the history curriculum. With the help of the projects in figure 5 it is possible to determine whether the ‘historical subject-projects’ are, indeed, aimed at the correct target group (that is, the grade in which the historical subject is dealt with in class).

A problem here is that there is no fixed history program in the Dutch education system. The core objectives are rather broad, schools choose for themselves which school method (history school

books) they want to use and the teachers basically follow the ten time periods and themes that the books prescribe. Therefore, to determine whether ‘historical subject’-heritage projects are linked to the history curriculum, it is necessary to know how the curriculum is structured.

In a number of schools, history is offered chronologically: the pupils start in 5th or 6th grade with the prehistory and they end in 8th grade with the present. In other schools, the pupils also start with prehistory in the 5th or 6th grade, but the history method covers all the ten time periods in two years. In the 7th grade they start again with prehistory, but now the ten time periods are studied on a higher (or deeper) level. This is known as the concentric/chronological method. If an educator wants to develop a heritage project that matches with the curricula of the schools she wishes to involve, she has to ask every school which school method it uses and study those methods.

According to the Canon Commission, the chronological method is still used the most.¹⁴¹ However, a quick search through the websites of important schoolbook publishers reveals that many have recently developed new methods using the concentric method (Malmberg: *Brandaan*, Zwijsen: *Tijdzaken*, ThiemeMeulenhoff: *Speurtocht*, Noordhoff: *Wijzer!*). Nevertheless, schools are not so quick to purchase entirely new methods, so it is safe to assume that most schools still use the chronological method. In this format, the pupils often start in the 5th grade with themes like: ‘long ago’, ‘then and now’ and daily life in (great-)grandmothers’ time. Then in sixth grade, they learn about prehistoric times to the early Middle Ages; in 6th grade they go from the high Middle Ages (cities and states) to the Dutch Republic (15th – 18th century). Then in the 8th grade, they learn about the industrial revolution to the present.

In the following scheme, I compare the grades in which a certain time period in history is taught and the ‘historical subject’-heritage education projects that are offered for those grades. New in this scheme, compared to figure 5, is ‘Live 100 years ago’. I have not included this in figure 5 because I consider it not a real historical topic.

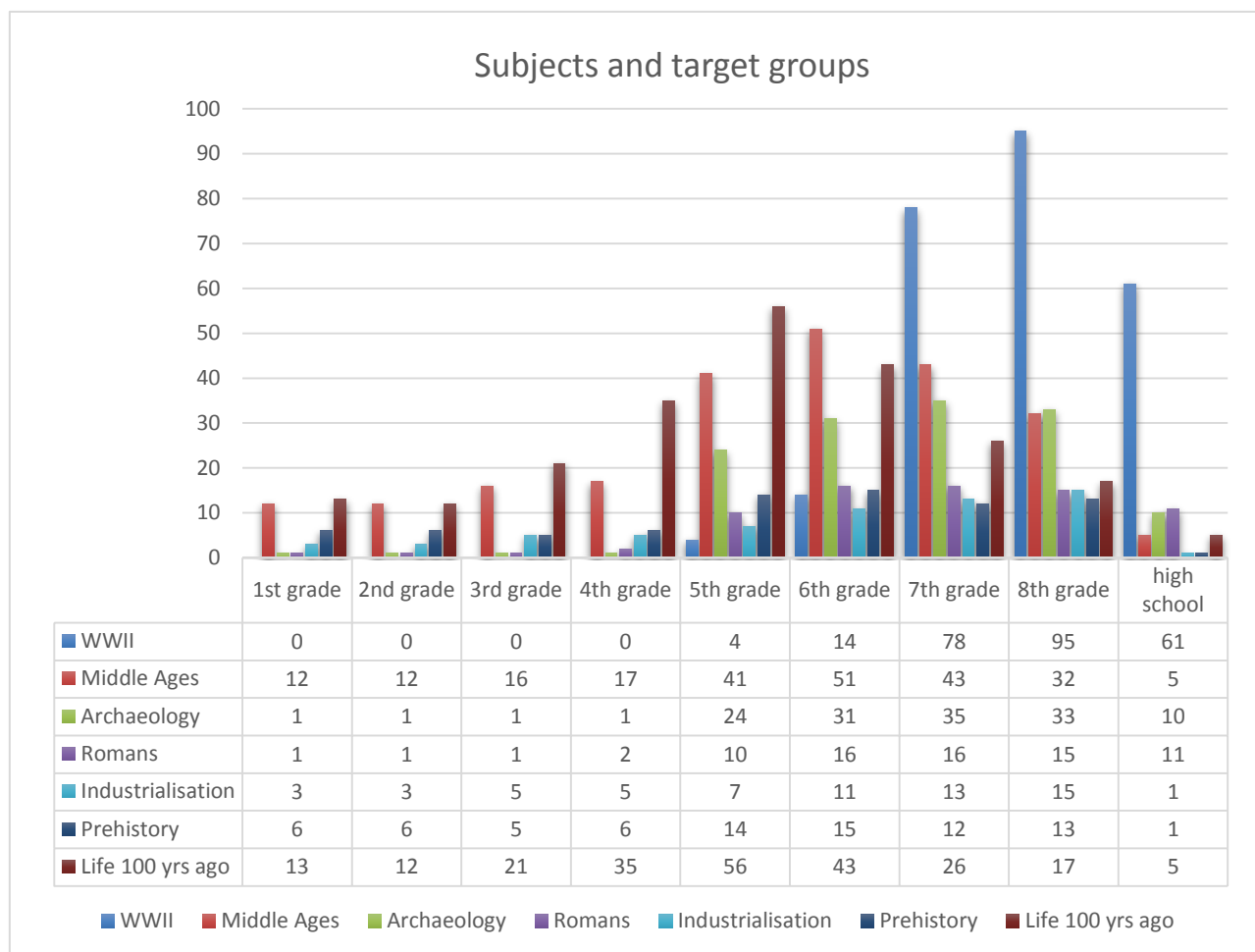
Figure 6. Correlation between time periods and heritage education projects.

Grade	Time period in history school book	Heritage education projects
5th grade	Then and now, olden times	Life 100 years ago
6th grade	Prehistoric times – 1000 ad	Prehistory, archaeology, Romans, Early Middle Ages
7th grade	1000 – 1800	City in the Middle Ages, Industrial Revolution
8th grade	1800 – now	Industrial Revolution, WW II

Daily life a hundred years ago, prehistory, Romans, the Middle Ages, the Industrial Revolution and World War II all fit within the scheme: those heritage education subjects are covered most in the year that those subjects are on the program in the history lesson. The differences are not always convincing, but from the diagram it can be seen that, indeed, ‘historical subject’-heritage projects are developed to match the history curriculum.

¹⁴¹ Theo Beker en Cees van der Kooij, “De canon en het vak geschiedenis. Leerstofordeningen in het primair onderwijs,” En toen.nu, accessed March 24, 2017, [http://www.entoen.nu/primair-onderwijs/didactisch-concept/leerplan-\(slo\)/geschiedenis](http://www.entoen.nu/primair-onderwijs/didactisch-concept/leerplan-(slo)/geschiedenis).

Figure 7. Subjects and target groups.



In figure 7 the subjects are divided among the different grades. One can observe, for instance, that World War II is primarily offered in the 8th grade.

Note that in this diagram the total numbers per project are higher than in figure 6. The reason for this is that, in figure 6, the total amount of projects on a subject are counted: there are 137 projects that deal with World War II. In figure 7, this is split over the different grades. Since most of the projects are offered for more target groups at once (e.g. one World War II project is aimed at grades 7 and 8 and the first years in high school) the numbers are higher.

4.1.4. Dutch identity

In chapters 1 and 3 I described that several parties want to use heritage education to strengthen the Dutch cultural identity. The Onderwijsraad has stated that Dutch pupils should get to know “the story of the Netherlands”. One way to accomplish this, as De Jong has demonstrated, is by teaching about typical local elements that can later be formed into a nationalistic story. De Jong has described this idea for heemkunde (see section 1.1), but this principle was in effect earlier in the history of the Netherlands with the nationalisation of typical local elements like the Hindelooper kamer from Friesland and traditional costumes from various parts of the country, which became national symbols.¹⁴² Nevertheless, it is difficult to establish typical elements of Dutch identity. The following list is arbitrary, but that is exactly one of the problems with the notion of a (Dutch) cultural identity:

¹⁴² De Jong, *De dirigenten van de herinnering*, 55-56, 122, 156-158.

who knows (or decides) what does or does not belong to the identity? (See for heritage and identity also chapter 5)

The Golden Age is often mentioned as the finest era in Dutch history. Willem van Oranje was the ‘father of the fatherland’. During the Eighty Years War, the Dutch fought off the Spanish oppressor and the country became a Republic, something that is often perceived to be the beginning of Dutch democracy if not the ultimate proof of Dutch love of freedom and indeed, something of which to be proud. In an issue of the *Historisch Nieuwsblad* in 2016, 5 of 13 Dutch politicians who were asked to choose a ‘typical Dutch’ heritage object chose a document that is connected to the Dutch ‘liberation struggle’ from the Spanish: the Unie van Utrecht en the Plakkaat van Verlatinghe.¹⁴³

Another element of Dutch cultural identity is, or could be, the landscape. “(...) landscapes, through their seeming ability to exemplify ‘moral order and aesthetic harmony’, come to figure and ‘picture the nation’ and thereby ‘achieve the status of national icons’”, Stephen Daniels, a lecturer in geography, stated in *Fields of vision: landscape imagery and national identity in England and the United States*.¹⁴⁴ Tim Edensor stated in *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* that “nations possess, [...] ‘national landscape ideologies’ charged with affective and symbolic meaning”.¹⁴⁵

The Dutch manmade landscape is, at least abroad,¹⁴⁶ famous: the polders, the Dutch battle against the water, the defence lines that use this same water to keep out the enemy, and the windmills.¹⁴⁷

Five out of ten of the Dutch World Heritage monuments centre around water, defence lines and mills.¹⁴⁸ Finally, the traditional costume might be considered to be an element of national pride, or at least a striking symbol of Holland, as the Jong has displayed in *De dirigenten van de herinnering*.

I counted the heritage projects that deal with the aforementioned subjects in addition to the subject of the slave trade. From this choice of subjects, it can be seen that educators are not overly keen on dealing with this infamous dark side of Dutch history, the consequences of which still play an important role in present day Dutch society. Indeed, there have been several occurrences, such as the battle over Zwarte Piet (Black Pete), which has yet not been solved, the debate about a perceived racist attraction in the Netherlands’ popular amusement park de Efteling, and the commotion concerning a picture on the Dutch King’s Golden Carriage that was said to be a symbol of slavery. I found only three projects that concern the ‘problem’ of Black Pete, an – especially for children – important tradition. It is not possible to draw a firm conclusion from this, only that it might prove that heritage education is used more to further positive (national) feelings than to deal with history in an all-encompassing manner.

¹⁴³ Alies Pegtel and Elske Koopman, “Typisch Nederland,” *Historisch Nieuwsblad*, accessed April 19, 2017, <https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nederlandse-identiteit.html>.

¹⁴⁴ Daniels, S, (1993), 5, quoted in Iain J.M. Robertson, *Heritage from below: class, social protest and resistance*, in eds. Brian Graham and Peter Howard, *The Ashgate research companion to heritage and identity*, (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2008), 143-158.

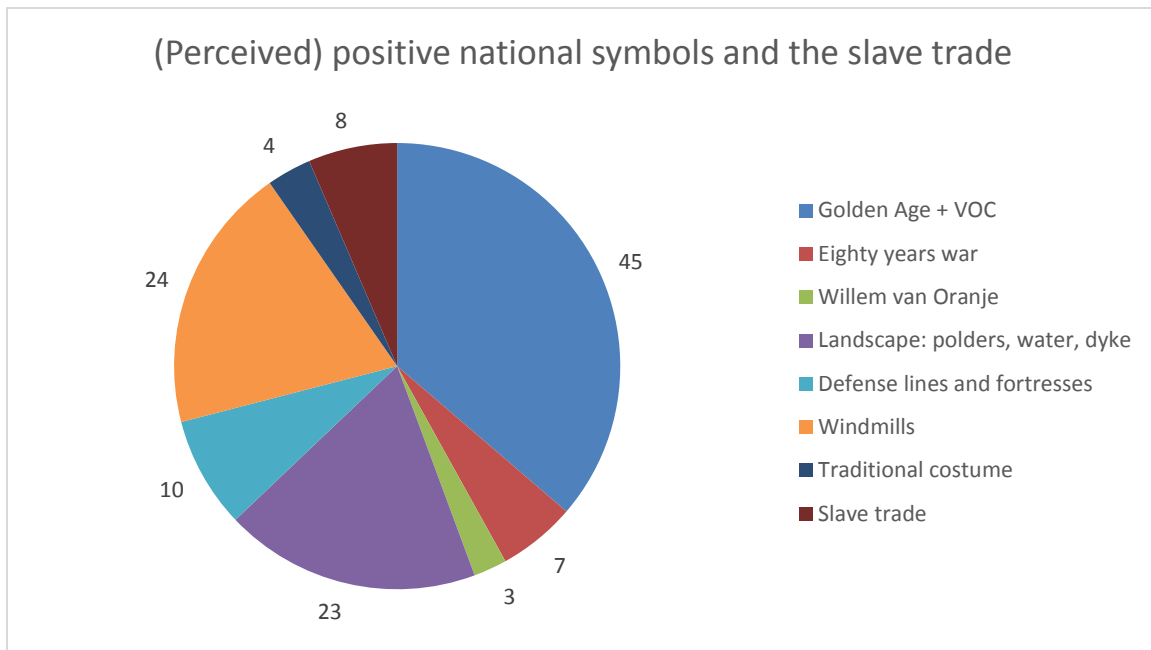
¹⁴⁵ Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*, (Oxford, New York: Berk, 2002), 40.

¹⁴⁶ Stichting Werelderfgoed, “Buitenlandse toeristen bezoeken graag Nederlands werelderfgoed,” October 10, 2016, accessed April 19, 2017, <https://erfgoedstem.nl/buitenlandse-toeristen-bezoeken-graag-nederlands-werelderfgoed/>. An example of how identity is not something that a person or a nation ‘has’, but is partially ‘made’ by the way ‘others’ perceive that person or group. See chapter 7.

¹⁴⁷ See for instance “Tijldijn van het Nederlandse waterlandschap,” Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, accessed April 4, 2017, <https://handreikingerfgoedruimte.nl/tijldijn-van-het-nederlandse-waterlandschap>.

¹⁴⁸ “Nederlands werelderfgoed,” Stichting Werelderfgoed Nederland, accessed April 4, 2017, <http://www.werelderfgoed.nl/werelderfgoed>.

Figure 8. (Perceived) positive national symbols and the slave trade.



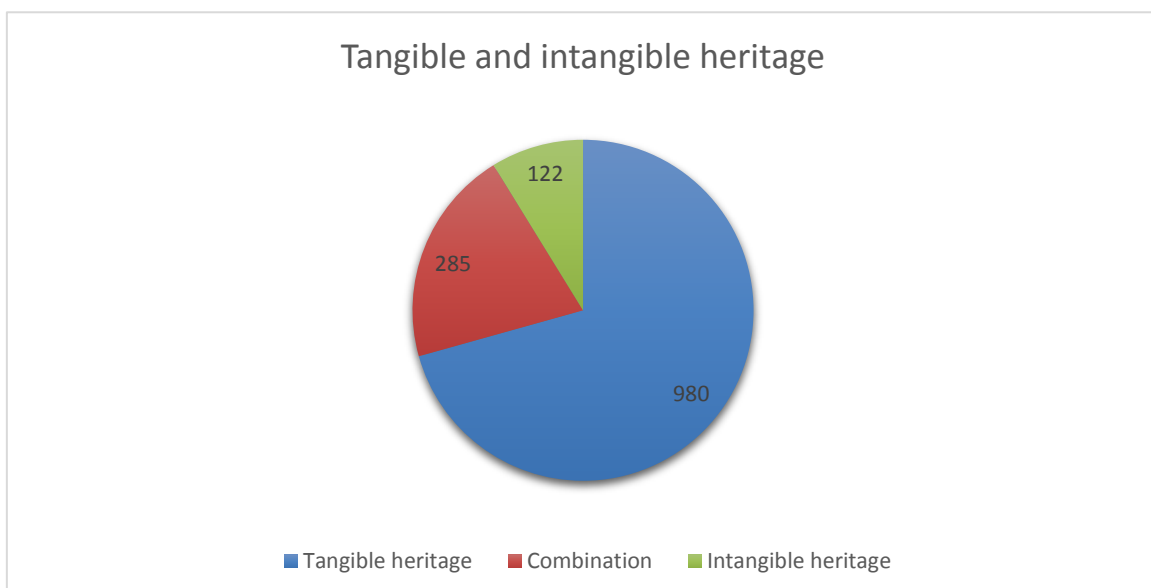
4.1.5. Intangible heritage

Of the 1,387 projects, 122 deal solely with intangible heritage. The subjects are: carnival (4) and other (religious) feasts (11), local food (7), regional language and dialect (11), stories and traditions (5), to collect and to keep (14), religion (3), music (3), techniques, crafts and professions (11), games and playing (4), myths, fairy tales, customs and practices, and 6 World War II projects that only concern stories (and thus, which I have counted as intangible heritage).

There are 285 projects that combine tangible and intangible heritage. In these projects, the intangible part often concerns the way things were done: writing in the middle ages, the making of cheese, construction techniques, dancing, etc.

Thus, it is clear that there is a strong imbalance between projects about tangible and intangible heritage.

Figure 9. Tangible and intangible heritage.



