High on Both

A research on the perception on and construction of identity in relation to sense of belonging of Moluccan-Dutch people, in light of the colonial past

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Bachelor Thesis

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Bachelor Thesis Cultural Anthropology

Utrecht University, 25 June 2021

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[2] This version of our thesis does not contain our reflections

i Acknowledgments

1 Introduction

On June 11th, 2020, Moluccan-Dutch people of the third-generation started a peaceful protest for independence throughout the Netherlands. They demonstrated for the people on the Moluccas and the realization of an independent state, the Republik Maluku Selatan, later in this research referred to as RMS (NOS Nieuws 2020a and NOS Nieuws 2020b). 70 years after the first Moluccans arrived in the Netherlands, third-generation Moluccans are still striving for the right of self-determination, a right that has not been granted to them. On June 11th, the third generation used the RMS-flags to point out the importance of their Moluccan state and homeland.

In the picture below, we see third-generation Moluccans, a generation that was born and raised in the Netherlands. When we heard about this, it raised one specific question: What makes the third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people feel connected to a place in which they have never lived? This question inspired us to formulate the main question of our research that focuses on connectedness and home: '*With regards to the colonial past, how do third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people construct and perceive their national and ethnic identity in relation to their sense of belonging?*'

'Strive for independence'[34]

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[3] Picture taken on 11th of June 2020 by RTV Drenthe/Ronald Oostingh
[4]https://www.rtvdrenthe.nl/nieuws/160675/Molukse-jongeren-houden-vlaggenactie-in-Assen-De-onafhankelijkheidsstrijd-leeft-nog-steeds

In our research we focused on understanding how third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people perceive and construct their identity, both ethnic and national. To fully gain an all-encompassing idea of the perception and construction of identity and eventually their sense of belonging, it is important to understand the history of Moluccans in the Netherlands. The history of Moluccans in the Netherlands has its roots in the century-long colonial reign of the Dutch in the Dutch East Indies. The Netherlands had strong ties with Moluccans during the period of colonization up until the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1949 (Bartels 1986, 27). During the period of colonization, the Dutch army recruited soldiers for the KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands-Indië Leger[5]) from the Moluccas. The Dutch argued that Moluccans adhering to Christianity would prove their trustworthiness (Bartels 1986, 25). In exchange for their service Moluccans would receive an independent state. However, after the loss of Dutch sovereignty in 1949, the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed. Moluccans, who felt they did not belong to Indonesia, reacted with the proclamation of their own independent state, the Republik Maluku Selatan, on April 25th in 1950.[6]

The Moluccans who had long served the Dutch army were unable to stay in Indonesia. The Dutch army was under severe pressure to find a home for the former Moluccan KNIL-soldiers and their families, to whom they promised safety and a free RMS (van Amersfoort 2004, 152-154). After their arrival in the Netherlands, the Dutch government immediately dismissed the former KNIL-soldiers from active duty (Kamsteeg 2010, 20). This left most Moluccans frustrated, because their military status had long been an important part in their identity formation (Van Amersfoort 2006). After the dismissal from the Dutch armed forces, the Moluccans were sent to former concentration camps like Kamp Westerbork. These camps were considered as temporary housing accommodations until the Moluccans would return to Indonesia (Steijlen, 1996:55, 68). The Moluccans refused to integrate (van Amersfoort 2004, 155) and the Dutch government paid little attention to integrating the diasporic group (Rasser 2005, 482), as both awaited the possibility of repatriation of the Moluccans. In 1960, the promise of a return to the Moluccas and an independent state turned out to be false and partly due to this experience, and the experiences mentioned before, the relationship between the Moluccans and the Dutch government deteriorated.

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[5] Koninklijk Nederlands-Indië Leger is the Royal Dutch-Indonesian Army.
[6] We will later refer to this as RMS.

Hence, in the context of this background we have chosen to do complementary research on the construction and perception of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people and their national and ethnic identity formation in relation to their sense of belonging. In this thesis we argue that postcolonialism, identity and sense of belonging are intertwined notions. Moluccans in the Netherlands cannot be studied completely without taking into account the colonial history of Moluccans in relation to the Netherlands (Oostindie 2010). Moluccans should be seen as a postcolonial migrant group, who were, during colonial times, very fond of the Dutch monarchy and the Netherlands. Based on Gert Oostindie's book '*Postcolonial Netherlands: Sixty-Five Years of Forgetting, Commemorating, Silencing*' (2010), we argue that despite their loyalty to the Dutch, Moluccan people kept their own culture and traditions, also after they moved to the Netherlands. We expect that Moluccans are proud of being Moluccan and still express mobilization towards RMS, as seen in section 1.1. Additionally, we too construct our expectation based on Van Amersfoort (2006) who argues that their politically defined identity kept a focus on their own community by using their own language, having a clearly defined political aim for an independent state and lack of understanding from the Dutch government.

We argue that our research is both of academic and social relevance. First, our research will contribute to the academic world because it discusses the construction and perception of a national and ethnic identity in relation to a sense of belonging. Most research that has been done on Moluccan-Dutch people, looked at the first and second generations, at integration, radicalization, and at the Moluccan neighbourhood (Van Amersfoort 2006, Bartels 1986). The focus of our research lies elsewhere, as we aim to understand both national and ethnic identity and how this is related to the sense of belonging of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people by understanding which elements are central in the Moluccan culture and how our participants feel connected to this. At the same time, the fact that we take on a postcolonial lens when studying third-generation Moluccans can fill a gap in academic knowledge, as these themes are more often studied in relation to second- or first-generation Moluccans (Bartels 1986, Verkuyten 2005, Oostindie 2012, Steijlen 2010). In our opinion, we need to keep in mind that identity construction of postcolonial groups in the Netherlands is solidly linked to the erratic and convoluted ways in which the colonial past is rendered in the Dutch collective memory by taboos and silences (Bosma 2012, 8). Postcolonial studies break through those taboos and silences and offers the perspectives that were silenced by colonization.

Additionally, our research is of social relevance because our study will pay attention to the Moluccan-Dutch community, which, as Steijlen (2010, 131) argues, is overshadowed and overlooked by the Dutch government. By considering the postcolonial past, we hope to understand whether feelings of being overlooked and overshadowed derive from the colonial past in which the Dutch were colonizers and the Moluccans colonized and how this colonial past plays a role in their construction and perception of identity and feelings of belonging (Bosma 2009).

1.3 Research population, location and data management   *Van Rijen*

For this thesis we interviewed 25 participants, all third-generation Moluccans-Dutch people. We did so from February 8th until April 16th 2021. We chose to interview people who identify as Moluccan or Moluccan-Dutch. We did not restrict ourselves to any specific location in the Netherlands. We started off with limited access to our research population: van Rijen had three research participants through a contact person and got her follow-up research participants through snow-ball sampling. Sandberg gathered participants through a Moluccan Facebook group and had one contact person. This, however, quickly led to a great network. Besides doing interviews, we also attended 'Moluks Kwartiertje': an online gathering on the app Clubhouse. Every week different speakers get the stage, such as Moluccan women, football players, and artists. The 'Moluks Kwartiertje' gave us new insights into the Moluccan culture and identity, which we used to revise our interview questions.

We first aimed to do a comparative research on the third- and fourth-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. However, during fieldwork it appeared that the third generation has a very broad age range and that most fourth-generation people were often eighteen years old or younger. As it turned out to be very difficult to research these generations, we wanted to focus on two other groups within the third generation. We thought about a research on experiences of participants growing up inside and outside the Moluccan neighbourhood or a comparative research on participants with one and two Moluccan parents. Because of the limited time we had, it was not possible to find enough participants that fitted either of these goals. This led us to do complementary research. Because we first focused on comparative research, we do have a wide variety of participants. The diversity in age range, in which the youngest participant is 21 years old and the oldest 47, is visible in the graphic below. We have also interview both people who were raised in[7] and outside[8] the Moluccan neighbourhood and people with one Moluccan parent[9] and two Moluccan parents.[10]

To conduct anthropological research, we used three research methods: interviewing, life histories and observation. Our main method to collect data was the semi-structured

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[7] N=5
[8] N=20
[9] N=19
[10] N=6

interview of about an hour, which was guided by questions and topic lists.[11] With those lists we tried to stay close to the topics we wanted to research and keep our validity high. Due to Covid-19 restrictions, the interviews were mainly online through media such as Skype, Zoom, and Microsoft Teams. In addition to that, it was striking that some interviews partly turned into life histories, as people would explain from which islands on the Moluccas (and sometimes which part of Indonesia) their Moluccan families came from, which family members came to the Netherlands, and how they met.

The research method of participant observation is often described as the most important research method of anthropological research (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 1-5). However, this method was not easily reachable during our fieldwork. Due to the Covid-19 situation, we were unable to visit Moluccan churches, cultural centers, or museums. Although we had to do mostly online interviews due to the Covid-19 restrictions, we were able to visit a few participants at home. During these real-life interviews we stayed a few hours at our participants' homes, had a coffee or even dinner with our participants. During these visits it was possible to do more observations than during the online interviews.[12] We, for example, observed that family and hospitality are very important aspects for most Moluccans, which will be discussed further in chapter 4. One participant also took us to different Moluccan neighbourhoods and showed us around. We observed, among other things, Moluccan flags, a monument in front of a school that was kept hostage in the 70's and the Moluccan church visible below. Some of these observations are used as data in our thesis.

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[11] Prepared questions could also fill up absent information in a conversation (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 138-140). The questions list is visible in attachment 3 and the topic list is visible in attachment 4. Using these lists made sure we both covered the same topics in more or less the same way.

[12] The observation list is visible in attachment one

Eben Haëzer: the first Moluccan church in the Netherlands.[13]

[13] A photograph by Hanneke van Rijen, taken in Appingedam on the 30th of March 2021.

Ethics is a very important aspect of doing good and adequate research and it is important to avoid hurting people by doing the research or with its results. As ethnographers, we have the responsibility towards informants and participants, gatekeepers, and colleagues to be as ethnically just as possible (R.F Ellen 1992, 133-154). However, it can be difficult to determine what is the most ethical thing to do. We will now discuss some of the ethical dilemmas we encountered during our fieldwork.

A dilemma during interviews we encountered was when people made clear they did not want to talk about a specific topic. It appears that the certain topic is of quite some importance to that participant, and we want to understand why our participants do not want to discuss something. However, we do not want to step over their boundaries and make them shut down instead of open up. One participant for example said, 'Over die naam wil ik me eigenlijk niet uitlaten', translated: 'I actually do not want to talk about that name'.[14] It was not completely clear what he referred to. We tried to gain more data by asking questions around the topics, but when the participant was very clear on not discussing a certain topic, we moved to another lighter topic.

