

Anne van Berkum

S2990482



university of  
 groningen

# THE (UN)REMARKABLE COMMÉMORATIONS

An inquiry on the centennial anniversary of Article 23 of the  
Dutch Constitution



MA Ethics of Education: philosophy, history, and law (Pedagogical Sciences)  
Faculty of Behavioural and Social Sciences

Supervisor: Prof. dr. B.A.J. Westberg  
Second assessor: dr. P.R. Schreuder

June 2022  
Words: 12098

## Content

Summary .....	2
Introduction .....	4
Context .....	5
Research overview .....	8
Concept and method .....	10
1. Commemorations and organizers .....	14
Commemorating in 2017 .....	14
Actors .....	18
2. Publications .....	22
Heer & Meester .....	23
Om een <i>eigen</i> school .....	24
Schoolvoorbeelden .....	25
Van wie is het kind? .....	27
Onderwijs om te koesteren .....	28
3. Thematical analysis .....	30
Political marvel .....	30
Political threat .....	31
God's blessing .....	32
Knowledge of history .....	33
Conclusion .....	35
Bibliography .....	39
Appendix 1: Article 23 of the Dutch Constitution .....	46
Appendix 2: Dataset commemorations .....	47

## Summary

### **De (on)opmerkelijke herdenkingen**

In 2017 herdachten zeven publicaties en dertien evenementen het honderjarig jubileum van Artikel 23. Artikel 23 is de reden waarom er in Nederlands zo veel scholen met verschillende ideologieën bestaan, daarom is het opmerkelijk dat het minder publiek gevierd is. Daarnaast zijn de herdenkingen ook opmerkelijk in on-opmerkzaamheid, dit staat in contrast met het idee van het vieren van een jubileum. Het doel van deze these is het onderzoeken van de herdenkingen van honderd jaar vrijheid van onderwijs; wat gebeurde er, wie was er, en wat waren de belangrijkste thema's. Deze informatie is verzameld in een dataset, via digitale geschiedenis methode. De belangrijke thema's zijn gededuceerd via thematische analyse: politiek hoogstandje, politieke dreiging, onderwijs en religie. Uiteindelijk werden de herdenkingen van 2017 in een groter onderzoeksveld geplaatst van herdenkingscultuur en *history of knowledge*, specifiek de arena's en actoren van kennis. De data resulteerde in publicaties en herdenkingen van verschillende soorten (de arena's), en actoren met een onderwijs, politieke, en religieuze achtergronden. Dit is in lijn met de sociale/kennis sferen waarin de arena's en actoren zich bewegen. Daarnaast waren de herdenkingen voornamelijk reflectief, in overeenstemming met onderwijs-herdenkingen, maar niet met herdenkingscultuur in het algemeen. Deze these voegt toe aan het onderzoeksveld dat de circulatie van de belangrijke thema's van Art. 23 in de herdenkingen van het grootste belang waren, maar dat de kennis voornamelijk in eigen sociale sferen bleef.

### **The (un)remarkable commemorations**

In 2017 there were seven publications and thirteen events commemorating the centennial anniversary of Article 23. Considering Art. 23 is why there are so many schools of varying ideologies it is noteworthy that the commemorations were not more publicly celebrated. Additionally, the commemorations itself were remarkable in their un-remarkability, which stands somewhat in contrast with the idea of celebrating an anniversary. The aim of this thesis is to examine the commemorations of 100-year freedom of education; what took place, who were there and what are the themes of importance. This was put in a dataset, gathered via digital history method. The important themes were deduced via thematical analysis: political marvel, political threat, education, and religion. Eventually the commemorations of 2017 are put in the larger research fields of commemorative culture and history of knowledge, specifically arenas and actors of knowledge. This

resulted in data on publications and commemorations of various types (the arenas), and actors with educational, political and religious backgrounds. These are in line with the spheres of society/knowledge the arenas and actors circulate in. Additionally, the commemorations were reflective, in line with educational commemorations, but not with commemorative culture in general. This thesis adds that the circulation of knowledge about the themes of importance of Art. 23 in these commemorations was its main concern, but the knowledge stayed mostly within its own societal spheres.

## Introduction

On a Saturday-afternoon at the end of summer, September 9, 2017, various interested parties gathered in the Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum in Dordrecht for a symposium on 100-year freedom of education. The symposium was held because of the centennial anniversary of the Pacification. This was a political compromise in 1917 between the confessionals and liberals in which private education became state-financed in exchange for equal voting rights. During this symposium they commemorated and spoke about the exceptional educational freedom that exists in the Netherlands. After the opening from the director of the Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, Tijs van Ruiten, there were five speakers who each highlighted a different and critical perspective on the history and future of educational freedom in the Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> Prof. Ben Vermeulen stated in his talk that the solution for segregation in schools is not abolishing freedom of education. Additionally, one of the speakers, John Exalto, presented a book he wrote in honour of the centennial anniversary. Central in this book is the way Orthodox Protestant (OP) and Protestant Christian schools dealt with educational developments in the last 200 years. A remarkable result in his research was that due to the work of ds. G.H. Kersten the OP education finally became an acknowledged denomination.<sup>2</sup>

In 2017 there were seven books published and thirteen different events all commemorating the centennial anniversary of the now known Article 23. This Article in the Dutch Constitution covers the Dutch educational freedom and financial equality (see appendix 1). Even though the two parts of Art. 23 have different origins, both are known as freedom of education (*onderwijsvrijheid* in Dutch). This thesis deals with the various commemorations and publications of 2017. However, it was not that commonly known to the general public that there were commemorations. Considering Art. 23 is the backbone of the Dutch school system it is noteworthy that it seems to be taken for granted. Additionally, commemorations are usually celebratory, and all commemorations on Art. 23 are quite low-key, more sober, and reflective. Since what we know of other commemorations this is a somewhat different way of commemorating.

My interest and aim in this thesis are therefore to research what, when and how these interested parties are commemorating during the centennial anniversary-year of educational freedom. This is relevant to research since freedom of education and its origin is one of the big

---

<sup>1</sup> "Symposium en boekpresentatie 100 jaar Onderwijsvrijheid: hoe vrij is vrij?," Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/symposium-hoe-vrij-is-vrij.php>.

<sup>2</sup> L. Vogelaar, "Herdenkingsjaar vrijheid van onderwijs afgerond," Reformatorisch Dagblad, last modified December 19, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/737708-herdenkingsjaar-vrijheid-van-onderwijs-afgerond>.

narratives in Dutch history. Art. 23 is also a law that has always sparked controversy. Some say it increases differences in society. Others feel the law is discriminatory in some situations.<sup>3</sup> This goes beyond the scope of this thesis. However, it is relevant to analyse what the people who care about this Article highlight and find most important. Additionally, previous attention to this particular subject has been little. 1917 is part of Dutch history-teaching, but studies about commemorations of laws and specifically the people behind it are few or none.<sup>4</sup>

The main aim of this thesis is *to examine the commemorations of 100-year freedom of education in 2017*. This will be answered in three sub questions.

- What commemorations took place in 2017 regarding the centennial anniversary of Art. 23?
- Who are the people who organized and participated in these commemorations?
- What are the main themes of importance in the commemorations and publications of 2017 on Art. 23?

Further in this introduction there will be provided context and history on Art. 23, and a short look at general news to give context for the year 2017. Then, a research overview on commemorative culture and existing examples of educational commemorations. After that the conceptual framework and method will be introduced. The first chapter gives a layout and description of the various commemorations of 2017 and their organizers, with additional names and speakers in Appendix 2. Chapter two provides analysis and description on the publications that were written in honour of the centennial anniversary. The last chapter analyses the data of the commemorations and publications in four themes; education, political marvel, political threat and, religion. In the conclusion all will be linked, and commemorative culture and history of knowledge will place the remarkable commemorations of 2017 in a larger research field.

## Context

In order to understand the commemorations of 2017, we have to go back 200 years to see the developments and tensions of the current Art. 23. The centennial anniversary comes from the Pacification that was laid down in the constitutional revision of 1917. This meant financial equality between public and private schools and universal suffrage. The Pacification was the end of the so-

---

<sup>3</sup> Anja Vink, "Waarom de vrijheid van onderwijs niet heilig is," *De Correspondent*, last modified April 19, 2019, <https://decorrespondent.nl/9403/waarom-de-vrijheid-van-onderwijs-niet-heilig-is/854485664384-f6b14471.22>.

<sup>4</sup> George Harinck, Alexander van Kessel and Hans Krabbendam, ed., *Een christelijk-liberale synthese: 100 jaar Pacificatie 1917-2017* (Utrecht: Kok Boekencentrum Uitgevers, 2018), 9.

called *Schoolstrijd*, which started hundred years prior. In 1801 an Act made the first distinction between public and private schools. This Act stated that public schools run by municipalities would receive funds from the government or the church. The education of the poor was considered of major importance in creating an enlightened united nation state. During this time public schools were Christian in nature but did not belong to a specific church. This was in accordance with the liberal principle of equality and was found to be a cooperation guarantee of all religious groups.<sup>5</sup>

However, opposition gained towards the new educational laws, mainly by the Orthodox Protestants (OP) and Roman-Catholics (RC). New Acts stated that private schools needed state-approval and follow state-regulations but could not get financial support from the government. Both the OP and RC longed for their own schools, since a *general Christian* education was not acceptable. An unexpected surprise came in 1848, when the liberal politician J.R. Thorbecke drafted a new Constitution. He imposed a series of citizen freedoms, including freedom of education.<sup>6</sup>

The freedom of education Act allowed citizens to set up their own schools based on their ideological background, albeit without state funding. Public schooling was still preferred by the government, and therefore the public schools should remain neutral towards religious groups. This meant that public schools abstained from religious education but maintain the Christian spirit. Gradually the opposition grew stronger, reaching its peak in 1878, due to more Acts concerning teacher qualifications and salaries, new curriculum requirements and promoting of school-attendance.<sup>7</sup> The confessional opposition eventually became a more present political force for equal state funding, this resulted in 1889 for a subsidy that contributed to all teacher-salaries. In 1900 compulsory school-attendance was accepted. Due to this several members of Parliament pointed out the unfairness of paying twice the educational costs if parents preferred a private school. Thus, in 1917 the compromise was made between the liberals and confessionals, resulting in equal state funding of education.<sup>8</sup> This event, the *Pacification*, is commonly called freedom of education, and is currently Art. 23 of the Dutch Constitution.

However, discussions about the equal funding of education have never stopped, with the most recent one in 2003. This was about an Islamic school that had Salafist connections, sparking discussion if

---

<sup>5</sup> Jeroen Dekker, Hilda Amsing & Inge Wichgers, "Education in a Nation Divided: The Contribution of School Acts to the Development of Dutch Mass Schooling in the Long Nineteenth Century," In *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling – Education Policy in the Long Nineteenth Century*, ed. J. Westberg (Cham, 2019), 96.

<sup>6</sup> Dekker, "Education in a Nation Divided," 99-102.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, 102-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibidem*, 109.

confessional schools were still desirable. In 2019 the same discussion was raised regarding a similar school. Messages around discrimination of teachers and pupils, 'backwards' teachings and confessional extremism come up every now and then, trying to take action to change Art. 23. However, this has not yet happened.<sup>9</sup>

In 2017 the educational makeup of the Netherlands was 70% of pupils being in private primary- and secondary education. This includes confessional education, but also pedagogically led schools such as Montessori and Waldorf. Ever since the 80s there are 3 per 10 pupils receiving public education. Changes in the makeup of private education are within the confessional schools. The percentage of RC primary schools has gone down, and schools with Islamic, Jewish or OP backgrounds have increased. The same movement happened in secondary schools.<sup>10</sup>

In terms of religiosity in the Netherlands 2017 is the first year that less than 50% of the population considers themselves religious.<sup>11</sup> In the past six years (2011-2017), religion has decreased very slowly, with a slight increase in the Islam.<sup>12</sup> However, for an overview of the population's religiosity, it does not suffice to only research those who think themselves as religious and visit religious services.<sup>13</sup> Religion is more than the ecclesiastic, it is an experience, ritualistic behaviour and following ideals and truths. Considering that, religiosity might have a bigger role in our daily lives than these statistics cover.<sup>14</sup> This goes beyond this thesis but might partially explain the gap between the total of pupils receiving private education and the amount of religiously affiliated people in the Netherlands.

Since 2017 is five years ago, here a brief overview of national and international happenings that impacted our lives and thoughts in the Netherlands. In March, the Dutch elections were held, resulting in a win for VVD. The formation period was the longest ever (225 days) ending in October with a formation of Kabinet Rutte-III containing of VVD, CDA, D66 and CU.<sup>15</sup> In March Donald Trump is confirmed by oath as the 25th President of the United States. As a protest to his inauguration the

---

<sup>9</sup> Vink, "Vrijheid van onderwijs niet heilig."

<sup>10</sup> CBS, "Ruim 70 procent leerlingen naar bijzonder onderwijs," CBS, last modified September 22, 2017.

<https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2017/38/ruim-70-procent-leerlingen-naar-bijzonder-onderwijs> .

<sup>11</sup> Hans Schmeets, *De religieuze kaart van Nederland, 2010-2015* (Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, December 2016), 14-15.

<sup>12</sup> Schmeets, *De religieuze kaart*, 10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibidem, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Siebren Miedema, "Waar moet het heen met religie in het onderwijs?," *Friesch Dagblad*, last modified December 15, 2018.

<sup>15</sup> NU.nl, "17 belangrijkste nieuwsmomenten van 2017 volgens NU.nl," NU.nl, last modified December 22, 2017, <https://www.nu.nl/jaaroverzicht2017/5061398/17-belangrijkste-nieuwsmomenten-van-2017---volgens-nu.nl.html> .



day after there are Women's Marches all over the world.<sup>16</sup> Throughout the year there were several terrorist attacks and shootings: an explosion during a concert in May of Ariana Grande in Manchester, and a shooting in October at a country festival in Las Vegas. In October, the first sexual abuse cases are revealed in the film-industry, one being Harvey Weinstein. This awakens the hashtag #metoo internationally on social media where people share their experience of sexual intimidation and abuse. Then a few fun facts about 2017. The Merriam Webster Online Dictionary announced that "feminism" was the word of the year. Concerning music, Ed Sheeran came with his hit-song *Shape of You*, and Luis Fonsi and Daddy Yankee feat. Justin Bieber with *Despacito*.<sup>17</sup>

### Research overview

There are many different ways to commemorate, and this can be seen in the thoroughly commemorated Pacification in 2017; symposia, exhibitions, publications. The definition of *commemorate* is to remember; to honour the memory or observation or; to serve as a memorial.<sup>18</sup> The translated Dutch word *herdenken* adds 'to dwell upon something in the past' (stilstaan bij iets uit het verleden).<sup>19</sup> That something from the past can be particular events, Jos Perry states that commemorative culture can be found in various spheres: war/peace, revolutions, gaining independence, grief, gratitude, pride, and vigilance.<sup>20</sup> Those who commemorate usually decide the message of the commemoration, and it is therefore political and social. The past is used, re-used and rewritten, and this is always selective.<sup>21</sup> Thus, anniversaries do not only have a commemorative dimension, but they also have a political or social dimension. According to Sylvia Paletschek the function of an anniversary is two-headed: it holds affirming and legitimizing traits, and it provides resources for investigating its history and therefore enables reflection on the function of a university, or education.<sup>22</sup> Perry argues that commemorations are to make sense of the past and offer

---

<sup>16</sup> Meredith McGraw and Adam Kelsy, "Everything you need to know about the Women's March," *ABC News*, last modified January 20, 2017, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/womens-march/story?id=44884784>.

<sup>17</sup> Gregory, Devictor, "Year 2017 Fun Facts, trivia, and history," *HobbyLark*, last modified May 15, 2022, <https://hobbylark.coma/party-games/Fun-Facts-Trivia-and-News-from-2017>.