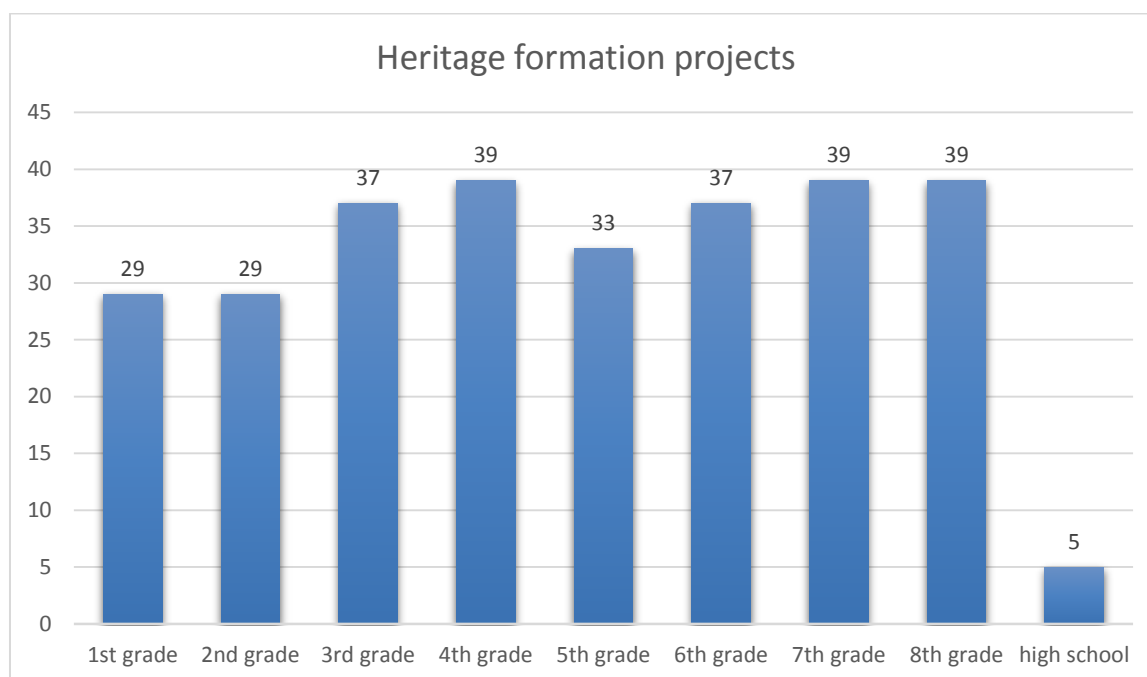
4.1.6. Projects that deal with the formation of heritage

Of the 1,387 projects, 108 deal with the formation of heritage. Such projects often deal with questions such as: Why do people collect things?; What do you collect?; What would you want to keep?; What is value?; When do objects have value?; What stories can objects tell?; and What is a museum?. For grades 1 to 6, most projects are about collecting and keeping, while in grades 5 and 6 projects also concern value.

In 7th and 8th grade and in high school there are also other projects that deal with the formation of heritage. The pupils are asked to think about the restoration of buildings and repurposing (7), they learn about public perception and there are multicultural projects with and about immigrant heritage. A few projects invite the pupils to add their own information to the existing information about, for instance, a city, on a city map. Or, they are invited to share their own stories in a museum. A few projects are considered 'museological' projects. In these projects, the pupils are asked to think about collection building for example.

Examining the target groups for whom such projects are made, it can be determined that the fourth, seventh and eighth grade receive the most heritage-formation projects.

Figure 10. Heritage formation projects.



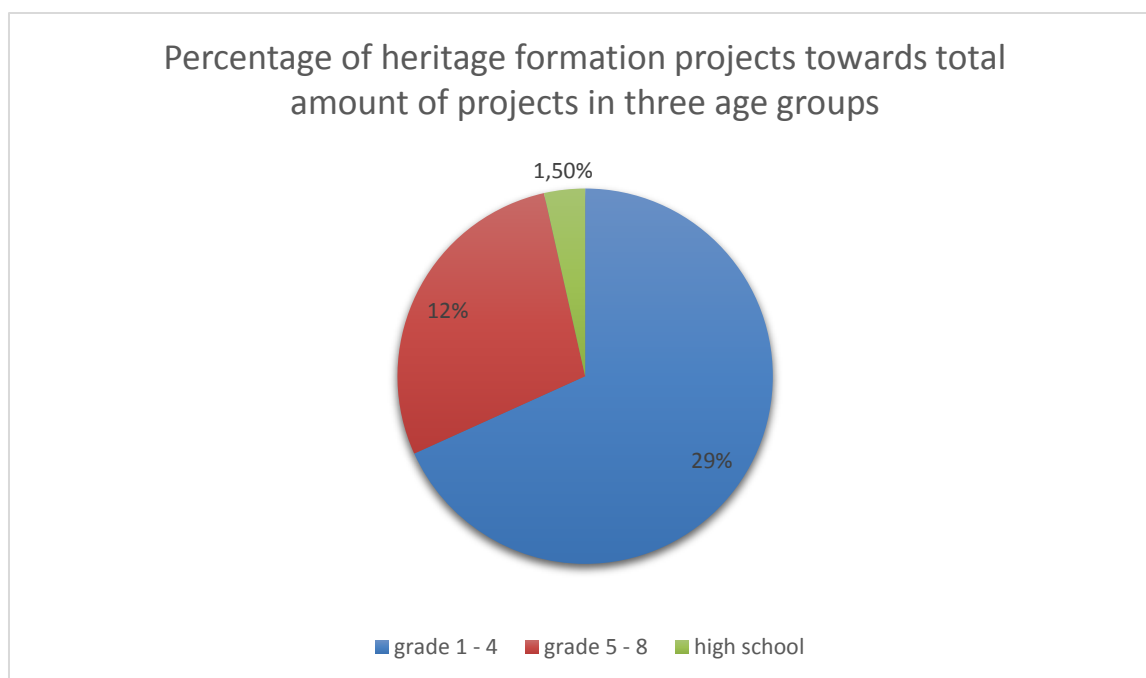
However, looking at the ratio between the total amount of projects that are available for every grade and the amount of heritage formation projects, the image shifts.

Figure 11. Ratio between total amount of projects and amount of heritage formation projects.

Total of projects (also) for grades 1 – 4	371	Projects about heritage formation grades 1 – 4	106
Total of projects (also) for grades 5 – 8	969	Projects about heritage formation grades 5 – 8	118
Total of projects (also) for high school	454	Projects about heritage formation high school	6

Although the lowest grades in primary education have slightly less heritage formation projects, proportionally, the lowest grades have much more of these projects, while in secondary education this amount is almost negligible.

Figure 12. Percentage of heritage formation projects towards total amount of projects in three age groups.



4.2. Enquiry among educators: goals and definitions of heritage

4.2.1. Introduction

By the end of 2016, I distributed a digital enquiry which I made using Google Forms.¹⁴⁹ The enquiry was aimed at educators and (senior) staff members that are involved in the development of educational projects, both as a profession and volunteers. Apart from the general questions about where one works, there were basically only two questions: Which goals are the most important for you when you develop heritage projects? And: What is your personal definition of heritage?. The question about the goals was multiple choice. The respondents had to pick six goals from a choice of 18. The 18 goals were – without the respondents knowing – divided into three kinds of goals: to use heritage as a historical source within the history lesson; to teach respect for heritage and to transfer the stories to the pupils; and to study/treat heritage as a meta-cultural phenomenon. For each of these three types there were six goals.

With the questionnaire I wanted to answer the following questions: Which goals are considered the most important by educators?; and: Is there a connection with their view on heritage?.

The questionnaire was distributed through different channels. I sent it to my own contacts and I posted it in several LinkedIn groups. The LKCA posted it on their website next to two articles I had written about my research,¹⁵⁰ and included it in one of their newsletters. The provincial heritage consultants were asked to distribute the questionnaire among their provincial networks. Some of the Heritage Houses posted the questionnaire on their website and others sent it with their newsletter. One of the provincial heritage consultants sent it to all of her personal contacts in the field.¹⁵¹

The questionnaire was completed by 124 respondents between December 7, 2016 and March 21, 2017. The outcomes are not representative, because I did not take a representative sample of the educators in the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the questionnaire provides an image of what the educators who answered the questionnaire think is important in heritage education. Using the information from the questionnaire and the inventory, I can determine whether there is a connection between what leading organisations, academics and the government think is ‘good’ heritage education and what educators in the field think is ‘good’ heritage education.

4.2.2. Respondents

Of the 124 respondents, 105 are paid professionals and 19 are volunteers. Furthermore, 58 work in a museum (almost half of the total number of respondents). They are most often educators, heads of education or coordinators. Some are directors of a small museum or chairmen on boards. The museums range from small, local museums to large, national museums in the larger cities.

Of the respondents, 22 are self-employed and 17 work for a provincial support organisation like a Heritage House. The majority of provincial support organisation workers are advisors. Some of the respondents work in education as a teacher or as a culture coordinator.

The volunteers have very diverse jobs: board members (of a small museum or a historical society), chairmen on boards, coordinators and educators.

¹⁴⁹ See appendix 2 and 3.

¹⁵⁰ LKCA. “Onderzoek naar erfgoededucatie in het onderwijs.” <http://www.lkca.nl/nl-nl/publicaties/artikelen/onderzoek-naar-erfgoededucatie-in-het-onderwijs> and “Een beeld van bijna 1400 geïnventariseerde erfgoedprojecten.” Accessed April 3, 2017, <http://www.lkca.nl/nl-nl/publicaties/artikelen/inventarisatie-erfgoedprojecten>).

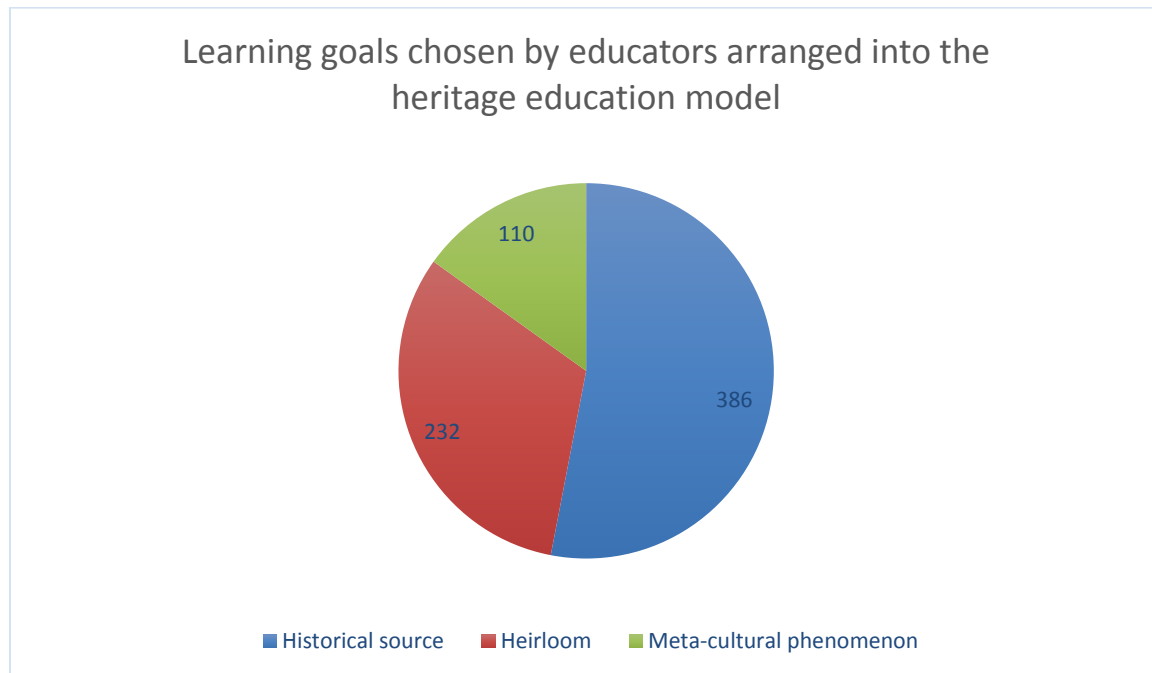
¹⁵¹ I thank Arja van Veldhuizen for this.

4.2.3. Learning goals

Goals 1, 4 and 16 were most often chosen. All three are ‘historical source model’ goals. Goal number 1, which is chosen most of all the goals, focuses on using heritage to learn about (local) history. The second most chosen goal, number 4, has to do with historical thinking, as advocated by Grever and Van Boxtel. The third most important goal is again, to use heritage to learn about history.

From figure 13 it becomes evident that the employment of heritage to teach history, whether it be a historical subject or to practise historical skills, is the most important reason why the 124 educators design educational projects with heritage.

Figure 13. Learning goals chosen by educators arranged into the heritage education model.



Goal number 11 is the fourth most important goal and concerns historical thinking. Goals 2 and 10, which fall into the ‘heirloom model’, are also important (see figure 14).

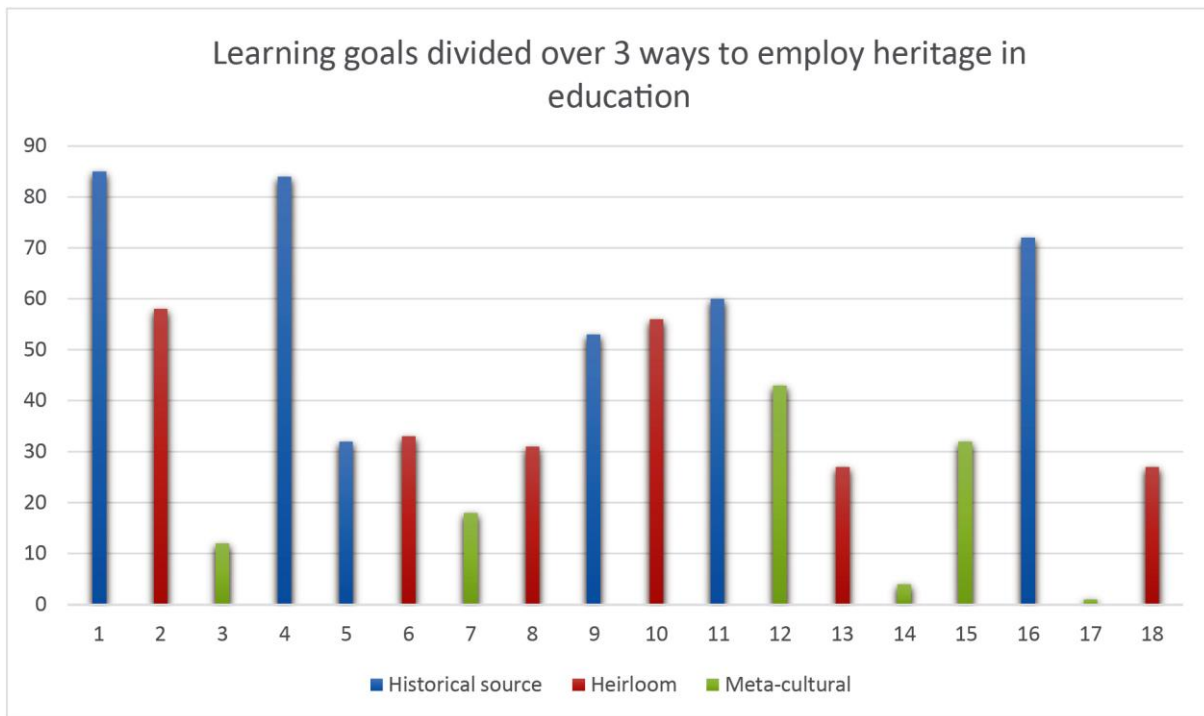
The seventh most important is goal number 9, which is a ‘historical source model’ goal with 53 advocates.

Finally, the eighth most important goal concerns the ‘meta-cultural phenomenon’ model. This goal was chosen 43 times and was the most popular ‘meta-cultural phenomenon model’ goal.

The questionnaire also included “another” for the goals: the respondents could choose this as one of the six goals and formulate a goal of their own. Here, three more ‘source model’ goals were described as well as two ‘phenomenon model’ goals. Furthermore, three goals that deal with the learning of skills and four goals that do not fit in any model.

I excluded the “other” section from the chart, because it did not significantly change the data.

Figure 14. Learning goals divided over three ways to employ heritage in education.



'Historical source' goals

1. The pupils learn something about the history in their own surroundings.
4. To identify with other people in other times helps you to reflect on your own culture.
5. To learn to work with primary historical sources.
9. To learn to recognize traces from the past in your own surroundings.
11. To identify with other peoples and times teaches you to view history from different perspectives.
16. To make the teaching material tangible through experiencing the history yourself in the own environment.

'Heirloom' goals

2. To make pupils aware of the importance of preserving the past for the future.
6. To learn about the heritage of the ancestors ensures that you can be proud of the place where you live.
8. To teach the pupils respect for the heritage.
10. To make pupils experience that a museum can be fun and exciting and that it contains valuable objects.
13. To learn about the heritage of the surroundings helps you to take root in your surroundings.
18. The pupils get to know their heritage and thus get to know themselves better.

'Meta-cultural phenomenon' goals

3. Pupils learn that museums consist of collections that are brought together by people.
7. Pupils learn that what is heritage, differs from time and place.
12. To make pupils experience that different meanings can be attached to objects, traditions and space, and that those meanings change.
14. To teach pupils that heritage has to do with power relations.
15. To learn the pupils to think about what is important for themselves where heritage is considered.

Eighteen of the respondents answered the question “Which goal do you consider to be the most important?” with goal number 4. Seventeen of the respondents chose number 1; 14 chose number 11; 13 chose number 12; 10 chose number 16 and 8 chose number 2.

The other goals chosen to be the most important (by 5 or less respondents) were 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 15.

Here, the following points can be made:

- Nobody chose goals number 3, 7 and 14 as the most important; these are all ‘phenomenon-model’ goals.
- The three most important goals (4, 1 and 11) are all ‘source model’ goals.
- The fourth most important goal, number 12, is a ‘phenomenon model’ goal. This does not correspond with its popularity when it came to choosing the 6 most important goals, as it was chosen only 43 times.

4.2.4. Definitions of heritage

The educators were asked to give their own definition of heritage. I have divided their definitions into ‘static notion of heritage’ and ‘dynamic notion of heritage’. Note that a dynamic notion of heritage can be used by employers of the ‘source model’ as well as the ‘heirloom model’ (and the ‘phenomenon model’), to practise, for example, historical thinking.

I used broad criteria for the dynamic definition. Every definition with a reference to meaning making or the making of choices, regardless of how small, was considered dynamic: “objects and information from the past, worth keeping” and “everything that is worth safeguarding for posterity” are, in this view, dynamic approaches to heritage, because “worth keeping” and “worth safeguarding” imply that there are people doing the keeping and safeguarding and/or determining the ‘worth’. However, the majority of the dynamic definitions discuss, more actively, traces from the past that a society thinks are important to keep (and to pass on to the future).