The regulations due to Covid-19 caused other ethical dilemmas during the fieldwork. It was during the time of our fieldwork[15] only allowed to have one visitor per household a day. The Dutch government also advised people not to visit multiple households a day. However, at the end of fieldwork we took a two-day trip to meet four different participants. One of our participants cancelled, because she was not comfortable with strangers in their house. Although we are members of the same household[16], visiting participants together and visiting multiple households a day, did go against the advice of the government. This could be seen as unethical or unprofessional. However, we did make sure our participants did not feel uncomfortable or unsafe. We made our participants aware that we would like to come together, and that we are from the same household, but that online interviews were fine if it made the participant more comfortable.

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[14] Quote from the interview with Cas on 18th of March 2021.
[15] February 8th until April 16th 2021.
[16] During the fieldwork we lived together in one house and therefore formed one household.

We struggled with the fact that most interviews were done online, but realized that the fact that the interviews were online may have contributed to a more anonymous way of interviewing, in which also the privacy of our participants was kept.

In this introduction we have briefly touched upon the history of Moluccans in the Netherlands, the most important themes of our study, its academic and societal relevance, and the research methods used for this research. In the next chapter our theoretical framework will be discussed. The postcolonial lens we use is based on theories of postcolonialism, orientalism and the process of othering. Hereafter, we will focus on the theorizing of identity by discussing the theoretical explanation of identity in general and the national and ethnic identity in specific. Lastly we link the construction and perception of the national and ethnic to the feeling of belonging. In our theoretical framework we dive deeper into understanding the concepts that construct the feeling of belonging.

1.5 Outline

After explaining our theory and introductory chapters, we will start our empirical chapters: Chapter 4 'A Connected Culture' written by Sandberg, discusses elements that have come to the fore when talking about Moluccan culture and how these elements form their national and ethnic identity. We will then continue with chapter 5 'Together One' about the ways in which our participants perceive their Moluccan and Dutch identities as one identity, written by Van Rijen. This is followed by chapter 6 'An Unrecognized History' in which the actions that our participants undertake for the Moluccan history to be acknowledged and their Moluccan identity to continue, are central. The last empirical chapter is 7, 'To Be or Not To Be', written by Van Rijen. Central to this chapter is the exclusion Moluccan-Dutch people experience by Dutch people, Moluccans in the Netherlands, and Moluccans on the Moluccas and how this relates to the identity and sense of belonging of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. We end this thesis with the conclusion in which we answer our main question and add a discussion in which we will make suggestions for further research and discuss our role as researcher as well as the ethical codes. Additionally, we will give a summary of the research in Dutch in attachment 1 and each of our reflections on working on this thesis can be found in attachment 2. In the attachments that follow, both our observation- and topic list, and our interview questions are given.

2 Theoretical framework

In our complementary research we will focus on understanding the construction of the national and ethnic identity of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch. Our theoretical framework offers academic theories, which we will use to analyze our interviews and observations and eventually answer our main question: '*With regards to the colonial past, how do third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people construct and perceive their national and ethnic identity in relation to their sense of belonging?'.* In this chapter we discuss the theories that, we argue, are important to focus on while doing research on the construction and perception of identity. We will discuss the theory on postcolonialism, as it creates the lens through which we look at our research population.

We then continue with explaining the meaning of identity, the fluidity of the concepts and the two elements of identity that we argue are related to understanding the sense of belonging of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people: national and ethnic identity. We additionally take on Busbridge (2016) theory, whose theory is specified in the construction of postcolonial diasporic groups. We base our framework on identity on theories of both Triandafyllidou (1998, 599) and Isajiw (1981, 2-3). Additionally we want to understand the construction of a sense of belonging for third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. We argue that the theory of Yuval-Davis (2006), offers a great understanding of how this is constructed. Our theoretical framework thus offers us the frame we need to analyze our collected data.

2.1 Postcolonialism

In 1949 the Netherlands gave sovereignty to the United Nations of Indonesia. Although the colonial period in Indonesia ended, the period left material and immaterial legacies. These legacies are not only metropolitan demographics, such as the 12.500 KNIL militaries who were brought to the Netherlands, but also political and cultural influences, and even ideological and psychological impacts on the nations are involved (Oostindie 2010, 17). As our thesis is on the colonial diaspora group of Moluccans, we have to look at the legacies that the colonial period had brought.

Postcolonial studies offer critical tools for exposing, studying, and interrogating these ongoing legacies of colonialism (Ponzanesi 2009, 88). We will use a critical postcolonial lens to look at the construction of our participants' identity and offer the perspectives that were silenced by colonization. The field of postcolonial studies does this by giving those who are spoken for a subject position in which the postcolonial actively represents him- or herself from its own perspectives and speaks back (Ponzanesi 2009, 88). Instead of speaking for our participants, we represent how our participants construct and perceive their identity.

2.1.1 Orientalism

One legacy of colonialism is the concept of orientalism, and to adapt a postcolonial lens we must understand the mechanisms of orientalism first. Orientalism in its own turn forms a basis for the process of othering, which can play an important role in identity formation.

Orientalism is a style of thought that is based on ontological and epistemological differences made between the Orient, 'we', and the Occident, 'them', and essentializes the 'Other' (Clifford 1980, 207-208). In the binary oppositional division between the Orient and the Occident, the Orient is everything the West is not, and this image is fundamental in defining the West (McLeod 2010). The process in which the Orient is presented as fundamentally different from the Occident is referred to as 'othering' and will be discussed later (Jansson 2005, 266).

Wekker (2016) states that the Dutch self-image, which is part of the Orient, is constructed as a fragile, emancipated White Dutch self, which would be in contrast with the guilty, uncivilized other[17]. She adds that at different times in the recent past Blacks (like

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[17] Nowadays the guilty uncivilized other is symbolized by the Islamic other (Wekker 2016)

Moluccans) have been put in the position of the uncivilized and guilty other. In this Dutch self-image an overlooked aspect is the violence the Netherlands perpetrated in Indonesia, while Indonesia was fighting for its independence. The Dutch imperial presence is almost totally absent in the Dutch educational curriculum and each individual teacher in schools can decide how much time is devoted to these topics (Wekker 2016, 12-13).

Orientalism, as a cultural myth, is articulated through assumptions often made about the inherent characteristics and behaviors of Oriental peoples (McLeod 2010; Rosen 2000). These assumptions manifest themselves in derogatory stereotypes in which the oriental person is portrayed in a single, essentialized image (Rosen 2000). These Western representations of oriental people appear as examples of various racial, ethnic, religious, and national stereotypical images.[18]

Although Orientalism is fundamentally imaginative, real life and material effects do result from its advent (McLeod 2010). Fleischmann (2016, 153) states that how much people identify with the majority or minority depends on the acceptance of diasporic groups in Dutch society: it mostly depends on perceived ethnic discrimination and perceived subgroup respect. Discrimination poses a threat to the dual identity of the diasporic group, and it often increases ethnic identification and decreases national identification (Fleischmann 2016, 153). An oppressed minority, for example an ethnic minority, could also internalize negative views of the dominant society and develop a negative identity and self-hatred (Erickson 1968: in Phinney 1996, 922-925). In chapter 7, we analyze the effects of derogatory stereotypes on the feeling of in- an exclusion of our participants.

Sandberg

Orientalist ideas are also responsible for the process of othering, that is constructed by and a construction of these binaries of the 'Self' and the 'Other' (Baak 2019, 128). Othering is the process in which the 'Other' is reduced to stereotypical characters that are dehumanizing. It therefore creates an imbalance between the Western culture and behavior, seen as legitimate and superior, over the non-western, 'subordinate', alienated culture and behavior (Jensen 2011, 65). People who are constructed as 'Other' to the hegemonic norm, can struggle to feel a sense of inclusion (Baak 2019, 127). Jensen argues (2011, 65) that the process of othering is partly

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[18] Examples of derogatory stereotypes are the lazy Indian and the inscrutable Chinese. People are portrayed as homogenized and robbed from their individuality (McLeod 2010).

responsible for identity formation of the 'Other. In chapter 7 'To Be or Not To Be', we will analyze whether Moluccans feel a sense of exclusion and how the experience of othering, is responsible for the construction of their national and ethnic identity.

2.2 Identity Politics   *Sandberg*

In chapter 2.2, we introduce the concept of identity, how it is constructed and which elements are central to our study on third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people in the Netherlands. In order to understand identity we first need to be aware of how identity is described. We take on Golubović' description that states: 'Identity means an identification with one's own culture and a reflection on the socio-cultural environment he/she lives in' (Golubović 2010, 26).[19] We argue that identity needs to be seen as a fluid continuous process of becoming instead of something that is fixed (Williams 2011, 44, Golubović 2010, 26). Additionally, we agree with Demmer's (Demmers 2017) theory that an important element for the construction of identity is sameness and collectivity.

Furthermore, we follow Oostindie's (2010) idea that postcolonial migrant groups contribute to identity politics. Identity politics refers to forms of social and political organization which aims to represent the interests of a group that feels itself to be 'different' from the rest of society. Ethnicity, cultural specificity and nationality are often the markers of difference. Identity politics demands the right to be different from what is regarded as the norm, an element also central in the theory on postcolonial citizenship. Postcolonial citizens can challenge the, often Western, norms by not fully adapting to the national culture and claiming recognition by embracing and propagating elements of themselves that are different from the prevailing national identity (Busbridge 2016, 8). In the empirical chapter 6, we will look into the performance of identity politics by focusing on the Moluccan neighbourhood, RMS and the strive for continuation of their culture.

2.2.1 National Identity   *Sandberg*

Within identity politics, certain elements make up the identity that is used for the social and political organization. One of them is the national identity. In our research we focus on ethnic and national identity as two important elements of identity.[20] In order to understand what national identity is, it is important to understand what a nation-state is. We want to draw on Benedict Anderson' term 'imagined communities'. Anderson defines nation-states as 'imagined communities' because in his view people within those communities feel a connectedness towards each other without ever having met each other (Anderson 1991, 6). This

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[19] The academic debate state people do not necessarily feel connected to the place they live in, but to the place where the belong to, their homeland (Golubović 2010, 25)

[20] We are aware that identity consists of multiple facets and is not just national or ethnic.

connectedness to an 'imagined community' includes certain people, who are bonded by social locations, ethnicity, race or religion. Anderson argues that including people based on certain racial features or religious aspects, also excludes people who do not fit into this idea (Anderson 1991, 6).