<sup>18</sup> Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary, s.v. "commemorate," accessed May 18, 2022, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/commemorate>

<sup>19</sup> Van Dale.nl Woordenboek, s.v. "herdenken," accessed May 18, 2022, <https://www.vandale.nl/gratis-woordenboek/nederlands/betekenis/herdenken#.YinJ1zXvl2w>

<sup>20</sup> Jos Perry, *Wij herdenken, dus wij bestaan: over jubilea, monumenten en de collectieve herinnering* (Nijmegen: Uitgeverij SUN, 1999), 22.

<sup>21</sup> Perry, *Wij herdenken*, 112.

<sup>22</sup> S. Paletschek, "The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples," *Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis* Vol. 5, 3 (2012): 146.

perspective of how to look at the present and future, how we look at that future depends on the emphasis that is chosen in the commemoration.<sup>23</sup>

Paletschek states the origin of anniversary culture comes from the church, Christianity, but also from the universities. Anniversary traditions go back to the Old Testament and by protestant universities in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There, the anniversary cycle was taken out of its Christian and ecclesiastic context. Protestant professors reflected on their beginnings and distinctions against the Catholic Church in the first secular anniversaries after the Reformation; legitimizing the university in religious and political terms. In the modern era anniversaries gained more significance due to the formation of (national) identity. The first university anniversaries resulted in developing components of the modern culture of remembrance that still exists. Historical retrospection was functional in terms of present and future. Examples that we still see today are historical texts written for the anniversary, shedding a light on the awareness and motivation to that time.<sup>24</sup>

Universities and religious communities, but also governments and companies commemorate often. Paletschek argues that a long historical tradition might also be a competitive advantage, regarding marketing of the university, city, and the state.<sup>25</sup> Jos Perry endorses this by arguing that companies and governments participate in commemorations because cultural events are good for visibility; the image of the city/nation. Additionally, universities and museums use commemorations for themes in conferences, congresses, and exhibitions. They act in the same line of thinking as governments and companies, *visibility*.<sup>26</sup> When anniversaries become very elaborate and important for the visibility of a city or nation, one can expect more press-coverage.<sup>27</sup> Attention from press gives that visibility. For example, President Washington's birthday was heavily covered in articles, photo's and cartoons in every US newspaper.<sup>28</sup> However, the given attention can differ locally, or within a certain group, or only exist within a certain group.

How people commemorate differs from occasion, there can be moments of silence, prayer, song, parties, some even do elaborate re-enactments of for example D-Day (1994) or the battle of Loevestein (1998).<sup>29</sup> Commemorations regarding schools and education usually aim to strengthen

---

<sup>23</sup> Perry, *Wij herdenken*, 7-12.

<sup>24</sup> Paletschek, "University history," 144.

<sup>25</sup> Idem.

<sup>26</sup> Perry, *Wij herdenken*, 12-3.

<sup>27</sup> Paletschek, "University History", 144.

<sup>28</sup> Barry Schwartz, "Collective memory and abortive commemoration: President's day and the American holiday calendar," *Social Research* Vol.75, 1 (2008): 79-80.

<sup>29</sup> Perry, "Wij herdenken," 9.

the sense of school-identity and raise awareness of its long history.<sup>30</sup> This does not mean it is only reflective, but also festive. A local OP school in the Groninger village Uithuizermeeden commemorated their 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary on January 5, 1935. They commemorated in the church, and in the evening at a public space, with speeches, prayer, and the singing of Psalms.<sup>31</sup> More recent in 2014 the University of Groningen commemorated its 400-year anniversary for a month, activities included: opening with King Willem-Alexander, a serenade, public lectures, a musical on Aletta Jacobs, student-masquerade, and a procession through the city.<sup>32</sup> In Bologna a primary school called Fortuzzi reached its centennial anniversary in 2017. Part of the initiative to celebrate was research about the history and development of the school. The main event was a three-week exhibition held in the neighbourhood of the school that showed the material they collected in their research. The opening was a festive party where pupils and teachers from past and present met and shared their experiences.<sup>33</sup> Other research regarding educational commemorations are on schools as places of memory, school museums, the politics and honour of awarding schools and teachers, and the invention of educational traditions.<sup>34</sup> Within university history and anniversaries, Paletschek, but also others write on the academic culture of remembrance. Such as general characteristics of university jubilees being political, relating to current developments and offering a political message.<sup>35</sup> To this research field of commemorative culture this thesis will add an inquiry about how the Dutch have commemorated their educational freedom.

### Concept and method

In this thesis I have used a qualitative research approach, namely social constructivism. This approach considers the fact that our experiences and perception is concerned with history, culture, and

---

<sup>30</sup> Gianluca Gabrielli and Carla Carpigiani, "Renewing the ties of one century of history: an experiment of citizen history on the occasion of the Centenary of the Fortuzzi school," In *Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times*, ed. Juri Meda, Luigiaurelio Pomante and Marta Brunelli (Italy: HECL, 2019), 240.

<sup>31</sup> Unknown author, "Kerk en schoolnieuws zilveren schooljubileum," *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, last modified January 5, 1935,

<https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&identificatie=ddd%3A010673536%3Ampg21%3Aa0072>.

<sup>32</sup> ANP, "Universiteit Groningen bestaat 400 jaar," *NU.nl*, last modified May 15, 2014, <https://www.nu.nl/groningen/3775730/universiteit-groningen-bestaat-400-jaar.html>.

<sup>33</sup> Gianluca, "Fortuzzi school," 253-4.

<sup>34</sup> Juri Meda, Luigiaurelio Pomante and Marta Brunelli, ed., *Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times* (Italy: HECL, 2019).

<sup>35</sup> Pieter Dhondt and Christophe Verbruggen, "Academic Culture of Remembrance. The combination of university history, jubilee and academic heritage," *Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis* Vol. 5,3 (2012): 138-9.

linguistics.<sup>36</sup> In line with social constructivism is the view of history of knowledge, more particularly its societal dimension of knowledge; knowledge as always circulating back and forth in society. Therefore, knowledge circulates, which can be interpreted in several ways; geographical, social, and material.<sup>37</sup>

The societal dimension of knowledge examines knowledge as a phenomenon that is present in every sphere of one's life. Leading figures in the field of history of knowledge are Philipp Sarasin and Simone Lässig. The latter states that the emphasis should be on analysing and understanding knowledge in society and culture by circulation.<sup>38</sup> Philipp Sarasin states that knowledge is without hierarchy, and circulates between different societal spheres, through scientists and other media to the public.<sup>39</sup> This will be of particular interest in this thesis, how and by who is the centennial anniversary produced and circulated in society. Key concepts that are studied are the arenas and actors of knowledge. Arenas mean the platforms that offer and serve as a site for interaction between actors with knowledge and their audience.<sup>40</sup> Platforms in this thesis are the publications, and most importantly the many commemorative events. Platforms set certain limits on the knowledge that can be shared; therefore, it needs some sort of stability. Actors of knowledge are the ones who produce and circulate the knowledge in the arenas.<sup>41</sup> The actors of knowledge are the various speakers, organizers, and writers in the commemorations.

I have primarily worked with online source materials such as public records, news-paper articles, and websites that regard and/or mention centennial anniversary and the commemorations in 2017. This approach is part of digital history, a relatively new research methodology that can be used in history of education research. According to Sarah Van Ruyskensvelde digital history has become a container concept that involves the use of digital media (and tools) for historical practice, analysis, and research.<sup>42</sup> Today most invites are sent per email or placed on a website that interested

---

<sup>36</sup> Carla Willig, "From recipes to adventures," in *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology* (Maidenhead: Open University Press), 7.

<sup>37</sup> Johan Östling and David Larsson Heidenblad, "Fulfilling the Promise of the History of Knowledge: Key Approaches for the 2020s," *Journal for the History of Knowledge* Vol. 1, 1 (2020): 2.

<sup>38</sup> Östling, "Fulfilling the promise," 2.

<sup>39</sup> Phillip Sarasin, "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?," *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* Vol. 36, 1 (July 2011): 166.

<sup>40</sup> Östling, "Fulfilling the promise," 2-3.

<sup>41</sup> Johan Östling, Niklas Olsen & David Larsson Heidenblad, "Introduction: histories of knowledge in postwar Scandinavia." In *Histories of Knowledge in Postwar Scandinavia: Actors, Arenas, and Aspirations*, ed. Johan Östling, Niklas Olsen and David Larsson Heidenblad (London: Routledge, 2020), 7.

<sup>42</sup> Sarah Van Ruyskensvelde, "Towards a history of e-ducation? Exploring the possibilities of digital humanities for the history of education," *Paedagogica Historia* vol.15, 6 (2014): 863-4.

parties regularly visit. Other source materials are found in articles on the webpage of newspapers, recollecting the events of a specific commemoration. I have used these types of digitized sources to gather a dataset. Digital history has its limitations, most relevant for this research is the fact that webpages are contemporary and are sometimes victim to rectifications or changes in an article or webpage that is out of order.<sup>43</sup>

The dataset contains dates of the various commemorations, the actors, time and place, links to invitations, news-articles, and data on the publications. To gather when and by whom the commemorations were, I searched terms such as “herdenking artikel 23”, “Pacifictie 2017” and “100 jaar vrijheid van onderwijs”. News articles and invitations were found on various news outlets by using the Google search engine. These same terms were also used in newspaper webpages, such as Trouw, Reformatorisch Dagblad (RD) and others. For the commemorations before 2005 similar search terms, with different years, were put into news-archives such as Delpher.nl and Digibron.nl. Additionally, I read five publications, four hardcopy and one e-book, which played a role in the commemorations and were written in honour of the centennial anniversary.

In the last phase I used thematic analysis to delve deeper in the digital sources and publications. Thematic analysis is a method in qualitative research that can be used with various frameworks. Braun and Clarke identify it as an analytic method, rather than a methodology. They describe six (non-linear) stages of research: familiarizing with the data; coding; searching for themes; reviewing themes; naming themes and; writing-up.<sup>44</sup> During the reading the question of what was of particular importance was leading in analysing and coding the sources. This form of deductive coding helped to focus the research.<sup>45</sup> It eventually resulted in four themes: political marvel, political threat, education, and religion. These themes, albeit without the marvel and threat, were explicit in the sources. Partly due to them being the three spheres that are at play in Art. 23. They also come back in various forms in the organizer and speaker makeup of the commemorations. In the conclusion I linked the commemorations, publications, and themes together, and place them in the larger research field of commemorative culture and history of knowledge.

---

<sup>43</sup> Toni Weller, ed., *History in the Digital Age* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012), 61-75.

<sup>44</sup> Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke, *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide* (London: SAGE Publications, 2022), 23.

<sup>45</sup> Andrea J. Bingham and P. Witkowsky, “Deductive and inductive approaches to qualitative data analysis,” In *Analyzing and interpreting qualitative data: After the interview*, ed, C. Vanover, P. Mihas, & J. Saldaña (SAGE, 2022), 76.

### *Note on ethics and terminology*

Regarding ethical considerations, the materials used have been examined respectfully and abstained from personal judgement. The publications, news articles, and other background information about events, actors and other related issues have all been checked for validity. Additionally, all sources that were used were intended to be, and are, public.

Due to the thesis being written in English with Dutch source materials there are some issues with the translation of terminology. For consistency I use the same term, *commemorations*, for the various events (congresses, presentations, or other activities) in honour of the centennial anniversary of 1917. Implicating those commemorations are, as stated in the definitions above, events that are in honour of something. To avoid confusion, organizers that titled their commemorations as 'herdenking' (commemoration in English) will be referred to in the Dutch word. Another issue is the way Art. 23, and the 1917 financial equality act are popularly called, both are referred to as freedom of education. This is seen in all invitations of the anniversaries, 100-year freedom of education. Even though it is 100 years of financial equality or Pacification. For this reason, I will use freedom of education and pacification intertwiningly, depending on how it is used in the sources. The word Schoolstrijd is not translated, since its translation would result in 'struggle,' or 'fight,' which does not cover the history of the term. Additionally, the distinction between private and public education in the Netherlands is different than elsewhere in Europe. Private education in the Netherlands is 'bijzonder' education, meaning schools based on a religious or pedagogical ideology. Public education has a neutral, public ideology. Because the government translates bijzonder education also into private I use this as well.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Government of the Netherlands, "Freedom of education," Accessed May 13, 2022, <https://www.government.nl/topics/freedom-of-education>.

## 1. Commemorations and organizers

The commemorations of 2017 were not the first of its kind, since 1917 there have been multiple commemorations of the Pacification. One of these is mentioned during the 2017 *Herdenking* in Gouda. Wim Kranendonk states in his speech that during the 25-year financial equality of education commemoration in 1934 in meeting-centre Tivoli in Utrecht there were a lot of people in comparison to that day in Gouda.<sup>47</sup> For the 75-year anniversary of the Pacification (1992) there is a mention of a congress on December 10 in the Jacobikerk in Utrecht. There were multiple speakers present.<sup>48</sup> Drs. K. de Jong, a speaker at the aforementioned event, also wrote a booklet on the subject: *75 jaar onderwijspacificatie. De schoolstrijd, hoe die eindigde en hoe het daarna verder ging*. Another publication is by J.S. van den Berg and R.J. Rijnbende *Een onderwijsbestel met toekomst...: 75 jaar onderwijspacificatie 1917-1992*. Lastly, in 2002, a Dutch TV programme *Andere Tijden* made an episode on the Schoolstrijd because of the 85-year anniversary.<sup>49</sup>

### Commemorating in 2017

The small number of previous commemorations in contrast to the thirteen in 2017 is remarkable, and difficult to explain. It might be that a centennial anniversary is just more ‘special’ than a 25-75<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Other reasons could be that those who value Art. 23 felt more need to legitimize themselves than previous years. Due to more public controversies regarding Art. 23 of discrimination and confessional extremism, some might have felt that they needed to take a stance. A commemoration is a way to highlight how special private education is in the Netherlands.

As is evident from Table 1 (page 15), the commemorations were of various kinds; symposia, expositions, and other activities. Most symposia were during the day or just an afternoon. Symposia included for example the *Nationale Bijeenkomst* in Amsterdam on January 23. In this symposium (former) ministers and secretaries of education, as well as academics, were present to discuss about Art. 23. Additionally, there was a book presentation by Wim de Jong.<sup>50</sup> This outline of

<sup>47</sup> “Herdenkingsdienst,” Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/herdenkingsdienst.php>.

<sup>48</sup> “Onderwijspacificatie 75 jaar,” *De Wekker*, last modified September 18, 1992, [https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:Wekker,19920918:newsml\\_38308cf03a7e70ffedc848d14ff2b32f](https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:Wekker,19920918:newsml_38308cf03a7e70ffedc848d14ff2b32f).

<sup>49</sup> *Andere Tijden*, “Schoolstrijd,” NPO video 27:22, last modified September 10, 2002, <https://anderetijden.nl/aflevering/538/Schoolstrijd>.

<sup>50</sup> “Vrijheid van onderwijs staat als een huis, maar is het huis toe aan renovatie?,” Verus, last modified January 24, 2017, <https://www.verus.nl/actueel/nieuws/vrijheid-van-onderwijs-staat-als-een-huis-maar-is-het-huis-toe-aan-renovatie>.

commemorating was present in more congresses and symposia. In Dordrecht on September 9, the question was asked how free is free and what educational freedom means. This was answered via various speakers from academic backgrounds offering different perspectives. Additionally, John Exalto presented a book.<sup>51</sup> Some symposia and congresses had workshops where one could discuss in smaller groups, like the *Symposium: de Staat van het openbaar onderwijs* in Amersfoort on September 13. The authors of the presented publication with the eponymous name were present to lead the workshops.<sup>52</sup> A mix of speakers and discussion was done in Doorn, at the *Nationaal Congres* on November 17, the only commemoration with all types of educational organizations present. Several academics spoke on the history and future of Art. 23, and discussion about the ideal dream school were led by a trendwatcher.<sup>53</sup>

While the previous commemorations had a more diverse group of interested parties, academics, politicians and various educational organisations, there were also more uniform congresses. For example, the one in *Vianen* on January 27<sup>th</sup> by the OP educational organisations. In this congress the Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017 presented their plans and activities for the centennial anniversary. They also showed a documentary about the Schoolstrijd.<sup>54</sup> Another congress in The Hague on November 29<sup>th</sup> was held with only academical lectures, provided by the Historisch Documentatiecentrum (HDC) and other research centres.<sup>55</sup> The theme for the *annual conference* of Contactorgaan Gereformeerde Gemeenten on March 29 was freedom of education. They invited an academic and a politician to give a speech and discussed about how OP education can stay on course during the changes in society.<sup>56</sup>

The title ‘Herdenking’ was used only twice with all the commemorative events during 2017. There was a small mention by the Eerste Kamer (Senate) in The Hague, where the chair of the Kamer

---

<sup>51</sup> “Symposium en boekpresentatie 100 jaar Onderwijsvrijheid: hoe vrij is vrij?,” Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/symposium-hoe-vrij-is-vrij.php>.

