The colonial state of mind

Postcolonial relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia
Nijmegen and Surabaya

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"The past is not dead. It is not even past"

Faulkner, 2004

Foreword

The past few months were different than ever before. After I completed my bachelor within the field of spatial planning with the Saxion University of Applied Science, the Radboud University in Nijmegen granted me with a whole new experience. It was last September that I started the pre-master programme of human geography. In reflecting on this last year I can say without any doubt that both semesters were truly inspiring.

During my stay in Indonesia I already knew that some day I would return to this country that I had learned to appreciate in many ways. My last study in Surabaya (Indonesia) was mainly focused on kampong development in and around the city. Very different compared to this project, were the central theme is the postcolonial relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Both studies formed me as a person and as an academic to be. In regard of both the given opportunity and support I would like to thank some important people for stimulating my thoughts and moving them in a workable direction.

In Indonesia I would like to pay tribute to Professor Johan Silas in providing me with a workplace in his lab at the ITS University and numerous relevant thoughts in conducting interviews and set a delineated framework regarding the theory. Furthermore my appreciation goes to all my colleagues with the ITS University that helped me with the interviews and relevant literature and gave me the feeling of being home again. Special regards go to Thomas Silas and Sofia Kuntjoro for their love and hospitality whenever I am in Surabaya. Also I would like to thank everyone who took the effort and time to function as a respondent in my interviews, in both Nijmegen and Surabaya.

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For now I wish to you all the excitement in reading this thesis.

Stan Crienen, Nijmegen

Summary

This bachelor thesis deals with the question which influences historical and geographical characteristics in Nijmegen and Surabaya have on how respectively people from Nijmegen and Surabaya look back and interpret the colonial time in defining their view on the current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia.

In both my own experience in Indonesia as for the upcoming media attention lately it is noticeable that the relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia, regarding the Dutch colonial period in retrospect, is getting interesting. After a long period of Dutch occupation in Indonesia till approximately 1949, present collaboration between both nations intensified over the last few years. Leaving question marks regarding their relationship during the period of the so-called 'decolonisation' from 1949 till 2012. This interesting development raises certain questions and arouses curiosity, on personal level, about the mind set from the present towards the Dutch colonial time. From both the Dutch and the Indonesian perspective it is a fascinating issue.

In regard of the colonial time you will find certain geographical characteristics with historical relevance in both cities, focusing on Nijmegen in the Netherlands and Surabaya in Indonesia. In writing this thesis I want to find out what the Indonesians and the Dutch think of each other in the context of the Dutch colonial time. Interesting is the question how these people interpret their history on this matter and how physical geographical objects with historical relevance in the direct environment, as for example architecture, influence their mind set. These current developments make the discussion of a present colonial relationship very urgent in both social and scientific interest. Dutch colonial influences still could have visible present characteristics that refer to the colonial history between both countries. This raises the question if there is still any colonial thought and influence recognizable? In this respect I studied whether certain geographical characteristics have influence on how the Indonesian people look back and interpret the colonial time and thus their current view and opinion about the Dutch, and vice versa.

The goal of this research is to develop theories and insights on how citizens from Nijmegen and Surabaya, in presence of historical and geographical characteristics, look back on the colonial time by defining their view on the current relation between the Indonesians and the Dutch.

The research methodology embraces strategies such as observations grounded theory, to analyse empirical data, and desk research, in exploring the field of postcolonial theory related to the theme of this thesis. The strategy desk research will be used to elaborate on the theory of postcolonialism while the strategy grounded theory compares different observations with theoretical principles to describe similarities, differences and discrepancies distilled from empirical data in order to complement on the existing theory. The research methods beyond the strategy desk research will involve archival and documentary research and audio and video analyses. The strategy grounded theory will contain research methods like (open and half-structured) interviews, observations and also archival and documentary research and audio and video analyses.

The theory of postcolonialism in this thesis is concerned with the impact of colonialism on western and non-western cultures and societies and aims to 'decolonise the mind' from ethnocentrism of

dominant western culture and society, in striving for overall human equality. In this the past en the present are closely interwoven. In order to understand the present in dealing with the possibility of neo-colonial powerrelation, the past reveals and (re)constructs what is important to consider. The term decolonisation is multi-interpretable and hard to pin down in time. Decolonisation refers to the process of disremembering regarding what happened in the colonial period.

In the theory there is no absolute consensus about the symbolic value of historical colonial buildings. At the same time the approach towards history, in order to decolonise, addresses to multiple perspectives. On the one hand it is argued that one should create its own history, where on the other a shared and more parallel history is at stake. Resulting in a shared path in the process of decolonisation regarding both the coloniser and the colonized.

In respect of the current relation between the (former) coloniser and (former) colonised, even nowadays the colonised are represented in terms of 'lazy' and 'indolent'. This refers to a certain orientalistic representation of the former colonized. Different than in the Netherlands it is argued that on personal level the Indonesians forgave and often forgot. The overall memory to the Dutch occupation will fade away. In a developing Indonesia, aware of its own strength to build the future, the historical connection to the Netherlands is no longer of great importance.

Empirical findings show that there is more visible colonial reference in Surabaya than in Nijmegen. This quantitative exposure has a consequence in affecting the possibility and opportunity for citizens to confront themselves (even unconsciously) with historical objects referring to the colonial period. In Surabaya you are more easily confronted to these objects than in Nijmegen. Surabaya has multiple colonial buildings that are recognised as important colonial heritage, preserved by governmental and institutional co-operation. In contrast to Nijmegen, which has only one location with three buildings functioning as monumental memory to the colonial period. These are the objects that openly and purposefully serve to let citizens remember what happened. The colonial buildings in Surabaya serve this purpose much more than the colonial reference in Nijmegen.

Change of functions regarding colonial heritage is visible in both cities and moves away from the thought that these buildings represent the colonial past. Changing the function of a building, in this sense, is a step within the process of decolonisation.

In both interest in the colonial period as awareness of existing colonial heritage, people in Surabaya are much more concerned and better informed. The leading statement, in both cities, is that historical reference in architecture is important. In Nijmegen, it is partly suggested that colonialism is the past, thus advocating remembering is not necessary. Despite this, Nijmegen needs more historical reference to this colonial period in order to remember. This contradiction is also noticeable in Surabaya. Where on the one hand remembering is essential, and on the other forgetting is necessary. In this you can sense certain ignorance in approaching the concept of decolonisation.

From the perspective of Nijmegen, the current relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians is a healthy one. In a sense this is comparable with the relation between the Netherlands and Germany. This similarity in looking at both relationships is concerned with certain empathy in understanding how people react on events in difficult periods, like war and colonialism. Indonesians, in general, do not have negative feelings regarding the colonial period anymore. Although a distinction is made between 'young'

and 'old', where the younger ones are more positive and care less about the colonial period than older Indonesians. The unavoidable consequence of this finding is that more people over time, even unconsciously, forget or avoid certain aspects, events, and happenings of the Dutch colonial period.

Till now, colonial heritage remains only by physical appearance, meaning that their original functions have changed and adapted for modern use, continuing the process of decolonisation in both cities. Decolonisation, as a multiple interpretable term striving for human equality, refers on the one hand to the process of disremembering (negative) events from the colonial period, where, on the other, it is combining different worldviews and understand shared history from both perspectives. A dualistic perspective is created where they want move on and forget about the colonial past, and, where remembering the colonial period is needed, from the perspective of the colonial period as an important historical event. In this sense theory, as well as empirical findings, remains divided in approaching decolonisation. Although a brave and unprejudiced attitude in looking back at the colonial period as an important historical event, there is, even unconsciously, a strong emotional drive that refers to the feeling that some negative historical events must be forgotten. It leaves the issue of why decolonisation still continues and why consensus in approaching this process is not achieved yet.

In elaborating further on the process and perception of decolonisation some elucidations or directions of thought are being explored. This dualism in approaching the importance of remembering the colonial period and thus the relevance of the preservation of historical heritage is slowly shifting towards the notion of forgetting. Younger people, or new generations, are less concerned in dealing with the colonial period. If you relate this perspective of younger people to their past experiences it is noticeable that they did not personally witnessed periods of war and occupation. While former generations, with some exceptions, did experience periods of similar events, resulting in negative memories of history. Radical historical events influence the way in which people deal with the present. The current generation has a more optimistic view and a whole different approach in dealing with the past.

Regarding the change of functions of colonial buildings, in order to continue the process of decolonisation, a noteworthy development after 1945 could clarify this phenomenon. After the German occupation in the Netherlands (1945) many buildings, camps and areas, used by the Germans, were quickly reused by the Dutch by giving them new functions. As a spatial planner I pin down this fast transformation of spatial objects as something characteristic in Dutch planning systems. For example the KNIL barracks, described as colonial heritage for the city of Nijmegen, never existed without a function (Wachelder, 2008). In Indonesia, however, this is different. Every colonial reference, as described in this thesis, has still a function that refers to the colonial period. Whether it is the function of business, office use, or museum. All in some relation and purpose to remember Dutch colonial occupation. Regarding this discrepancy it could be argued that the Dutch started to decolonise, or disremember, much earlier than the Indonesians, influencing their present attitude in looking back at the colonial period.

Despite the colonial buildings in Surabaya serve the purpose of actual heritage much more than in Nijmegen, empirical findings in both cities indicate physical preservation to be of high value. Acknowledging the importance of remembering colonial history. An explanation to this representation of higher value in Surabaya could be that Indonesia functioned as the location for the war. Or, the place of significance; 'where it all happened'. Physical and emotional impact had a much greater effect on the

direct environment and people involved. Still, Nijmegen claims that it needs more physical reference to remember and educate its citizens.

Today, colonial memories are investigated again and will certainly arouse emotions, from positive to negative, among people in both the Netherlands and Indonesia. Both the Netherlands and Indonesia state this is to rethink certain colonial events in framing a correct historical narrative and repair actions of wrongdoing in both perspectives. From this point of view it shows the practice of postcolonialism, where shared history is understand and becomes known in striving for human equality. Despite the fact a shared history involves a joint narrative, it, of course, is still divided by two (or more) storylines from different perspectives. In order to deal with the assignment in comparing multiple narratives, a notion of contrapuntal reading will be involved. The effect of using contrapuntal reading, as an equal approach in respecting and taking into account perspectives and beliefs regarding past and present of both places, will have a certain influence on both societies. By looking at both intertwined histories, the perspectives and beliefs from both the Netherlands and Indonesia are considered to be equal.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation

In writing this thesis I want to find out what the Indonesians and the Dutch think of each other in the context of the Dutch colonial time. Interesting is the question how these people interpret their history on this matter and how physical geographical objects in the direct environment influence their mind set. Could there still be a present colonial effect?

Preparatory in revealing the context and content regarding this research, the motivation will first be described. During my study in 2010 in Surabaya, Indonesia, I lived for six months with local people who guided me through their country. The journey was overwhelming and I really felt connected to the people –their openness, their appreciation, their love for Indonesia and their affection with the Netherlands- I was honestly inspired. Back in the Netherlands I witnessed the performance of Diederik van Vleuten in his, nationally well known, show 'Daar werd wat groots verricht'. Diederik described the story of his uncle Jan, who lived in Indonesia during the Dutch colonial time. It was a really catchy and emotional performance that provided a specific perspective in this broad historical event. The personal message, with the purpose to enlarge awareness of this period of time, aroused me in a sense that my experience in Indonesia, in relation to Diederik's show, made me think about the mind set from the present towards the Dutch colonial time. From both the Dutch and the Indonesian perspective it is an interesting topic. This raised a few questions: How do people from both countries look back on this intense period? Do the Indonesians might think different than the Dutch, regarding the colonial time?

My own experience conceals a certain view on this matter. During my study for half a year in Indonesia I experienced and discussed some relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia on different levels of society. In addition to this observation some relevant insights from the inspiring work of Pieke Hooghoff in 'Bandoeng aan de Waal' provided a concrete and tangible view on this relationship in the perspective of postcolonialism, which is the central theory in this thesis. In further elaborating within this theme, databases from national newspapers and online news articles exposed some new perspective on the relation and collaboration between the Netherlands and Indonesia over the last few years.

1.2 Current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia

Indonesia and the Netherlands are recently trying to intensify their collaboration. According to the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Netherlands and Indonesia will co-operate more in the coming years in the field of sustainable trade and production, water management and juridical issues (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 2011a). To sustain this relationship the Dutch government invests €50 million. The Minister for European Affairs and International Cooperation Ben Knapen states in this article that the Netherlands and Indonesia are strategic partners and know each other well. In both countries many companies and organizations are able to find each other easily. In the sense of sustainable trade and production the Netherlands is an important importer of products such as cocoa, coffee, tea, spices, palm oil, timber and fish. To sustain this trade both the Netherlands and Indonesia benefit. Beneficial for the

Netherlands is of course the assurance to import those products, were the Indonesians should value their improvement in income (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 2011c). A second concrete example is the construction of a 36 kilometer long dyke that the Indonesian coastal city of Jakarta should protect against flooding (Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken, 2011b). According to Ben Knapen mainly Dutch companies are involved during the construction because of their specific, and therefore famous, knowledge. In Linda Tuhiwai Smith's book *Decolonizing Methodologies* she states that research and technological advances by Western corporations and governments fail to recognize indigenous belief, systems and knowledge, and consequently continues colonialism to have profound impact on local people (Wilson, 2001, p. 215; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Another current debate is on the question whether it is ethical to sell Dutch combat tanks to Indonesia (Volkskrant, 2012). Since the Indonesian army is involved in violating human rights, political and moral issues are at stake. Judging the moral aspects of human rights certainly affects this relationship and thus collaboration.

Collaboration between the Netherlands and Indonesia will grow in the following years, as is predicted. Based on the previous sources it is possible that certain events will create more tension in this relationship. So why intensify this collaboration now, after years of minimal political interaction between the two nations? A few years after the independence of Indonesia, the relationship between Indonesia and the Netherlands was, since 1956, mainly based on the commercial level instead of political. Former Dutch-Indies companies and entrepreneurs became fully Indonesian. They became competitors for purely Dutch companies and entrepreneurs in Indonesia (Alberts, 1968, p. 122). Or as Masselman states in 1963 in writing that "The era of modern colonialism is today drawing to a close, but the problems left in its wake will make themselves felt for a long time to come" (Masselman, 1963, p. vi). Could it have a connection to what happened in Rawagede? The Dutch authorities recently apologized for a massacre in the Indonesian village Rawagede (Algemeen Dagblad, 2011a). Dutch colonial soldiers killed in 1947 hundreds of men in the tiny village on Java. Until now, the Dutch state has never been convicted for this crime. Nine relatives of victims of the massacre get a significant financial compensation. A member of the Dutch parliament stated that these excuses are not only important for the families and their community but also for the way the Dutch look back at the settlement of their colonial past (Algemeen Dagblad, 2011b).

These current developments make the discussion of a present colonial relationship very urgent in both social and scientific interest. Dutch influences still could have characteristics that refer to the colonial history between both countries. This raises the question if there is still any colonial thought and influence recognizable? The following paragraph elaborates on this topic.

1.3 Colonial characteristics

The colonial time regarding the Netherlands and Indonesia leaves many visible traces in the present situation. History reveals these immense physical and non-physical interventions in both countries.

To start with Indonesia, where on national level a few major influences still are recognizable. Names of towns and villages, the Dutch language, penal law and governance are just a few Dutch influences of the colonial time, which still serve in Indonesia (Kromhout & Evrengün, 2004). In addition, my experience during my stay in Indonesia broadens this perspective. Based on observations, discussions and emotions I can say that in Surabaya there are just a few physical Dutch influences noticeable. Most

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architecture was demolished in the time of Soekarno to make the Indonesian people feel that they are true Indonesians, and not Dutch. Sustained are a few Dutch colonial buildings in the old city centre of Surabaya, currently historical heritage. However, despite the demolition of some physical evidence of the colonial time, most of the people I spoke were aware of this colonial age and do see the benefits of the Dutch invasion. At that time it was impossible for me to go beyond this superficial perspective.

Like Indonesia, the Netherlands were also influenced by the colonial time. In his book 'Bandoeng aan de Waal' Pieke Hooghoff (2000) describes this influence in the Dutch city of Nijmegen. What is actually left are certain names of streets all over Nijmegen referring to the colonial time. Typically a few in the neighbourhood named after Java.

Thus, in regard of the colonial time you will find geographical characteristics with historical relevance in certain areas in both countries, focusing on Nijmegen in the Netherlands and Surabaya in Indonesia. In terms of a sustainable relationship, as is referred to in paragraph one, colonial thought is not desirable. In this respect I studied whether these geographical characteristics have influence on how the Indonesian people look back and interpret the colonial time and thus their current view and opinion about the Dutch, and vice versa.

1.4 Central research question and goal

The Dutch colonial time in Indonesia is a historical event. However, still some (neo)colonial characteristics can be derived from a geographical notion, publications in the media and personal observations. Despite a natural moral attitude against colonialism in the Dutch society and the perception that Indonesia did break loose from the Dutch occupiers (Colombijn, 2010, p. 404-412), the search for present colonial influences through empirical research could reveal new insights describing the relationship between the Dutch and the Indonesians after the colonial time. This is important in the sense of human equality without colonial thoughts as a base for a sustainable relationship between the two nations in continuing a fruitful collaboration. The aim of this research is to reflect which effects new empirical data have on the theory of postcolonialism. Of course studying both nations of Indonesia and the Netherlands is not feasible within the timeframe of four months. Therefore this study is limited to the city of Nijmegen in the Netherlands and the city of Surabaya in Indonesia. Fieldwork regarding this study is conducted in these two cities. The motivation for Nijmegen and Surabaya is my personal knowledge about these cities in the sense of routes, architecture, inhabitants, the way of life, language, etc.

The goal of this research is to develop theories and insights on how citizens from Nijmegen and Surabaya, in presence of historical and geographical characteristics, look back on the colonial time by defining their view on the current relation between the Indonesians and the Dutch.

Research question: Which influences do historical and geographical characteristics in Nijmegen and Surabaya have on how respectively people from Nijmegen and Surabaya look back and interpret the colonial time in defining their view on the current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia?

Operationalized research questions:

1. Fieldwork in the Netherlands: Which influences do historical and geographical characteristics from Nijmegen have on how people from <u>Nijmegen</u> look back and interpret the colonial time in defining their view on the current relation between the Indonesians and the Dutch?

2. Fieldwork in Indonesia: Which influences do historical and geographical characteristics from Surabaya have on how people from <u>Surabaya</u> look back and interpret the colonial time in defining their view on the current relation between the Indonesians and the Dutch?

Sub-questions:

1. What are relevant historical and geographical characteristics in Nijmegen and Surabaya?
2. What do people from Nijmegen and Surabaya think about the colonial time?
3. How do people from Nijmegen and Surabaya react on historical and geographical effects referring to the colonial time?