When combining the idea of the nation-state with nationalism, this idea of the nation-state can be seen as an in- and excluding mechanism because it makes the distinction between the ingroup, in other words, national citizens, and outgroup, also seen as the 'Other'. The other would in this case belong to a different community (Triandafyllidou 1998, 593). Additionally nationalism stresses the cultural similarity of its members and consists of a sense of belonging to a nation, the feeling of security from the nation and national pride (He 2018, 5). Nationalism can also take form in long-distance nationalism, a term coined once again by Benedict Anderson (1992), which focuses on a political allegiance to a place where one does not live or never lived. Schiller (2002) mentioned four elements that play a role in long-distance nationalism:

1). *Anti-colonialism*

Anti-colonialism is a movement stimulated by leaders and intellectuals of the minority urging people to identify with their homeland and take actions on their behalf. In chapter 6 we will pay attention to what actions Moluccan-Dutch people have undertaken to speak up against colonialism.[21]

2). *Separatism*

Separatism sets the goal to create autonomy within an existing state by claiming your own physical locations within the existing system (Schiller 2002, 575)[22]. Chapter '6 focuses on the Moluccan neighbourhood and how Moluccan-Dutch people claim territory or locations within the Netherlands.

3). *Regime change*

Regime change happens through the creation of oppositional political parties, informal campaigns or participating in (violent) struggles in order for action to happen (Schiller 2002,

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[21] The movement of anti-colonialism can be seen in the Netherlands by Moluccans rebelling against the Dutch government but also within Moluccan communities in which leaders motivate members to actively join celebrations of independence day, demonstrations or travelling back to the homeland (Schiller 2002, 574).

[22] Separatism can be seen in the Moluccan community through the claim of an autonomous physical location, the RMS, within the existing state of Indonesia and within the Netherlands, separating oneself from the Dutch by claiming ownership of neighbourhoods.

575).[23] In our chapter 'Recognition History' we will discuss the participation in struggles like protests, especially in relation to RMS.

4). *Participation*

Active participation in the political life of the homeland is an important element in keeping long-distance nationalism alive. People can do so by joining political parties, sending remittances or attending communal meetings (Schiller 2002, 576).[24] In both chapters 'Connected Culture' and 'Recognition History' we will discuss which elements of long-distance nationalism can be seen within our participants and how they use these elements to create awareness about the Moluccan history and community.

Thus, after having explained the concepts of a nation-state and nationalism, it is important to explain the concept of the national identity. National identity is defined internally and externally, later referred to as symbolic and territorial; from within, the national identity is based on common descent or culture, a set of traditions and ideas, common historical memories and communication that are shared by members of the community. External, later referred to as territorial, national identity may be related to territory, a homeland or the natural setting of power in which it can exercise its sovereign powers and ties to its common legal and economic system. Most often a national identity is based on a combination of the two, either strong civic and territorial ties or strong symbolic affinities for example (Triandafyllidou 1998, 599). In our research we use the term national identity, to describe the connectedness of our participants to the Netherlands, the Moluccans or both. Additionally, we aim to understand what elements construct the national identity besides the elements of long-distance nationalism, community feeling or othering. In the next section we will discuss ethnic identity, the other side of the medallion, but equally important for creating an all-encompassing idea about identity.

2.2.2 Ethnic Identity   *Van Rijen*

Ethnic identity is a fundamental aspect of the self that includes a sense of membership in an ethnic group and the attitudes and feelings associated with that membership. This identification to an ethnic group is not a categorical variable that someone either has or has not, but is rather a complex multidimensional construct that varies across members of a group (Phinney 1996,

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[23] In the Moluccan community regime changes could be seen in form of train hijackings and negotiation of rights with state ownership (van Amersfoort 2004).

[24] These communal meeting can be attended in the homeland or in the country they live in (Schiller 2002, 575)

922-925). Eriksen (1993, 18) adds that ethnicity suggests an interrelationship in which groups consider themselves as culturally distinctive from the other group with whom they have interaction (Eriksen 1993, 18). Spencer (2006, 45) agrees, stating that encountering people with different ethnic backgrounds is one of the most significant experiences in identity formation (Phinney 1996, 922-925).

Phinney (1996, 922-925) describes that for Americans of European background, ethnicity is not a salient part of their identity and they do not perceive themselves as ethnic. Phinney (1996, 992-925) also describes that ethnicity is salient when one's group membership is evident, as in the case of ethnic groups of colour. For those groups, ethnic identity is often a more important component in the self than for most White Americans (Phinney 1996, 922-925). In our point of view, this could be explained by an invisible White norm. Gloria Wekker (2010) describes that everything outside this white norm, is seen as ethnic. Ethnicity is only involved when talking about the other. Wekker adds whiteness is used to externalize a racialized other (Wekker 2016), which is part of the process of othering.

As mentioned, Jensen argues (2011, 65) that the process of othering is partly responsible for identity formation of the 'Other'. In line with this, McLeod (2010) argues that race and ethnicity can be caused to categorize 'Them', but that marginalized people can also use both ethnic and racial identities as a means of self-identification, not only as a method of exclusion. Moreover, ethnic identity is complex and individuals vary in the extent and way they are involved with one's ethnic group and the ethnic identity within one individual varies over time (Phinney 1996, 922-925).

Important to ethnic identity is its strong association with one's situation and experience within society. Individuals variate in the extent to which discrimination is perceived and the way in which it is responded to. The response to the experiences of prejudice and racism also changes over time. The struggle to gain equality, recognition and acceptance within a predominantly White society, may be significant in the membership of a group of colour (Phinney 1996, 922-925).

Like national identity, ethnic identity can also be divided into two basic aspects: external and internal. Isajiw (1981) explains that the external aspects of ethnic identity refer to observable behavior patterns, which can be divided into five types. (1) cultural behaviour

patterns[25], such as practicing ethnic traditions, (2) participation in ethnic personal networks, such as family and friendships, (3) participation in ethnic institutional organizations[26], (4) participation in ethnic associational organizations[27] and (5) participation in functions sponsored by ethnic organizations.[28] Internal aspects of ethnic identity refer to images, ideas, attitudes, and feelings. Like the external and internal ties in nationality, it is stressed that the distinction between the two aspects are not clear cut and that they are closely related to each other. However, the two aspects can vary independently of each other (Isajiw 1981, 2-3).

Both national and ethnic identity use the terms internal and external aspects. To avoid confusion we will use the term internal and external when talking about ethnic identity. When talking about national identity, we call cultural affiliations that are national, symbolic ties. We will call external ties, territorial and/or civic ties.

As mentioned before, identity is fluid and can be seen as a transition that is dependent on the process of belonging and longing. In order to understand the all-encompassing experience of identity, the next chapter delves into what sense of belonging means (Yuval-Davis 2006, 202).

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[25] Or for example speaking an ethnic language.
[26] Examples are churches, schools, enterprises and media.
[27] Examples are clubs, 'societies' and youth organizations.
[28] Examples are picnics, concerts, public lectures and dances.

In this research we discuss the term 'sense of belonging' coined by Yuval-Davis to describe how individuals view themselves in relation to others in society (Yuval-Davis 2006). Sense of belonging means that people feel a need to belong to something, either a location, community, country, language or culture. We argue that identity and sense of belonging are inevitably connected because, as Bauman (1996, 137) explains, the question of identity comes particularly to the fore whenever people are uncertain about where they belong.

In the paragraph 'Identity Politics', we explained that people strive to find similarities between themselves and others in order for a collective identity to be created (Demmers 2017, 19). We argue that a collective identity plays an important role in creating the sense of belonging. In this chapter we will discuss three different elements that influence the sense of belonging: social locations, identifications and emotional attachments, and the feeling of 'home' (Yuval-Davis 2002, 198).

2.3.1 Social Locations

According to Yuval-Davis (2006, 200) people belong to social locations. A social location is important in constructing an identity: it consists of your social class, skin colour, gender, ethnicity, religion and more categories that can be used to describe someone. We maintain that people identify more strongly with people, with whom they share similarities. Therefore, we argue that social locations are not only important in constructing the sense of belonging but also the identification of someone. People who experience sameness in identification, are more likely to experience a more similar sense of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006, 199). Social locations are, just like identity, fluid, contested and dependent on historical contexts (Yuval-Davis 2006, 200). People do not necessarily belong to one social identity, migrant groups for example can identify with their ethnic group while at the same time identifying with the receiving society.[29] Yuval-Davis (2006, 201) argues that the values of someone's social locations depends on the power that is ascribed to these social locations. The basis of power distribution lies in the colonial past in which the world was seen as 'The West' and the 'Rest'. This approach corresponds with Anderson' definition of the 'Self', that is based on the dichotomous identities that are raised by Orientalism, that ascribes more power to the 'us' and

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[29] Social identities such as national and ethnic identities are not exclusive but both similarly inclusive in scope and often partly overlapping. Additionally, between different forms of identification, a distinction between subordinate or superordinate identities does not have to be made (Verkuyten 2016, 152)

less to the 'Other' (Anderson 1991). In order to understand the values ascribed to the social locations of Moluccans, we need to take into account the postcolonial past including elements of othering and orientalist views that lie at the core for negative stereotyping and exclusion. (McLeod 2010).

2.3.2 Identifications and Emotional Attachment

Whether people feel like they belong also depends on the emotional attachment people experience. We agree with Probyn (1996, 19) who states that individuals feel the need for a stable state or place of belonging. People are always looking for identification, either to a group, a culture or a country. Yuval-Davis argues that people are willing to do extreme things in order for this identity to continue to exist (Yuval-Davis 2006, 202). But Yuval-Davis (2011, 5) also argues that the emotional component of people's construction of their identities become more central as threat increases and security becomes less. Our study focuses on what actions Moluccan-Dutch people undertake to be able to belong to something and what action they undertake to continue their identity (Rasser 2005, 482), despite it being fluid and non-fixed (Golubović 2010, 26).

2.3.3 Feeling of Home

The last notion important to a sense of belonging is the concept of 'home'. The concept of home can give us a fixed, reliable sense of our place in the world. It is meant to tell us where we originate from and where we legitimately belong (McLeod 2010). The concept of 'home', which performs an important function, is studied more excessively for diasporic people. For diasporic communities 'home' is a particularly complex idea that impacts their existence, because their 'home' is under continuous negotiation (Yuval-Davis 2006, 207). Where or what someone describes as home, shapes individual and group identities: this feeling of home can go beyond a physical home, it can also feel like a connection, roots or ties to cultural ancestry, ethnicity or a family (Lew 2015, 286-300).[30]

We agree with Yuval-Davis when she states that the construction of identities can be forced upon people in certain historical contexts. In empirical chapter 7, we will take a look at whether third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people experience that some of their social locations are

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[30] Salmon Rushdie (1991 in LEW 14) even states that we can never go home, as the homeland and village are as much imaginary places as real ones.#

valued as less based on the historical context of colonialism. Additionally, third-generation Moluccans experience elements of exclusion based on this colonial historical context. Yuval-Davis argues (2006, 203) argues that in cases in which the historical context matters, the relationship between social locations and identifications can become more empirically intertwined and a focus on identification and belonging becomes more important too.