<sup>52</sup> “Kalender – Symposium ‘De staat van het openbaar onderwijs,’” VOS/ABB, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.vosabb.nl/kalender/staatvanhetopenbaaronderwijs/>.

<sup>53</sup> “Conferentie 100 jaar onderwijspacificatie,” VOS/ABB, last modified June 28, 2017, <https://www.vosabb.nl/conferentie-100-jaar-onderwijspacificatie/>.

<sup>54</sup> “Congres Vianen – 100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid – een geschenk,” Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/congres-vianen.php>.

<sup>55</sup> Harinck, *Christelijk-liberale synthese*, 9.

<sup>56</sup> Unknown reporter, “Veranderde mentaliteit bedreigt christelijk onderwijs,” *Reformatoisch Dagblad*, last modified March 30, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/899778-veranderde-mentaliteit-bedreigt-christelijk-onderwijs>.



Table 1 Overview commemorations 2017; sources: see appendix 1

Date and place	Title	Organizer	Information	Main theme
23 January 2017, 14:00 – 16:30 <b>Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit</b>	Nationale Bijeenkomst onderwijspacificatie 1917-2017	Historisch Documentatiecentrum (HDC), VU Amsterdam	Speeches, presentation <i>Heer &amp; Meester</i> by W. de Jong.	Political; marvel
27 January 2017, all day <b>Utrecht, Hotel Vianen</b>	Vianen Congres: 100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid – een geschenk	Partnerships of organisations for OP education	Presentation plans 2017 and documentary <i>Schoolstrijd</i> .	Religious
29 March 2017, 14:00 – 15:30 <b>Veenendaal, Calvijnschool</b>	Presentatie	Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017	Presentation <i>Schoolstrijd</i> by M. Schalk and digital lesson plans.	Religious
29 March 2017, day or afternoon <b>Putten</b>	Conferentie	Contactorgaan Gereformeerde Gezindte (COGG)	Annual conference by the COGG with educational freedom theme.	Religious
17 May 2017, day or afternoon <b>Gouda, Sint Janskerk</b>	Herdenking (commemoration)	Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017	Singing, prayer and presentation <i>Om een eigen school</i> by L. van Klinken & D. Vogelaar.	Religious
3 September 2017, 19:30 <b>Dordrecht, Wartburg College</b>	Debat	Wartburg College (OP school)	Debate between SGP, VOS/ABB and pupils	Political; threat
6 September 2017, afternoon <b>Dordrecht, Hof van NLD</b>	Opening expositie <i>Vrijheid, Blijheid?</i>	Hof van NLD, Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum	Opening exposition and presentation <i>Schoolvoorbeelden</i> by B. Ros & P. Zunneberg.	Educational
9 September 2017, 13:15 – 16:15 <b>Dordrecht, Onderwijsmuseum</b>	Symposium: hoe vrij is vrij	Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum and others	Presentation <i>Van wie is het kind?</i> by J. Exalto.	Mix
13 September 2017, 13:00 – 16:30 <b>Amersfoort, de Observant</b>	Symposium: De staat van het openbaar onderwijs	VOS/ABB, VOO, Platform CBOO	Speeches, workshops, and presentation <i>Onderwijs om te koesteren</i> by VOS/ABB, CBOO & VOO.	Educational
25 September 2017, all day <b>Gelderland, Overijssel (Zwolle)</b>	Fiets estafette (bike relay)	OP schools in area	Bike relay to raise money for charity in China	Educational
17 November 2017, day, or afternoon <b>Doorn, Landgoed Zonneheuvel</b>	Nationaal congres: 100 jaar onderwijspacificatie	Verus, VOS/ABB, VBS, VGS, LVGS, ISBO	Speeches and discussion	Educational
29 November 2017, day, or afternoon <b>The Hague, Eerste Kamer</b>	Congres: 100 jaar onderwijspacificatie 1917-2017	HDC, CPG (RU), KDC (RU)	Lectures were later published in an edition of HDC <i>Jaarboek</i>	Political; marvel
12 December 2017, short mention <b>The Hague, Eerste Kamer</b>	Eerste Kamer herdenking	Eerste Kamer	General constitutional change: Freedom of education and equal voting rights	Political; marvel

mentioned the constitutional change and how significant this was for the Netherlands. She not only meant the financial equality, but also universal suffrage.<sup>57</sup> The bigger *Herdenking* was in Gouda, organized by the Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, on May 17<sup>th</sup>. At this commemoration they focussed on the achievements and blessing of educational freedom, but also warned against straying from God's values. They invited two choirs to sing, they prayed and had small speeches. Additionally, a book was presented: *Om een eigen School* by Leunis van Klinken and Daan Vogelaar.<sup>58</sup>

Smaller commemorative events were spread throughout the year, like a presentation, or charity events. Specifically for primary education (PE) the Werkgroep commissioned a children's book by Marian Schalk, and a digital lesson plan for primary schools about the Schoolstrijd. Both were presented at the Calvijnschool (PE) in Veenendaal on March 29.<sup>59</sup> Another commemoration was in the form of a debate at a secondary school in Dordrecht on September 3<sup>rd</sup>. An OP politician and someone from the public educational organisation VOS/ABB debated with the pupils about Art. 23 and the pressure it is under.<sup>60</sup> Next there was the opening of the exposition in Hof van NLD in Dordrecht on September 6<sup>th</sup>. There were short speeches by the director of the Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum and the secretary of Education, the latter rang an old-fashioned school-bell to open the exposition. The exposition was about how Art. 23 has worked in practice in the last century delivered via personal stories. Here another publication was presented by Bea Ros and Peter Zunneberg, which had the same interviews as the ones used for the exposition.<sup>61</sup>

During the entire year there was attention for a charity for schools in China by the Werkgroep. In honour of this there was a bike relay on September 25, this was organized by various schools in the province of Overijssel/Gelderland where children from primary schools biked to the next school, and so on, to end up at the provincial house in Zwolle.<sup>62</sup> Another money raising event would have been organized by the Reformatorisch Dagblad, but this was cancelled due to lack of interest.<sup>63</sup> A

---

<sup>57</sup> "Kamer staat stil bij jubileum Grondwetswijziging 1917," *Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal*, last modified December 12, 2017, [https://www.eerstekamer.nl/nieuws/20171212/kamer\\_staat\\_stil\\_bij\\_jubileum](https://www.eerstekamer.nl/nieuws/20171212/kamer_staat_stil_bij_jubileum).

<sup>58</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. "Herdenkingsdienst."

<sup>59</sup> "Presentatiebijeenkomst," Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/presentatiebijeenkomst.php>.

<sup>60</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Debat over vrijheid van onderwijs," *YouTube*, video 2:54, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://youtu.be/k5cq9HFKZpU>.

<sup>61</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Ons onderwijs is uniek in de wereld," *YouTube*, video 2:53, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://youtu.be/ZTSrejD3Kcs>.

<sup>62</sup> Bart Kieft, "Basisschoolleerlingen fietsen estafette voor honderd jaar vrijheid van onderwijs," *RTV Oost*, last modified September 25, 2017, <https://www.rtvoost.nl/nieuws/276759/basisschoolleerlingen-fietsen-estafette-voor-honderd-jaar-vrijheid-van-onderwijs>.

<sup>63</sup> Vogelaar, "Herdenkingsjaar afgerond."

different charity event was organized by the Jeugdbond Gereformeerde Gemeenten, to collect money for Biblical education in Nigeria, Pakistan and India, no date found.<sup>64</sup>

### Actors

There were a lot of actors involved during the commemorations, organizers, speakers, invited guests and other interested parties. One of the biggest organizers was the Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017. The Werkgroep was created in the run up to 2017 by people in the OP education community. They state on their website that the centennial anniversary of Art. 23 is memorable and important because it made Christian and OP education into a recognizable denomination. Additionally, they believe it is a disputed right, which is all the more reason to draw attention and reflect on it. On their website you can find the commemorative events they organized and background on Art. 23.<sup>65</sup> Another type of OP organisation is the Contactorgaan Gereformeerde Gezindte (COGG), they are an organisation who connect theologians with the OP community where they are needed.<sup>66</sup> In their conference there was a focus on theology of OP schools as well.

The role of educational organizations from various denominations is recognizable more in the background, although they organized some commemorations. They were active in speaking and funding various publications. Public educational organizations organized the *Symposium* on September 13, by VOS/ABB, VOO, and CBOO. During the *Nationaal congress* on November 29 all types of educational organisations were present, Islamic (ISBO), Christian (Verus), General private education (VBS), OP (VGS, LVGS) and public (VOS/ABB). Additionally, the chairs, directors, or other members of Verus, VGS, UnieNZV, VOS/ABB, and Driestar Educatief were speakers and/or attendees on several other commemorations throughout the year (see appendix 2). Schools themselves, Wartburg College Dordrecht and Calvijnschool Veenendaal, were used as a location and host. Education does not only encompass schools and educational organisations, but museums also have educational goals for the general public. For this reason, there were also museums involved in the commemorations of 2017, in organising and an exposition dedicated to freedom of education. On the beforementioned *Symposium* on September 9th the location was the Nationaal

---

<sup>64</sup> Vogelaar, "Herdenkingsjaar afgerond."

<sup>65</sup> "Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917/2017," Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, last modified July 6, 2016, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/nieuws.php?ID=207>.

<sup>66</sup> "Doelstellingen," COGG, accessed March 23, 2022, <http://cogg.nl/missie-en-visie/doelstellingen/>.

Onderwijsmuseum, which was one of the organizers as well.<sup>67</sup> On September 6th the *exposition* of Hof van NLD, together with Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, was opened. The director of Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, present at both the *Symposium* and the *exposition opening*, spoke about the uniqueness of Art. 23 and its importance for the Netherlands.<sup>68</sup> Both museums deal with history of the Netherlands, the Onderwijsmuseum about education and Hof van NLD on freedom.

The role of academia and politicians is interesting in the commemorations of 2017, they were not only organizers, but mostly used as speakers in almost all commemorations. Who stands out is Roelof Bisschop, political party member of SGP, with OP ideology, also director in secondary education. He is invited to speak in three separate events, at the annual *conference* of COGG on March 29, the *Herdenking* in Gouda May 17 and, he *debates* with VOS/ABB at a secondary school in Dordrecht on September 3. Former politicians dealing with education were all invited on January 23. This *Nationale Bijeenkomst* was organized by academic research institute HDC and the VU. The minister and secretary of Education at the time were also invited and given the first editions of the presented publication. HDC also organized the *congress* at the end of the year November 29 together with two other research institutes from the Radboud University, Centrum voor Parlementaire Geschiedenis (CPG) and Katholiek Documentatiecentrum (KDC). The only time there were no academics present to speak at a commemoration were the small activities, at primary schools; *bike relay*, *debate*, and *presentation* of children's book (see appendix 2).

Another interesting feature is location, where are the commemorations being held; the building as well as the place in the Netherlands (see image 1). All of the commemorations are in the South of the Netherlands, and if inspected closely all relatively near the Dutch Bible belt; or Refogordel (see image 2). This Belt is known for its many OP churches, schools and voting behaviour.<sup>69</sup> It is evident that the OP organizers coordinate their commemorations in the area of their constituency. The guests, politicians, and academics are also generally based in and among The Hague or Amsterdam. Many educational organisations are also physically based near Utrecht. The commemorations are held at schools, churches, museums, political buildings, and meeting centres. Interesting to note is the symposium organized by the public educational organisations, this was held in de Observant, an old church and monastery turned into event location.

---

<sup>67</sup> "Symposium '100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid, hoe vrij is vrij?'" VOS/ABB, last modified August, 14, 2017, <https://www.vosabb.nl/symposium-100-jaar-onderwijsvrijheid/>.

<sup>68</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Ons onderwijs is uniek in de wereld."

<sup>69</sup> Fred van Lieburg, ed., *Refogeschiedenis in perspectief: Opstellen over de bevindelijke traditie* (Heerenveen: Uitgeverij Groen, 2007), 53-55.



Image 1: Map of commemoration locations on Google Maps; source locations see appendix 2

Next to physical commemorations throughout the year, there were also online projects. Two of them were similar, but from different denominational organizers. The ChristenUnie, Protestant Christian political party, launched an online project at the end of 2016 called: *#mijnschoolisbijzonder* (translation: my school is special). Here private (mostly OP) schools could register their school and highlight what made them special. Their response was published in an eBook that was sent at the beginning of 2017 to all participating schools.<sup>70</sup> On September 30 an online project was launched by the Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum. The website *mijnschoolisuniek.nl* let schools reflect and write about what the unique feature of their school is, creating a broad image of the contemporary Dutch schools. On the website comparisons would be made between schools in the present and the past.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> "Laat weten wat jouw school bijzonder maakt," ChristenUnie, accessed April 2, 2022, <https://www.christenunie.nl/mijnschoolisbijzonder>.

<sup>71</sup> "Ontdek artikel 23," Onderwijsmuseum, accessed April 2, 2022, <http://www.mijnschoolisuniek.nl/over-dit-project>.



As mentioned, commemorations, elaborate or not, usually have some press-coverage for visibility. Regarding the 2017 100-year educational freedom media coverage was more centralized in the protestant, OP, and educational press, and less in general/secular press. In the *Reformatisch Dagblad* (RD) most of the commemorations were mentioned. Remarkably, the RD did not make a notable distinction regarding who organized the particular commemoration and mentioned those organized by museums and other educational organizations as well. However, they did reflect more upon their ‘own’ constituency. Additionally, they published several articles during the year on Art. 23.<sup>72</sup> In honour of the centennial anniversary the newspaper *Trouw* published twelve articles during the year, each covering a *bijzondere school*.<sup>73</sup> Other mentions and invitations of commemorations could be found on the websites of the organizers themselves, VOS/ABB, Verus, or general educational organisations, such as the Nationale Onderwijsgids.<sup>74</sup>

## Biblebelt

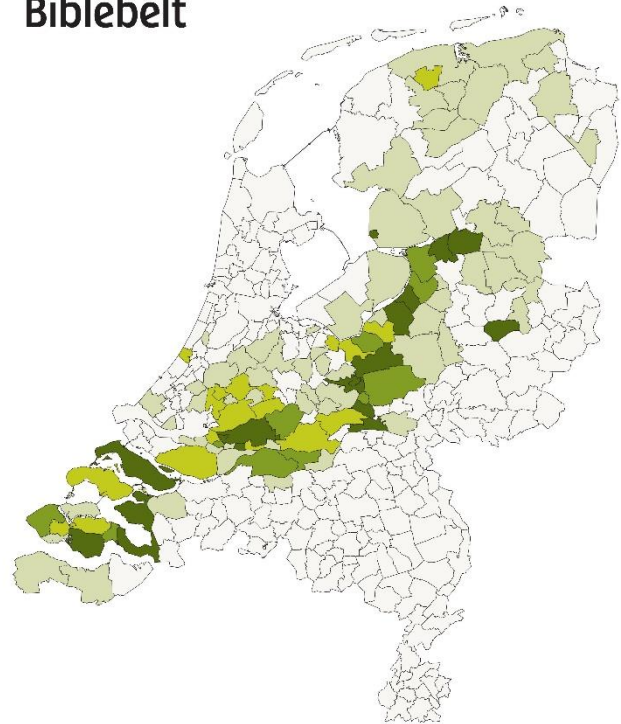


Image 2: Layout of the Dutch Bible belt, source Catherijneconvent

<sup>72</sup> C.S.L. Janse, “Honderd jaar bijzonder onderwijs,” *Reformatisch Dagblad*, last modified February 27, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/887181-honderd-jaar-bijzonder-onderwijs>.

