



# Assimilating in the Netherlands

The intergenerational effects of assimilation and (non-)transmission on the identity-making of Indo's in the Netherlands

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## **Introduction**

*I notice that I am a bit nervous about my interview with opa Jim. This probably emerges from the last time I started asking things about that time in the Dutch East Indies. I was around eleven or twelve years old, and I was not as good at sensing things as I am now. Therefore, I did not see it coming. The tears were swelling up in his eyes when I asked him about his experiences in the Japanese concentration camps. I think it is because of this reason that I am wary of these topics when I am speaking to him. Furthermore, now I have to, for the sake of my thesis. Luckily, the conversation runs smoothly. Apart from his usual straying from the subject and going into detail when talking about things that are not that important for my research, all went well. Once I ask him about his experiences with discriminatory practices or racist utterances, he tells me a story I have not heard before. One that is stuck inside my head until today and now forms a thread for the rest of my research.*

*“You know, I get intense when other people talk about my descent. Or if certain individuals tell me to go back to my own country whilst I am*

*doing the very best that I can. There was this one situation, back in the days, before I retired. At that time, I was a teacher for difficult-to-educate children. I must say, I have experienced some bad stuff there. I had a colleague that taught English, called Peter. He told me, 'if it does not please you over here, you should go back to your own country'. Moreover, since the Dutch have been in Indonesia for about 350 years to make it their colony and get all the gold, silver, herbs and oils they could, I wanted to tell him something. Then I told him: **'Peter, listen to me. I am here because you were there.'** And I subsequently pointed to every Dutch person in the room. Two Frysian colleagues hugged me and addressed Peter on it. They even tried to lecture him. And Peter came into my office later on, with tears in his eyes. To apologize. However, he did understand that he touches the entire community with that one comment. I was made like this. I was born out of a Dutch grandma with blue eyes and an Indo grandfather. **And that is why I want to do my best to fit in and achieve as much as I can, even if that means that I have to change myself.'***

*My grandfather's altered identity comes to the surface in the example above. This inner struggle to define one's identity as an Indo, and the overall identity-making of a person who cannot define him or herself possibly due to the effects of integration, or even assimilation, in the*

*Netherlands, is the subject of this thesis. Dutch integration policy after 1950, videlicet, gave rise to (non-)transmission of trauma and the Indo-culture, which shaped the identity-making of my research participants.*

### ***Societal relevance***

Most of the Indo's have been in the Netherlands since 1950, but they still feel unseen and/or unheard. Thence, they are still searching for a way to construct their identity. The identity and cultural traits of the Indo's in the Netherlands have been crowded out through assimilation (Captain 2014, 55). This creates a struggle for identity and feelings of belonging. The de-identifying processes that occur as a consequence of a lack of these feelings of belonging could lead to psychological problems amongst members of an ethnic minority (McIntyre, Bentall and Elahi 2016). Therefore, insights into the experiences and needs of Indo's in the Netherlands concerning the Dutch integration policy are considered useful.

### ***Contextual background***

*First and foremost, this research will focus on the Indo-Dutch population, wherein the first-generation Indo's are defined as Dutch-Indonesian individuals that obtained Dutch nationality somewhere*

*along the way. Hereafter, the history of the Dutch East Indies and the Indo's are elucidated.*

#### *The colony of the Dutch East Indies and the rise of the Indo's*

Beets and van Imhoff (2004) highlight the demographic history of the Indo population, starting with the colonial epoch of the Netherlands in the late sixteenth era. Indonesia hereby was the foremost Dutch colonized land, with great importance in terms of economy and demography. The first (unmarried) Dutchmen, almost 22.000 around 1860, that arrived in Indonesia chose to start a relationship with native Indonesians (Beets and van Imhoff 2004). Hence, the first Indo-individuals arose. These Indo's, based on their ancestry, were seen as European and were therefore considered different from the 'Vreemde Oosterlingen', the Chinese and Arabs, and the 'Inlanders', the indigenous Indonesian people.

#### *Dutch superiority*

The Dutch East Indies, now called Indonesia, were marked by an ethnic categorized society until 1949. Starting from the time of the VOC, Europeans, 'Vreemde Oosterlingen' and 'Inlanders' were separated, and color and culture structured a colonial hierarchy based on ethnic-racial differences (Hol 2020). These power differences were

institutionalized through laws, and the Dutch culture was superior throughout the colony, especially towards the Indo's (van Reybrouck 2020). Since the Dutchmen favored sending their children to the Netherlands to get an excessive degree of education, a model of demographic expansion came to the surface (Beets and van Imhoff 2004). Also, because of the Japanese invasion in 1942 and the nationalist motion that followed, this model was interspersed.

#### *Indonesian Independence and its effects on the Indo's*

In 1945, Indonesia proclaimed independence, which the Netherlands accepted after a few years of war. After the decolonization and the independence of Indonesia, the Indo's were negatively valued since their European descent reminded the Indonesian people of a lack of nationalism and of the time wherein colonialism was present. Indo's and other colonial groupings found themselves in a conflict of loyalty between nationalism and colonialism. Cultural racism was still present in the archipelago, and because of that, segregation and discrimination maintained until 1949 (Hol 2020). In the period of decolonization, colonial groupings and Indo's were victims of violence and exclusion. They lost their jobs, were considered 'Vreemdelingen' by the Indonesian society, and were excluded in

various situations. This exclusion was the main reason many Indo's decided to migrate to the Netherlands.

#### *Migration to the Netherlands: maintaining the tripartite*

Many individuals chose to leave the Indonesian archipelago and moved to the Netherlands, creating an Indo-population of 458.000 in 2001 (Beets and van Imhoff 2004, 49). Hence, after the Second World War, the Netherlands was confronted with at least 300.000 immigrants that proceeded from Indonesia, amongst whom 180.000 Indo's. The effects of violence during the war and the political and social conditions were why these immigrants chose to leave their country of origin. As a consequence of these flows of migration from Indonesia to the Netherlands, there are 1,5 to two million Indo's living in the Netherlands today (NIOD 2020). However, many Indo's received a cold welcome in the Netherlands, the country trying to recover from war herself. The Indo's were perceived as an ethnic-racial 'Other' that should have stayed in Indonesia. For a long time, the Netherlands wielded a restrictive admission policy and an integration policy that, because of differentiation, had many similarities with the layered hierarchy in the colonized archipelago (Beets and van Imhoff 2004). Since this research focuses on the intergenerational (non-)transmission regarding effects in constructing

identity, the concepts of integration, identity and intergenerationality are elucidated in the following paragraphs.

#### ***Academic relevance***

##### *Integration*

There are three concepts that I considered relevant for this thesis. The first concept is that of 'Integration'. Overall, integration is interpreted as the process of settling that newcomers go through in a host society. The Chicago School of Urban Sociology initiated the concept of integration (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016), whereafter it has been approached in various ways. Some authors chose to highlight the newcomers and alterations in their behavior and identity (Lindo 2005, Schinkel 2010), whilst others focused on the host society and their attitude towards the newcomers (Esser 2004). I believe it is important to critically look at both actors since the attitude of the host society towards newcomers could influence the newcomers. Subsequently, some researchers elucidated the legal and political domain, whereas others concentrated on the socio-economic domain or cultural-religious dimensions (Esser 2004). I will be doing this within my thesis as well, complemented with the cultural-religious domain that Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx (2016) initiated. According to these authors, integration revolves around the settlement, the interaction



with the host society, and the social change within the newcomers' identities. Lindo (2005, 11) states that integration should take the processes of identification of the newcomers into consideration as well. I also believe it is essential to research the alterations within the identity-making of newcomers; thence I chose to focus on the interpretation of Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx (2016) and the legal-political, the socio-economic, and the cultural-religious domain. In this way, both the attitudes of the host society and the newcomers are elucidated. These domains are explicated within the first chapter. Because I also decided to focus on the effects of integration on the identity-making of newcomers, two factors that are heavily dependent on each other according to several authors (Esser 2001, Heckmann and Schnapper 2003), the concept of identity is a focal point within this thesis as well.

### *Identity*

The concept of identity has been defined in a variety of ways. Brodwin (2002) has established that one's identity is created through the social interactions and relations that one has, and that this identity is thusly continually in flux. Other authors (McIntyre, Bentall and Elahi 2016) state that one obtains identity traits primarily during one's upbringing. Subsequently, Hornsey and Hogg (2002) elucidate the importance of

self-categorization and self-concepts within one's identity-making. I consider the theories of Brodwin (2002), McIntyre, Bentall and Elahi (2016) and Hornsey and Hogg (2002) equally crucial for my research since they all apply to my research, but Brewer's (1991) interpretation of 'identity' encompasses all three of them. The author (1991) focuses on one's feelings of belonging, which is influenced by the social interactions and relations with the host society, one's upbringing, and thusly affect one's self-categorization. This self-categorization, in due course, influences one's identity. Therefore, I believe that feelings of belonging and thusly Brewer's (1991) interpretation of the concept of 'identity' fit my research. McIntyre, Bentall and Elahi's (2016) statement about the effects of one's upbringing on one's identity-making highlights the significance of intergenerationality. This concept is explicated hereafter.

### *Intergenerationality*

The concept of intergenerationality is essential within this research since various scholars (Captain 2014, Esser 2004, Pattynama 2012) have focused on the role that this intergenerationality has on aspects of life. Vang and Sangalang (2017), for instance, highlight how trauma can quickly be taken over by later generations amongst refugees. Subsequently, Connolly (2011) focuses on intergenerational



trauma, elucidating what a challenge it can be to heal the wounds of ancestors and earlier generations. In due course, Captain (2014) emphasizes the effect of trauma and other stressors on the various generations and their identity-making. Traumatic events, therefore, can affect identity-making and the lives of all following generations, on a personal or on a collective level (Bombay and Matheson 2014). All authors above agree on the effects of traumatic events on the following generations, and there has been research conducted on the intergenerational effects of the Holocaust, Japanese Americans that were incarcerated during the Second World War (Nagata, Trierweiler & Talbot, 1999) and the Turkish genocide (Kupelian, Kalayjian & Kassabian, 1998), but not on the intergenerational effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 on Indo's in the Netherlands. Therefore, I believe it is relevant to look at the link between integration and identity and add an intergenerational lens. In the following paragraph, I will explain the value of the three concepts combined.

*The value of the combination of integration, identity and intergenerationality*

A lot was written about integration and identity, but the concept of intergenerationality has not been linked to these two other concepts yet. Therefore, I want to apply an intergenerational approach to

identity-making within the context of integration. The link between the three concepts is evident: integration affects one's identity-making, through attitudes from the host society and the newcomers, but also through one's upbringing. Cultural traits, affected by the degree of integration, are videlicet often passed through (or not) to the next generations during their childhood (Captain 2014). Thence, the level of integration affects one's identity, influencing the upbringing of their descent, which affects the identity-making of their children too. Therefore, I would like to add the additional lens of intergenerationality to identity-making within processes of integration. Herewith, this intergenerational lens is my main contribution to the academic field.

**Research questions and central argument**

The concepts, as explicated above, will be handled per subsidiary question. The subsidiary questions are as follows:

1. What did the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 towards the Indo's in the Netherlands look like?
2. How did the effects of Dutch national integration policy after 1950 influence the identity-making of Indo's in the Netherlands?'

3. What are the effects of (non-)transmission, that arose due to the Dutch assimilation policy, on the identity-making of first-, second-, and third-generation Indo's in the Netherlands?

The main argument I want to make within this thesis concerns the intergenerational (non-)transmission of trauma that originated from the Dutch integration policy after 1950. This integration policy was experienced as an assimilationist policy, and I argue that it (still) shapes the identity-making of my research participants.

### *Methods*

This research took place from the 15<sup>th</sup> of February until the end of April. Within this research, I have chosen to use a variety of methods. I deemed this necessary because triangulation enhances the reliability of the research results. I conducted desk research to create background information. Subsequently, I needed to conduct interviews because I wanted to get in-depth, ad hoc answers from my research participants. Lastly, I used auto-ethnographic methods since the research topic applies to me (a third-generation Indo) and my grandfather (first-generation)

### *Deskresearch*

I have conducted deskresearch to find out certain facts about Indonesia's colonial and post-colonial history and the Indo's, to create a bit of background information. Information on other concepts and theories that have been used for this research has also been acquired via deskresearch.

### *Auto-ethnography*

Secondly, I used auto-ethnographic methods to evaluate the differences between myself, a third-generation Indo, and my grandfather, a first-generation Indo. I hereby focused on the differences in specific experiences my grandfather and I have had that could have influenced our identity-making. I applied this method by reflecting on my feelings, identity and Indo-traits after every interview and everything that I read for my thesis. Auto-ethnography is an approach wherein personal experiences and relationships form the center of the research, whereby the self, and culture and identity politics are reflected upon (Holman Jones 2007). In this way, a personal narrative is created. Denshire (2014) states that auto-ethnography opens up one's professional life and regenerates power relations. I recognize this within my auto-ethnography since I got

insights into the possible effects of assimilation on my grandfather's identity-making, and my own. It also enabled me to reflect on my personality and identity. Pillow (2003, 187) states that the creation of an auto-ethnography embodies feelings of vulnerability and discomfort. Reflecting on this, I experienced these feelings of discomfort whilst talking to my grandfather since I can now clearly see what effects assimilation has (had) on his identity. He ignores this, which is typical of most first-generation Indo's, as will be elucidated in the third chapter. Before I started my research, his role and identity, and my own identity, did not stand out that much to me. In this way, auto-ethnography allowed me to make the usually ignored visible (Dauphinee 2010, 818). Subsequently, relational ethics should be taken into consideration. I did this by staying reflexive of the relational ethics between my grandfather and me, since the intergenerational (non-)transmission of trauma and cultural traits that this research revolves around applies to my family as well. My grandfather's trauma is transmitted to my mom, thence transmitted to me, and het Indisch Zwijgen (which is explicated in the following chapters) is present within our family too. Therefore, I had to be careful in terms of articulation and the questions that I asked. The feelings of vulnerability and discomfort that Pillow (2003, 187) spoke of were therefore present whilst interviewing my grandfather too.