2.3.4 Sense of Belonging of a Diaspora Community   *Van Rijen*

McLeod (2010) defines diasporas as composite communities which are built by narratives of different journeys and links to the old country, which creates a sense of shared history. There is a difference in knowledge of distant places between migrants and their children, as migrant children have no direct knowledge of these places. Children born to migrant people may claim citizenship from their country of birth, but have a sense of identity from living in a diaspora community that is influenced by the past migration history of their family. This can give them, possibly very strong, emotional, cultural, affective and imaginative bonds with more than one nation (Mcleod 2010).

For diasporic people their sense of identity and belonging may be eternally split across different locations. Diasporic identities occupy a displaced position, dislocated from the homeland that is imagined and not fully grounded in their present location. Migrants living in new places can be seen as not belonging and as a result be disqualified from thinking of the new land as their home (McLeod 2010). This raises the question of how the Moluccan-Dutch people perceive and experience their idea of home, taking into account the notions of exclusion and belonging. This will come to the fore in chapter 7.

In addition to this, Amersfoort (2004, 152-158) states that the reorientation on the adat[31] and the realization of their political ideal, the RMS, are of great importance in the Moluccan diaspora specifically. In the chapter 4 we discuss how the third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people connect to the adat. In chapter 6 we will focus on how Moluccan-Dutch people, as a diasporic community, perceive and experience their links to RMS and how this shapes their idea of being a community.

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[31] The ancient-pre-Christian culture

3 Context

3.1 Sense of Belonging of Moluccans   *Sandberg*

Our research is partly aimed at understanding the sense of belonging of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people in the Netherlands, in particular in relation to their national and ethnic identity.[32] According to Anthropologist Fridus Steijlen (2012), the sense of belonging of the Moluccan-Dutch people to the Moluccas is influenced by three major events: terrorist attacks, visitations to the homeland and decrease in mobilization towards the RMS. We will discuss them below.

The first major event was the period of terrorist attacks between 1970 and 1985, executed by Moluccan-Dutch youth from that time, who felt angry, claiming that the Dutch government had let them down (Steijlen 2012, 117).[33] This group felt a need for regime change[34] and a need for improvement of the position of Moluccans in the Netherlands. This anger and need for regime change could be caused by isolation and marginalization from the Dutch society. Contact with and participation in the mass made the second generation Moluccans critical of the first generation and they were intrigued by the violent demonstrations and actions that were happening in the world (van Amersfoort 2004, 160-162). This critical mindset and being exposed to the violence elsewhere in the world have led to motivation to demonstrate for some Moluccans while a small group of Moluccans chose to take on more extreme methods by participation in hijackings and hostages. These actions caused a separation in the Moluccan community: some people from the second and third generation became more convinced of their Moluccan identity, while others started to review their relationship to the Moluccans community (Steijlen 2012, 117). We will show that our participants still carry on the pain that these actions have brought both them, their families and the Moluccan community. In chapter 7 we show examples of how these train hijackings and hostages still influence the feeling of inclusion of third-generation Moluccans.

The second development, which is argued to influence the sense of belonging of the Moluccans-Dutch, was an increase in visitation to their homeland, the Moluccas. During these visits Moluccans-Dutch people learned about the Moluccas, met family members and spoke

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[32] In relation to postcolonial history and national and ethnic identity.
[33] There were also growing conflicts within the community (Steijlen 2012, 117)
[34] Regime change is an element of long-distance nationalism (Schiller 2002, 575)

Malay. In chapter 'Together One', we discuss whether visitation to the Moluccas have contributed to a recreation of the feeling of belonging and revived the connection to the Moluccas.

The last argument Steijlen (2012) offers is the fact that a decrease in mobilization towards RMS has created a decline in belonging towards the Moluccas. The RMS has been described as the homeland of the Moluccan community, which is not necessarily restricted to the physical boundaries of their RMS ideal, but also exists through their imagination (OostIndie 2011).[35] The RMS formed a new point of orientation and identification as a substitute for the colonial order and KNIL (van Amersfoort 2004, 154). Steijlen (2012, 131) argues that a decrease in mobilization towards RMS has become more common, because increase of social work initiatives, including academic programs, have created a more liberal atmosphere in the Moluccan community (Steijlen 2012, 131). Verkuyten (1999, 68) disagrees and discusses that his participants did not always support the RMS, but did support the feeling of unity and belonging that the RMS created (Verkuyten 1999, 68). In chapter 6, we discuss the role of RMS construction, in relation to the national identity of Moluccan-Dutch of the third generation. We will also discuss more extensively the connection of our participants towards the RMS and the role it plays in the Moluccan community.

3.2 A focus on separation and segregation   *Van Rijen*

In the 1960s, when it became clear that the stay of Moluccans was of a more permanent character (Verkuyten 1999, 66), the Moluccan housing camps were slowly shut down and 65 Moluccan neighbourhoods were created. These were controlled, organized and subsidized by the Dutch government until the 1980s. It was thought that Moluccans were not ready to live side by side with indigenous Dutch families, so it was decided that the Moluccan community should live separately. Even after living in the Netherlands for ten years Moluccans could not determine their own living situation. Dutch mindset, which is built on the colonial western model, presumed to know what was best for the Moluccan community (Wagtendonk 2008, 14-15). In these Moluccan neighbourhoods, religion, the RMS and the return to their homeland were shared commonalities (van Amersfoort 2004, Yuval-Davis 2006). The ex-KNIL-soldiers

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[35] The RMS can be seen as an imagined community because the non-existence of physical borders exists through self-constructed notions of belonging by the Moluccan community (van Amersfoort 2004)

felt a strong need to rebuild their social perspective, as they had been deprived of their military status that was once the base of their existence. The orientation to free the RMS gave a perspective on a glorious return (Bosma 2009, 178). Reluctantly integrating into Dutch society, the Moluccan Dutch developed a politicized and oppositional identity towards integration (Steijlen 2012, 117).

3.3   Letting go of the colonial baggage   *Sandberg*

Gert Oostindie (2010, 115) argues that the Moluccan culture did not disappear after reorientation to Moluccans. Instead, Oostindie (2010) argues that Moluccans have become proud, even more so in the third generation. Due to a transnational dimension within the third generation, in which they focused on visiting the Moluccas, Oostinie (2010, 115) argues there is a continuation in connectedness towards the Moluccan culture. In the meantime, Oostindie states (2010, 116) that most third-generation Moluccans stepped away from the colonial baggage: there was less focus on keeping the Moluccan-Malay language, the dream of remigration decreased and the strict and communal attitude was let go off. On the contrary of Steijlen (2012, 117), Oostindies argues that from the second generation on, Moluccans were onroute to integration (Oostindie 2010, 116) in which relationships between Moluccans and Dutch people became more common and segregated housing and Moluccan neighbourhoods less. Oostindie (2010, 16) argues that integration is a gauge for the degree to which a community, in this case immigrants, conquers a space for themselves in a society. He states that integration is worth striving for and even inevitable, if marginalization is to be avoided (Oostindie 2010, 16).

"Je mag het wel zien alsof we een grote familie zijn, dat zijn we sowieso, Molukkers in Nederland."

"You can describe it as if we are one big family. We are that anyways, Moluccans in the Netherlands."

We argue that Nole[36] perfectly describes the connectedness of the third-generation Moluccans in the Netherlands. In this chapter we are going to discuss five elements that, we argue, are central in the Moluccan culture; the importance of family, traditions, pride, respect and recognition. We use this chapter to describe how these 5 elements lie at the core of constructing a national and ethnic identity that is solidly linked to having Moluccan roots. We take on Demmers' (2017) idea that the construction of identity is based on connectedness and sameness and even though we do not maintain the idea that our participants are merely Moluccan, but have an identity that is more fluid (Golubović 2010, 26), we do argue that they construct their national and ethnic identity based on the connection to the Moluccan culture.[37] In the next 5 sections, we discuss which elements are central in creating a connected culture and how this is responsible for a construction of an ethnic and national identity that is partly Moluccan.

4.1 Family

'Family is important' comes to the forefront often during our interviews. Our participants experience a strong connection to their Moluccan family and describe their family as something they belong to.[38] Hence, we argue that the importance of family is a central element in the Moluccan culture. On the 30th of March, we were invited into the home of Nala[39], who lived in a Moluccan neighbourhood in the north of the Netherlands. This visit illustrates the importance of family because Nala's house represents hospitality that is mentioned by participants as

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[36] Interview Nole
[37] In chapter 'To be or not to be, we will analyze more in-depth, how the identity of Moluccans is based on more than their connection to the Moluccan culture, but also on civic and territorial ties and reflection on the socio-cultural environment he/she lives in.

[38] N=14
[39] Interview Nala 30th of March

central in the Moluccan culture and family.[40] During the 2,5 hours we stayed at her house, multiple family members came over without giving a heads up or without an invitation. Additionally, Nala had cooked dinner for us and invited us to eat with her, while no plans were made beforehand. To us this felt like a surprise, but when we asked Nala, she responded with:

> *Dit is een gemiddelde dag hier. Iedereen loopt altijd in en uit, niemand belt van de voren, vroeger was het zelfs zo dat we het touwtje uit de brievenbus hebben.*

> *This is just an average day here. Everyone always just walks in and out, nobody called beforehand. In the past it was even normal to have a robe through the mailbox.*

The importance of family and the connection to them is mentioned by multiple participants. During an in-depth interview with student and teacher Maurice, he said:[41]

> *Mijn neefjes en nichtjes zijn ook belangrijk en ik ben dan ook trots op hun. Ik voel verbondenheid met mijn familie.*

> *My nephews and nieces are also important and I am therefore proud of them. I feel connected to my family.*

All of our participants have one or two Moluccan parents, but additionally all of them are born in the Netherlands, have a Dutch citizenship and speak the Dutch language. We could therefore assume that our participants would identify with their Dutch family just as much as their Moluccan family. We argue that this is not the case: out of our eighteen 'double-blooded' participants, seven specifically mention feeling a stronger connection to their Moluccan families. An example to support our argument is given by Joris:[42]

> *Nee precies omdat het ook wel echt mijn roots is natuurlijk. Ik heb veel familie daar en ben echt een familie mens. Zowel met mijn Nederlandse als met mijn Molukse kant. Ik moet wel zeggen dat de Molukse kant wel veel hechter is, zeg maar dan de Nederlandse kant. Op die manier trek ik toch meer naar de Molukse kant.*

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[40] N=6
[41] Interview Maurice 23rd of March
[42] Interview Joris 11th of February

> *No exactly because they are my roots of course. I have a lot of family there and I am very attached to them. My Dutch side and my Moluccan side. I have to say that my Moluccan side is much closer than my Dutch side. Therefore, I do tend to feel more connected to my Moluccan side.*

Joris hereby illustrates that even though he might identify strongly with the Dutch culture, feeling close to his Moluccan family reminds him that he also has Moluccan roots, not just Dutch. Participant Igor agrees with Joris when talking about a closer connection to his Moluccan family:

> *De Molukse kant van de familie is veel meer dat saamhorigheid, de warmte, het empathische, not judgemental. De Nederlandse kant is veel geslotener wat koeler*

> *The Moluccan side if the family is more the cohesion, the warmth, the emphatical, non-judgmental. The Dutch side is more closed, somewhat cold.*

Most participants thus feel connected to their Moluccan family and when asked to describe them, the descriptions openness, warmth, 'saamhorigheid'[43] and closeness were central. Igor here illustrates how this closer connection to his Moluccan family arises. He explains that certain elements within his Moluccan family, he feels more connected to, more pulled towards, in comparison to his Dutch family. But the identification with his Moluccan family is not all. Both Joris and Igor do not identify with one social identity but with both the Dutch and Moluccan. In their article on dual identity, Fleischmann and Verkuyten (2016, 152) explained that people with a diasporic background, like all of our participants, have the ability to endorse multiple social identities and in most cases people with such a background identify with both their ethnic group and well as the receiving country (Fleischmann 2016, 152). On top of that, identification with family can be seen as participation in ethnic personal networks, an element of external ethnic identification as Isajiw (1981, 2-3) describes. We therefore argue that the experience of a stronger connection to the Moluccan family can lead to stronger external ethnic identification with their Moluccan roots and the Moluccan culture in general.

