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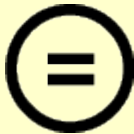
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Master's Thesis

**Identity Formation and Transformation of First
Generation Dutch Indos in The Netherlands**

August 2017

Graduate School of Seoul National University

International Cooperation Major

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국제학석사학위논문

네덜란드의 1 세대 네덜란드 ‘인도’의
정체성 형성과 변형

2017 년 8 월

서울대학교 국제대학원

국제학과 국제협력전공

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**Identity Formation and Transformation of First
Generation Dutch Indos in The Netherlands**

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August 2017

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Abstract

Identity Formation and Transformation of First Generation Dutch Indos in The Netherlands

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Between 1945 and 1965, almost 300,000 Dutch citizens migrated to the Netherlands from Indonesia. More than 60% of these so-called ‘repatriates’ were born in the former Dutch East Indies and the majority of them had both Dutch and Indonesian parentage; these people were referred to as ‘Dutch Indos’. Even though they were legally Dutch citizens, Dutch law- and policymakers were often quite reluctant to honor their status, especially regarding their settlement costs. The cultural differences between native Dutch and the migrated Dutch Indos were highlighted in an effort of ‘othering’. This paradox of possessing citizenship – which implies full inclusion of a society – and at the same time experiencing exclusion, exemplifies how the membership of a legal group of Dutch nationals does not guarantee the unconditional inclusion by the Dutch society.

The aim of this research is to explore the identity formation and transformation of the first generation Dutch Indos that have migrated from Indonesia

to the Netherlands between 1945 and 1965. To fully understand the concept of identity for this group of diaspora communities, this study explores the cultural assimilation processes that can have an influence on the formation of one's identity. This synergy of assimilation and identity is where the uniqueness of identity can be fully understood. From analyzing the interplay of cultural and national identity, a working definition of identity is formed in order to assess the formation and transformation of first generation Dutch Indo identity. Interviews from the oral history archive (KITLV) and qualitative interviews conducted by the author among first generation Dutch Indos are were selected as a source for the research. The research findings are discussed and categorized in the concepts of time, place and policy. Subsequently, these results are linked with the theories discussed in the literature review in order to fully assess the processes involved in identity formation.

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Keywords: migration, repatriation, cultural assimilation, cultural identity, national identity, Dutch Indo

Student ID: 2015-25055

Table of Contents

I. Introduction	9
1.1. Purpose of Study.....	9
1.2. Literature review	11
1.2.1. Cultural Assimilation	12
1.2.2. Cultural Identity	14
1.2.3. National Identity.....	16
1.3. Methodology.....	18
1.3.1 Oral History Archive (KITLV)	19
1.3.2. Qualitative interviews (conducted by author).....	19
1.4. Expected contribution.....	21
II. Historical background	22
2.1. Colonial era: Dutch East Indies (1800-1942).....	22
2.2. Japanese Occupation and Independence (1942-49)	25
2.3. Period of Migration: “Repatriation” (1945-65).....	26
2.4. Dutch Assimilation Policy (1950s-70s).....	29
2.5. Dutch Multiculturalist Policy (1970s-80s)	31
III. Research Results	33
3.1. Time.....	33
3.1.1. Colonial Era (~1942).....	33
3.1.2. War and Independence (1942-1949).....	35
3.1.3. Migration and Arrival Period (1945-1965).....	37
3.1.4. Subsequent Period (1960-1980s)	41

3.1.5. Contemporary Period (1990s-present)	42
3.2. Place	44
3.2.1. Dutch East Indies/Indonesia.....	44
3.2.2. The Netherlands	45
3.2.3. Moluccas	45
3.3. Policy.....	46
3.3.1. Colonial Division	46
3.3.2. Independent Indonesian Government	47
3.3.3. Dutch Post-Colonial Policy.....	48
3.3.4. Dutch Assimilation Policy	49
3.3.5. Dutch Multicultural Policy.....	49
IV. Results Analysis	51
4.1. Cultural Assimilation.....	51
4.1.1. Socio-economic status.....	51
4.1.2. Spatial Concentration.....	52
4.1.3. Language assimilation.....	52
4.1.4. Inter-marriage	53
4.2. Cultural Identity.....	53
4.2.1. Dichotomization	53
4.2.2. Identity Markers	54
4.2.3. Renewing Process	54
4.3. National Identity	55
4.3.1. Imagined.....	55
4.3.2. Limited	55

4.3.3. Sovereign.....	56
4.3.4. Community.....	57
4.3.5. Long-distance Nationalism	57
V. Conclusion	59
5.1. Summary.....	59
5.2. Limitations and Implications	62
References.....	64
Annex.....	78
Annex A.....	78

I. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of Study

The post-colonial implications as a result of migration have been much discussed in the Anglophone and Francophone context, however less research was done on this topic with regards to the Netherlands. What makes the topic of post-colonial migration to the Netherlands even more complicated is the concept of citizenship. More than 90% of the people who migrated from the former colonial Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands were officially already carrying Dutch citizenship before their arrival in the Netherlands.

Over 60% of these so-called ‘repatriates’ were born in the former Dutch East Indies and the majority of them had both Dutch and Indonesian parentage; these people were referred to as ‘Dutch Indos’. Even though they were legally Dutch citizens, Dutch law- and policymakers were often quite reluctant to honor their status, especially regarding their settlement costs. The cultural differences between native Dutch and the migrated Dutch Indos were highlighted in an effort of ‘othering’ - half of the these ‘repatriates’ found themselves in the same dire social and economic circumstances as labour migrants (Bosma, 2012). This paradox of possessing citizenship – which implies full inclusion of a society – and at the same time experiencing exclusion, exemplifies how the membership of a legal group of Dutch nationals does not guarantee the unconditional inclusion by the Dutch society.

The impact that this post-colonial migration had on the Dutch society can not be overlooked and has changed Dutch demographics drastically: nowadays, about 6.3% of the Dutch population has roots from the former colonies (Bosma, 2012). For

many diaspora communities, identity is a complicated concept. On the one hand being part of both the country they left behind and the country of current residence, but on the other hand not fully part of either.

While researching, I posted a call on a Dutch Indo community forum, asking people to participate in interviews on their identity, especially regarding their national identity. This caused a whirlwind of comments including arguments on what their identity truly is. Some stated they considered themselves 'just Dutch' and referred to their assimilation process into the Dutch society, while others prided themselves on their past in Indonesia and their roots there. This exemplifies that the issue of identity is still a much-debated topic in the Dutch Indo community and is therefore worth further research. Furthermore, the first generation of Dutch Indos is specifically important since it is a community that has been able to establish itself over time, and the post colonial connections associated with this group make it especially interesting, and important to understand other similar groups, such as the French-Algerians who were born in colonial Algeria.

The aim of this research is to explore the identity formations and transformation of the first generation Dutch Indos that has migrated to the Netherlands between 1945 and 1965. After Indonesia gained independence, the majority of these Dutch Indos were forced to repatriate to the Netherlands, a country that most of them never even had been to. This situation created a unique dilemma regarding citizenship and identity. The research questions for this study then, is the following: 1) How was the identity of first generation Dutch Indos in the Netherlands formed? 2) What are the factors that contributed to this specific identity, and which characteristics are associated with it? Moreover, 3) has this identity transformed over

time? And if so, how has this development gone through?

To fully understand the concept of identity for this group, it is important to look at the cultural assimilation processes that can have an influence on the formation of identity. This synergy of assimilation and identity is where the uniqueness of identity can be fully understood. From analyzing the interplay of cultural and national identity, a working definition of identity can be formed in order to assess the formation and transformation of first generation Dutch Indo identity.

There will firstly be a literature overview on theories regarding cultural assimilation. Thereafter an overview of literature on cultural and national identity is provided. Additionally, the methodology is introduced, where interviews from the oral history archive (KITLV) and qualitative interviews conducted by author are used as a source for the research. Subsequently there is a short historical overview, from the colonial era to the Dutch multicultural policies in the 1980s. In this, the status of Dutch Indos in different times and societies, and the different policies the Dutch government implemented especially for this group is discussed. In the following part, the research findings will be discussed and categorized in the concepts of time, place and policy. Lastly, these results will be connected with the theories discussed in the literature review in order to fully assess the processes involved in identity formation.

1.2. Literature review

This chapter focuses on the different theories that influence the identity formation of a diaspora community in light of the Dutch Indo situation. Firstly, cultural assimilation is discussed, something that the first generation was confronted with after migrating to the Netherlands. Understanding cultural assimilation, its measurement and

influence on their community can give a better view for the research into their identity formation.

In order to fully comprehend the identity formation of Dutch Indos, it is important to analyze the concept of identity. I have chosen to analyze identity as two components: cultural identity and national identity. This interplay of identities are most relevant for the condition of this group, since the questions raised in their unique situation is based on conflict of culture and nation, especially regarding citizenship. From these, a working definition of identity is formed, and identity formation and transformation is analyzed based on this.

1.2.1. Cultural Assimilation

Cultural assimilation refers to the process by which a person's or group's culture becomes to share similarities of those of another group. This can be either a rapid or steady transformation, depending on circumstances of the group (Parisi et al., 2003). Regarding migration, this process involves the migrant's group adaptation to the new host society. Full assimilation is also possible, when the migrant's group becomes indistinguishable from the rest of the society. It can be seen as a multipath process, where the incorporation of immigrants and their descendants into the economic, political, social institutions, and culture of the host society places them into different sections of assimilation (Joppke, 2003). These sections can be categorized as upward assimilation as mainstream middle and rising lower class; downward assimilation as lower- and underclass; or adhesive assimilation as immigrant enclaves (Hurh & Kim, 1984).