<sup>73</sup> Laura van Baars, “Een school zoals Maria Montessori het écht bedoelde,” *Trouw*, last modified March 6, 2017, <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/een-school-zoals-maria-montessori-het-echt-bedoelde~b44f2213/>.

<sup>74</sup> <https://www.nationaleonderwijsgids.nl/cursussen/nieuws/39280-landelijk-congres-over-100-jaar-onderwijspacificatie.html> - .WTFOrTiP9vA.twitter Redactie Nationale Onderwijsgids, “Landelijk congres over 100 jaar onderwijspacificatie,” NOG, last modified June 2, 2017, <https://www.nationaleonderwijsgids.nl/cursussen/nieuws/39280-landelijk-congres-over-100-jaar-onderwijspacificatie.html#.WTFOrTiP9vA.twitter>.

## 2. Publications

Apart from these commemorations, the centennial anniversary of Art. 23 was celebrated with publications, in total seven books. These books enable further insights into how narratives around Art. 23 were constructed in 2017. In this chapter five books will be discussed that were presented during the commemorations of 2017.

- *Heer & Meester: vrijheid van onderwijs 1917-2017* by Wim de Jong
- *Om een eigen school: Christelijk onderwijs op reformatorische grondslag* by Leunis van Klinken and Daan Vogelaar
- *Schoolvoorbeelden: 100 jaar onderwijsdiversiteit in 10 portretten* by Bea Ros and Peter Zunneberg
- *Van wie is het kind? Twee eeuwen onderwijsvrijheid in Nederland* by John Exalto
- *Onderwijs om te koesteren: de staat van het openbaar onderwijs* by Breemer (VOS/ABB, VOO, CBOO)

Not included is the children's book *Schoolstrijd* by Marian Schalk, due to the difference in age and target audience. Additionally, *Een christelijk-liberale synthese*, lectures from November 29th Congress by HDC, KDC and CPG, will not be covered. Below is an overview of the differences and similarities between the five publications. After that they will be individually described, stating their aim and intent of the book, a short outline and information about the author and funding.

The books were published by various authors and organizers, this can be recognized in the way they represent themselves and highlight certain themes in the publications. What is noticeable when comparing the five publications is the fact that it still seems pillarized. Meaning that, besides *Schoolvoorbeelden*, they all represent different schools that exist in the Netherlands; OP education in *Om een eigen school*, public education in *Onderwijs om te koesteren*, and Protestant-Christian has the last two *Heer & Meester* and *Van wie is het kind?* It is interesting to note that *Van wie is het kind?* was initiated by the same Werkgroep as *Om een eigen school*. What is missing in the publications compared to the educational landscape of the Netherlands are perspectives from Islamic schools, the various pedagogical, and Catholic schools, although mentioned a bit in some publications. All but the latter might not have participated that much due to them being relatively new, and the fact that they were not “present” during the *Schoolstrijd*.

Another interesting difference between the books is their aim; they are focussing on the history of education in the Netherlands, or on the contemporary or future landscape. Although most

publications have some mention of both, it could be noted that Breemer and Ros & Zonneberg centre on the contemporary educational landscape of the Netherlands. The former doing that by offering various perspectives from writers about their experience and views, the latter by informing the reader on ten different school types and their origins. The other three publications also mention contemporary times. However, usually a short mention of the current debate and pressure surrounding Art. 23. Van Klinken & Vogelaar mention this and add the development and layout in OP education. The publications by de Jong and Exalto focus on the history of Art. 23, the Schoolstrijd and the part their respective subject group played in it.

Difference in focus is also present in how they approach the Pacification/Art. 23, meaning that some speak about the educational context, others take us through the political decision making and its consequences, or the religious motivation. Religious importance can be strongly recognized in van Klinken & Vogelaar but is also noticeable in Exalto. The latter mixes both religious motivation and political decision making to sketch the history of Art. 23. De Jong specifies the education context and illustrates the effect of decisions on the school organisations. Ros & Zonneberg and Breemer also mention the educational context and provide some short political insight.

#### Heer & Meester

De Jong analyses and defines the changes and consequences of political, religious, and societal choices for education and Protestant schools in the Netherlands. Within this educational context there is mainly space for the Protestant Christian schools. The aim of the book is to commemorate Art. 23 in light of contemporary debate, and to lay out how Christian education was shaped through history. In the book de Jong sketches the history and developments by looking at three core elements that give the outline to this book. In six chapters de Jong travels through three time periods/themes: pillarization (1878-1945), de-pillarization (1945-1980), and the ongoing value/discussion of Christian education (1980-2017). Because de Jong focusses on the educational context, he misses an analysis of the bigger historical context that could include the societal and political effects of 1917 and the later developments.

In the chapters he constantly questions and researches the interplays between the various actors in education: parents; teachers; church/religious organisations; municipalities and; the government. First there is the question if a Christian school should centre on their specific target audience or on society as a whole. The accompanying chapters contain tensions, critique, and the continued development of citizenship on all sides. The second element is the ambivalence towards



the government. The chapters explain how schools, parents, and teachers have to balance the (unnecessary) government influence and find their authority/loyalty. Lastly, the interplay between the various actors: board, teachers, students, parents, and other actors such as churches, and what is the interplay between these actors and the government. Wim Kuiper wrote the preface; he was the chair of the Besturenraad (former Verus). He states that this book wants to commemorate in light of the contemporary discussions and questions the various relationships that shaped Christian education today. In the conclusion de Jong highlights the important substantial changes and ends with the question of ownership.<sup>75</sup>

*Heer & Meester: Vrijheid van onderwijs 1917-2017* is written by Wim de Jong, he is a political historian, philosopher interested in democracy, citizenship, and education. Currently he teaches at the Radboud University (RU) in Nijmegen and the Open University. For his postdoctoral research project he researched religious education in the Netherlands with CNV Onderwijs, Verus and UnieNzv.<sup>76</sup> *Heer & Meester* was made possible by Verus, an educational association for Christian and Catholic education, mainly administrative support;<sup>77</sup> UnieNzv, and educational union that invests in educative material and support<sup>78</sup> and; CNV Onderwijs, the trade union of (Christian) educators.<sup>79</sup> The research was done at the HDC of the VU, and also supervised by prof. dr. G. Harinck and dr. B. Wallet of HDC, and additionally people from CNV and Verus.<sup>80</sup>

### Om een *eigen* school

The main focus of the book is on OP educational development and schools, the history of the 'own' religious traditions. This includes the parents, teachers, policy and how it influences the school. There are short mentions of political decisions and how that worked in some local levels. This book is a celebration and overview of the OP, by the OP. Both authors, coming from OP tradition, speak habitual about the OP traditions without explaining or defining what it means. There are many references to the 'us,' the community and the 'own' schools. Furthermore, they only speak about the OP school development, and the religious aspect of their education.

---

<sup>75</sup> Wim de Jong, *Heer & Meester: Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017* (Woerden: Verus, 2017).

<sup>76</sup> "About Wim de Jong," Wim de Jong, accessed June 6, 2022, <https://wimdejong.nl/about/>.

<sup>77</sup> "Over Verus," Verus, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.verus.nl/over-verus>.

<sup>78</sup> "Geschiedenis," UnieNZV, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.unienzv.nl/organisatie/geschiedenis/>.

<sup>79</sup> "Wie zijn we als CNV Connectief," CNV Connectief, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.cnvconnectief.nl/over-cnv-connectief/>.

<sup>80</sup> De Jong, *Heer & Meester*, 197.

The book looks back on a century of OP education, remembering the Schoolstrijd, and the details of what OP education looked like. The preface is written by Wim Kranendonk, the chair of the Werkgroep and former director of *Reformatorisch Dagblad*.<sup>58</sup> Kranendonk states the importance of the financial equality and calls for keeping this memory alive. The first chapter, by van Klinken, is a recollection of the Schoolstrijd by two denominations (Iedeboerianen and kruisgezinden). These denominations have a lot in common with the contemporary OP schools. They also go into detail on the trial of Christian teachers in 1917, stating that the national law sometimes did not help on local level. The second part, by van Klinken, is a detailed history of various primary OP/Christian schools, challenges, cooperation with other schools and churches. It gives an overview of school buildings, origins, pupils, method, identity, courses, and teachers. The last chapter is written by Vogelaar, who gives an overview of the origin and development of secondary schools of OP denomination.<sup>81</sup>

*Om een eigen school: Christelijk onderwijs op reformatorische grondslag* is written by dr. Leunis van Klinken and drs. Daan Vogelaar. Van Klinken has worked his whole life in OP education, as a teacher as well as studying Christian pedagogics from the 19<sup>th</sup> century at the VU. He also worked for the Ds. G.H. Kerstencentrum, an OP support organisation for teachers regarding upbringing and special needs children.<sup>82</sup> Vogelaar is also a man in education, he has been a teacher and director of various OP secondary schools.<sup>83</sup> This book was one of the projects of the *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, with its goal to give an impression of the history of OP education. It was published by *Uitgeverij de Banier*, a publishing company that is part of the Erdee Media Groep, the OP media company that also owns *Reformatorisch Dagblad*.<sup>84</sup>

### Schoolvoorbeelden

The aim of this book is to give an overview of the diverse types of education in the Netherlands, shown via oral histories. The diversity in the educational landscape is highlighted and can be seen in every chapter due to the experiences and background of the schools. There is a short mention of political debate, and political background on Art. 23, however this is not as important as the diversity

---

<sup>81</sup> Leunis D. van Klinken and Daan Vogelaar, *Om een eigen school: Christelijk onderwijs op reformatorische grondslag* (Apeldoorn: de Banier, 2017).

<sup>82</sup> Evert van Dijkhuizen, "Onderwijsman dr. Van Klinken stopt na 43 jaar," *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified May 1, 2015, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/611996-onderwijsman-dr-van-klinken-stopt-na-43-jaar>.

<sup>83</sup> Evert van Dijkhuizen, "De man van het midden," *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified June 22, 2007, in DigiBron, [https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:RD.nl,20070622:newsml\\_2da06ee39ba493fc5c204e13cf4ea203](https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:RD.nl,20070622:newsml_2da06ee39ba493fc5c204e13cf4ea203).

<sup>84</sup> "Uitgeverij De Banier, een vertrouwde naam," De Banier, accessed June 6, 2022, <https://www.debanier.nl/de-banier>.

of the Dutch education system. Important is that they only mention primary education, since everyone completed that, and this is where the most diversity takes place.

The book is a mix of oral history combined with history on the origin of the specific school, development, and core values. The preface is written by Geert ten Dam, at that time professor of educational science and chair of the Executive Board of the University of Amsterdam, she was also chair and member of the *Onderwijsraad* from 2005-2014.<sup>85</sup> The introduction by Ros and Zunneberg contains their interest and accountability for their choices, such as to only include primary education. The next chapter is an explanatory chapter on Art. 23, a brief history of its origin and contemporary debate. The last chapter is an explanation the process of starting a primary school and its challenges. After the introductions and basics of Art. 23 the books main focus are the various school-types, having one oral history next to basic information about the type. They cover ten schools that use freedom of education in several ways, meaning private education both religious and pedagogical types, and public. This encompasses: Protestant-Christian; public; Waldorf; RC; de Werkplaats; Jena plan; Montessori/Dalton/Freinet; Islamic; OP and; Democratic. Per type an interview was done, the interviewees varied in age ranging from 1917 to 2006, genders and location, where they recollect how their school experience. Short information is then provided, including the mention of the first school from that particular type, the amount, its founding and core values.<sup>86</sup>

*Schoolvoorbeelden: 100 jaar onderwijsdiversiteit in 10 portretten* is a publication by Peter Zunneberg and Bea Ros. Zunneberg is an art-historian and journalist. Ros has had many years of experience in writing and is also adjunct-hoofdredacteur at *Didactief*. Together with Zunneberg she owns a text bureau *Zunneberg & Ros*. Here they write blogs, articles and several books that specialise in education, cultural education, reading, history and (youth)literature.<sup>87</sup> The authors were granted a work-scholarship from the *Onderwijsfonds COCMA*, who offer research journalism scholarships next to funding for part-time higher education.<sup>88</sup> The book was also made possible by the *Onderwijscoöperatie*, a cooperation by and for teachers,<sup>89</sup> *Didactief* an independent education trade magazine<sup>90</sup> and two museums in Dordrecht: *Het Hof van NLd* and *Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum*.

<sup>85</sup> Bea Ros and Peter Zunneberg, *Schoolvoorbeelden: 100 jaar onderwijs-diversiteit in 10 portretten* (Ten Brink, 2017), 8.

<sup>86</sup> Ros and Zunneberg, *Schoolvoorbeelden*.

<sup>87</sup> "Contact," Zunneberg & Ros, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.zunnebergros.nl/contact/>.

<sup>88</sup> "COCMA-Werkbeurs Onderwijsjournalistiek," COCMA Stichting Onderwijsfonds, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.onderwijsfondscocma.nl/werkbeurs.htm>.

<sup>89</sup> "Onderwijscoöperatie per 1 januari 2019 opgeheven," *MBO-today*, last modified July 10, 2018, <https://mbo-today.nl/onderwijscooperatie-per-1-januari-2019-opgeheven/>.

<sup>90</sup> "Over ons," *Didactief*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://didactiefonline.nl/over-ons>.

### Van wie is het kind?

The main aim of this book is hard to pinpoint, it gives a history of the political choices regarding religious education. It is written by an academic, but accessible for the general public, and asked and partly funded for by OP/Christian organisations. In the book there is almost 200-year history of the development of private education, written about OP and Protestant-Christian. However, the road to political decisions and its effects in local and national level are also a big part of the book. Exalto states that ownership, particularly the political, educational, and religious dimensions have been discussed in full over the years. Therefore, he pleads that future reflections should have the child in mind.

The book is a history of 200-year educational and political development, about religious private education. In the introduction Exalto asks the question of school ownership and introduces a case of Schoolstrijd on a local level. The first chapter starts in 1806, when the first national educational law came into play. The second chapter is a rough sketch of how the constitutional change came to be with a focus on the religious ideological freedom which is fundamental for the juridical outcome of Art. 23. The third chapter is a case study in the Hague in the 1930s, and the fourth of the developments of education after WWII. Particularly of concepts as freedom, equality and diversity and its consequences for private schools. In the conclusion Exalto evaluates the past 200 years and justifies once again why he centred mostly on (orthodox) protestant role/side of the Schoolstrijd. Finally, he tries to answer the question of who owns the child and states that along the lines of the Schoolstrijd the interest of the child itself was sometimes forgotten. Noteworthy is that the conclusion ends with a prayer that was used to end school in the morning.<sup>91</sup>

John Exalto was asked to write *Van wie is het kind? Twee eeuwen onderwijsvrijheid in Nederland*. He is a professor of historical pedagogics at the VU, he specializes in the Bible Belt, education, and religion.<sup>92</sup> The idea came from the *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, people of various OP educational organizations. The Werkgroep wanted independent research on the development of freedom of education, thus they provided the starting subsidy for this research. Other financial aid came from *Verus*; the *Stichting Steunfonds Christelijk onderwijs* and; *Hoornbeeck College*. The latter is part of a case that is used in the book. The manuscript was read by teachers from the VU. Other readers were Rens Rottier, from *Driestar Educatief* and member of the

---

<sup>91</sup> John Exalto, *Van wie is het kind? Twee eeuwen onderwijsvrijheid in Nederland* (Amsterdam, Uitgeverij Balans, 2017).