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[43] We have chosen to use 'saamhorigheid' instead of togetherness because we argue that 'saamhorigheid' is more all-inclusive.

As we follow Demmers' notion that identity is constructed based on sameness and collectivism, we argue that Moluccan families, their openness, warmth and important connection, especially in comparison to the connection with Dutch families, are important in constructing the identity of our participants.[44] Additionally, as Yuval-Davis (2006, 202) argues emotional attachment and identification lie at the heart of the construction of belonging. Our participants who feel a connection to their family experience a form of emotional attachment, in most cases specifically to their Moluccan family and therefore partly relate their sense of belonging to their Moluccan identity.

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[44] More important than in Dutch families

4.2 Traditions

Traditions are, according to more than half of our participants, a second important aspect of the Moluccan culture.[45] The Moluccan culture includes traditions, in Malay described as *adat*[46] that came with the Moluccan community to the Netherlands in 1951 and are still central in the lives of our participants nowadays. Our participants argue that traditions are even more important in the Netherlands than on the Moluccas.[47] We therefore agree with van Amersfoort (2004, 152-158) when he states that there has been a reorientation on *adat,* within the third generation. Politically active participant Chantal argues why traditions are important for the Moluccan community in the Netherlands:[48]

Onze tradities zijn wat ons verbindt. En dan die tradities verbinden ons ook met de Molukkers zelf. Het is wat ons hier en daar verbindt. Politiek niet altijd eens maar onze tradities, onze adat wel.

Our traditions are what connects us. And then again, these traditions are also what connects us to the Moluccas. It is what connects us. Our politics might not always do that, but our traditions, our adat, does.

In line with Isajiw (1981, 2-3), we state that having similar cultural behavior patterns as other Moluccans, is responsible for a stronger affinity with the Moluccan ethnic identity. Additionally, cultural activities, like going to church, listening to Moluccan music, watching Moluccan dance or participating in 'Moluks kwartiertje', can be seen as participation in ethnic associational organizations, which contributes to a stronger ethnic identification with our participants' Moluccan roots.

4.2.1 Pelaship

Pelaship is an example of a tradition that the Moluccan community in the Netherlands still carries out. Pelaship was already in place on the Moluccas and in spite of the colonial eras that exercised control on the Moluccas, pelaship remained. Pelaship is a system based on communal ties that creates an unbreakable bond between groups, villages or families. In the past, it was

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[45] N=14
[46] Adat, a Malay word, literally means all traditions related to the Moluccas and the Moluccan culture.
[47] N=4
[48] Interview Chantal 17th of February

used to help each other in times of war or crisis. This system of looking out for each other has been slightly modernized, as the living conditions and locations have changed, but the basis of pelaship is still applied in the Netherlands. Yola explains that helping someone who is pela feels natural:[49]

> *Dus dat is iets wat hier ook gewoon in Nederland heel sterk nog leeft. Dat ik iemand naar mij toe komt en die is pela en die vraagt mij om hulp, dan ja je twijfelt niet eens, je biedt gewoon gelijk hulp aan, wat het ook is.*

> *It is something that is very alive in the Netherlands. If someone comes to me and he is pela and he asks me for help, then I help, without a doubt. You help each other, whatever it is.*

Our participants express a naturally existing trust between pela-members. This is for example carried out during funerals, when most people from your pela will show up.[50] Our participants argue that people within a pela feel a quicker connection to each other. Pelaship is therefore mentioned as a method to stay connected to other Moluccans. Three participants have described pelaship as another form of family. Nole mentions*:*

> *Je wordt niet echt familie zeg maar, het is een verbond die je met elkaar aan gaat.*

> *You do not become a real family, but you do make rules and a sort of pact in how you interact with each other.*

In our perspective, this connectedness to other Moluccans, that is even described as a family-like relationship, highlights the feeling of belonging to other Moluccans, finding recognition in other Moluccans but also sharing a certain ethnic identity. We argue that pelaship can therefore be seen as a form of external ethnic identification because it is a participation in ethnic personal networks (Isajiw 1981, 2).

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[49] Interview Yola 18th of March
[50] N=3

4.3 Respect

A third aspect that is central in the connected culture of our participants is respect. Respect is carried out specifically by showing respect to elderly.[51] Participants mention that elderly carry an important status within the Moluccan community that cannot be challenged.[52] The Moluccan culture carries on an age hierarchy in which formal language is central. It is important to call older people 'u'[53] or reach out to older people by calling them uncle or aunt. Many of our participants have expressed that they agree with these unwritten cultural rules.[54] Yola mentions that when she says 'u' to her parents, she often gets comments from her Dutch friends:

> *Ik zeg bijvoorbeeld u tegen mijn ouders. Heel veel Nederlandse, heel veel vrienden van mij vinden dat gewoon raar. Maar voor mij voelt dat gewoon.*

> *'I for example say 'u' to my parents. Many Dutch people, friends of mine, think that is weird. But to me, it feels very normal.'*

We argue that the fact that saying 'u' to your parents needs to be commented shows that certain elements of the Moluccan culture are both different from the Dutch as negatively classified. This negative classification of cultural elements like saying 'u', can potentially be seen as a process of othering, in which this element of the Moluccan culture is seen as less compared to the Dutch culture. As a result of the process of othering, that constructs the culture of the 'Other' often as inferior to theirs, can result in the 'Other' struggling to feel a sense of inclusion. In chapter 7 'To Be or Not To Be', we continue discussing the experience of in and exclusion that our participants experience.

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[51] N=9

[52] N=2

[53] 'U' is a form of politeness used when addressing elderly and people you do not know. In the Netherlands this is commonly not used for people you know.

[54] N=14

4.4 Pride

A fourth element, important for the construction of the national and ethnic identity of our participants is pride. Pride is expressed by many of our participants when speaking about their Moluccan roots and heritage[55]: Pride can be seen in a need for continuation of the Moluccan culture but also in carrying out the Moluccan flag or sharing elements of the Moluccan culture on social media. Chantal mentions in our interview:

Ik zeg ook altijd gewoon dat dat trots bij Molukkers, dat zit gewoon in je bloed. Dat is niet iets wat je hebt over gekregen in je opvoeding, dat zit er gewoon in en dan maakt het niet uit welke generatie je bent. Ik ben gewoon zo trots en dat zat er ook echt altijd in.

I always say that I am proud to be Moluccan, that is just in your blood. That is not something that is taught in your upbringing, it's just there. It does not matter which generation you are. I am proud and I always have been.

Chantal explains that being proud of your Moluccanhood comes very naturally, because it is not how she is raised, but in her blood. And she is not the only one who argues this.[56] We argue that the pride that our participants experience, can be perceived as an element of national identification with their Moluccan roots. We argue that pride is both a symbolic and civic aspect of the national identity because it shows a connection cultural affiliation and symbolic ties towards Moluccan ancestry as well as a connection to the fixed territory of and civic ties towards RMS (Triandafyllidou 1998, 599). The feeling of pride is quite common for our participants, as David states:[57]

Ik ben heel trots op mijn land of op mijn afkomst. Mijn land zou ik niet zeggen, mijn afkomst. Ik ben trots op mijn Molukse zijn.

I am very proud of my country or my heritage. My country I should not say, but my heritage yes. I am proud to be Moluccan.

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[55] N=8
[56] N=5
[57] N=12

This commonality of pride raises the question: How and why is this pride created? To answer this question, we use another statement by David:

> *Die trots is meer uit mijn familie. Mijn familie is alles voor me, dat is zo omdat zij ja Molukkers zijn. Ja niet omdat ze Molukkers zijn, maar het zijn Molukkers.*

> *This pride comes from my family. My family means everything to me because they are Moluccans. Not because they are Moluccans, but they are Moluccans.*

We argue that pride is not taught but arises from a connection to the Moluccan family and other Moluccans in which people find recognition. Pride is in this case an internal feeling of ethnic identification because it is based on a feeling or idea, not necessarily based on participation in the Moluccan community (Isajiw 1981, 3). We argue that finding recognition in other Moluccans too is a form of internal ethnic identification.

4.5 Recognition

Finding recognition in other Moluccans is the fifth important element that is responsible for a construction of an ethnic and national identity. When we state that the Moluccan culture is connected, recognition is something that is very central within the community. Our participants have stated that they recognize someone who is Moluccan[58], often talk to them and discuss things like, what island they are from or which pela they belong to. Participants who describe feeling a strong connection to the Dutch national identity, do often describe that they experience a connection towards other Moluccans, greet them and understand each other more easily. Wouter highlights:

> *Als je iemand, als ik een Molukker zie, dan zie ik een Molukker en die herken ik direct en dan zeg ik direct 'dag tante, dag oom'. Misschien heb je dit ook al gehoord van anderen gehoord maar je kent elkaar direct en je groet elkaar en dan is het af en toe een praatje van 'hè je uit welke kampong kom jij, waar ben je daar ben je opgegroeid, hoe heet je vader, hoe heet je moeder, waar kom je vandaan.*

> *Everytime you see another Moluccan, then I see a Moluccan and I recognize this person and say ' Hi aunt, hi uncle'. Maybe you've heard this from others but you recognize each other instantly and greet each other and once in a while a short conversation like 'Hey what village are you from, where have you been raised, what is your father's name, what is your mother's name, where are you from.*

Finding recognition in other Moluccans, carries out elements of symbolic national identification towards the Moluccan culture. Additionally, recognition in other Moluccans can also be seen as a form of internal ethnic identification because our participants argue to be drawn to other Moluccans without being able to grasp what really causes this to be the case.[59]

In conclusion, we argue that our participants construct their national and ethnic identity based on their connection to and the connectedness of the Moluccan culture. We have discussed the importance of family, shared traditions, respect, pride and recognition as important

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[58] N=16
[59] N=7

elements that create this connected culture. We have seen that all elements discussed are compatible with the idea of a symbolic national identity because they express a connection towards shared descent, traditions and historical memories that is related to our participants' Moluccan roots (1998, 599). We say symbolic, because we use Triandafyllidou' notion of the national identity that is constructed based on symbolic and territorial ties. Triandafyllidou (1998, 599) argues that a territorial national identity focuses more on strong civic ties while a symbolic national identity focuses more on strong cultural affinity. We argue that the importance of the Moluccan culture, including its traditions and family, is responsible for a greater symbolic Moluccan national identity. Additionally, the connection and involvement in the Moluccan culture can too be seen as a form of external ethnic identification as our participants express involvement in ethnic personal networks through strong ties with the Moluccan family and pela. At last, recognition in other Moluccans and feeling proud of being Moluccan fit the idea of an internal national identification with the Moluccan culture, which is not necessarily a fixed entity but an attitude, feeling or idea (Isajiw 1981, 3).