A number of immigrant assimilation researchers have had a quite optimistic

picture of the effects of assimilation on immigrants: Alba & Nee acclimatize the term assimilation, and view assimilation as a tool for understanding the immigrant experiences (Alba & Nee, 1997; 2003). Bean & Stevens report in their research that there is assurance for a positive outcome through cultural assimilation for the majority of the immigrants they've studied (Bean & Stevens, 2003).

Waters and Jiménez discussed the standard measures of immigrant assimilation that have been used by social scientists to document cultural assimilation. They outline these four indicators as: (a) socioeconomic status (SES), defined as educational completion, occupational specialism, and equality in earnings; (b) spatial concentration or residual patterns, defined in terms of variation in spatial distribution; (c) language assimilation or linguistic patterns, in my case study defined in terms of Dutch language ability and loss of mother tongue (Indonesian or regional Indonesian languages); and (d) intermarriage, defined by race or origin, and only occasionally by ethnicity and generation (Waters & Jiménez, 2005). Depending on the conditions of a particular immigrant group, their assimilation contains different scopes and patterns of these socio-economic, political, social-cultural and residual orientations – and practices transferred from their home country, molded by the host society. In each situation, the process of assimilation develops in a context-contingent and multi-pace way (Joppke, 2003)

These four indicators introduced by Waters and Jiménez are used in the assessment of cultural assimilation levels of Dutch Indos in the Netherlands. This can give a clear indication of how far cultural assimilation has been progressed, and how this influenced their identity.

1.2.2. Cultural Identity

The concept of cultural identity has many meanings and interpretations, where notions of culture, ethnicity, ethnic groups, race and nation are often closely connected. The culturist approach is characterized by essentialism, primordialism, and reductionism.

This culturist approach is essentialist in its tendency to objectify culture and identity: culture is being presented as a ‘thing’ that people possess or are part of. In this view, culture is seen as an object with distinct features, as a certain homogeneous, static tradition, independent of changing circumstances (Vermeulen & Govers, 1994).

Within this view, cultural values are imbedded in existing communities who have clear distinctions with other cultural communities. These cultural ‘blocks’ are being interpreted in a primordial manner: cultural characteristics and identifications – such as language, habits, or feelings of group-connectedness – are seen as objective and unavoidable effects of biological forces, such as family (Baumann, 1997).

Cultural consciousness, mobilization and conflict are being explained as the logical effect of the existence of collective origin, religious beliefs, language or biological ‘facts’ as shared genes (Baumann, 1997; Eller & Coughlan, 1993). This is the reductionist character of this culturist approach to cultural identity. The culturist approach therefore reduces all cultural complexity to one simple comparison: culture is a certain system of values and practices, which contributes to a cultural consciousness and collective action within a community.

With the constructivist approach of cultural identity however, cultures are not seen as ‘things’ with demarcated contents. Cultural norms, values and practices are rather the shifting and complex result of continued processes of social interaction and

definition. Constructivists emphasize that cultural contents and cultural communities are not the same. Collective cultural identities can remain the same, even while the culture itself can drastically change its contents. Moreover, cultural identities refer to robust, durable and contrasting differences, while cultural characteristics generally blend together and go through group limits (Tempelman, 1999).

Constructivists argue that the essence of collective cultural identity lies in the process of 'dichotomization'. In this process, symbolic borders are shaped that separates a certain group from other groups. These borders are social borders that are maintained by cultural elements, such as origin, language, certain historic events or habits - selected from real or invented traditions of a group. These cultural elements are used as 'identity markers' and subsequently used to demarcate one's own group as a unique unity from other groups (Barth, 1998).

Therefore, cultural identities in the constructivist view are the result of the social organization of groups, not as something simply already existing, such as in the culturist view. The core of constructivism is that cultural identities are not seen as a given essence, but the product of strategic manipulation: the result of creative imagination, with which individuals define themselves again and again. This renewing process of social construction exists on individual and group level, in numerous interactions in the daily life (Young, 1993). This means that cultural identity is in constant development.

Taking the constructivist approach, three characteristics of cultural identity are used to analyze this research: (a) process of dichotomization, the creation of symbolic borders; (b) cultural elements or identity markers, such as origin, language, historic events and habits; and (c) renewing process of social construction.

1.2.3. National Identity

A sense of belonging to a certain country and being included in its society has a great effect in adopting, bolstering, or diminishing of one's identity. Country identity determines social identity; the same way as religious, ethnic and class identity have a large influence in shaping identity (İnaç & Ünalnal, 2013). The perception of different identities is based on the reciprocity and mutual understanding as well as interaction. A social identity unit generally separates and differentiates the other (İnaç & Ünalnal, 2013).

The multi-dimensional concept of national identity has been a much-discussed topic in its field, and every researcher has defined and explained this concept by highlighting its diverse aspects. For example, Breuilly emphasizes the exclusiveness of national identity by stating that the relations between culture and nationalism are used by different nations as a tool for distinguishing them from each other (Breuilly, 1993). On the contrary, Kymlicka accentuates its inclusive character by stating that civic nationalism aims to respect cultural differences within a multicultural context (Kymlicka, 1995). Continuing within the multicultural setting, Gilroy views national identity as a melting pot, where the assimilating character of national identity depends on notions of citizenship and partisanship (Gilroy, 1993). Likewise, Smith argues that a shared national identity does not require that members of a certain nation should all be alike, but only that there exists a bond of solidarity to the nation and other members of that nation (Smith, 1991). Going against a multicultural view of national identity, Rutherford claims that national identity depends on the uniformity, cultural community and common culture (Rutherford, 1990).

Anderson asserts that national identity is imagined and constructed, and nations are imagined political communities, inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson, 2006). He analyzes four features constituting national identity: (a) imagined, since members do not know most fellow-members, yet in their thoughts each of them lives in the image of community; (b) limited, borders make the concept of a nation finite; (c) sovereign, where the concept of a nation was conceived in an age where the legitimacy of monarchic legitimacy was destroyed; and (d) community, where nation has always been conceived as profound, horizontal partnership, regardless of inequality (Anderson, 2006).

Anderson also coined the term *long-distance nationalism* to define implications of continued loyalty to a nation or region where a person either no longer lives or has never even lived (Anderson, 1992). This concept is particularly relevant in studies of diaspora communities, and their feelings of national identity. At times, for diaspora communities, the nostalgia for the imagined authenticity of their childhood (or that of their ancestors) in their familial homeland can give rise to cultural purity movements who oppose modernization and cultural hybridization (Anderson, 1992). Recently, due to the increase of transnational migration and increased facility in global communication, long-distance nationalism has become more extensive.

For the purpose of this research, Anderson's definition is chosen to analyze national identity, with five indicators: (a) imagined; (b) limited; (c) sovereign; (d) community, and (e) long-distance nationalism. With these markers, analysis of national identity of Dutch Indos is conducted to give a well-defined impression of how identity is formed.

1.3. Methodology

This research implemented the qualitative research methodology in order to examine the experiences of first generation Dutch Indos in the Netherlands in a historical and contemporary context. Qualitative research allows a researcher to directly attend to the interviewee's stories, experiences and ideas; and observe their attitudes, behaviors, and feelings (Seidman, 2013). The historical context here refers to individual situations that involve experiences undergone by a bigger community. The contemporary context here includes current reflections on their experiences and status, and thoughts on their identity.

The Oral History Archive of KITLV (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies; Dutch: *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*) conducted hundreds of interviews among the target study group, first generation Dutch Indos in The Netherlands. From this archive, it was possible to gain a large wealth of information from which I could compare and analyze similarities or differences between the experiences of these interviewees.

However, because these interviews were previously conducted, not all the answers provided in the interviews were specific to my research. Moreover, these interviews were conducted some time ago, and the specific focus of this research is the contemporary transformation of identity. Therefore, qualitative interviews conducted by author are supplemented in order to gain more specific information regarding my research.

1.3.1 Oral History Archive (KITLV)

From the database at the Oral History Archive of KITLV, interviews for this research were selected through non-probability consecutive or sequential sampling. This means that every subject whose interview contents met the criteria of inclusion was selected until the required sample size was achieved (Lunsford, 1995). The in-depth interviews were conducted by KITLV between the years 1970 and 1995, with open-ended questions and their contents described experiences of living in Dutch East Indies/Indonesia and the Netherlands, their migration and their reflections.

The selection criteria for the interview participants were restricted to those who were born in Indonesia/Dutch East Indies, mostly pre-independence, are of both Indonesian and Dutch parentage, and have migrated to the Netherlands between the years of 1945 and 1965. The total number of interview participants included for this research is 37.

The birth year of these interview participants ranged between 1909 and 1936; 14 females and 23 males participated. The year of migration to the Netherlands ranged from 1947 to 1965. As for place of residence, the sample was varied, and not everyone mentioned his or her current place of residence. As for place of birth, the majority was born on the island of Java. The table in Annex A illustrates detailed information of general backgrounds among interview participants.

1.3.2. Qualitative interviews (conducted by author)

Between September 2016 and April 2017, I conducted in-depth interviews with five first generation Dutch Indos residing in the Netherlands. The interview participants were confined to those who were born in Indonesia/Dutch East Indies, mostly pre-

independence, are of both Indonesian and Dutch parentage, and have migrated to the Netherlands between the years of 1945 and 1965.

Interviewees were recruited through non-probability quota sampling, and the majority of them were found via online contact by which an announcement was placed for interest in cooperation with the study. The interviewees chosen by this method of non-probability quota sampling can ensure that the sample is equally representative of each layer in the stratified sample group (Lunsford, 1995).

The interview was semi-structured with open-ended questions. The average interview lasted between 60-120 minutes, and every interview was recorded and transcribed. The interview contents are mainly composed of 6 parts: 1) family background 2) experiences of life in Dutch East Indies/Indonesia, before and after independence 3) motives and experience of migration to the Netherlands 4) experiences in the Netherlands, divided by early, subsequent and contemporary period 5) own feelings of identity and community 6) own observations of change in status and perceptions.