<sup>92</sup> Exalto, *Van wie is het kind?*

Werkgroep, and Wim Verweij of *Hoornbeeck College*.<sup>93</sup> The book was published by *Uitgeverij Balans*, an independent publisher that has multiple books on religion, culture, ethics.<sup>94</sup>

### Onderwijs om te koesteren

This book aims to give an overview of the contemporary public educational landscape. Thus, its focus lies on public education, not so much its history, but how it is today and what is important. They highlight the fact that public education is for everyone and display their diversity and general accessibility. Additionally, they state that private education might have become unnecessary, since achievements and school well-being are almost the same according to research. The various essays give insight in the contemporary public school and its tensions/contrast with private education sometimes.

The book is divided in two parts, research on the current difference between public and private education and various essays on six themes according to the core values of public education. The first part by Braster is research that questions in what sense the difference between public and private education still exists, and what is noticeable between the students of both types. His conclusion states that there is almost no difference between public and private education in achievement and school well-being. One difference is the social-economic composition of public and private schools, but this does not affect achievement much in both schools. The second part is divided in six paragraphs, according to core values of public education which are: general access; open appointability; mutual respect; norms and values; citizenship; religion. The various essays contain contemporary examples relating to the function the author has in education. Some examples: being the first Black child at a public school; discrimination in private schools; diversity on the school board; typical Friday school discussion in the classroom; school-identity.<sup>95</sup>

This book *Onderwijs om te koesteren: De staat van het openbaar onderwijs* is published, funded, and edited by public educational organizations *VOS/ABB*, for boards and management,<sup>96</sup> *VOO*,<sup>97</sup> and the *CBOO*, a national platform.<sup>98</sup> They have invited various contributors to write about public education. A substantial contribution is from Sjaak Braster, researcher at the Erasmus

<sup>93</sup> Exalto, *Van wie is het kind?*, 229.

<sup>94</sup> "Over uitgeverij Balans," Uitgeverij Balans, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.uitgeverijbalans.nl/over-balans/>.

<sup>95</sup> F. Breemer et al. ed., *Onderwijs om te koesteren: De staat van het openbaar onderwijs* (VOS/ABB, VOO & CBOO, 2017) <https://www.openbaaronderwijs.nu/flipbook/staat-van-het-onderwijs/staat-van-het-onderwijs.pdf>.

<sup>96</sup> "Wie is VOS/ABB," VOS/ABB, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.vosabb.nl/over-ons/-09>.

<sup>97</sup> "Al sinds 1866 de openbaar onderwijsvereniging," VOO, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://voo.nl/over-voo/historie>.

<sup>98</sup> Stichting CBOO (@stichtingCBOO), *Twitter*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://twitter.com/stichtingcboo>.

University Rotterdam. Other contributions are from teachers, directors, NGO members, coaches, students, professors, and researchers offering various perspectives on public education. Former directors of VOS/ABB (Ritske van der Veen) and VOO (Rob Limper) have written the introduction. They display the layout of the chapters and their accompanying authors. They express that the core values of public education are important since they are the core values of our society. Stating that denominational schools do not fit our time anymore, and that after 100 years all children should be welcome at school, without public or private.<sup>99</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Breemer, *Onderwijs om te koesteren*, 2-9.

### 3. Thematical analysis

The organizers listed in Table 1 are from various sectors, and they all draw attention to three themes of why it is important to commemorate the centennial anniversary: politics, education and, religion. These three themes are also at play in Article 23, the political, educational, and religious spheres of the Article. The individual spheres are present in the various actors, OP; schools; museums and; politicians, and therefore also themes in the commemorations and publications. The question lies in what they argue to be the most important reason to commemorate. Do the OP, focus more on the religious theme, or do they also highlight the educational and/or political. Vice versa, how important is the religious part of Art. 23 for the academics. The themes will be discussed using the news-articles from various sources and publication describing the commemorations throughout the year.

The aim of this chapter is to lay out what particular theme the various commemorations and publications highlight; what the organizers perceive as the reason to commemorate the centennial anniversary of Art. 23. The first, political, is divided in two subthemes: as a marvel or as a threat. In the political theme the focus lies on the perception of Art. 23; it being a great result of democracy (marvel) or the fact that there is too much governmental influence and debate about changing Art. 23 (threat). The second theme, religion, deals with the religious motivations during the commemorations and the role of God. Meaning how the commemoration but also the Schoolstrijd and Art. 23 are explained. The last theme is education, which encompasses the history of the Dutch school system and contemporary education, but also organisational features of schooling. Evident from these three themes is that they overlap, the political perception is infused with religious motivation, and private education organisation deals with religion and education. Meaning that just as Art. 23, it is connected. For the analysis, the focus lies on where the organizers and the commemorations and the publications centre most of its attention and importance.

#### Political marvel

One of the main short answers to the question of why Art. 23 needs to be commemorated is that this constitutional law is unique. At the *Congress* on November 29<sup>th</sup> the lectures show that the Pacification is a constitutional and democratic marvel, a result of developing- and compromise-politics.<sup>100</sup> That it is a milestone of parliamentary democracy is also mentioned in the *Herdenking* of the Eerste Kamer

---

<sup>100</sup> Harinck, *Christelijk liberale synthese*, 13.

itself, albeit that they centred more on the other side of the compromise; voting rights.<sup>101</sup> On September 6 the director of the Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum also states that this kind of law is seen nowhere else, not only the distinction but also the fact that schools can shape a school as they wish as long as it is up to the Governmental standards.<sup>102</sup> This was stated in most symposia and commemorations, but usually shortly mentioned. The fact that Art. 23 is unique is unquestioned in the publications as well, all introductions mention the fact that this kind of law does not exist in other countries, however, it is not a focus in the publications.

### Political threat

All commemorations, mostly the bigger congresses, symposia, and commemorations, mention the current [2017] controversies regarding Art. 23. In some instances, politicians and academics speak about the possible need to change Art. 23. The first commemoration of the year on January 23<sup>rd</sup> several speakers state that there is a need for a new and strong Art. 23.<sup>103</sup> There are various mentions of the public debates about the financing of Art. 23, the duty of acceptance for all schools. At other commemorations, the question was how free schools are if the government decides on the rules, such as the development of citizenship education, which were asked on September 9<sup>th</sup>.<sup>104</sup> Similar questions were asked on November 17<sup>th</sup>, were they made cases against the argument of segregation that is spoken of in the public debates surrounding Art. 23. Although some speakers stated that there need to be changes to the educational programme to keep up with contemporary times.<sup>105</sup>

Regarding the controversies, the perceived threat of secularism and more governmental influence is mentioned by the OP. Especially at the *Conference* on March 29<sup>th</sup> there is a focus on the threat of the mentality change of Christian parents, the educational inspection, and the duty of acceptance. Additionally there was a debate on how long the OP schools can hold up their own story on subjects that are present in society, such as evolution and gender-diversity.<sup>106</sup> On May 17<sup>th</sup> they mention the tensions between OP schools and society in general, with the statement that society

<sup>101</sup> Eerste Kamer, "Kamer staat stil."

<sup>102</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Ons onderwijs is uniek."

<sup>103</sup> Verus, "Vrijheid van onderwijs staat als een huis."

<sup>104</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Symposium en boekpresentatie."

<sup>105</sup> Gerard Vroegindeweij, "Symposium: Overheid bemoeit zich te veel met inhoud bijzonder onderwijs," *Reformatisch Dagblad*, last modified November 18, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/733754-symposium-overheid-bemoeit-zich-te-veel-met-inhoud-bijzonder-onderwijs/>.

<sup>106</sup> *Reformatisch dagblad*, "Veranderende mentaliteit."



does not understand the OP schools.<sup>107</sup> At the *Debate* on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, Bisschop also mentioned that Art. 23 is constantly questioned and under pressure from society and politics.<sup>108</sup>

In the publications the political threat of governmental influence or change is only mentioned in the introductions, except the one from VOS/ABB, VOO and CBOO. It could be argued that they do not worry about the existence of public schools as much as private schools do. De Jong and Exalto both deal with private education in their books and state some tensions but do not go into the matter much further. Van Klinken and Vogelaar in their book on OP education mention tensions between society and their schools as well. The publication by Zunneberg and Ros only have a short chapter devoted on Art. 23 its controversies and possible governmental influences. Therefore, this theme is not a focus of any of the publications.

### God's blessing

One big reason Art. 23 exists and why it is thus commemorated as such is because the Schoolstrijd was brought on because of Christian parents wanted their child to grow up with God in school. Therefore, the question of whether God and religious motivation is important in the commemorations felt logical. The ultimate dream of Groen van Prinsterer were public schools with the Bible. This was nostalgically remembered on May 17<sup>th</sup>, the *Herdenking* organized by the Werkgroep. This commemoration had the most focus on God, and on prayer and song for OP education. They particularly called for the OP schools and teachers to remember God's values instead of their own career or school.<sup>109</sup> On both commemoration events on March 29<sup>th</sup> there was mention of God. The children's book *Presentation* stated that parents wanted their children to hear the word of God in school.<sup>110</sup> At the *Conference* by COGG they were less positive about the parents and schools involvement in Christian education, and spoke of them lagging behind in (Christian) reflection.<sup>111</sup> At the *Vianen Congres* on January 27<sup>th</sup> God seems to be less spoken of, even though the day was organized by OP educational organizations only. Art. 23 was presented as a gift, although not specified by whom. During the day, a documentary was shown about the Schoolstrijd. In this

---

<sup>107</sup> Redactie onderwijs, "Keuze voor refo-school moet vanzelfsprekend zijn," *Reformatisch Dagblad*, last modified May 18, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/710409-keuze-voor-refo-school-moet-vanzelfsprekend-zijn>.

<sup>108</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Debat."

<sup>109</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Herdenkingsdienst."

<sup>110</sup> Vogelaar, "Herdenkingsjaar afgerond."

<sup>111</sup> Reformatisch dagblad, "Veranderende mentaliteit."

documentary God is more present in the sense that schools explain that the Bible and God are leading for the schools' plan of the child's development, and that teachers need to subscribe to this as well.<sup>112</sup>

In the publications religion is usually mentioned as the start of the *Schoolstrijd*, and most books deal with a particular denomination or religious education. De Jong writes the history and development of Protestant-Christian education, Exalto as well. Zunneberg and Ros inform us about all education types, thus including Christian, OP, Islamic. VOS/ABB and VOO only write about religious education in public schooling. The only book with the main focus on religion is by van Klinken and Vogelaar, religion meaning OP tradition and educational development.

### Knowledge of history

Education as a theme is present in all commemorations, big and small, be it to learn about Dutch school history or how contemporary schools deal with today's challenges. It is most evident in the opening on September 6, here they centre on how schools and pupils experienced and approached their particular school.<sup>113</sup> More contemporary themes in education were spoken in the *Symposium* on September 13, specifically on public education.<sup>114</sup> The *Nationaal Congres* on November 17 dealt with current and future societal developments in relation to Art. 23, for example discussions on what a dream school would be.<sup>115</sup> The *Symposium* on September 9 speaks about political and educational themes in the Dutch school system, such as freedom, and the history and future.<sup>116</sup>

That it is important for children to know about the Dutch school history was also present at the smaller commemorations directly involving children and schools. This is mentioned during the *Bike relay*, that it raises awareness for the children.<sup>117</sup> This awareness is also the theme in the children's book and digital lessons presented on March 29<sup>th</sup>, albeit that it is an awareness of the religious education significance. Additionally, of both online projects by ChristenUnie and Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum could be argued the same; to think about one's school and be aware of its place in history. The publications almost all centre on educational history, mostly with another theme intertwined. The book by De Jong, Zunneberg & Ros, and VOS/ABB, VOO & CBOO are focussing on

<sup>112</sup> Klomp Creative, "Schoolstrijd – documentaire," VIMEO, video: 18:37, accessed January 9, 2022, <https://vimeo.com/201189517>.

<sup>113</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Ons onderwijs is uniek."

<sup>114</sup> Nationale Onderwijsgids, "Landelijk congres."

<sup>115</sup> Godding & co corporate communicatie, "Wat is jouw droomschool?," *YouTube*, video 4:35, accessed May 14, 2022, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pc\\_eyJWQSWg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pc_eyJWQSWg).

<sup>116</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Symposium en boekpresentatie."

<sup>117</sup> Kieft, "Basisschoolleerlingen fietsen estafette."

education as a whole, with the first having a Protestant-Christian perspective. Exalto and van Klinken & Vogelaar combine the educational context as well, the former with politics, the latter with religion.

## Conclusion

During the year 2017 there were many commemorative events trying to draw attention to what the organizers felt mattered: the centennial anniversary of 100-year educational freedom. There were thirteen commemorations throughout the year, consisting of various symposia, congresses, conference, a presentation, bike relay, a debate, and 'herdenkingen.' Overall, there were a lot of speeches, lectures and discussion on the history and future of Art. 23. This was due to the organizers all having some type of educational background. Academics, educational organizations, politicians of education, schools and museums all played a part in organizing the commemorations. They were also other actors in the events, to speak or present their view on the case. Thus, the commemorations were mostly listening and discussion events. In one *herdenking* there was singing, and the only active activity was the bike relay.

Aside the commemorations there were also publications written in honour of the centennial anniversary: In total seven of which five were analysed. The five books were written by academics as well as other authors working in education. The books by de Jong, Exalto and van Klinken & Vogelaar centred more on the history and development of (Orthodox) Protestant education. However, the book by Exalto is a mix of educational history, political choices, and its effects in the Christian schools. Zunneberg & Ros wrote a more educational information book containing several oral histories of school experiences of all denominations. The publication with most contemporary focus is the one by VOS/ABB, VOO & CBOO, they concentrated on public education values and how it stands in society today.

For the analysis of the commemorations and publications four themes were deduced: political marvel, political threat, education and, religion. Although most commemorations have overlapping themes there was usually one main theme that could be found. The theme political marvel was found in three commemorations, January 23, November 29, and December 12. The organizers and actors are from academic and political background. Here they highlighted the fact that Art. 23 was of great democratic importance and that it is unique in the world, with some critical sidenotes. The political threat was only once the centre of attention, during the *Debate* on September 3<sup>rd</sup>. However, almost all commemorations and publications mentioned the increase of governmental influence or societal debate as something to be wary of. The educational theme was present at most commemorations organized by educational organisations; November 17 and September 6, 13 and 25. During the *Exposition*, *Bike relay*, and two congresses they aimed at the importance of knowing the history and

contemporary educational landscape. This was also the case in three of the publications, the one by de Jong, Zonneberg & Ros and, VOS/ABB. Most expectant is the attention drawn to the religious theme during commemorations organized by the OP, on the events on March 29, January 27, and May 17. What was most important here was OP tradition in the history and development of education, all with a hint of political threat. This is the case as well in the publication by Van Klinken & Vogelaar. A difficult commemoration was on September 9<sup>th</sup>, and the accompanying publication by Exalto. Although it strongly suggested educational, it remained a mix since the educational focus was on the political effects of OP schooling. Additionally multiple actors were intertwined from OP as well as academic.

Looking at the list of actors we can conclude that most of the same people were interested and invited to these commemorations, namely those who have backgrounds in the same spheres of society that are used as themes: politics, education, and religion. All have a connection to education, either it being academic, working in education, politician in the educational domain, and of course having an interest in the educational system of the Netherlands. The dividing parts are religious- and political interest. There are multiple politicians as speaker and guest in various commemorations. Academics with interest in Art. 23 were used as expert speaker in all but three commemorations. The religious background is applicable for the OP organizers, the Werkgroep, and their invited guests to their commemorations. Most OP organizers and speakers work in OP education or have interest in it. Religious background is also relevant for the Christian educational organizations.

Within the research field of commemorative culture, it is suggested that commemoration is a way of showing others that they exist, However, this does not seem the case as much in the commemorations of 2017. Although it is not known how many guests there were, it is mentioned by the commemorations of the Werkgroep that the attendance was disappointing and that the awareness of the privilege of OP education might not be that self-evident for the OP community.<sup>118</sup> It seemed that most of the interested parties were also the ones organizing it. It is unknown if this was expected. Therefore, the visibility argument can only be supported by it being visible in the own (educational) circles and not answered fully. Considering the controversy and worries about Art. 23 mentioned in most commemorations it might be a missed opportunity for all organizers to not take a more visible stand of what Art. 23 means for the Netherlands.