Through the interviews I conducted, I was constantly submerged in my research topic and my thoughts about being an Indo. Thence, what was once normalized within my own life, was now visible and ready to be analyzed (Dauphinee 2010, 818).

### *Interviews*

I subsequently needed to get in touch with Indo's to conduct online interviews. I either reached those Indo's concerning through my network or the Facebook groups Indo Friends, Indo Groep and IndoNet, to find out whether they noticed if certain events or experiences with the Dutch (integration policy) affected their identity-making. Conducting interviews and talking to the research population was the first crucial ethnographic task, which provided me with the answers I needed. Those interviews were structured and differed per generation, and the interview questions are to be found in appendixes A and B (Madden 2017). The interviews questions gave me insights into their Indo-traits, upbringing, experiences with integration and assimilation, and (possible lack of) feelings of belonging in the Netherlands.

### *Ethics/positionality*

The use of the Facebook groups to reach other Indo's that I did not know yet, helped me to ensure the reliability of my research since they were not biased or easily steered in a certain direction in any way. The AVG and privacy of the possible participants were taken into consideration as well since they could contact me whenever they were interested in participating in the research. When they wanted to participate, informed consent was asked on forehand. This implies that the participant was informed about the purpose of the research, the procedures used whilst conducting the research, and how the data management was controlled. This informed consent was established through a written consent form to make sure both parties knew the ins and outs of the research, and this consent form is stored on my computer. The participant, because of this informed consent, knew that participation was voluntary at all times, that the data was preserved safely, that they had access to this data at all times, the amount of time that this data was to be stored, and that his or her preferences were taken into account whilst conducting the research. In my case, I made sure consent was given on forehand to conduct the interviews. Whenever research participants wished to stay anonymous, I met their needs. Concluding: before the interview started, I showed the participants the information letter, asked them

whether they wanted to be anonymized in the thesis or not, and asked if it was okay to record the interview. All participants were okay with me recording the interview, all but one wanted to be called by their name in the thesis, and all of them approved of the contents.

Another aspect that I had to take into account is the fact that I am a third-generation Indo. Therefore, I needed to constantly be reflexive concerning my positionality and be careful not to steer the interviews with my own opinion on the matter, thus staying objective and unbiased. Grassiani (2019) rightfully states that positionality is an intrinsic aspect of conducting anthropological research and that self-positioning is in flux constantly during the research. Consequently, anthropologists should be conscious of their role, lenses, and influence in their research. The fact that I am a third-generation Indo enabled me to take on the role of an anthropologist-trickster, who is engaged with the research participants but, on the other hand, can take a step back and be reflexive of the process. They therefore can embody various roles in the research (Kierans and Bell 2017). This thusly gave me the chance to maneuver between my partly Indo- and Dutch side. I have put this reflexivity into practice by listening to the interviews I conducted, writing down what could be improved and what subjects were potentially sensitive to talk about for the participants. Whilst building rapport between myself and the research

participants, I had a deep understanding of and an open-minded view of the social life I tended to study (Grassiani 2019) to ensure no subjectivity was involved. I did this by checking the interviews afterward. This led to a very favorable bond between my research participants and me, who still send me messages from time to time to let me know certain Indo-traits or interesting books or documentaries.

The most important aspect to keep in mind was the one from the American Anthropological Association (AAA): to do no harm to the research participants. Especially the psychological harm was taken into account while conducting this research since the subject addresses the personal and possibly painful colonial history and experiences and could cause feelings of guilt, trauma, or shame to rise. I, therefore, kept track of the way I interacted with the research participants and made sure to be reflexive throughout the whole process by listening back to the interviews and writing down what stood out. I subsequently asked participants to read my transcripts. I did this so that they could leave things out or correct certain parts of the transcript and make sure I did them or their family no harm.

### ***Structure***

The main argument within this thesis concerns the intergenerational (non-)transmission of trauma that originated from the Dutch

integration policy after 1950, which is experienced as an assimilationist policy. I argue that (the effects of) this assimilationist policy continuously shapes the identity-making of my research participants. This argument is substantiated by various findings that are explicated per chapter. In the first chapter, empirical data is linked to relevant theories to answer the first subsidiary question: what did the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 towards the Indo's in the Netherlands look like? In this chapter, I argue that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced as an assimilationist policy by my research participants. Subsequently, in the second chapter, the same is done to answer the subsidiary question: how did the Dutch national assimilation policy after 1950 influence the identity-making of Indo's in the Netherlands? In this second chapter, my argument revolves around my research participants' decreased feelings of belonging because of the effects of this assimilation, affecting their identity-making. An important concept in this chapter is the intergenerational (non-)transmission of trauma and cultural traits. In the third chapter, the last subsidiary question is answered: how does the Dutch assimilation policy affect the identity-making of first-, second-, and third-generation Indo's in the Netherlands, when looking at (non-)transmission? Thence, in this chapter, I argue that the effects of Dutch assimilation policy after 1950

are passed through (via transmission or non-transmission) to the next generations, affecting the identity-making of the first-, second-, and third-generation Indo-participants. In the last chapter, the conclusion substantiates my argument, a brief discussion is displayed, and recommendations for future research are made.

## **Chapter 1: What did the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 towards the Indo's in the Netherlands look like?**

*Within this chapter, I argue that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced more as an assimilation policy. I substantiate this by utilizing the experiences of the research participants and literature I examined regarding the Indo's. In this chapter, the concept of integration and assimilation are firstly explicated to make the dissimilarities comprehensible. The concept of integration, within this thesis, is analyzed going of three domains: the legal-political, the socio-economic, and the cultural-religious. The interpretations of these domains are clarified in this chapter and applied to the situations the Indo's were in when they arrived in the Netherlands. Based on these findings per domain, I argue that Dutch national integration policy leaned more towards an assimilationist policy, according to my research participants.*

*In the past, if I asked my dad about that time... About the crossing, for instance. He was seven or eight years back then. That would be an age wherein you would remember things, right? He especially*

*remembers the fact that you got little apples on board, which used to be a rare commodity in the Dutch East-Indies. But on board of the ship, you got one at each meal. He remembered that. But things about, you know, being there as a kid and what it was like to arrive in the Netherlands for the first time, that sort of things he does not recollect. The thing I do know is in what kind of ways the Dutch government has failed in that time. That was pretty clear. Because, when they arrived in the Netherlands, they got housed in these places called contract pensions. But the amount of money they had to pay for these places! And the things you had over there, and what you had to hand in... They only got to bring one wooden box from the Dutch East-Indies, for all of their belongings. So, they had to fill these boxes like you would do at chemistry class, to check how many things would fit in a vase. You start with the boulders, and then put the small pebbles in. The same happened with the wooden boxes. You would stuff the nutmeg in last because that rolls in between quite easily. That I know, and the fact that my grandfather used to be active at the KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger). However, he never got paid. Those kinds of things. So yeah, where does the list end? What did they do well? I think they handled the integration okay-ish, but I believe that they owe that to the Indo-culture more than to the performances of the Dutch government. In my opinion.*

- Erna Ruby van Burik

The statement from Erna, one of my research participants, about her father also describes the situation wherein my grandfather came to the Netherlands. His wooden box, which he shared with his whole family, is still situated in our living room, as you can see in the picture below.





My grandfather enjoyed spending time at the contract pensions, and the statements he made point out that he, in contrast to Erna, does not hold any grudge towards the Dutch government. I argue that this results from Dutch assimilation policy; he let go of his Indo-characteristics (apart from the food) and completely adapted to Dutch culture. This will be further explicated and substantiated throughout this thesis. Research participant Sophie elucidated this as well: *If I tell my grandfather that he is an Indo, he just says: no. I am a Dutchman. I am not sure why, but I think a lot of first-generation Indo's have the same. I think the generations following have more of these Indo-traits.* Her experience, or her grandfather's, shows that many Indo's have let go of their own identity to assimilate into Dutch society.

### **The concept of integration**

In this chapter, the Dutch integration policy after 1950 is delineated. The central concept used to analyze this policy is the concept of 'Integration'. Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx (2016) wrote a book on Integration Processes and Policies in Europe, primarily focused on using the concept of Integration as a policy concept. According to them, integration touches upon the process of settlement, in what ways interaction with the host country takes place, and the social

change that immigration brings about (Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx 2016). This social change can be interpreted as the alterations in identification that integrating processes bring about (Esser 2001, Heckmann and Schnapper 2003). Migrants must literally and figuratively find a place within society regarding housing and social and cultural spaces to become accepted and acknowledged (Esser 2004). These processes of integration are measured based on three domains in which people feel like they do or do not belong: the legal-political, the socio-economic, and the cultural-religious (Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx 2016). These dimensions or domains will be further explicated throughout this chapter. Thence, this concept revolves more around where integrating groups feel like they are situated and whether they are accepted in each of these domains. However, there can be shortcomings within these three distinctions. Migrants can, for instance, fall short in the cultural-religious domain when they cannot practice their own beliefs or hold on to their own culture in the host country. This can be due to, for instance, aversion from the host country towards the newcomers, preventing them from keeping a balance between the new and the old culture (Lindo 2005). This points towards assimilation, a concept that is explicated in the next paragraph.

### **The concept of assimilation**

Policies that take the form of assimilation leave little room for cultural individuality (Captain 2014). This kind of integration assumes that the newcomers let go of their own culture when they arrive in the host country and adapt to the host country's norms, values, and culture as soon as possible (Ng and Bloemraad 2015). This implies that migrants relinquish their old culture (Pattynama 2000). The Netherlands rejected multiculturalism, whereby immigrants can hold onto their cultural heritage, and expected immigrants to assimilate (Ng and Bloemraad 2015). Hence, in this chapter, I argue that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 revolved around assimilation rather than integration. This will be substantiated going of the three domains that were explicated above, combined with the experiences of the research participants. These three domains, starting with the legal-political, will be clarified below.

### **The Dutch integration policy: the three domains**

#### **The legal-political domain**

*Entzinger (1975) stated that the migrants that traveled to the Netherlands from 1950 until 1958, amongst others, consisted of repatriates from Indonesia. Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx (2016) believe that integration can first be evaluated going of the legal-*

*political dimension. This dimension points to acquiring certain political rights and statuses.*

#### *Obtaining Dutch nationality from 1849*

The main issue within the legal-political domain is whether a migrant is considered a full member of the political community, such as becoming a national citizen. Even though the focus will be on the integration policy after 1950, it is helpful to look at the overall policy that prevailed in the Netherlands in the context of background information. In the Constitution of 1848, Dutch nationality was considered a legal membership that was only obtained through birth on Dutch territory (Jones 2007). According to the Dutch Aliens Act of 1849, people from the first generation could naturalize via a valid passport and sufficient means of subsistence (Schrover, van der Leun, Lucassen and Quispel 2008, 41). Then, the so-called Territoriality Principle was replaced by the Ancestry Principle. The entrance of the Law of Dutch nationality in residency of 1892 meant that Dutch nationality could only be obtained if one had a Dutch father. Then, in 1938, crossing the border was forbidden, and the term 'Illegal Alien' was invented (Schrover, van der Leun, Lucassen and Quispel 2008, 45). After 1950, this was withdrawn, and Indo's were allowed to migrate to the Netherlands. This was mainly because of the tense

circumstances in Indonesia that raised questions in the Second Chamber. A moderation in the naturalization policy, which was operative at that time, was insisted upon.

*The Refugee Treaty from 1951; still difficult to 'become' Dutch*

Subsequently, the Refugee Treaty went into effect in 1951, which made it possible for refugees from Indonesia to get asylum (Heijs 1995). However, the post-war economic situation gave the Dutch a reason to keep the borders as closed as possible (Jones 2007). Acquiring Dutch citizenship was thusly a problematic task, highlighting the exclusive character of the Netherlands at that time (Heijs 1995). One of the participants mentioned her grandfather's experience in independent Indonesia; *you either became Warga Negara [Indonesian] or went to the Netherlands. However, things over there were not very easy, since you had to go through all these obstacles to get your passport and stuff. It started in Indonesia, but even in the Netherlands obtaining Dutch nationality was not easy.* This experience highlights the difficulty of acquiring Dutch citizenship for Indo's that came to the Netherlands after 1950. Since an inclusive mentality often typifies integration, I argue that Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced as an assimilation policy.

### **The socio-economic domain**

*The socio-economic dimension touches upon the social and economic stand of migrants (Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx 2016). It is essential to address issues such as access to institutional resources, places to work, housing, education, and health care to look at all pivotal domains for every inhabitant.*

*Contract pensions, tiny rooms, and a lack of access to housing*

The integration policy that the Dutch prevailed thusly went into effect on board of the ships by which the Indo's traveled to the Netherlands. During the crossing, the Indo's received brochures wherein information about pastoral care, financial aid, housing, and education was displayed (Hol 2020). After the Indo's arrived in the Netherlands, they got taken in by so-called contract pensions, where they got fed Dutch food. My grandfather was housed in a building in Schiermonnikoog, that is now a restaurant, as you can see in the picture below.