The static definitions primarily refer to heritage as traces from the past that tell us about the past: “traces from the past that tell the story of a culture, group, place, or country”; “everything we inherit from our forebears that tell us something about who we are and what is our past”; “material and immaterial traces from the past”. Here, the heritage simply ‘is’, and/or the people in the present are ‘passive receivers’. The following definition: “material and immaterial things from our past, that are important for the present” could be dynamic because it speaks of value, but as there is nobody actually choosing to preserve the heritage, it was classified under the umbrella of static definitions. In some definitions heritage and history are interchangeable: “the history of a certain area”, “our preserved past”, “the own surroundings and its history”.

With this criteria, I considered 36 definitions to be static and 49 to be dynamic (not everyone provided a definition).

To determine whether there is a link between the given definitions of heritage (dynamic or static) and the goals (source model, heirloom model and meta-cultural phenomenon model goals) that the educators have chosen the most often I first examined the heritage definitions of the 13 educators that chose goal number 12 (a phenomenon model-goal) as the most important. Five of them use a heritage definition that is static: “our preserved past”, “visible and tangible traces from the past in the present”, “to make tangible and visible the development through the years with reference to a specific topic”, “culture with a historical approach or angle”, “cultural expressions that man has left next generations, tangible as well as intangible”. Although this means that a larger number (7) used a dynamic definition, my conclusion is that there is no strong correlation here.

Subsequently, I made a division between the educators who chose one or more goals from the (dynamic) 'phenomenon model', which resulted in the following:

- 50 respondents chose none of the six 'phenomenon model' goals.
- Of the remaining 74, 40 chose one 'phenomenon model' goal.
- 30 chose two 'phenomenon model' goals.
- Four chose three 'phenomenon model' goals (three was the maximum).

These four educators used the following definitions of heritage:

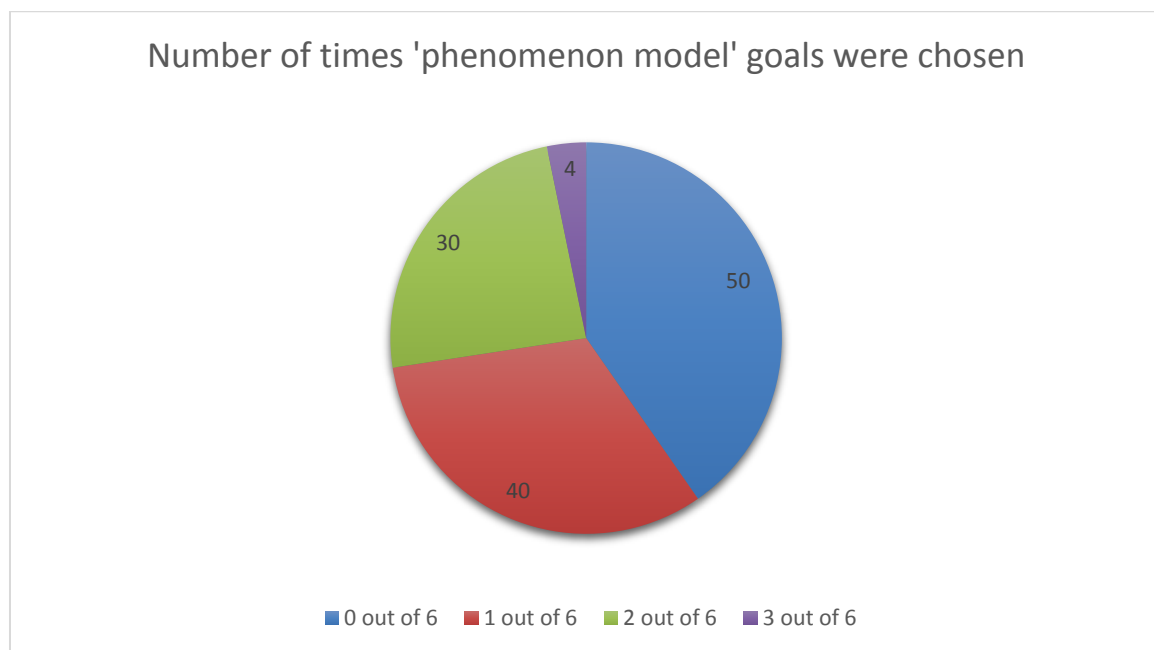
A project leader from the Scheepvaartmuseum stated: "traces from the past in the present that are still tangible en visible. Not something static but subject to what in a certain period of time is deemed of great importance for future generations".

A heritage advisor from a provincial support organisation stated: "traces from the past, that are visible in the present, and that we find important to keep for the future".

A project leader from the same organisation said: "heritage are traces from the past that are worth preserving for the future".

Finally, a provincial policy advisor stated: "what people attach importance to, can be called heritage". I consider these four definitions to be dynamic, with the last one being especially broad.

Figure 15. Number of times 'phenomenon model' goals were chosen.



Of the 30 educators who chose two 'phenomenon model' goals, 18 used a dynamic definition of heritage and 12 used a static definition; for example: "heritage is about beautiful things from the past with which a story is told that still touches us and reflects our present life"; "material and immaterial history in the present society and streetscape"; "things from the past we can visit or look at"; and several variations of "everything that has been preserved or left us".

Of the 40 educators that chose one 'phenomenon model' goal, 22 used a static definition of heritage and 18 used a dynamic definition.

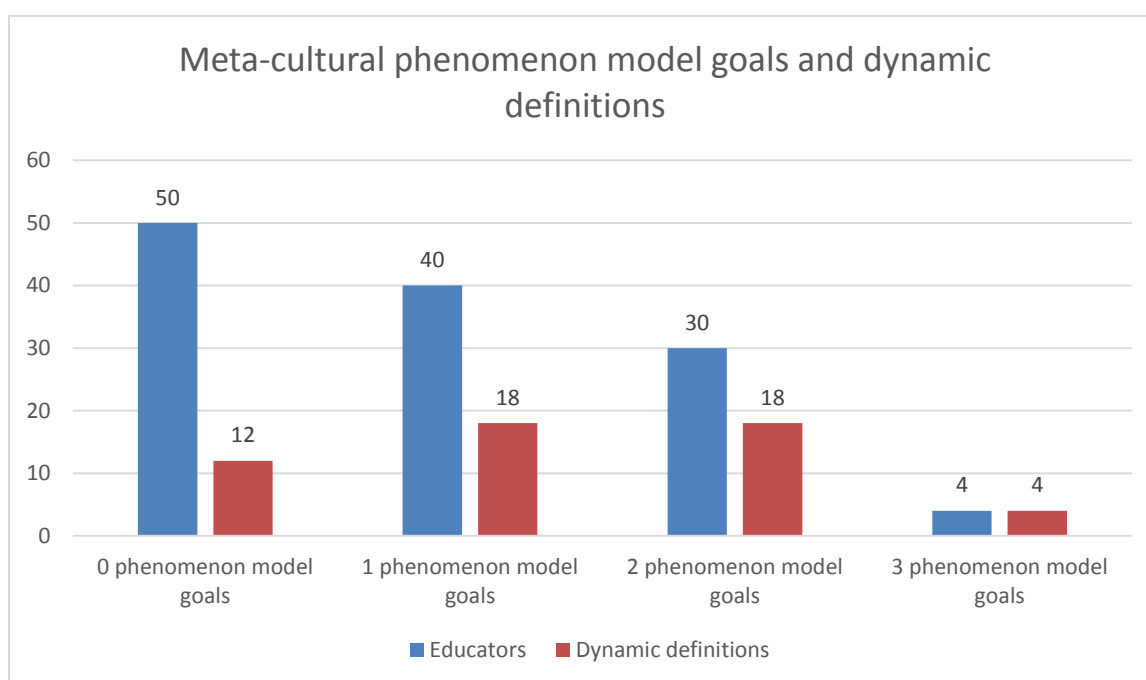
Furthermore, of the 50 educators that chose no 'phenomenon model' goals, 38 used a static definition of heritage and 12 used a dynamic definition.

Figure 16. Amount of 'phenomenon model' goals towards dynamic definition of heritage.

Number of phenomenon model goals	Number of respondents	Number of dynamic definitions of heritage	Percentage dynamic definitions of number respondents
0 'phenomenon model' goals	50	12 dynamic definitions	24% dynamic definitions
1 'phenomenon model' goal	40	18 dynamic definitions	45% dynamic definition
2 'phenomenon model' goals	30	18 dynamic definitions	60% dynamic definitions
3 'phenomenon model' goals	4	4 dynamic definitions	100% dynamic definitions

In a diagram:

Figure 17. 'Meta-cultural phenomenon model' goals and dynamic definitions.



There does not seem to be a significant difference between paid and volunteer workers. Six of the 19 volunteers had one dynamic goal and three had two dynamic goals; ten had no dynamic goals. From this chart it can clearly be observed that the more goals educators chose that fall into the 'meta-cultural phenomenon' model, the more dynamic were the definitions of heritage that they used.

4.3. Conclusion

The overall picture of heritage projects and preferred learning objectives mirrors the views of academics and leading heritage organisations, government incentives and specialists. Educators aim to link historical subjects to the curriculum of schools, as the government wants. The largest difference between 'the specialists' and 'the field' is that 'the field' seems to be more inclined to use heritage as a way to teach about local history while 'the specialists' advocate the use of heritage to teach historical thinking and multiperspectivity.

Projects about the formation of heritage, in which pupils are confronted with the fact that heritage is the result of manmade decisions or in which they are stimulated to think about the choices they would make themselves, are quite rare. Furthermore, the older the pupils get, the less projects they will be given that fall into the 'meta-cultural phenomenon model'. The majority of projects handle

tangible heritage, which is perceived as a useful source within the history lesson. With this, pupils can learn how things were done in the past (the 'historical source model') and they can practise historical thinking skills. Heritage education projects that deal with the formation of heritage are represented relatively more often in the youngest age groups. This is logical since, in grades 1 through 4 (or 5) children do not have 'real' history lessons, so it is not possible to use heritage as a historical source to illustrate history topics. Second, it appears safe to assume that these first years are used to teach the children about the nature of heritage itself before using it as a 'tool' within the history lesson. Furthermore, questions like why we collect and keep things, can easily be linked to younger children since they are often in the habit of collecting objects themselves.

From the learning goals that the 124 educators chose, we can conclude that their vision of heritage education is largely in accordance with the vision of 'good' heritage education from the two most important academic research programs on heritage education in the Netherlands, as well as from the leading heritage organisations (in short: 'the specialists') in the Netherlands. Heritage is most often used as a source in the history lesson, while the dynamic vision on heritage also plays a part.

Second, when examining the goals that educators prefer and the heritage definitions they use, a correlation is found. The more goals chosen that fit into the 'meta-cultural phenomenon model', the more that educators use dynamic definitions of heritage.

Third, it is evident that the 'phenomenon model' is much less popular than the 'historical source' model and the 'heirloom model'; and this is clearly mirrored in the types of projects that are currently offered in the Netherlands.

The previous chapters provided an overview of the 'heritage education landscape' in the Netherlands. This overview provides a picture of why heritage education is being done and what is expected from it.

In the following chapter I discuss a number of critical reflections on heritage that make it necessary to reconsider the way heritage is employed in education in the Netherlands.

Chapter 5. Critical reflections on heritage and heritage education

5.1. Introduction

In chapter 3, I described the most common ways to employ heritage in education in the Netherlands as well as the learning objectives that are connected with those forms of heritage education. The term learning objective indicates the pupil – this is what she should learn – but this can be flipped to indicate the educator – this is what she expects (or sometimes, hopes for).

Behind these expectations are the views regarding what heritage ‘is’ and on the value of heritage of the educator herself, as well as the views of numerous other involved parties.

With the enquiry, I revealed the expectations for heritage projects of a group of educators and the connection with their views on heritage. It thus appears that the view of heritage as a static relic from the past largely corresponds with the view of heritage education as a means to learn about history and to gain respect for heritage and, vice versa, that a view of heritage as a dynamic phenomenon more often leads to a form of heritage education in which the pupils are invited to take a more critical stance towards heritage or at least to explore different perspectives.

A very common view of heritage, which is shared by the majority of experts, and which I often found in the answers from the enquiry, is that heritage ‘is’ remains from the past that should be guarded in the present and handed down to future generations.¹⁵² According to the LKCA report, the majority of Heritage Houses and support organisations for culture education use this definition.¹⁵³ This is a broad definition that can encompass many things and many views on heritage.

In the following, I outline the views on heritage of a number of critical heritage specialists from the Netherlands and abroad. Subsequently, I discuss the implications of adopting these views on the way in which heritage education is currently established in the Netherlands. The approach to heritage as a meta-cultural phenomenon reveals the issues in the common learning objectives.

5.2. The dominant story of heritage

“Heritage represents the values of a social group (...), which I don’t hesitate to call an elite”,¹⁵⁴ archaeologist, writer and exhibition maker Evert van Ginkel stated in “Is erfgoedonderwijs voor iedereen?”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² ‘Een gebruikelijke opvatting is, dat de term erfgoed een verzamelbegrip is, waarmee sporen uit het verleden worden aangeduid die we als samenleving de moeite waard vinden om te bewaren voor de toekomst. (...) De steuninstellingen voor cultuureducatie en de Erfgoedhuizen in Nederland gaan in het algemeen ook van bovenstaande of vergelijkbare opvattingen van erfgoed uit.’ “Blik op erfgoededucatie,” 2, and LKCA, “Visies uit het veld,” accessed April 19, 2017, <http://www.lkca.nl/erfgoededucatie/wat-is-erfgoededucatie/visies-uit-het-veld>.

¹⁵³ Hagenaars, “Erfgoededucatie in het primair onderwijs,” 7.

¹⁵⁴ ‘... het concept van ‘erfgoed’ (...) vertegenwoordigt de waarden van een sociale groep die niet eens heel klein is, maar die ik gerust een *elite* durf te noemen.’ Evert van Ginkel, “Is erfgoedonderwijs voor iedereen?” in *Cultuur + educatie 12, Erfgoededucatie in onderwijsleersituaties*. Cultuurnetwerk Nederland (2005): 49, accessed March 12, 2007, http://www.lkca.nl/~media/downloads/ws_2005_ce_12.pdf.

¹⁵⁵ In 2005, Cultuurnetwerk Nederland devoted a complete number of their periodical *Cultuur + Educatie* to heritage education. This was done in close collaboration with Bureau Erfgoed Actueel. Paul Holthuis, from the University Centre of teacher training at Groningen University, wrote the first article, with ten ‘thought-provoking statements’. In the following articles, various specialists from the Dutch heritage, art and education sector formulated their views on the statements and on heritage education. Evert van Ginkel was one of the specialists.

According to Van Ginkel, there is a conservative “heritage canon” in the Netherlands. Van Ginkel thinks that approximately 90% of the educational heritage projects concern the following subjects from the national historical canon: archaeology, museums, monuments, townscapes, archives and the Second World War.¹⁵⁶ He has also noted that it would be useful to count how many heritage education topics are derived from this canon to support this statement; and although, as I have explained in chapter 4, I was not able to identify the exact topics of every project, the inventory gives the impression that Van Ginkel is correct. He wants people to acknowledge that the common heritage projects fall within “the context of an approved, established notion of heritage in which intangible (myths and fairy-tales!), immigrant and ‘mass’-heritage can play a supporting role at the most”.¹⁵⁷

This ‘heritage canon’ has its roots in the past. In 2005, Fred Schoorl the director of the Netherlands Institute for Physical Planning and Housing (NIROV), who has been responsible for the Netherlands’ policy on World Heritage in UNESCO for several years, described in an article in *Museum International* how Dutch heritage policies emerged from, on the one hand, the need to define a national identity in the 19th century – as in many other European countries – and on the other hand, concern for the destruction of monumental heritage at the end of that era. As a result, a national policy on monuments emerged. “A search for sacrosanct originals, for emblematic icons of Dutch architecture and history to be preserved, began”.¹⁵⁸ Sara McDowell, lecturer in Human Geography at Ulster University, has indicated in her article “Heritage, memory and identity” that especially heritage sites like monuments, plaques, museums and lieux de mémoire can represent the power of those who constructed them: governments, which use them to represent and cultivate ideas of national identity and history.¹⁵⁹ A present-day Dutch example of this is the ‘heritage lines’ constructed by the provincial government of Zuid-Holland, “seven geographic clusters that are rich in cultural history, interesting and perceptible”.¹⁶⁰ Among these clusters are the canals, the Atlantikwall and the Roman Limes, as well as a number of ‘lines’ that are not really lines in the landscape (such as “the country estate zone”), which makes it even clearer that the ‘heritage lines’ are a present day construction. The reason for the designation of these lines, around which commercial and non-commercial parties are supposed to work together to make them more perceptible and accessible, is that “heritage forms an immense capital for inhabitants, visitors, business and tourists. Especially the large monumental complexes and structures at the crossroads between landscape, nature and water”.¹⁶¹ The provincial Heritage House has been tasked with developing educational projects around and about these lines. It is very likely that such educational projects offer little room for critical reflection and indeed, in these educational projects I have found no signs of ‘heritage literate’ work.

¹⁵⁶ ‘Archeologie, musea, monumenten, stads- en dorpsgezichten, archieven, en niet te vergeten het nationale referentiekader van de Tweede Wereldoorlog – wil iemand eens kwantificeren hoeveel erfgoedonderwijsonderwerpen hiervan afgeleid zijn? Negentig procent? Of gok ik verkeerd?’ Van Ginkel, “Is erfgoedonderwijs voor iedereen?,” 50.

¹⁵⁷ ‘een beproefd, vastgesteld erfgoedbegrip waarin niet-tastbaar (mythen en sprookjes!), allochtoon en ‘massa’-erfgoed hoogstens een nuttige bijrol vervullen.’ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁸ Fred F.J. Schoorl, “On Authenticity and Artificiality in Heritage Policies in the Netherlands,” *Museum International* No. 227 (Vol. 57, No. 3, 2005): 81.

¹⁵⁹ Sara McDowell, “Heritage, memory and identity,” In *The Ashgate research companion*, 44-45.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Dit zijn zeven geografische clusters die cultuurhistorisch rijk, interessant en beleefbaar zijn.’ Erfgoedhuis ZH, “Erfgoedlijnen Zuid-Holland.” accessed April 4, 2017, <http://www.erfgoedhuis-zh.nl/wat-doen-wij-voor/erfgoedlijnen>.