These sub-questions are implemented to generate a certain pattern throughout this thesis. Not to be answered or discussed in the final conclusions, but rather give rational meaning to the choice and chronological order of chapters, keeping them in context.

1.5 Methodology

There are a few strategies to perform research. According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007) there are a few main strategies to follow: survey, experiment, casestudy, grounded theory and desk research. Which of these can be used in this research depends on some criteria in positioning this research. Here, a notion should be dropped that there is not always a best design in conducting (empirical) research in social science; rather, it is a matter of considering alternatives, and adopting a strategy that will provide valuable data to answer the research question at hand (Golledge & Stimson, 1997, p. 10).

In attempting to answer the research question(s) an order of phases will lead to a workable strategy. First a certain place needs to be set within the framework of research. In the sense of historical and geographical characteristics the two city's Nijmegen in the Netherlands and Surabaya in Indonesia already suffice these tangible and observable features. Therefore the practical focus will be located in different areas within these cities where such characteristics are observable. Secondly the aim of this research is to link the theory of postcolonialism to the practice of postcolonial research. This requires the combination of desk research to unravel the theory, and empirical research regarding the practice of postcolonial research. In revealing a retrospective view and state of mind in looking back and interpreting the colonial time, information in depth, rather than a width perspective is required. In getting the essential information it is necessary to touch the emotions and feelings of people in order to pull the deep and perhaps suppressed ways of thinking. Especially when referring to the colonial time which only the older people underwent. Besides, the focus of qualitative research is the search for patterns of certain motives between individuals. For these reasons it is preferably to use qualitative research instead of quantitative research.

The strategies that will be used in this research are grounded theory and desk research. The strategies survey and experiment are excluded because of their quantitative emphasis and casestudy is

too much focused on the practice and not, like grounded theory, designed to form a theory. In summarizing this the strategy desk research will be used to elaborate on the theory of postcolonialism while the strategy grounded theory compares different observations with theoretical principles to describe similarities, differences and discrepancies distilled from empirical data in order to complement on the existing theory.

The methods beyond the strategy desk research, to elaborate on the postcolonial theory, will involve archival and documentary research and audio and video analyses. The strategy grounded theory will contain research methods like (open and half-structured) interviews, observations and also archival and documentary research and audio and video analyses (Creswell, 2007). This last research method is involved to link literature and documentaries (like the current documentary on national television by Adriaan van Dis called 'Van Dis in Indonesie') parallel to the empirical data. By observations I mean physical features such as architecture, streets and squares. In Nijmegen this refers to the neighbourhood called after Java, some former barracks from The Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger; KNIL), street names and other architectural objects and art which are described in 'Bandoeng aan de Waal' from Pieke Hooghoff. In Surabaya you will find large squares and recognizable architecture from the Dutch colonial time. For example the Governors Office, different trade and bank offices, and Majapahit hotel (Oranje Hotel, which decorates the cover of this thesis) are buildings from the same colonial period.

Based on techniques from Verschuren and Doorewaard (2007) and Ullah (2010) I constructed a conceptual research model visible in figure 1.1, showing a schematic overview of this research. Starting from the top with the research question and moving lower towards the essence of this thesis, which is a schematic reconstruction of the research question. From here the data collection can initiate. Observations, firstly, reveal historical and geographical characteristics referring to the colonial time. Secondly, interviews will give direct insight on what the inhabitants from Nijmegen and Surabaya think and know in regard of the research question. Thirdly, archival and documentary research involves the connection between audio and video analysis with the empirical results from the interviews and observations. The obtained data is then analysed using grounded theory as a qualitative inquiry. And fourth, desk research will iteratively elaborate on the postcolonial theory. In order to expand the postcolonial theory the empirical pieces of the analysed data are linked to the postcolonial theory, resulting in the goal of this research.

Research question: Which influences do historical and geographical characteristics in Nijmegen and Surabaya have on how respectively people from Nijmegen and Surabaya look back and interpret the colonial time in defining their view on the current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia?

Dutch colonial time

Indonesia

View on their relationship

The Netherlands

Historical and geographical characteristics

Data collection:
- Observations
- Interviews
- Archival and documentary research

Data collection:
- Desk research

Qualitative data analysis using grounded theory

Postcolonial theory

Interpreting data and linking empirical conclusions with postcolonial theory.

The goal of this research is to develop theories and insights on how citizens from Nijmegen and Surabaya, in presence of historical and geographical characteristics, look back on the colonial time by defining their view on the current relation between the Indonesians and the Dutch.
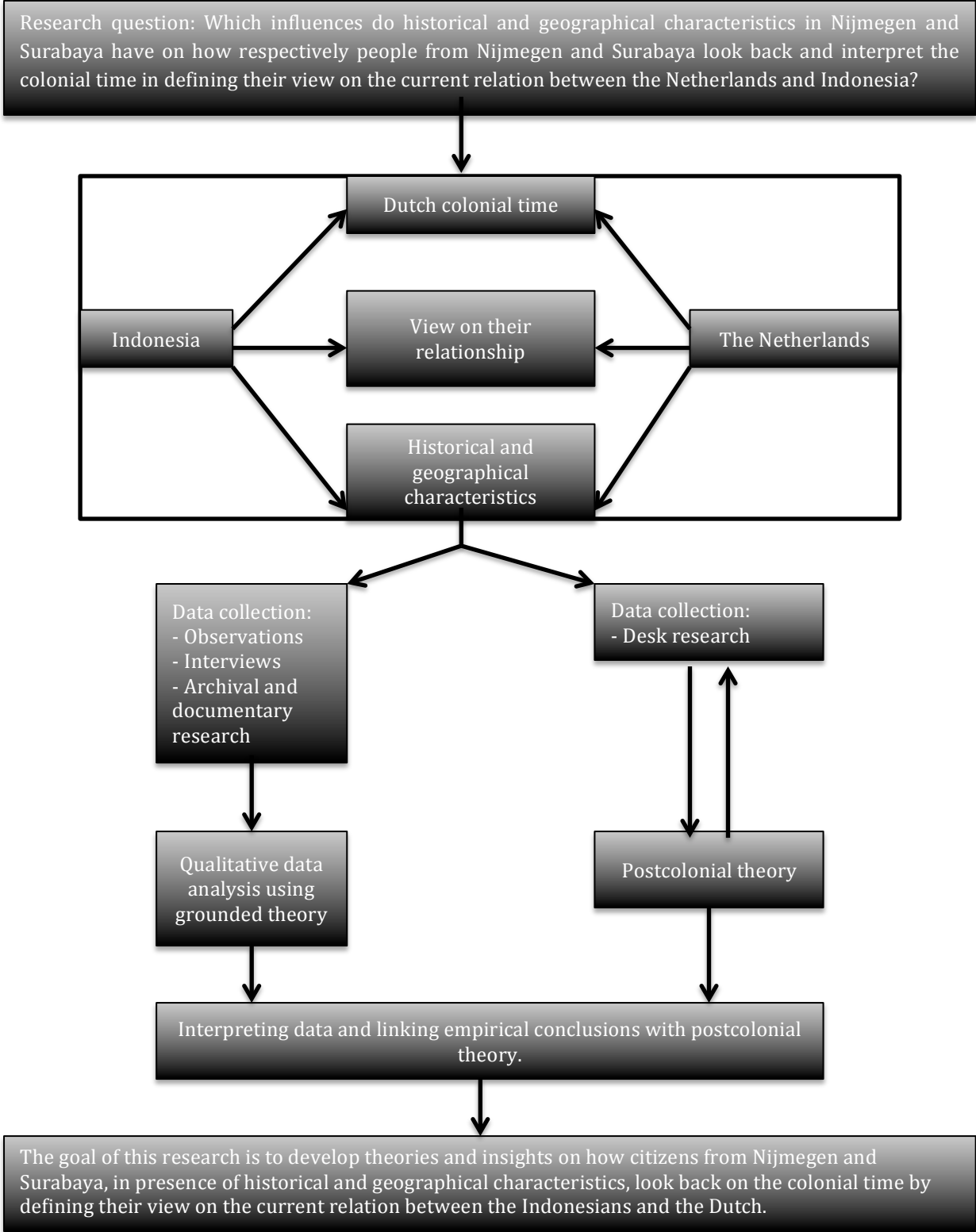
Fig. 1.1   Conceptual research model.

2 Theoretical framework

2.1 Use of theory

Theory and a certain content of a problem both have influence on each other and navigate an academic research in a iterative process towards a grounded and verifiable thesis. In iterative terms: a first, rough problem sends the theory choice, then the theory inspires refinement of the problem, and refinement then adjusts the choice of theory (Leroy, Horlings & Arts, 2009). In approaching a theory it is placed in a certain context. In contrast to positivism, the theory in this thesis is built on the features in the field of interpretative epistemology. Epistemology, in this sense, is about what we, based on scientific research, can know about the social reality (Crotty in Leroy, Horlings & Arts, 2009, p. 3). In positivism the focus is on single objective and knowable reality: the essence. Positivism is based on realism and essentialism, where in interpretative epistemology there is room for multiple realities, and thus, for multiple interpretations. Interpretative epistemology is based on constructivism and relativism. Especially these multiple realities are at stake when working with different societies with different people within the framework of one single theory.

The interpretative approach assumes that we know reality by our interpretations and constructions. Science does not explain "reality", but constructs a reality and confirms this through empirical research. Research does not represent reality, but (re)construct her. Unlike essentialism, which assumes a knowable reality, it gives interpretations and therefore human inability to know that reality. In any case, reality is multilayered and unpredictable, with more exceptions than rules. Interpretive research is therefore based on in depth investigation into specific cases, showing the peculiarity of a reality (Leroy, Horlings & Arts, 2009).

Theory appears mainly as a conceptual framework, a loose association of some central concepts and their interrelationships. This produces not more than one perspective on social reality. Empirical research should refine this framework. In this thesis the postcolonial reality is linked to empirical data obtained in certain areas in the Netherlands and Indonesia. Let me first explain the field of postcolonialism within the framework of this thesis.

2.2 Postcolonialism as a theory

In the broadest perspective, postcolonialism "deals with the effects of colonization on cultures and societies" (Ashcroft et al., 2000, p. 186; Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995). In the field of geography the term 'postcolonialism' is contested and diverse. In general post-colonialism emphasizes on the appreciation for the intertwined history of societies that are presented as separated entities (Barnett, 2006, p. 149). The 'post' of postcolonialism does not refer to a period after colonialism, at least not in this thesis. This temporal distinction implies a certain break with a colonial past, suggesting the end of a colonial period and moving forward to an era were postcolonialism replaced colonialism or were societies experienced the process of formal decolonisation (Sidaway, 2002, p 13). Because of the difficulties to pin down a clearly defined postcolonial era, many writers rather refer to postcolonialism as being *beyond* instead of only *after* colonialism (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p. 167 – 169).

The aims of postcolonial studies in geography are quite diverse. There are, however, some characteristics in these studies that get us closer to a general understanding. First there is the perspective that postcolonialism is anti-colonial. And secondly that the impact of colonialism should be explored in de past as well as in de present, because the effects of colonization regarding inequalities are not only shaped by colonial legacy but also persist today because of neo-colonial power relations (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p. 167-168). The definition of Postcolonialism to lay the first foundation in this thesis is the importance of representing people and places across different cultures, traditions and contexts outside the Western world, where the production of knowledge is not based on Western worldviews and ethnocentrism but is focusing on destabilizing what is understood by and taken for granted about this Western world (Young, 1990; Blunt & Wills, 2000). Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains this critique towards Western knowledge:

> The globalization of knowledge and Western culture constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the centre of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge and the source of 'civilized' knowledge. This form of global knowledge is generally referred to as 'universal' knowledge, available to all and not really 'owned' by anyone, that is, until non-Western scholars make claims to it. When claims like that are made history is revised (again) so that the story of the civilisation remains the story of the West. (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 63)

This postcolonial study is concerned with the impact of colonialism on western and non-western cultures and societies and aims to 'decolonise the mind' from ethnocentrism of dominant western culture and society, in striving for overall human equality. It frames the research in exploration of the ways in which colonial power was exercised, legitimated, resisted and overturned over time and space (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p. 170). A shared concern between anti colonial writers and the emergence of postcolonialism in the late 1970s and 1980s is to fulfil the desire of 'decolonizing the mind'. This process of decolonizing the mind requires embedded modes of thinking, reasoning, and evaluating assumptions about privilege, normality, and superiority (Sidaway in Barnett, 2006, p. 147). In the sense of the destruction of non-western cultural traditions during colonialism it does not mean that decolonizing the mind involves recovery and revaluation of these traditions. It is, rather, like Ngûgî (in Barnett, 2006, p. 148) argues, focussed on fusing together western and non-western fields and forms from different narrative traditions.

In postcolonial studies there is a variety of leading approaches in how to conduct research. I will discuss five of them briefly. First the colonial discourse analysis in what challenges the ways in which colonial power and western knowledge become taken for granted and naturalized by questioning 'Western knowledge's categories and assumptions' (Young, 1990; Blunt & Wills, 2000). Colonial discourse refers to the apparatus of power that legitimates colonial rule over people and places at a distance. Secondly, Edward Said's work on Orientalism, where imaginative geographies form 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient' (Said in Blunt & Wills, 2000, p 184-185). Orientalism produces knowledge about colonized places and people indicated as 'other', inferior and irrational in contrast to a powerful, rational, western 'self'. Said's work on Orientalism inspired a vast amount of research into the colonial politics of representation, the connections of power and knowledge, and the formation of identity over space and time. Not focusing on past Orientalist discourses but on the

persistence of similar discourses and strategies of 'othering' in the world today. While Orientalism is focusing on the productions of colonial discourse, the work of Homi Bhabha is concentrating on the ambivalent place, as a third approach, of colonized people in these discourses. He stresses the fractures and ambivalences in the relational basis and instabilities of colonial rule (Bhabha in Blunt & Wills, 2000, p 187). Not suggesting that the colonizer and colonized are opposed, but rather frame their complexity and resistance in their coexistence. The fourth is the approach by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. She is concerned with the difficulties of recovering the voices of colonized people as inferior groups, referred to as the 'subaltern'. Spivak states that the subaltern is both created and silenced by dominant discourses. In her analysis she attempts to recover subaltern histories and voices and points to the importance of decolonizing ideas about gender and the inferior (Blunt & Wills, 2000, p 192). And last I qualify contrapuntal reading as an approach derived from a practice. The practice of contrapuntal reading deals with the interpretation of a situation or object in a certain context. Said explains as follows:

> As we look back at the cultural archive, we begin to reread it not univocally but contrapuntally, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which), the dominating discourse acts. (Said, in Gregory, 2000, p. 328)

In using contrapuntal reading I strive to generate an equal view in approaching the data and mind-set in both Nijmegen and Surabaya. Not to conform to a notion from Pickles (2005, p. 357 - 358) were he states that scholars are producing rich geographical imaginaries of postcolonial European spaces. By this he means that research which is conducted in Europe, by European standards, and conform European literature is shaping spatial imaginaries and cultural politics from Europe's very own point of view, as a hearth and stable entity. I rather use the perspective of an independent researcher moving beyond the binaries of colonial thought (here and there, inside and outside, Europe-non Europe). Here, a choice should be made of where to position myself geographically as a researcher in the field of postcolonialism. Spivak (in Spivak & Harasym, 1990, p. 59) states that the question in general 'Who should speak?' is less crucial than 'Who will listen?'. In this regard I will speak for myself as a researcher, stationed in both Nijmegen and Surabaya. And when I speak from this position, I should be listened to seriously. Contrapuntal reading is expressed in this thesis in the sense that fieldwork is conducted in both Nijmegen and Surabaya, and that theory is derived from literature found in both cities. It also explains why this thesis is written in English. According to Garcia-Ramon (in Pickles, 2005, p. 361) academic geographers should be able to read, and in my opinion also to write, in more than one language. In choosing English I move in-between both languages, the Dutch language and Bahasa Indonesia, in order to create a balanced and equal view from above.

Inspired and influenced by all these approaches I will elaborate further on postcolonial theory specified on direct relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Or, when possible, go further into details regarding both cities of Nijmegen and Surabaya. In the following paragraph a few approaches are easily distinguished were others are less prominent. Overall they form a fundamental basis in understanding the discourse of colonialism and postcolonialism.

2.3 The practice of theory – Nijmegen and Surabaya

The practice regarding this thesis contains the search for -and analysing- empirical data obtained within the framework of postcolonialism. Central in this theses is the question whether geographical characteristics have influence on how the Indonesian people look back and interpret the colonial time in formulating their current view and opinion about the Dutch, and vice versa.

Very little specific research on this matter is available, especially regarding the link between postcolonial theory and geographical characteristics. Therefore the outcomes on whether geographical characteristics have influence in looking back at the colonial time will create new perspectives in how to approach the relation between the (former) coloniser and (former) colonised in regard of adding this to the comprehensive theory of postcolonialism.

Many studies on Indonesian (de)colonisation so far have not paid much attention to urban society in relation to architecture. Especially research on local level is not comprehensively conducted. As John Smail (in Colombijn, 2010, p. 4-5) stated during the Revolution of the Republic of Indonesia that in *"order to understand social history, local history has something important to say".* The city of Surabaya was the stage for many important events during the Dutch colonisation and Indonesian Revolution. In this sense it is relevant to focus on certain historical objects, which still remain intact, and the people who live in direct relation with this object. Felix Driver, cited by Derek Gregory in *Geographical Imaginations* (1994, p. 6), states *"that the act of representing the past of geography is unavoidably an act of the present, despite all attempts to connect and emphasise with the past".* Here, an important notion is that in order to formulate history it depends on the construction of perspective, a view from the present. Meaning that the past and the present are closely interwoven. In order to understand the present, the past reveals and (re)constructs what is important to consider. As Said (in Gregory, 1994, p. 9) argues that *"theory has to be grasped in the place and time out of which it emerges".*

The aim of postcolonialism, as framed in this thesis, is to 'decolonise the mind' from ethnocentrism of dominant western culture and society, in striving for overall human equality. In this sense 'decolonizing the mind' focussed on fusing together fields and forms from different narrative traditions, both western and non-western. It is about centring our concerns and world views (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 39) and then coming to know and understand shared history from our own perspectives. In understanding this 'decolonizing the mind' as a form of decolonisation in practice, it is put in a spectrum of urban space. This approach particularly improves our understanding of the way ordinary people experienced the transition from Dutch colonial rule to Indonesian sovereign rule in their daily lives (Colombijn, 2010, p. 2).