Esther, whose parents traveled from Indonesia to the Netherlands, highlights their parents' experiences in the contract pensions regarding the food. *They had to live in those pensions, and those places got paid an amount of money to take care of them in terms of livelihood and food, but there was not much to get. They had to be grateful at all times, but they got fed scanty food.* Renee, in due course, also emphasizes that her grandparents had to live in dire

circumstances. *There was no such thing as a normal integration process; you got a blanket and a 'good luck' in the cold Dutch winter. People got housed, but that was not that successful either; it was all very packed, not to mention poorly arranged.* The experiences of the relatives of Renee and Esther clarify the lack of access to housing. Pekelder (1999, 92) states that the Indo's also had to live in small rooms with too many people. I recognize this within my research. Ab Alexandre, for instance, pointed out that he and his nine family members had to live in two small rooms. Patrick's grandparents moved to the Netherlands in 1950. He mentioned the following: *well, my family had a rough time over there. They lived in an attic in June '51, which was a tiny room. They lived there with four of them, and the food was horrible.* These circumstances made it hard for the Indo's to get acquainted with the Dutch customs because their socio-economic milieu was lacking. These experiences show that Dutch integration policy was indeed interpreted as assimilation by these participants.

#### *Living on a budget and getting different education than the Dutch*

Almost two thousand collectively housed families got a temporary place to live, clothing, food, and pocket money. However, Pekelder (1999) researched the government's attitude towards the Indo's that

arrived in the Netherlands in the fifties. He states that these families could not live a normal life, amongst other reasons, because of their monthly budget of just 400 guildens. Pekelder (1999, 93) also states that assimilation-education was established which focused on Indonesian labor market-oriented trade and technical schools for Indo's, creating differentiation in education between the Dutch and the Indo's. This difference in education also points to an assimilationist policy since Garcés-Mascareñas and Penninx (2016) state that access to tuition must be equal for newcomers and host society members. According to Pekelder (1999, 94), the degrees and working experience that the Indo's acquired in the Dutch East Indies were also not comparable to the Netherlands. One participant's experience supports this statement: *on top of that, every degree and everything you had earned in the Dutch East Indies was not valid over here. My grandmother was a terrific writer, and she had written for various papers in the Dutch East Indies, all in Dutch. However, she could not get a job over here. The recognition for her writing talent was missing. And you see that a lot, people who had high-ranking positions in the Dutch East Indies, could not get a job in the Netherlands.* This example, in due course, substantiates my argument. Most of the first-generation Indo's that I interviewed did not get equal

opportunities in the labor market compared to the Dutch. Therefore, Dutch integration policy after 1950 was experienced as assimilation.

#### *Advances and debts*

These Indo's concerning got into debts in due course, since the previously mentioned aids (housing, clothing, food and pocket money) were advances, and had to be paid back (Captain 2014). The example of the father of Ab Alexandre substantiates this: *my father went back to Indonesia after two years in the Netherlands. When he came back, he had to work to pay off all his debts. You used to get sixty percent of your salary; the rest was used to settle the debts.* These advances that had to be paid back highlight the unequal opportunities for newcomers in contrast to members of the host society, substantiating my argument that Dutch integration policy after 1950 was considered as assimilation by my research participants.

*Concluding, the lack of access to decent housing, the differentiation and inequality in education, and lack of financial resources show the flaws of the Dutch national integration policy after 1950. More importantly, the experiences of the research participants substantiate my argument: according to them, Dutch integration policy after 1950 leaned more towards assimilation because of these inequalities as*

*explicated above. The most essential rationales for my argument are highlighted in the next paragraph about the cultural-religious domain.*

### **The cultural-religious domain**

*The cultural-religious domain mainly revolves around the receiving society, in this case, the Netherlands. It is crucial to research whether they are open for overall difference and diversity, and whether the newcomers are perceived as culturally or religiously different.*

#### *Other authors on Dutch assimilation policy*

Diversities may be denied by the host country, whereby the newcomers are assumed to assimilate into a mono-cultural society, but they may also be accepted. The first is the case when speaking of the Indo's in the Netherlands. Since integration implies that the dominant society and the minority groupings (in this case, the Indo's) adapt to each other and that this was not the case in the Netherlands at that time, Ng and Bloemraad (2015) state that the policy from 1950 on leans more towards assimilation. The emphasis was put on making the Dutch repatriates behave in 'the right way', thus as Dutch as possible, and that they had to assimilate within two years (Pekelder 1999). This 'right way' will be clarified in the upcoming paragraphs.

The Dutch, subsequently, are thusly known to be a host society with weak approval rates in terms of non-dominant civilizations (Ng and Bloemraad 2015, 622). Entzinger (2006) even states that the shift to negative attitudes towards immigrants has been most dramatic in the Netherlands. Many of the research participants I interviewed support these findings and thus my argument.

#### *Eating Dutch food*

According to Ng and Bloemraad (2015) we can understand assimilation as a form of integration whereby immigrants are expected to take on the culture of the host society. My participants' experiences show that this was manifested in expectations to behave as the Dutch desired in the case of the Netherlands. This is, for example, evident in how there was an expectation of eating potatoes instead of rice (Hol 2020). The Dutch integration policy after 1950 was aimed at remedying a cultural deficit: people had to behave as Dutch as possible. For example, an Indo eating potatoes was interpreted as a well-integrated person, and eating rice was seen as an Asian attitude (Hol 2020). Wouter M. migrated to the Netherlands when he was only three years old. He voices the need to behave as Dutch as possible in the following example: *When we got assigned a place to live in Arnhem-Zuid, assimilation started. We had to adjust to the Dutch*



regarding food, education, clothing, everything. And for me, that was both at school and at home. At that time, I did not know a word such as 'assimilation', but it was obvious to me that I had to adapt as much as possible and that we had to position ourselves as the best Dutchmen possible. This example shows that coming across as Dutch as possible and signaling assimilation in Dutch society was considered very important.

#### *Working for the Empire*

The parents of one of my participants, Priscilla, left Indonesia to move to a small village in Limburg where they were the only foreign people. She highlights one of her experiences, which has a lot to do with coming across as Dutch as possible and substantiates the assimilationist policies that the Netherlands prevailed. *At a certain time, I worked for the municipality. And everyone was so happy, and I did not get it at that time. But if you worked for the Empire, that was interpreted as super important and good because you show that you are one of them. That is a weird Indo-trait that I often see.* Priscilla's experience shows that signaling assimilation and being 'one of them' was considered very important by the Indo's since they felt like the Dutch integration policy after 1950 demanded this.

#### *Adjusting norms, values, and beliefs: the need to assimilate*

Captain (2014) stated that within the social work, there was little room for cultural individuality from the repatriates. Going of whether an Indo 'behaved as Dutch as desired', one was eligible for independent housing (Captain 2014). The above points to cultural integration, which emphasizes how immigrants modify their norms, values, and beliefs to those of the host society (Kalmijn 2015). Ng and Bloemraad (2015) state that this kind of integration takes the form of assimilation, which expects immigrants to take on the host society's culture. One of the participants recognizes this statement and mentioned the following: *If you arrive in the Netherlands, people expect you to adjust. Like, okay. You are here now. Let us get you some stuff and a house and, mind you, you do have to pay it all back but get on with it now. Go on.* Another participant, Carmen, pointed out that her grandparents did not have a choice concerning the integration in the Netherlands. *If you come to this country as an Indo, you have to integrate. Nobody cares about how you do it, but you have to integrate. Whether you have to because the Dutch government tells you so, because your own culture does, or because of any other circumstance, there is no alternative.* According to my research participants' examples, the Netherlands therefore seemed to prefer assimilation above multiculturalism (Ng and Bloemraad 2015, 623).



These assimilation policies were imposed by the government and executed by the CCKP, the Christian social work (Jones 2007, 333).

#### *A lack of information*

In the interviews I had with many of my research participants, the emphasis was put on the lack of information that their parents had when they arrived in the Netherlands. Priscilla, whose grandmother experienced difficulties assimilating in the Netherlands because of this lack of information, gives an example. *You know, I know very little about that history. The things I do know are very negative. The contract pensions, the social workers that explained them they cut their food in the wrong direction, that kind of small stuff. But yeah, the integration. It was very cold, and my grandmother often did not know a lot of things. When the door at the butcher was closed because of the cold, she just waited for someone to open it for her. Because she was not used to doing those kinds of things herself, and when she finally went in, she asked for a chicken, but she logically got a dead one. And then she said, I do not want this, I want a fresh chicken with feathers. To get rid of these feathers herself. There was nobody there to tell her that kind of stuff. To overcome those cultural differences.* This example elucidates the fact that the Indo's were self-reliant, and

that the Dutch society expected them to assimilate without much guidance.

#### *A different phenotype and being the 'Other'*

Subsequently, the Dutch society was typified by an 'us' against 'them'-distinction (Sökefeld 1999, 417). Cankaya and Mepschen (2019) state that the Dutch often found that their country was full during the period wherein the Indo's migrated to the Netherlands. Subsequently, the Indo's were seen as an ethnic 'other'. Esther elucidates this attitude by sharing an experience that her parents had. *They felt their skin to see if it was really brown-colored. And the Dutch people used to ask them: 'do you even speak the Dutch language?'* The example of Esther's parents shows the differentiation in phenotypes, and that Indo's were seen as the 'Other' at that time, meant to assimilate in Dutch society (Jones 2007). The Dutch assimilation and integration policy of the 1950s, based on cultural orientation, made a distinction between 'Western' and 'Eastern' Dutch people. Certain prejudices about the Indo's, such as that they were lazy and unreliable, led to the stereotyping of these Indo's concerning (Buettner 2016, 219). In turn, this occasionally gave rise to the opinion that Indo's belonged in Indonesia, which caused an increase in the cultural distance between the Dutch and the ethnic colonial 'Other'. Although the Indo's were

considered permanent citizens in the Netherlands, they were still seen as 'Others' that needed guidance, refinement in civilization, and adjustments in constructing their cultural identity (Hol 2020).

*The importance of the Dutch language and overachieving at school*  
Captain (2014) also voices that for the Indo's that came to the Netherlands, there was little room for their 'Eastern orientation'. Being able to master the Dutch language was a big part of the assimilation process as well (Pattynama 2020, 283). During the interviews with the research participants, this came to the surface. *It was like, you come to the Netherlands, so you will speak the Dutch language. I noticed that others learned Bahasa [the Indonesian language], but I did not. My grandparents prohibited it,* said Kelly, whose grandparents migrated to the Netherlands. Just like Kelly, Carmen was forbidden to speak Bahasa. Carmen's grandfather spent three years in a Japanese concentration camp, just like my own grandfather, prior to migrating to the Netherlands. *If you speak Bahasa, you will not get accepted in the Netherlands. That is what my parents told me. Since you are going to talk in that language when you meet other Indo's if you speak the language.* Ab Alexandre, who was born in a Japanese concentration camp and moved to the Netherlands when he was eight years old, mentioned that there was a

child called Jantje Kaptein whom he could not even play with because his mother told him not to since he did not speak Dutch in a perfect way. *Thence, the Dutch language was very important.* Subsequently, it was essential to do your very best at school, to take down certain prejudices about Indo's. Patrick's experience with his dad corroborates: *my parents stimulated us in a certain way, to do our very best at school. My father was rigorous; he always told us to speak Dutch correctly. And when he was talking about school, he always mentioned that we had to give it our best shot. Get a higher grade than the Dutch classmates, if that was possible. So that they could not say 'see, those bruintjes do not get it'.* The examples that Patrick and the other research participants above gave me corroborate the need to be 'as Dutch as possible', signal assimilation and let go of the Indo-culture. This is characteristic of assimilationist policies, substantiating my argument that Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced more as an assimilationist policy by most of my research participants.