The age of my interview participants ranged between 66 and 83, with the majority in their late 70s to 80s. 1 female and 5 males participated. The length of stay in the Netherlands ranged from 70 to 52 years. As for place of residence, the sample was varied. The following table illustrates the detailed information of general backgrounds among interview participants.

<Table 1> General Backgrounds of Interview Participants

Name	Gender	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Year of Migration	Place of Residence
Beerling, Dane	Male	1934	Tjimahi, West Java	1947	Amsterdam

De La Croix, Pierre	Male	1938	Semarang, Java	1952	Amsterdam
Loos, Ferdinand	Male	1949	Bandung, West Java	1953	Wessem
Schubert, Ronald Arthur	Male	1951	Bandung, West Java	1965	Westervoort
Zijmers- Luciani, Cristina	Female	1936	Batavia (Jakarta), Java	1957	Venlo

1.4. Expected contribution

Although my research is limited to the Dutch Indo community in the Netherlands, its findings could be taken as a broader sense for many diaspora communities, in cases where migration is an effect of post-colonialism. What makes my research unique is that I will also focus on how identity has changed within the first generation over time, whereas previous research has mostly been focused on changes along the second and third generation. Furthermore, it could increase the understanding of the difficulties of the concept of identity, especially for these diaspora communities.

II. Historical background

This chapter discusses the historical background and analyzes the position of Dutch Indos in the colonial era, Japanese occupation, Indonesian independence, period of migration and arrival, and contemporary period in the Netherlands.

2.1. Colonial era: Dutch East Indies (1800-1942)

In 1595, a Dutch expedition called the VOC (United East Indian Company, Dutch: *Verenigd Oost Indische Compagnie*) set sail for the East Indies to increase their spice trade and gain direct access. In Batavia (now Jakarta), a trade capital was established and it became the center of VOC's trading network. The company also took over surrounding territory to further increase and safeguard their trade. Their control of the area was intended to make sure they had the monopoly over spices there. But in 1800, the VOC was declared bankrupt due to corruption and mismanagement, and the Dutch Republic nationalized its possessions in Asia. Thus Indonesia came under administration of the Dutch government, and was declared an official colony in 1800 as the Dutch East Indies (Van Doel, 1996; Ricklefs, 1991; Vickers, 2005).

After the official colonization, during the 19th century presence and hegemony of the Dutch Republic expanded throughout modern day Indonesia. A substantial amount of the Dutch spice and crop trade during the 19th and 20th century came from the Dutch East Indies, and contributed greatly to the wealth of the Dutch (Van Doel, 1996; Booth et al. 1990).

In 1854, approximately 18,000 European citizen holders were found to live in Java, while in the 1890s this number increased to 62,000 (Van der Kroef, 1953). During the first half of the 20th century, there was a large-scale migration of Dutch

and other Europeans to the Dutch East Indies. And by 1930, there were more than 240,000 people with European citizenship (0.5% of the total population in Indonesia) found to be living there. In reality almost 75% of these European passport holders were native Eurasians or Indos: born from marriages between (mainly Dutch) Europeans and native Indonesians (Van Nimwegen, 2002). This high number of intermarriages can be seen in 1925, whereas 27,5% of all Europeans in Indonesia married either native Indonesians or Indos, and this percentage stayed high until 1940, when it was still 25% (Taylor, 1983; Gouda, 2008). For clarity, I refer to Indos of Dutch parentage as Dutch Indos throughout this thesis.

During the Dutch colonization, the social order was based on rigid racial and social structures, where Dutch elites were living mostly separate from the native population –although intermarriage did exist and Indonesians often worked as live-in maids (Cribb, 2004)–, and formed a privileged upper class of soldiers, administrators, managers, teachers and pioneers; positions only they could hold. There were legally three classes of citizens: highest were Europeans (under which Dutch Indos fell too if their European parent gave them European legal status), second indigenous (native Indonesians), and lastly Foreign Orientals (Chinese and Arab) (Knight, 2000; Vickers, 2005; Reid, 1974).

The government system was placed under hierarchy of Dutch officials, but traditional rulers were often installed as regents, becoming an indigenous civil service. The Dutch or Dutch Indos held the top positions, while native Indonesians, who made up the numerical majority in the government administration, filled the lower positions (Gouda, 2008). The Dutch East Indies also established a People's Council, where half of the members were comprised of native Indonesians, 45%

European and 5% 'foreign oriental'. Although there is a big role given to the native Indonesians within the People's council, its real power was limited to an advisory role and only a small portion of the native population could vote for its members. The Dutch government was therefore still the one actually in power over the decision-making (Knight, 2002). Under colonial rule, the Dutch codes of law were adapted in the Dutch East Indies, although these laws were in fact only applicable to people with European legal status; the native population were only indirectly dealt with. Native Indonesians were subjected to the law of their districts (Benda, 1965).

The Dutch colonizers extended the Dutch school system to the Dutch East Indies, but included the rigid social order. Only Dutch and Dutch Indo children and those of the Indonesian upper class were able to attend the most prestigious schools. The second rank education level was based on ethnicity, and there were separate schools for the Indonesian, Arab, and Chinese middle class; even though the whole curriculum was forged to Dutch standards and classes were given in the Dutch language. Native Indonesians only had access to basic education thought in Indonesian, but there existed "link" schools, where very smart Indonesian students could study to gain entry into the Dutch-language schools (Lehning, 2013). The Dutch government also set up vocational schools to train Dutch Indos and native Indonesians for specific positions in the society. These schools were not accessible to "foreign Orientals" (Hoerder, 2002). Many graduates of these Dutch-language schools opened their own schools modeled after the Dutch system, and these were made more accessible to the native population. Higher education institutes were also established, but only accessible for graduates from Dutch language schools.

The status of Indo people during the Dutch colonization of Indonesia depended whether or not the European parent legally acknowledged the child, thus giving it the legal status of a European within the social order. If this was the case, Indos were given almost the same level of privilege in access to education and positions in the government as the Dutch. Their status was seen as in a different rank than native Indonesians. If they were not acknowledged however, they were given the same status as native Indonesians.

2.2. Japanese Occupation and Independence (1942-49)

After Japanese forces occupied Indonesia in 1942, they wanted to remove everything that was part of the former European government: the governmental system was overthrown and mostly native Indonesians were put in administrative positions. Furthermore, they sought to put all people with European legal status –including Dutch Indos- in Japanese internment camps: firstly Prisoners of War, then all male adults, and lastly all females with their children were interned. The Japanese were unsure about where the loyalty of the Dutch Indos lay, in the beginning they were often given the benefit of the doubt, but as time went by, many Dutch Indos rejected the Japanese. Then, Dutch Indos were largely subjected to the same forceful measures as the Dutch, often being seen as traitors and unwilling to cooperate with the Japanese. Even though many Dutch Indos were imprisoned during this time due to the Japanese occupation, an estimate of 160,000 lived outside of the camps (Bussemaker, 2005).

Though the majority of the Dutch Indos seemed to be loyal to the Dutch during the Japanese occupation, there was a Dutch Indo minority who were pro

Indonesian independence. Famous Dutch Indo Ernest Douwes Dekker and P.F. Dahler supported a movement led by the Indo European Alliance, however this was only a minority and it did not succeed in making a big change.

In August 1945, after Japanese surrender, the Indonesian nationalist leaders declared Indonesian independence. The Dutch colonial rule did not accept this and tried to fight back, but the Nationalist Awakening had changed the mindset of the native Indonesians into a more despising view of the Dutch colonizers. Since the nation did not establish a set government yet and was in anarchy, this resulted in many clashes between Dutch/Dutch Indos and native Indonesians (Anderson, 2005a).

This period of clashes is called Bersiap, meaning to “be prepared”. The heaviest period of Bersiap was in 1945-46, where Indos were seen as spies, and were subjected to kidnapping, robbery, murder and sometimes-even massacres. Many people who were seen as ‘pro-Dutch’ got attacked, mainly native-born Indos or Christian natives (Bussemaker, 2005). In 1945, a nationalist leader distributed publicity to specifically kill the Dutch and Dutch Indos, feeding the desires of fanatical nationalistic Indonesian youth, and causing many murders (Sidjaja, 2011).

These kinds of attacks continued throughout the revolution and the total death toll among Dutch Indos is said to be approximately 20,000 (Reid, 1973). The nationalist leaders urged to calm down as the violence increased, but many young men were in favor of an armed struggle to get rid of the old colonizers.

2.3. Period of Migration: “Repatriation” (1945-65)

Although migration of Dutch people back to the Netherlands started already in 1945, after the Dutch government officially transferred the sovereignty to Indonesia in

1949, the new Indonesian government started taking harsher measures in an effort to remove all reminiscent of colonial rule. Dutch and Dutch Indos with Dutch legal status had to choose between either revoking their Dutch nationality and being able to remain in Indonesia, or retain their Dutch nationality but had to migrate out of Indonesia. Only 10 percent of Dutch Indos took Indonesian citizenship, since many of them had been socialized into Dutch customs, and Indonesian sentiments towards them were very negative at the time. Thus the majority of Dutch Indos were forced to migrate out of Indonesia (Bosma, 2012; Janoski, 2010). However, the Dutch government was unwilling to assist those with Dutch citizenship from their former colony; and it took the official position that they would be better off in a future Indonesia than in the Netherlands (Bosma, 2012).

Some of these Dutch Indos migrated to Australia, United States, Canada or other former Dutch colonies such as Surinam, but the majority moved to the Netherlands (Van Imhoff, 2013). The Dutch initiated a repatriation program, which lasted until 1967. Many of these Dutch Indos were born and raised in Indonesia, and for them it was their first time arriving in the Netherlands. The migration pattern from the former Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands by Dutch and Dutch Indos is called Repatriation, and it proceeded in five waves (Van Imhoff, 2013; Jones, 2007).