¹⁶¹ ‘Erfgoed vormt een immens kapitaal voor bewoners, recreanten, bedrijfsleven en toeristen. Zeker de grote monumentale complexen en struturen op het raakvlak van landschap, natuur en water.’ Ibidem. See also section 4.1.4., Dutch Identity; landscape.

In *De dirigenten van de herinnering*, De Jong has described how the elite in the Netherlands composed an image of how “the common people” lived and simultaneously told them not to change this way of living. Moreover, if the “common people” had already become “too modern”, the elite tried to stimulate them to go back to a traditional life according to their own idealised image. This ideal to preserve heritage for the sake of the preservation of the past, to use it in the present and to take care of its continuity into the future, is still the standard.¹⁶²

Heritage specialist Laurajane Smith from Australian National University, uses the phrase “hegemonic discourse about heritage”.¹⁶³ This discourse determines not only which heritage one chooses to preserve or to educate with or about, it also shapes the way people think, talk and write about heritage and it transforms the values of the western cultural elite into universal values. The “work” that heritage “does” as a social and cultural practice is obscured by the hegemonic discourse. This does not mean that there is no dissonant heritage, on the contrary, dissonance is part of the discourse and it is solved within this discourse.¹⁶⁴ A recent example of this principle in the Netherlands were the protests against supposed symbols of slavery on the Golden Carriage,¹⁶⁵ mentioned in section 4.1.4. The ‘solution’ to this controversy was that the carriage went into restoration, which will require years (an “implausibly long time” according to *Historiek* journalist Yuri Visser). Once it is restored, it is likely that the carriage will go to a museum, as the protesters had demanded.¹⁶⁶ There, it will remain a part of the Netherlands’ national heritage, but it will be rendered harmless: the dissonance is solved within the hegemonic discourse. Nevertheless, the discussion about the Dutch role in the slave trade is neither silenced nor solved and indeed, there are remarkably few heritage education projects about slavery.

American historian and geographer David Lowenthal has also noted, in his well-known book *The heritage crusade*, that the “western” way of examining and handling heritage has become universal. Although every group and nation stresses its own history and traditions,¹⁶⁷ they all exhibit the same preoccupation with tradition, age, continuity, coherence, heroism and sacrifice. For example, when minorities want to prove that they have contributed to the history of a country, they are granted a place in the canon, but through this claim, strengthen the individualistic tradition. Increasingly, heritage reflects generally shared values. Indeed, Lowenthal has asserted that “the Westernized identities deployed by non-Western collectivities are perhaps more crucial to their self-images than are attempts to resuscitate pride in their antecedent native cultures”.¹⁶⁸

Flora E.S. Kaplan, professor emerita of Museum Studies at New York University, has described this phenomenon within the context of museum exhibitions in her article “Exhibitions as communicative media”. Exhibitions are organised and designed to represent a “collective self”. Recently, this “self” has come under fire by non-western “others”, whose objects are so often on display in western museums, and by ethnic “others” who feel that their own cultural heritage is not acknowledged.

¹⁶² De Jong, *De dirigenten*, 68.

¹⁶³ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 29-34.

¹⁶⁴ Idem, 162-192.

¹⁶⁵ Peter Schong, “Na Zwarte Piet ‘racistische Gouden Koets in opspraak,” *Algemeen Dagblad*, September 3, 2015; last update February 4, 2016, accessed April 4, 2017, <http://www.ad.nl/binnenland/na-zwarte-piet-racistische-gouden-koets-in-opspraak~a0f181b0/>.

¹⁶⁶ Yuri Visser, “Dag Gouden Koets! Tot in het museum...,” *Historiek*, September 16, 2015, accessed April 4, 2017, <http://historiek.net/dag-gouden-koets-tot-in-het-museum/52886/>.

¹⁶⁷ See also Macdonald, *Memorylands*, 22.

¹⁶⁸ David Lowenthal, “Identity, heritage, and history,” In: *Commemorations. The politics of national identity*, edited by Johan R. Gillis, 41 – 57, (Princeton University Press, 1994), 44 – 46.

Especially white institutes have monopolized the interpretation of, for instance, African art.¹⁶⁹ A recent Dutch example was the criticism on an exhibition about the Dutch presence in South Africa. The critics stated that it is “questionable” that the exhibition was made with so few black South African curators, scientists and artists.¹⁷⁰

An example of a minority group challenging the image of a “collective self” is how the Moluccan people in the Netherlands strived for acknowledgement of their (hi)story in the Netherlands. Finally, they were granted a museum of their own in 1990 (which closed in 2012). Roshi Naidoo, independent writer on cultural politics, heritage and identity, has explained in “Never mind the buzzwords. ‘Race’, heritage and the liberal agenda”, how important it is to include “others” in a way that questions the mainstream history; otherwise, minorities will still not belong to the story of the nation.¹⁷¹ The fact that the Moluccans obtained a separate museum to tell “their” story was, in this light, telling.

According to Tim Copeland, the meaning of heritage has changed from tangible to intangible, from “things” to meaning, from national to social, from static to dynamic, from objective to emotional and from automatic birth-right to actively claimed.¹⁷² Dutch historian Willem Frijhoff has also acknowledged that heritage used to be something for a small elite and since World War II, it has become “the main theme for an extensive popular movement”, to which “everything” belongs: all eras, movements, languages, objects, landscapes and groups in society.¹⁷³ However, according to Lowenthal (and others), heritage remains something of the elite. The elite most often possess it, control access to it and prescribe the public image. The social and economic elites define the priorities for national heritage and they choose which monuments to conserve and what museums should buy.¹⁷⁴

In conclusion, what heritage “is” and what should be done with it, is being monopolised by certain (mainstream, powerful, specialist) groups in society, which obscures what heritage can be, what it can “do” and what people can do with it.

Upon examining the projects currently offered in the Netherlands, it can be concluded that indeed, educators use (or have internalized) the dominant view on heritage. The majority of projects concern the built environment, with the intangible heritage being in the minority and the formation of heritage, as a subject, almost negligible. Heritage is seen as artefacts, not (or hardly) as a process, and the focus is on safeguarding and respecting heritage rather than on the work that can be done with it, while an important goal is the furthering of pride in the national or local history.

In the following, I discuss a number of important aims of heritage education (figure 3) within the context of critical heritage theory.

¹⁶⁹ Flora E.S. Kaplan, “Exhibitions as communicative media,” in ed. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museum media message*, (London, New York: Routledge, 1999 (1995)), 37 – 56.

¹⁷⁰ Nick Shepherd and Christian Ersten, “Het idee van de post-post-apartheid mist nog in het Rijksmuseum,” *NRC*, March 29, 2017, accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/29/goede-hoop-na-rhodesmustfall-7760219-a1552339>.

¹⁷¹ Roshi Naidoo, “Never mind the buzzwords. ‘Race’, heritage and the liberal agenda,” in eds. Jo Littler & Roshi Naidoo, *The politics of heritage. The legacies of ‘race’*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), 36-39.

¹⁷² Tim Copeland, “Constructing history: all our yesterdays,” in eds. M. Lyttledyke, L. Huxford, *Teaching the primary curriculum for constructive learning*, (London: Routledge, 1998), 119-130.

¹⁷³ ‘het hoofdthema van een brede volksbeweging [is] geworden’, waar ‘alles’ bij hoort’. Willem Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, 56. See also Sharon Macdonald who asserts that society is changing so fast since the 1970’s, ‘everything’ is being musealized, because also the social structures that used to keep traditions and objects, are eroding. *Memorylands*, 140.

¹⁷⁴ Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade*, 90 – 91.

5.3. The aims of heritage education

The aforementioned views on heritage entail a number of problems with some heritage projects, especially the aims and learning goals that are set for them. These problems revolve around the concepts of identity formation and appropriation. Another problem is the confusion of “heritage” with “remains from the past”.

5.3.1. Heritage as a historical source: to learn about history

Heritage and museum specialist, researcher and Reinwardt Academy lector Riemer Knoop has stated in “Cultureel erfgoededucatie in perspectief” that “our museums are full with things that we once found very important and wanted to preserve for that reason”.¹⁷⁵ Thus, the question is: What are the young supposed to do with these objects? Are the values that this heritage represents still valuable for them? If not, then these objects concern history, not heritage.¹⁷⁶ This would imply that ‘heritage education projects’ that use ‘heritage’ objects (museum objects, but also replicas that look like the museum objects that the pupils can handle) in a purely historical way, are not actually heritage projects. Following the reasoning of Smith, Macdonald, Frijhoff, Lowenthal, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and others, which states that heritage is not a fixed thing but an ongoing process, then it is possible, through listening to the stories and learning about the facts, to learn about the meaning of heritage *for others*; however, for the heritage to *be heritage for the pupils*, it has to *become* heritage through the heritage work that they do with it. If there is no heritage work, then the objects and sites are no more than remains from the past: historical sources. This kind of ‘heritage education’ is then, in reality, ‘history education with realistic and illustrative historical sources’.

5.3.2. Heritage as a valuable heirloom: appropriation

Frijhoff has outlined, in “Toeëigening: van bezitsdrang naar betekenisgeving”, the possible scenarios when one party offers a cultural good to another party. The receiving party denies it, he appropriates it, or he consumes it.¹⁷⁷

Denying is an option I will not discuss here as not many pupils will be able to completely ignore what is offered them within an educational project.

A common aim in heritage education projects is that the pupils learn to like and/or respect the heritage and will want to take care of it once they are older. A related, but somewhat more far-reaching aim is that the pupils will ‘appropriate’ the heritage. Phrases that are used, apart from ‘appropriation’ (toe-eigening), include: “to feel that the heritage is yours” and “to make a connection with ‘your’ heritage”. An important way to reach this goal is through meaning making (cf SLO, Van Heusden, Grever and Van Boxtel, LKCA: chapters 2 and 3). The meaning making process helps children appropriate the heritage; by “giving it their own meaning” they can make it their own. As Frijhoff has stated, to appropriate means to actively adopt the proffered cultural goods. When the “receiving” party gives his own meaning to the heritage, he becomes a producer (meaning maker) himself. He chooses for himself which meanings he adopts. He can also decide to skip certain meanings, to adjust them or to turn them around. He will only adopt meanings that are useful for him. If this is not the case, it is not called appropriation, but *reception* (outward conformism).

¹⁷⁵ ‘Onze musea hangen vol spullen die we ooit heel erg belangrijk vonden en daarom wilden bewaren.’

¹⁷⁶ Riemer Knoop, “Cultureel erfgoededucatie in perspectief,” in Karel Smolders, *Museum En Onderwijs - ervaringen en handreikingen voor museumbezoek door primair en voortgezet onderwijs*, (Apeldoorn: Garant, 1994), 101-113.

¹⁷⁷ Willem Frijhoff, “Toeëigening: van bezitsdrang naar betekenisgeving.”

Another word for appropriation is internalisation, which has been used in cultural anthropology since the 1980s in a cross-cultural context. In internalisation, two different cultures or systems are merged and from this, something new emerges. The dominant party uses symbols of the conquered party to make their culture more digestible. The receiving party tries to incorporate that which is imposed on it within its own system of meaning in such a way that the dominant party is satisfied and the recipient can live with it.¹⁷⁸

It is possible that, in educational settings, something similar is happening. We have an active, dominant party (the teacher, educators) that tries to 'impose' its heritage on a receiving party (the pupils) by using symbols of the receiving party (educators often try to "link to the pupil's world"). Laurajane Smith has explained how "the public" is often regarded as "empty vessels", as opposed to the "experts" who have all the knowledge about the heritage and its intrinsic meanings. The public does not "do" anything with the heritage themselves, they merely receive the knowledge.¹⁷⁹ The "experts" do the interpreting and they set the standard.¹⁸⁰ Whatever else the public "does" with heritage, such as role play, dressing up or even changing the heritage itself, is less authentic, less legitimate.¹⁸¹

Smith has also noted that the official heritage discourse focuses the attention on certain heritage items that present generations "must" take care of in order to pass them onto future generations: what it is, who can speak for it and what we have to do with it are all in the hands of the "experts".¹⁸² Pupils are taught that "their" heritage belongs to everyone, which is why it is important that they learn to provide arguments for its value, while in fact the arguments for preservation or exhibition and for the way rituals are carried out are most often in the hands of "heritage specialists" like historians, conservators and curators. In educational settings, the specialists are the educators and teachers and the guardians of the heritage that the pupils visit. This makes it more difficult (almost impossible) for pupils to perform their own "heritage work" and thus, appropriate the heritage. Although pupils, in an educational project, are invited to provide their own meaning, the question arises whether the pupils are really enabled to produce their own meaning, which might be not completely similar to "to give your own meaning". The question is whether they can create something really new, something of their own that becomes part of their own cultural world. If not, the heritage itself remains untouched and the meaning the pupils "give" to it is purely a (personal) addition.

How much room the pupils have to dismiss the given interpretations or to turn things around starts with the choice of the heritage, which is in most instances the choice of the educators. The pupils are hardly ever asked to decide for themselves which heritage might interest them. Only in the first years of primary school can the children sometimes bring their own objects, but that, they learn, is considered "personal heritage", which they only use to learn about the value that can be assigned to objects; this personal heritage is not "official heritage", which they will visit later, in a museum for instance.

It is possible that the appropriation that is strived for, is often nothing more than reception or *consumption*. Indeed, consumption is the opposite of appropriation, as Frijhoff has stated. Smith further opposes "engaging" with "consuming". The "consumer" does not have much room to make

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁷⁹ Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 33

¹⁸⁰ Idem, 206.

¹⁸¹ Idem, 72 – 73.

¹⁸² Idem, 29.

his own choices. The culture itself is being reified into goods or practices that one party offers and the other party accepts.¹⁸³

5.3.3. Identity formation through heritage education

There are specialists and policy makers (the Minister, among others) who have stated that heritage education is important for identity formation, although do not elaborate how. Furthermore, while many projects presuppose that the project will be 'good' for the pupils' identity (formation), it is not clear how exactly this 'works'. With a clear view of the concept of identity and the possible links between identity and heritage, projects can be designed in such a way that they really reinforce identities. As it currently stands, it is questionable whether all the projects that 'promise' this identity formation can actually realise this.

In heritage education projects the link between heritage and identity often appears to be presupposed: it is assumed that, first, it is possible "to learn about heritage" (this being to transfer the "stories behind" objects or sites) and second, that getting to know one's "own" (nearby) heritage better will strengthen the pupil's identity. Of the respondents to the questionnaire, 23% think that it is important for "pupils [to] get to know their heritage and hence get to know themselves better". According to Laurajane Smith in *Uses of heritage*, the idea that heritage and identity are indissolubly linked, stems from the idea that the identities that are represented by heritage are defined by the inherent qualities of that heritage. The problem with this vision is that, according to Smith, heritage has no inherent qualities: individuals have to develop and constantly sustain the connection to it. In other words, heritage is not something that "is", it is something that you "do".¹⁸⁴

Sandra H. Dudley has stated that heritage objects do have inherent qualities, but of a different order than Smith intends. In "Museum materialities", she calls attention to the impact of objects in themselves. Because objects possess (potential) value and meaning apart from the information (stories) that are told about them, she asserts that if there is too much focus placed on the uselessness of objects-without-information, there is no possibility for sensory experiences with the objects: the materials, colours, forms, texture, smells, etc. Everyone (not only the "experts" who know the stories) can make a physical, real-time connection with an object.¹⁸⁵ This reinforces Smith's argument that heritage cannot be "possessed", not even by "specialists". Rather, something "becomes" heritage because it is used as heritage, or because it is a site that facilitates "heritage work",¹⁸⁶ which consists of remembering, commemorating, communicating and transferring knowledge, memories, identity and social and cultural values. In this way, not only are memories and knowledge transferred, but social networks and relations within a community are simultaneously sustained and those networks also create a feeling of identity. The transfer of all these meanings is not static; the networks are in themselves active with the recreation of meaning.¹⁸⁷

All this implies that the expectation that pupils will experience heritage "has something to do with themselves", as is often stated in projects (and, for instance, in the SLO framework), presupposes a substantial amount of work, which is not always done. Thus, the question becomes whether the expectation will always, often, or even sometimes, be met.

¹⁸³ Frijhoff, "Van bezitsdrang naar betekenisgeving."

¹⁸⁴ Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 301.

¹⁸⁵ Sandra H. Dudley, "Museum Materialities. Objects, sense and feeling," in ed. Sandra H. Dudley, *Museum materialities. Objects, engagements, interpretations*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2010), 1 – 17.

¹⁸⁶ Smith, 48.

¹⁸⁷ Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 83.

Sharon Macdonald has argued in *Memorylands* that identity is inseparably linked to memory. Memories and identity are often seen as things that you can “have” (and lose and rediscover). However, memories and identities are not fixed, just as heritage is not. Indeed, memories are (also) not something that we possess, but something that we do;¹⁸⁸ John R. Gillis, Professor Emeritus of History at Rutgers University, has stated that identities are not something we think *about*, but rather they are things we think *with*. They do not exist outside of our gender, politics, social relations or pasts.¹⁸⁹ We are constantly revising our memories to match them with our present identity. How we look at the future, influences how we look at the present and the past and vice versa: our memories colour the present and our expectations for the future.¹⁹⁰

In much the same way, culture is seen as a ‘thing’. We ‘have’ ‘a’ culture and ‘our culture’ is separate from other cultures. However, as Richard Handler has stated in “Is identity a useful cross-cultural concept?”, culture is a verb and always under the influence of “other” cultures. Nevertheless, nationalists believe in the uniqueness of their own cultural identity and that, for instance, when a nation has “lost its identity”, it can be retrieved in the past.¹⁹¹

Frijhoff has explained how the core idea of group identity is the feeling of togetherness or belonging, the idea that you are “the same”. This feeling is sustained by the remembrance of a collective past, and what we remember is defined by our presupposed identity. The personal and the national identity come forth from an interaction between the self-image and the image that others have of us. We want to be recognized and acknowledged as the person (or the nation) that we think we are.¹⁹²

This implies that if someone wants to help another strengthen his identity, for instance through a heritage project, he must first acknowledge the other person’s self-image. This might be especially difficult when there are pupils from a different culture. It is possible that the identity we ‘feel’ someone to ‘have’, is in conflict with the image he has (or is trying to establish) of himself. Maybe a teacher thinks she is doing justice to a coloured pupil by bringing up a ‘black topic’, while this pupil does not want to be approached as different from the white pupils. Although everyone wants to be acknowledged in his own uniqueness, we also all want to belong and thus, be “the same”.¹⁹³ Frijhoff has stated that the identity we represent is always narrower than the identity we experience. Our individual (or the nation’s) identity is an *image* (like the Frenchman with the beret¹⁹⁴). Identity is then an emphasis of the differences, because in this way one can distinguish oneself from others. Conversely, the identity of “the other” becomes that which is different from “us”. Here again, identity is seen as something static¹⁹⁵ as well as active: we constantly try to find confirmation for our beliefs.¹⁹⁶ Thus, the “foreigner” is supposed to “behave” according to this perceived identity, while he might experience his own identity in a different way.¹⁹⁷

¹⁸⁸ Sharon Macdonald, *Memorylands*.