### **Conclusion**

*Within this chapter, I argue that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced as an assimilation policy by my research participants for various reasons in three domains: the legal-political,*

socio-economic, and cultural-religious domain. Regarding the legal-political domain, it was difficult for Indo's to acquire Dutch citizenship because of the exclusive character of the Netherlands, whereby specific laws made it hard to cross the border and to get a Dutch passport. Integration is often typified by an inclusive character concerning naturalization and acquiring citizenship, and I therefore argue that the Netherlands prevailed an assimilationist policy instead. The national Dutch integration policy after 1950, subsequently, was aimed at making the Indo's behave in the 'Dutch way'. This assimilation process started at the crossing and was implemented via brochures, housing, Dutch food instead of Indonesian food, clothing, etcetera. Important to highlight is that these aids were to be paid back and were therefore seen as an advance. Hence, regarding the socio-economic domain, Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced as assimilation since the Indo's did not get equal access to housing, financial resources and had to come across as Dutch as possible. Next, the social work was intended to remedy a cultural deficit; there was little room for their 'Eastern orientation'. Indo's were expected to speak the Dutch language and it was often prohibited to speak Bahasa Indonesia. Their parents told them to do their very best at school to make sure that they took down the stereotype of Indo's, since they were known as lazy and unable to

pursue their goals. Dutch assimilation policy distinguished between 'Western' and 'Eastern' Dutch people, giving rise to 'Othering'. This highlights the assimilationist policy concerning the cultural-religious domain. These processes of 'Othering' can affect the construction of one's identity; hence migrants are sensitive to processes of de-identifying. People need to feel like they belong in a particular society or grouping to create an identity. Therefore, these feelings of belonging, and other experiences that Indo's have or had with the Dutch assimilation policy, will be highlighted in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 2: 'How did the effects of Dutch national integration policy after 1950 influence the identity-making of Indo's in the Netherlands?'**

*In the last chapter, I argued that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced as an assimilationist policy by most of my research participants. This policy has caused certain utterances and attitudes towards my research participants, influencing their experiences. These attitudes are often typified by nescience, ignorance, discrimination, racist utterances and/or processes of Othering. These utterances and attitudes concerning can affect one's feelings of belonging, causing alterations in the identity-making of my research participants. A lack of feelings of belonging, videlicet, could cause a constant search for one's identity, hyphenated identities, or even decreased mental well-being. Therefore, within this chapter, I argue that the effects of the Dutch integration policy (that was experienced as assimilation) concerning have an effect on the construction of the identities of the Indo's I interviewed. I will substantiate this argument by highlighting the various experiences of my research participants. Firstly, the concept of identity is explained. An identity is formed through the need to*

*feel unique and the need to belong. The first is shortly explained in this chapter by emphasizing het Indisch Zwijgen, which was initiated by the assimilationist policy that the Dutch prevailed. Hereafter, the concept of feelings of belonging is explicated, followed by the attitudes of the Dutch that have influenced the feelings of belonging of my research participants. Eventually, the effects of these attitudes on my research participants are set forth.*

*If I think of situations where acceptance and inclusion were missing, I would have to return to my youth. In the past, when I was still a child, I lived in Arnhem. In a neighborhood where a lot of Indo's and Moluccan families resided. You kind of already noticed that Dutch families had no idea where we came from and why we lived over there. So, you got many questions like 'what kind of language do you guys speak at home?' So, we 'obviously' had many Indo and Moluccan friends, and when we went to play football against Dutch children, it quickly became the Netherlands against Japan. Those guys had no idea at all. About where we came from, because of that nescience or ignorance about our past. And the lack of acceptance and inclusion, yeah. I think most people received their fair share of racist utterances. Like I had, in the bus. You know, when the bus is starting to get packed, and older people expect younger people to give their seats up*

*for them? I have heard things like 'just let that brown one stand up.' Or black hair always has fleas or lice—those kinds of things. As a young kid, I remember getting all quiet because of those comments. That two women behind me made such remarks, and I did not say anything. I just stood up and gave my seat away. I do not think (post-)colonial events affect those experiences, but I would instead place it under the overall heading of 'racism' because those people do not know anything about the (post-)colonial era. There is that nescience again. Most people have no idea why we came to the Netherlands, especially not what the Dutch people did in Indonesia.*

- Patrick

*Patrick's examples, as described above, highlight the effects of the experiences with the Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation). This policy, videlicet, brought about processes of 'Othering, ' often associated with discriminatory practices and/or racist utterances, as Patrick experienced first-hand. These processes of 'Othering' frequently cause decreased feelings of belonging amongst newcomers and, in this way, influence their identity-making (Brewer 1991). Nextly, the concept of identity and more examples of these processes of 'Othering' will be elucidated.*

### **The concept of identity**

This chapter revolves around the influence of assimilation on identity and identity-making. Thence, the concept of 'Identity' is essential to explicate. Identity is an abstract concept, and many scholars have defined it in a variety of ways. Brodwin (2002), for instance, states that people create their identity through social relations. The author believes that identity is not fixed but is constantly in flux. However, he partly contradicts his statement by speaking of a new interpretation: one that voices the unalterable character of identity since it is inborn (Brodwin 2002). McIntyre, Bentall, and Elahi (2016, 621) researched the effects of migration on one's social identity and mentioned that identity is created through traits acquired during infancy. Since many of my research participants recognized feelings of belonging or a lack thereof, I chose to mainly use the concept of Brewer (1991) to substantiate my argument. Identity, and foremost social identity, is created through feelings of belonging and the need to be unique (Brewer 1991). When looking at integration in host societies, the need to be unique is interpreted as having the freedom and space to maintain certain cultural traits within that host society (Captain 2014). As explicated in the previous chapter, the Dutch society left little space for the Indo's to keep their cultural-religious traits. This led to

het Indisch Zwijgen amongst the Indo's, as is elucidated in the next paragraph.

### **Taking away the need to be unique: Het Indisch Zwijgen and the effects of non-transmission on identity-making**

Het Indisch Zwijgen is interpreted as follows: one solely talks of his or her emotions within the house and as little as possible, let alone to speak of the past (Timmerije 2013). Het Indisch Zwijgen is common within Indo-families and causes partial nescience of one's past, trauma, and pedigree. *You know, at home, you could not talk about it. At home, it was just 'yes' and 'amen' all the time*, Stephan mentions. This could be considered an Indo-, or even Asian characteristic, as Wouter explains. *They hardly said anything about their Indo-past. I noticed that at a very early age since it got painfully quiet whenever you asked something about that time. They would rather not talk about it. That was for two reasons; it was way too painful for them to reminisce. They had to leave that beautiful country, which must have caused a lot of pain and sadness. However, and now we arrive at the second reason they stay quiet, they did it for us. They took that step, and did their very best in the Netherlands, for us. For a better future.* Wouter's example highlights the importance of assimilation for the first-generation Indo's to create a better future for their children.

Because the Dutch integration policy after 1950, which was experienced as assimilation, left little room for cultural orientation amongst the Indo's and required Indo's to come across as Dutch as possible, het Indisch Zwijgen arose (Captain 2014). Het Indisch Zwijgen, thusly, was partly initiated by the Dutch attitude towards the Indo's and the assimilation policy that prevailed in the Netherlands. One participant voices her concerns about this matter: *My grandfather gave the Indo's a voice, since many of them felt like they could not tell their story and felt unheard. It was the means of communication by which they could connect the community and create a place where people could be supported and cherish the culture that they still carried but could not express in Dutch society.* This illuminates the lack of space that the Indo's had to hold on to their own culture and identity, highlighting the link between experienced assimilation in the Netherlands and het Indisch Zwijgen (Captain 2014). Subsequently, het Indisch Zwijgen affected the second- and third-generation Indo's and their identity-making, since having little to no knowledge about one's history could influence the construction of the identity concerning (Captain 2011). One of the participants substantiates this statement: *I do not know who I am. I recognize myself in certain Indo-traits, but I also recognize myself in the Dutch and their norms and values. And that is not weird because my pedigree is incomplete, and*

*my parents will not talk to me about that time. Right?* This experience is an example of an altered identity-making due to a lack of information about the Indo-culture and their heritage. Once there is a lack of information about one's past, an alteration in one's identity is inevitable. The specific effects of non-transmission of cultural traits, thusly het Indisch Zwijgen, are discussed per generation in chapter three. Another thing that could come to the surface, partially because of het Indisch Zwijgen, is decreased feelings of belonging. This concept will be elucidated in the next paragraph.

### **The definition of feelings of belonging**

There can only be an identity when there are multiple identities present (Sökefeld 1999, 417). Hence, the construction of an identity, or a 'me,' points to the effects of interpersonal contacts on the individual sense of self (Cerylo 1997). Important to outline here is the existence of an in-group and an out-group (Brewer 1991). The out-group, in this case, consists of the Indo's. The in-group consists of the Dutch inhabitants. In due course, Brewer (1991) elucidates that feelings of belonging are of utmost importance for the out-group to construct their identity since one must feel at home. According to McIntyre, Bentall, and Elahi (2016), migrants are susceptible to processes of de-identifying because of a lack of feelings of belonging.

They are vulnerable to feeling de-identified since they have to get accustomed to a new culture while keeping in touch with their old culture. This, in general, can affect an adults' well-being (Greenman 2008). Research has shown that belonging to more than one social group can positively affect one's mental health and identity. Maintaining the old culture, whilst adapting to the new one, is thusly beneficial. Assimilationist policies can influence this adaptation since they require the newcomers to let go of their old culture. The effects of assimilationist policies, thusly the attitude of the Dutch towards the Indo's described earlier within this chapter, influence these feelings of belonging. These attitudes, and the effects thereof on the Indo's that I interviewed, will be elucidated in the following paragraphs.

### *Attitudes of the Dutch towards the Indo's because of assimilation: nescience*

Many of my interviewees voiced their concern about the nescience of Dutch inhabitants towards the (history of the) Indo's and the Dutch East Indies. Therefore, I will shortly set forth the disinterest and nescience in Dutch society. *You never have the feeling that you are seen for who you are. People just assume you are Dutch when you speak their language. They do not ask further questions, not about where you come from, for how long you have been over here, why, or*



*how we experience it. Nothing. That made me feel quite lonely because it seemed like people never got personal towards me. People have no knowledge about that whole chunk of history about the Dutch East Indies and the Indo's that fled to the Netherlands. Furthermore, since we ought to be a multicultural society, that interest seems pretty essential to me,* said Joyce. Nescience, in general, can cause disinterest and unawareness of specific practices, leading to polarization and thus a more visible 'us' against 'them'-distinction (Park and Buckley 2019). Peter acknowledges this: *Holland was not used to people of another race in 1950. At school, they did not get taught on that matter too. My mom once told me that she was taught everything about the Netherlands at school, even though it was a small country. Meanwhile, in the Netherlands, people did not even know where Indonesia was situated on the map. I remember children asking me: did you guys walk on the streets in skirts, with tigers and elephants? That kind of shows how uninformed people were at that time.* This nescience and disinterest could lead to reduced feelings of belonging, as Esther elucidates: *Well, when you say feelings of belonging, I think about whether I feel accepted within Dutch society. And when people mix us up with Indonesian people, I do not feel like people accept me. That in itself is a susceptible subject since our parents are born with a Dutch passport because they lived in the*

*Dutch colony. People just do not get it.* According to Esther, Peter, and Joyce's examples, this nescience or disinterest of Dutch inhabitants towards the Indo's led to reduced feelings of belonging. Thence, the nescience and disinterest from assimilation policies affect the identity-making of the Indo's I interviewed. These attitudes of the Dutch towards the Indo's come to light through various utterances, as will be highlighted in the next paragraph.

*Assimilation causes certain attitudes towards the Indo's: exclusion, processes of Othering, and racism*

As described in the previous chapter, the Dutch integration policy after 1950 was experienced as assimilation by my research participants. The Indo's that I interviewed felt like they had to adjust to Dutch norms and values by downplaying their Indo-traits in the fields of, for instance, food and language. The attitude of the Dutch society towards the Indo's, at that time, was considered as one that required assimilation as well (Captain 2014). Thence, exclusion, processes of Othering and racist utterances or discriminatory practices were commonly experienced by my research participants. These experiences led to decreased feelings of belonging in the Netherlands and the Dutch society, influencing their identities. Hereafter, the definition of processes of Othering will be explicated, and their

experiences with exclusion, processes of Othering, and racism or discrimination will be highlighted.

### **The concept of ‘Othering’**

Processes of Othering, thusly a distinction between 'us' and 'them,' can affect feelings of belonging. Thence, it is important to outline these processes of Othering. It is known that intergroup behaviors and processes affect attitudes and behaviors towards the 'us' and 'them.' It is also important to emphasize that, in an ethnic-diverse society such as the Netherlands, there is a higher chance for minority groups to be devalued through certain stigmas (Cankaya and Mepschen 2019). These processes came to the surface in the childhoods of some of the participants as well, just like Stephan's. *Well, my brothers and sisters experienced very different things than me. They went to school, and they were the only Indo's over there. That was contrasting in my childhood since I was situated in a composite class. However, you still know that you are not part of their group. And that is just because of your skin color and way of doing things. Our norms and values are slightly different from those of the Dutch, and if you combine that with brown(er) skin, you are pretty quickly doomed to not belong in a particular place or group.* Thusly, whereas identity was once described with words as sameness and unity, the focus is now on

differences and pluralities. As an individual or a group, the danger in forming these collective social identities is that a distinction between 'us' and 'them' can come to the surface; this process is called 'Othering'. 'Othering' can make one feel like they do not belong or feel 'at home' within a specific grouping or society. This can lead to declined identities and mental health issues, affecting one's identity (Mcintyre, Bentall and Elahi 2016). In the next paragraph, processes of Othering in the Netherlands and my research participants' experiences are outlined.