Between 1945 and 1950 the first wave took place. After Indonesia's declaration of independence in 1945, around 100,000 Dutch citizens migrated to the Netherlands, many of them being former Prisoners of War captive in the Japanese internment camps. They tried to flee the gruesome Bersiap period, where many Dutch people were targeted. Although Dutch Indos were largely targeted in this period as well, most of them did not get the chance to migrate out of Indonesia until later.

Therefore, the first wave consists mainly out of Dutch people who were part of the privileged class during the colonization and thus had more access to resources to get them to the Netherlands (Jones, 2007).

The period between 1950 and 1957 can be seen as the second wave. Because of the Dutch government's formal recognition of the independent state Indonesia, and the subsequent transfer of power to the Indonesians, many civil servants, law enforcement and defense personnel working under Dutch rule, of which many were Dutch Indos, lost their jobs. It is estimated that around 200,000 people migrated to the Netherlands in this period (Van Nimwegen, 2002).

The third wave, 1957-1958, saw an increase of anti-Dutch sentiment in Indonesia because of a political conflict around New Guinea, and Dutch citizens were declared an undesired element. Around 20,000 more people left for the Netherlands (Van Nimwegen, 2002).

From 1962 until 1964 the fourth wave took place, wherein New Guinea, the last part of the Dutch territory, was released to Indonesian rule. The last remaining Dutch citizens left for the Netherlands, the number is estimated at 14,000 (Jones, 2007).

The fifth wave, 1957-65, an overlap with the third and the fourth, but it concerns a different group so it is categorized as a different wave. The Spijtoptanten, people that originally opted for the Indonesian citizenship, found themselves unable to integrate into the new Indonesian society because of discriminatory treatment and also migrated to the Netherlands. Out of the 31,000 people that initially chose the Indonesian citizenship, a majority of 25,000 withdrew their decision over the years and eventually migrated to the Netherlands (Van Nimwegen, 2002).

It is sometimes difficult to identify which of these people with Dutch citizenship were Dutch expatriates and which were Dutch Indos, born and raised in Indonesia. But estimates state that out of the 296,200 Dutch 'repatriates' only 92,200 were expatriate Dutchmen born in the Netherlands. The remaining 204,000 people were considered Dutch Indos (Willems, 2001; Bosma, 2009; Herzog, 2013). The majority of the Dutch citizenship holders that repatriated to the Netherlands were Dutch Indo, and were born and raised in Indonesia. So even though they had the legal status of European and were formally considered to be Dutch and held Dutch passports, the majority was actually never even been outside of Indonesia (Bosma, 2008; Willems, 1994). Officially, they were Dutch, but culturally they were seen as Indonesians. Therefore they can be seen as a distinctive migrant group with their own social integration in the Netherlands.

2.4. Dutch Assimilation Policy (1950s-70s)

Integration of Dutch Indos is usually seen as a perfect assimilation into Dutch society, where two factors are given as reasons: their Dutch citizenship and the amount of 'Dutch cultural capital'. Meaning they had Dutch style education, were familiar with the Dutch language and culture even before migrating to the Netherlands. Moreover, since usually one of their parents was Dutch, the majority of the Indos had European family names, making it easier for them to integrate. For these reasons they were often not seen as an ethnic minority (Willems, 2001; Van Amersfoort, 2006). Moreover, studies shown that in terms of job participation in government, education and health care are similar to that of native Dutch; with a similar average income as

well. Over 50% of first-generation Indos have married a native born Dutch person, and that percentage increased to 80% for the second generation (De Vries, 2009).

In the Netherlands the first generation Dutch Indo repatriates were able to quickly adapt to the Dutch society's culture, and at least externally adapted all Dutch customs. The necessity to blend in with the dominant Dutch culture was essential to gain access to social and professional advancement, as was the case in the old colony (Van Amersfoort, 2006). But this pressure to assimilate even invaded the private household in the Netherlands, contrary to their life in the former colony. Dutch Indos were regularly lodged in guesthouses (barracks) and were checked for 'oriental practices' by social workers. These included the private use of any language other than Dutch, preparation of Indonesian food at home, wearing 'non-Dutch' clothing, and even the practice of taking daily baths (Iburg, 2009). This 'perfect assimilation' can therefore be seen as a 'forced assimilation' by trying to eliminate any connection to Indonesia, even in the private sphere.

Although integration into Dutch society is often seen as seamless, the 'repatriated' Dutch Indos have played an important role in introducing Indonesian culture into Dutch mainstream culture. And especially Dutch Indo culinary culture has made a great impact on the Dutch society, becoming almost an integral part of Dutch cuisine. Many Dutch Indos opened their own supermarkets or restaurants selling Indonesian food. Nowadays, Indonesian food has become commonplace in the Netherlands. Dutch Indos also tried to keep the community strong by organizing fairs, so called Pasar Malam, where people can enjoy Indonesian culture (Van Amersfoort, 2006). Besides cuisine, Dutch Indo influence can also be seen in Dutch arts, like music and literature. Coupernicus, seen as one of Netherlands' greatest writers, was

an Indo. Additionally, Dutch Indos introduced a new genre of music, dubbed 'Indo rock' which became popular in the Netherlands in the 1970s (Boehmer, 2012).

2.5. Dutch Multiculturalist Policy (1970s-80s)

Due to the huge labor migrant influxes between the 1950s and 1970s, the Dutch government adopted a multicultural policy; based on the assumption that most of those labor migrants would return to their home country after some time. In the 1970s the Dutch government announces a policy prioritizing the right of migrants on preserving their own identity. Around this time, tolerance and solidarity with people from a non-Dutch background is mentioned and encouraged for the first time by the Dutch government (Slegers, 2007).

The Dutch government changes their presumption on migrants during the 1980s; from thereon it is not presumed that labor migrants would eventually return to their country of origin. This prompts the importance of migrant integration on the political agenda, although there is not much mention of necessary assimilation or adaptation to the Dutch society. On the contrary, the experience of one's own culture is still center stage in Dutch politics (Slegers, 2007).

The *Minderhedennota*, a policy published in 1983, focuses on the reception of migrants, and encourages them to learn the Dutch language and respect Dutch values in order to be able to fully participate in the Dutch society. Preservation of cultural identity is seen as central for emancipation, not hindering. The right to organize with groups of one's migrant backgrounds is encouraged by the Dutch government, and schools that teach in the migrant's native language are being supported too (Slegers, 2007).

The multicultural policies adapted in the 1980s can be seen as delayed resonances of previous prominent and politically engaged projects, in regards to anti-colonialism and racism when it comes to identity formation. The Dutch Indo community was heavily involved in these movements as well (Bosma, 2012)

III. Research Results

This chapter discusses the research results from the interview contents of the database of the KITLV, supplemented with the research results of the interviews conducted by the author. These interviews shed a light into the lives and experiences of Dutch Indos and will give us an insight into their identity formation.

3.1. Time

3.1.1. Colonial Era (~1942)

The majority of Dutch Indo interviewees led a relatively wealthy life in the Dutch Indies. They or their parents generally had good paying jobs, often working in the government, army or education. The colonial regime in the Dutch Indies held a favourable stance to the Dutch Indos. There was a strong presence and active participation in the society by Dutch Indos.

All of the respondents went to either European schools or Christian schools where the lingua franca always was Dutch. In most families, they spoke Dutch at home, but Indonesian (or local language) outside the house. Most interviewees were capable of speaking both languages. Besides Dutch and Indonesian, there was another language frequently spoken among Dutch Indos, called “Petjo” (Petjoh, Petjok or Pecok): a Dutch-based creole language that originated among Dutch Indos. The language has influences from Dutch, Javanese and Betawi. It originated historically through relationships between Dutch males (often VOC sailors) and Indonesian females; where its grammar is based on the maternal Malay language and the paternal Dutch language. Due to its origin in VOC sailors, Petjo developed mainly around

cities where VOC had a large presence, such as Batavia (now Jakarta). This language was only informally spoken, often in playgrounds among Dutch Indo children.

The vast majority of the Dutch Indo families interviewed were landowners, often living in quite affluent villas, in “European” areas. These areas were very separated from the areas where the native Indonesians generally lived, often referred to as “kampongs” – during the interviews these were often described as dangerous or dirty and were generally looked down upon. Some interviewees spoke about their experiences walking through these “kampongs” (though they were generally avoided), where native Indonesians yelled bad things to them and they were afraid.

Although there was a spatial divide between Dutch Indos and native Indonesians, each of the interviewees mentioned having (often several) servants, who were native Indonesians. Some of these servants also lived in together with the family, and many of the respondents described their relationship as friendly. Dutch Indo children were often not allowed to give orders to these servants, but they would talk and sometimes play together. Sometimes they would even take their servants with them on holidays.

Since the servants were often working as chefs, a lot of times these Dutch Indo families ate Indonesian food at home. Although the interviewees mention that at holidays they would eat European food, most of the times they ate Indonesian food. Their servants would eat the same food, but ate separately from the Dutch Indo family.

There was a clear distinction between fully Dutch/Europeans, Indos, and native Indonesians, in all lines of life. This hierarchy will be discussed further in section three, policy.

3.1.2. War and Independence (1942-1949)

In the years before the war, a lot of the Dutch Indos interviewees mention that they could sense a shift happening in their relations with native Indonesians, some mentioning that they prophesized that they would soon stand facing each other as enemies, and noting that many native Indonesians were becoming more assertive towards Dutch and Dutch Indos. However, it was after the outbreak of World War II that things really started to change radically for Dutch Indos. With the invasion of Japanese troops in Dutch East Indies in 1942, where the Japanese army supported the politicization of the native Indonesians and facilitated in their independence struggle, the end of Dutch reign was near.