¹⁸⁹ John R. Gillis, “Introduction. Memory and identity,” in ed. John R. Gillis, *Commemorations. The politics of national identity*, (Princeton University Press, 1994), 3-5.

¹⁹⁰ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, 18.

¹⁹¹ Handler, “Is identity a useful cross-cultural concept?” in *Commemorations*, 29-30.

¹⁹² Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, 50.

¹⁹³ Stuart Hall, “Whose heritage? Un-settling ‘the heritage’, re-imagining the post-nation,” in eds. Jo Littler & Roshi Naidoo, *The politics of heritage. The legacies of ‘race’*, (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), 30-31.

¹⁹⁴ Gillis, *Introduction*, 4.

¹⁹⁵ Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, 26-27.

¹⁹⁶ Hester Dibbits et.al, *Immaterieel erfgoed en volkscultuur. Almanak bij een actueel debat*, (Amsterdam University Press, 2011), 64.

¹⁹⁷ Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, 26-27.

Roshi Naidoo has suggested that it would be better to say that we are all multicultural, instead of acting like “we” are the standard and “they” can join us and thus, “they” are still excluded from the mainstream history.¹⁹⁸ There are several examples of positive multicultural heritage education projects: everybody tells about his or her favourite food for example and brings recipes from home. Other examples are projects that centre around traditions, songs, dances and feasts. In such projects, every pupil can make a contribution to a multi-coloured collection. However a problem arises when a project concerns the tangible heritage near the school. To be a proper “heir” still means something, as Lowenthal has indicated. People use bloodlines to prove that something belongs to them (or that they belong somewhere).¹⁹⁹ Often it is assumed that you can only understand something if you grew up in it (see also the critique on the ‘Goede Hoop’ exhibition). Furthermore, from a foreigner, critique on a society’s heritage is often not accepted.²⁰⁰ While, as noted in the previous section, if the goal of heritage education projects is appropriation, every pupil should be able to criticize and even dismiss the proffered heritage.

Apart from being bound to a specific location, which could make it difficult for newcomers to identify with it in the way for which many projects aim, heritage is gendered, as Smith has noted. This is a reasonable assessment, as heritage mirrors who is (or was) in power. This has two consequences. First, that many things that bear a remembrance to women have been forgotten. Second, that in many museums stereotypes are being kept and reinforced, for instance, in the way objects are displayed.²⁰¹ Our ‘masculine heritage’ might make it more difficult for girls to identify themselves with it. (Although of course, no-one has only one identity, as Frijhoff has stated.²⁰²) In my inventory I have not found projects that address the gender issue other than: “in the old days, women were not supposed to work outdoors”, which makes gender inequality a problem of the past.

From the above it follows that meaningful, identity reinforcing heritage education asks for deep insight into the pitfalls of multicultural and gendered heritage education²⁰³ and with the notion of identity (formation) in the first place.

Frijhoff’s notions about group identity, that the feeling of togetherness is sustained by remembering a collective past (and Macdonald’s notion about the linkage between identity and memory), imply that the often hoped for outcome of heritage education projects (that the pupils will feel that they “belong” and that they are “connected” to their neighbourhood and the community) is difficult to attain when those memories are not made together, but merely transferred to the pupils through the stories that educators and other “specialists” tell them.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁸ Naidoo, “Never mind the buzzwords,” 45.

¹⁹⁹ Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade*, 192 – 226. Also De Jong, *De dirigenten*, 13, 55.

²⁰⁰ Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade*, 231.

²⁰¹ Laurantje Smith, “Heritage, gender and identity,” In *The Ashgate research companion*, 159-178.

²⁰² Frijhoff, *Dynamisch erfgoed*, 43.

²⁰³ Sharon Macdonald stresses that culture can be learned, but heritage is about where you come from. Therefore it is such a powerful tool to shut people out. Can this problem be overcome? Macdonald does this for a museum exhibition by choosing themes that cover broad areas of human behaviour, and to display objects from different cultures that are covered by this theme (Macdonald, *Memorylands*, 168 – 170). This could be a solution for the difficulty of establishing a link between the local heritage to a diverse group of children in educational projects. The starting point is then what binds us together, instead of what separates us, in this case: ‘our’ history which is not ‘theirs’.

²⁰⁴ One aspect of heritage work is remembering. Memories can be ‘made’ together, around a heritage item or on a heritage site, while the established memories are also transferred (Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 60 – 66). Making new memories together through ‘heritage work’ could be a useful aim of heritage projects, one that could really strengthen the collective and the individual identities.

5.3.4. Identity formation: pride

Of the enquiry respondents, 27% said that “to learn about the heritage of the ancestors enables you to feel proud of the place where you live”. When we conduct heritage education programs with the aim of making pupils proud of “their” history, there are several difficult issues. One is whether this is a “good” aim to strive for, and another is whether this goal can even be met.

Whether furthering national pride is a “good” aim falls outside the scope of this thesis. But if it *is* the aim, while the aim of history education still is to treat history in a scholarly way, then it is difficult to fit this kind of heritage education into the history lesson.²⁰⁵ If nationalistic pride is the goal, only the “good stories” will be told. As Stuart Hall, cultural theorist, political activist and sociologist has indicated, if we want to tell a story of a shared past that we can be proud of, we need to forget many things and remember other things. Nations bind together highlights and other memorable occasions into a story – Hall calls this “storying” – and call that national story, “tradition”. This implies that our national stories change throughout time, because people (societies, nations) will leave out those things that do not fit into their story (anymore).²⁰⁶ As Lowenthal has explained in *The heritage crusade*, heritage is as much about preserving as about forgetting. We bend “the past” to fit our present needs:²⁰⁷ recently, in Canada, lawmakers have voted to change the country’s national anthem to make the lyrics gender neutral.²⁰⁸ Racism can, by “making it into heritage”, be reduced to something we did in the past, but have now luckily overcome.²⁰⁹ Indeed, there are many World War II programs that commemorate the Holocaust and teach the pupils about the atrocities of the Nazis whilst ‘forgetting’ (not always consciously) to talk about the tradition of anti-Semitism through Europe, so that the national story remains intact.²¹⁰

This implies that heritage, if used in the history lesson, should be treated critically. As Brian Graham, Professor of Human Geography at the University of Ulster and Peter Howard, Visiting Professor of Cultural Landscape at Bournemouth University have stated: heritages have many uses, but also many producers and every stakeholder has several aims in the creation and management of heritage.²¹¹ If the choice is not to show this, but instead to become a stakeholder with the aim of reinforcing national pride, then this kind of heritage education is extremely difficult to fit into a “neutral” history lesson.

5.3.5. Identity formation: to learn “where you come from”

According to the projects I studied, there are several ways to “strengthen” pupils’ identities. One is the aforementioned pride. Another way is for them to learn about “where they come from”, meaning to learn about the history and heritage of the place where the pupil currently resides. A problem with this idea is that it is unclear whether learning about remote forefathers will make a pupil proud of her history in the first place and, secondly, whether or not those ‘forefathers’ hold meaning to people who were not born in that area.

When, for instance, a pupil has her roots in the province of Zuid-Limburg, it is not evident that she will feel that the history of Aalsmeer has something to do with her. In Zuid-Limburg people speak a

²⁰⁵ Although, as we have seen, for Barend van Heusden this is exactly the use of heritage education within the history lesson.

²⁰⁶ Hall, “Whose heritage?”, 24-26.

²⁰⁷ Lowenthal, *The heritage crusade*, 159.

²⁰⁸ Matt Ford, “‘O Canada’ goes gender neutral,” *The Atlantic*, (June 15, 2016), accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.theatlantic.com/news/archive/2016/06/o-canada-gender-neutral/487298/>.

²⁰⁹ Naidoo, “Never mind the buzzwords,” 36 – 39.

²¹⁰ Macdonald, *Memorylands*, 58.

²¹¹ Graham and Howard, “Introduction: heritage and identity”, 1.

different dialect and the landscape looks entirely different, to name two obvious differences. Will a pupil from this province feel herself to be the descendant of the men and women who made land from water while she was born in the ‘Dutch mountains’? This problem becomes larger when it concerns pupils from another country and/or a very different culture (and religion: in *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden* Maria Grever and Kees Ribbens display how the non-Western immigrant youth strongly identify with their religion, through which the transfer of memories often takes place; also they are very much interested in the history of their religion).²¹² There are many examples of immigrants who have become proud of their new country. As Jan Pieter L.M. van Oudenhoven, endowed professor of cross-cultural psychology has described in his 2004 oration for Groningen University, there are many factors that influence the level of adaptation of migrants. His research reveals that, on the one hand, the attitude of the migrant is important. Van Oudenhoven refers to, among others, social, economic and psychological factors. On the other hand, the “attitude” of the receiving country also plays a role. In Canada, immigrants exhibit a strong identification with their host country, which Van Oudenhoven deems remarkable, because the Canadian immigration policy stimulates immigrants to express their own cultural identity.²¹³ He adds that more research is needed to determine whether a multicultural policy is really the most successful, but he is certain that a pluralistic policy is more successful than an assimilation policy.²¹⁴ From this we can conclude that heritage lessons should provide pupils with as much room as possible to integrate the “new” culture and heritage with their own cultural background. This precondition is hard to reconcile with a heritage lesson that teaches about the local history.

5.3.6. Identity formation: to learn about oneself through empathy for others

Another way to strengthen identity through heritage education is to teach pupils that heritage is dynamic, which in this case means that there are always different perspectives in history (and in the present). This is the view of Van Boxtel and Grever in the research program “heritage education, plurality of narratives and shared historical knowledge”. Through heritage, pupils can experience the different points of view of different protagonists on all kinds of issues. They can learn that whether you are rich or poor, male or female, white or black, boss or servant, this influences the way you experience things and consequently, your view of life. This might teach the pupil empathy and she also might discover that she is also under the influence of particular circumstances that influence her life view. Heritage education is, in this regard, not so much meant to “boost” one’s self-image, but to allow one to know oneself better, to understand how one interacts with and is influenced by others, as well as one’s own class, gender, race, prospects, etc. to better handle situations in life. Putting oneself in the shoes of historical figures is an old and proven method to teach pupils to look at matters from different perspectives to understand each side’s argument (‘playing courtroom’ for instance). This can help one understand that norms and values change over time and that it is therefore, not wise to judge our forefathers for their deeds with the norms and values we hold in the present. The use of heritage for such practices deepens the experience, when pupils understand that heritage is seen as something important. However, the way heritage is used in this kind of education is again, as an artefact rather than a process. The meta-perspective is missing. The meaning making in which pupils are invited to participate, could therefore be better described as ‘giving their opinion’ on the proffered heritage. If a heritage project aims to teach pupils empathy and historical thinking,

²¹² Maria Grever and Kees Ribbens, *Nationale identiteit en meervoudig verleden*, (Den Haag Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).

²¹³ J. P. L. M van Oudenhoven, “Immigranten en cultuur,” (oration for Groningen University, published version s.n. 2004), download date April 5, 2017, <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal>, 3.

²¹⁴ Idem, 7.

then there is no problem. If, however, the project is also meant to make the pupil feel that the heritage “belongs to him”, as stated by the SLO framework, than it might be difficult for this kind of heritage education to fulfil these aims.

This chapter discussed several issues concerning the aims of heritage education. The issues revolve around: the (im)possibility to reinforce the identity of pupils with the help of heritage education, if the presupposed link between heritage and identity is not considered as a given, and considering the fact that identity is a fluid concept, inseparable from memory; the questions about using heritage to learn about one’s past to better understand oneself or to become proud of one’s heritage; the difficulties with the desired appropriation of heritage; and the difficulties with identity reinforcement through meaning making.

In the next chapter I discuss a different kind of heritage education projects that could solve these issues. This kind of heritage education would be considered ‘heritage literate’.

Chapter 6: Toward a critical heritage education

6.1. Introduction

To assess how a different kind of heritage education (heritage literate) could arise in practice, I selected seven projects (on one occasion: one assignment within a project) that I thought were, in some or in many aspects, heritage literate. I did not have clear criteria for this selection. I searched for projects that either ‘do something with’ the formation of heritage in the sense that the pupils are invited to investigate this and/or question the heritage; or which gave pupils (plenty of) room to do their own meaning making in the sense that they could do heritage work. I also included projects in which the choices of the pupils were very important or leading. Although these criteria may sound vague, they are inherent to this research. The concept of ‘heritage literacy’ is not currently used by educators and heritage education organisations like the provincial Heritage Houses, but this does not mean that there are not several educators who work with this or similar ideas and views on heritage and heritage education.

There is one organisation, however, whose entire philosophy is about heritage literate work: Imagine IC in Amsterdam.²¹⁵ The slogan on their website is: “Imagine IC collects, represents and preserves new stories about actual life together”.²¹⁶ A recent Imagine IC education project called “In the pocket” is about the archive every youngster has on his mobile phone.²¹⁷ This is an example of a project in which the pupils are not investigating the nature of heritage, but experiencing it, working with it and making their own heritage.

For my interviews I attempted to discover projects from different areas of the country and from different kinds of organisations that ‘do something with’ heritage literacy in different ways. This search yielded the projects as shown in figure 18.

One of the projects was brought to my attention by someone who had read my articles on the website of the LKCA and emailed me to inform me of the new learning line she was developing. Another project was presented during a meeting with the provincial heritage consultants who had been asked by Hester Dibbits to find heritage literate projects in their own offerings. The other projects I found myself from the inventory I made. I chose from the 106 projects I had found that were (also) about the formation of heritage.

My questions concentrated on the goals the interviewees had set for the selected project and why.²¹⁸ The ‘why’ comprised questions such as: “Why is this beneficial for the pupils?”; “Why is this beneficial for the heritage?” I also asked about the possible sources the educators had used beforehand: projects from other providers, literature on the internet about ‘good heritage education’, sources on curricula and learning goals from schools. The answers to these questions explain the extent to which these sources are actually used by educators, as I explained in section 1.3.1. I also asked about requirements from, *inter alia*, the sponsors, employer or other influencing forces that helped shape the project. Finally, I asked what their own connection to the subject was and I asked them about their ‘heritage background’. With this, I hoped to find a link between the respondents’ views on heritage and the goals they tried to reach with their projects.

²¹⁵ Imagine IC, accessed April 24, 2017, <http://www.imagineic.nl/>.

²¹⁶ Imagine IC verzamelt, verbeeldt en bewaart nieuwe verhalen over actueel samen leven.

²¹⁷ Imagine IC. “Case: in the pocket,” accessed April 24, 2017, <http://www.imagineic.nl/cases/de-pocket>.

²¹⁸ Questions in appendix 3 (Dutch) and 4 (English).

Figure 18. Overview of heritage literate projects

Location	Project	About	Interviewee	Organisation
1. Groningen	<i>Een steen, een naam, een herinnering</i> (A stone, a name, a memory)	Project with Stolpersteine (stumbling stones) in Slochteren.	Esther Koops	CultuurClick Groningen and Erfgoedpartners Groningen
2. Groningen	<i>Sint Maarten in het Westerkwartier</i>	Project around the historical figure and tradition of Saint Marten in Grootegast.	Tineke Neyman	CultuurClick Groningen and Erfgoedpartners Groningen
3. Amsterdam	<i>Groei stad</i> (Grow city)	Digital based project around the map of the city.	Irma Enklaar	Amsterdam Museum
4. Leiden	<i>Beeldvorming</i> (Image formation)	Project about image formation of old Egyptian movies.	Timo Epping	Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden
5. Rotterdam	<i>My virtual Rotterdam</i>	Project around the changing role of women during and after World War II and the images pupils have of themselves and the image they have of their ideal city of the future.	Martine Everts, Tanya Lodder	Museum Rotterdam, My digital Playground
6. Enschede	<i>MaakMeeMuseum</i>	'Museology' learning line from grade 1 to 8.	Loes Schippers	Roombeek Cultuurpark
7. Coevorden	<i>Stoomfluit in Coevorden</i> (Steam whistle in Coevorden)	One assignment in a project about industrialisation about whether the steam whistle should be silenced.	Marieke van Ginkel	K&C, expertisecentrum en projectorganisatie kunst en cultuur

6.2. Stolpersteine: layers, stories and dilemmas

The cause for the Stolpersteine project *Een steen, een naam, een herinnering*, was a documentary maker in Groningen who made short documentaries about Stolpersteine. She asked the local cultural supporting organisation, Erfgoedpartners Groningen,²¹⁹ to help her subsidize her films and, in order to obtain the funds, an accompanying educational project had to be made. The commission went to Esther Koops, historian from Groningen University and secondary school teacher in Groningen with working experience at the Drents Plateau (a heritage organisation) and numerous years of work experience in the Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork. Erfgoedpartners demanded there be a chapter about terror and that the material could be used in other locations as well; the documentary maker wanted her films to be used in the project.

Esther developed the project in collaboration with the OVCG – Stichting Oorlogs- en Verzet Centrum Groningen (War and Resistance Centre), an organisation that does the research for the Stolpersteine. Esther, when talking with the OVCG, learned about the different stories behind the stones research and decided that that would be the core of her project. In her words, “the material is there, all you have to do is recognise it”.

She searched the internet for other projects and she contacted Herinneringscentrum Kamp Westerbork. But for the rest, she did not find any format she could use. She did not orient herself on ‘good heritage education’. For her, active forms of education are important and that is what she makes. Her most important sources of inspiration are her own pupils; she knows “what works”.

²¹⁹ Erfgoedpartners Groningen, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://www.erfgoedpartners.nl/>.