Let me first shortly introduce the process of decolonisation in Indonesia by starting early in the 19th century. Alberts (1968, p. 13) cited Ki Hadjar Dewantoro, who was famous in the political fight within an Indonesian resistance movement, standing in front of president Sukarno in 1948 in stating "*in 1908 the people of Indonesia got aware of the importance to fight colonialism, which kept the people in oppression and humiliation.*" Later, nationalists leaders Sukarno and Mohammad Hatta proclaimed Indonesia´s Independence on 17 August 1945, and the Dutch Colonial overlords formally acknowledged Indonesia´s sovereignty on 27 December 1949. These two dates form the beginning and end of the decolonization in strict sense, but the transfer of power must be seen in a longer time frame. Colombijn states that he

considers decolonization as an extended process, which includes periods both before and after the Indonesian Revolution. This revolution ended neither with the Proclamation of Independence nor with the transfer of sovereignty. According to Colombijn the decolonization, as a multi-faceted process, took place in the period between 1930 and 1960 (Colombijn, 2010, p. 6-7). Whereas Wim Willems (2005, p. 251) argues, in a socio-political perspective, that the process of decolonisation has still not been completed by the year of 2005, allow for even more years to come. This shows different perspectives to pin down the actual start and end of decolonisation. This is still an on-going debate in the field of (post)colonialism (Meijer, 1994, p. 17).

Japanese rule in Indonesia, just before the World War II, was in itself not a great success. It was, however, crucial in preparing Indonesia for independence. Dutch prestige had received an irreparable blow. Indonesians promoted to high administrative positions gained confidence in their ability to run the country. Nationalist's leaders, notably Soekarno, could campaign to promote national independence. Two days after the Japanese surrender in World War II, Indonesian leaders proclaimed independence (17 August 1945) (Colombijn, 2010, p. 46). Despite new leadership, Indonesia lacked a powerful government that was necessary to make conflicting individual interests subservient to a common good, according to Thomas Karsten (in Colombijn, 2010, p. 297). Due to shortcoming of dominant control a treat towards nationalism appeared. Frantz Fanon (in Barnett, 2006, p. 148) suggested that nationalist ideologies were an essential element of anti colonial struggle, but foresaw that once formal, political independence was won, this same ideology risked becoming a new mechanism for elites to exercise power over dissenters or marginalized populations. The decolonization of Indonesia was a period of dramatic changes and chaos. During the reconstruction a battle between chaos and order in times of decolonization in Indonesia became manifest in the struggle for the development and control of urban space (Colombijn, 2010, p. 394). Which was certainly not a bad thing. According to Lefebvre chaos and order are always in relation in the analysis of urban space. He states that while urban planners want to achieve more order to urban space, critical urban sociology values a certain state of chaos and disapprove in establishing order (Lefevbre, 1991). Leaving out that chaos and order are personal perceptions, in response to this statement.

From a post-development-school point of view, the young Indonesian government was deceived by Western discourse of underdevelopments and was labelled as 'developing state'. However, in the sense of decolonization, acceptance of the development discourse, solidarity displayed with other less-developed countries, and involvement of non-Dutch experts all helped Indonesian leaders to distance themselves from the former colonial overlord. Even when only little impact can be achieved, it is a step closer from Indonesians to break loose from Dutch obstacles. It can be seen as recognition that Indonesia was looking to the future and had joint a group of fellow young nations. Becoming a developing state speeded up the decolonization of Indonesia. Decolonization of cities has for this reasons a lasting impact on society, but not only negatively (Colombijn, 2010, p. 404-412).

In moving forward to the spectrum of urban space, colonialism had its impact on spatial development. Colonial balance of power was made visible in urban symbols. Colombijn (2010, p. 34) stated that statues were important symbol carriers in colonial times, because they were the only objects of the build environment with a purely symbolic function. In using the word *"only"* he could be referring that colonial buildings did not have this power of symbolic strength regarding colonialism. Despite the

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destruction of many Dutch buildings after the Independence to increase nationalism, the best-documented change in the urban landscape was, however, not the production of statues, but the increase of modern (in colonial times) architecture. This change in space was a powerful ideologically in the process of colonisation. Change, in this matter, could refer to either physical adaptions such as new buildings or renaming relevant objects in the sense of buildings, squares, street names, etcetera (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 51). But in looking forward, however, the Indonesian did the same after the independence in order to express their nationalistic thoughts. They demolished quite a lot, mostly governmental, buildings and renamed what they considered necessary, in continuing the process of decolonisation. A clear resemblance can be distinguished in both the approach and method to colonise as to decolonise. Decolonisation, in this sense, refers to the process of disremembering concerning what happened in the colonial period. In defining urban symbols you can distinguish between symbols that have been created as such, like statues, and symbols that came to be when a meaning was attached to an already existing form, like colonial buildings (Colombijn, 1993, p. 61). New offices for a considerable number of companies were designed by professional Dutch architects in Surabaya (Colombijn, 2010, p. 35). Peter J.M. Nas (1993, p. 32 – 33) states, however, that all symbolism of the colonial period was erased in urban areas in Indonesia in saying that *"statues were destroyed"* and *"Dutch street names were replaced by Indonesian ones"*. In this he did not mention colonial buildings, which is in many cases preserved historical material.

Indonesians, like most colonised societies, have displayed a critique of the way history is told from the perspective of the colonisers, according to Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 29-34). She continues in stating that history is about power. It tells the story of the powerful and how they became powerful to dominate others. Awatere (in Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 67) claims that the process of recording what happened automatically favours the powerful for they have won. Resulting in a situation where a whole past is 'created' and then given the authority of truth. This critique in approaching history written by a Western perspective is shared with the German philosopher Hegel who is striving for an equal situation. He conceived the fully human subject as someone capable and obligated of 'creating (his) own history'. At the same time, however, colonised groups have argued that history is vital for understanding the present and that reclaiming history is a critical and fundamental facet of decolonisation. History, in this sense, could better be described as shared history because it focuses on the colonial period in were the Dutch occupied Indonesia, resulting in parallel historical storylines. Important for (shared) history is determining when something begins and in which order, resulting is more 'real' and factual history. In her book *Decolonizing methodologies* Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 45) follows a research by Nandy on the consequences of different phases of colonialism on the colonised. Important is her statement regarding a shared struggle for decolonisation. Meaning that both the Netherlands and Indonesia share this colonial history and thus face an interrelated path towards decolonisation:

> These consequences have led Nandy to describe colonisation as a 'shared culture' for those who have been colonised and who have colonised. This means, for example, that colonised peoples share a language of colonisation, share knowledge about their colonisers, and, in terms of a political project, share the same struggle for decolonisation. It also means that colonisers, too, share a language and knowledge of colonisation. (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 45)

In respect of the current relation between the (former) coloniser and colonised, a certain representation as a part of colonial discourse is still noticeable today. Tuhiwai Smith (1999, p. 54) states that even nowadays when representing the colonised, terms as 'lazy' and 'indolent' are used to label their lives.

Different than in the Netherlands, according to Broeshart et al. (1994, p, 72), it seems that on personal level the Indonesians forgave and often forgot the memory regarding the battle of independence and other events during the colonial period. They argue that despite governmental initiatives to keep history alive, the overall memory to the Dutch occupation will fade away. In a developing Indonesia, aware of its own strength to build the future, the historical bond to the Netherlands is no longer of great importance.

2.4 Summary

This postcolonial study is concerned with the impact of colonialism on western and non-western cultures and societies and aims to 'decolonise the mind' from ethnocentrism of dominant western culture and society, in striving for overall human equality. In this sense 'decolonizing the mind' is focussed on fusing together fields and forms from different narrative traditions, both western and non-western. It is about centring our concerns and world views (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 39) and then coming to know and understand shared history from our own perspectives. In this the past en the present are closely interwoven. In order to understand the present in dealing with the possibility of neo-colonial powerrelation, the past reveals and (re)constructs what is important to consider. Regarding the decolonisation the theory is quite uncertain and diverse about the actual start and ending of decolonisation. Decolonisation, in Colombijn's (2010, p. 404-412) perspective, is for Indonesians to break loose from Dutch obstacles and is seen as a positive development. It refers to the process of disremembering regarding what happened in the colonial period.

Colonial balance of power was made visible in urban symbols. Colombijn (2010, p. 34) could be indicating that colonial buildings did not have this power of symbolic strength regarding colonialism. Apart from this it is colonial architecture that is still the best documented change in urban development, revealing history and therefore consist of certain significance and relevance in approaching past colonialism. In the theory, as described, there is no absolute consensus about the symbolic value of historical colonial buildings. At the same time the approach towards history, in order to decolonise, addresses to multiple perspectives. On the one hand it is argued that one should create its own history, were on the other a shared and more parallel history is at stake. Resulting in a shared path in the process of decolonisation regarding both the coloniser and the colonized.

In respect of the current relation between the (former) coloniser and (former) colonised, even nowadays the colonised are represented in terms of 'lazy' and 'indolent'. Different than in the Netherlands it is argued that on personal level the Indonesians forgave and often forgot. The overall memory to the Dutch occupation will fade away. In a developing Indonesia, aware of its own strength to build the future, the historical connection to the Netherlands is no longer of great importance.

3. Research design

3.1 Introduction

In paragraph 1.4 Methodology the research strategy and research structure are comprehensively discussed. In order to reach the final stage, in producing an answer to the main research question, the phases of empirical inquiry and the elaboration on postcolonial theory will have to be completed. The essential theme in this chapter is to illustrate how validity and reliability are guaranteed. The research methods observations, interviews, and archival and documentary research are analysed by qualitative inquiry using the technique of grounded theory. The characteristics, process and outcome of grounded theory in relation with the different research methods are clarified in this chapter.

Despite the very useful qualitative research material to elaborate further on the theory described in this thesis, a notion of critique towards empiricism should be mentioned in order to expose that subjectivity and objectivity are often closely intertwined. As Gregory describes this:

> "The facts do not and never will speak for themselves, and no one in the humanities or the social sciences can escape working with a medium that seeks to make social life intelligible and to challenge the matter-of-factness of the 'facts'" (Gregory, 1994, p. 12).

In stating this Gregory points out that empirical data never should be labelled as objective facts. Rather, specifically typified in this thesis, as a representation of different individuals presenting their subjective knowledge and emotions. However, one could argue that personal knowledge and emotions are objective facts to the individual itself, revealing the thin line between objectivity and subjectivity. In this sense empirical data, as used in this thesis, is of crucial importance to built on existing theory by showing current thoughts on the matter of postcolonial relations, but the data does not represent the whole objective reality.

In the following two paragraphs the research strategies desk research and grounded theory will be explained regarding their practical implementation in this thesis – in how they lead to results.

3.2 Desk research

In using the research strategy desk research I will use merely research material produced by others. In reflecting on this material new perspectives and thoughts are generated. This strategy is the bases in the formulation regarding the theory of postcolonialism.

According to Verschuren & Doorewaard (2007, pp. 201-207) there are two general variants in approaching desk research, namely literature review and secondary research. The main difference between these two approaches is the distinction in respectively sources of knowledge and sources of data. The literature review approach focuses on obtaining qualitative knowledge produced by others. And the secondary research approach puts more emphasis on retaining and (re)using quantitative empirical data, again produced by others.

Due to the fact this thesis is mainly constructed in a qualitative setting, postcolonial theory is therefore written in recognising the characteristics of the literature review.

3.3 Grounded theory

The Grounded Theory is a systematic, inductive and comparative approach for obtaining information for the preparation of a theory (Charmaz & Henwood, in Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 1). In analysing with Grounded Theory it is important for the researcher to start the process blank from relevant knowledge on the subject. The iterative process of the Grounded theory has a hermeneutic attitude. In practice, I will use the open coding strategy by Glaser en Strauss (Kelle, in Bryant & Charmaz 2007, p196). Important standards to keep in mind are:

- Analyse the various story lines as a researcher (visions, scenarios, discourses) and beware of any discrepancies within and between them.
- Power, conflict and interest play a role in generating research questions, in producing knowledge, and in the enhancement of knowledge. Reflect on your own role as researcher, in perspective and your own role as actor in a change process.

According to Bryant & Charmaz (2007, p. 1) and Strauss & Corbin (in Creswell, 2007, p. 63) grounded theory encourages researchers to implement data collection and data analysis parallel to one another. This is an iterative process where empirical data is framed step by step and leads to a grounded theory. Theory is needed to explain how people experience a phenomenon, and the grounded theory will provide such a general framework. In Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design Creswell (2007, p. 64) points out two popular approaches to grounded theory. These are the 'constructivist approach' by Charmaz were she emphasises on diverse local worlds, multiple realities, and the complexities of particular worlds, views, and actions. Central is the focus on values, beliefs, feelings, assumptions and ideologies of individuals in processing her grounded theory. In this thesis this aspect of involving emotions is integrated in the methodology to use grounded theory. However, to create well-structured theory a more systematic and step-by-step approach is needed to frame the empirical data in an interrelated and clear matrix, useful for quick comprising with the postcolonial theory in this thesis. Strauss and Corbin present this systematic approach, which is based on analytical and methodological procedures. The methodology in using grounded theory will therefore be based on the systematic approach by Strauss and Corbin, and involves the constructivist approach by Charmaz in focusing on views, beliefs, values, feelings, assumptions, and ideologies of individuals throughout the process.

The first step in grounded theory analysis is selecting text units for coding. In this research those are mainly the interviews in both Nijmegen and Surabaya, supported and further developed by observations and audio-visual material. The specific strategy that is used is the 'open coding' method by Glaser and Strauss. By this they mean that every sentence should be read line-by-line and coded ad hoc (Kelle, in Bryant & Charmaz 2007, p196). The used software is Atlas.ti. Important to consider is that reading and coding should not be to structured and not based on existing knowledge. In this way it is likely to retain the true meaning of the data, called naïve empiricism (Chalmers, in Bryant & Charmaz, 2007, p. 197). During open coding one sentence can generate multiple codes consisting of words or phrases (defined as codes) that are deemed relevant. The codes must meet two conditions (Glaser & Strauss, in Dey, 1999, p. 7-8): first, a code should have an analysing character, contributing to the ultimate theory. A code is not a representative keyword of a text, but rather an explanatory. Secondly, a code should be a clear, meaningful and substantial part of the text. A practical tool to accomplish this is to ask

the following questions, suggested by Prof. Huib Ernste during his lecture on Grounded theory on November 22, 2011:

- What is it about?
- Which actors are involved?
- What aspects of a phenomenon to be appointed?
- Where and when?
- Which intentions?

The second step is axial coding. It concerns how various concepts (codes) relate to each other. To gradually and systematically develop a theory it uses constant comparising (Creswell, 2007, p. 64; Dey, Bryant & Charmaz 2007, P168). This systematic method of constant comparison, according to Glaser (1967, p. 45-47.), will allow the theory to develop. By constantly comparing codes, accuracy and relevance should be preserved, even in a highly conceptualized state. These 'axial' codes are relevant because they are conceptualizing the theory. The codes have a substantial and meaningful role in the text. Also, some codes are bundled together or reformulated into overarching codes to specify the theme of the selected text. This is the logic process of the grounded theory, because of its iterative nature.

The third next step in the grounded theory is to define relationships between codes, regarded as selective coding, and results in a visualised matrix. What a matrix of related codes clearly shows is that most codes are intertwined with other codes and therefore move towards a central concept.

To reach the theory in its final form Glazer & Strauss (in Dey, 1999, p. 207-211; Glazer, 2001) supply a specific method, called 'substantive theory'. Creswell (2007, p. 67) defines this concluding theory as a written result of the process of data analysis. The theory emerges throughout the process of open, axial, and selective coding.

To ensure the quality of the data, criteria of validity and reliability must be met (Yin, 2003, pp. 34-35). To start with the notion that the concepts being studied should establish correct operational measures, entitled construct validity. In order to increase this construct validity two tactics are available:

1. The use of multiple sources of evidence, termed triangulation.
2. Establish a chain of evidence, where different sources are used leading to similar findings.

There are also internal and external validity. For internal validity, the focus is on determining a causal relationship, leading to an increase of validity. The external validity is the extent to which research findings can be generalized by linking results of empirical research to a broader theory (Yin, 2003, P. 36 - 37).

Moving further to the specific methodology regarding the interviews. An important piece in this research is the questions list for the interview. I prefer an open interview (or half-structured) because the respondent can replay freely and can construct his response in a way he or she prefers. Asking the right questions on the right moment is crucial in order to keep the interview as it if is a normal conversation. The respondent needs to feel at ease, comfortable and respected during the interview to give sincere and true answers. The strategy of interviewing is focused on exploring the world of thought (personal reference) of the respondent about a predetermined topic or theme within the time available (Van Der Molen, Kluytmans & Kramer, 1995).

Questions that shall be asked during the interviews are mainly descriptive and explanatory. The answer on a descriptive question describes a certain situation, an event or a development, for example: How do you place this historical and geographical characteristic in relation with the colonial time? The answer on an explanatory question is a declaration for an event or development, for example: Why does this historical and geographical characteristic matter in relation with the colonial time? These questions do have a certain relation in the sense of an appropriate interview. Answers to simple descriptive questions give rise to richer descriptive questions, and answers to these descriptive questions become the starting point for explanatory ones (Ultee, 1991, p. 35). In my interviews this technic of certain chronological questions shall be used to elaborate on a topic within the respondents world of thought and thus get a complete and personal view on (sometimes difficult) 'why' questions.

The interview questions, which encourage the respondent to tell their own profound story in defining their view on the current relation between the Indonesians and the Dutch within the context of the colonial time, are divided in three categories: colonial period, geographical and historical characteristics, and the current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Within each category a few questions are asked, depending on the circumstances within the conversation that should advance smoothly, In order to construct the respondents view on that specific matter.

1. Colonial period:
   - What do you think about the colonial time?
   - What do you know about the colonial time?
        o   How long was this colonial period?
        o   How do you know this or where did you learn?
   - How did the colonial time influence you?
        o   What was good and what was bad?

2. Geographical and historical characteristics:
   - Do you recognise these buildings? (Showing maps and pictures of specific buildings or objects in Nijmegen/Surabaya)
   - Which visible characteristic in your city does refer to the colonial time?
   - How do you place this [historical and geographical characteristic] in relation with the colonial time?
   - Is it important to remember the colonial period?
        o   And why?
   - Is it important to retain historical references?
        o   And Why?
   - Does it have a positive or negative effect on you?
   - Does the location of historical and geographical characteristics matter?

3. Relation Dutch-Indonesian:
- Do you know anybody who is Dutch/Indonesian oversees?
- How would you describe the relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians?
- What is your experience in encountering a person who is Dutch/Indonesian?
- How do you think the Dutch/Indonesians are like?
- How do you position the Dutch/Indonesians in relation to the colonial time?

The interview guide of this interview is as follows (Van Der Molen et al, 1995):

1. Opening

In the introduction, I will first explain the motive and the purpose of the interview to the respondent. Then I will inform the respondent how long the interview will take. After some small talk the first question will be: What do you think about the colonial time? This question is of itself an open character.