Not only did the Japanese presence provide support to the native Indonesians, it also attacked the Dutch and Dutch Indo population directly. An interviewee mentioned that the Japanese army did not make any distinction between Dutch and Dutch Indos. Many Dutch and Dutch Indo men were taken as prisoners of war (POW) and were often sent abroad to work in construction, causing separation in many Dutch Indo families. Some Dutch Indo men were also placed in the native militia, where Dutch Indos who went to European Schools were often placed.

Many of the Dutch Indo families are sent to Japanese internment camps. The circumstances in these camps seem to vary depending on the person or which camp they were placed. Generally, the conditions in these camps are described as dire and the Japanese guards were often very strict with harsh punishments if one didn't follow their rules. However, the internment camps were sometimes also seen in a positive light, because it provided security against native Indonesians. One of the interviewees who were not placed in a camp voiced his insecurity due to this. People who lived

outside of the camps often had their house ransacked by Japanese or native Indonesians.

This uprooting of Dutch Indos meant that the most of them lost the majority of their possessions. This caused them to fend for themselves, and many interviewees told that their families were getting along by trade, often in handmade products.

After the collapse of Japan, most people in the internment camps were freed. However, some chose to stay there for safety. People returning to their home would often find ruins where their house used to stand. Rebuilding from this was difficult for many.

It was not only the destruction of their previous possessions that posed a difficulty for many Dutch Indos, the period following the declaration of independence, called Bersiap, had many native Indonesians attacking Dutch and Dutch Indos. All the interviewees expressed great fear and uncertainty during this period; often leaving a great trauma. Many were locked up inside their homes or had to go to special buildings for safety. There were many parts of the city that they could not go to. Sometimes, there was protection set up by either Dutch army men or civilians.

In the Bersiap period, the native Indonesians mostly targeted young men of Dutch or Dutch Indo descent. They would often kill or maim them. Many witnessed these masses in their rage, and were really afraid. Women were sometimes also targeted and became victims of rape.

In this period many of the interviewees also spoke of the mistrust towards people of a different group. There are instances where the native Indonesians betrayed

Dutch Indos. This developed a larger reliance on other Dutch Indos, who were regarded to be the only ones you could rely on.

3.1.3. Migration and Arrival Period (1945-1965)

After the declaration of independence, most Dutch settlers with close ties to the Netherlands returned directly to the Netherlands. The majority of Dutch Indos however, stayed for a longer period. After the initial violent period, many of the interviewees indicated that they tried to move on with their regular lives, either returning to their old jobs or starting a new business.

Nonetheless, a difference in atmosphere and treatment by native Indonesians is expressed. Native Indonesians are intimidating many Dutch Indos at work; European Schools, where many Dutch Indos worked, were eventually closed; and government jobs were becoming increasingly insecure. Some also explain that Dutch Indos were often getting fired at their jobs and being replaced by native Indonesians. All these factors contributed to an overall anxious view of their future in Indonesia. Most thought they would have better opportunities in the Netherlands, and had a positive view of the Netherlands.

Due to the obligation to choose between Dutch or Indonesian citizenship, the decision to migrate to the Netherlands for many of the interviewed Dutch Indos was self-evident: their future prospects seemed to be better in the Netherlands, and they didn't feel welcomed and safe anymore in Indonesia. Although some express great unhappiness with Indonesia and their life after independence due to their treatment by native Indonesians; many don't seem to have much negative feelings about Indonesia.

According to the interviewees, they generally had to finance their migration themselves, and it took time for many to save up enough money to go. This explains

why generally more wealthy Dutch Indos could leave in an earlier period. They went with ships, often with all or most of their family, taking a couple of months of travel to arrive in the Netherlands. Several describe a sense of relief when they are able to leave, some even choose to let their period in Indonesia completely behind and don't want to look back. Nevertheless, for others, there's more a feeling of a forced migration, since their life in Indonesia had become unsustainable due to powers outside of their control.

A couple of the interviewees were, or knew people, who initially chose to stay in Indonesia, accepting the Indonesian citizenship, the so-called "warganegara". However, among them, the majority later on still decided to migrate to the Netherlands, being called "spijtoptanten".

After arriving in the Netherlands, the ones who still had ties and family living in the Netherlands were generally moving in with them and received support. Some described how they were treated unpleasantly by their Dutch relatives, being ridiculed by the darkness of their skin or certain customs and behaviors which they deemed 'uncivilized'. Despite these struggles, the group of people who received support from their Dutch families seemed to have less difficulties adapting to the Dutch society, often receiving instructions from their family.

The ones that did not have any Dutch family to fall back on anymore were placed in temporary reception centers upon arrival. They would generally stay there for a couple of months after which they were appointed a house by the Dutch government. They commonly did not have much say in the location, causing some families to become scattered all over the Netherlands. There also existed a system

wherein Dutch families could receive subsidy when they would let a Dutch Indo family stay at their house. However, this was not as common.

The second group seemed to have more difficulties adapting to the Dutch society, without support of any Dutch family. Many of the interviewees, especially those who were placed in rural areas where there were almost no other Dutch Indos, describe their initial period as disorienting. There were some programs from the Dutch government whereby Dutch Indos could follow lessons on Dutch culture, customs, and society to instruct their assimilation in the Netherlands. These programs discouraged keeping Indonesian customs.

Finding work was difficult as well, since many Dutch Indos did not get official recognition for their diplomas and previous work experience in Indonesia. This resulted in mainly doing low skilled work with low pay. Children generally had a deficit in their education, causing them to take classes with children much younger than they were.

One of the things many of the interviewees mention, is their perplexity at the fact that white people did all sorts of work, even work they considered “koelie” work: work that servants are supposed to do. This was in direct conflict with the racial divide they were used to in Indonesia. The cold was another thing many mention that they had to get used to.

Mainly the interviewees that were placed in rural areas express the general lack of understanding from the Dutch people in their surroundings about their situation. Many of the Dutch people didn't know anything about Indonesia, and made rude comments about their food, customs, or skin color. They largely felt like they were not really welcomed in the Netherlands. Some describe even getting into fights

with their Dutch classmates due to their differences. Ferdinand Loos described a traumatizing experience when boys of his elementary school attacked him due to his origin:

“One day, I had a fight with kids from my elementary school and they would call me things like ‘rice eater’ and beat me harshly. At one point, I was shoved in a pile of dog poop, and the kids said that the poop looked the same as the color of my skin and laughed”

Others who were placed in bigger cities, such as The Hague where the majority of Dutch Indos lived, describe a somewhat easier transition. Many of them were able to socialize with other Dutch Indos, often at school or in their private life. This seemed to provide a sense of connection and comfort that people in rural areas often did not have.

However, most of the interviewees express that they kept their Dutch Indo identity silent. Some describe the general lack of interest of the Dutch people and sometimes even clear dislike of the Dutch Indos. In the beginning of their stay in the Netherlands, there was generally not really a feeling of pride of their backgrounds. Many tried to ignore that part of them, and adapt to the Dutch society as much as they could in their public life. In their private life though, many still maintained their customs and food. The negative attitude of Dutch people towards Dutch Indos can be portrayed through a description of Dane Beerling:

“On the sides at the ports of the Hague, Dutch people wrote ‘Indo go home’, this made it clear we were not wanted in this country”

3.1.4. Subsequent Period (1960-1980s)

After the initial period of silencing their background, many of the interviewees mention a wish for their own identity. Interviewees express pleasant feelings of connected-ness when they would meet someone of Dutch Indo descent at work or school.

Many of the people interviewed later on set up or joined clubs and organizations for Dutch Indos, such as the KJBB (Children from the Japanese Occupation and Bersiap), Madjoe (for former KNIL soldiers) and Het Indisch Platform. These clubs were an outlet for many, where they are able to discuss subjects, for which they do not receive much understanding from their Dutch peers, and share their stories.

These organizations also became a source of pride. Many of them included study groups, where members would research certain issues related to Dutch Indos or Indonesia. This surge in interest into their own backgrounds developed a stronger sense of recognition and pride.

These organizations also began establishing events and parties for Dutch Indos, where they would celebrate their cultural heritage through music, dance, food, and clothing. These events, often called Pasar Malam (night market) were an important place for many of the interviewees. Frequently, these events were also a place where Dutch Indos were able to hold open discussions about political matters regarding their situation as well.

3.1.5. Contemporary Period (1990s-present)

The events organized by the Dutch Indos have grown since their start in the 1960s and have become big events since the 1990s with most noticeably the “Pasar Malam Besar” (since 2005 Tong Tong Fair) held yearly in The Hague. There are also smaller Pasar Malam events scattered around the Netherlands, where Dutch Indo culture is being celebrated. Many of the interviewees mentioned frequenting these events.

A majority of the interviewees stated that they went back to Indonesia for the first time in 1980s or 1990s. Some even went several times. Although for some the trip reminded them of the fears in the Bersiap period, mainly they felt a sense of home. They mention familiar smells and sounds. A few interviewees did not feel any need to return to Indonesia due to harsh conditions they went through after Indonesian independence. Pierre De La Criox mentions the following on his first trip back to Indonesia in the 1990s:

“After arriving at the airport [in Indonesia], I could hear the sounds of Indonesian language, the smells of kretek [Indonesian cigarette], Indonesian food... And it felt like home. Although I would still get afraid whenever I was in a large crowd of Indonesians due to the trauma’s of Bersiap.”