In our opinion this identification with the Moluccan culture and the feeling of emotional attachment to it, is inevitably related to the construct of the sense of belonging (Yuval-Davis 2006, 202). We have shown that our participants' construction of the symbolic national identity and external ethnic identity is based on their Moluccan roots and their involvement in the Moluccan culture. Following He' (2018, 5) theory on the duality of identity, we claim that the identity of our participants and their sense of belonging is not just towards the Moluccan community or other Moluccans. In accordance with He (2018,5) Moluccans, as like other diasporic groups, often deal with a certain duality within their identity: in most cases, an identity is not constructed based on only their citizenship or ethnicity, but often a combination of the two. We therefore argue that the national identity, as argued by He (2018 ,5), is based on cultural similarity with the Moluccan culture but also on belonging to a nation, feeling of security from the nation and national pride. We argue that the identity of our participants is therefore not only based on their belonging to the Moluccan culture but also, on their connection towards the Netherlands. In chapter 5, we dive deeper into understanding how our participants perceive their own identity, including the duality and fluidity of the phenomena.

"*Als ik een stuk lees, dan gaat het over 'de' Molukkers. Dat bestaat helemaal niet. Het is een gemeenschap die zoveel verschillende lagen heeft, en als je ze echt telt, (...) juist die zeventig duizend is zo gemêleerd. Door religie, door verschillende eilanden, politiek, je hebt zoveel, binnen en buiten de wijk, man, vrouw, verschillende generaties.*

"*When I read a piece, it is about 'the' Moluccans. That does not exist. It is a community that has so many different layers and when you really count, (...) especially those seventy thousands is so mixed. By religion, by different islands, by politics, you have so many, inside and outside the neighbourhood, man, woman, different generations.*"

Participant Gerry[60] explains here that there is not one Moluccan community, but that the community has many different elements which people belong to. Yuval-Davis (2016, 2010) calls these elements social locations and discusses that these shape identity. This chapter will dive into the diversity of identities of the third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. Central to this discussion will be the different social locations built upon ethnicity, the different ways in which Moluccan-Dutch people identify themselves as Dutch and Moluccan and the interaction of these identities. This chapter differs from chapter four by focusing on both the Dutch and Moluccan identity and focuses on the ways in which our participants perceive themselves as Moluccan and Dutch, rather than the construction of identity, which is discussed in the previous chapter.

According to Yuval-Davis (2006, 200) social locations are constructed along multiple axes, such as gender, religion, ability and skin colour and are important in constructing a sense of belonging and identity. We will first look at the different social locations built upon the axe of ethnicity.

It is striking that eight Moluccan-Dutch participants have other backgrounds besides having a Moluccan[61] or Dutch and Moluccan[62] background. Eight of our participants had besides these backgrounds, also other social locations: Indonesian, New Guinea, German, Moroccan, Chinese and Javanese and Manadonese backgrounds. The connection participants

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[60] Interview Gerry 2nd of February
[61] N=8

[62] N=11

have to these backgrounds is wide-ranging. Half of the eight people do not have a connection to these backgrounds, the other half do identify with all their ethnic social locations. Student Tamara explains the different social locations that influence her identity:[63]

> *Als ik Molukse muziek hoor kan ik soms gewoon huilen maar als ik Hazes hoor kan ik ook huilen. En als mijn moeder slager opzet kan ik ook huilen. Het is gewoon met alles dat ik een verbondenheid voel.*

> *If I listen to Moluccan music, I can sometimes just cry, but when I hear Hazes (Dutch music), than I can also cry. And when I hear my mother's Slager (German music) I can also cry. It is just that I feel a connection with everything.*

Tamara explains that Moluccan, Dutch and German music can all make her cry, which shows she has emotional attachments with all three backgrounds. As Yuval-Davis (2006, 202) describes is the construction of belonging based on the desire for such emotional attachments. Tamara feels a sense of belonging for all three backgrounds.

As the opening quote summarizes one's identity is shaped by a wide variety of social locations that are constructed along multiple axes, not only Moluccan and Dutch identities. However, in this thesis and chapter, we will focus strictly on how being Moluccan and Dutch influence their national and ethnic identity, to understand how Moluccan-Dutch of the third generation perceive their identity. To look at the different ways Moluccan-Dutch people perceive themselves as being Dutch and being Moluccan, we will first look at those identities separately, while keeping in mind that identity is fluid and that these identities form one identity. This chapter ends with a discussion on how these fluid identities come together. We discuss the identities by building on the symbolic ties on the one side and civic and territorial ties on the other side of national identity, as discussed by Triandafyllidou (1998, 599) and the internal and external aspects of ethnic identity as discussed by Isajiw (1981, 2-3).

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[63] Interview Tamara 30th of March

5.1 Dutch National Identity

In this part we will discuss how Moluccan-Dutch people of the third generation perceive their Dutch national identity. The first way is through certain 'Dutch' characteristics, such as being direct and honest. As these characteristics are culturally defined, these might be seen as are symbolic ties. Secondly, participants also feel Dutch through practicalities obtained by being born and growing up and living in the Netherlands, such as experiencing being Dutch in speaking Dutch, growing up in the Netherlands or in their nationality. Feeling Dutch through a Dutch nationality is a very clear example of civic ties to a national identity. However, other examples, such as Nole's description of her ways in which she feels Dutch, do not fit Triandafyllidou's explanation of ties to a national identity. Nole describes:

> *En hoe voel ik mijn Nederlands. Ja weet ik eigenlijk niet. Ja ik doe gewoon mee hè, ik leef hier, ik doe mijn ding. Ik ga naar het werk, de kinderen gaan hier naar school.*

> *And how I feel Dutch. I do not know actually. Yes, I just go along, I live here, I do my own thing. I am going to work, the children go to school here.*

Triandafyllidou (1998, 599) describes that national identity is defined by symbolic and territorial ties. The symbolic ties are ties based on a common descent or culture and civic and territorial ties are related to territory, a homeland or the natural setting of power in which it can exercise its sovereign powers and ties to its common legal and economic system. However, the practicalities obtained by living in the Netherlands, such as working in the Netherlands and that children go to Dutch schools, are things that come 'natural' by living in a certain place. Triandafyllidou does not clearly describe how these obtained practicalities are part of a national identity, although many participants do perceive themselves being Dutch through these practicalities. Practicalities obtained by living somewhere, such as working in a country, are not ties that are formed by culture or a tie really connected to a certain territory and its sovereign powers. Therefore, we want to add to her theory that civic ties are also practicalities obtained by living in a certain place, such as finding a job and growing up somewhere.

So national identity is defined by symbolic ties on the one hand and territorial and civic ties on the other hand. We add practicalities obtained by living in a certain territory to civic ties to a national identity. With this new definition the two categories of on the one side symbolic

ties and on the other side civic and territorial ties are not mutually exclusive, but intertwined. Language can for example be a symbolic and civic tie.

5.2 The Moluccan identity

In this part we discuss the ways in which Moluccan-Dutch people perceive themselves as Moluccan. In this analysis we will solely focus on when and through which ways participants feel Moluccan. In other words this chapter focuses on our participants' perception of being Dutch, which differs from the last chapter, which focused on the construction of the Moluccan identity. We will analyze this ethnic identity by discussing the external aspects of ethnic identity described by Isajiw (1981, 2-3): aspects based on participation in networks, either personal, institutional or associational, on cultural behavior patterns and on participation in functions supported by ethnic organizations.

Moluccans-Dutch people experience being Moluccan through certain 'Moluccan' characteristics, values and practicing traditions, at certain places, in certain situations and through historical memories. We will discuss how each of these factors relate to our participants' perception of their Moluccan ethnic identity.

Just like feeling Dutch, Moluccan-Dutch people also experience being Moluccan through certain 'Moluccan' characteristics and values. Participants feel Moluccan through 'Moluccan' characteristics, such as being warm, being hospitable and having respect for elderly. All these characteristics are also important in the Moluccan culture. A value through which participants perceive their Moluccan identity is having family as a priority. As discussed in chapter 4, many participants have a strong connection to their family[64] and therefore family is a central element in the Moluccan culture. Other cultural expressions that conform to their Moluccan identity are Moluccan dance and clothing, religion and especially food. Moluccan food was mentioned by five participants as a way through which they feel Moluccan, and even

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[64] N=14

two participants described that Moluccan food gives them a feeling of home. When asking about the ways he feels Moluccan, Igor answered:[65]

> *Natuurlijk de gebruiken, het eten, gewoon de hele, de hele achtergrond, wat ik de jeugd wat ik heb meegemaakt, toen mijn oma nog leefde. We waren veel meer in de wijk en al die oudjes die waren er nog. Daar zat ik dan toch als klein kind tot tien uur op de bank, terwijl zij aan het kaarten waren, een Moluks kaartspelletjes.*

> *Ofcourse the habits, the food, just the whole background, what I experience as a child, when my grandmother was still alive. We were in the neighbourhood more and all those elderly people were still alive. As small child I would sit on the couch till ten o' clock, while they were playing cards, a Moluccan card game.*

On top of this Moluccan-Dutch people also feel Moluccan in certain situations and places. Participants expressed feeling Moluccan in the Moluccan neighbourhood, at the RMS-celebration in Apeldoorn and when going to the Moluccas. First of all we will discuss how Moluccan-Dutch people of the third generation feel Moluccan in the Moluccan neighbourhood. By meeting family and other Moluccans in the neighbourhood, Moluccan-Dutch people participate in ethnic personal networks. This participation forms external ties to their ethnic Moluccan identity. Coming together with other Moluccans emphasizes the Moluccan roots of our participants and makes the Moluccan neighbourhood a place through which they perceive themselves as Moluccan. In chapter 6 we will discuss the Moluccan neighbourhood in more detail and how it also constructs the Moluccan identity of our participants.