Moreover, she is familiar with the work of Arie Wilschut, theorist of ways to further historical thinking and historical awareness.²²⁰

Stolpersteine are memorial stones in the pavement that are meant to keep the memory of Nazi victims alive. They are called “tripping stones” because people “trip over them with their heads and their hearts. They have to bend down to read the text”. The stones are put in the pavement in front of the houses where victims lived.²²¹

There are several Stolpersteine projects in the Netherlands. In these projects, the pupils get to know the stories of the people behind the stones and they learn about the Second World War. In the Slochteren project for grades 7 and 8, something else was done. Before a stone is made, research is conducted on the proposed person to determine whether he or she falls into the ‘right category’. If he or she was ‘wrong’ during the war (a traitor, a Dutch Nazi), then he or she will not receive a stone. Moreover, the stones are made in response to a request from a community; thus, if the community did not like a certain person, he will not get a stone. But if, on the other hand, someone was important in the community, or liked, a request for a stone will be made. Then there are also the present inhabitants of the house where the deceased lived; if they do not want a stone in front of their doorstep, there will be no stone.

When Esther heard about all these dilemmas, she knew that this was what she wanted to base the project on. The pupils discuss several (real) dilemmas around Stolpersteine and they make their own decisions. In the end, they will hear what was decided in reality. In the following lessons the pupils learn more about the existing stones and the stories behind them and about the reasons for war and terror. They interview old people who still remember the war and put their stories on the Groningen heritage website.²²² They also consider why we remember and what the use of remembrance is, and whether World War II is part of our collective memory.

The learning goals for Esther were that the pupils learn that there are many different sides to this issue. Since each stone tells the story of a person, Esther thinks it is important to “personify” the stone: tell the story to the pupils to keep the memory about this person alive.²²³ In this project, there is thus a strong link between past, present and future: remembering is something we do in the present. However, the stone is also a reference to the war: that is the historical story. The story of the research on the proposed person is again a story of the present.

At the same time, by making the pupils think about those questions, Esther wanted to involve them in the subject: why would they be interested in a person who died 70 or 80 years ago? Especially for pupils do not have a collective memory since they do not have grandparents who remember the Second World War, because they come from another country. But through working with the stones in this way, Esther hopes that the stones will become “their own”, because the present is something they do share. If the stone feels like it belongs to the pupils, Esther believes, the past and the surroundings can become “theirs” and they will feel responsible for it to some extent. “Everybody

²²⁰ Arie H.J. Wilschut, “Historisch besef als onderwijsdoel,” accessed April 4, 2017, <http://www.historischhuis.nl/HistBesef/HHbesef3.html>.

²²¹ “Stolpersteine. Een steen, een naam een herinnering. Een educatief project voor het Primair Onderwijs,” accessed April 1, 2017 <http://www.cultuurclick groningen.nl/clientdata/images/projecten/documents/full/handleiding-stolpersteine01.pdf>).

²²² “De verhalen van Groningen,” accessed April 1, 2017, www.hetverhaalvangroningen.nl.

²²³ Because the Stolpersteine show nothing but name and dates; they need the story of the person to keep the memory alive. See for instance this stolpersteine: accessed 1 April, 2017, https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bestand:20161116_Stolpersteine_Samuel_Woltjer_Folkingestraat_41_Groningen.jpg.

wants to feel connected to his surroundings and to other people". Projects like these can further such feelings. In this way, the heritage will be safeguarded, because it has value. "If there is no interest, everything can disappear".

6.3. Sint Maarten in het Westerkwartier²²⁴: tradition is not static

The project around Saint Marten was a commission from Erfgoedpartners Groningen, who provides heritage lines in several communities in Groningen, with money from Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit. Tineke Neyman, art historian and medievalist from Groningen University, who has worked for six years in Friesland as heritage education coordinator, is now teacher of art and culture at the teacher training school for primary education, freelance story teller and developer of heritage projects. She was asked by Erfgoedpartners to make this project for the municipality of Grootegast. The subject was a demand from the schools, who wanted to "do something with regional language or regional food". Tineke decided to do something with regional language, but she did not fancy a "lesson on regional language". Thus, she created a project around Saint Marten, which would encompass a whole range of intangible heritage subjects: regional language, tradition, stories and songs. The stories and songs would be done in the regional language and were translated from Gronings to Westerkwartiers by Tonko Ufkes, a poet and writer who writes in Westerkwartiers.

Tineke did not search the internet for other projects, but she did consult the website of SLO and she used the SLO curriculum framework as a reference. *Cultuur in de spiegel* is an important source of inspiration for her, especially the four basic skills. When the project was finished, Erfgoedpartners decided it should fit within the guidelines of the framework of the SLO and of *Cultuur in de spiegel*. Luckily enough, Tineke had already modelled her project according to these guidelines.

The project also links to the history canon and the regional Groningen canon.

Sint Maarten in het Westerkwartier²²⁵ for primary school grades 5 and 6 is about intangible heritage: the tradition of "walking Saint Marten". The stories about Saint Marten are told to the pupils in the language of the region (Westerkwartiers) and the pupils learn songs in this same language. The project is assigned right after the Autumn Holiday, before the Feast of Saint Marten on 11 November. The feast is celebrated by almost all the children in the region. The project aims to make them realize that they are heirs as well as bearers of an old tradition. They also learn that tradition is not static, but that it changes through time.

For Tineke it was important that this project be about something the children do every year. She wanted them to realize that there is a link to the past (the tradition) as well as the future: they do things differently than their parents and their children will do things differently as well. In this way Tineke hopes that the pupils will feel that they stand in a long line of tradition and that they are not "isolated in time". If we do not tell the stories anymore, Tineke said, the tradition will die. If we teach the children about their heritage, we work on keeping the fabric whole.

According to Tineke, this realisation will make their world larger and the pupils will become more aware of their place in the world and in time. She is convinced that people exist by the grace of stories: the world is full of stories and the children have to realize that they are a part of the stories and that those stories are much bigger than their own. Children make their own choices about how to bring traditions further and they can only make choices if they are conscious of what they are doing. This is why the project about Sint Maarten is important, Tineke thinks.

²²⁴ The name of the project is *Sint Maarten in het Westerkwartier*, but the project is designed for the municipality of Grootegast, which is part of the Westerkwartier.

²²⁵ Erfgoedpartners, "Erfgoed Schatten van Grootegast," accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.erfgoedpartners.nl/publiek/educatie/docs/Map%20Grootegast.pdf>.

6.4. Groeistad Amsterdam: add your own information

The incentive for *Groeistad* came from two sides. First, Amsterdam Museum had developed a heritage program for secondary education together with the City Archive, Municipal Archaeology and the Centre for Architecture, “Bekijk je Wijk”. Primary schools saw this and wanted something similar. Irma Enklaar, an art historian with a specialty in cultural education, has worked as a museum consultant in Amsterdam from 1999, and from 2005 as a consultant on visual arts and architecture. During those years she realised that the city was a collection itself and just as interesting to walk through with kids, as a museum collection. Since 2008, Irma has been a self-employed educator. She and the educator in the Amsterdam Museum found out that schools want to do something with heritage in the close vicinity of the school. Amsterdam Museum already had a program, “Mijn stad”, which could be done at different locations in different neighbourhoods. However, for most schools these locations were too far away. With between 250 and 300 primary schools in Amsterdam, it was also not feasible to make separate projects for every school.

Thus, Irma came up with the digital platform *Groeistad*. The city map is filled with information and the schools could use it without ever going outside, but the idea is that they will undertake activities outside and together with artists, cultural organisations, community centres, etc.

Irma searched on the internet and found two other projects, both of which were some form of map. The project is supported by Mocca Amsterdam,²²⁶ which is the organisation that implements Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit (CmK) for the city. The idea is that the platform can become the foundation for the learning line heritage and identity that is being developed with CmK money. The schools pay for the project, but the partners also need money from special funds, because building the platform is very expensive.

The most important source for Irma was the ‘Raamleerplan’ from Mocca, and this is the same as the ‘leerplankader’ from the SLO. She is also familiar with the principles of *Cultuur in de spiegel*. An important source of inspiration was also visual artist Jan Rothuizen who made *The soft atlas of Amsterdam*.²²⁷

Irma did not search the internet to find out what schools want or need, because she has had many talks with schools and that is where she got the information she needed.

Groeistad was developed in collaboration with the City Archive, Monumenten en Archeologie and the Centre for Architecture. The collections of all these organisations have to be integrated in the map.

Groeistad Amsterdam for grades 3 to 8 is a digital platform. It is a map filled with information about architecture, monuments, art, museum collections, archaeology and stories.²²⁸ Teachers and pupils can work with this map, starting from their own school, to see what is in the vicinity and do all kinds of assignments with anything on the map. Thus, this project falls into the ‘source model’.

However, the pupils can add their own information to the map. They can upload pictures and stories or the road they walk to school. In this way they can feel a sense of ownership over the neighbourhood, Irma explained. They can, for instance, indicate which road (to school) they like more than others and why.

²²⁶ Mocca, expertisecentrum cultuuronderwijs, accessed April 6, 2017, <http://www.mocca-amsterdam.nl/>.

²²⁷ Jan Rothuizen, “De zachte atlas van Amsterdam,” accessed April 1, 2017, <http://janrothuizen.nl/portfolio/de-zachte-atlas-van-amsterdam/>.

²²⁸ “Amsterdam Museum, Groeistad,” accessed April 1, 2017, <https://www.amsterdammuseum.nl/aanbod-basisonderwijs/groeistad>.

The goal for Irma is to let pupils discover the heritage in their own neighbourhood. They can try to find answers to questions like: “What is it that makes me feel at home?”. The project also makes it easier for teachers to integrate heritage into their lessons. Why it is important for pupils to get affinity with heritage is, according to Irma, to get more feeling for it, more understanding and, even, to feel pride. The pupils are invited to give their opinion and to think about how things could be done differently in the future. “I hope they will feel that their opinion counts, that they are influencers themselves. And it is important that every pupil can feel and experience that their neighbourhood is interesting, that there are stories to tell; even if it is in an outskirt of the city; all too often they believe that only the famous historical centre is beautiful and exciting. For every child it is important to feel that the place where they live, is interesting and exciting”.

6.5. Beeldvorming: learn to be critical

Beeldvorming was made because there was an exhibition about Ancient Egypt in the museum. Also, the museum workers had been considering doing something with old Hollywood movies for years. And every now and again, visitors would ask about this topic. Furthermore, old Hollywood movies played a role in certain lectures on Leiden University, with which the museum has a close connection. As a result, the *Beeldvorming* teaching pack developed by merging a variety of factors.

The aim was not to get a lot of school classes inside of the museum, so Timo Epping, educator at the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden, made a downloadable teaching pack. The exhibition was accompanied by several activities for which the museum collaborated with Leiden University: a symposium, lectures and a training day for teachers.

Timo, historian in old history with a specialty in roman military history, is since eight years educator at the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden. Since his studies at Leiden University, during which he worked at the museum as a museum teacher, Timo has followed courses and training days, but he refers to newspapers as another important source of knowledge he uses for his work as an educator.

Timo did not look into other projects, neither did he consult websites about heritage education. However, he did research the SLO website to make sure the project would link to the school curriculum. This he thinks is very important, since he does not want to make something extraneous. Timo wanted the project to link to the history lesson. For him, it is mainly a project about source criticism.

Timo made the teaching pack with the help of colleagues: the curators checked that all of the facts were right and experts in the field of historical films helped him with that topic.

*Beeldvorming*²²⁹ is aimed at secondary education. It is about image formation on the basis of old movies about Ancient Egypt. The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden hosts a large collection of artefacts from this time period.

In the lessons, the pupils watch one or more (fragments of) old movies that take place in Ancient Egypt. The pupils investigate what is ‘true’ and what is not by comparing objects that are used in the movies with authentic objects in the museum and sources from archaeologists and historians. They have to take a stance: is the image in the movie historically correct? They also have to think about the influence such movies have on the image people have of Ancient Egypt.

The goals for Timo were to create an interest in historical movies and, by extension, in the exhibition about Ancient Egypt that was on show when this project was developed. He also wanted to contribute to the learning of critical thinking and source criticism, which especially now, is so very

²²⁹ Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, “Lesbrief beeldvorming,” accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.rmo.nl/onderwijs/voortgezet-onderwijs/vmbo/lesbrief-beeldvorming>.

important. “I think this project has been overhauled by current events”, he said. Timo thinks that it is important for pupils to learn the difference between fact and fiction. It is important to know why something was made: for entertainment reasons, or to inform? How important is it that movies are historically correct? And if I want to know this, which sources should I use? How can I check it? Timo thinks that a critical stance should be part of everyone’s life. Pupils are confronted all the time with messages and facts on social media and Timo feels it is important that they can assess these critically.

Museums have to teach these kinds of skills, according to Timo. “That should be our position in society, that is what we can contribute to society, on all levels. Of course, we can also contribute to society by making everybody proud of our beautiful objects, in that sense a museum can have a nationalising role, and that is also fine. But if we do that, people should know what is happening and why”.

It is important for pupils to understand heritage because it can make them more complete human beings, according to Timo. By getting to know different cultures – old cultures in the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden – one can more easily value other cultures and learn empathy.

6.6. Rotterdam: find your own voice

My Virtual Rotterdam is a collaboration between Museum Rotterdam and My Digital Playground. It was paid for by KCR Kenniscentrum Cultuureducatie Rotterdam²³⁰ and, through KCR, the schools. The part of the program that concerns the museum was developed by Martine Everts. She studied at the Academy of Visual Arts and has a background in participative projects. She worked in the Rotterdam Museum as an educator for about thirteen years and since she has tried to further participation in every project she started.

The only guidelines Martine used for this project were those from KCR and the Erfgoedcoalitie.²³¹ KCR works with money from Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit and must, therefore, follow the goals from this program. Important for KCR and the Erfgoedcoalitie are the teaching of 21st century skills and to work demand-oriented with schools. Furthermore, the Rotterdam Museum has its own goals: to further the awareness of being a Rotterdam inhabitant and to know about the history of Rotterdam. Identity is always an important topic. For Digital Playground, the goals are to learn digital skills and media skills. As far as the schools are concerned: KCR has designed the *Cultuurtraject*, with programs for every grade. A program about media is for the first grade.

*My Virtual Rotterdam*²³² is a project for secondary education. The pupils first visit an exhibition in Museum Rotterdam “Vrouwen van Rotterdam” (Women of Rotterdam) in which the changing role of women after World War II is depicted. After this, they make a digital intervention on a location in Rotterdam in 2040 (one hundred years after the start of World War II) at course centre Digital Playground. They are invited to make something that exhibits how their ideal city could look. In this sense, ideal means: fitting their personal talents and aspirations.

The goals for this project were, according to both Martine and Tanya: to learn more about the role of women in the reconstruction period after World War II and to make a link to oneself; to discover virtual reality and to learn to design an ideal world; to express oneself in images and to collaborate. Martine and Tanya hope that pupils will discover their ambitions and in what kind of city these could

²³⁰ KCR, accessed April 1, 2017, <https://kc-r.nl/>.

²³¹ “Maak kennis met de erfgoedcoalitie,” accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.ikin010.nl/erfgoedcoalitie/>.

²³² Museum Rotterdam, “My virtual Rotterdam,” accessed April 1, 2017, <https://museumrotterdam.nl/ontdek/my-virtual-reality>.

thrive. Using very modern digital means, they want to create a different atmosphere around heritage: “that it is not old and brown”.

For the pupils they hope that such projects make them more assertive, that they will think more about their own life choices and that they can see that people are a product of their time and the morality of a time. On the other hand, they want them to realize that they also have an influence on the world.

With such participatory projects, the heritage will be kept alive and enriched, because it is being linked to the present and the future, Martine said. It is being re-interpreted over and over again; a 50 year old woman has a different outlook on a historical woman’s dress than a 13 year old pupil. These differences enrich the descriptions of the collection, according to Martine. “In every project I try to make the results of the participants visible in the exhibition”. Martine’s mission is to enlarge the visibility of all the projects she makes. “Because when the visibility grows, the role of the participants grows”. Tanya’s mission is to help the pupils find their place in the world, what this place can be and how they can show themselves to the world.

6.7. Enschede: stimulate curiosity and appreciation will follow

The learning line in Enschede was developed because of Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit, who paid for the project, named ‘Culturage’ in Enschede.²³³ The idea was developed by a colleague of Loes, together with a school. This colleague and Loes had long decided to create a project that did not use cultural heritage as a source, but as a meta-cultural phenomenon. The colleague started to develop the learning line, but she fell ill and then Loes, who works for Museum Twentse Welle, was asked to finish the project.

Loes Schippers studied museology at the Reinwardt Academy in Leiden and since then, has always worked in museums.

Loes knows that her colleague researched other projects and consulted websites about heritage education. She also discussed the project with the director of the first school who came up with the demand. Together, they decided on two themes: identity and language development. The school was Islamic and this was, of course, a factor in this idea. Nevertheless, these themes are important for every school.

The most important guidelines for the project are the guidelines from Culturage, and those are derived from Cultuureducatie met Kwaliteit, according to Loes: process-driven work, collaboration with cultural organisations, to use the expertise of the children. As the project had to link to the curriculum of the schools, the core objectives were also taken into account in the development. The SLO Leerplankader was a guiding principle.

MaakMeeMuseum is a ‘museological’ learning line for grades 1 to 8. The projects are done partly in the local museum TwentseWelle, partly in school and partly outside (city walk). The pupils learn about collecting, arranging, value, the connection between personal collections and a museum collection, context and stories and stories in the street (buildings, monuments, artworks). In the seventh grade, the pupils make their own exhibition and in the eighth grade they investigate how a museum ‘works’.

The most important themes of this learning line are identity and language development. Heritage was linked to stories since heritage is an instrument for the development of language, according to Loes. The stories of the pupils, their parents and the teachers are important. The stories are

²³³ Culturage, accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.culturage.nu/>.

connected to objects – from the museum but also from the pupils and the teachers – that in this manner get more value.

Loes thinks it is important to understand that one's identity is connected with surrounding phenomenon and that these phenomenon are sometimes connected to material objects. There is an interaction between the development of one's identity and the development of a feeling for cultural heritage. Without heritage, Loes thinks, one loses a part of oneself.