When asked about their identity, and especially national identity, most of the interviewees answer with a sort of acquiescence: after living in the Netherlands for such a long time, they themselves feel Dutch as well, although their different origin is still honored. They feel influenced by the Dutch society and way of living and internalized that as well – some admit they cannot speak Indonesian languages

fluently anymore, since their main language became Dutch. The nostalgia for the place they grew up in is difficult, since that country basically does not exist anymore. The current Indonesia, although there are familiarities, does not fully feel like the country they grew up in and they feel like it is not theirs to claim. Ronald Arthur Schubert summarizes his thoughts on his identity and adaption to the Netherlands:

“Of course, in general we [Dutch Indos] are integrated in the Netherlands and we have adapted us to the society and way of living. This Western world is incomparable to Indonesia. We also cannot go back to Indonesia, firstly because we are not Indonesians and secondly because we became Westernized. We know the language here, have our children here and are dependent of our income here. Besides that, Indonesia has developed further in language, economy and society [compared to when we grew up there]. Knowing this, our life is aimed at the Netherlands without completely losing our own culture.

As Dutch Indos, we can go to [Dutch Indo] gatherings and parties; regularly go to Indonesia on holiday – I do too -, but many Dutch Indos cannot fluently speak the language anymore and do not put into any effort in maintaining or learning it. It’s fun to visit or organize Pasars or gatherings, however, it is noticeable that they are targeted for the elderly [first generation Dutch Indos] and the interest for it is becoming less. It would be great if the second or third generation [Dutch Indos] would take over the organization, however this would only be in small scale. My expectation is also, partly due to the fact that many Dutch Indos married with Dutch people, that we will become

fully integrated after one or two generations. Would we want to keep our own culture, there should be one central organization that would organize and coordinate all kinds of gatherings and parties with preservation of our own culture and identity. Nevertheless, I'm content with the current situation, because I can all experience it and I hope our children will be able to experience it for a long time as well."

3.2. Place

3.2.1. Dutch East Indies/Indonesia

As the place of birth, the interviewees often refer Dutch East Indies as home. The food, the way of life, getting around, etc. was familiar to them and they feel generally comfortable when reminiscing about that place.

But when referring to present-day independent Indonesia, the story is a bit different. There is an overall feeling among the interviewees that present day Indonesia is not their country. Although Dutch East Indies might have felt "theirs", the independent Indonesia and its government are more often referred to as somewhat unenthusiastically: it is that country and government that 'kicked' them out, and made them feel unwanted there.

Even though there is an agreement that, as a cultural and ethnic heritage, they have traces of Indonesia within their identity, there is no feeling of 'ownership' when it comes to present day Indonesia.

3.2.2. The Netherlands

Referring to the Netherlands, many of the interviewees view it as their home. They are knowledgeable about Dutch customs, language, food and society; and have their family in the Netherlands.

Although there was a great adjustment necessary in the immediate time after arrival in the Netherland, and the interviewees felt a big difference at that time; as time spent in the Netherlands increased, their feeling of connection to the Netherlands increased also.

Although some Dutch Indos were already married before their repatriation – often to other Dutch Indos -, most of the Dutch Indos in the Netherlands got married to Dutch natives, and in lesser degree to other Dutch Indos.

When asked about their nationality and how they feel about it, most interviewees answer with an acceptance: they are Dutch citizens and feel a strong connection, even nationalism towards the Netherland. However, due to feeling of not completely being accepted by the native Dutch population and sometimes the discrimination experiences, there is also a sense of not being ‘fully’ Dutch.

3.2.3. Moluccas

Although my main focus is on Dutch Indos, and although officially Indos from the Moluccan Islands fall into that category, I did not want to fully put the focus on that particular group, since their histories are different: many Moluccans were forced to fight for the Dutch Royal Army against Indonesians and they were promised their own land but were eventually forced to migrate to the Netherlands too. However, during one interview, with someone partly Indo and Moluccan, the interviewee mentioned several things that I thought would be interesting to share.

Generally, Dutch Indos from the Moluccan Islands and the rest of Dutch Indos (mainly from Java) are being treated differently and have their sort of different groups. Oftentimes, Dutch Indos and Moluccans tend to not get along. The interviewee saw this difference in what he called ‘authenticity’, whereas he saw Indos as having abandoned their Indonesian roots much more than the Moluccans in the Netherlands.

3.3. Policy

3.3.1. Colonial Division

The majority of the interviewees mention the strong presence of the racial division in colonial Dutch Indies. They explain it that Europeans were in the top tier, under which came (Dutch) Indos, under that were others (such as Chinese and Arabic people), and at the bottom tier were native Indonesians. From early 1900s Indos has same rights by law as Europeans, but in practice it was different.

This division resonated in all aspects of life: Europeans were given the highest paying jobs; (Dutch) Indos were able to acquire government jobs but not in the highest positions; while native Indonesians were mostly farmers or merchants. Furthermore, Europeans and Dutch Indos commonly had native Indonesian servants. Even at the workplace, there was not much mingling between Europeans/Dutch, Dutch Indos and native Indonesians.

For the children there was a division too, their parents only allowed them to play with their own group: Europeans with Europeans, Dutch Indos with Dutch Indos, and native Indonesians with native Indonesians. Although Dutch Indos would mostly go to the same school as Europeans, there was still a large gap between them. One

interviewee explains that many Dutch (or Europeans) when they came to Indonesia, were warned not to “become Indonesian”. And they were afraid to be influenced by Dutch Indos. Most of the interviewees didn’t sense on equal footing with “full-blood” Dutch people or Europeans.

Some of the interviewees mention that they or their parents were not welcomed at Dutch clubs because of their Dutch Indo background, and therefore looked for contacts only within their own group of Dutch Indos.

The division was also seen in living areas, European and Dutch Indo areas were the only areas that had paved roads and brick houses.

Many of the interviewees reflect back on that period with a sense of unease. For them at that time, the racial division seemed like a natural system, which they did not question. However, looking back, some mentioned that they could imagine that the division was very unfair and adverse for the native Indonesians. Several of the interviewees express disbelief at the fact that the native Indonesians were at the bottom tier in their own country.

3.3.2. Independent Indonesian Government

Soekarno’s tough language on Dutch colonial ties in radio broadcast is mentioned in the interviews. This instilled much fear with the Dutch Indos.

Due to the resistance of the Dutch government to leave New Guinea, Soekarno officially declared Dutch people – and any people carrying Dutch citizenship – to be a threat to the state on 5 December 1957 and they were urged to leave Indonesia. This declaration was mentioned by one of the interviewees as “Zwarte Sinterklaas” (Black Sinterklaas) because it was on the day of a traditional

Dutch holiday, but it casted a dark shadow. This declaration also included the nationalization of many Dutch companies.

During the years of the Independent Indonesian Government, there were many possibilities for native Indonesians to ransack Dutch and Dutch Indos properties, encouraged by the words of Soekarno.

The Indonesian government also put policies in place to hire more native Indonesians for high skilled jobs by providing subsidies, replacing many Dutch Indos.

3.3.3. Dutch Post-Colonial Policy

There is mention of a strong reluctance of Dutch government to receive Dutch Indos after the Indonesian Independence. Initially, a part of the former colony, New Guinea, is kept separately from the independence to settle the Dutch Indos. An interviewee mentioned that the Dutch people didn't want the Dutch Indos to go to the Netherlands. Some of the interviewees were living in New Guinea after Indonesian Independence, but were eventually driven out.

An interviewee stated that there was a commission, called commission Werner, by order of the Dutch government, which researched whether or not there were objections for the Dutch Indos to come to the Netherlands. Dane Beerling informs us of the following:

“The report was delivered at the then prime minister, he was just finished with the German occupation, he read the report and said in there were terminologies used that were usually used in Nazi Germany. That’s how they spoke about Indos, in official reports. They did not want them to come to the Netherlands.”

“Therefore the phenomenon ‘spijtoptanten’; they were pressured and forced Dutch Indos to accept Indonesian nationality. And many Dutch Indos did that in that time. Because it has been made clear to them that the Netherlands is not for them. They said all negative things about it. But they stayed behind in Indonesia and regretted their choice, and they eventually did come to the Netherlands.”

3.3.4. Dutch Assimilation Policy

When Dutch Indos arrived in the Netherlands, they had to adapt to Dutch society. The Dutch government appointed special social workers to give instructions and there was special attention given to this. An interviewee mentioned a repost from a social worker in which it states that the family she is accompanying is adapting very well, but that they might still eat rice in secret.

There was pressure from the Dutch government to become ‘as Dutch as possible’, where Indonesian habits, food, clothing and language was to be eliminated as much as possible.

3.3.5. Dutch Multicultural Policy

The influx of more migrants of different backgrounds made that Dutch Indos felt less like ‘the only ones’. On the contrary, compared to many of these other migrants, Dutch Indos had an easier time adjusting since they knew the language and customs already. This might have had a positive impact on their adaptation.

The support of the Dutch government for the organization of one’s own migrant background also had an influence on the Dutch Indo community. Many of the

interviewees began organizing and joining clubs toward the 1970s and 80s, when the stance of the Dutch government towards multiculturalism began to change toward a more positive view.

IV. Results Analysis

The aim of this chapter is to gain better understanding of the research results in relation to the research purpose: analyzing how the first generation Dutch Indo identity has formed and transformed. In this chapter, the theories discussed in the literature review – cultural assimilation, cultural identity, and national identity – are interconnected to answers given from the interviews. From this, an evaluation of identity can be possible.

4.1. Cultural Assimilation

4.1.1. Socio-economic status

Although the socioeconomic status of the vast majority of Dutch Indos in the former colony Dutch East Indies can be seen as upper middle class, after arriving in The Netherlands, this changed. Since education and work experience was generally not seen as valid in the Netherlands, it was much harder to find a job and many Dutch Indos took jobs that they were actually overqualified for. This lowered the socioeconomic status for many Dutch Indos in the Netherlands.