Secondly, participants also feel Moluccan at the RMS-celebration. On this day Moluccans come together, most of the time in Apeldoorn, and there are several activities, such as: discussing the history between the Netherlands and the Moluccas, traditional Moluccan music, dance and food, fundraising and story-telling of the first generation. These activities fit Isajiw' (1981, 2-3) theorization of the external aspects of ethnic identity. The activities, such as the Moluccan dances, are part of practicing ethnic traditions, meeting other Moluccan-Dutch

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[65] Interview Igor 24th of March

people can be seen as participating in an ethnic personal network. Additionally the day is organized and sponsored by an ethnic organization.

Not only can the RMS-day be seen as a way through which participants perceive themselves as ethnically Moluccan, but also a way through which they perceive themselves as Moluccan in a national way. So the RMS and the RMS-celebration as a connection to the homeland somewhere else, is a form of a national identity.

Thirdly, our participants perceive themselves as Moluccan by being on the Moluccas. These visits reconfirm the Moluccan ethnic identity by meeting the Moluccan culture there, meeting other Moluccans and through a feeling of belonging to the Moluccas. This is visible when Petra explains why she wants to visit the Moluccas:[66]

> *Gewoon als je daar (de Molukken) aankomt dan wordt iedereen heel emotioneel… Het is, ja je kan het niet omschrijven of zo. Het is heel anders dan, ik heb best wel veel gereisd, maar heel anders dan ja je ooit zo voelen ofzo. Het is wel echt van wel wow, als mijn opa niet het leger was gegaan, dan was ik gewoon hier opgegroeid of ja.. Gevoel van thuis*

> *When you arrive there (the Moluccas), everybody becomes emotional… It is, you cannot describe it. It is totally different then, I have travelled a lot, but it is totally different then you will ever feel. It is really like wow, if my granddad did not have joined the army, then I was grown up here. The feeling of coming home.*

Petra has, like three other participants, emotional attachments to the Moluccas, even though she was not born there or ever visited on the Moluccas. Yuval-Davis (2006, 202) describes that the construction of belonging is based on the desire for such emotional

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[66] Interview Petra 2nd of March

attachments. She adds that the concept of 'home' is an important element in the sense of belonging. Tamara describes that visiting the Moluccas created a feeling of coming home:

> *Ja heel bijzonder. Het vliegveld, het is natuurlijk een eiland, dus je land zo en dan zie je alle bergen en het water. Het voelde echt als homecoming en dat had ik niet verwacht. Want ik voel mij niet echt een vette Molukker, maar je voelt je roots. Dat had ik wel heel sterk.*

> *Very special. The airport, it is ofcourse an island, so the land and then you have the mountains and the water. It really felt like home coming and I did not expect that. Because I do not feel like a real Moluccan, but you feel you roots. I strongly felt that.*

Tamara and seven other participants describe that they had a feeling of homecoming when they visited the Moluccas. This can be seen as territorial ties to a territory, which is a form of national identity. However, as some perceive their visit to the Moluccas as a feeling of coming back, all our participants, except one, do not want to return to the Moluccas. Tamara's quote also illustrates that her feeling of belonging to the Moluccas emphasized her Moluccan side. Participants also express to recognize themselves in Moluccans at the Moluccas, recognize smells, food and the language. These feelings and ways of recognition make participants perceive themselves as Moluccas. These ways of identification are forms of internal ethnic identification. These internal ethnic identification with the Moluccas are related to the feeling of home, which create a sense of belonging towards the Moluccas.

Steijlen (2012, 117) argues the sense of belonging of the Moluccans-Dutch is influenced by an increase in visitation to their homeland, the Moluccas and that during these visits Moluccans-Dutch people learned about the Moluccas, met family members and spoke Malay. As we did not do research on an in or decrease in visitations to the Moluccas we cannot discuss this argument of Steijlen. However, we have seen that participant learn about the Moluccas and meet family. On top of that we have argued above that participants do have a sense of belonging towards the Moluccas and internal ethnic identification with the Moluccas.

Additionally, participants mention that the history between the Netherlands and Moluccans shaped their Moluccan identity.[67] Triandafyllidou (1998, 599) explains this by discussing that the collective memories of a historical event are reinterpreted in such ways that it emphasizes the contrast between the in- and outgroup (Triandafyllidou 1998, 599). In Chantal's quote, it is clearly visible how memories of the history between the Netherlands and Moluccas become collective memories and are a way through which Chantal perceives herself as Moluccan:

> *Maar goed dan denk ik van, oh wat ik zeg, dan ga je naar je identiteit dan ga je kijken van wie ben ik en dan kijk je ook naar je grootouders en dan die pijn van hun dat zou ik gewoon altijd meedragen. Dat het me nog meer benzine geeft om het als het ware, om nog verder te strijden want het is niet alleen voor Molukkers in het algemeen maar zeker ook*

> *Well, then I think, oh what do I say, then you go to identity and you are going to look who you are and you are going to look at you grandparents, and then their pain, I will always carry it with me. That gives me more fuel to, as it were, to go on fighting, because it is not only for Moluccans in general, but also for sure for those two.*

Chantal did not experience the war between Indonesia and the Netherlands or the migration to the Netherlands. However, through transmission by her grandparents these historical events become a collective memory that connects the whole Moluccan community and forms the Moluccan-Dutch identity. In our view this is a good example of how post-colonial ties shape identity, whereby negative elements such as pain of grandparents are central. The violent history in Indonesia, so also the Moluccas, are not part of the Dutch identity. By claiming this history as part of her Moluccan-Dutch identity, this identity is differentiated from the prevailing Dutch national identity and challenges it. These collective historical memories are both part of a national and ethnic identity. More about how the RMS and the colonial history construct the identity of Moluccan-Dutch people is discussed in chapter 6, 'A Unrecognized History'.

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[67] N=3

5.2 Identities Coming Together

Not only are there many things that shape how people perceive their Moluccan and Dutch identity, but also these identities are perceived to come together as one, which is a central aspect of this chapter. All the participants feel both Dutch and Moluccan, however some participants feel a certain disconnection with the Netherlands[68] and one participant feels a disconnection with the Moluccan community.

Before discussing how participants perceive their Dutch and Moluccan identities coming together, we have to note that, as Phinney (1996, 992-925) states, identity is not a categorical variable that someone either has or has not. It is more complex. Therefore we have to keep in mind that all our participants feel both Moluccan and Dutch, but that each individual constructs and perceives their identity in different ways as it depends on what they feel like they belong to most.

We have just seen that it is not possible to make the strict categorization that Dutch identity is national identity and Moluccan identity is an ethnic identity. However, when participants explain how they perceive their Moluccan and Dutch identities, three participants do see their Dutch identity as a national one, and their Moluccan identity as an ethnic identity. This is for example in Kendrick's explanation of his identity:[69]

> *Ja, ik heb het idee dat, ja hoe zeg je het. Nederlandse nationaliteit, Molukse afkomst en ik denk dat dat samen één is, in dit geval. En ik denk wel dat ik qua gevoel wel meer richting het Molukse ga.*

> *Yes, I have the idea that, how do I put it. Dutch nationality, Moluccan roots and I think that hat forms one together, in this case. And I think that in feelings I am more Moluccan.*

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[68] N=2

[69] Interview Kendrick 25th of February

Kendrick adds here that his ethnic identity is something he feels. Participants perceive themselves as Moluccan as something that is in them[70] or as a certain feeling[71]. Jade for example expresses the following when asked about the ways in which she feels Moluccan:[72]

> *Ja dat vind ik best wel lastig, denk ik, om te zeggen, want ik denk dat dat vooral gewoon.. ja kijk, ik praat ook bijvoorbeeld niet Moluks hè. Ik praat niet de taal. (…) Ja ik vind, ik heb het idee dat dat iets is wat gewoon in me zit of zo.*

> *Yes, that I find that quite difficult to say I think, because I think that.. I also, for example, do not talk Malay, he. I do not speak the language. (…) Yes I think, I have the idea that that is something that is just something that is in me, or something like that.*

The idea that being Moluccan is just something in you or is a certain feeling fits Isajiw's (1981, 2-3) idea that ethnic identity has an external part, as just discussed, and an internal part, such as images, ideas, attitudes and feelings. On top of that, it is coming to the fore that people are also less attached to their Dutch national identity when people describe that they feel like a westernized Moluccan. In other words, Moluccan-Dutch of the third generation feel less connected to the nation they live in and rather to the West. Nina describes how she feels rather Western than Dutch and also has a bigger connection to her Moluccan side: [73]

> *Ja dat vind ik best wel lastig, denk ik, om te zeggen, want ik denk dat dat vooral gewoon.. ja kijk, ik praat ook bijvoorbeeld niet Moluks hè. Ik praat niet de taal. (…) Ja ik vind, ik heb het idee dat dat iets is wat gewoon in me zit of zo.*

> *Yes, that I find that quite difficult to say I think, because I think that.. I also, for example, do not talk Malay, he. I do not speak the language. (…) Yes I think, I have the idea that that is something that is just something that is in me, or something like that.*

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[70] N=5

[71] N=2

[72] Interview Jade 24th of March
[73] Second interview Nina 24th of March

In conclusion, we have seen that there are many ways in which third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people are reminded of their Moluccan and Dutch identities. Participants seem to perceive their Dutch identity predominantly as a national identity and mainly through practicalities obtained by living in the Netherlands. Participants were less talkative about their Dutch side and it could be that therefore participants talked less about the cultural affinities they have with their Dutch national identity.

Although participants perceive their Dutch identity mainly as a national identity, the Moluccan identity is rather experienced as an intertwined ethnic and national identity. Participants express that their Moluccan identity is heightened as an ethnic identity while performing Moluccan traditions, participating in communal activities related to their roots, being in the presence of other Moluccans and their visit to and their sense of belonging to the Moluccas. It is experienced as a national identity through the political ideal of the RMS and through the sense of belonging to the Moluccas, which is both an internal ethnic tie and a territorial tie. On top of that, the pain of the first generation and the collective historical memory of Moluccan-Dutch history is embedded in the third-generation Moluccan-Dutch identity.

In sum, this chapter shows that participants their Moluccan and Dutch identity, and the different ways in which these are perceived, form one fluid identity. Within this one fluid identity their Moluccan identity is perceived as something in them, as a feeling, and the Dutch identity as a nationality they have received. Both identities, together with other social locations, coexist at the same time in each individual that we have interviewed.