### *Assimilation causing attitudes towards the Indo's: processes of Othering in the Netherlands*

Processes of ‘Othering’ thusly exist because of the presence of a distinction between 'us' and 'them'. Specific social groupings that share the same group identity see individuals or groupings with other identities as the 'Other'. Cankaya and Mepschen (2019) talk of the influences of (de)colonization in the Netherlands, giving rise to 'Othering'. (De)colonization videlicet caused different origins, cultures, ethnicities, and backgrounds in society. Within this diverse society, the one group is considered 'natives' and the groupings that later migrated as the 'Others'. In Sökefeld's (1999, 417) opinion, the Western self is the starting point. The non-Western selves are

regarded the opposite as the Western individuals: not integrated, dependent, unbound, and unable to pursue their goals. Laarman (2015) substantiates this with her research on the in- and exclusion of post-war immigrants. She states that a distinction was made between Eastern and Western Dutch individuals after 1950, denoting a belief in colonial superiority. Western individuals were interpreted as white, Christian, and wealthy, while Eastern individuals were considered brown and of a lower position than the Western people. These processes of 'Othering' can cause feelings of exclusion and significantly impact one's feelings of belonging and thusly one's self-categorization and identification (Cankaya and Mepschen 2019). As we already know, these feelings of belonging are fundamental in constructing one's identity since one needs to feel like he or she belongs somewhere to construct an identity (Brewer 1991). Therefore, processes of 'Othering' are essential to outline within this thesis as well. Aad shared an event that occurred that corroborates with these processes of 'Othering' during our interview, as described below:

*Okay, well. A few years ago, on Queens' Day in Amsterdam. I was at a tennis club in the Vondelpark. And I was seated at the bar, and I see two women over fifty with their Louis Vuitton bags. And as soon as I walk to that bar, I see them hiding the bags. That says a lot about how*

*the world perceives me, I think. And another thing. You would not even want to know how many times I have been taken off the road for some vague check-up. I have lived in Hilversum, near the forest, for an extended time. So, I arrived home somewhere around three in the night from work. And I see a police car, and I expected it to happen already. And yeah, they detained me and asked me to show my driver's license and identification. And then you think, where does that come from? It might be the wrong combination of the car, the neighborhood, and my age at that time. Last example. When I got asked to help with some reorganization of a company, someone told someone else: I am not going to listen to a 'bruine'. And then you notice that, even if you are at a higher professional level, you are still not perceived as complete and still seen as the 'Other'.*

- Aad Liefveld

*Assimilation causing attitudes towards the Indo's: discrimination and racist utterances*

As Aad's example above highlights, processes of 'Othering' mostly come to the surface through discriminatory, or even racist, utterances. These remarks can reduce one's feelings of belonging, automatically affecting one's identity. Captain (2014) stated that the need to assimilate, initiated by Dutch integration policy, gave rise to these

processes of Othering and thusly to these discriminatory practices. Jones (2014) subsequently examined postcolonial citizenship and the 'repatriates' from Indonesia, emphasizing binary thinking and assimilationist policies in the Netherlands at that time. This, according to Jones (2014), led to an 'us' against 'them-distinction through the culture and race of the 'Other'. Many of the repatriates experienced discrimination and difficulties with integration because of the assimilation urge. Hence, this concept is of interest to this thesis. Thus, social identities are considered positive when there is positive contact with new out-groups but is conceived as negative when the out-groups experience discrimination. Within this research, the participants perceived discriminatory practices and certain racist utterances, too, as can be seen in the experience of Aad. My grandfather's sister experienced a similar situation, according to my grandfather: *My little sister was once told to go back to her own country by her teacher of all people.* Ab Alexandre elucidated another experience, from when they arrived in the Netherlands: *I remember, when we woke up in Bergen, the whole square was full of white Dutch people. They were standing there to watch the brown monkeys that just arrived by boat. Us.* Many of the first- and second-generation Indo's I interviewed were called 'pinda', 'zwartje', 'blauwe' or were denied entrance at bars, dancings, or disco's at least once. *I lived in*

*Bergen op Zoom, a little town. And in the vernacular, it is quite common over there to call someone 'zwartje'. That makes me cringe. And I tried to go against them by addressing the term 'colored', but that did not help,* said Esther. The experiences of my research participants above show that many of them thusly perceived discrimination or racism, which made them feel less at home in the Netherlands. Identifying with an undervalued group or this ethnic minority status can also result in self-stigma (McIntyre, Bentall and Elahi 2016, 622). These self-stigmas can cause alterations in one's identity-making, as will be explicated in the next paragraph.

#### *The effects of Othering, discrimination, and racism on one's feelings of belonging and thusly identity-making*

From the previous paragraphs, it could be stated that assimilation causes certain attitudes towards newcomers, with processes of Othering, discrimination, and racist utterances as a consequence. These effects influence one's identity-making. Kang (2021) noted that a racial or ethnic minority status could establish a form of 'tribal stigma' based on natural or assumed characteristics associated with a particular racial or ethnic group. Padilla, Lindholm, and Wagatsuma (2010) state that stigmas could impact the processes of adaptation and acculturation of integrating individuals, affecting their social

identities. The social identities concerning can influence the behavior of the newcomers, possibly reducing one's life chances (Penninx 2001). Padilla states that these stigmatized individuals sometimes apply a method called 'covering' or 'whitening' to downplay or tone down their stigmatized features (Kang 2021). This is often done to conform to the white host society and signal assimilation to avoid discrimination, precisely what the Indo's did when they arrived in the Netherlands. They ate Dutch food, let go of their cuisine and language, and ultimately adopted the Dutch one. They let go of their own identity or parts thereof to assimilate.

*A guy in the same class as me at high school was fascinated by the Second World War. And he made bizarre comments from time to time. I was the only colored one within the group of friends we had, and he just said things like 'if we lived in 1940, we knew for sure that this one [pointing to me] was not with us.' I found that so curious; what am I supposed to do with these kinds of comments? Also, we were once playing Gigolo. As a part of the game, I was supposed to get everyone drinks all the time. And he said, 'Yeah, well, the fact that Daisy is the slave is quite accidental. Right?' Those things were not okay if you ask me. I just do not get it.*

- Daisy

*The effects of assimilation, causing frustration and a lack of feelings of belonging*

According to the examples of discrimination and racism my participants gave me during the interviews, the tripartite created in the Dutch East Indies is still present in the current Dutch society. The example of Daisy above, even though it was meant as a joke, substantiates this experienced inequality in Dutch society. That is to say; the Western person is still superior to the Eastern individual (Sökefeld 1999). Wouter's statement corroborates: *My dad got hit many times solely because he is brown. My aunt told me this because my dad was the only brown one in Ommen and Aalten.* Or, as Carmen rightfully stated: *what are you going to do about it? You cannot zip off your skin and leave it at home. So, you take these discriminatory practices with you everywhere.* These racist utterances or discriminatory practices made my interviewees feel unwanted, unaccepted, and expelled in Dutch society. Aad enounces his feelings whenever people discriminate against him in the following statement: *It leads to frustration and recalcitrant behavior on my part. I will soon be 62. And even though I have been on this planet for so long, I still notice that I am sometimes caught in the illusion of belonging, of belonging to a group. And sometimes, when I get those comments, I wake up from that illusion. Because I still do not belong entirely, and*

*that frustrates me, that pisses me off.* This statement shows that some of my interviewees did not feel heard, were victims of racist or discriminatory utterances, and felt less at home in the Netherlands. As Brewer (1991) stated, one needs to feel like he or she belongs to construct an identity, so this lack of feelings of belonging due to racism and/or discrimination influenced their identity-making, substantiating my argument that (the consequences of) Dutch assimilation policy affects or has affected the construction of the identities of my research participants.

*The effects of assimilationist policies; causing internal processes of change*

Assimilation policies require individuals to let go of their old culture, and many of the research participants substantiated this with their experiences. These newcomers go through psychological acculturation, wherein internal processes of change occur (Padilla, Lindholm, and Wagatsuma 2010). McIntyre, Bentall, and Elahi (2016) even propose that those processes of de-identification and social disconnection could decrease physical well-being. Accordingly, the impact of one's social identity and feelings of belonging, or not, to a particular group affect one's mental health. The authors state that people need a certain balance between their old and

their new culture to conserve good psychological health. When this balance is missing, thus, when a migrant is moving too far in one direction, the migrant is in danger of distancing oneself from social ties that one needs to perpetuate a positive self-perception (McIntyre, Bentall and Elahi 2016, 622).

*The effects of assimilationist policies affecting identity-making: hyphenated identities*

Feelings of belonging are thusly essential in creating an identity (Madsen and von Naerssen 2011). Cankaya (2020) highlighted the absence of these feelings of belonging in his literary work 'Mijn Ontelbare Identiteiten'. He perceives the differences between his old culture, the Turkish one, and the new culture, the Dutch one, as prodigious. This causes feelings of not fitting in entirely and decreases feelings of belonging, creating a constant search for one's identity. Aad substantiates this by highlighting his experience in the Netherlands: *when you talk about feelings of belonging, where you belong, I see myself embracing two cultures. I am not a Western individual because I picked up on too many Eastern things, but I am not an Eastern individual either. Because I am too coarse in the mouth, too direct, and I have little patience. So, my observation would be that I am part of two cultures situated somewhere in between.*

Joyce's experiences match that of Aad. *We have an inside world and an outside world. And Indo's notice something, that they cannot get their cheese on in that outside world. I felt significantly adjusted to Dutch customs, felt Dutch. However, in one way or another, I missed something. And that is where some Indo's struggle because they can find it within the inside group. In a group of like-minded people. And that creates two worlds. Two split worlds.* Aad and Joyce's examples elucidate the double identities that they created since they both belonged to the Indo- and the Dutch culture. The experiences of Aad and Joyce thusly corroborate my argument: the effects of Dutch assimilation policy did indeed affect the identity-making of my interviewees. According to Ng and Bloemraad (2015), these processes of not fitting in entirely can undoubtedly occur because of assimilationist policies since those policies force migrants to relinquish their old culture. Hence, ethnic minorities frequently experience feelings of marginalization and disconnection from the new culture and majority group. Subsequently, these processes of de-identifying could lead to a dual or double identity. When an immigrant struggles for recognition within a specific group or feels like they do not belong somewhere or belong to more than one culture, a hyphenated identity can be established (Castles and Miller 1995). In this case, this is called an Indo-European. Many of the first-,

second-, and third-generation participants I spoke to went (back) to Indonesia and had inexplicable feelings of belonging, even though they had never been there before. This points to that hyphenated identity concerning.

*I was inquisitive about the country in itself and my family. To meet them. Going there has been a decision that I did not regret for a second. Seeing the archipelago again, in particular, gave me a feeling I never knew before and did not expect at all. I felt at home. I thought; Indonesia is no longer the Dutch East Indies, and that was my home. But I felt as if I was home immediately. Everything felt familiar, the smells, the nature, everything. I knew I had to cherish that forever.*

- Wouter M.

Wouter M.'s experience corresponds to the hyphenated identity as described above. Concluding, the experiences of my interviewees substantiate that the Dutch assimilation policy influenced their identities. They either did not feel at home or did not feel like they belong, feel like they belong to two cultures, or were de-identified from their old Indo-culture because of this Dutch assimilation policy's effects. The approach to integration in the Netherlands, which was experienced as an assimilationist policy, thusly led to het Indisch



Zwijgen, processes of Othering, exclusion, racism, discrimination, and decreased feelings of belonging. These decreased feelings of belonging, or feelings of belonging to two cultures, caused hyphenated identities and searches for one's identity to arise.

### **Conclusion**

*In the last chapter, I argued that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced as an assimilationist policy. In this chapter, I argued that the effects of this Dutch assimilation policy after 1950 affect the identity-making of these participants. I argued this because one needs to feel unique and like they belong somewhere to construct an identity. The first is influenced by the effects of the Dutch assimilation via het Indisch Zwijgen. However, the research was more focused on feelings of belonging since the participants brought up many experiences with these feelings of belonging. Feelings of belonging are significant for minority groups to construct their identity; they must feel at home within the host country and find a balance between their old culture and their new culture. These feelings of belonging were affected by the effects of the Dutch assimilationist policy. This policy, videlicet, created certain attitudes towards the Indo's in the Netherlands and were expressed via nescience, discriminatory practices, racist utterances, and processes*

*of Othering. These perspectives on and utterances towards the Indo's thusly reduced feelings of belonging amongst my participants and caused alterations in their identity-making. Examples of these alterations were a constant search for one's identity, decreased well-being, or a hyphenated identity. Thence, I argued that the feelings of belonging and thusly their identity-making were influenced by (the effects of) the Dutch integration policy after 1950, which was experienced as assimilation. As explicated before, het Indisch Zwijgen has affected their feelings of belonging too. The effects per generation of this (non-)transmission will be set forth in the next chapter.*

**Chapter 3: What are the effects of (non-)transmission, that arose due to the Dutch assimilation policy, on the identity-making of first-, second-, and third-generation Indo's in the Netherlands?**

In the previous chapter, the influence of the Dutch assimilation policy after 1950 on the identity-making of Indo's that participated in my research was elucidated. Within this chapter, I will do the same, but per generation. Thence, the focus will be on the impact of the effects of the Dutch assimilation policy on the identity-making of the first-, second-, and third-generation Indo's I interviewed. The focal point within this chapter is (non-)transmission, also called *het Indisch Zwijgen*. The most crucial concept to outline in this chapter is intergenerationality since the first-generation Indo's can pass through (or not) certain Indo-traits to the next generation(s). Subsequently, within this chapter, my auto-ethnography sheds light on the differences between myself and my grandfather. I argue that the differences between the first-, second-, and third-generation Indo's that I interviewed can be explained by (non-)transmission of cultural traits, thusly *het Indisch Zwijgen* amongst Indo's, that was caused by the

effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation). Most first-generation Indo's I interviewed are often completely de-identified and assimilated and feel like they are a hundred percent Dutch. The second-generation Indo-interviewees frequently search for their identity and find it difficult to track the balance between their Dutch and Indo-side. Many of the third-generation Indo's I interviewed, myself included, are (factual) more Dutch than Indo but have a strange connection to the Indo-culture and Indonesia, a hyphenated identity, and take a more activist stand towards Indo and Dutch society. These differences per generation, and thusly the effects of (non-)transmission, will be explicated within this chapter.