2. Central Area

Then comes the middle section in which the respondent itself will determine the course of the conversation as long as the information is within the topic. Through questioning I seek for clarification of any unclear information and try to paraphrase (verbal and nonverbal). Valuations and assumptions should be avoided wherever possible because they send the respondent in a certain direction, which may affect the given information.

3. Completion

After a satisfactory result according to both parties I will give a summary and end the interview.

Although qualitative research is central in this thesis, a quantitative aspect is also involved. This because the more respondents will participate with the interviews, the more a comprehensive view on society can be established. Still, of course, keeping in mind that the interviews require a certain in-depth character. In Nijmegen I conducted four relative large interviews and in Surabaya a total of seven is reached, consisting of four relative large interviews and three shorter ones. The profiles of the respondents must be diverse in order to get a more valid view on the representatives of that particular society.

Regarding observations in the sense of historical and geographical characteristics relevant questions are:
- What is the meaning of the object?
- When is it created?
- Who created it?
- Why is it still there?
- What was its use?
- What is its use now?
  - Why is that?

4. Results

4.1 Data collection

In writing this thesis I have tried to add a new perspective on post-colonialism by focusing on the relational situation on local level between Nijmegen in the Netherlands and Surabaya in Indonesia. This chapter includes the results of the empirical research. These results are obtained from analysis of data taken from the observations and interviews. The observations represent the results of analysis regarding physical characteristics in both Nijmegen and Surabaya referring to the Dutch colonial period. In going through the observation it not only clarifies the context (place) of the interviews, but also it generates input in building the theory as the final result of the grounded theory. The interviews are analyzed with the grounded theory and presented in this chapter as a conceptualized matrix, as the final output of the grounded theory. Based on these observations and interviews the grounded theory results in a theory, later compared with the postcolonial theory as described in chapter 2.

In analysing the empirical data the grounded theory, as a strategy, functions well to frame the essence and extract a standalone theory. It does not, however, display how some statements from respondents, for example, interrelate with each other. Leaving out certain individual thoughts and emotions. Those findings are particularly important to distillate the way a person perceives and reacts on a colonial building as historical reference, in answering the central research question. Therefore quotes and paraphrased statements will used to underpin the formulated theory derived from the grounded theory. All quotes can be traced back in the transcribed interviews located in the appendix.

Also noteworthy, this research is not about describing in detail which historical narratives are available and correct and how they relate to the current geographical objects in Nijmegen and Surabaya. The focus is, of course, that there are indeed such objects to be distinguished in both cities and how people react on them in the framework of historical colonial knowledge. Nevertheless, to create an image of the situation and to establish a better feeling with the context we are dealing with in both cities, a brief description of their existence and their relevance to this subject is given.

4.2 Results in Nijmegen

As an introduction on the historical colonial buildings in Nijmegen, a short description on how these buildings came to be is essential to create a certain clarifying context. To start with the KNIL, short for Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger (Royal Dutch Indies Army), which was founded in 1830 (Hooghoff, 2000, p. 25). The KNIL soldiers were stationed in different barracks during their training in Nijmegen. This army was assigned to act against all possible indigenous opponents and against other colonial powers in Indonesia, such as the British. Nijmegen was, in 1990, the only place of departure in the Netherlands were KNIL soldiers were transferred to Indonesia, leading to an immense stream of soldiers back and forth between Indonesia and Nijmegen. Many settled in Nijmegen after 1910. The richer ones build villas that still remain intact in and around Nijmegen.

4.2.1 Observations in Nijmegen

Around 1850 there were five KNIL barracks in Nijmegen: Marienburgkazerne, Valkhofkazerne, Burchtstraatkazerne, Bethlehemkazerne, and Havenkazerne. In 1874 some stationed soldiers turned out to be superfluous due to fewer defensive need of the city. They moved away and several barracks lost their military function. In the period before 1911 plans were made to build new barracks. These new barracks, called the Krayenhoffkazerne build in 1905, the Snijderskazerne built in 1906, and the Prins Hendrikkazerne build in 1911, were the only settlements left in that period. Only the Prins Hendrikkazerne, designed by the architect J. Limburg from The Hague, was actually used to station KNIL soldiers (Hooghoff, 2000, p. 30 - 32). Today these barracks are still intact and remain of nationally accepted historical value, which functions a reminder of the colonial past of the Netherlands (Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, nd).

The Prins Hendrikkazerne (figure 4.1) was built between 1909 and 1911 and is named after Henry of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who himself laid the first stone. The Colonial Reserve moved from the Waal to the Prins Hendrikkazerne in the Lower East station in Nijmegen on the corner of the Dommer van Poldersveldtweg and Daalseweg. The Prins Hendrikkazerne, used in the Second World War by the army, has long been in possession of the Air Force Military Instruction and Training School (LIMOS). It is now a refugee centre (Wachelder, 2008).
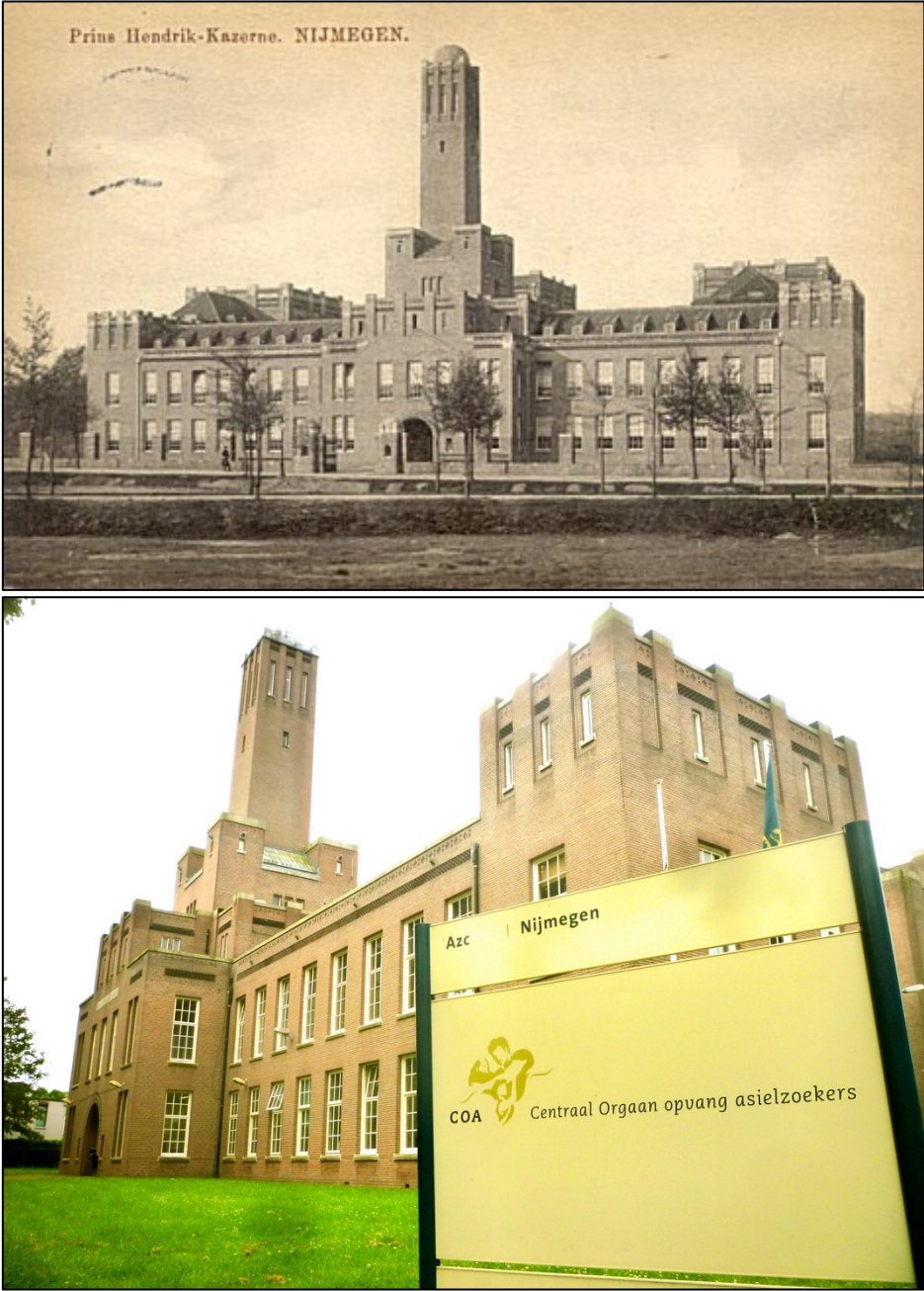

Fig. 4.1   The Prins Hendrikkazerne, past and present view.
                  (Source: First photo – Legerplaats, 2011. Second photo – Author, 2012)

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The Krayenhoffkazerne (figure 4.2) is a former barrack at the Molenveldlaan in Nijmegen. The barrack was opened in 1905 and is similar to the Snijdershoffkazerne. The Barrack is designed by G.W.J. Koolemans Beijnen. It was opened as the First Infantry Barrack in 1934 and was named after Cornelis Theodorus Rudolphus Krayenhoff. Also the Air Force Military Instruction and Training School (LIMOS) used this barrack. And from 2002 it became a residential complex with also room for businesses and art studios. Around it is still the original fence (figure 4.2) that together with the two other barracks is a national monument.

Fig. 4.2   The Krayenhoffkazerne, past and present view.
                  (Source: First photo – Legerplaats, 2011. Second photo – Author, 2012)

The Snijderskazerne (figure 4.3) is a former barrack in Nijmegen. The barrack was opened in 1906 and is similar to the Krayenhoffkazerne. The Barrack is designed by G.W.J. Koolemans Beijnen. It was opened as the Second Infantry Barracks in 1934 and was named after Cornelis Jacobus Snijders. Also the Air Force Military Instruction and Training School (LIMOS) used this barrack. And from 2002 it became a residential complex with also room for businesses and art studios.

Fig. 4.3   The Snijderskazerne, past and present view.
                  (Source: First photo – Legerplaats, 2011. Second photo – Author, 2012)

In following the story of Pieke Hooghoff (2000, p. 27 - 51) most of the KNIL soldiers returned to Nijmegen, before 1940, with their Indonesian wife and occasionally some kids. Once settled in Nijmegen, they stayed. In the period between 1910 and 1930 various wealthy Dutch-Indies families build villas in and around Nijmegen. Beautiful examples of preserved villas where retired KNIL officers lived can be found on the Oranjesingel, Groesbeekseweg, Sterreschansweg and Voorstadslaan (Wachelder, 2008). These buildings, however, are not accepted as nationally historical value.

As a last aspect of physical colonial reference in Nijmegen, as described in this thesis, the Indies neighbourhood (in Dutch: Indische Buurt) is also noteworthy. The neighbourhood was planned in 1906 and constructed in different styles until 1948. The street names of the neighbourhood, located in the eastern part of Nijmegen, are called after important persons from the colonial period and different islands in Indonesia. The municipality of Nijmegen assigned this neighbourhood as a municipal protected area in 2009 (Gemeente Nijmegen, nd).

In 2007 Pieke Hooghoff (2009) proposed to the municipality of Nijmegen that the new city area in the north of Nijmegen, currently under construction, should be assigned with street names referring to the colonial period in respect of people living in Nijmegen with a Indonesian background. The response turned out positive. The municipality acknowledges, according to Hooghoff, that the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia is a very important event in national history and so far underexposed. When the actual construction reaches more concrete forms, the allocation of the street names will be announced.

In Indonesia, the function of naming streets in relation to history is stated by Colombijn (2010, p. 40) in saying that public reminders of the new street names, in periods of changing colonial rule, were necessary to shows that citizens had not internalized them; the superficiality of the name changes is also apparent in the ease with which the Dutch after the war, erased the Japanese names. Naming streets, as in the power to name was very important for colonisers to express their authority (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 60). Of course, the Indonesians did the same after independence. It was considered important to erase the complete collective memory. As Peter J.M. Nas (1993, p. 29) states that "all Dutch names were substituted by Indonesian names and scarcely anyone refers to the former names".

4.2.2 Interviews in Nijmegen

In Nijmegen there were a total of four large in-depth interviews conducted, fully transcribed presented in appendix A. The strategy to analyse these interviews is the grounded theory. Methods such as observations and archival and documentary research, regarding audio-visual material, added in some cases significant and relevant input in the process of formulating a theory. During open-coding a comprehensive list of relevant codes formed the result of this first step. In the second step, axial-coding, the search for related codes initiates using constant comparising. Some codes could be framed in one single code resulting in a shorter inventory of codes. This list of codes, ordered hierarchal in degree of occurrence, are displayed in appendix B. In the last step a matrix (figure 4.4) of interrelated codes is formed using selective coding. From this matrix the 'grounded' theory is derived. Both the list of codes and the matrix are generated output from Atlas.ti
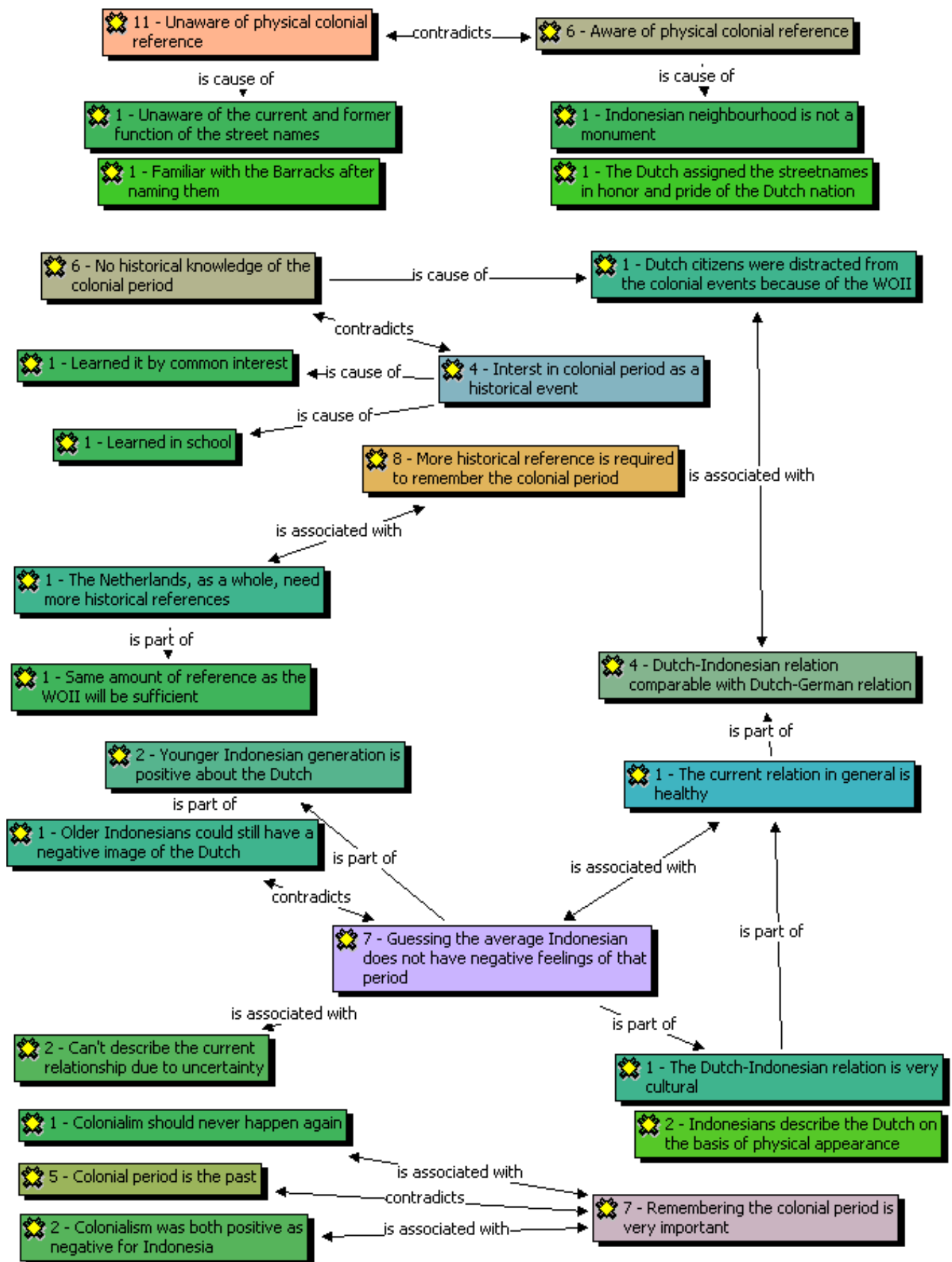
Fig 4.4   Matrix of interrelated codes from grounded theory, Nijmegen (source: author)

Based on systematically generated codes, displayed in figure 4.4, a fundamental theory can be derived. The number presented in the same box as the code means the number of times it appeared in de analysed text and therefore the higher the number, the higher the relevance in supporting the theory. Noticeable is that the most relevant codes are centred in the figure, surrounded by the less (coloured mostly green), but still very significant and relevant codes. The following paragraphs elaborate further on the main topics in the interviews in order to sustain a clear view regarding the interrelated codes in the matrix.

Divided in awareness of colonial reference

Notable is that respondents are divided in their awareness of colonial reference in Nijmegen. Affirming that more people are completely unaware of such physical references is obvious. For example a student human geography who states that *"…nothing in Nijmegen makes me think of the colonial period".* This in contrast to a better informed journalist from a regional newspaper when he says that he knows *"only the former barracks at the LIMOS terrain…. And also the Indies neighbourhood I think…would be a relation".* There is, however, not an absolute divide in knowing and not knowing. One respondent on academic level, by the age of 29 and living in Nijmegen, stated to be fully unaware of any colonial reference. But after confronting her with pictures of the colonial barracks located in the LIMOS terrain she answered: *"O yes, the barracks. I know them! This one [pointing at the Krayenhoffkazerne, facing the Groesbeekseweg] is at the Groesbeekseweg, its very familiar. And the other… looks quite the same…".* This shows not only a divide in awareness, but also unconscious present knowledge that frame the barracks in a perspective of recognizable buildings - not mentioning historical reference regarding the colonial period.

Majority has none historical knowledge

Concerning interest in the colonial period it shows that a vast majority has none historical knowledge on the matter of the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. As the academic respondent admits: *"Actually… to be honest… I don't know that much of that period".* In saying this she points out that she should know something of this period, but lacks the specific knowledge. She continues in blaming the school: *"… in the history books I can remember there was little to be told about this period. I think I forgot most of it. … regarding history I know practically nothing. School failed in that respect [laughing]".* As for both the past as the present unawareness dominates regarding the function of the KNIL barracks. In generalizing the people of Nijmegen the journalist argues: *"I really don't think the average person in Nijmegen knows much of this period".* On the one hand this is caused by lack of common interest, but on the other hand it is not learned because of collective distraction due to the Second World War (Zahn, 1993, p. 162). *"… My grandpa still talks about the Germans as horrible people",* as the student human geography states in referring to how the war influenced mind-set of the last generation.