---

<sup>118</sup> Vogelaar, "Herdenkingsjaar afgerond."

The historical retrospection is a big functional part within the commemorations, as can be observed in the many speeches, discussions and presenting of publications. The twofold function of an anniversary, legitimizing and investigative, are both present. The speakers and writers examined the history and contemporary educational landscape in most commemorations and publications. The many publications also show how the retrospection is of big importance for this commemoration. The legitimizing trait shows in all themes, the pride and importance the organizers ascribe towards Art. 23, even when they worry about the future. Those fit within the spheres Perry assigns commemorations, pride, and vigilance.

The commemorations are next to being visible in the own circles, also not as festive as one might imagine from anniversary commemorations. While once singing was a big hit in commemorations, only one commemoration did it in 2017. There were also no parties, processions, or shared dinners as far as we know of. All commemorative events were quite sober, reflective, and full of information and discussion, which did not mean they did not enjoy it. The way the centennial anniversary was commemorated is quite in character with the ones who celebrated it. The OP community is not known for its parties, but for biblical reflection and soberness. Additionally, academics are known for sharing information and enjoying research. This is in accordance with the historical perceptive nature as functional part of educational commemorations.

So, the centennial anniversary exists in society via the actors and arenas of knowledge that were created in 2017. The actors of knowledge are important for producing and circulating the knowledge, usually academics are a big part of this. This is the case with the commemoration as well, academics are the most invited actors to speak and add their perspective on the matter by almost all organizers involved. Academics are not the only one, also politicians, journalists, and writers act as sharers of knowledge in a smaller sense. The arenas can be divided by the commemorations and the publication, they are platforms for certain knowledge serving as a site for interaction between the actors and audience. The publications are not as interactive, however, because they are presented and spoken about during the commemorations, they achieve some level of interaction. During the commemorations, the level of interaction was high in forms of discussion, workshop, and active listening; which can be used as the set limits and norms of the arena where the information can be shared in a certain way. Additionally, the non-physical website platforms of Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum and ChristenUnie are great platforms of sharing and interaction of knowledge that can be seen by anyone. However, it seems the knowledge stayed mostly within the societal spheres it was organized by, in commemorating as well as press-coverage.

In this research many distinct types of commemorations were examined via articles and publications, however, it might be interesting to go even further in this research into commemorative culture. Due to the aim on the textual evidence, articles, and publications, on the commemorations some subjects might have been missed. A more in-depth analysis on the commemoration could be done by doing a different type of coding (open/in vivo) or focussing on the publications, or only a few of the commemorations differentiated by organizer. Another way to also research how knowledge is formed would be to do interviews. This way the focus is on the experience by the different actors: the organizers, speakers, and the audience. Interviews done with any or all actors from the different commemorations would give more depth to the information there is now.

In sum this thesis contributed to the field of commemorative culture by examining the various commemorative events of the centennial anniversary of Art. 23 in 2017. The commemorations are remarkable in their unremarkability, being sober and retrospective. Educational commemorations do have more room for reflection, however, for a centennial anniversary one might have expected more festivities with so many different commemorative events. This thesis adds that the circulation of knowledge about the importance of Art. 23 in these commemorations was its main concern, but the knowledge stayed mostly within its own societal spheres.

## Bibliography

### Images

Front page left: Harinck, George, Alexander van Kessel and Hans Krabbendam, ed. *Een christelijk-liberale synthese: 100 jaar Pacificatie 1917-2017*. Utrecht: Kok Boekencentrum Uitgevers, 2018: 8.

Front page right: Redactie onderwijs. "Keuze voor refo-school moet vanzelfsprekend zijn." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified May 18, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/710409-keuze-voor-refo-school-moet-vanzelfsprekend-zijn>.

Image 1: Google Maps. "Commemorations 2017 locations." Accessed June 10, 2022, <https://goo.gl/maps/hUde94FU73rRHAFX8>.

Image 2: Catharijneconvent. "Tentoonstellingen – Bij ons in de Biblebelt." *Catharijneconvent*, accessed June 2, 2022, <https://www.catharijneconvent.nl/tentoonstellingen/biblebelt/>.

### Legal documents

The Constitution of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.  
<https://www.government.nl/binaries/government/documenten/regulations/2012/10/18/the-constitution-of-the-kingdom-of-the-netherlands-2008/the-constitution-of-the-netherlands-2008.pdf>.

### Secondary sources

Braun, Virginia, and Victoria Clarke. *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. London: SAGE Publications, 2022.

Breemer, F. et al. Ed. *Onderwijs om te koesteren: De staat van het openbaar onderwijs* (VOS/ABB, VOO & CBOO, 2017) <https://www.openbaaronderwijs.nu/flipbook/staat-van-het-onderwijs/staat-van-het-onderwijs.pdf>.

Bingham, Andrea. J., and P. Witkowsky. "Deductive and inductive approaches to qualitative data analysis." In *Analyzing and interpreting qualitative data: After the interview*, edited by C. Vanover, P. Mihás, & J. Saldaña, SAGE, 2022.

Dekker, Jeroen, Hilda Amsing and Inge Wichgers, "Education in a Nation Divided: The Contribution of School Acts to the Development of Dutch Mass Schooling in the Long Nineteenth Century," In *School Acts and the Rise of Mass Schooling – Education Policy in the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Johannes Westberg, 93-118. Cham, 2019.

Dhondt, Pieter, and Christophe Verbruggen. "Academic Culture of Remembrance. The combination of university history, jubilee and academic heritage." *Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis* Vol. 5,3 (2012): 137-141.

Exalto, John. *Van wie is het kind? Twee eeuwen onderwijsvrijheid in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 2017.



Gabrielli, Gianluca and Carla Carpigiani. "Renewing the ties of one century of history: an experiment of citizen history on the occasion of the Centenary of the Fortuzzi school." In *Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times*, edited by Juri Meda, Luigiaurelio Pomante and Marta Brunelli, 239-257. Italy: HECL, 2019.

Harinck, George, Alexander van Kessel and Hans Krabbendam, ed. *Een christelijk-liberale synthese: 100 jaar Pacificatie 1917-2017*. Utrecht: Kok Boekencentrum Uitgevers, 2018.

Jong, Wim, de. *Heer & Meester: Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917–2017*. Woerden: Verus, 2017.

Klinken, Leunis D. van, and Daan Vogelaar. *Om een eigen school: Christelijk onderwijs op reformatorische grondslag*. Apeldoorn: de Banier, 2017.

Lieburg, Fred van, ed. *Refogeschiedenis in perspectief. Opstellen over de bevindelijke traditie*. Heerenveen: Uitgeverij Groen, 2007.

Meda, Juri, Luigiaurelio Pomante, and Marte Brunelli ed., *Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times*. Italy: HECL, 2019.

Miedema, Siebren. "Waar Moet Het Heen Met Religie in Het Onderwijs?" *Friesch Dagblad*, December 15, 2018.

Östling, Johan and David Larsson Heidenblad. "Fulfilling the Promise of the History of Knowledge: Key Approaches for the 2020s." *Journal for the History of Knowledge* Vol. 1, 1 (2020): 1-6. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5334/jhk.24>

Östling, Johan, Niklas Olsen & David Larsson Heidenblad. "Introduction: histories of knowledge in postwar Scandinavia." In *Histories of Knowledge in Postwar Scandinavia: Actors, Arenas, and Aspirations*, edited by Johan Östling, Niklas Olsen and David Larsson Heidenblad, 1-18. London: Routledge, 2020.

Paletschek, S. "The Writing of University History and University Jubilees: German Examples." *Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis* Vol. 5, 3 (2012): 142-155.

Perry, Jos. *Wij herdenken, dus wij bestaan: over jubilea, monumenten en de collectieve herinnering*. Nijmegen: Uitgeverij SUN, 1999.

Ros, Bea and Peter Zonneberg. *Schoolvoorbeelden: 100 jaar onderwijs-diversiteit in 10 portretten*. Ten Brink Uitgevers, 2017.

Sarasin, Phillip. "Was ist Wissensgeschichte?" *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* Vol. 36, 1 (July 2011): 159-172. DOI 10.1515/iasl.2011.010.

Schmeets, Hans. *De religieuze kaart van Nederland, 2010-2015*. Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, December 2016.

Schwartz, Barry. "Collective memory and abortive commemoration: President's day and the American holiday calendar." *Social Research* Vol.75, 1 (2008): 75-110.

Van Ruyskensvelde, Sarah. "Towards a history of e-ducation? Exploring the possibilities of digital humanities for the history of education." *Paedagogica Historia* vol.15, 6 (2014): 861-870. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00309230.2014.955511>.

Weller, Toni, ed. *History in the Digital Age*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2012.

Willig, Carla. "From recipes to adventures," in *Introducing Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3-13. Maidenhead: Open University Press, <https://rug.on.worldcat.org/oclc/848920015>.

## Websites

Andere Tijden. "Schoolstrijd." *NPO* video 27:22, last modified September 10, 2002, <https://anderetijden.nl/aflevering/538/Schoolstrijd>.

ANP. "Universiteit Groningen bestaat 400 jaar." *NU.nl*, last modified May 15, 2014, <https://www.nu.nl/groningen/3775730/universiteit-groningen-bestaat-400-jaar.html>.

Baars, Laura, van. "Een school zoals Maria Montessori het écht bedoelde." *Trouw*, last modified March 6, 2017, <https://www.trouw.nl/nieuws/een-school-zoals-maria-montessori-het-echt-bedoelde~b44f2213/>.

Boekenkamer. "Schalk-Meijering, Marian." *Boekenkamer*, last modified April 7, 2017, <https://www.deboekenkamer.nl/auteurs/schalk-meijering-marian/>.

CBS. "Ruim 70 procent leerlingen naar bijzonder onderwijs." *CBS*, last modified September 22, 2017. <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2017/38/ruim-70-procent-leerlingen-naar-bijzonder-onderwijs>.

ChristenUnie. "Laat weten wat jouw school bijzonder maakt." *ChristenUnie*, accessed April 2, 2002, <https://www.christenunie.nl/mijnschoolisbijzonder>.

CNV Connectief. "Wie zijn we als CNV Connectief." *CNV Connectief*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.cnvconnectief.nl/over-cnv-connectief/>.

COCMA Stichting Onderwijsfonds. "COCMA-Werkbeurs Onderwijsjournalistiek." *COCMA*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.onderwijsfondscocma.nl/werkbeurs.htm>.

Contactorgaan Gereformeerde Gezindte. "Doelstellingen." *COGG*, accessed March 23, 2022, <http://cogg.nl/missie-en-visie/doelstellingen/>.

De Banier. "Uitgeverij De Banier, een vertrouwde naam." *De Banier*, accessed June 6, 2022, <https://www.debanier.nl/de-banier>.

Devictor, Gregory. "Year 2017 Fun Facts, trivia, and history." *HobbyLark*, last modified May 15, 2022, <https://hobbylark.coma/party-games/Fun-Facts-Trivia-and-News-from-2017>.

De Wekker. "Onderwijspacificatie 75 jaar." *De Wekker*, last modified September 18, 1992, [https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:Wekker,19920918:newsml\\_38308cf03a7e70ffedc848d14ff2b32f](https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:Wekker,19920918:newsml_38308cf03a7e70ffedc848d14ff2b32f).

DidactiefOnline. "Blog Jacques Dane." *Didactief*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://didactiefonline.nl/blog/jacques-dane>.

DidactiefOnline. "Over ons." *Didactief*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://didactiefonline.nl/over-ons>.

Dijkhuizen, Evert, van. "De man van het midden." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified June 22, 2007, in DigiBron, [https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:RD.nl,20070622:newsml\\_2da06ee39ba493fc5c204e13cf4ea203](https://www.digibron.nl/viewer/collectie/Digibron/id/tag:RD.nl,20070622:newsml_2da06ee39ba493fc5c204e13cf4ea203).

Dijkhuizen, Evert, van. "Onderwijsman dr. Van Klinken stopt na 43 jaar." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified May 1, 2015, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/611996-onderwijsman-dr-van-klinken-stopt-na-43-jaar>.

Driestar Educatief. "Driestar Educatief – organisatie." *Driestar Educatief*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://www.driestar-educatief.nl/over-ons/organisatie/driestar-educatief>.

Europa NU. "Bussemaker bij Nationale bijeenkomst onderwijspacificatie 1917-2017, Amsterdam." *Europa NU*, accessed May 16, 2022, [https://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vkb1kabjyoxh/agenda/bussemaker\\_bij\\_nationale\\_bijeenkomst?ctx=vh8lnhrouwxn&s0e=vhdbuxdwgrzw&tab=1](https://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vkb1kabjyoxh/agenda/bussemaker_bij_nationale_bijeenkomst?ctx=vh8lnhrouwxn&s0e=vhdbuxdwgrzw&tab=1).

Godding & co corporate communicatie. "Wat is jouw droomschool?" *YouTube*, video 4:35, accessed May 14, 2022, [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pc\\_izWQSWg](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pc_izWQSWg).

Government of the Netherlands. "Freedom of education." Accessed May 13, 2022, <https://www.government.nl/topics/freedom-of-education>.

HDC. "HDC Centre for Religious History." *HDC*, accessed May 16, 2022, [www.hdcvu.nl](http://www.hdcvu.nl).

Historici.nl. "Congres 100 jaar Pacificatie." *Historici.nl*, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.historici.nl/event/congres-100-jaar-pacificatie/?type=agenda>.

Hul, Jan, van 't. "Scheidend RD-hoofdredacteur Kranendonk: boodschapper voor eigen kring." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified March 3, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/700030-scheidend-rd-hoofdredacteur-kranendonk-boodschapper-voor-eigen-kring>.

ISBO. "Home." *ISBO*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://deisbo.nl/>.

Janse, C.S.L. "Honderd jaar bijzonder onderwijs." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified February 27, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/887181-honderd-jaar-bijzonder-onderwijs>.

Jong, Wim, de. "About Wim de Jong." *Wim de Jong*, accessed June 6, 2022, <https://wimdejong.nl/about/>.

Kieft, Bart. "Basisschoolleerlingen fietsen estafette voor honderd jaar vrijheid van onderwijs." *RTV Oost*, last modified September 25, 2017, <https://www.rtvoost.nl/nieuws/276759/basisschoolleerlingen-fietsen-estafette-voor-honderd-jaar-vrijheid-van-onderwijs>.

Klomp Creative. "Schoolstrijd – documentaire." *VIMEO*, video: 18:37, accessed January 9, 2022, <https://vimeo.com/201189517>.

MBO-Today. "Onderwijscoöperatie per 1 januari 2019 opgeheven." *MBO-today*, last modified July 10, 2018, <https://mbo-today.nl/onderwijscooperatie-per-1-januari-2019-opgeheven/>.

McGraw, Meredith, and Adam Kelsy. "Everything you need to know about the Women's March." *ABC News*, last modified January 20, 2017, <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/womens-march/story?id=44884784>.

*Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, s.v. "commemorate," accessed May 18, 2022, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/commemorate>.

Mijnschoolisuniek. "Ontdek artikel 23." *Onderwijsmuseum*, accessed April 2, 2022, <http://www.mijnschoolisuniek.nl/over-dit-project>.

NU.nl. "17 belangrijkste nieuwsmomenten van 2017 volgens NU.nl." *NU.nl*, last modified December 22, 2017, <https://www.nu.nl/jaaroverzicht2017/5061398/17-belangrijkste-nieuwsmomenten-van-2017---volgens-nunl.html>.

Redactie Nationale Onderwijsgids. "Landelijk congres over 100 jaar onderwijspacificatie." *NOG*, last modified June 2, 2017, <https://www.nationaleonderwijsgids.nl/cursussen/nieuws/39280-landelijk-congres-over-100-jaar-onderwijspacificatie.html#.WTFOrTIP9vA.twitter>.