*I believe it is essential to demonstrate the differences between my grandfather and me in this chapter since the effects of (non-)transmission and thusly *het Indisch Zwijgen* were both very present within my family. He feels entirely Dutch, whereas I do not. Thence, I inserted my grandfather's quote below, whereafter my opinion on the matter is explicated.*

*Grandfather: In percentage, I am a hundred percent Dutch. And in terms of identity, yeah. You will have certain Indo-traits, like the food. I like to eat Indofood once or twice a week. And other things, like the song of Wouter Muller, that made your aunt and mom cry? He sang about the botol tjeblok. Bottles next to the toilet, filled with clean water. And soap. And after you go to the toilet, after the paper, you have to wash with the soap and water concerning. And dry off with a towel or with some paper. Of course, that stayed. You could even say that ten percent of me stayed Indo. And in terms of feelings of belonging, I feel a hundred percent at home in the Netherlands. I would not know what else you could expect from me. Have you ever seen me unsatisfied? Despite the trauma I carry with me, because unfortunately, that is in the genes as well. It is about what you do with it. With being human. However, it is also about the place you grow up in and the circumstances. The fear, the pain, that is inside of you. It is not a tabula rasa because my dad passed it through. His experiences. And he was very strict. He had seven sons and two daughters, and they all ended up well but were raised with a heavy hand. He did not hesitate to use a leash or a bamboo stick. If we were too late, we got called back with a heavy hand. And my mother used a lot of proverbs, which was good for all of us since you could use them during your Dutch education.*

*Me: The examples that my grandfather gave me and that you can read above signal the need to assimilate in the Netherlands. Two things mainly stuck out to me while I interviewed my grandfather. The first was the upbringing that he had. This does not correspond with my childhood at all. His education thusly revolved around coming across 'as Dutch as possible' and being punished when not getting the right results. Mine was Dutch in the first place since my father is Dutch, and my grandmother and grandfather did not ultimately raise my mom. I, therefore, find it evident that my grandfather feels Dutch since he did not have another choice at the time. The second thing that stands out is about me and my feelings of belonging compared to my grandfather's. Every time he said 'I feel Dutch' or anything similar, I felt resistance. Resistance to the Dutch, because they caused the tripartite in the Dutch East Indies in the first place. I know very well that this resistance is only there because I started this research and read many books about Dutch colonialism in the Dutch East Indies and that there are more points of view. I cannot believe he does not hold any grudge towards the Dutch at all since I do. I was ashamed of my nescient appearance on the Batavia-square in Jakarta five years ago, where the Dutch were actively colonizing. Also, I do not feel a hundred percent Dutch, even though only around fifteen percent of me is Indo. When I first came to Indonesia, I felt a strange feeling of being*

*at home. A feeling that was confirmed and experienced by many second-, and third-generation Indo's I interviewed for my research. Our upbringing can explain the differences between my own experiences and those of my grandfather. As I described earlier, he had to come across as Dutch as possible, so I was already 'assimilated'. However, because of het Indisch Zwijgen, my grandfather did not pass on certain cultural traits and did not share his experiences with his daughters (or grandchildren). I, personally, can feel the effects of this (non-)transmission when I look at my identity-making since I miss certain chunks of information about our past. Nextly, the concept of intergenerationality will be explicated since this concept revolves around the (non-)transmission between members of various generations.*

### **The concept of intergenerationality**

As stated above, intergenerationality implies the interaction between members of different generations (Vang and Sangalang 2017). However, Padilla, Lindholm, and Wagatsuma (2010) focused on intergenerational transmission of stress, values, acculturation, and trauma. The latter is essential for this research since chapter two highlighted that the identity-making of the first-generation Indo's I interviewed was affected by the effects of Dutch assimilation policy

after 1950. Indo's are part of a community that deals with inner unpredictability and complexities (Captain 2014). Nevertheless, my research has shown that the second-and third-generation Indo's I conducted interviews with were also influenced by the effects of these assimilation policies. This happened because of (non-)transmission, thusly het Indisch Zwijgen. Various scholars (Captain 2014, Esser 2004, Pattynama 2012) have researched the influence of intergenerationality and intergenerational trauma on aspects of the life of different generations. Connolly (2011) focuses on intergenerational trauma, emphasizing the importance of the first-generation, healing their trauma. If they do not, it is often passed through to the second-and third generations. According to Captain (2014), intergenerational trauma can affect all the following generations and the construction of their identity. Traumatic events, thusly, can have an effect on life for decades (Bombay and Matheson 2014). These traumas transpire personally or at a collective level because of, for instance, war or genocide. The reactions to these traumatic events are not homogeneous. Hence, collective trauma can either have a visible effect on the children or grandchildren of the victimized but can also be heavily influenced by silencing (Bombay, Matheson 2014). This silencing is comparable to het Indisch Zwijgen, which will be elucidated in the framework of intergenerational trauma throughout

this chapter. Hereafter, the effects of this (non-)transmission on the following generations will be explicated.

### **The first generation**

The first-generation, within my research, consists of the Indo's that lived in the Dutch East Indies or Indonesia for a while after migrating to the Netherlands. They, thusly, partly went through (the outcomes of) (de)colonization, the war with Japan, and/or the Bersiap-period. They migrated to the Netherlands and experienced the Dutch assimilation policy first-hand.

#### *Traumatic events: Dutch colonization and the war with Japan*

Firstly, it is of importance that the reason for their trauma is explicated. The traumatic events started when the VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) forced a monopoly treaty on the indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago so that the Dutch colonizers had complete ownership of the nutmeg and mace (van Reybrouck 2020). As explained in the first chapter, many Dutch colonizers impregnated indigenous women, giving rise to the Indo's. A tripartite was created: the Dutch above all, followed by the Indo's in the middle and the indigenous Indonesian men and women at the bottom (van Vugt 2016). Colonial wars passed in review until the Japanese

conquered the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese chose the side of the indigenous and incarcerated the Dutch and many of the Indo's in Japanese concentration camps. Those who did not go to these camps because they got away lived in fear of incarceration in the 'Buitenkampen' amongst the indigenous (van Reybrouck 2020). Inside and outside the camps, life was marked by starvation and massacres. After the Japanese were defeated, the Dutch wanted to reign over the Dutch East Indies again. An example of a Dutchman that took care of these massacres was Captain Raymond Westerling (van Vugt 2016). His purifications, as they were called, encompassed the raiding of many kampongs (districts). As a result of this, dozens of indigenous individuals were shot. Van Vugt (2016) states that the Dutch authority was mainly typified by violence.

#### *The 'Revolusi' (Revolution) of the Indonesians and the effect on the Indo's*

Then, the indigenous revolted. They started the last colonial war from 1945 until 1949, whereafter Indonesia was declared independent. However, the Indo's reminded them of colonialism. This made life in the archipelago difficult for the Indo's, and they had to choose between becoming Indonesian (Warga Negara) or migrate to the Netherlands. Even if they chose to become Warga Negara, the Indo's

were deprived in terms of job or overall life opportunities (van Reybrouck 2020). Many of them, therefore, decided to migrate to the Netherlands.

*Migrating to the Netherlands: assimilate, assimilate, assimilate*

The Dutch, however, just got out of the Second World War themselves and wielded a strict immigration policy, as was explained in the first chapter. In this first chapter, I argued that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 leaned more towards assimilation. For the first-generation Indo's, this meant that they had to come across 'as Dutch as possible' and that there was little to no space for them to process their trauma. Therefore, this was experienced as assimilation because of the lack of space to maintain certain cultural traits and the unequal opportunities concerning jobs, financial aids, and education that the Indo's got in the Netherlands. As one of the participants voiced it: *My grandfather once told me that he wanted to talk about the war with Japan to a Dutch friend, who responded with 'yeah, but at least you had a nice temperature over there'.* Joyce also gave an example of how Dutch assimilation policy after 1950 changed her identity: *We got the order to adjust as much as possible, and so we did. So, the outside world is assimilated, but I am still a girl from the Dutch East Indies in the inside world.*

*However, in the outside world, you have to lay low as much as possible. And within the Indo-groupings, people can even look down on other people within the same group. Oh, that one did not adjust well enough, does not speak the language well enough. He is not dressed as he or she is supposed to.* Wouter's experience corroborates with that of Joyce:

*I have to say that my hundred percent Dutch answer has a lot to do with my utterly Dutch upbringing. I was raised as a Dutch boy because of the circumstances. We did not speak Bahasa because that was not Dutch. The keyword in this story is to adjust, to the Dutch ways of doing things. Therefore, I do not belong to the Indo's that feel like we, as a group, have to speak up more. Who find it important to give the Indo's a more prominent place in society. I do not share that ambition.*

- Wouter M.

*Giving rise to het Indisch Zwijgen*

Joyce's and Wouter's examples above elucidate the need to assimilate into Dutch society and also show that my interviewees felt like the Dutch left them no space to sort out their own traumatic experiences. This, and the need to give their children the best life chances they

could get, gave rise to het Indisch Zwijgen. Het Indisch Zwijgen is comparable to the concept of silencing, which encompasses dealing with traumatic events (Markovic 2020). Markovic's (2020) research revolved around the way Croatian inhabitants dealt with their history of violence and conflicts. The most common way, she found, was through silencing. Erna, however, pointed out that het Indisch Zwijgen made it impossible for the first generation to process their trauma. *If you cannot talk about it, how can you balance it out? That is just a survival mechanism, but it does not help you in processing your trauma.* Silencing can be steered by opinions and viewpoints of other communities, which resonates with the situation of the Indo's in the Netherlands, as described above. Research participant Sophie informed me about her grandfather, who chooses to ignore the trauma in conversations. *He only tells us about the fun stuff. About how cozy it was in that little room in their contract pension and other positive things. Nevertheless, obviously, there have been many negative experiences that I do not know of because no one talks to me about them.* Sophie's example elucidates the need to assimilate and the lack of space that the first-generation Indo's had to process their trauma. The effects of this assimilationist policy and this lack of space to process trauma are outlined in the next paragraph.

### *The effects of het Indisch Zwijgen, strict upbringing, and assimilation on identity-making*

Het Indisch Zwijgen, the upbringing with a heavy hand and the need to come across 'as Dutch as possible' denotes assimilation. As described in the second chapter, assimilation affects one's identity-making. McIntyre, Bentall, and Elahi (2016) propose that assimilation could make one de-identify since they have to get accustomed to a new culture whilst letting go of their own. Therefore, I argue that most of the first-generation Indo's I interviewed de-identified with their Indo-culture, completely assimilated in Dutch society, and feel 'a hundred percent Dutch'. Ab Alexandre even voices his concerns about the following generations, wanting to change the opinions of the first-generation Indo's: *I am not supposed to talk about tempo doeloe [the good old times] because the Dutch caused much harm. However, that judgment comes from the media; they have an unequivocal opinion on the role of the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies. So, I am not supposed to look back at those times with joy.* His experience resonates with my grandfather's viewpoint, who does not hold any grudge and is almost wholly assimilated into Dutch society. Captain (2014) substantiates this by arguing that the first-generation is often the silent, assimilated one. They had to fully submerge in Dutch culture and tried to ignore race (Captain 2014). The upbringing they gave their children, the

second-generation Indo's, was often one with a heavy hand and strict. This is something that my grandfather told me as well. *You know, your grandmother once hit your aunt, and she responded with, 'it does not even hurt compared to when dad does it'. I do not know why I did it like that, I think it was partly because of trauma, but I regret how I raised my daughters.* This experience speaks for several of my research participants. As Yankellevich and Goodman (2017) stated, if one is not processing traumas, emotions tend to come to the surface at all times and are uncontrollable. I, therefore, argue that the first-generation Indo's I interviewed had to assimilate in Dutch society, giving rise to a feeling of being 'a hundred percent Dutch' and therefore de-identified with the Indo-culture. Thence, Dutch assimilation policy impacted the identity-making of the first-generation Indo's I spoke to. The need to assimilate from the first-generation, and thusly het Indisch Zwijgen and (non-)transmission of cultural traits also influenced the second-generation Indo's, as will be explicated in the next paragraph.

### **The second generation**

The second generation consists of individuals who were born in the Netherlands but have one or two parents who migrated from the Dutch East Indies or Indonesia to the Netherlands. According to Beets and

van Imhoff (2004, 49), they are primarily activists, and aware of racism. This consciousness influences their way of thinking, especially about the post-colonial time. I disagree with Beets and van Imhoff (2004) since my research participants have shown some dissimilarities within their generation. They do all have, to some extent, struggled with their identity because of a lack of information due to het Indisch Zwijgen. This Indisch Zwijgen, as denoted earlier on, mainly exists because of the effects of assimilation in the Netherlands. Therefore, I argue that the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950, which was experienced as assimilation, also influenced the identity-making of the second-generation Indo's I interviewed.

### *Possible consequences of (non-)transmission of trauma*

Kidron (2008) substantiates my argument with her research on the influences of intergenerational transmission of PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) on Holocaust survivors and their children. According to her, their sense of self is adjusted because of this transmission. She also states that the children of the survivors see themselves as survivors of a remote traumatic past, affecting their life stories (Kidron 2008, 5). So, not only are the first-generation Indo's affected by their trauma but the intergenerational effects that are passed



through via parenting influence the well-being of their offspring (Bombay, Matheson 2014). The outcomes of this intergenerational transmission that takes place within one's upbringing can vary from denial, anxiety, depression, and mistrust to struggles for one's identity (Bombay, Matheson 2014). Next, the effects of (non-)transmission or het Indisch Zwijgen on my second-generation research participants are highlighted in the following paragraphs.