More historical reference

Despite this general absence of specific historical knowledge, Nijmegen does indeed need more historical reference to this colonial period in order to remember. *"Nijmegen did have close connections to Indonesia. So more references would be good at this time…. I guess it would also be a sign of honour towards the Indonesians in showing our respect",* the journalist states. He continues: *"…based on the large perspective*

regarding that period we can definitely say that this is not all right and something should never happen again like this". Remembering this period is very important. "The whole story of the Dutch occupation in Indonesia is a long period in our history, so very important", argues the student human geography. Regarding colonial reference he states that *"Nijmegen, as also other cities in the Netherlands, needs more monuments to let the people remember and be educated about the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. It is just as important as the German occupation here in the Netherlands".* Although a contradiction of lesser relevance suggest that colonialism is the past, thus advocating remembering is not necessary. As the student human geography reveals in saying that *"they [Indonesians] say that it is the past and happened back then".* This statement is referring to the current state of the relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Were it is argued that younger people in general are 'moving on' and aspire an equal relationship. The next important finding elaborates further on this matter.

Healthy relationship

The current relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians is, according to respondents from Nijmegen, a healthy one. Both countries share a lot, architecture, language components, dishes and street names. It is very much assumed that Indonesians do not have negative feelings regarding the colonial period. The student human geography states: "*No harsh feelings anymore. I guess the average Indonesian does not have negative feelings of that period".* This contradicts to the imagination of the academic who argues that the colonial period influenced the colonised strongly, stating: *"it was a colony, not a free country".* Younger Indonesians are, however, more positive than older Indonesians.

> The current generation was not part of that period. You only know the stories from the books and what your grandparents told you. So in that sense I think the relation does not contain any anger or hate anymore. It was before our time. … Perhaps only the older people, who witnessed the colonial period, still have emotional feelings, even in a negative way. (Interview journalist Nijmegen, 2012)

This statement is confirmed by the student human geography. They both argue that the relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia is comparable with the relation between the Netherlands and Germany. The student human geography gives an example in saying that *"my grandpa still talks about the Germans as horrible people. While you and me, the current younger generation does not have any real….you know…. hard feelings anymore".*

4.3 Results in Surabaya

As an introduction on the historical colonial buildings in Surabaya, a short description on how these buildings came to be is essential to create a certain clarifying context. In his book 'Ir. F.J.L. Ghijsels, Architect in Indonesia' Akihary (1988; 1996) provides this very understanding. He states that the period of 'colonial architecture and urban planning' was designated between 1815 and 1957. To start with the year 1870, which was an important turning point in the colonial history of the Dutch East Indies. In that year the Dutch parliament passed two acts that were not only very important for the economic

development of the colony, but also had a great indirect influence on the urbanization of Java. These two acts were known as the Sugar Act and the Land Act.

The Sugar Act signified a colonial system of forced farming in which farmers were obligated to surrender a certain percentage of their crops in tax, also known as the Cultuurstelsel. The purpose of the Cultuurstelsel was to make Java into a profitable island again, in order to refill the Dutch public treasury drained after the multiple expensive wars in the time of Napoleon (Broeshart et al., 1994, p. 18; Alberts, 1968, p. 20). The Land Act leaded to free enterprise and private capital for the Dutch East Indies, putting an end to the monopoly position by the Dutch State as the solitary entrepreneur. These two acts generated economic development as the required an improved transportation network and bigger harbours. Due to these positive prospects it attracted banks and other enterprises, followed by a stream of many Europeans. This explosive growth caused fundamental problems such as little infrastructure and an excessive shortage of housing. In response of this urbanization the Dutch East Indies Government implemented the Decentralization Acts of 1903 as an administrative reform (Colombijn, 2010, p. 30). With this Dutch model a large number of cities became independent municipalities, each with its own municipal council and more local obligations such as public housing. Architects, mostly educated in Europe, played a very important role in the development of urban planning in the Dutch East Indies. Especially the Dutch Thomas Karsten, who directly or indirectly attempted to establish urban design guidelines and gave rise to the systematic forming of urban areas (Akihary, 1988, p. 58). At first the quality of Indonesian architecture was indicated as low, due to a shortage of highly trained architects. Later European educated architects, especially in the Netherlands, settled in Indonesian cities and their work was considered of high quality. They even started the Nederlandsch-Indische Architecten Kring (Dutch Indian Association of Architects) for a more integral cooperation with the local government. The initiators in 1923 were largely the representatives of the specific Dutch Indies architectural style, such as the architects Ghijsels, Henri Maclaine Pont, C.P. Wolff Schoemaker and Thomas Karsten (Akihary, 1996, p. 7-14; Broeshart et al., 1994, p, 149).

Today quite a few buildings designed by these architects are still visible in Surabaya, despite the lost of many valuable elements in the townscape caused by a rapid urbanisation in the 19th century. In addition many historical buildings of the colonial period lacked maintenance in this period due to policy on restoration of only restoring a limited number of buildings, such as the Internatio and Oranje Hotel. Other valuable buildings, including for example the Governor's Office, are since the official independence possession of different NGO's, governments and entrepreneurs. In 1992 a collaboration was formed between representatives of the province of East Java, the municipality of Surabaya, the Department of Architecture of the ITS University and national and International foundations (UNESCO) in order the preserve architectural monuments and other heritage in Surabaya (Broeshart et al., 1994, p, 72). This initiative has evolved over the years in a more formal approach, which is implemented today. In the preservation of historical heritage multiple organizations and partnerships strive towards this share purpose (Johan Silas, 4 May 2012. location lab ITS).

Architecturally, Indonesia was not a virgin land when the Dutch came. Its architectural tradition and heritage contrasted greatly with western architecture in general, and Dutch architecture in particular. The Dutch imported their building types and construction methods to Indonesia, and in fact when

colonising bureaucracies matured, the buildings themselves were designed in the Netherlands, materials were shipped to Indonesia, and constructed under Dutch supervision (Prijotomo, 1996, p. 1).

The present form and size of Surabaya is very different than Soerabaja in the colonial period. Broeshart, van Driessen, Gill, & Zeydner (1994, p. 71-72) state that people who lived Surabaya during colonial occupation will be truly shocked when returning after some time. Surabaya became a city of young people to whom stories of the battle for independence became old and 'before their time'.

4.3.1 Observations in Surabaya

In this subparagraph five colonial buildings in Surabaya of major importance are presented. Chronologically mentioned: Jembatan Merah, Javasche Bank, Gedung Kantor Gubernur Jawa Timur, Internatio and Hotel Majapahit. These are the most important and well-known colonial buildings in Surbaya. Although this is already quite a list, more preserved and intact colonial heritage can be found.

The Jembatan Merah (figure 4.5, first photo), in the past called the 'Roode Brug' (red bridge in English), used to be a drawbridge that got its name after it got smeared with vermilion. The legend goes that a shark (soero) and a crocodile (bojo) were fighting. And that this fight colored the water of the Kali Mas river (still crossing Surabaya) red of their blood. Later on the location of that fight this red bridge was build. The city of Surabaya is called after the shark and the crocodile. (Von Faber, 1931, p. 4). The famous bridge is used to link the European quarter on the west bank with the Chinese and Arab quarters on the east. It has recently become a memory, replaced by a functional ferro-concrete structure. Near the bridge on the west bank is a small square dominated by a stiff, white building completed around 1930 for the Dutch trading association. In November 1945, during the British occupation, the square was the scene of the assassination of General Mallaby, the spark that ignited the Battle of Surabaya (Dick, 2003, p. 8; Alberts, 1968, p. 57). Today the bridge (figure 4.5, second photo) is widened to provide space for trucks and big vehicles. The public opinion (Johan Silas 2 May 2012 during a quick interview) is not too positive of the bridge because it would not look like the original and smaller bridge. It is suggested that a new bridge is placed next to the current one in order to remember the state of the bridge in times of memorable events, as just described.

Fig. 4.5   Jembatan Merah, view around 1925 and present.
       (Source: First photo – Maior, 2004. Second photo – Author, 2012)

In 1829 the management of the Javasche Bank in Batavia (now Jakarta) assigned an agency in Surabaya. At first the management in Batavia was not convinced an office building was necessary due to insecurities in the sense of profits in Surabaya. Later this changed and around 1860 a new office building was completed in which the employees of the Javasche Bank (figure 4.5) could start to work in 1866. The agency of this bank was placed in a residential house at the Heerenstraat. (Von Faber, 1931, p. 150-151). Today used as a historical museum to tell the story of the Javasche Bank in Surabaya in times of colonial occupation.

Fig. 4.5   Javasche Bank, view 1915 and present.
                  (Source: First photo – Surabaya memory, nd. Second photo – Author, 2012)

The whitewashed Gedung Kantor Gubernur Jawa Timur, or in English: governor's office of East Java (figure 4.6), an attractive example of late-1920s art deco architecture, is still the seat of government in East Java. In the main foyer is a marble plaque inscribed 'Gouverneurs van Oost Java' that in a nice continuity lists all governors of the province since 1928 till the present day. The Japanese interregnum is acknowledged as a discrete gap between the Dutch governors before 1942 and the Indonesian governors after 1945 (Dick, 2003, p. 10).

A famous story regarding this office is that it was used by President Soekarno for a meeting with General Hawthorn to reconcile the fighting in October 1945. Followed by Governor Soerjo who, on 9 November 1945 at 23:00, decided to reject General's Mansergh ultimatum to surrender unconditionally, resulted in the battle of 10 November 1945. In looking at the pictures of former governors chronologically the turning point from Dutch governors to Indonesian governors is noticeable. In the era of Japanese occupation, the Office of the Governor of East Java was used as Syuucho (Residency) office.

This Governor Office building was designed by a Dutch architect named Ir. W. Lemci and was completed in 1931. In the colonial period, the building was used as Gouverneurs Kantoor (Office of the Governor) and Residentie Kantoor (Resident Office). In general it is noticeable that most historical buildings from the Dutch colonial period are painted white. Today still a governmental office building.

Fig. 4.6   Gedung Kantor Gubernur Jawa Timur, view short before completion in
                           1931 and present.
                           (Source: First photo – Maior, 2004, p. 139. Second photo – Author, 2012)

Internationale Crediet- en Handelsvereeniging Rotterdam (Rotterdam International Credit and Trading
Association), or, abbreviated as Internatio (figure 4.7), was designed by the Dutch architect Ghijsels in
1927 till 1928. It was constructed in the period 1929 till 1931. Besides being a banking institution,
Internatio was also a large trading company handling the export of colonial goods and products. The
building is located at the square called Willemsplein, in the business centre of Surabaya, near the

Jembatan Merah (Red Bridge). Because of its central position it appeared to be a good location for the construction of this new head office (Akihary, 1996, p. 56-61). This monumental and colonial building is now used by an Indonesian trading company.

Fig. 4.7   Internatio, view short after completion in 1931 and present.
(Source: First photo – Maior, 2004, p. 122. Second photo – Author, 2012)

Named after the Dutch royal family, Oranje Hotel (figure 4.8, first photo) was built in 1910 by the son of Singapore Raffles Hotel founder — Lucas Martin Sarkies (Broeshart et al., 1994, p, 135). Two expansions were made in 1923 and 1926. During the Japanese World War II occupation it was called Hotel Yamato. The Anglo Dutch Country Section Office returned to Surabaya after the War and occupied guest room number 33. It was known as Hotel Merdeka (Liberty Hotel) after the 'Flag Incident'. Young boys returning from school saw the Dutch flag hanging on Oranje Hotel and in an impulsive action they climbed the building and ripped of the blue part of the flag, leaving only the white and the red. Those remaining colours became the official Indonesian flag (Johan Silas, 4 May 2012, location lab). In 1969 Mantrust Holdings Co. became the new owner and changed the name to Hotel Majapahit (figure 4.8, second photo), after the single most enduring kingdom of ancient Indonesia. In the oldest reference to the city of Surabaya, according to Prof. J.H.C. Kern in his poem the 'Nagara-kretagama', there was a ruler from the Modjopahit family (Von Faber, 1931, p. 1; Maior, 2004, p. 7). Modjopahit was the new capital created by Widjaja 60 kilometres South-West of Soerabaja around 1300. As king, Kertaradjasa became the first ruler in the territory of East Java (Broeshart et al., 1994, p. 11). In May 1996 it was awarded for Architecture Preservation of a Historical Building. In December it became a National Heritage Landmark of Indonesia.

Fig. 4.8   Majapahit Hotel, view short after completion in 1910 and present.
(Source: First photo – Surabaya memory, nd. Second photo – Author, 2012)

4.3.2 Interviews in Surabaya

In Surabaya a total of seven in-depth interviews is reached, consisting of four relative large interviews and three shorter ones. These are fully transcribed presented in appendix C. The strategy to analyse these interviews is the grounded theory. Methods such as observations and archival and documentary research, regarding audio-visual material, added in some cases significant and relevant input in the process of formulating a theory. During open-coding a comprehensive list of relevant codes formed the result of this first step. In the second step, axial-coding, the search for related codes initiates using constant comparising. Some codes could be framed in one single code resulting in a shorter inventory of codes. This list of codes, ordered hierarchal in degree of occurrence, are displayed in appendix D. In the last step a matrix (figure 4.9) of interrelated codes is formed using selective coding. From this matrix the 'grounded' theory is derived. Both the list of codes and the matrix are generated output from Atlas.ti.
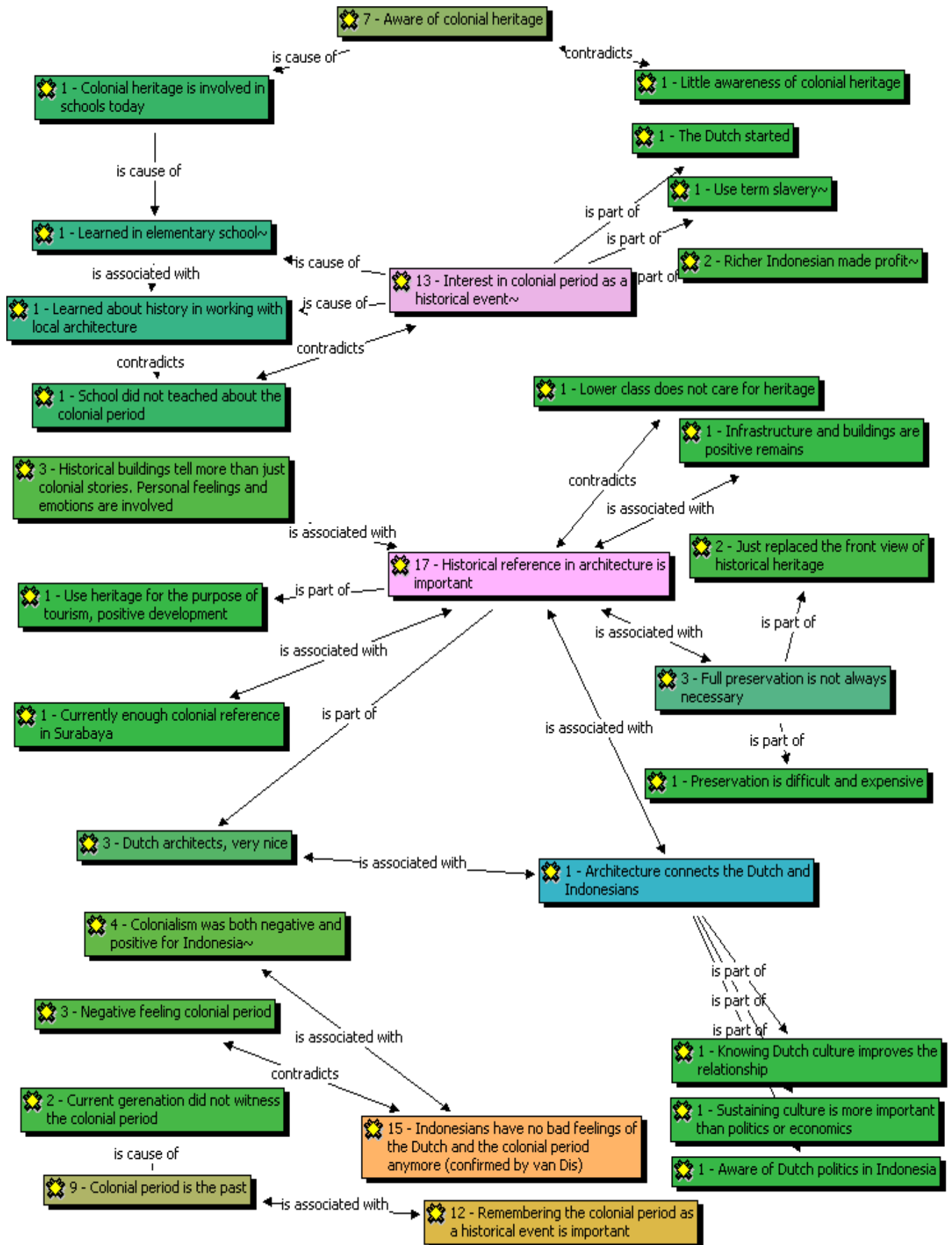
Fig 4.9   Matrix of interrelated codes from grounded theory, Surabaya (source: author)

Based on systematically generated codes, displayed in figure 4.9, a fundamental theory can be derived. The number presented in the same box as the code means the number of times it appeared in de analysed text and therefore the higher the number, the higher the relevance in supporting the theory. Noticeable is that the most relevant codes are centred in the figure, surrounded by the less (coloured mostly green), but still very significant and relevant codes. The following paragraphs elaborate further on the main topics in the interviews in order to sustain a clear view regarding the interrelated codes in the matrix.