Redactie onderwijs. "Keuze voor refo-school moet vanzelfsprekend zijn." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified May 18, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/710409-keuze-voor-refo-school-moet-vanzelfsprekend-zijn>.

Reformatorisch Dagblad. "Home." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, accessed May 16, 2022, [www.rd.nl](http://www.rd.nl).

RTV Dordrecht. "Debat over vrijheid van onderwijs." *YouTube*, video 2:54, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://youtu.be/k5cq9HFKZpU>.

RTV Dordrecht. "Ons onderwijs is uniek in de wereld." *Youtube*, video 2:53, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://youtu.be/ZTSrejD3Kcs>.

SGP. "Onze historie." *SGP*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://sgp.nl/partij/onze-historie>.

Stem van Dordt. "Tijs van Ruiten werkt al 36 jaar bij het Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum." *Indebuurt Dordrecht*, last modified November 27, 2018, <https://indebuurt.nl/dordrecht/dordtenaren/dordtenaar-van-de-week/tijs-van-ruiten-werkt-al-36-jaar-bij-het-nationaal-onderwijsmuseum~67303/>.

Stichting CBOO (@stichtingCBOO), "Profile." *Twitter*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://twitter.com/stichtingcboo>.

Uitgeverij Balans. "Over uitgeverij Balans." *Uitgeverij Balans*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.uitgeverijbalans.nl/over-balans/>.

UnieNZV. "Bestuur en directie." *UnieNZV*, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.unienzv.nl/organisatie/bestuur-en-directie/>.

UnieNZV. "Geschiedenis." *UnieNZV*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.unienzv.nl/organisatie/geschiedenis/>.

Unknown author. "Kerk en schoolnieuws zilveren schooljubileum." *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, last modified January 5, 1935, <https://www.delpher.nl/nl/kranten/view?coll=ddd&identificer=ddd%3A010673536%3Ampg21%3Aa0072>.

Unknown reporter. "Veranderde mentaliteit bedreigt christelijk onderwijs." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified March 30, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/899778-veranderde-mentaliteit-bedreigt-christelijk-onderwijs>.

Unknown. "Kamer staat stil bij jubileum Grondwetwijziging 1917." *Eerste Kamer der Staten-Generaal*, last modified December 12, 2017, [https://www.eerstekamer.nl/nieuws/20171212/kamer\\_staat\\_stil\\_bij\\_jubileum](https://www.eerstekamer.nl/nieuws/20171212/kamer_staat_stil_bij_jubileum).

Van Dale.nl Woordenboek, s.v. "herdenken," accessed May 18, 2022, <https://www.vandale.nl/gratis-woordenboek/nederlands/betekenis/herdenken#.YinJ1zXvl2w>.

VBS. "Over VBS." *VBS*, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vbs.nl/over-vbs/>.

VGS. "Wie we zijn." *VGS*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://www.vgs.nl/wie-we-zijn/>.

Verus. "Over Verus." *Verus*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.verus.nl/over-verus>.

Verus. "Verus en LVGS kiezen voor versterking diversiteit onderwijs." *Verus*, last modified October 9, 2020, <https://www.verus.nl/actueel/nieuws/verus-en-lvgs-kiezen-voor-versterking-diversiteit-onderwijs>.

Verus. "Vrijheid van onderwijs staat als een huis, maar is het huis toe aan renovatie?" *Verus*, last modified January 24, 2017, <https://www.verus.nl/actueel/nieuws/vrijheid-van-onderwijs-staat-als-een-huis-maar-is-het-huis-toe-aan-renovatie>.

Vink, Anja. "Waarom de vrijheid van onderwijs niet heilig is." *De Correspondent*, last modified April 19, 2019, <https://decorrespondent.nl/9403/waarom-de-vrijheid-van-onderwijs-niet-heilig-is/854485664384-f6b14471>.

Vogelaar, L. "Herdenkingsjaar vrijheid van onderwijs afgerond." *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified December 19, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/737708-herdenkingsjaar-vrijheid-van-onderwijs-afgerond>.

VOO. "Al sinds 1866 de openbaar onderwijsvereniging." *VOO*, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://voo.nl/over-voo/historie>.

VOS/ABB. "Conferentie 100 jaar onderwijspacificatie." *VOS/ABB*, last modified June 28, 2017, <https://www.vosabb.nl/conferentie-100-jaar-onderwijspacificatie/>.

VOS/ABB. “Kalender – Symposium ‘De staat van het openbaar onderwijs.’” VOS/ABB, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.vosabb.nl/kalender/staatvanhetopenbaaronderwijs/>.

VOS/ABB. “Symposium ‘100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid, hoe vrij is vrij?’” VOS/ABB, last modified August 14, 2017, <https://www.vosabb.nl/symposium-100-jaar-onderwijsvrijheid/>.

VOS/ABB. “Wie is VOS/ABB.” VOS/ABB, accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.vosabb.nl/over-ons/-09>.

Vroegindeweyj, Gerard. “Symposium: Overheid bemoeit zich te veel met inhoud bijzonder onderwijs.” *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified November 18, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/733754-symposium-overheid-bemoeit-zich-te-veel-met-inhoud-bijzonder-onderwijs/>.

Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. “Congres Vianen – 100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid – een geschenk.” Accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/congres-vianen.php>.

Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. “Digitaal onderwijsleerpakket – schoolstrijd en 100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid.” *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/onderwijsleerpakket.php>.

Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. “Herdenkingsdienst.” *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/herdenkingsdienst.php>.

Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. “Presentatiebijeenkomst.” *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/presentatiebijeenkomst.php>.

Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. “Symposium en boekpresentatie 100 jaar Onderwijsvrijheid: hoe vrij is vrij?” *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/symposium-hoe-vrij-is-vrij.php>.

Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. “Teamuitje ‘100 jaar vrijheid van onderwijs.’” *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, accessed May 17, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/excursie-den-haag.php>.

Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs. “Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917/2017.” *Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017*, last modified July 6, 2016, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/nieuws.php?ID=207>.

Wikipedia. “Lijst van Nederlandse staatssecretarissen van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap.” *Wikipedia*, accessed May 17, 2022, [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lijst\\_van\\_Nederlandse\\_staatssecretarissen\\_van\\_Onderwijs,\\_Cultuur\\_en\\_Wetenschap](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lijst_van_Nederlandse_staatssecretarissen_van_Onderwijs,_Cultuur_en_Wetenschap).

Wikipedia. “Roelof Bisschop.” *Wikipedia*, accessed May 20, 2022, [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roelof\\_Bisschop](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roelof_Bisschop).

Zunneberg & Ros. “Contact.” *Zunneberg & Ros tekstproducties* Accessed January 13, 2022, <https://www.zunnebergros.nl/contact/>.

## Appendix 1: Article 23 of the Dutch Constitution

1. Education shall be the constant concern of the Government.
2. All persons shall be free to provide education, without prejudice to the authorities' right of supervision and, with regard to forms of education designated by law, their right to examine the competence and moral integrity of teachers, to be regulated by Act of Parliament.
3. Education provided by public authorities shall be regulated by Act of Parliament, paying due respect to everyone's religion or belief.
4. The authorities shall ensure that primary education is provided in a sufficient number of public-authority schools in every municipality. Deviations from this provision may be permitted under rules to be established by Act of Parliament on condition that there is opportunity to receive the said form of education, whether in a public-authority school or otherwise.
5. The standards required of schools financed either in part or in full from public funds shall be regulated by Act of Parliament, with due regard, in the case of private schools, to the freedom to provide education according to religious or other belief.
6. The requirements for primary education shall be such that the standards both of private schools fully financed from public funds and of public-authority schools are fully guaranteed. The relevant provisions shall respect in particular the freedom of private schools to choose their teaching aids and to appoint teachers as they see fit.
7. Private primary schools that satisfy the conditions laid down by Act of Parliament shall be financed from public funds according to the same standards as public-authority schools. The conditions under which private secondary education and pre-university education shall receive contributions from public funds shall be laid down by Act of Parliament.
8. The Government shall submit annual reports on the state of education to the States General.<sup>119</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> Art 23. Dutch Const.



## Appendix 2: Dataset commemorations

**Date:** January 23, 2017. 14:00 – 16:30<sup>120</sup>

**Name:** Nationale Bijeenkomst Onderwijspacifcatie 1917-2017

**Place:** VU Amsterdam<sup>121</sup>

### Organizers:

- *Historisch Documentatiecentrum (HDC)*: The centre for Religious History. It uses interdisciplinary research and approaches to the history of religion in relation to culture, politics, and society.<sup>122</sup>
- *VU Amsterdam*: The Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam.

### Speakers and attendees:

- Sander Dekker. Political party: VVD. Secretary of State, primary and secondary education 2012 till 2017 (Rutte II).
- Marja van Bijsterveldt. Political party: CDA. Secretary of State, secondary education 2007 till 2010 (Balkenende IV). Minister of Education (Culture and Science) 2010 till 2012 (Rutte I).
- Tineke Netelenbos. Political party: PvdA. Secretary of State, primary education 1994 till 1998 (Kok I).
- Wim Deetman. Political party: CHU/CDA. Secretary of State, secondary education, 1981 till 1982 (van Agt II). Minister of Education and Science 1982 till 1989 (Lubbers I/II, Van Agt III).
- Jos van Kemenade. Political party: KVP/PvdA. Minister of Education and Science 1973 till 1977 and 1981 till 1982 (Den Uyl, Van Agt II).
- Jet Bussemaker. Political party: PvdA. Minister of Education (Culture and Science) 2012 till 2017 (Rutte II).
- Maria van der Hoeven. Political party: CDA. Minister of Education (Culture and Science) 2002 till 2007 (Balkenende I/II/III).
- Loek Hermans. Political party: VVD. Minister of Education (Culture and Science) 1998 till 2002 (Kok II).<sup>123</sup>
- George Harinck. Professor by special appointment of Neo Calvinistic history at Theological University of Kampen, and VU Amsterdam. Director of HDC and editor of *Jaarboek voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlands Protestantisme*.<sup>124</sup>
- Wim Kuiper. Chair Besturenraad till 2014 (former Verus). Wrote introduction to *Heer & Meester* by Wim de Jong.<sup>125</sup>
- Ron Rijnbende. Director UnieNZV.<sup>126</sup>
- Wim de Jong. historian, political philosopher, publisher. Focusses on citizenship and teaches political history at the Radboud University in Nijmegen.<sup>127</sup> Wrote the published book *Heer & Meester* for the centennial anniversary of Article 23.

### Publication: Funding *Heer & Meester*

<sup>120</sup> "Bussemaker bij Nationale bijeenkomst onderwijspacifcatie 1917-2017, Amsterdam," *Europa NU*, accessed May 16, 2022, [https://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vkb1kabjyoxh/agenda/bussemaker\\_bij\\_nationale\\_bijeenkomst?ctx=vh8lnhrouwxn&s0e=vhdubxdwqrzw&tab=1](https://www.europa-nu.nl/id/vkb1kabjyoxh/agenda/bussemaker_bij_nationale_bijeenkomst?ctx=vh8lnhrouwxn&s0e=vhdubxdwqrzw&tab=1).

<sup>121</sup> Verus "Vrijheid van onderwijs staat als een huis."

<sup>122</sup> "HDC Centre for Religious History," HDC, accessed May 16, 2022, [www.hdcvu.nl](http://www.hdcvu.nl).

<sup>123</sup> "Lijst van Nederlandse staatssecretarissen van Onderwijs Cultuur en Wetenschap," Wikipedia, accessed May 17, 2022, [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lijst\\_van\\_Nederlandse\\_staatssecretarissen\\_van\\_Onderwijs,\\_Cultuur\\_en\\_Wetenschap](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lijst_van_Nederlandse_staatssecretarissen_van_Onderwijs,_Cultuur_en_Wetenschap).

<sup>124</sup> Harinck, *Christelijk liberale synthese*, 175.

<sup>125</sup> De Jong, *Heer & Meester*, 9.

<sup>126</sup> "Bestuur en directie," UnieNZV, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.unienzv.nl/organisatie/bestuur-en-directie/>.

<sup>127</sup> De Jong, *Heer & Meester*, 197.



- *CNV Onderwijs* is a trade union for various trades including education.<sup>128</sup>
- *Verus*: Organisation for catholic and Christian education. Roughly 4000 schools of all levels are affiliated with Verus.<sup>129</sup>
- *UnieNZV*: An educational organisation, it is a merge since 2004 of Unie Christelijk Onderwijs and the Nederlandse Zondag Vereniging. They have a Christian background.<sup>130</sup>

*Date: January 27, 2017. All day*

*Name: Vianen Congress*

*Place: Vianen hotel, Utrecht*<sup>131</sup>

#### **Organizers:**

- Cooperation of several (unknown) OP educational organisations.

#### **Speakers and attendees:**

- Prof. mr. dr. B.P. (Ben) Vermeulen. Professor in Constitutional law, specifically educational law. He is also member of the Raad van State.
- Sander Dekker. Secretary of State Education (PE/SE) till 2017 (Rutte II).
- Prof. mr. dr. P.W.A. (Pieter) Huisman. Researcher at the Haagse Hogeschool and was professor educational law at Erasmus University till November 1<sup>st</sup>, 2021. Member of the Onderwijsraad.
- Prof. dr. J.C. (James) Kennedy. Dean of University College Utrecht, previous position as professor Dutch history at the University of Amsterdam (UvA).
- dr. J. (John) Exalto. University teacher educational pedagogy at VU Amsterdam. Wrote *Van wie is het kind?*
- prof. dr. W. (Wim) van Vlastuin. Professor at the Faculty of Religion and Theology at the VU. Clergyman and connected to the Theological University and Driestar Educatief.<sup>132</sup>

*Date: March 29, 2017, 14:00 – 15:30*

*Name: Presentation*

*Place: Calvijnschool, Veenendaal*<sup>133</sup>

#### **Organizers:**

- Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017: In the run up to 2017, as the anniversary year of 100-year freedom of education a workgroup/team (Werkgroep) was created to commemorate the anniversary. The Werkgroep states that 100-year Article 23 is a memorable event, because the Christian and OP education could grow to a clear and recognisable denomination. They also believe it is a disputed right, which gives all the more reason to celebrate and draw attention to freedom of education. The Werkgroep is focussed on Christian and OP education and have organised various activities throughout the year.<sup>134</sup>

#### **Speakers and attendees:**

- Marian Schalk. Writer children's books and advisor for OP schools on books.<sup>135</sup> Wrote the published children's book *Schoolstrijd*.

<sup>128</sup> CNV Connectief, "Wie we zijn."

<sup>129</sup> Verus, "Over Verus."

<sup>130</sup> UnieNZV, "Geschiedenis."

<sup>131</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Congres Vianen."

<sup>132</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>133</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Presentatiebijeenkomst."

<sup>134</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Werkgroep."

<sup>135</sup> "Schalk-Meijering, Marian," Boekenkamer, last modified April 7, 2017, <https://www.deboekenkamer.nl/auteurs/schalk-meijering-marian/>.

- Hanneke van Ekeveld. Works at Publisher de Banier.
- A.A. (Ton) van der Schans. Coördinator project Digital lessons on Schoolstrijd.
  - *Driestar Educatief*: A merger of three OP educational organisations since 2005.
- Jan de Olde. Educational designer on project Digital lessons on Schoolstrijd.<sup>136</sup>
- P. Kieviet. Digital Lessonplan worker. Unknown if he attended.