However, for the Dutch Indos who were relatively young when they migrated to the Netherlands, often had to participate in a grade lower than they were in Indonesia, but after catching up, the education opportunities presented made them able to participate much more actively in the Dutch society and later on were able to acquire professions that can be regarded middle class. Nevertheless, discrimination of Dutch natives against Dutch Indos should not be overlooked, since it might have influenced education and employment opportunities for Dutch Indos and subsequently lowered their socioeconomic status.

4.1.2. Spatial Concentration

Although the resettlement of Dutch Indos generally caused their population to be scattered all around the Netherlands; there can be seen a big concentration of Dutch Indos in The Hague. This is also where the feeling of community connectedness among Dutch Indos seems the strongest and where the majority of Dutch Indo gatherings and events are organized.

Generally, it seems that Dutch Indos who reside in the bigger cities have a somewhat easier time adapting to life in the Netherlands, possibly due to higher acceptance of the Dutch people there since there is more exposure to Dutch Indos in bigger cities.

Dutch Indos who reside in smaller towns, where there are often only few Dutch Indos living, tend to experience more discrimination and exclusiveness from Dutch society. However, since there is less contact with other Dutch Indos, there could be a more severe way of assimilation happening here.

4.1.3. Language assimilation

The situation of Dutch Indos in regards to language might be a bit unique, because all were already able to speak Dutch. At home however, if the person were married with a Dutch Indo, they would often speak Indonesian to each other. To the children, they would more often speak Dutch.

Nevertheless, as time passes, and maybe because many people of their generation with whom they would speak Indonesian passed away, many first generation Dutch Indos indicate that their main language spoken is Dutch. Some even admit they forgot how to speak Indonesian.

4.1.4. Intermarriage

If a person were married before their migration, they would often be married to other Dutch Indos or Dutch people. However, when the person married later on, there can be seen a great increase in marriage with Dutch natives. One feature that influenced the way the Dutch Indos viewed intermarriage was their own family history. They themselves were born out of intermarriages, and relationships between native Indonesians and Dutch people had been very common in colonial Dutch East Indies. It was therefore not seen as exceptional in the Dutch Indo community.

The high level of intermarriage with native Dutch can also be explained through the concept of 'hyper-gamy', where marrying with a white Dutch native was seen as advantageous by the community in a racial, cultural and socio-economic way. This idea stems from the racial hierarchy in colonial Dutch East Indies in which white Europeans had been superior to the dark-skinned native Indonesian people, and had been subconsciously internalized by many Dutch Indos (Laarman, 2012)

Another factor for the high levels of intermarriage is religion. The vast majority of Dutch Indos came from Christian backgrounds, so this did not pose a disadvantage to marry Dutch people, whom traditionally were Christian as well.

4.2. Cultural Identity

4.2.1. Dichotomization

For the process of dichotomization, or the creation of symbolic borders, through the interviews there is an indication in the way the interviewees speak about Dutch (and Indonesian) people as opposed to their 'own' group of Dutch Indos. Dutch Indos are often specified as 'we' or 'us', while Dutch (or Indonesian) as 'they'.

This use of language and ‘otherizing’ Dutch natives can show that there is a creation of symbolic borders between an ‘in’ and ‘out’ group. Although many Dutch Indos do indicate that they feel ‘Dutch’, they feel differently than native Dutch people.

4.2.2. Identity Markers

Cultural elements, or identity markers, such as origin, language, historic events and habits, are often mentioned by many of the interviewees when talking about their identity. Examples of these identity markers based on the interviews, are eating Indonesian food, usage of Indonesian language in a private setting, visiting events targeted at Dutch Indos, such as Pasar Malams.

Nevertheless, more strongly seems to be the shared traumatic events of Japanese internment camps, the following Bersiap attacks and the migration to the Netherlands that give a sense of connectedness.

4.2.3. Renewing Process

As we can see from the interviews, there is a sign that there are changes in regards to the feeling of their own identity. When living in the Dutch East Indies, it was clear that their cultural identity was that of Dutch Indo, this was evidently demarcated through the strict racial division.

However, immediately after arriving in the Netherlands, it seemed that many Dutch Indos tried to hide their origins and become ‘as Dutch as possible’. This had a great influence on their perception of their own identity and behavior.

As Dutch policies in regards to immigrants shifted more towards multiculturalism, there was more space and desire for Dutch Indos to claim their own cultural identity and they formed many organizations and events.

As time passed, it seems that many Dutch Indos made peace with their identity: they have accepted that they are Dutch nationals with their lives based in the Netherlands, but they are not ‘completely’ Dutch and honor their origins. They generally do not really feel homesickness to Indonesia, since the country they knew no longer exists.

4.3. National Identity

4.3.1. Imagined

There are elements of an imagined community in within the Dutch Indo group, since the majority of the members do not know most fellow members personally, yet they feel like they live in a community. Gatherings are organized for Dutch Indos, where everyone in there lives in the image of community.

This community is also imagined as members of only Dutch Indos – it does not necessarily stretch out to Dutch or Indonesian people. Conversely, as Dutch citizens, there is a feeling of connectedness towards other Dutch citizens mentioned, but this feeling of connectedness does not seem to resonate that strongly compared to feelings towards Dutch Indos.

4.3.2. Limited

Although the sense of limited in this case is maybe a bit different than how Anderson meant it, the sense of Dutch Indo community is finite, since it refers to people within

the borders of the Netherlands, born or with origins of people within the borders of current Indonesia. In this way, it is also finite, because the concept does not include people outside of these borders.

The borders of the Netherlands seem to indicate most strongly the limitations of their community. Whereas the borders of Indonesia does not seem to influence their concept of national identity that much, the borders of the Netherlands, and the Dutch Indos within these borders seem most important. Not much is said about Dutch Indos within the Indonesian borders.

4.3.3. Sovereign

Concerning sovereignty, the nation of Indonesia and the Netherlands can be regarded in this way, however under colonial rule, the Dutch East Indies is a different story. The legitimacy here might be more of monarchic legitimacy, and it cannot really be called an autonomous nation.

The sovereign nations of Indonesia and the Netherlands have had an impact on the feelings of national identity of Dutch Indos. Their sovereign policies of exclusion from both nations have made Dutch Indos feel somewhat of resentment against both nations, and a sense of not fully belonging in either.

However, the policies of the Netherlands had a more positive outcome for the lives of Dutch Indos. Moreover, there is a gradual acceptance that Dutch Indos are part of sovereignty that is the Netherlands.

4.3.4. Community

The sense of community and horizontal partnership is profound among Dutch Indos, regardless of their status in life. There is a strong sense of connectedness among all levels within the Dutch Indo community.

This sense of community is somewhat stretched out towards Dutch people, but there is more a sense of difference in status, and is not completely horizontal. Especially after residing in the Netherlands for this long time, and having Dutch people in their family through intermarriage, the community feelings have increased.

Feelings of community toward Indonesians are not explicitly stated. Before World War II, some interviewees mention that they could get along well and were friendly – and therefore felt a sense of community. This changed however after the independence struggle when the native Indonesians turned against many of the Dutch Indos.

In their later travels back to Indonesia, some interviewees mention they feel anxiety, rather than partnership, towards native Indonesians. This can give a clear sign that the feelings of community do not stretch out currently towards Indonesians as much.

4.3.5. Long-distance Nationalism

Continued loyalty to Indonesia is a bit more difficult to explain, since for many people there is a double-sided feeling: they have a sense of nostalgia to the country they grew up in, but at the same time, the government of the new Indonesia kicked them out. There is a sense of both positive nostalgia and negative resentment – also created due to the attacks of native Indonesians on Dutch Indos. Nonetheless,

although there might not be an obvious loyalty towards Indonesia, there are feelings of strong connectedness and pride of their origins.

Feelings of nationalism might be stronger towards the Netherlands. In a discussion that followed after my call for interviews, many of the Dutch Indos reacted that they were Dutch nationals, and therefore felt nationalistic towards the Netherlands. This was viewed as separate from their cultural identity.

V. Conclusion

5.1. Summary

Up to now, this research has explored the experiences of Dutch Indos who have migrated to the Netherlands after Indonesia gained its independence. To be specific, I have examined their experiences in Dutch East Indies/Indonesia and the Netherlands sense of community among Dutch Indos, and how these experiences formed and transformed their identities. To try to answer the research question how identity has formed and transformed among this group, I have incorporated theories on cultural assimilation, and the interplay of cultural and national identity in order to fully analyze their situation. Data from the interview contents of KITLV with 37 first generation Dutch Indos residing in the Netherlands, and in-depth interviews conducted by the author with 5 first generation Dutch Indos residing in the Netherlands revealed that their cultural and national identity has been influenced and formed through the cultural assimilation experienced in the Netherlands, and has been in constant transformation throughout time. The major findings of this study are as follows:

Firstly, this study has examined cultural assimilation factors among Dutch Indos. There are clear indications of strong levels of language assimilation and intermarriage, both of which can increase the stakes of cultural assimilation to the Netherlands. Socio-economically, the research group can be separated into different categories: those whose educational and professional experiences in Dutch East Indies/Indonesia has been neglected and were forced to take on low paying jobs; and those who were still young enough to catch up through the Dutch education system

and were able to attain professional employment in the Netherlands. The latter group has higher levels of assimilation. In regards to spatial concentration, the majority of Dutch Indos were scattered throughout the Netherlands. However, there is a strong residual pattern noticeable in the area of The Hague. This is also where many of Dutch Indo clubs formed and events were organized. There is a strong assimilation of Dutch Indos to the Netherlands – this group's culture shares similarities of those of Dutch people -, but there is no full assimilation – there is still a clear distinction between Dutch people and Dutch Indos. This cultural assimilation had influence on the formation of identity.