Interest in colonial period

People in Surabaya are interested in the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. And most of them are aware of multiple buildings of colonial heritage in the city, referring to that specific period. Respondents are especially familiar with all the buildings presented in paragraph 4.3.1 in this thesis. The communication manager of the Majapahit Hotel reveals her thoughts about colonial history and architecture in Surabaya in stating:

> "History for me is of high value, because knowing the history reveals much of the culture. For example, if we know the Dutch culture, it will be much more easy to establish a sustainable relation with them. …Colonial architecture will keep the Dutch and the Indonesians connected as long as they sustain these buildings. …Many historical buildings designed by Dutch architects are here in Surabaya. It creates an emotional relationship. (Interview communication manager Surabaya, 2012)

Historical reference is important

The leading statement is that historical reference in architecture is important. *"You need to record history so you can reflect on it …. They are beautiful, why demolished it? … It is a pity if you get rid of it. I have to show my children what happened",* argued the graphical designer. A police officer agreed in stating:

> "It is very important! At least to respect each other. That a human being is a human being and nobody should be occupied. Not to fool and not to blame…. All around the world human beings are the same I think. We must never forget history. If those buildings ever will be demolished, the memory of our hero's will go away. History is to often only in a book. Not of any proof and not visible." (Interview police officer Surabaya, 2012)

Preservation of colonial heritage can be sufficient when only physical appearance is maintained. Full preservation, however, is not always necessary due to high expenses. The graphical designer states that you should not *"preserve everything. Just the buildings that are important and might can get a new function while it is still a monument".* A lecturer from the ITS agreed with this thought and adds: *"We should select which ones are good or bad, and, of course, why. Based on a lot of elements. Criteria in this matter are historical value, significance of the architect and so on".* In referring to the period right after the proclamation of independence he states that a *"long time ago people tried to get rid of all Dutch buildings. But nowadays people start to understand that we actually can keep these old buildings in order to refer to - and remember- the colonial period".*

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The majority argues that remembering the colonial period, as a historical event, is important, although there is also a significant part that argues that the colonial period is the past. Meaning that on the one hand remembering is essential, were on the other forgetting it is necessary. Regarding the process of decolonisation the graphical designer states: *"Don't decolonize in forgetting what happened. It just happened, now we deal with it … wounds will heal by time".* She continues: *"We still have independence day every year, so we still are remembered by this every year".* An urban planner adds regarding this matter that *"in order to go forward you must respect historical events, despite their positive or negative character. And of course colonial heritage helps us in remembering."* On the contrary the lecturer from the ITS argues that young citizens without education do not care much for remembering the colonial period, "they do not have any affection towards the colonial period. This is today and they look forward. … too busy with their own daily lives".

No bad feelings of the Dutch and the colonial period
In describing the current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia, the Indonesians have no bad feelings about the Dutch and the colonial period anymore. The graphical designer thinks it is a good relationship, *"we don't….emm. I don't have any bitterness. I think it is all good".* The lecturer of the ITS stated:

> History is history. Now is the moment to go on and don't bother about previous issues. Sometimes I still have a feeling that the Dutch who come to Surabaya have, how do you call it, an understanding that some Indonesian still hate them. But actually it is not. (Interview lecturer ITS Surabaya, 2012)

These observations are also leading in the documentary on national television by Adriaan van Dis called 'Van Dis in Indonesia' (Van Dis, 2012). They are aware, however, that colonialism had negative, but also positive consequences. To expose one of the examples in describing this the communication manager unfolds both a positive as a negative colonial influence: *"The negative way is that war is not good for anyone and many suffered. The positive, on the other hand, resulted in having these beautiful buildings. Those characteristic high rooftops by the Dutch architects, very nice".*

The lecturer from the ITS even stated that the relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians is better than the way the English treat the Malaysians and the people from Singapore. This is because of the way independence came to be.

> The British let them independent, while the Indonesians had to fight for their independence. In my opinion this leads to a closer, and more emotional, connection and relationship…. And to come back to the question about the importance of historical heritage it is also valuable to preserve those buildings in order to show foreigners what the Dutch build for Indonesia. (Interview lecturer ITS Surabaya, 2012)

4.4 Summary results

In Nijmegen three former KNIL barracks function as historical reference in remembering the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. They are of nationally accepted historical value. In their appearance they are similar to the original state, although their function is nowadays changed to business purposes, residential use, and even one is a refugee centre. More buildings from the colonial period, especially villas, are preserved. However, they are not recognized as national historical significant value. The area in the East of Nijmegen, called the 'indies neighbourhood', is recently acknowledged as a municipal protected area. The municipality also acknowledges that the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia is a very important event in national history and so far underexposed. More street names, regarding reference to the colonial period, will be assigned in future residential areas in Nijmegen, still under construction.

In Surabaya there is a moderate number of colonial heritage to distinguish. In this thesis there are five appointed as most important and well known as a reference to the Dutch colonial period. Different governmental organisations, institutions such as Universities, and national organisations as UNESCO formed a collaboration to preserve colonial heritage in Surabaya. Different buildings already are appointed as a National Heritage Landmark of Indonesia. Preservation is labelled as important by respondents from Surabaya, despite the high expenses of restoration. Colonial heritage in this thesis is of nationally accepted historical value. In their appearance they are similar to the original state, while their function is nowadays changed to more practical purposes, such as infrastructural accessibility, museum, office centre and trading business. Although this change of functions, it is the overall unawareness of the past and present function regarding the KNIL barracks that dominates.

Regarding the interviews it is notable is that respondents are divided in their awareness of colonial reference in Nijmegen. Stating that more people are completely unaware of such physical references is obvious. Some, however, do remember when confronted with its existence. This unconscious present knowledge frames the KNIL barracks in the perspective of recognisable buildings – and not as historical reference. Concerning interest in the colonial period shows that a vast majority have none historical knowledge on the matter of the Dutch colonial period regarding Indonesia. Despite this general absence of specific historical knowledge, Nijmegen does indeed need more historical reference to this colonial period in order to remember. Remembering this period is very important. Although a contradiction of lesser relevance suggest that colonialism is the past, thus advocating remembering is not necessary. The current relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians, according to Nijmegen, is a healthy one. It is very much assumed that Indonesians do not have negative feelings regarding the colonial period. Were younger Indonesians are more positive than older Indonesians. The relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia is comparable with the relation between the Netherlands and Germany.

People in Surabaya are interested in the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. And most of them are aware of colonial heritage in the city, referring to that specific period. The leading statement is that historical reference in architecture is important. It refers to the colonial period, characterised as important to remember, and is considered beautiful architecture. It is argued that colonial architecture will keep the Dutch and the Indonesians connected, as long as they preserve those buildings. Preservation, however, can be sufficient when just only physical appearance is maintained. Full preservation is not

always necessary due to high expenses. The majority argues that remembering the colonial period, as a historical event, is important, although there is also a significant part that argues that the colonial period is the past. Meaning that on the one hand remembering is essential, were on the other forgetting is necessary. In describing the current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia, the Indonesians have no bad feelings of the Dutch and the colonial period anymore. This observation is also leading in the documentary on national television by Adriaan van Dis called 'Van Dis in Indonesia' (Van Dis, 2012).

5. Conclusions

5.1 Conclusions based on empirical data

There is more visible Colonial reference in Surabaya than in Nijmegen. Surabaya has multiple colonial buildings that are recognised as important colonial heritage, preserved by governmental and institutional cooperation. In contrast to Nijmegen, which has only one location with three buildings functioning as monumental memory to the colonial period. These are the objects that openly and purposefully serve to let citizens remember what happened. The colonial buildings in Surabaya serve this purpose much more than the colonial reference in Nijmegen. The Indies neighbourhood in Nijmegen is a municipal protected area, preserving the physical appearance of this area, and thus not acknowledging the historical value regarding the colonial period. The fact that the municipality of Nijmegen acknowledges that the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia is a very important, and so far underexposed, event in national history, should lead eventually to more physical references regarding that period.

That there is more visible and acknowledged heritage in Surabaya than in Nijmegen can be substantiated within the perspective that the actual war did not happen in the Netherlands, but in Indonesia. Meaning that the Dutch were not confronted with the physical and emotional impact. Nijmegen was a starting point for the KNIL army to go to Indonesia. Some Indonesian- and Dutch soldiers returned and tried to start a new life in Nijmegen (Hooghoff, 2000), however many stayed in Indonesia. A second reason why colonial reference is more visible in Surabaya is in the sense of architecture. Architects, educated in the Netherlands, designed many important buildings in the colonial period. Based on the place of history it is not strange that Surabaya has more available colonial reference in sight compared to Nijmegen. This quantitative exposure has a consequence in affecting the possibility and opportunity of citizens to confront themselves (even unconsciously) with historical objects referring to the colonial period. In Surabaya you are more easily confronted to these objects than in Nijmegen.

A notable parallel is that one of the monumental barracks in Nijmegen in now a refugee centre, dealing with in- and outgoing migrants in a new environment. In the colonial period, when soldiers were traveling back and forth, this also occurred. Dutch soldiers, often years from home, coming from a 'new' country in war, bringing Indonesian wives, settled in Nijmegen. This is hardly just a coincidence. Change of functions regarding colonial heritage is visible in both cities and moves away from the thought that these buildings represent the colonial past. Changing the function of a building, in this sense, is a step within the process of decolonisation.

In both interest in the colonial period as awareness of existing colonial heritage, people in Surabaya are much more concerned and better informed. The leading statement, in both cities, is that historical reference in architecture is important. In Nijmegen, it is partly suggested that colonialism is the past, thus advocating remembering is not necessary. Despite this, Nijmegen needs more historical reference to this colonial period in order to remember. This contradiction is also noticeable in Surabaya. Were on the one hand remembering is essential, and on the other forgetting is necessary. In this you can sense certain ignorance in approaching the concept of decolonisation.

From the perspective of Nijmegen, the current relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians is a healthy one. This is in a sense comparable with the relation between the Netherlands and Germany. Like one of the respondents from Nijmegen described it as:

> "You are aware of historical events, good or bad. But it is the way of handling it in a certain perspective that matters in the current relation. The current generation was not part of that period. You only know the stories from the books and what your grandparents told you. So in that sense I think the relation does not contain any anger or hate anymore. It was before our time. We can even make jokes about it." (Interview journalist Nijmegen, 2012)

This similarity in looking at both relationships is concerned with certain empathy in understanding how people react on events in difficult periods, like war and colonialism. It is very much assumed that Indonesians do not have negative feelings regarding the colonial period. This viewpoint is shared in Surabaya in describing their current relationship. Were they add that younger (age 25 or younger) Indonesians are more positive than older (age 70 or older) Indonesians. According to Broeshart et al. (1994, p, 72) Surabaya became a city of young people to whom stories of the battle for independence became old and 'before their time'. Also this finding does cope in how respondents compare the Dutch-Indonesian relationship with the Dutch-German in involving the observation that younger people are less concerned with the colonial period than older citizens. The unavoidable consequence of this finding is that more people over time, even unconsciously, forget or avoid certain aspects, events, and happenings of the Dutch colonial period.

5.2 Conclusions based on postcolonial theory

This postcolonial study is concerned with the impact of colonialism on western and non-western cultures and societies and aims to 'decolonise the mind' from ethnocentrism of dominant western culture and society, in striving for overall human equality. In this sense 'decolonizing the mind' is focussed on fusing together fields and forms from different narrative traditions, both western and non-western. It is about centring our concerns and world views (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 39) and then coming to know and understand shared history from our own perspectives. In this the past en the present are closely interwoven. In order to understand the present dealing with the possibility of neo-colonial powerrelation, the past reveals and (re)constructs what is important to consider. Regarding decolonisation, the theory is quite uncertain and diverse about the actual start and ending of this crucial phenomenon. Decolonisation, in Colombijn's (2010, p. 404-412) perspective, is for Indonesians to break loose from Dutch obstacles and is seen as a positive development. It refers to the process of disremembering regarding what happened in the colonial period.

Colonial balance of power was made visible in urban symbols. Colombijn (2010, p. 34) could be indicating that colonial buildings did not have this power of symbolic strength regarding colonialism. Apart from this it is colonial architecture that is still the best documented change in urban development, revealing history and therefore consist of certain significance and relevance in approaching past colonialism. In the theory, as described, there is no absolute consensus about the symbolic value of historical colonial buildings. At the same time the approach towards history, in order to decolonise,

addresses to multiple perspectives. On the one hand it is argued that one should create its own history, where on the other a shared and more parallel history is at stake. Resulting in a shared path in the process of decolonisation regarding both the coloniser and the colonized.

In respect of the current relation between the (former) coloniser and (former) colonised, even nowadays the colonised are represented in terms of 'lazy' and 'indolent'. It is argued that on personal level the Indonesians forgave and often forgot. The overall memory to the Dutch occupation will fade away. In a developing Indonesia, aware of its own strength to build the future, the historical connection to the Netherlands is no longer of great importance. This impression moves away from the scenario were history is approached as a shared and parallel narration between both nations.

5.3 Empirical data linked to Postcolonialism

In responding to the central research question in this thesis the conclusions based on the empirical data are linked to the conclusions derived from the theory of postcolonialism. The central research question, presented in this final stage of this thesis to quickly refresh your memory, attempts to answer *which influences do historical and geographical characteristics in Nijmegen and Surabaya have on how respectively people from Nijmegen and Surabaya look back and interpret the colonial time in defining their view on the current relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia?*

Regarding both interest in the colonial period as awareness of existing colonial heritage, empirical findings uncover that people in Surabaya are much more concerned and better informed. Till now, colonial heritage remains only by physical appearance, meaning that their original functions have changed and adapted for modern use, continuing the process of decolonisation in both cities. Decolonisation, as a multiple interpretable term striving for human equality, refers on the one hand to the process of disremembering (negative) events from the colonial period, were, on the other, it is combining different world views and understand shared history from both perspectives. Despite the presence of colonial heritage, a dualistic perspective is created where they want to move on and forget about the colonial past, and, where remembering the colonial period is needed, from the perspective of the colonial period as an important historical event. In this sense theory, as well as empirical findings, remains divided in approaching decolonisation. Although a brave and unprejudiced attitude in looking back at the colonial period as an important historical event, there is, even unconsciously, a strong emotional drive that refers to the feeling that some negative historical events must be forgotten. It leaves the issue of why decolonisation still continues and why consensus in approaching this process is not achieved yet.

In elaborating further on the process and perception of decolonisation some elucidations or directions of thought are being explored. This dualism in approaching the importance of remembering the colonial period and thus the relevance of the preservation of historical heritage is slowly shifting towards the notion of forgetting. Younger people, or new generations, are less concerned in dealing with the colonial period. If you relate this perspective of younger people to their past experiences it is noticeable that they did not personally witnessed periods of war and occupation. While former generations, with some exceptions, did experience periods of similar events, resulting in negative memories of history. Radical historical events influence the way in which people deal with the present. The current generation has a more optimistic view and a whole different approach in dealing with the past.

Regarding the change of functions of colonial buildings, in order to continue the process of decolonisation, a noteworthy development after 1945 could clarify this phenomenon. After the German occupation in the Netherlands (1945) many buildings, camps and areas, used by the Germans, were quickly reused by the Dutch by giving them new functions. As a spatial planner I pin down this fast transformation of spatial objects as something characteristic in Dutch planning systems. For example the KNIL barracks, described as colonial heritage for the city of Nijmegen, never existed without a function (Wachelder, 2008). In Indonesia, however, this is different. Every colonial reference, as described in this thesis, has still a function that refers to the colonial period. Whether it is the function of business, office use, or museum. All in some relation and purpose to remember Dutch colonial occupation. Regarding this discrepancy it could be argued that the Dutch started to decolonise, or disremember, much earlier than the Indonesians, influencing their present attitude in looking back at the colonial period.

Despite the colonial buildings in Surabaya serve the purpose of actual heritage much more than in Nijmegen, empirical findings in both cities indicate physical preservation to be of high value. Acknowledging the importance of remembering colonial history. An explanation to this representation of higher value in Surabaya could be that Indonesia functioned as the location for the war. Or, the place of significance; 'where it all happened'. Physical and emotional impact had a much greater effect on the direct environment and people involved. Still, Nijmegen claims that it needs more physical reference to remember and educate its citizens.

Concerning the current relation between both nations it is the theory of postcolonialism that refers to a certain orientalistic representation of the former colonised, depicted as 'lazy' and 'indolent', from a Western perspective. The empirical findings describe this relationship as a healthy one with certain empathy in understanding how people react on events in difficult periods, such as war and colonial occupation. It is argued that there are no, or very few, negative feelings left regarding the colonial period. Eventually, as describes by the theory, the memory to the Dutch occupation will fade away - "The past is in another country" (Hartley in Gregory, 2004, p. 6).

What is interesting, however, is a noticeable alteration lately in dealing with colonial events. As described in the introduction of this thesis it is the relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia, in retrospect regarding the colonial period, which evokes national media attention. The Dutch excuses towards the Indonesian village of Rawagede could very well be the beginning of a reformulation and reconsideration of the colonial narrative. Due to the efforts of three renowned Dutch research institutes, in collaboration with Indonesian institutes, this topic was 'front-page-news' in one of the most important national newspapers (figure 5.1).

Fig. 5.1   Front page Volkskrant 19 June 2012.
                              Headline states that there is need for new
                              and complete research for violence in
                              Indonesia between 1945 and 1949.
                              (Source: Nicolasen, 2012, 19 June)

The headline stresses the importance and relevance of bringing this theme into public debate, evoking political pressure. It brings back the feeling that the Dutch and the Indonesians share this period in history. The aim is to create a new perspective, maybe even a new narrative, in approaching certain, mostly negative, events from the Dutch colonial occupation. This newspaper article argues that more Indonesians still suffer from the horrible events between 1945 and 1949, initiated by the Dutch. It is stated that the Dutch state needs to take its responsibilities in admitting mistakes and compensate affected Indonesians. New research should provide insights in what 'really' happened, considering the probability of objective history. Because of intensified collaboration within a situation of equal partnership between Dutch and Indonesian research facilities further research will be both in favour of nations. They stated this during a symposium in Amsterdam on 19 June called '10 years scientific programme Indonesia – Netherlands, looking ahead, looking back'.

Regarding decolonization this is an interesting development. Colonial memories are investigated again and will certainly arouse emotions, from positive to negative, among people in both the Netherlands and Indonesia. Both the Netherlands as Indonesia state this is to rethink certain colonial events in framing a correct historical narrative and repair actions of wrongdoing in both perspectives. From this point of view it shows the practice of postcolonialism, where shared history is understand and becomes known in striving for human equality. Despite the fact a shared history involves a joint narrative, it, of course, is still

divided by two (or more) storylines from different perspectives. In order to deal with the assignment in comparing multiple narratives, a notion of contrapuntal reading will be involved. The effect of using contrapuntal reading, as an equal approach in respecting and taking into account perspectives and beliefs regarding past and present of both places, will have a certain influence on both societies. By looking at both intertwined histories, the perspectives and beliefs from both the Netherlands and Indonesia are considered to be equal. In approaching history from a shared point of view it prevents societal emulation and Eurocentrism, which Clive Barnett describes as:

> Non-European cultures were denigrated as being ether historically backward or, worse, wholly outside history. Presuming one particular set of cultural values and practices as the benchmark against which to judge all others. In so far it presumes an idealized model of European history as the single model for other societies to emulate, often described as Eurocentric. Eurocentrism combines a strong sense of the particularity of European culture with a strong claim to the universality of these values. (Barnett, 2006, p. 149)

Eurocentrism, closely related to the concept of 'othering', is currently at stake at a high level of Dutch politics. The Dutch minister Geert Wilders has an interesting background. He was born in Limburg, situated in the South part of the Netherlands, and lived his youth in Indonesia. Derived from various political statements he presents himself as very anti-multicultural, despite his oversees experiences. Could this be caused by lack of reflection towards the Dutch colonial -and therefore historical- period? Or are other matters at stake? In order to find a well-grounded answer it is important to be aware of different perceptions regarding this particular mind-set and behaviour, especially the inner thought of Wilders. The thoughts of Geert Wilders also need to be read contrapuntally, from different perspectives on equal and respected foundations. It shows that contrapuntal reading, as defined in this thesis, is perhaps the most important aspect within the theory of postcolonialism to reach a societal situation based on respected perspectives in an equally sustained relationship.