*Lack of guidance and decreased mental well-being  
because of (non-)transmission*

The (non-)transmission of trauma and cultural traits can affect a person's well-being. Yehuda (2002) even states that children of survivors are more sensitive to stress and more likely to develop depression when facing tense situations. Stephan's experiences corroborate with Yehuda's (2002) statement. *You just do not really fit in. Also, I missed that guidance from either the Dutch society or the Indo's. That would have helped. If you are struggling with your own identity and who you are, you suppress everything, and you cannot express yourself, some people go and experiment. And some of my Indo-friends did that, using drugs and stuff. And some of them did not stop and are not around anymore. They could not find their way in the Netherlands because no one was there to help them.* Stephan's

example is one of extremity, but other participants substantiated his experience. Wouter voiced his concerns about the well-being of Indo's in the Netherlands, too: *I believe that Indo's are basically on the top of the list when you talk about psychological help. And that is all because of 350 years of colonialism and a constant search to where you belong as a person. So, I do not feel like it is strange that the Indo-community does not have it all sorted out.* The cry for help from the friends of Stephan and the psychological problems that the Indo's have, according to Wouter, highlight the difficulties that the Indo's in the Netherlands have in constructing their identity because of the effects of (non-)transmission and thusly the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation).

*A lack of feelings of belonging and/or a hyphenated identity*

These struggles for one's identity corroborate or even depend on feelings of belonging. I spoke to many participants about these feelings of belonging, or lack thereof. *Indo's are often lost. I think they had an identity crisis from the start,* Hugo says. Franklin substantiates this struggle for identity with his own experience, too: *I was neither flesh nor fowl. I was that vague case that was not possible to identify or categorize. And I struggled with that feeling because you do not belong.* At the beginning of this chapter, I shared my feelings

of belonging when I first visited Indonesia. Many participants shared the experience I had, even though we were all born in the Netherlands. *The way your skin reacts to the warmth over there, it just feels right*, said Priscilla. *It just feels like home, even though that sounds very weird. Everything is pelan-pelan [easy and calm], the food is excellent, the sun is shining, the people are different. Everything just feels like home.* Monique did not have the urge to go to Indonesia for a long time, but when she finally decided to go, she experienced the following: *When I was there, I just had that recognition. And then I thought: so apparently, I am more Indo than I initially believed.* These experiences point to belonging to more than one group, which is often called a dual or a hyphenated identity, according to Castles and Miller (1995). This search for one's identity and lack of feelings of belonging, or belonging to more than one group, is typical of the second-generation Indo's I interviewed. According to my research participants, their identity-making was influenced by (non-)transmission because of het Indisch Zwijgen, which exists because of the assimilationist policy that the Netherlands prevailed. Thence, in a way, their identity-making was affected by the effects of the Dutch integration policy after 1950.

*Dissimilarities within the second generation: activists or soedah [let it go]*

Another thing that stood out for me were the differences within the second generation. These differences are often due to their upbringing, wherein (non-)transmission of cultural traits took place. Around half of the participants were activists, proud of their Indogenes and of the opinion that the Indo's in the Netherlands could take in a bit more space than they do now. Alternatively, as Patrick voices it: *they could have shown a higher profile from the beginning.* Erna agrees: *if I compare my ideas and beliefs to those of my father, I might be more activistic. I find it essential to pass through certain Indo-traits to my niece and nephew, for example. For them to know what their grandfather had to endure and where the country [Indonesia] is in the first place.* On the other hand, the other half of the participants do not find it necessary that the Indo's stand out more in the Netherlands. Stephan, for instance, mentioned the following: *You have those extreme Indo's, who are still really worried about the history and the Indonesian people and what they did in the Bersiap period. However, I find that too extreme.* These differences are owing to their upbringing, according to the participants. Robila, Davey, Askew, and Stone Fish (2003) state that parenting and intergenerational transmission can indeed affect the development or maintaining of an

(ethnic) identity. As Erna also mentioned, this childhood differed a lot per participant: *I believe that my upbringing could have been 'more Indo'. That is also because sometimes I do not even know what they are talking about when I speak to other Indo's. Some of them can be 'super-Indo's'.* Erna's example elucidates the differences between the identity-making of Indo's in the Netherlands that is affected by their upbringing. Since (non-)transmission has a significant impact on this identity-making, the effects of het Indisch Zwijgen on the second-generation Indo's I interviewed will be highlighted in the next paragraph.

#### *The influence of het Indisch Zwijgen*

Het Indisch Zwijgen is also one of the reasons for this struggle for identity since the participants mentioned that they did not know their history. This, according to Hirsch (2001), is an issue because people want to create a 'post-memory'. A 'post-memory is especially often recurring in the case of intergenerational transmission of trauma. 'Post-memory' refers to the bond between children and their parents, who are survivors of certain traumatic events. Thence, the children try to 'reclaim' memory to further constitute their identity (Hirsch 2001). In the case of het Indisch Zwijgen, this was not possible. Due to het Indisch Zwijgen, the second-generation Indo's could not narrate their

history, but they still felt the pain and the burden their parents carried with them. In Helmrich's (2013) documentary 'Buitenkampers', the effects of unprocessed trauma were elucidated in the following statement: *' My father had a backpack full of boulders, and he never got rid of them so now I carry them with me every day'.* Captain (2014) stated that the second-generation Indo's are activists and very aware of racism in society, but my research findings elucidate that they are not all activists and still searching for ways to balance their old and new culture, not able to constitute their identity entirely. Thence, Captain's (2014) findings on the second-generation only partly apply to my research participants. However, their identity-making is undoubtedly influenced by the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation) via (non-)transmission of trauma and cultural traits.

#### **The third generation**

The third-generation Indo's have (both) a grandfather or grandmother born in the Dutch East Indies who later migrated to the Netherlands. Captain (2014) states that the third generation is depoliticized and assimilated in the Netherlands. According to the author (2014), the third-generation Indo's are not bothered by race or differences therein. My research results show the opposite; therefore, I argue that the

identity-making of third-generation Indo's I interviewed were also affected by the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation). Their identity-making is predominantly affected by (non-)transmission of trauma and cultural traits, thusly het Indisch Zwijgen of the first generation. Subsequently, I argue that the Indo's of the third generation that I interviewed were not depoliticized but activistic and aware of racism and its effects. Since I am a third-generation Indo, I decided to investigate my feelings of belonging and identity-making whilst shedding light on the (non-)transmission within my own family. Below, my experience in Indonesia and my current opinion on that situation are described.

*"And this is Bataviaplein. As you can see, there are a lot of Dutch buildings over here. Beautiful. We are going to have lunch at the Batavia-square in an hour, so you are free to look around for a while." Said Janny, our supervisor from the minor International Sustainable Development. We traveled to Jakarta, and this is the first day in Indonesia since we left the Netherlands for five months. In two days, we will leave for Bali. I am thrilled, and it is nice to recognize some Dutch or Western buildings when you are 11.000 kilometers away from home.*

*What a difference. As thrilled and intrigued as I was five years ago, as much as I am disgusted with my nescience now. Now that I have read books and other literature and spoke to first-generation Indo's who actually endured the misery that the Dutch put them through, I cannot believe the attitude I had back then. I wholeheartedly believe that I would rather sleep underneath a bridge than happily smile at that Batavia square once more. As I described at the beginning of my thesis, I cannot believe my grandfather's attitude towards the Dutch. Why does he feel a hundred percent Dutch, and I do not? I was born in the Netherlands, visited Indonesia twice, and I still feel like it is fifty-fifty. I believe he could smile happily at Batavia-square. So why can I not?*

*My statement above points to the differences between my completely assimilated grandfather and my struggle concerning identity-making. This struggle partly, or mainly, exists because of the (non-)transmission in my own family due to het Indisch Zwijgen. This lack of knowledge affected me and my identity-making. Thence, this lack of information and its effects are set forth in the next paragraph.*

### *Activism because of a lack of knowledge*

El-Tajeb (2004) researched the second- and third-generation Turkish and Moroccan individuals in Germany and concluded that the constant confrontation with the host country repudiating any inequality gave rise to political and cultural activists. I can conclude the same for most of my research participants. According to El-Tajeb (2004), the results of hundreds of years of colonialism are visible in the feelings of belonging of the third generation: it is still not self-evident to feel at home in your own country. The aftermath of the Dutch occupation of Indonesia is this way, still present. Because of the elimination of Bahasa and het Indisch Zwiigen, the third generation often feels displaced due to the effects of Dutch assimilation policy and like they had no access to the Indo-culture and history (Hol 2020). *My grandparents were so busy adjusting that they never spoke of what they went through: the war, the Japanese concentration camps, leaving everything behind. I once asked my grandfather: are we Dutch? And he got mad. Of course, we were Dutch! Later on, I found a poem wherein he described how much he missed Indonesia. He never shared that pain with me. We had to keep our identity and culture inside for so long, and our generations try to take it back*, one participant said. Carmen shares this activist opinion: *We have to maintain our culture. We have to be proud and stop saying*

*thank you because we may pat ourselves on the back, too, sometimes. We do not have to be grateful for everything. We can acknowledge that we are different, and that the Indo-culture has to stay.*

### *Activists because of assimilation: the Indo-culture has to stay*

Many of the participants, like Carmen, expressed their concerns about the Indo-culture fading away because of assimilation. Patrick and Kelly want to prevent this by passing the Indo-culture through to their children. *I really want to pass it through. If I have grandchildren, I want to do the same. They must know where they come from.* Patrick's activist stand does not only come to the surface in the upbringing of his children, but he has set up an Indonesian restaurant as well. *I just like to tell my story as a third-generation Indo. About how I experienced it and still experience it. To capture the Indo-moments through stories or food.* Patrick's example shows that the third-generation Indo's I interviewed were often activists pleading for Indo-culture to stay.

### *Hyphenated identities*

As described in the previous paragraph, the dual or hyphenated identity applies to the third-generation Indo's I interviewed as well. Renee, for instance, feels at home in the Indo-, and the Dutch culture.

*I feel at home in the Netherlands, yes. However, sometimes I do not. Because the approach is different when relating to other people. Thus, I am Dutch, but I recognize certain Indo-traits too: being proud, not asking for help, the food.* In our interview, Kelly emphasizes her dual identity in the following statement: *How can you feel at home when your grandparents were treated like this? Where do you belong? I do not know. It is hard to describe that feeling. We are just really pushed back and small in Dutch society. And that is also because of the position we took in ourselves back then; by not wanting to stand out, not wanting to be 'the Other', adjusting because we were in the Netherlands. They are still at the back of the class, unseen. I would like to see that changed.* Kelly's experience and opinion on the matter substantiate my argument. The third-generation participants are indeed influenced by the effects of Dutch integration policy, which was experienced as assimilation. They still do not feel at home altogether, feel partly de-identified because of a lack of knowledge about the past due to het Indisch Zwijgen of their grandparents and take a more activist stand in Dutch society.

### **Intergenerational differences compared in one word: 'Pinda'**

Another way to understand how these intergenerational differences are manifested can be by looking at the word 'Pinda'. 'Pinda' was once

used to highlight one's inferiority but is now interpreted differently per person, as happens with many swear words. Asim (2008), for instance, researched the definition of the N-Word for different generations of black and white people. The author concluded that these interpretations differed per generation and correlated to the degree of integration of an individual. The interpretation of the word 'Pinda' differs from a nickname to a swear word. I, therefore, asked my research participants what kind of connotations they had with the word 'Pinda'. The first-generation Indo's I interviewed did not seem to have difficulties or negative connotations with the word, as Peter expresses: *Well, I actually find it pretty funny.* The second generation does not mind when another Indo calls them 'Pinda', but experiences resistance when a Dutch individual calls them by that name. *As Indo's among each other, I do not mind. However, if a Belanda does it, I find it patronizing and derogatory.* Most of the third-generation participants, like Carmen, have a clear opinion: *No, you cannot call us by that name. That is really low. And it is not funny. If you accept that, there will be a disbalance, and you take down your own culture. I find it very disrespectful.* Daisy agrees with Carmen: *That is not okay. I do not even know why; that is entirely due to my mom. We are supposed to get mad when people call us by that name because it is an insult. It is some sort of Pavlov response.* Daisy's opinion indicates

the opposite of Captain's (2014) research, wherein she states that many Indo's have grown up in the nescience of the Dutch colonial history. They, therefore, would not understand the racist undertones of the word 'Pinda'. The forced assimilation of the first generation and het Indisch Zwijgen has everything to do with this (Captain 2014). My research, however, shows that the third-generation Indo's are often very aware of the racist undertones of the word 'pinda'. The variation in interpretation of the word per generation is due to the effects of the Dutch integration policy after 1950, which was experienced as assimilation. As described within this chapter, the first generation is wholly assimilated and feels a hundred percent Dutch. Thence, they do not feel offended when individuals call them a 'Pinda' and interpret it as a nickname. The second-generation Indo's I interviewed differ in opinion about Indo-activism and feel like they are situated between Dutch and Indo-culture, so their opinions on the word 'Pinda' differ. The third-generation participants are often activists with a hyphenated identity and feel displeased when someone calls them a 'Pinda'; they also interpret the word as a swear word when used towards Indo's. This, therefore, substantiates my argument; the Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation) has effects on the identity-making of all three generations, but these influences differ per generation and have a lot to do with their upbringing and the

(non-)transmission that took place from the first-, to the second-, and third-generation Indo's.

### **Conclusion**

Various scholars have researched the intergenerational transmission of trauma from events such as the Holocaust or other genocides. When the first generation, for whatever reason, does not process certain traumatic events, this intergenerational transmission is inevitable. The transmission, thence, often happens during the upbringing of their children. When certain cultural traits are not passed through, this is called non-transmission. The first-generation Indo's that I interviewed had to assimilate into Dutch society and come across as Dutch as possible. This assimilation gave rise to het Indisch Zwijgen, which could be considered the forced (non-)transmission of the Indo-cultural traits. Because they held back information relevant to the identity-making and making of 'Post-memory' for the second- and third-generation Indo's, het Indisch Zwijgen (initiated by assimilation in the Netherlands) affected the construction of their identity.