*Date: March 29, 2017, day, or afternoon*

*Name: Conference COGG*

*Place: Putten*<sup>137</sup>

#### **Organizers:**

- *Contactorgaan Gereformeerde Gezindte (COGG)*: OP organisation which goal is to provide contact between theologians with churches and other OP organisations.<sup>138</sup>

#### **Speakers and attendees:**

- Prof. dr. A. de Muynck. Professor Christian pedagogy at the Theological University in Apeldoorn.
- Ds. P van der Kraan. Chair of COGG.<sup>139</sup>
- Roelof Bisschop. SGP political party member, historian, and director in secondary education.<sup>140</sup>
  - SGP is a political party with the Bible as its centre, it is founded by ds. G.H. Kersten.<sup>141</sup>
- Prof. dr. F. A. van Lieburg. Professor of Religious history at the VU.<sup>142</sup>

*Date: May 17, 2017, day or afternoon*

*Name: Commemoration*

*Place: Sint Jans kerk, Gouda*<sup>143</sup>

#### **Organizers:**

- Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs 1917-2017.

#### **Speakers and attendees:**

- Ds. H.A. van Zetten. Chair VGS.
  - VGS: Stands for OP education. They advise schools about finances, personnel, organisational and juridical questions. They also offer administrative services and training.<sup>144</sup>
- Choir - Driestar College/PABO2 Koor Driestar Educatief.
- Drs. L.N. (Rens) Rottier. Chairman of Driestar Educatief.
  - *Driestar Educatief*: Merger of three OP educational organisations since 2005. Driestar started as an OP seminary in 1944, due to its growth it started a secondary school as well (Driestar College) and a pedagogical academy (christelijke hogeschool de Driestar). In 2003 a support centre (BGS/DGS) merged with Driestar.<sup>145</sup>
- R. (Roelof) Bisschop. SGP political party member.

<sup>136</sup> "Digitaal onderwijsleerpakket – schoolstrijd en 100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid," Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://vrijheidvanonderwijs.nl/onderwijsleerpakket.php>.

<sup>137</sup> Reformatorisch Dagblad, "Veranderende mentaliteit."

<sup>138</sup> COGG, "Doelstellingen."

<sup>139</sup> Reformatorisch Dagblad, "Veranderende mentaliteit."

<sup>140</sup> "Roelof Bisschop," Wikipedia, accessed May 20, 2022, [https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roelof\\_Bisschop](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roelof_Bisschop).

<sup>141</sup> SGP, "Onze historie," SGP, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://sgp.nl/partij/onze-historie>.

<sup>142</sup> Reformatorisch Dagblad, "Veranderende mentaliteit."

<sup>143</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Herdenkingsdienst."

<sup>144</sup> "Wie we zijn," VGS, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://www.vgs.nl/wie-we-zijn/>.

<sup>145</sup> "Driestar Educatief – organisatie," Driestar Educatief, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://www.driestar-educatief.nl/over-ons/organisatie/driestar-educatief>.

- W.B. (Wim) Kranendonk. former director of Reformatorisch Dagblad (2003 - 2017), has worked in secondary education as history and religion teacher.<sup>146</sup> Chair Werkgroep.
  - *Reformatorisch Dagblad*: OP newspaper.<sup>147</sup>
- Dr. L.D. (Leunis) van Klinken. Former primary school teacher, 1985 starts working at Ds. G.H. Kerstencentrum. Graduates in historical pedagogy at VU Amsterdam. Secretary Werkgroep.
  - *Ds. G. H. Kerstencentrum*: National organisation for educational advice and (intensive) outpatient care.<sup>148</sup>
- Drs. D. (Daan) Vogelaar. Previous teacher and director of various OP secondary schools.<sup>149</sup>

**Publication:** *Funding Om een eigen school*

- Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs.
- *De Banier*: is the publishing company, they publish books on theology, fiction (church) historical stories, family, ethical issues.<sup>150</sup>

*Date: September 3, 2017, 19:30*

*Name: Small debate*

*Place: Wartburg College, Dordrecht*<sup>151</sup>

**Organizers:**

- Wartburg College, OP secondary school, location Marnix in Dordrecht.

**Speakers and attendees:**

- Roelof Bisschop. SGP political party member.
- Marleen Lammers. Policy officer at VOS/ABB.
- Pieter Verhoeve. Mayor of Oudewater and ex-teacher at Wartburg College.<sup>152</sup>

*Date: September 6, 2017, afternoon*

*Name: Opening exposition Vrijheid Blijheid*

*Place: Hof van NLD, Dordrecht*<sup>153</sup>

**Organizers:**

- *Hof van NLD*: museum in Dordrecht dedicated to freedom and its history from various perspectives.
- *Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum*: in Dordrecht, a museum dedicated to educational history and research.<sup>154</sup>

**Speakers and attendees:**

<sup>146</sup> Jan van 't Hul, "Scheidend RD-hoofdredacteur Kranendonk: boodschapper voor eigen kring," *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, last modified March 3, 2017, <https://www.rd.nl/artikel/700030-scheidend-rd-hoofdredacteur-kranendonk-boodschapper-voor-eigen-kring>.

<sup>147</sup> "Home," *Reformatorisch Dagblad*, accessed May 16, 2022, [www.rd.nl](http://www.rd.nl).

<sup>148</sup> Dijkhuizen, "Onderwijsman van Klinken."

<sup>149</sup> Dijkhuizen, "De man van het midden."

<sup>150</sup> *De Banier*, "Uitgeverij de Banier."

<sup>151</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Debat."

<sup>152</sup> Idem.

<sup>153</sup> RTV Dordrecht, "Ons onderwijs is uniek."

<sup>154</sup> Idem.

- Marjan Hammersma. Secretary general of ministry of Education.<sup>155</sup>
- Tijs van Ruiten. Former director of Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum till December 31 2018.<sup>156</sup>
- Bea Ros. Adjunct head-director of Didactief. Partner in text bureau with Peter Zunneberg.
- Peter Zunneberg. Art historian and journalist. Partner in text bureau with Bea Ros, specialised in education, culture, literature and history.<sup>157</sup>

**Publication:** Funding *Schoolvoorbeelden*

- *OnderwijsCoöperatie*: Cooperation for education, it was disbanded in 2019.<sup>158</sup>
- *Didactief Online*: Independent education magazine, with a goal to make accessible contemporary research available for everyone in education.<sup>159</sup>
- Geert Ten Dam (V, 1958). Professor at UvA, previous chair of Onderwijsraad till 2014.<sup>160</sup>

*Date: September 9, 2019, 13:15 – 16:15*

*Name: Symposium: hoe vrij is vrij*

*Place: Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, Dordrecht*<sup>161</sup>

**Organizers:**

- Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum.

**Attendees and speakers:**

- Tijs van Ruiten. Previous director Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum.
- Dr. Jacques Dane. Historian and head collection and research of Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum, columnist for Didactief.<sup>162</sup>
- Prof. dr. Fred van Lieburg. Professor of religious history at VU Amsterdam.
- Dr. John Exalto. University teacher educational pedagogy VU.
- Prof. dr. Sjoerd Karsten. Professor at UvA in Educational Sciences.
- Prof dr. Dr. Piet de Rooy. Professor of history at UvA.<sup>163</sup>

**Publication:** Funding *Van wie is het Kind?*

- Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs.
- Verus.
- Stichting Steunfonds Christelijk Onderwijs.
- Hoornbeek College.<sup>164</sup>
- *Uitgeverij Balans*: Publishing company for high non-fiction, history, politics, economics, (auto)biographies, journalism, culture, religion, ethics, psychology, and other societal relevant subjects.<sup>165</sup>

*Date: September 13, 2017. 13:00 – 16:30*

<sup>155</sup> Idem.

<sup>156</sup> Stem van Dordt, "Tijs van Ruiten werkt al 36 jaar bij het Nationaal Onderwijsmuseum," *Indebuurt Dordrecht*, last modified November 27, 2018, <https://indebuurt.nl/dordrecht/dordtenaren/dordtenaar-van-de-week/tijs-van-ruiten-werkt-al-36-jaar-bij-het-nationaal-onderwijsmuseum~67303/>.

<sup>157</sup> Zunneberg & Ros, "Contact."

<sup>158</sup> MBO-Today, "Onderwijscoöperatie."

<sup>159</sup> DidactiefOnline, "Over ons."

<sup>160</sup> Zunneberg and Ros, *Schoolvoorbeelden*, 8.

<sup>161</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Symposium en boekpresentatie."

<sup>162</sup> "Blog Jacques Dane," Didactief, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://didactiefonline.nl/blog/jacques-dane>.

<sup>163</sup> Werkgroep Vrijheid van Onderwijs, "Symposium en boekpresentatie."

<sup>164</sup> Exalto, *Van wie is het kind?*, 229

<sup>165</sup> Balans, "Over uitgeverij Balans."

*Name: Symposium: De staat van het Onderwijs*

*Place: De Observant, Amersfoort<sup>166</sup>*

#### **Organizers:**

- *VOS/ABB*: An organisation for boards, management in public/general education. They are affiliated with 255 boards with roughly 1900 schools. They are also connected to 21 municipalities and partners with 39 in special education. They offer advice on identity, advocacy, and support.<sup>167</sup>
- *VOO*: Vereniging Openbaar Onderwijs, states that they are the organisation for public education. They were founded in 1866 after “discussions about and attacks on public education in the Netherlands” and were known as Vereniging Volksonderwijs. Departments of the organisations were founded across the Netherlands.<sup>168</sup>
- *CBOO*: A national platform for public education.<sup>169</sup>

#### **Speakers and attendees:**

- Not found

**Publication:** *Writers Onderwijs om te koesteren: De staat van het Onderwijs*

- Ritske van der Veen. Former director VOS/ABB, 2009-2017.
- Rob Limper. Former director VOO, 1989-2011.
- Sjaak Braster. Researcher at Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Betsy Claassen. Former pupil in Leiden, one of the first black people in Dutch schools.
- Anja Vink. Educational journalist.
- Dick van Rijs. Primary school director.
- Jessie Koene-Pijpers. Former teacher at Catholic school.
- Peter van Dijk. School director.
- Piet Feld. Researcher.
- Vincent Stolk. University teacher.
- Bart Ongerling. School teacher.
- Sevilay Dalli. Coach manager.
- Sofyan Mbarki. Former pupil at Islamic primary school, teacher at public school.
- Kirsja Oudshoorn. Employee of Amnesty International.
- Denise Schulte. PABO student, teaches at public school.
- Rob Tielman.
- Wiel Veugelers. Professor.
- Bram Eidhof. Researcher.
- Nico Stuij. Director Centrum voor Humanistische Vorming.
- Lizzy Wijnen. Educational scientist.
- Manuela Kalsky. Theologian.
- Matthias Kaljouw. Researcher.<sup>170</sup>

*Date: September 25, 201, all day*

*Name: Bike Relay*

*Place: various villages, ending in Zwolle<sup>171</sup>*

<sup>166</sup> Nationale Onderwijsgids, “Landelijk congres.”

<sup>167</sup> VOS/ABB, “Wie is VOS/ABB.”

<sup>168</sup> VOO, “de openbare onderwijsvereniging.”

<sup>169</sup> CBOO, “Profile.”

<sup>170</sup> Breemer, *Onderwijs om te koesteren*, 2-9.

<sup>171</sup> Kieft, “Basisschoolleerlingen fietsen estafette.”

**Organizers:**

- The OP schools in area, unknown.

*Date: November 17, 2017, day, or afternoon*

*Name: Nationaal Congres 100 jaar onderwijsvrijheid*

*Place: Landgoed Zonneheuvel, Doorn<sup>172-173</sup>*

**Organizers:**

- *VOS/ABB*: An organisation for boards, management in public/general education.
- *ISBO*: The Islamic Board Organisation, 42 of 52 Islamic schools are associated with them. They offer juridical support, support for identity and culture education.<sup>174</sup>
- *LVGS*: Landelijk Verband van Gereformeerde Schoolvereniging, is a lobby organisation for OP education. Since 2011 they worked together with Verus, and since 2020 they have merged with Verus.<sup>175</sup>
- *VBS*: Organisation for general private education in primary, secondary and special education.<sup>176</sup>
- *Verus*: located in Woerden and an organisation for catholic and Christian education. Roughly 4000 schools of all levels are affiliated with Verus. The organisation wants to inspire, help, and support all those connected to schools. Their focus is on (Christian) inspired good education and the freedom of education.<sup>177</sup>
- *VGS*: Vereniging voor Gereformeerd Schoolonderwijs, stands for OP education. They advise schools about finances, personnel, organisational and juridical questions. They also offer administrative services and training. VGS has been founded by ds. G.H. Kersten in 1921, and he was chair until his death in 1948. At first the board was made up of people only from one OP denomination, but later the board exists of multiple OP denominations.<sup>178</sup>

**Speakers and attendees:**

- Prof. mr. dr. B.P. (Ben) Vermeulen. Professor educational law, and member Raad van State.
- Maarten Simons. Head of Education and Society at KU Leuven.
- Henriëtte Maassen van den Brink. Professor Evidence based education at University Maastricht, chair Onderwijsraad.
- Farid Tabarki. Trendwatcher.
- Prof. Mieke Laemers. Professor educational law at VU Amsterdam.
- Prof. Huisman. Professor educational law at VU Amsterdam.
- M.J.R. (Michel) Rog. CDA member of the Tweede Kamer.
- René Kneyber. Member of the Onderwijsraad.<sup>179</sup>

*Date: November 29, 2017, day, or afternoon*

*Name: Congress: 100 jaar onderwijspacificatie 1917-2017*

*Place: Eerste Kamer, The Hague<sup>180</sup>*

<sup>172</sup> VOS/ABB, "Conferentie 100 jaar."

<sup>173</sup> Vroegindeweyj, "Overheid bemoeit zich te veel."

<sup>174</sup> ISBO, "Home," ISBO, accessed May 20, 2022, <https://deisbo.nl/>.

<sup>175</sup> "Verus en LVGS kiezen voor versterking diversiteit onderwijs," *Verus*, last modified October 9, 2020, <https://www.verus.nl/actueel/nieuws/verus-en-lvgs-kiezen-voor-versterking-diversiteit-onderwijs>.

<sup>176</sup> "Over VBS," VBS, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://vbs.nl/over-vbs/>.

<sup>177</sup> Verus, "Over Verus."

<sup>178</sup> VGS, "Wie we zijn."

<sup>179</sup> VOS/ABB, "Conferentie 100 jaar."

<sup>180</sup> "Congres 100 jaar Pacificatie," Historici.nl, accessed May 16, 2022, <https://www.historici.nl/event/congres-100-jaar-pacificatie/?type=agenda>.

**Organizers:**

- *HDC*: centre for Religious History. It uses interdisciplinary research and approaches to the history of religion in relation to culture, politics, and society.
- *Centrum voor Parlementaire Geschiedenis*: scientific research in the field of politics, policy, and management of the Netherlands after 1945. Part of Radboud University Nijmegen.
- *Katholiek Documentatiecentrum*: archival collection of catholic history. Part of Radboud University Nijmegen.<sup>181</sup>

**Speakers and attendees:**

- Alexander van Kessel. Senior researcher CPG.
- Friso Wielenga. Professor at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster.
- George Harinck. Professor of Neo-calvinistic history at the VU.
- Patrick van Schie. Director TeldersStichting The Hague.
- Harm Kaal. University teacher political history Radboud University.
- Margit van der Steen. University teacher Dutch history at University of Leiden.
- Ernst Hirsch Ballin. Professor of human rights law at Tilburg University.
- Jeffrey Tyssens. Professor of contemporary history at VU Brussel.<sup>182</sup>
- Roel Kuiper (M). Member of Senate, ChristenUnie.
- Paul Schnabel (M). Member of Senate, D66.<sup>183</sup>

*Date: December 12, 2017, short mention*

*Name: Eerste Kamer commemoration*

*Place: Eerste Kamer, The Hague<sup>184</sup>*

**Organizers**

- Eerste Kamer (Senate) of the Dutch Parliament.

**Speakers and attendees:**

- Ankie Broekers-Knol. Chair of Senate.
- Rest of the Senate.

---

<sup>181</sup> Harinck, *Christelijk-liberale synthese*, 9.

<sup>182</sup> Harinck, *Christelijk liberale synthese*, 175.

<sup>183</sup> Historici.nl, "Congres 100 jaar."

<sup>184</sup> Eerste Kamer, "Kamer staat stil."