Secondly, in light of cultural identity, we can conclude that the interviewees have a strong ‘Dutch Indo’ cultural identity. In terms of dichotomization, there are borders created between their own ‘in’-group of Dutch Indos and ‘out’-group of Dutch and Indonesian people. Cultural elements as identity markers are frequently referred in the interviews as certain Indonesian foods, habits, gatherings, but most importantly historical events that have strongly shaped their own unique cultural identity of Dutch Indo. Most significantly for this thesis has been the analysis of a renewing process of cultural identity: there is a clear development of identity perception noticeable among the majority of the interviews. This progress has gone from clear racial distinction as Dutch Indo in the Dutch East Indies/Indonesia, hiding their origins and becoming ‘as Dutch as possible’, searching and finding pride in their own identity as Dutch Indo, to finally accepting their Dutch nationality and integration to the Dutch society but finding consolation in their origins and cultural elements from Indonesia. Recently, their view on their identity has become that of acquiescence: acknowledging and priding on their roots, but having peace with their

life and identity in the Netherlands. From this, one can see the transformation that has happened over time concerning Dutch Indo identity.

Lastly, their national identity gravitates more towards a connectedness with the Netherlands than Indonesia. Many of the interviewees answered on the question of national feeling that they were Dutch, but culturally Dutch Indo. National identity seen in imagined, limited, sovereign and community, there are clear indications that the alliance of the majority of Dutch Indos lays within the Netherlands. Although in terms of community, there is a stronger horizontal partnership felt among Dutch Indos, these feelings of community also stretches out towards Dutch people, but not to Indonesians. There is no strong sense of long-distance nationalism towards Indonesia – it seems that there are stronger nationalist feeling towards the Netherlands.

To conclude, the strong levels of cultural assimilation have had an impact on the identity formation of Dutch Indos. As for national identity, this gravitates more towards a feeling of being Dutch. However, possibly through feelings of acceptance by the Dutch society and discrimination experienced, a full cultural assimilation to the Netherlands has not been accomplished. This shows when speaking about cultural identity; here is a much stronger connection to specifically Dutch Indo cultural identity as a unique group noticeable. This interplay of national and cultural identity is where the identity formation and transformation of first generation Dutch Indos in the Netherlands can be fully understood: Dutch by nationality, but Dutch Indo by cultural distinction. Moreover, there can be seen a clear transformation over time concerning identity, and this transformation was influenced primarily by external powers, such as change of place and policy.

5.2. Limitations and Implications

Although these conclusions represent my findings to the best of my ability to examine the experiences of first generation Dutch Indos who migrated to the Netherlands in a post-colonial context, it should be noted that there were limitations in this study.

Firstly, because this research was heavily reliant on the interview database of KITLV, the previously conducted interviews were not fine-tuned specifically to my research. As for the interviews conducted by the author, there was only a small sample group available due to the old age of my research group and establishing a connection via the Internet had proven quite difficult.

Moreover, as I selected interviewees by non-probability quota sampling and consecutive sampling, there may have been a sampling bias based on the requirements I personally had in mind for the research results, such as socio-economic status, attitude towards the Netherlands and region. Many of these interviewees were found through Dutch Indo forums, meaning they already were active in Dutch Indo discussions. The experiences of first generation Dutch Indos who are not active community members, or from different socio-economic status may be very different compared to my interview sample.

However, this research has significant importance for numerous reasons. Firstly, it expanded the body of work on first generation Dutch Indos, who received less attention compared to other post-colonial migrant communities in other countries, such as France or Great Britain. Secondly, this research focused on the development and transformation of identity of the first generation over time. Whereas previous research has only focused on diaspora identity change over generations, this is the first research completed within one generation, measured over time. Lastly, this

research has provided a broader sense of how identity formation and transformation can be understood among other diaspora communities, especially in regards to the interplay of national and cultural identity.

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Annex

Annex A

<Table 2> General Backgrounds of Interview Participants (KITLV)

Name	Gender	Year of Birth	Place of Birth	Year of Migration	Place of Residence
Beekwilder-Beverloo, Lies	Female	1920	Batavia (Jakarta), Java	1950	Den Bosch
Bond-Verduyn Lunel, M.A.F.	Female	1922	Bandoeng (Bandung), West Java	1962	
Bussemaker, Herman	Male	1935	Soerabaja (Surabaya), Java	1950	Den Haag
Buter-Veldhoven, A.E.	Female	1934	Giesting, South Sumatra	1962	Amsterdam
Carels-Lijnis Huffenreuter, A.W	Female	1912	Modjokerto (Mojokerto), East Java	1950	
Dahler, A.R.	Male	1935	Batavia (Jakarta), Java	1950	Maastricht
Disco, Frederik	Male	1930	Malang, East Java	1947	Den Haag
Doppert, Eric	Male	1921	Solo (Surakarta), Java	1954	Den Haag
Doppert, Louis	Male	1929	Djombang (Jombang), East Java	1947	Den Haag
Dröge, J.H.R.	Male	1921	Djambi (Jambi City), Sumatra	1958	
Eck-Huppe, Florence	Female	1930	Soerabaja (Surabaya), Java	1957	
Fisser-	Female	1909	Batavia	1952	Hilversum

Schefer, C.			(Jakarta), Java		
Groenhart-Reus, H.	Female	1924	Semarang, Java	1955	Echt
Hoogendoorn, A.	Male	1926	Blitar, East Java	1950	
Janssen-von Hagt, L.	Female	1920	Semarang, Java	1948	
Jouwe-Fisher, L.L.	Female	1922	Solo (Surakarta), Java	1962	
Kampenhout-Hendriksz, Eveline	Female	1927	Lampung, Sumatra	1965	
Koper, Ferry	Male	1935	Soerabaja (Surabaya), Java	1955	Den Haag
Lewerissa, Rudi Jörge	Male	1930	Bandoeng (Bandung), West Java	1951	
Livain, Anneke	Female	1936	Makassar, Sulawesi	1950	
Mannot, Julius	Male	1926	Djokjakarta (Yogyakarta), Java	1958	
Mannot-Manoehoete, Elly	Female	1929	Palembang, South Sumatra	1957	Oss
Midderham, Henk	Male	1935	Tandjoengen im (Tanjungeni m), South Sumatra	1956	
Neijndorff, Frank	Male	1929	Soerabaja (Surabaya), Java	1950	
Nitzschke, Rob	Male	1931	Batavia (Jakarta), Java	1946	
Noothout, M.W.	Male	1918	Madjalaja (Majalaya), West Java	1954	
Reijnst-Laan, E.	Female	1913	Ngawi, East Java	1958	
Schallig,	Male	1927	Batavia	1947	

W.P.H.			(Jakarta), Java		
Schultz, Eduard	Male	1924	Pare, East Java	1961	
Solcer, J.W.E.	Male	1913	Semarang, Java	1962	
Tuinstra- Schroeder, E.M.E.	Female	1935	Batavia (Jakarta), Java	1956	
Van Kraaienoord, A.	Male	1924	Batavia (Jakarta), Java	1955	
Veldhoven, Arti	Male	1929	Poerwodadi (Purwodadi Grobogan), Java	1962	
Veldhuijzen, J.R.	Male	1924	Soerabaja (Surabaya), Java	1956	
Ven, C. van der	Male	1928	Magelang, Java	1949	
Verboon, A.	Male	1918	Djokjakarta (Yogyakarta) , Java	1951	
Wolf, G.Th.	Male	1927	Batavia (Jakarta), Java	1958	

요약 (국문초록)

네덜란드의 1 세대 네덜란드 ‘인도’의 정체성 형성과 변형

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1945 년부터 1965 년 사이 300,000 명 가까운 네덜란드 시민권 소지자들이 인도네시아에서 네덜란드로 이주하였다. 이중 ‘송환자’ 들이라 불리는 60 퍼센트의 사람들은 네덜란드령 동인도 제도에서 태어났고 이중 대다수는 네덜란드와 인도네시아 혈통을 같이 갖고있다; 이들은 ‘네덜란드 인도’ 라고 불렸다. 비록 그들은 합법적으로 네덜란드 시민권자였지만 네덜란드 법과 정책 입안자들은 이들의 신분을 인정하기 꺼려했고 특히 그들의 정착 자금에 대해 부정적이었다. 기존의 네덜란드인들과 이주해온 네덜란드인도들 사이에 차이는 이들을 구분지으려는 시스템에 의해 더욱 강조되게 되었다. 본래 시민권을 갖고 있으면 네덜란드인으로서의 권리와 혜택을 모두 누리게 되는 것과 역설적으로 그들은 시스템상으로 네덜란드인임에도 불구하고 정책과 정부는 이들에게 그것을 보장하지 않았다.

이 연구의 목적은 1945 년 부터 1965 년 사이 이주해온 첫 네덜란드 인도 세대들의 정체성 형성을 탐구하기 위해서 이다. 이 이주 공동체의 정체성 개념을

완전히 이해하기 위해서 이 연구는 문화적 동화가 어떻게 정체성 형성에 영향을 주었는지 탐구한다. 문화적 동화와 정체성의 시너지가 정체성의 독특성에 결정적인 역할을 한다. 문화적 정체성과 국가적 정체성의 상호작용을 분석하면 첫 이주 세대 네덜란드 인도의 정체성을 정의 내릴 수 있다. 구술 역사 기록 (KITLV)와 실제 인터뷰들을 연구 자료로 사용했다. 연구 결과들은 주제, 시기, 장소 그리고 정책에 따라 분류하였다. 그 후 정확한 평가를 위해 이 연구결과들을 문헌조사 이론들과 연결시켜보고 비교하였다.

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주제어 : 이민, 귀환, 문화 동화, 문화 정체성, 민족 정체성, 네덜란드 인도

학 번 : 2015-25055