Thence, within this chapter, I argue that most of the first-generation Indo's I interviewed are often completely de-identified with their old Indo-culture, assimilated in Dutch society, and feel like they are a

hundred percent Dutch. They experienced (de-)colonization, the war with Japan, and the Bersiap period first-hand. When they arrived in the Netherlands, assimilation was expected. There was often no place for the unprocessed trauma of the Indo's I spoke to, giving rise to *het Indisch Zwijgen*. Because of *het Indisch Zwijgen*, they did not pass through certain cultural traits to the second generation.

Therefore, the second-generation Indo-interviewees frequently search for their identity and find it difficult to detect a balance between their Dutch and Indo-side. They felt like they do not belong entirely, or as if they belong to two cultures, the Dutch- and the Indo-culture. This, according to them, is an effect of *het Indisch Zwijgen*. They were missing clarity in terms of information about their history and guidance from either the Indo's or the Dutch. This, sometimes, led to extreme consequences such as drug use and psychological problems. Within the second generation, I found some dissimilarities. Half of the participants do not feel like Indo's must speak up and take back their place in Dutch society, and the other half takes a more activist stand concerning that matter. In my participants' cases, these differences are due to their upbringing and the level of (non-)transmission that took place within their family. Their childhoods either leaned more towards a Dutch upbringing or an Indo upbringing. The second-

generation carries the unprocessed trauma of their parents with them, which substantiates my argument about the influence of the effects of Dutch integration policy (that was considered assimilation) on their identity-making. Since this second generation lacks information about their history and ancestry, creating a 'Post-memory' is impossible, and non-transmission of the Indo-traits to the third generation occurs.

Many of the third-generation Indo's I interviewed, myself included, are (factual) more Dutch than Indo but have a strange connection to the Indo-culture and Indonesia, a hyphenated identity, and take a more activist stand towards Indo and Dutch society. They are also experiencing a lack of knowledge about their history and pedigree, leading to these hyphenated identities concerning. My third-generation research participants still do not feel at home entirely because of *het Indisch Zwijgen* of their (grand)parents, leaving them unable to create a 'Post-memory' as well, and feeling partly de-identified. However, the third generation is also marked by the activist stand they take towards the Indo's and the Dutch. They want the Indo-culture to last. Their identity-making is, thusly, also affected by the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation). In conclusion, I argue that the effects of Dutch assimilation and intergenerational (non-)transmission affect the



identity-making of all three generations, but that these influences differ per generation.

### **Conclusion, discussion and recommendations for future research**

Within this thesis, through 26 interviews with first-, second-, and third-generation Indo's that reside in the Netherlands, I substantiated my following argument: Intergenerational (non-)transmission of trauma, originated from the Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation), shapes the identity-making of my research participants. Subsequently, an auto-ethnography that focused on me and my grandfather (respectively a third- and a first-generation Indo), contributed to this argument.

In the first chapter, I argued that the Dutch national integration policy after 1950 was experienced as an assimilationist policy by my research participants. Garcés-Mascreñas and Penninx (2016) stated that newcomers must have equal opportunities and equal treatment in terms of the legal-political, the socio-economic and the cultural-religious domain. Regarding the legal-political domain, it was difficult for Indo's to acquire Dutch citizenship. In the socio-economic domain, Indo's could not get the same profession as in the Dutch East Indies, got insufficient housing and had to pay everything

back. In due course, there was no room for 'Eastern orientation' and Indo's had to behave 'as Dutch as possible'. Especially in this cultural-religious domain, the assimilationist policy that the Netherlands prevailed comes to the surface.

This experienced assimilation policy has had an effect on most of my research participants, as was discussed in chapter two. In this chapter, I mentioned that to construct an identity, one needs to feel unique and experience feelings of belonging (Brewer 1991). Amongst Indo's, the need to feel unique has a lot to do with het Indisch Zwijgen. This was affected, or even caused, by the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation) since there was little space for the first-generation Indo's to process their trauma. Subsequently, the feelings of belonging of my research participants were influenced by this assimilation policy, since minority groups must feel at home within the host country and balance their old and their new culture to construct an identity. An assimilationist policy, videlicet, requires newcomers to adopt the new culture and let go of the old culture, and therefore makes them de-identify with this old culture concerning. This policy caused specific attitudes from the Dutch towards the Indo's, manifested through nescience, discriminatory practices, racism and processes of Othering. These

attitudes decreased feelings of belonging amongst my research participants and thusly altered their identity-making. Thence, the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation) created de-identifying processes, hyphenated identities, decreased mental well-being and/or a lack of feelings of belonging amongst my interviewees.

In the third chapter, I focused on the intergenerational (non-)transmission of trauma and cultural traits amongst my research participants. The first-generation experienced traumatic events in the Dutch East Indies or Indonesia, but due to het Indisch Zwijgen they did not process their trauma. Thence, transmission to the second- and third generation took place via their upbringing. Most of the first-generation Indo's I interviewed frequently de-identified with their old Indo-culture and are assimilated in Dutch society. They did not pass through cultural traits to their children, thence the second-generation interviewees are often searching for their identity and are struggling to find a balance between the Dutch and the Indo-culture because of a lack of information about their history. Amongst my research participants this is mostly due to het Indisch Zwijgen. The third-generation Indo's I interviewed, including myself, have a peculiar connection to Indonesia, a hyphenated identity and are more activistic

than the first- and second-generation interviewees. Concluding, I argue that the effects of Dutch integration policy after 1950 (that was experienced as assimilation) has effects on the identity-making of all three generations, through (non-)transmission of trauma and cultural traits.

#### *Discussion and recommendations for future research*

I contributed to the academic field by adding the lens of intergenerationality to identity-making within processes of integration. However, other factors could have influenced the level of assimilation of the Indo's in the Netherlands. For example, no research has been conducted to the effects of the overall Asian culture on integration and assimilation into host countries. In this Asian culture, individuals are often perceived to be quieter and more adhering than the Western individuals (Lei 2008), which could have affected the attitude of the first-generation Indo's I interviewed towards the Dutch integration policy after 1950. This is a possible recommendation for future research. Also, it might be useful to look at the Moluccan communities in the Netherlands. The Moluccan individuals are often more empowered than the Indo's, because of their history (Degraaf and Demant 2010). They, videlicet, thought that they were in the Netherlands for a temporary period of time. These

differences might be useful to elucidate, in future research. A comparing case-study, highlighting the different times and circumstances of their arrival, is possibly helpful to explain the attitude of the Indo's towards the Dutch whilst they were assimilating.

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## Appendix A

### INTERVIEW TWEEDE EN DERDE GENERATIE INDO'S

#### Introductie

- Alles goed daar?
- Onderzoek introduceren, verwijzen naar informatiebrief
- Geanonimiseerd in het onderzoek of met voornaam/ voornaam en achternaam?
- Ik ga het gesprek opnemen. Gaat u hiermee akkoord?
- Wat is uw leeftijd, als ik vragen mag?
- Als u een typische Nederlander zou moeten omschrijven, hoe zou dat dan zijn?
- En bij een Indo?

#### **Hoe interpreteren eerste-, tweede-, en derde-generatie Indo's de feelings of belonging?**

- Als ik feelings of belonging zeg, waar denkt u dan aan? En wat is daarvan het tegenovergestelde?

- En het concept respect? Of geen respect hebben?
- Dan heb ik nog het concept van geaccepteerd of niet geaccepteerd worden?
- En als laatste, het concept van inclusie. Dus u deel van een groep voelen, of juist niet?
- Heeft u hier bepaalde situaties meegemaakt die die gevoelens hebben opgerakeld, of juist niet? Wat voelde u toen?
- Denkt u dat bepaalde (post-)koloniale gebeurtenissen nog een effect kunnen hebben op deze gevoelens?

#### **In welke situaties is de mate waarin Indo's zich gerespecteerd en/of geaccepteerd voelen toe- of afgenomen?**

- Voor eerste generatie Indo's: leeftijd waarin ze naar Nederland kwamen?
- Hoe ging dat toen en welke gevoelens brengt dat naar boven?
- Hoe heeft u de integratie in Nederland toentertijd ervaren?
- Hoe is uw opvoeding vormgegeven? Zijn er bepaalde dingen in naar voren gekomen waarbij u dacht 'dat is wellicht te linken aan Indo'?
- Zijn er verder nog bepaalde situaties waarin dat 'Indo' zijn naar voren komt? Hoe voelde u zich toen?

- Heeft u ooit een situatie gehad waarin de mate van je gerespecteerd of geaccepteerd worden, werd beïnvloed? Hoe voelde u zich toen?
- Foto van 'Pinda'-magazine laten zien, wat denkt u als u dit ziet? (post-)koloniale term uitleggen.
- Kunt u nog op andere situaties komen waarin bepaalde gevoelens van u niet geaccepteerd of gerespecteerd voelen naar voren komen?

**Op welke manieren ervaren Indo's een toename of afname in het gevoel bij een groep te horen (inclusie)?**

- We hebben hiervoor al even besproken wat uw interpretatie van inclusie is. We hebben de ervaringen die u heeft gehad met gevoelens van inclusie en exclusie ook al behandeld. Dan hebben we nog het concept 'Othering'. Wat denkt u dat deze term inhoudt?
- Heeft u hier bepaalde ervaringen in? Wat voelde u toen?
- Welke andere ervaringen kunt u bedenken waarin deze gevoelens naar boven kunnen komen?
- Heeft u nog andere dingen die u met mij wil bespreken, die wellicht van belang kunnen zijn voor mijn onderzoek?

- Nou, dat was 'm! Bedankt voor uw medewerking, ik zal u, als alles getranscribeerd is, een document opsturen. Hierbij kunt u dan kijken of u bepaalde dingen toch niet in mijn thesis wil hebben, en dan zullen deze verwijderd worden.
- Heeft u verder nog vragen?

## **Appendix B**

### **INTERVIEW TWEEDE EN DERDE GENERATIE INDO'S**

#### **Introductie**

- Alles goed daar?
- Onderzoek introduceren, verwijzen naar informatiebrief
- Geanonimiseerd in het onderzoek of met voornaam/ voornaam en achternaam?
- Ik ga het gesprek opnemen. Ga je hiermee akkoord?
- Wat is je leeftijd, als ik vragen mag?
- Als jij een typische Nederlander zou moeten omschrijven, hoe zou dat dan zijn?
- En bij een Indo?

#### **Hoe interpreteren eerste-, tweede-, en derde-generatie Indo's de feelings of belonging?**

- Als ik feelings of belonging zeg, waar denk je dan aan? En wat is daarvan het tegenovergestelde?
- En het concept respect? Of geen respect hebben?

- Dan heb ik nog het concept van geaccepteerd of niet geaccepteerd worden?
- En als laatste, het concept van inclusie. Dus je deel van een groep voelen, of juist niet?
- Heb jij hier bepaalde situaties meegemaakt die die gevoelens hebben opgerakeld, of juist niet? Wat voelde je toen?
- Denk je dat bepaalde (post-)koloniale gebeurtenissen nog een effect kunnen hebben op deze gevoelens?

#### **In welke situaties is de mate waarin Indo's zich gerespecteerd en/of geaccepteerd voelen toe- of afgenomen?**

- Hee, jij bent dus tweede/derde-generatie Indo. Heb je iets meegekregen van je ouders of grootouders van die tijd? Waarin ze naar Nederland kwamen, en wat daarvoor was gebeurd?
- Heb je iets gehoord over de integratie in Nederland en hoe zij dat ervoeren?
- Hoe is jouw opvoeding vormgegeven? Zijn er bepaalde dingen in naar voren gekomen waarbij je dacht 'dat is wellicht te linken aan Indo'?

- Zijn er verder nog bepaalde situaties waarin dat ‘Indo’ zijn naar voren komt? Hoe voelde je je toen?
- Heb je ooit een situatie gehad waarin de mate van je gerespecteerd of geaccepteerd worden, werd beïnvloed? Hoe voelde je je toen?
- Welke andere situaties, dus niet die jij per se zelf hebt meegemaakt, kunnen hier denk je een invloed op hebben?
- Foto van ‘Pinda’-magazine laten zien, wat denk je als je dit ziet? (post-)koloniale term uitleggen.
- Als ik je dit net heb uitgelegd, kan je dan nog op andere situaties komen waarin bepaalde gevoelens van je niet geaccepteerd of gerespecteerd voelen naar voren komen?

**Op welke manieren ervaren Indo’s een toename of afname in het gevoel bij een groep te horen (inclusie)?**

- We hebben hiervoor al even besproken wat jouw interpretatie van inclusie is. We hebben de ervaringen die jij hebt gehad met gevoelens van inclusie en exclusie ook al behandeld. Dan hebben we nog het concept ‘Othering’. Wat denk jij dat deze term inhoudt?
- Heb je hier bepaalde ervaringen in? Wat voelde je toen?

- Welke andere ervaringen kan je bedenken waarin deze gevoelens naar boven kunnen komen?
- Heb je nog andere dingen die je met mij wil bespreken, die wellicht van belang kunnen zijn voor mijn onderzoek?
- Nou, dat was ‘m! Bedankt voor je medewerking, ik zal je, als alles getranscribeerd is, een document opsturen. Hierbij kan je dan kijken of je bepaalde dingen toch niet in mijn thesis wil hebben, en dan zullen deze verwijderd worden.
- Heb je verder nog vragen?