In this sense, the learning goals are aimed at strengthening the individual. However, according to Loes, the project also wants to strengthen a sense of community. The pupils can start to realize that what they value personally, can be valued by a group, a nation or the whole world. For the director of the school that was a partner in the development of the project, it was important to also include heritage from children that were not born in the Netherlands. In the "grandma's suitcase" project in the 3rd grade, there were objects from 'grandmothers' from countries where the pupils' forefathers originally resided. The pupils are then confronted with the fact that they have different backgrounds, and finding these objects in the suitcase can strengthen their identity and can show them that they all have things in common.

Loes hopes that the fact that there is so much room for the pupils to bring their own objects and share their stories, will give them a feeling of pride and belonging. For her, this is more important than that the children learn about specific heritage elements around them. She thinks that this is important for the future of heritage, too. "We do not want to tell the children to feel respect for heritage. To tell them about a subject and expect them to appreciate that. We want to make them curious and interested. We want to make them understand that people preserve objects and other things because they are valuable for them. And, for instance with grandma's suitcase, they can realise that it was useful that those objects were kept, because now they are still here and we can hear the stories. They can learn why things are here, how we handle them and why, and this can be a very good basis for the appreciation of heritage".

6.8. Coevorden: nothing is self-evident

The steam whistle assignment is part of a learning line, which was a commission from the municipality of Coevorden. It was developed in collaboration with the local historical society, the museums and the schools. The historical society delivered information and ideas and the local archivist supplied educator Marieke with old pictures. Marieke van Ginkel wrote the stories and made the assignments, while the teachers evaluated the material. Marieke, who studied history and received a master in education and a minor in cultural heritage, functioned as a bridge between the suppliers of information and the teachers who told her what to include and what not. That was a puzzle at times. The project was paid by the local government and the schools. Marieke searched the internet into other projects, for inspiration mostly, but she did not consult the websites of SLO or LKCA on 'good heritage education'. With regard to the schools, they told her themselves what they wanted. She did not consult the internet to find out about curricula or core objectives. The most important goal for the learning line – and this was a wish from the schools – was to make a link to the local canon and for the pupils to get to know the heritage in their own surroundings better.

For grades 6, 7 and 8, a special regional canon about heritage in Coevorden²³⁴ was made with an accompanying workbook. In the 8th grade industrialisation was on the program. The core assignment of this chapter was the issue around the old steam whistle. It sounded six times a day. For many

²³⁴ Regiocanons.nl, "Canon van Coevorden," accessed April 1, 2017, <http://www.regiocanons.nl/drenthe/coevorden>.

people, this whistle functioned as a sort of clock; it told them when to go to lunch or when the work day was over. However, at some point, people started complaining about the 'noise'. They wanted the whistle to be silenced. The pupils had to debate this problem and defend the opinion of one of the parties.

The most important goal for the whole project was to make a link with the regional canon and for the pupils to get to know the heritage in their own surroundings. It was a pure 'source model' project. However, this one assignment focused on the fact that heritage has to do with choices. Marieke wanted the pupils to understand that nothing is obvious: the heritage around them is there because people made the choice to keep it. For the same reason, other things are not there: the choice was made to destroy it. She wanted the pupils to think about such choices for themselves, but also to understand that there are more sides to a story; people have different opinions and different reasons for wanting to keep things or get rid of them. Marieke hopes that learning this will help the pupils make better decisions when they are older. They will understand that there are always arguments for both sides. Also, if the pupils understand that nothing is self-evident, they might learn to accept that things change; traditions, for instance. Thus, maybe they will look differently at the future, too. If they understand that everything around them is the product of choices, they might be able to understand that the society of the future will also be the product of the choices they make today.

6.9. Analysis

The issues I described in the previous chapter have their origin in the view on heritage of the educators and the desired outcomes of heritage education. The question is whether the seven projects described above, show us a way of employing heritage in education that overcomes or avoids those issues.

To start with the view on heritage of the seven educators: they all think that heritage is subject to choices, but this does not necessarily mean that they all view heritage as a meta-cultural phenomenon. Timo from the Rijksmuseum voor Oudheden for instance, considers the old movies to be meta-cultural phenomenon, but the objects in the museum to be authentic. Irma from *Groeistad Amsterdam* provides a substantial amount of 'authentic heritage' in the digital platform, but she also acknowledges the pupils as influencers. Thus, even if the educators do not all share the critical view on heritage so clearly, they did all design projects that were in several ways heritage literate.

The Stolpersteine project, *MaakMeeMuseum* and The steam whistle assignment teach pupils in a straightforward manner that heritage is the result of choices that people have made and are still making. Furthermore, the pupils are invited to make their own choices and to share them with the group, their teachers and the educators; although this choice-making could also, in some cases, be 'opinion giving'.

Beeldvorming is the most 'academic' and analytic project. It was not meant to be a heritage literate project, but a source criticism project. It shows how heritage objects can be used for all kinds of reasons. This use of heritage is also part of the making of heritage – the movies influence the way the 'authentic objects' in the museum are looked upon – a dialogue that could have been made clear in the teaching pack to make this project even more layered.

Instead of teaching the pupils that heritage is dynamic, a project could offer the pupils the possibility to do their own heritage work.

Heritage work is possible in *MaakMeeMuseum*, where the pupils bring their objects and share their stories. The personal objects are treated in the same way as museum objects, which means the pupils' contributions are taken seriously. In the Stolpersteine project, the pupils do some heritage work when they interview old people about the war and put their stories on the Groningen heritage website. In this way, they are keeping memories alive and saving them for the future. Nevertheless,

this project is more investigative than that it allows the pupils to do their own heritage work and/or give their own meaning to the Stolpersteine. The digital platform of *Groeistad Amsterdam* could function as a resource bank. The pupils can be invited to choose for themselves what they want to pick from the resource bank and find their own way in the given information, while adding their own experiences as well. In this way, the map can be used as the basis for a heritage literate project in which the pupils have a lot of room for individual contributions. Moreover, the pupils could be approached as ‘experts’ themselves when they include their own locations and experiences in the map. They could share knowledge different from that of any ‘expert’. Thus, they would be heritage makers themselves. However, whether this will happen or not depends on the teacher.

My Virtual Rotterdam has a historical subject as its starting point, but is for the rest, totally focussed on the identity of every pupil. There is, in the beginning, a transfer of specialist knowledge about the role of women, but this is used for the pupils to take their own stance toward those historical examples. There is room for the pupils to give their own interpretation of the heritage that is offered them. They learn from history that we are all influenced by our time but they are also confronted with examples of women who ‘stepped out of their time’ and took their own direction. Subsequently, they are invited to change the city (virtually) to make it fit their personal aspirations. In this project also, there is maximum room for the individual contributions of the pupils. Their experiences and views are taken seriously and are given a place within the museum exhibition.

In the project of Saint Marten, the aim is twofold: to make the children feel they are part of a whole, as bearers of tradition and to make them understand that this tradition is not static and that they make choices in this. Thus, the pupils are treated not as “cultural carriers and transmitters”, but as “agents in the heritage enterprise itself”.²³⁵

Issues which I have detected with the learning objectives in common heritage projects are partly overcome and partly avoided because some learning objectives are absent in the seven projects. The furthering of pride in the local history or heritage is a specific learning goal in only one of the projects. This is *Groeistad Amsterdam*, but there is no specific heritage this relates to; the aim is about acknowledging that any place can hold interesting stories, not only the touristy, well-known places. In this sense, the pride-furthering aim is meant to be more inclusive for pupils who mostly fall outside of (or at least, have the feeling that this is so) a dominant heritage view that holds that heritage is about the beautiful, grand and famous objects.²³⁶

Identity work is a strong component in most of the projects. In *Groeistad Amsterdam*, *My Virtual Rotterdam* and *MaakMeeMuseum*, identity formation is a strong aim, but in the sense of the welcoming of the contribution of the pupils who are, in some cases, treated as experts themselves. The idea is that this will make them feel proud of themselves (not of the heritage) and/or that it will help them to find their own voice. Especially in the last two projects, there is also a clear aim to empower. In the Stolpersteine, Beeldvorming, Saint Marten and Steam Whistle projects, the idea is that thinking about and practicing choice-making will help the pupils become better informed people who will be more capable of understanding and handling changes in the world around them. Appropriation is a clear goal in the Stolpersteine and the Sint Maarten project. The designer of the Stolpersteine project hopes that the stones will start to feel like “the pupils’ stones”, because this will

²³⁵ Terms like “carriers”, “bearers” and “transmitters” “connote a passive medium, . . . or vessel, without volition, intention, or subjectivity”. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Intangible heritage as a metacultural production,” 58.

²³⁶ Smith, *Uses of heritage*, 29. ‘The authorized heritage discourse focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations ‘must’ care for, protect and revere (...).’

help the pupils feel connected. An important aim of the Sint Maarten project is to keep the tradition alive.

In the other projects, the aim does not seem to be that the pupils appropriate the heritage. However, in *My Virtual Rotterdam* and *MaakMeeMuseum*, they have (or can have) so much input of their own that the heritage at stake might already be ‘appropriated’ (because it is the pupils’ own input). Either way, there does not seem to be a kind of aimed-for appropriation that results in ‘consumption’ in any one of the projects.

The “authorized heritage discourse” does play a role in the Stolpersteine, the Sint Maarten, the steam whistle and the Beeldvorming projects, but in all four, this dominant view is questioned and the pupils are invited to investigate it or to see their own role in it (Saint Marten). In the other projects, the aim is specifically to breach the dominant view and to give room to the experiences of the children themselves.

None of the projects use heritage as a fixed thing from the past. All the projects focus on the fact that heritage is the result of choices that we make in the present and that the pupils are (or can be) part of this process. Furthermore, none of the projects specifically use heritage to teach the children about local history – which does not mean that there is no history involved in some of the projects. As I wrote in the introduction to this chapter, critical heritage education should take into account that heritage is dynamic by allowing the pupils *learn about* the dynamic nature of heritage or invite them to *work with* heritage. As can be observed, the seven projects meet all or most of these criteria. The seven projects demonstrate that there are many different ways to do heritage literate projects: from a complete learning line to a single assignment within a ‘historical source’ model project; through analysis or through ‘heritage work’; starting from history or from the present; with the use of ‘official’ heritage or with personal heritage.

6.10. Critical heritage education in the Dutch curriculum

As presented in chapter 4, the vast majority of heritage education projects fall within the ‘historical source model’ and the ‘heirloom model’. Educators, policy makers and, it can be assumed, teachers – if teachers en masse wanted different projects, it would show in the offerings – want to use heritage in education as a way to teach about local history and install knowledge about and respect for (the local) heritage in pupils. Sometimes heritage is also used to practise historical thinking and historical awareness, skills that fall within the historical source model. The common place for heritage education in the curriculum is in the history lesson.

Even when teachers, policy makers, educators and heritage specialists can be convinced of the benefits of critical heritage education, there still is a need for time and/or room inside the curriculum for this. Teachers do not want to do ‘extras’; in the first years of primary school there is still enough room for special projects, but from grade 5 or 6 onwards, the testing requirements determine the subjects that teachers teach.

However, there are several possibilities. One is, as we have seen in the seven examples in this chapter, to extend the more traditional heritage education project with a critical heritage education part. The pupils learn about the dynamic nature of heritage through the transfer of knowledge and by critically investigating the heritage. This kind of heritage lesson would link to school subjects like history and civic education. The pupils would be taught to study heritage items from various perspectives and to consider the heritage not only within the context of its time, but also as a meta-cultural object.

Another way is to give the pupils more room to do their own heritage work. This is not so much critical heritage education as a way of including pupils as individuals and allowing them to really appropriate the heritage, not only consume or receive it. In this way, they are experiencing the real

dynamic meaning of heritage. In this type of heritage education, the pupils would need freedom: the freedom to define what or which heritage is important for them, for instance. The educator could provide them with an (online) resource bank with everything there is around the school, from which they could choose which heritage they want to know more about (like in *Groeistad Amsterdam*). Or, they can determine for themselves which customs, locations in the neighbourhood or items are meaningful for them. Indeed, if the heritage is chosen for them by the teacher, they would have to have the possibility to give their own meaning to the heritage. This would mean that they would have to be able to decide for themselves what they can or would 'do' with the heritage. They should be able to figure out whether something means something to them, apart from its meaning for other people. Subsequently, they would have to be enabled to find their own way of remembrance and commemoration, but only if they wanted to do so. In this way, a real 'alliance between heritage and identity' can be forged, since this does not exist on its own.

Both ways of working with heritage can be done as part of a history lesson-based heritage education. A third way is to link heritage education to social studies or to cultural education. The 'history aspect' will then be only one of the factors studied. The heritage can be analysed and studied from the different angles of history, politics, sociology, psychology and anthropology. With the use of heritage, the pupils can think and learn by questioning heritage, tradition, culture and identity, both now and in the past.

Heritage as part of civics education is the viewpoint of the three Spanish professors in didactics, heritage and social science I mentioned in the introduction to this thesis. In their 2010 article "Heritage education: exploring the concepts of teachers and administrators from the perspective of experimental and social science learning", Roque Jiménez Pérez, José María Cuenca López and D. Mario Ferreras Listán of the department of science education of the faculty of education of the University of Huelva, Spain, stated that "teaching heritage is not an end in itself, but should rather be integrated into the curriculum alongside the overall aims of citizenship in general and the Social and Experimental Sciences in particular. Key heritage referents can be used to promote critical thinking about the world around us, independently of any ultimate objectives regarding conservation and appreciation of heritage, or the knowledge to be gained from studying such examples and the procedures for researching them, which should never be confused with the ultimate goals of the educational process".²³⁷

In their view, heritage represents "key cultural manifestations from the past and the present", and in this regard they do not differ from what is common among educators and specialists in the Netherlands; however, they see heritage as sources of *social* knowledge, not historical knowledge.²³⁸ This is precisely the difference I described in section 2.3: "It appears that the kind of heritage education that the members of the Erasmus Program advocate, does not focus so much on the *production* of heritage – the 'meta-perspective' – as well as on the different meanings that have been given to the various *objects* of heritage through time".

In section 1.2 I described how school history is under fire (again). According to its critics, school history is not fit to prepare the young for the challenges of a globalised, multicultural world. The pupils need to learn more about civics, sociology and 21st century skills. Critical heritage education meets the need for a greater cultural literacy. Critical heritage education could even illuminate the present day longing for 'old' history education. Instead of learning to be proud of 'their' heritage, the pupils could learn why this need for pride and respect for heritage exists in the first place, how these needs change over time and what their own role in this could be.

²³⁷ Roque Jiménez Pérez et.al., "Heritage education: exploring the concepts of teachers and administrators from the perspective of experimental and social science learning," 1320.

²³⁸ Ibidem.

7. Conclusion

“All things are subject to interpretation. Whichever interpretation prevails at a given time is a function of power and not truth.” – Friedrich Nietzsche

The heritage education field in the Netherlands is fragmented. Every province, every municipality, every school even, can form its own policy toward heritage education. Furthermore, since heritage education is not a school subject and the Dutch curriculum is relatively unrestrained, there is plenty of room for the flexible interpretation of what heritage education should be. In addition, the curriculum is rather full, which makes it necessary to find or create links between heritage projects and school subjects. The fragmentation of the field and the freedom in the Dutch curriculum combined with the fact that heritage is, in itself, a multi-interpretable phenomenon, produce a heritage education that has many facets.

For this research I asked myself the following questions: What are the goals and expectations of heritage education projects in the Netherlands at present? Can these goals and expectations be met with the use of the common heritage education projects? If not, how could the existing projects be tailored or framed in such a way, that the goals can be met and/or that it becomes clearer what a given project can achieve and what not? And finally: Are there different ways to employ heritage in education and can such projects avoid or overcome the issues I have seen?

Project designers have to consider the wishes and guidelines of several parties, all of which differ per project: schools, ‘guardians’ of the heritage, suppliers of money, the municipality, the government, the employer and, of course, the educator has her own convictions about what is quality heritage education.

When I started inventorying the existing projects, I assumed that I would not be able to discover a common thread precisely because the field is so fragmented and because numerous definitions, practices and parties are involved. However, I was proven wrong: there is considerable consistency in what academics and specialists advocate and what educators do. Academics and specialists hold the opinion that heritage is dynamic and that it can and/or should be used in school to teach the pupils about history and make them practise historical skills such as historical thinking and multiperspectivity. Comparing this view with the projects that are currently offered and the learning objectives that 124 educators state are most important for them, it can be seen that most projects are meant to teach about local history and heritage and, to a lesser extent, to practise historical skills. The main difference between the views of academics and specialists and the practice of educators is that the teaching about local history and heritage plays a more prominent role than practicing historical skills.

A second conclusion is that a majority of individuals within the field (from specialists to policy makers, educators and teachers) think that heritage education should be part of the history lesson, and this is also the practice.

The goals for heritage education determine how heritage is employed in the lesson and vice versa. This in turn, is influenced by the vision of heritage.

Heritage can be seen either as something ‘static’ (a relic from the past with inherent qualities) or as something ‘dynamic’ (a relic from the past to which different people throughout time have given and are giving different meanings). Each view leads to different ways to employ heritage in education,

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with different goals. Nevertheless, goals sometimes overlap between the two different views. Heritage is used to teach (local) history and heritage, and/or to learn about multiperspectivity, and/or to create appreciation for heritage and/or to strengthen pupils' (cultural) identity. I have shown that the different goals are sometimes difficult to maintain, partly because educators do not often clearly define what they 'want' and how they regard heritage and partly because they mix different goals that do not work well together. To use heritage to teach about local history is difficult to combine with the wish to make the pupils feel that heritage really 'belongs to' them. While the combination seems logical, to make pupils feel this they have to be able to appropriate the heritage, which to accomplish they need more freedom to do their own work instead of simply absorbing (or 'discovering') the 'stories behind' 'their' heritage. It is also difficult to treat heritage as a dynamic phenomenon and help the pupils experience different perspectives, while making the pupils feel proud of 'their' heritage. The notion that pupils can learn about 'their' history (this being the history of the place where they happen to live at the time) is problematic to begin with. It is also problematic to believe that identities can be reinforced by learning about remote forefathers or by thinking about whether a certain monument should be preserved. In the whole, the link between heritage and identity is less evident than is sometimes assumed. Work is needed to establish such links. Furthermore, the concept of identity and, subsequently, the idea of identity reinforcement, needs careful consideration. Identity is a fluid concept, and, like memory, and, indeed, heritage, a lot of personal input from the side of the pupils is needed to accomplish anything in this respect. Educators and teachers should be very aware of the pitfalls concerning identity (reinforcement). In this thesis I have shown that if educators want to reach certain goals, it would be better if they made a clearer division between their different wishes and made sure that their methods fit well with their goals. Also, I have shown that some of the aforementioned goals could come into conflict with the goals of the history lesson, in which most heritage education projects are carried out.