Still, however, the questions remain of why this sudden tipping point in reevaluating colonial events? Why do the Dutch and Indonesians have preferred not to remember or not to know? Could it be shame or fear? Shame of who? Fear of what? These, and other similar questions, are important to elaborate further on the (post)colonial relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Much is still to be discovered. Hopefully this tipping point will generate new energy for conducting future research on this topic within the framework of postcolonial theory.

5.4 Reflection

In writing this thesis the use of different pronouns can cause difficulties when writing for several audiences. Words such as 'I' and 'we' may be acceptable now in academic writing, it is not always acceptable to other populations. Therefore Edward Said asks the following questions: Who writes? For Whom? And in what circumstances (Said in Tuhiwai Smith, 1999, p. 36)?

Reading, writing, and talking are representations in producing knowledge about, in this case, two different societies. At all times I have to take into account that literature and interviews could be dangerous and wrong in representing these societies. I wrote this thesis, naturally, in my own perspective. By selecting information, framing relevance is based on personal choice. Thus leaving out information on the nation of irrelevance.

Despite the efforts to implement the approach of contrapuntal reading, my study is nevertheless built on Western methodologies, strategies and ways of thinking. Regardless of my experience in Indonesia, I still do not fully conform to an Indonesian perspective.

This research is completed within a period of five months. Despite a high level of devotion and work intensity a select number of thoughts and questions, as indicated in the conclusions, remains interesting. These issues reveal on the one hand the difficulties regarding the theme of this thesis. In this current developments will (try to) influence perspectives and expose certain tensions in dealing with emotional and personal views in approaching the colonial period today. Where on the other hand these thoughts and questions supply me, and others, with insights and supporting guidelines in focusing on new fields in where to conduct research. Think about research directions such as socio-economic and socio-political relations, but also towards the field of architecture. It is also interesting to involve a perspective on metanarratives. A metanarrative is a story about a story, encompassing and explaining other "little stories" within conceptual models that make the stories into a whole. The interviews in this thesis can be seen as micro-narratives, based on personal expressions. It is interesting to discover how these personal stories fit the framework of a metanarratives in revealing a comprehensive explanation of historical experience or knowledge. The concept of metanarrative was introduced and criticized by Jean-François Lyotard in his work, The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge (1979). Much can still be, and needs to be, discovered.

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Appendix A   Transcribed interviews Nijmegen

1. Entrepreneur (52) in fast-food located in the Javastraat. Lives and works in the Indies Neighborhood for over thirteen years. Respondent did not agree to record the interview. Therefore detailed notes will describe the answers and emotions in this interview.

The respondent is a guy with a quick response and claims to know a lot of people in the Indies neighbourhood. People are very open and amicable. In waving and greeting people who pass by he confirms this. When I ask him about the Indies neighbourhood he directly starts by saying that this is a old and expensive neighbourhood with lovely houses. He states that after the war (1945) housing mostly was intended for middleclass and a little upper-class. When I refer to the colonial period and Indonesia he replies by saying that he does not know much of that period. Despite this, he tells me that nowadays a change could be seen in the neighbourhood. Where the population was mostly middleclass and a little upper-class, this situation has changed to an environment were richer people live. It's a very popular neighbourhood for academics such as dentists, doctors, pharmacists and lawyers.

However he claims to know very little of the Dutch colonial period he is aware of the KNIL barracks in Nijmegen. He made the relation between a battle in regard of colonialism and independence. That in Nijmegen KNIL soldiers were training and stationed in those barracks and nowadays serve as reference to that period. He could, however, not tell me the current state and function of it. Just as he knows almost all the names of the streets in the Indies neighbourhood that he knows refer to Indonesian islands, making a connection towards the colonial period is more difficult. His awareness reaches by the hypothesis that the names of the street were assigned somewhere hundred years ago, so not during the period of independence. With this he refers to the period that the Netherlands still was ruling Indonesia as a colony. He argues that the Dutch assigned those names in honour and pride of the Dutch nation.

He claims he doesn't know any Indonesian people right now. The ones that did live in this neighbourhood are past away or have left. Those were people that witnessed the colonial period and the independence of Indonesia and some even participated in the KNIL armies. According to him he is not able to describe the relation between the Dutch and the Indonesian because he is not aware of the current situation in Indonesia as well as the relation between the two nations. He says he just knows to little of it. In addition he stated that he is afraid that people from that period are passing away in the near future and that their specific experiences and knowledge of the colonial period may vanish.

2- Academic (29) who lives in the Javastraat for almost 2 years now.

I: So this is the Javastraat [showing map of Indies neighbourhood] in the Indies Neighbourhood. Where do
    you live exactly?

R: In the Adje-straat

I: And for how long do you live here already?

R: emm, Almost for two years now

I: With which intensions did you move here?

R: This was mainly because I like the houses and the neighbourhood so much.

I: Ok

R: Yes, I wanted to live in Nijmegen 'Oost' very much, or 'Bottendaal'. I think 'Botteldaal'is part of 'Oost' actually… And I liked the street and the apartments. Do you know them?

I: Yes, I am aware.

R: Especially the enormous space created by the street between the apartments.

I: Do you know why they named these streets in the current setting?

R: It… emm… has… to do something with Indonesia or something.

I: Yes…

R: emm… yes. [laughing]

I: Well, each street is named after an island somewhere in Indonesia. Can you tell me something about what you know of the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia?

R: [Laughing] Actually… to be honest… I don't know that much of that period.

I: Just tell me what comes to mind.

R: Well… in the history books I can remember there was little to be told about this period. I think I forgot most of it. I know that Indonesia consist of many big and small islands. But regarding history I know practically nothing. School failed in that respect [laughing]

I: What do you think the reason was to name these streets after some Indonesian islands?

R: Because it was a Dutch colony. And if I am not wrong every… big city in the Netherlands has a district like this. I would say they named these streets to make up for what happened there. Or to give it a place in history. To give this event more attention. This looks for me as a good motivation.

I: Ok. And which date would you give this moment of naming the streets, if the independence of Indonesia was claimed right after the end of World War Two?

R: I can imagine that these streets were named already a few years before 1945. Because 'Oost' existed already for quite some time I guess. So the names of the streets are also older than 1945.

I: …and a specific date…

R: 1920

I: So in the sense of historical references. Whether these names of the streets are, or are not, intended as reminders to the colonial period. Do you know any historical references, as commemorations, to the Dutch colonial period in Nijmegen?

R: I only know, in the sense of commemorations, 'Plein 1944´.

I: Yes…

R: Or do you mean in the form of a monument?

I: Both actually. Name anything you consider relevant.

R: I know some monuments in the centre of Nijmegen [laughing], but don't know what they mean. Sorry.

I: Did you ever see these buildings in Nijmegen [showing photo's of the KNIL-barracks].

R: O yes, the barracks. I know them! This one [pointing at the Krayenhoffkazerne, facing the Groesbeekseweg] is at the Groesbeekseweg, its very familiar. And the other… looks quite the same…

I: True, those two building look strongly alike, but in fact both still exist in the same area. The 'LIMOS' terrain.

R: Yes, yes. I think I know the 'LIMOS' terrain… Also that tower is familiar to me. Also in 'Oost' right?

I: Yes, true

R: If you see this… could you place in a historical framework? I: It reminds me to Wellington (New Sealand), but it is almost impossible.

I: Did you know what happened there and what is happening there today?

R: emm… no, I don't know.

I: By the way, did you ever met somebody from Indonesia?

R: emm… one colleague of mine in a Indonesian. And…emm…that's all I guess.

I: And do you know if he or she still is in some way connected to Indonesia?

R: I would say no. But I am not sure.

I: Could you perhaps profile a citizen from Indonesia? Describe it please.

R: Asian looks, colored, little people, tiny and flat nose, good food and… emm… also perhaps oppressed people and poverty. Further… motivated, the will to build fast. Possibly adventures. Yes! Because of their determination to come to the Netherlands.

I: Can you explain what you mean by saying the people in Indonesia are being oppressed?

R: It was a colony, not a free country. And that influences people strongly.

I: Also today?

R: Maybe, I don't know. I have never been to Indonesia. So I don't have any emotion or feeling towards that situation nowadays.

I: Ok, that's fine. Just a moment back to the colonial period. Hoe long do you think this period lasted?

R: [Laughing] I am sorry. I have no idea.

I: Again, no worries. … So, let me thank you for your time and efforts. See you.

R: No problem. Good luck with your study, bye.

3. Young journalist from Nijmegen working for a regional newspaper in the province of Gelderland, the Netherlands

I: This interview is about your perspective towards the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. If I would ask you to define, in a timeline, the period and what happened, what would you say?

R: I would start with the desire to discover by the VOC about 300 years ago. The Dutch sailed to Indonesia back then and claimed land and recourses. Probably in quite a bloody scenario. In those 300 years the Dutch made a huge profit on behalf of the Indonesians. But that is of course always the case when colonization is at stake. Eventually, when the first World War started the occupation lost some strength. And after the Second World War it was completely over, after intervention by the United Nations.

I: Could you perhaps name more counties that were occupying Indonesia in the colonial period?

R: The English, especially.

I: And what do you know about the period after the independence of Indonesia?

R: It was the last war for the Dutch as a single nation. The rest was in collaboration. By the end of the 50ties or 60ties the last Dutch ships sailed to Indonesia, despite the given fact that all was already lost.

I: Can you imagine what emotional feelings the Dutch had after the proclamation of independence by Indonesia?

R: You lost something. But actually I think that the Dutch people did not thought much of it because of their own war against the Germans, which was of course much closer and emotionally heavier. But for the state as a whole it was a big lost....Indonesia

I: The colonial period did leave some marks in the cities. What would you describe as visible remains of that period in Nijmegen?

R: Only the former barracks at the LIMOS terrain.... And also the Indies neighbourhood I think...would be a relation.

I: What could be the function of those references.

R: I don't know.... It may have different causes.... On the one hand it could mean something strong. Like, it belongs to us and therefore we name it that way to express our power. But on the other could it also mean that Nijmegen was expanding and new names were needed..... I really don't think the average person in Nijmegen knows much of this period. I guess only the old Indonesian people who lived in that period. I think if we create more historical references in Nijmegen people would know more about the Dutch colonial period. I am sure.... And that is a good thing. Just as much as the Second World War.

I: What is the function, the need of, remembering history?

R: As a society is it very important to remember because you learn from it. Remembering victims does not look like a good thing to me, because people do not feel related. Instead based on the large perspective regarding that period we can definitely say that this is not all right and something should never happen again.

I: Does Nijmegen in this sense need more historical references?

R: Of course you can argue what and where this is desirable. But there are many historical events that can be remembered. Some are more important than others. But in the relation, as a city, Nijmegen did had to close connections to Indonesia. So more references would be good at this time. But not only in Nijmegen, but implement this in the whole county. I guess it would also be a sign of honour towards the Indonesians in showing our respect.

I: How would you describe the current relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians?

R: It is maybe related to our relation with the Germans. You are aware of historical events, good or bad. But it is the way of handling it in a certain perspective that matters in the current relation. The current generation was not part of that period. You only know the stories from the books and what your grandparents told you. So in that sense I think the relation does not contain any anger or hate anymore. It was before our time. We can even make jokes about it. And nowadays we do not have anything to do with that anymore.

I: Do you think the Indonesians think the same way in their situation?

R: Perhaps only the older people, who witnessed the colonial period still have emotional feelings, even in a negative way. But overall I think that the.... especially current generation.... think the same, yes.

I: So I understand that historical events in this case should be remembered. And Nijmegen will need more visible references to establish this. But still keep the relation in a positive setting. Is that correct?

R: Yes, it is.

I: Also in the political or economical setting?

R: Yes….well….maybe slightly different in the political setting. When you look at the mess in Suriname at the moment. That Bouterse…. You know….. Here you see that the differences in political thinking do not always merge that well….. if you know what I mean. On this level there are much more things at stake then just the relation between societies….. What is really important is the a state always should recognize what happened in the past and deals with this in a human way towards, in this case, Indonesia. But also Suriname. In that sense it is good that the Dutch government apologized for some bloodbaths in Indonesia. But strange in this sense is that they do it so late….

4. Student Social Geography with an extended interest in the field and particular in historical events.

I: What do you know about the colonial period in Indonesia? Please frame this within a timeline.

R: It started in the 16th century when the Dutch explored the world and reached Indonesia over sees at some point. When arrived in Indonesia they started the trading company the VOC. First to exchange good that were rare in Europe. Later exploitation. The main reason was money.

I: How do you think the situation was in both countries during this period.

R: I think that only at political level they were aware of the exact situation in Indonesia. Most Dutch people, I guess, did not know what was going on. …. They where busy with themselves and surrounding countries. And regarding Indonesia, I think that the Indonesians were shocked when the Dutch arrived. They had probably never seen people like that.

I: There are stories that Indonesian frame the Dutch in a negative way in saying that they exploited the Dutch and treated them, in some cases, very bad. But there are also stories that are quite positive in were the Indonesians state that streets and railways were constructed by the Dutch and that the legal system and many others things could not have existed back then without the Dutch. Different stories, what do you think?

R: Of course Indonesians benefit from the improvements regarding infrastructure….. it really did put Indonesia in the world map. …emmm. I myself sometimes talk to Indonesians and I reckon that the Indonesians are in no way negative about the Dutch. Of course I also learned in school that we treated slaves very bad, which logically leaves traces in the mind set of the Indonesians. However, nowadays they don't care about that period anymore. Or better said, they say that it is the past and happened back then. No harsh feelings anymore. I guess the average Indonesian does not have negative feelings of that period.

I: And when a differentiation of young and old is involved?

R: Yes, the older ones witnessed the war and battled for freedom at some point. I guess for those people the Dutch could still be somewhat negative. But on the other hand I think the current, somewhat younger, generation is forgiving and overall positive about the Dutch. In that sense it is comparable with the Germans. For example my grandpa still talks about the Germans as horrible people. While you and me, the current younger generation do not have any real….you know…. hard feelings anymore. In Indonesia you can compare this with what happened in Rawangede.

There I think the older people think very badly of the Dutch, understandably. But the younger ones…well….I guess same as us. No hard feelings.

I: Back to the timeline. Continue your story…

R: emmm…. In improving equality of business in Indonesia a turning point must be the Cultuurstelsel. A new system somewhere in the 18th century that made sure that especially farmers had more rights. Still imbalance…. but slightly less.

I: Let jump to the current period. What if…you meet, at random, an Indonesian in Indonesia and you ask him what he thinks of the Dutch, what do you think he will answer?

R: Emmm. I think he will focus first on the appearances of Dutch, or even European people. I think he would say something like: that is a Dutch guy with a big nose, tall and hair on their chest….for example. So really describe physical characteristics and not so much refer to different actions in the past. Rather looking at the moment, right now. They might point out some Dutch products, Dutch soccer players, etc. So really put the focus on the 'now' instead of the 'back then'.

I: How would you describe the current relation between both nations?

R: Both countries share a lot. Architecture, language in Indonesia. And here we have Indonesian dishes, street names.

I: Do you know some physical characteristics in Nijmegen referring to the colonial period?

R: Indian neighbourhood. …..and….emmm….. I only would say Indonesian food that is integrated in our society, Just around the corner the food is very good.

I: But when looking at monuments….

R: I don't know actually…. Only a big square, statue or building could function as a monument. I don't think the Indian neighbourhood is a monument. Not at all, actually. So nothing in Nijmegen makes me think of the colonial period.

I: Do you know the KNIL barracks?

R: Yes, I do. I have heard of them.

I: Do you know where they are?

R: No, But I do know that KNIL was the national army that was used to function in Indonesia. So I do see the relation, now. But actually never thought of it before.

I: Do you think it is important to remember the colonial period, as a Dutch person living in Nijmegen?

R: Yes, I do. First I think it is important that we learn this in high school. This is very important. To whole story of the Dutch occupation in Indonesia is a long period in our history, so very important. Both the positive as the negative side should be discussed. By positive I mean the financial part. And with the negative side I mean the slaves, exploitation, things destroyed. In my perception I would rather focus on the more negative parts. I think to few people are aware of what happened. And in that sense I really would argue that Nijmegen, as also other cities in the Netherlands, need more monuments to let the people remember and educate about the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia. It is just as important as the German occupation here in the Netherlands. But of this war you can definitely find monuments. Every citizen of the Netherlands should be aware of the Dutch occupation in Indonesia, also negative things. We, and everybody, should reflect on those actions. I think that Dutch cities should make room for those monuments. It is possible I guess.

Appendix B   List of codes from grounded theory, Nijmegen

Hierarchical codes after axial-coding regarding the data in Nijmegen (source: author):

Name	Grounded
Unaware of physical colonial reference	11
More historical reference is required to remember the colonial period	8
Remembering the colonial period is very important	7
Guessing the average Indonesian does not have negative feelings of that period	7
No historical knowledge of the colonial period	6
Aware of physical colonial reference	6
Colonial period is the past	5
Interst in colonial period as a historical event	4
Dutch-Indonesian relation comparable with Dutch-German relation	4
Younger Indonesian generation is positive about the Dutch	2
Colonialism was both positive as negative for Indonesia	2
Indonesians describe the Dutch on the basis of physical appearance	2
Can't describe the current relationship due to uncertainty	2
The Netherlands, as a whole, need more historical references	1
The current relation in general is healthy	1
Learned it by common interest	1
Unaware of the current and former function of the street names	1
The Dutch assigned the streetnames in honor and pride of the Dutch nation	1
Familiar with the Barracks after naming them	1
Dutch citizens were distracted from the colonial events because of the WOII	1
The Dutch-Indonesian relation is very cultural	1
Colonialim should never happen again	1
Learned in school	1
Indonesian neighbourhood is not a monument	1
Same amount of reference as the WOII will be sufficient	1
Older Indonesians could still have a negative image of the Dutch	1

Appendix C   Transcribed interviews Surabaya

1. Graphical designer and friend who has a broad worldview. This is my personal perception based on experience in spending much time with her during the period I lived in Surabaya for half a year in 2010.

I: Can you tell me what you know of the colonial period in a chronological timeline?