To answer my last (and main) question, I examined a critical view on heritage. According to this view, there is no inherent quality or meaning to heritage; people have to continuously give heritage meaning. With the help of this view, a different way of designing heritage education projects is possible. This critical or heritage literate heritage education is occasionally employed in different forms in the Netherlands.

I analysed several heritage literate projects and found that all seven projects clearly address the fact that heritage is the result of choices. The aim of the projects is not solely to teach the pupils something about (local) history, although history did play a role in a majority of the projects. Furthermore, all the projects acknowledge the role of the pupils as makers of choices and producers of meaning.

I have come to the conclusion that there are two main ways to carry out heritage literate projects. Either the pupils take a critical stance and study the heritage as a meta-cultural phenomenon; or the pupils experience what heritage can be for themselves, and in this case they do their own heritage work. Both forms can be beneficial for identity formation, in very different ways. Indeed, with the second form of heritage education, even the furthering of pride of 'their heritage' could very well be accomplished, although possibly of other types of heritage.

Through a heritage literate education, pupils can be made aware of the nature of heritage, something that could attribute to the furthering of citizenship in a better way than by teaching them about the importance of heritage and urging them to respect it.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the dominant type of heritage education fulfils a need. Heritage education is seen as an adequate way to enliven history lessons (bring history closer) and to bring the

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pupils into contact with local history and heritage – which is also to the benefit of that heritage, such as museums – and, on a different level, it also satisfies a need for a type of school history that is about local places and things that touch us personally, things that feel to be ‘our own’: our objects, our traditions, our own story. Why exactly this need is felt is not within the scope of this study. However, the fact remains that the need for a ‘nostalgizing’ school history is much older than the approximately twenty years that heritage education has established itself in Dutch education. For these reasons, it might be difficult to convince educators and teachers of the benefits of a critical heritage education. On the other hand, it is relatively easy to pay attention to critical heritage education on a small scale, as has been presented, also within the history lesson. Moreover, with the growing need for citizenship education among the young, there might soon be a great demand for critical heritage education projects. In this thesis I have exhibited a need for critical heritage education, and that it is possible for every educator and school to implement it. Whether such projects can and will be designed in greater quantity in the future, depends, amongst others, on the knowledge of educators about what heritage ‘is’ and can do. From a dynamic approach to heritage, a critical heritage education can follow.

Further study

In the introduction to this thesis I have mentioned that there has not been much research on if and how the goals of heritage education are reached in the Netherlands. In the United Kingdom, there are several examples of thorough and comprehensive evaluation of heritage and museum education, for instance by Eilean Hooper-Greenhill. It would be advisable to do comparable research into the impact of heritage education in the Netherlands, of ‘traditional’ as well as ‘heritage literate’ projects.

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Appendix 1

Vragenlijst erfgoededucatie

Deze vragenlijst is onderdeel van een onderzoek naar hoe erfgoed wordt gebruikt in het Nederlandse onderwijs. Dit onderzoek doe ik in het kader van mijn masterscriptie Museologie aan de Reinwardt Academie in Amsterdam. Begeleider van de scriptie is Prof. Dr. Hester Dibbits. Mijn onderzoek valt binnen het brede onderzoeksprogramma dat Hester Dibbits uitvoert in het kader van haar LKCA-leerstoel aan de Erasmus Universiteit [<http://www.lkca.nl/onderzoek/leerstoele-lkca/hester-dibbits>], en in het kader van het onderzoeksprogramma over erfgoededucatie [<http://www.ahk.nl/reinwardt/lectoraat/>] van de Reinwardt Academie. Voor meer informatie: jacquelienvroemen@gmail.com

De vragenlijst is bedoeld voor mensen die erfgoededucatieprojecten ontwikkelen, daarbij optreden als adviseur of als beleidsmedewerker inhoudelijk betrokken zijn. Per organisatie kunnen meerdere personen de lijst invullen.

*Verplicht

Over uzelf:

1. Bij wat voor soort organisatie werkt u?*
- ☐ Provinciale steuninstelling zoals een Erfgoedhuis
 - ☐ Gemeentelijke steuninstelling
 - ☐ Gemeentelijke netwerkorganisatie of platform
 - ☐ Museum (ook kasteelmuseum)
 - ☐ Nationaal Monument
 - ☐ Archief
 - ☐ Bibliotheek
 - ☐ Historische vereniging
 - ☐ Heemkundige vereniging
 - ☐ ZZP-er
 - ☐ Anders:
1. Wilt u de naam van uw organisatie vermelden? Dit is niet verplicht.
2. Wat is uw functie of belangrijkste taak?*
3. Is dit een betaalde of een vrijwilligersfunctie?*
- ☐ Betaald
 - ☐ Vrijwillig

Definitie van erfgoed.

Deze vraag gaat over de definitie van erfgoed die u (voor) uzelf gebruikt. Dit hoeft geen officiële definitie te zijn.

5. Wat is uw definitie van erfgoed?*

De volgende vraag gaat over welke (leer)doelen u nastreeft bij het ontwikkelen (of het adviseren daarbij) van lessen erfgoededucatie.

De opgesomde (leer)doelen zijn bijna allemaal afkomstig uit bestaande erfgoedprojecten. Wilt u **ZES** (leer)doelen aanklikken die het dichtst bij uw eigen opvattingen liggen? (de laatste: 'anders' geldt als een van de zes).

6. Welke leerdoelen streeft u na bij het ontwikkelen van of adviseren bij erfgoedlesprojecten?

1. De leerlingen leren iets over de geschiedenis van hun eigen omgeving
2. Leerlingen bewust maken van het belang van het bewaren van het verleden voor de toekomst
3. Leerlingen leren dat musea bestaan uit verzamelingen die door mensen bijeen zijn gebracht
4. Inleven in andere mensen en tijden helpt je te reflecteren op je eigen cultuur
5. Leren werken met primaire historische bronnen
6. Leren over het erfgoed van de voorouders zorgt dat je trots kunt zijn op de plek waar je woont
7. Leerlingen leren dat wat erfgoed is, per tijd en per plaats verschilt
8. De leerlingen respect voor het erfgoed bijbrengen
9. Sporen van het verleden leren herkennen in je eigen omgeving
10. Leerlingen laten ervaren dat een museum leuk en spannend kan zijn en waardevolle voorwerpen bevat
11. Inleven in andere mensen en tijden leert je de geschiedenis van meerdere kanten te bekijken
12. Leerlingen laten ervaren dat aan voorwerpen, tradities, en ruimte verschillende betekenissen kunnen worden toegekend, en dat die betekenissen veranderen
13. Leren over het erfgoed van de omgeving helpt je wortelen in je omgeving
14. Leerlingen leren dat erfgoed te maken heeft met machtsrelaties
15. Leerlingen leren nadenken over wat zij zelf belangrijk vinden als het gaat over erfgoed
16. De lesstof tastbaar maken door de geschiedenis zelf te beleven in de eigen omgeving
17. Leerlingen leren wat het verschil is tussen erfgoed en geschiedenis
18. De leerlingen leren hun erfgoed kennen en daardoor leren ze zichzelf beter kennen
19. Anders namelijk:

7. Welk doel vindt u het belangrijkste? Uitleg mag, hoeft niet.*

Appendix 2

Questionnaire Heritage Education

This questionnaire is part of a research into how cultural heritage is employed in Dutch education. I do this research in the context of my master thesis Museology at the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam. The thesis supervisor is Prof. dr. Hester Dibbits. My research falls within the broader research program that Hester Dibbits carries out in the context of her LKCA professorship at the Centre for Historical Culture at Erasmus University (<http://www.lkca.nl/onderzoek/leerstoelel-lkca/hester-dibbits>), and in the context of the research program on heritage education at the Reinwardt Academy (<http://www.ahk.nl/reinwardt/lectorat/>).

This enquiry is meant for people – professionals and volunteers – who develop heritage education projects, act as advisors or are involved as policy officer. Per organisation more than one person can fill in the list.

*Required

About you:

1. In what kind of organisation do you work?*
 - ☐ Provincial support organisation like Heritage House
 - ☐ Municipal support organisation
 - ☐ Municipal networking organisation or platform
 - ☐ Museum (also Castle museum)
 - ☐ National Monument
 - ☐ Archive
 - ☐ Library
 - ☐ Historical Association
 - ☐ Local History Society (Heemkundige vereniging)
 - ☐ Self employed
 - ☐ Different:
-
4. Could you state the name of your organisation? This is not required.
-
5. What is your function or most important task?*
-
6. Is this a paid or voluntary job?*
 - ☐ Paid
 - ☐ Voluntary

Definition of heritage.

This question is about the definition of heritage you use (for) yourself. This is not necessarily an official definition.

5. What is your definition of heritage?*

(learning) goals in heritage education.

The next question is about the (learning) goals you aim for when you develop (or advise about) lessons in heritage education. Almost all the learning goals originate from existing projects.

Please tick SIX (learning) goals that are closest to your own view? (The last one 'other' is treated as one of the six).

6. Which learning goals do you aim for when you develop or advise heritage education projects?
Please, choose six.*

1. The pupils learn something about the history in their own surroundings.
2. To make pupils aware of the importance of preserving the past for the future.
3. Pupils learn that museums consist of collections that are brought together by people.
4. To identify with other people in other times helps you to reflect on your own culture.
5. To learn to work with primary historical sources.
6. To learn about the heritage of the ancestors ensures that you can be proud of the place where you live.
7. Pupils learn that what is heritage, differs from time and place.
8. To teach the pupils respect for the heritage.
9. To learn to recognize traces from the past in your own surroundings.
10. To make pupils experience that a museum can be fun and exciting and that it contains valuable objects.
11. To identify with other peoples and times teaches you to view history from different perspectives.
12. To make pupils experience that different meanings can be attached to objects, traditions and space, and that those meanings change.
13. To learn about the heritage of the surroundings helps you to take root in your surroundings.
14. To teach pupils that heritage has to do with power relations.
15. To learn the pupils to think about what is important for themselves where heritage is considered.
16. To make the teaching material tangible through experiencing the history yourself in the own environment.
17. The pupils learn the difference between heritage and history.
18. The pupils get to know their heritage and thus get to know themselves better.
19. Other:

7. Which goal is the most important for you? Explanation is not required.*

Appendix 3

Interviewvragen

1. Wat was de aanleiding tot het ontwikkelen van dit project?
Wie gaf de opdracht, of wie verzoon het, was er een speciale reden (tentoonstelling, vraag vanuit een school?) om dit project te ontwikkelen?
2. Kwam de opdracht automatisch bij jou terecht of ging dat anders (bv er actief voor gekozen), hoe dan?
3. Heb je rondgekeken op internet om je te oriënteren op erfgoededucatieprojecten van andere aanbieders, ter inspiratie? Zo ja wat waren je bronnen? Wat heb je daaruit gehaald?
4. Heb je rondgekeken op internet om (nog eens) te kijken wat de laatste stand van zaken is op het gebied van erfgoededucatie in het algemeen ('wat is goede erfgoededucatie' dat soort dingen). Zo ja wat waren je bronnen?
5. Heb je rondgekeken op internet om je te oriënteren op leer- en andere doelen van scholen, kerndoelen, curricula? Zo ja waarom? (Bv om aan te sluiten). En wat waren je bronnen? Wat heb je daaruit gehaald?
6. Had je andere inspiratie- en/of informatiebronnen: boeken, mensen, iets in de krant gezien? Zo ja, wie, welke? Wat heb je daaruit gehaald?
7. Wie betaalde het project? Hebben de wensen van de betaler invloed op het project gehad, zo ja, hoe, en wat waren die wensen?
8. Waren er nog andere invloeden van mensen rond dit project? Welke?
9. Was je vrij om het project te ontwikkelen zoals jij dat voor je zag of kreeg je eisen mee, zo ja, welke en van wie? Dit kunnen eisen zijn speciaal bij dit project maar ook algemene die voor ieder project van dit museum gelden.
10. Wat waren de doelen: leerdoelen, affectieve doelen, vakoverstijgende, inhoudelijke, etc doelen?
Doorvragen: welke vind je (of vindt je baas) de belangrijkste?
11. Waarom is gekozen voor de genoemde doelen?
12. Wat denk je dat dit project betekent voor de leerlingen: wat nemen ze mee, wat leren ze ervan, wat hebben ze eraan volgens jou? Voor hun schoolcarrière, voor zichzelf, voor de rest van hun leven...
13. En wat heeft het museum eraan? (is ook een doorvraag van vraag 1 maar kan ander antwoord opleveren)
14. En wat heeft het onderwerp van dit project eraan? Is het gunstig voor dit specifieke onderwerp dat leerlingen zich ermee bezig houden? Of vind je het belangrijk dat leerlingen meer te weten komen over dit onderwerp? Waarom?
15. Wat heeft erfgoed in het algemeen aan dit project? Vind je het belangrijk dat leerlingen in het algemeen 'iets met erfgoed doen' en zo ja waarom?
16. Wat is je eigen relatie met dit onderwerp?
17. Wat vind je van de manier waarop het project is uitgewerkt? Ben je tevreden over dit project, waarom wel of niet?
18. Wat is je eigen definitie van erfgoed?
19. Wat is je achtergrond op 'erfgoedgebied'? Waar opgeleid, kennis opgedaan..
20. Wat vind jij - als je het helemaal alleen voor het zeggen zou hebben - dat kinderen moeten leren van erfgoededucatie? Heb je zelf een 'missie': iets wat je heel graag door wilt geven?

Appendix 4

Interview questions

1. What was the background to the development of this project?
Who gave the assignment, or who invented it, was there a special reason (exhibition, demand from a school) to develop this project?
2. Did you automatically get the assignment or did it go different (e.g. chosen actively), how?
3. Did you look on the internet to orientate on heritage education projects from other suppliers, for inspiration? If yes, what were your sources? What did you get from them?
4. Did you look on the internet to look (again) into the state of affairs in the field of heritage education as a whole (like 'what is good heritage education'). If yes, what were your sources?
5. Did you look on the internet to orientate on learning objectives and other objectives from schools, core objectives, curriculae? If yes, why (e.g. to link with subjects). What were your sources? What did you get from them?
6. Did you have other sources of inspiration/information: books, people, newspaper article? If yes, who, which? What did you get from those?
7. Who paid for the project? Were the wishes of the payer of influence on the project, if yes, how, and what were those wishes?
8. Were there any other influences of people around this project? Which?
9. Were you free to develop the project the way you wanted or were there demands, if yes, which and from whom? This can be demands especially for this project but also general ones that apply for every project of this museum.
10. What were the goals: learning objectives, affective goals, factual, trans disciplinary, etc. objectives? Which ones do you (or your boss) think are the most important?
11. Why was chosen for those goals?
12. What do you think this project means for the pupils: what do they take with them, what do they learn from it, what is the advantage for the pupils do you think? For their school career, for themselves, for the rest of their lives...
13. And what is the advantage for the museum (is also an in depth question of question 1 but could yield a different answer).
14. And what is the advantage for the subject of this project? Is it beneficial for this specific subject that pupils are working with it? Or do you think it is important that pupils get to know more about this subject? Why?
15. What is the advantage for heritage as a whole? Do you think it is important that pupils work with heritage in general? If yes, why?
16. What is your own relation to this subject?
17. What do you think of the way this project was designed? Are you satisfied with it, why yes or no?
18. What is your own definition of heritage?
19. What is your background in the field of heritage? Educated, learned about it where...
20. What do you think – if you were in command – that children should learn from heritage education? Do you have a 'mission': something you really want to pass on?

ABSTRACT

Since approximately twenty years heritage education has established itself in Dutch education. However, the heritage education field in the Netherlands is fragmented. Furthermore, there is plenty of room for a flexible interpretation of what heritage education should be. Those two facts, combined with the fact that heritage is, in itself, a multi-interpretable phenomenon, produce a heritage education that has many facets.

Much is expected from heritage education projects; from the government to heritage organisations to educators: heritage education is believed to meet a lot of, sometimes rather great, objectives.

The aim of this research is to discover whether those objectives can be met with the existing projects, and, secondly, whether a kind of heritage education that is labelled 'heritage literate', could be a better way to meet some of the objectives. The question to be answered was: Are there different ways to employ heritage in education and can such projects avoid or overcome certain issues in relation to the learning objectives in present day heritage education projects?

For this purpose, the following sub-questions have been formulated: What are the goals and expectations of heritage education projects in the Netherlands at present?

Can these goals and expectations be met with the use of the common heritage education projects?

If not, how could the existing projects be tailored or framed in such a way, that the goals can be met and/or that it becomes clearer what a given project can achieve and what not?

In order to answer these questions, research has been carried out with the use of different types of sources: an internet search into existing heritage projects; a digital enquiry amongst educators; interviews with designers of 'heritage literate' projects; and a variety of publications in books, articles and reports (web and print).

The research shows that the most important aim for most educators is to teach about local history, and the most important aim for heritage specialists (including academics) is to practice skills like historical thinking; an additional aim, for, principally, the government, is the furthering of 'cultural citizenship'. Identity formation is an important goal for everyone, but with different ways of heritage teaching and with different expected outcomes: from the furthering of pride in one's own heritage to the understanding of other cultures.

The research also shows that the different aims are not always compatible. Furthermore, educators do not always take a clear stand on which objectives they want to achieve and/or how they think to achieve those objectives. This might be the result of ambiguity as to what heritage 'is': a static relic from the past, or a dynamic phenomenon?

On the basis of these results it is recommended that educators do not mix contradictory goals and uses of heritage in education.

Second, that more heritage literate projects will be developed in the future. These kind of projects can overcome or avoid most of the issues existing in the common heritage education projects and provide for a heritage education that meets the need for the education of citizens that can find their way a modern, globalized and multi-cultural society.

Whether such projects can and will be designed in greater quantity in the future, depends, amongst others, on the knowledge of educators about what heritage 'is' and can do. From a dynamic approach to heritage, a critical heritage education can follow.

Furthermore, it is advisable to do comparable research into the impact of heritage education in the Netherlands, of 'traditional' as well as 'heritage literate' projects.