R: It started with a trip from the Dutch, called the VOC in the 17th century. First it was only trade what interested them. While later they wanted more and started to build settlements. Colonialism followed. After the Dutch there were the Japanese. And after that the Dutch again. Especially the final few years were periods of, sometimes heavy, war. In this period the lower class people had to work really hard on, for example, the land. Richer people might were getting the opportunity to finish a study. As long as you have money and status, even Indonesian during the Dutch colonial period, lot could be achieved. Then it was also happening that even during this period the richer Indonesians, owners of land, exploited their own native people by letting them work on the land with almost no economical prospects. They really had to work hard in the plantation, looked like slavery.

I: And can you tell me where you learned this?

R: Yes, still in lower school, elementary school.

I: And afterwards, still a topic in daily life?

R: No, not often. It is centuries ago [laughing]. No, but the next generation did not witnessed the colonial period. So we don't have stories of that period, like for example veterans do. We still have Independence Day every year, so we still are remembered by this every year.

I: We already talked about the historical building of the colonial period in Surabaya. I know you are aware of their existence. But do you think it is important to preserve these, in looking at the future?

R: Yeah, why not? They are beautiful, why demolished it? And also they refer to important historical events. Just as a memory.

I: Why is history important?

R: It is just part of the route. Just as you would like to know the story of your roots, of your country and then also of the colonial time. And actually not every building is referring to the colonial time. Some also to other events or persons, like architects. Famous architects. It is good to preserve a few that are important to remember because of their relation to a certain event. Another reason to preserve is that you need to record history. You need to record history so you can reflect on it. It is a pity if you get rid of it. I have to show my children what happened.

I: You know about decolonization right. What pattern should Surabaya follow?

R: emm… well, decolonization in the sense of building on what you know and make progress in reflecting on this. Don't decolonize in forgetting what happened. It just happened, now we deal with it.

I: Some people have a negative feeling by the period…

R: Yes, some people might have that, but I don't. And I guess more people are and will think like me. Simply because the next generation is coming, no direct, perhaps negative, confrontation. There is nothing bad with that period.

I: So what will you define is something good about this period?

R: Yes, big streets, nice building….

I: If you should label the period, will it be good, bad or both?

R: If you ask me about the nation then it is negative, for I am Indonesian. And I don't want any foreigner occupying this land, logically. But just don't demolish the good things. And as far for the bad things, wounds will heal by time [smiling]…. But don't preserve everything. Just the buildings that are important and might can get a new function while it is still a monument.

I: And regarding the current number of historical buildings or objects in Surabaya. Do you think this is sufficient to remember enough?

R: I Think it is just sufficient. Enough. But don't destroy more. That what I want, signs of each period.

I: How would you define the current relationship between the Dutch and the Indonesians at a global level?

R: I think it is just great. A good relationship. We don't….emm. I don't have any bitterness. I think it is all good. Except for that tank selling. I mean, what for?! We have a lot of islands, we don't need tanks. We need ships [laughing].

I: This is also a discussion in the Netherlands. That they might attack their own people.

R: Yes, it could be a very violent situation.

In addition to her interview she stated a few remarks during diner, which I of course could not record. She mentioned that lots of buildings from the colonial time are demolished. Despite the opinion of the citizens of Surabaya the local government does not want to pay the, often expensive, reconstruction and maintenance costs. Even if the historic value and reference regarding the colonial period are widely proven and accepted. On the other hand is it not always the reference to the colonial period that matters to citizens of Surabaya. In some cases people have memories from their youth in direct relation with a specific building, without knowing if there is a colonial reference. This means that if a building of historical value from the colonial period is preserved the motivation could either be a memorial to the colonial period or is based on personal reasons.

2. Employer in Governor's Office (Kantor Gubernur Jawa Timor) at Jalan Pahlawan 110 said the following when I asked to tell something about this particular building: "This building is from the colonial period and built by the Dutch occupiers. In this hall (the entrance and main hall of the building) you can see pictures of former governors and the present one hanging on the wall. They are hung in the right order of time and start of course with the Dutch. Then the governors from Indonesia follow. There are no pictures from Japanese governors." On the question how history is related with this building he replied: "It is from the Dutch colonial period, that's all."

3. A policy officer in front of the Governor's Office (Kantor Gubernur Jawa Timor) at Jalan Pahlawan 110 during the demonstrations because of International Labours Day. The riot of demonstrating people did not arrive by the Governor's Office for at least one hour so he had time to speak with me.

I: Can you tell me something of the Dutch colonial period?

R: I know the Dutch colonisation started somewhere by the end of 1600, I would say something like 300 years ago. Till 1945 we were occupied by the Dutch and a short period by the Japanese. Since 1945 we are independent. We celebrate it every year.

I: What do you know about this building? [Governor's Office]

R: That governors of Surabaya were here. Even for a long time. IF you look at the pictures at the wall you see them. First you see the Dutch Governors [pointing at them] and then the Indonesian governors [again pointing].

I: And where are the Japanese governors?

R: No Pictures of Japanese...

I: And are there any other buildings in Surabaya that refer to the colonial period?

R: Yes, Majapahit Hotel, different cemeteries where Dutch people are buried. All very close relation to this period.... And... Jembatan Merah, have you ever gone there?

I: Yes, I was there yesterday actually

R: Oh ok, yes.... The bridge is very memorable. It is very important to our history and our freedom. There was a big battle on that location around 1945 between the Indonesian local army and the 'alliantie' from England and USA.

I: And are you familiar with the Javasche Bank?

R: emmm, Yes! I know that also. Ancient building, yes. But actually I think there are many building around the Jembatan Merah that were built in the colonial time and look European. That whole area is cultural heritage.

I: Do you know any people from the Netherlands?

R: Yes, here in Surabaya there is the Holland Club. Once I visited them there. And also the Nederland Royal Ambassador. And probably Robin van Persie [laughing]

I: Do you know people who are Dutch?

R: Not exactly, no.

I: And what do you think of the people in the Netherlands?

R: Just common people like you and me. Just human being. Just history.

I: Is it important to remember the history of the colonial period?

R: Yes! It is very important! At least to keep honouring each other. That a human is a human and nobody should be occupied. Not to fool and not to blame.... All around the world human are the same I think.

I: And is it important to keep these buildings....[did not finish question]

R: Yes, of course! Of course. We must never forget history. If those buildings ever will be demolished, the memory of our hero's will go away. History is to often only in a book. Not of any proof and not visible.

4. A cleaner of the Javasche Bank was able to tell me a little about this building. However is building was not yet open for public, I could enter. He said, "This building is just renovated. Finished one year ago and not open for public yet. Somewhere in 1800 this building was created by the Dutch with

the help of Indonesians. This happened in the Dutch colonial period. This area is full of historical heritage."

Two employers of the Bank Nasional Indonesia (BNI) stated that they are aware that their bank used to be in the building of Javasche Bank. They said that there a lot of buildings in the area around the Jambatan Merah that were build by the Dutch in the colonial period. Further they mention that historical knowledge is not their strongest subject.

5. Young communication manager from the Majapahit Hotel responded to my questions on a very personal level. In profiling her she conforms more to someone who is a citizen from Surabaya all her life rather than a communication manager from a hotel.

I: I am doing a research on buildings that refer to the Dutch colonial time in Surabaya. Majapahit Hotel is one of them. And I was wondering if you could tell me something of this building?

R: Yes, in a historical perspective, this building is built in 1910 regarding the middle part of the building. The rest was you see here and where we are now sitting is built in 1936. We also have room 33 here. It is a special room because the hero's from 1945 had a meeting here before the flag incident. The Dutch flag was ripped, to be more specific; the blue part was ripped of so the white and red remaining in forming the current Indonesian flag. This is the real story. It all happened here, on the balcony of room 33.

I: I also heard this hotel changed it name quite often…

R: First, when the Dutch occupied Indonesia, it was called the Orange Hotel. Later, when the Japanese invaded, Yamoto. Then changed to Merdeka Hotel, because this means independence.

I: Why did they change the name?

R: Because the government said so. First the Dutch, then the Japanese and then the Indonesian.

I: But why from independence to Majapahit?

R: Majapahit is the kingdom of East Java in the Hindus tradition. And because this is very related with our culture they changed it from independence to Majapahit. It is East Java that is essentially important to the culture. Indonesia is influenced by the culture of Hindus and Buddhists at that period. And the Majapahit kingdom was within the East Java, as a symbol. In that period East Javanees had to honour them. And because of this the changed the name to Majapahit.

I: This building is of course built in the period of Dutch occupation. Now I am wondering if the Dutch build this or the Indonesian?

R: emm… Yes, the Dutch. The Sarkies family built this. But they have more hotels. For example in Malang and Singapore. The second restaurant in this hotel is actually a Sarkies restaurant.

I: How much do you know about the colonial period?

R: Yes, the Dutch were here from 1910… emm…I mean they built this hotel in 1910. The Dutch first came here, together with the Portuguese, about 365 years ago. Because that was how long the war was. Of course the Japanese also occupied this county, although it was just a short period compared to the Dutch occupation. So first the Dutch, then the Japanese for about four years. Then the Dutch tried again but independence from the Indonesians took over. Yes, that's it.

I: Do you think this period of colonialism was positive or negative for Indonesia, or both?

R: I don't know…. I think we always have to look in a positive and negative way. The negative way is that war is not good for anyone and many suffer. The positive, on the other hand, resulted in having these beautiful buildings. Those characteristic high rooftops by the Dutch architects, very nice.

I: Are you aware of more buildings of historical reference?

R: I was born in Surabaya and I think that Surabaya has only a few historical buildings. But the government also does not promote its heritage. So I guess more people are perhaps unaware. Also when I was in school here not many information was given about the colonial period. Nowadays this is much better developed. Do you know the House of Sampoerna?

I: Yes, the heritage tour bus.

R: Well, nowadays children at school all take the tour with the bus to see the historical and cultural heritage of Surabaya.

I: Do you think it is important for Surabaya and its history to remain these buildings?

R: History for me is of high value, because knowing the history reveals much of the culture. For example, if we know the Dutch culture it will be much more easy to establish a sustainable relation with them.

I: So are you saying that these buildings also say something about the Dutch?

R: Yes, ever still. This architecture will keep the Dutch and the Indonesians connected as long as they sustain these buildings.

I: Do you then think that it is important that the Indonesian and the Dutch are in a good relationship?

R: Yes, it has to be.

I: Why?

R: Because many historical buildings designed by Dutch architects are here in Surabaya. It creates an emotional relationship.

I: Might it also have a political or an economical advantage to interrelate?

R: Yes, could be…. But it is not as important as culture.

6. Urban planner with the ITS University and member of the one of the heritage teams in Surabaya. Did not wanted to record the Interview so instead of transcription the conversation is described. When I asked about the way of schooling and gaining knowledge regarding the colonial period she replied with "In elementary school they just teach you about the basics of the colonial period. That it started in 17th century by the Dutch VOC till the independence in 1949. In between the English, the Portuguese and the Japanese intervened. Actually I learned much of it during my work in reading on architecture in focussing on colonial heritage buildings. But this is an different perspective than just historical. In the old city of Surabaya there is much colonial heritage build by European educated architects. My point of view, however, differs sometimes with others involved in heritage preservation. I think a building is only heritage when it really had a certain value and relevance in the colonial period. A building must have a meaning or, maybe better, a story. Often there is requested that a historical building should be reinstated by a brand new copy of that building. This way preserving is often very expensive and in my experience not always necessary. In the Netherlands they usually just replaced the front view of the building in order to keep the memory and the architectural intensions. Memorizing what happened in the colonial period is important. We can and must always reflect on the history in order to make choices for the future. Mistakes

are human, and the Dutch made them a lot. But in order to go forward you must respect historical events, despite their positive or negative character. And of course colonial heritage helps us is remembering." Followed by my questions whether the future of Surabaya is better build on remembering, meaning that the history of colonial occupation should be involved in choosing directions in planning the future, or should be based on forgetting the (negative) history in the process of decolonization an looking ahead? She stated that "despite negative events did had occurred on both sides, remembering is very important in growing as a city, but also as a society, in looking to the future." When I then asked for her view on the current relation between the Dutch and the Indonesian she replied: "I don't know. I am unaware of political and economical collaboration at this moment. But collaboration between nations is always good, right? I mean, what happened in the colonial period is not, and cannot, affect the relation between the Netherlands and Indonesia. Collaboration on an equal level should be stimulated at all times. Once I met a guy in Amsterdam who said that colonizing Indonesia was very positive thing and important for the people in that country. He stated that education, medical care and nice architecture did not reached Indonesia for a long time if not Dutch intervened by occupation. In his perception the Dutch period of colonization in Indonesia was like a favour for the Indonesian people. This shocked me because mainly this period was about war and exploitation in which both countries made mistakes. To give an example I would like to refer to the introduction van het Cultuurstelsel. In my view this intended economical boost was not a bad idea. But the negativity towards the Dutch, later acknowledged, should also refer to big mistakes on the Indonesian side. Indonesian aristocrats who ruled the agricultural land exploited their own workers, also Indonesian, in raising rent, for their own well-being. What I try to say is that both countries did things and made choices that were, and later turned out, to be wrong."

7. Highly respected lecturer and researcher with the ITS University in Surabaya specialized in urban developments, architecture and environmental issues.

I: The main focus of my research is actually the geographical references to the colonial period and the perception of citizens within this context. How do you think people in Surabaya reflect on the current historical buildings?

R: The lower class people with less education, they just don't care. To busy with their own daily life. But those with a background in architecture they try to remain historical buildings. Often this is difficult to create awareness and generate money. To give you an example: long time ago some official members of the government tried to place a new building right in front of an existing historical building. The building I mean is the current Governors Office, you know right...

I: Yes

R: But when they finished the new building it was already demolished quickly because it affected the quality of the historical heritage in the back. Everybody agreed with this. Actually there is no need to preserve all the historical buildings. We should select which ones are good, bad and, of course, why. Based on a lot a elements. Criteria in this matter are historical value, significance of the architect and so on. But due to the commercialization of the city sometimes the local government they cannot resist the temptation of commercialization of certain area. Often certain companies are trying to replace heritage with new office buildings.

I: Can you give me an example?

R: One building was previously a hospital with historical value. Today it is a kind of restaurant. Also a old train station was rebuilt for commercial use. But when people began to protest against it, while constructing the train station, they just stopped in leaving the unfinished remains as they were. Worth nothing anymore.

I: If I understand correctly is was half demolished and not reused?

R: Yes, correct, half demolished. Some rich people who understand the value try to keep it as it is. But on the other hand there are a lot of rich people that don't quite understand the beauty and value of buildings just begin to reconstruct in a different style. In my opinion this kind of urban developments are very unsuitable for the city as a whole. This happens a lot in Citraland for example. Building materials are, in this case, often imported for Europe or the United States. As also many big statues. In which I would say that it not represents Indonesia, but just reaches a new level of fakeness. In they say 'kitsch'. Only artificial…

I: Would you describe this as a bad development?

R: Maybe not good, and maybe not bad. Just not the same. It has a lesser value than before. So in that perspective you can say it had a negative tension.

I: Let us go together through a few pictures of colonial heritage I discovered [showing pictures]. Do you recognize them al?

R: … Yes, I do. So, long time ago people tried to get rid of all Dutch buildings, because of colonial period. But nowadays people start to understand that we actually can keep these old buildings in order to refer to -and remember- the colonial period. Also these buildings can be used as a tourist attraction. To give an example of myself: I already met three Dutch people who visited Surabaya with an old picture and map and tried to find the former house of their grand family. But they could not find it because it was already demolished, unfortunately.

I: How can you explain the change in thinking were first al lot of buildings were demolished and know their historical value comes to mind?

R: The majority starts to understand. The new generation comes and sees things differently. How to reuse heritage for the purpose of tourism. This is a very positive development in retaining historical and cultural heritage.

I: What is your view on the current, and global oriented, relationship between the Netherlands and Indonesia?

R: In my opinion those with good education will think of it as very useful. History is history. Now is the moment to go on and don't bother about previous issues. Sometimes I still have a feeling that the Dutch who come to Surabaya have, how do you call it, an understanding that some Indonesian still hate them. But actually it is not. Maybe a few in the older generation. But for the young people it is all good. Usually they don't know much about that period. And even if they do, it is a long time ago. No worries. The biggest problem right now is how to conserve buildings with historical value. We should not constantly refer to the colonial period. In looking at these buildings we still can learn a lot from the Dutch, positive things. For example the railways. How much is constructed by the Indonesians?... Almost nothing. Despite a few negative events that occurred, there are a lot of

positive things to distinguish from the colonial period. We just should place it in a perspective of looking forward in using historical information. That's my opinion…. For those under the age of fifteen do not have any affection towards the colonial period. This is today and they look forward.

I: So can you state that all collaborations between the Dutch and the Indonesians are based on a equal level?

R: Yes, I think so. Although sometimes we also think about if the Dutch treat us like the English treat the Malaysians and the people from Singapore, the relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians is even better.

I: Can you explain this further?

R: The British let them independent, while the Indonesians had to fight for their independence. In my opinion this leads to a closer, and more emotional, connection and relationship…. And to come back to the question about the importance of historical heritage it is also valuable to preserve those buildings in order to show foreigners what the Dutch build for Indonesia. One thing we are lacking nowadays is regulation how to conserve the progress of development of certain historical buildings. So maybe the function of those buildings can change to make them economically and perhaps even commercially attractive, the important thing is that the front view must be preserved in order to serve as a historical reference.

Appendix D   List of codes from grounded theory, Surabaya

Hierarchical codes after axial-coding regarding the data in Nijmegen (source: author):

Name	Grounded
Historical reference in architecture is important	17
Indonesians have no bad feelings of the Dutch and the colonial period anymore (confirmed by van Dis)	15
Interest in colonial period as a historical event~	13
Remembering the colonial period as a historical event is important	12
Colonial period is the past	9
Aware of colonial heritage	7
Colonialism was both negative and positive for Indonesia~	4
Historical buildings tell more than just colonial stories. Personal feelings and emotions are involved	3
Dutch architects, very nice	3
Negative feeling colonial period	3
Full preservation is not always necessary	3
Richer Indonesian made profit~	2
Just replaced the front view of historical heritage	2
Current gerenation did not witness the colonial period	2
School did not teached about the colonial period	1
Learned in elementary school~	1
The Dutch started	1
Use term slavery~	1
Lower class does not care for heritage	1
Use heritage for the purpose of tourism, positive development	1
Currently enough colonial reference in Surabaya	1
Aware of Dutch politics in Indonesia	1
Infrastructure and buildings are positive remains	1
Preservation is difficult and expensive	1
Colonial heritage is involved in schools today	1
Little awareness of colonial heritage	1
Architecture connects the Dutch and Indonesians	1
Knowing Dutch culture improves the relationship	1
Sustaining culture is more important than politics or economics	1
Learned about history in working with local architecture	1