6 An Unrecognized History

How does the colonial history in the East Indies play a role in the lives of Moluccan-Dutch people in the Netherlands? What are the effects of the Dutch colonial reign and how does colonialism affect the construction of the identity for Moluccan-Dutch people of the third generation? In this empirical chapter we analyze how the third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people focus on gaining recognition for the postcolonial history in which the Moluccans were the colonized and the Dutch were the colonizers. This chapter places a focus on the experienced effects of colonialism. The chapter starts off with arguing why the Moluccan neighbourhood is a form of identity politics and separatism. We will then continue explaining the role of RMS. Additionally we will discuss how the KNIL and first generation Moluccans are still influential on how third-generation Moluccans construct their identity. We will end by discussing how third-generation Moluccans strive for more awareness about their community and recognition by the Dutch and which methods they use in creating this.

6.1 The Moluccan-neighbourhood

The Moluccan neighbourhood functions as an important location in which the Moluccan culture is expressed and continued. In this section we will explain why. The Moluccan neighbourhood was created after it became clear that the stay of Moluccans in the Netherlands was not temporary. Our participants describe the Moluccan neighbourhood as 'saamhorig':[74] they argue that within the neighbourhood, people take care of and look out for each other. In the next sections we will discuss how the Moluccan-neighborhood is used to continue the Moluccan culture and additionally a method of gaining recognition for the Moluccan community. Furthermore, we will discuss how the construction of the national and ethnic identity can be related to the Moluccan neighbourhood. Thirdly, we will discuss how the Moluccan neighbourhood highlights elements of long-distance nationalism. Throughout this section, we will discuss how the colonial past is rendered in the Moluccan neighbourhood.

Our participants argue that the Moluccan neighbourhood plays an important role in the construction of their identity. This is in line with Golubović (2010), who argues that the neighbourhood, as a socio-cultural location, is partly responsible for the construction of a

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[74] N=16

symbolic national identity. Elements of cultural affiliation, like a shared language, tradition and heritage, are all expressed within the Moluccan neighbourhood.[75] Most of our participants express that the Moluccan neighbourhood is an important place[76], and a decline of the neighbourhoods, would indeed mean a loss of Moluccan heritage.

Even though the Moluccan neighbourhood was created to separate Moluccans from the Dutch, it is also an way for our participants, to set themselves apart from all other postcolonial migrant groups in the Netherlands, as no other group has ever been ascribed a separate area, in which their culture was allowed to be central. Our participants maintain the idea that, despite the colonial history that is responsible for the position of the Moluccan community in the Netherlands, the Moluccan neighbourhood can be seen as a way of gaining recognition, a form of identity politics. The neighbourhood is a form of identity politics as it challenges the receiving society, in this case the Netherlands, by not fully adapting to the national culture and by propagating and embracing elements of their own culture (Busbridge 2016, 4). Additionally, the Moluccan neighbourhood is described by our participants as a place for protection of ideals and culture. Our participants argue that the idea of a free RMS is, for example, still expressed in many Moluccan neighbourhoods.

Our participants have stated that the Moluccan neighbourhood can be seen as compensation for pain done to grandparents. As their grandparents (and parents) used to live in bad living conditions in camps or barracks, the neighbourhood felt like a relief to them.[77] Even though the Moluccan neighbourhoods are not created as a form of compensation for the false promises made to the first generation, some participants do feel like it is compensation. We argue that the colonial past is rendered in the origin of the Moluccan neighbourhood. As our participants have stated, the Moluccan neighbourhood feels like their own part of the Moluccas that was promised to them by the Dutch government. We therefore argue that affinity with the Moluccan neighbourhood, expressed by almost all our participants[78], therefore contributes to the construction of a partly Moluccan civic national identity, as it has strong territorial ties. Multiple participants have said that the Moluccan neighbourhood feels like a part of the Moluccas that has gained acknowledged independence.[79] Maurice refers to the

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[75] We discussed this topic before in chapter 'Connected Culture'
[76] N=14
[77] N=4
[78] N=22
[79] N=3

neighbourhood as their own RMS, 'their own little independent state of the Moluccas, which was initially promised by the Dutch government'. Even though Maurice did not live in the Moluccan neighbourhood, he does argues this:

> *De wijken staan symbool eigenlijk voor wat wij eigenlijk zouden krijgen. Dat dit ons eigen stukje is, een stukje Molukken die we zouden krijgen maar die we nooit hebben gehad. Het is een bepaalde claim op dit terrein. Je territorium beschermen.*

> *The neighbourhood is central for everything that we should get. This is our own piece of the Moluccas, the piece that we should have gotten but never got. It is a certain claim on this territory. The neighbourhood is a way of protecting this terrain.*

Little Moluccas[80]

The Moluccan neighbourhood, as described by Maurice is thus a territory of the Moluccan community and part of a free RMS that is claimed by Moluccans in the Netherlands. The expression of the importance of the neighbourhood can be linked to Schillers (2002, 576) notion of long-distance nationalism: the Moluccan neighbourhood expresses a form of separatism because of both ascribed and obtained territorial claims. Even when the function of Moluccan neighbourhood was initially to keep Moluccans separated from the Dutch, it has also

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[80] Picture take by Hanneke van Rijen in Bovensmilde, the Netherlands on 30th of March.

become a means for the Moluccans to separate themselves and claim recognition of a place within the Netherlands in which their culture can be central (Schiller 2002, 576).

6.2 Republik Maluku Selatan

RMS, the Republik Maluku Selatan, is the proclaimed independent state on the Moluccas. We start off this paragraph by arguing that political involvement in RMS can be seen as external ethnic identification, territorial and symbolic national identification. Second of all we argue that through RMS, elements of long-distance nationalism are expressed. And at last, we will show how we argue, there is a relation between the national and ethnic identity and the construction of a sense of belonging, that is based on the feeling of 'home' and emotional investment and attachment to the Moluccas (Yuval-Davis 2006, 208).

In chapter 3 we referred to Bosma (2009, 178) , who argued that orientation to free RMS, was responsible for holding on to a glorious return to the Moluccas. We argue that this is not the case anymore. We have seen that for most of our participants RMS is not linked to a need for returning to a free RMS. Instead, orientation and affinity with RMS is inextricably linked to a need for recognition of the pain done to the first generation.[81] Mobilization, participation or even affinity with the RMS highlights external ethnic identification through participation in ethnic associational and institutional organizations (Isajiw 1981, 3). People express this participation through going to RMS-day in The Hague or Apeldoorn, by actively sharing RMS related political pages and posts or by hoisting the Moluccan flag on the 25th of April.[82] Our participants strive for a free and acknowledged RMS, that has its own territorial ties, political system and fixed borders. Showing support both in political involvement and affinity, we argue that our participants construct their identity too based on a Moluccan territorial national identity because they see the RMS as their homeland or argue that it is a natural setting of power and support it by sending money, going to protest or raising the flag on independence day (Golubović, 2010) .

In our opinion, mobilization with the RMS responsible for constructing a symbolic national identity (Triandafyllidou 1998, 599) as most participants argue that their support to he

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[81] N=16
[82] The day of proclamation of an independent Moluccan state.

RMS comes forth from their connectedness to their grandparents and ancestry.[83][84] Gerry explains why he strives for an independent RMS:

> *Ik had ook mijn mond kunnen houden maar er staat niet voor niets een RMS vlag. Wij zijn daar wel vrij standvastig in. Het is niet zozeer een ideaal maar het is gewoon een stuk van geannexeerd gebied in Indonesië en we zijn keihard genaaid door Nederland.*

> *I could have kept my mouth shut but there is a RMS flag here for a reason. We are very steadfast in this. It is not necessarily an ideal but RMS is an annexed area in Indonesia that is taken by us. The Dutch betrayed us.*

Gerry thus argues that RMS is not an ideal, but something that is taken away from Moluccans because of betrayal from the Dutch and Indonesia. In our opinion, this need for a free RMS, is without a doubt linked to the Moluccan history that is full of pain and betrayal. Gerry argues that the Moluccan culture cannot be studied without taking into consideration the concept of RMS:

> *We hebben een vlaggenparade, waarin je kunt zien dat de RMS nog heel erg leeft. Het leeft nog heel erg onder de jongeren. We zijn bezig met de identiteit. We kapen geen treinen meer. We snijden je niet van de fiets af als je door de wijk fietst. We veroorzaken geen problemen, maar als nog, wordt je weggezet of krijg je een stigma. En dat is wel waar ik wel. Ja dat blijft, ik denk dat ik daar mijn leven wel altijd mee bezig houd.*

> *We have a flag parade in which you can see that RMS is still very much alive. It is very much alive with the youths. We continue to construct our identity. We don't hijack trains anymore. We do not take you down from your bicycle when you pass through a Moluccan neighbourhood. We do not cause trouble but still we are put aside or are seen based on stigmas. That is something which I will continue to struggle with throughout my life.*

We argue that mobilization for and affinity with RMS expresses forms of long-distance nationalism. First of all, RMS expresses a form of anti-colonialism because our participants who associate with RMS carry out anger to the previously colonizing country and stimulate

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[83] N=12
[84] N=18

identifying with the homeland, in this case the Moluccas. The second element of long-distance nationalism that is expressed through RMS is regime change. Third-generation Moluccans-Dutch people who contribute to the RMS challenge the current politics by demonstrations, dialogues and political activism in the Netherlands and on the Moluccas (Schiller 2002, 575). In the Netherlands, political activists, such as Gerry, Zendea, Chantal and Youri, argue for regime change on the Moluccas. As we have mentioned before, our participants' support to RMS is expressed through going to RMS day, hoisting the Moluccan flag on independence days[85] or by being actively involved in political actions or social media groups. In our opinion, our participants, who actively use social media to create a better understanding of the Moluccan community, their history and their political allegiance towards the Moluccas, perform elements of anti-colonialism. They actively participate in protests or RMS days, or by so by setting themself of from the Dutch. Additionally, we argue that our participants' continuation of active participation towards the homeland, expressed by being politically active in the RMS, is important for keeping long-distance nationalism alive.

Mena-Muria[86]

In conclusion, we argue that affinity with and mobilization towards the RMS, are related to the sense of belonging of our participants. In chapter 3 we took on Steijlen (2012) argumentation, that a decrease in mobilization towards the RMS, was responsible for a decline in sense of belonging towards the Moluccas. We argue that this is not exactly the case. As we have seen, there is a decrease in mobilization towards the RMS[87], as only four of our participants are politically involved with the RMS. This does however not mean, that the sense of belonging towards the Moluccas has declined. Our results are in line with Verkuyten (1999, 68) who argues that the feeling of unity and belonging that the RMS created, can still be seen within the third generation. Chantal and three others argue that holding on to RMS ideals is what they need, in order for their Moluccan identity to continue. They will do so 'until they die' and as long as the RMS is not officially acknowledged (Yuval-Davis 2006, 208). As Probyn (1996, 19) explained, people need a stable state or place of belonging, in which their identity is allowed to continue to exist. Our participants argue that acknowledgement as well as holding on to the RMS ideal, can create this place of belonging, in which their identity is allowed to exist.

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[87] N=4

6.3 First generation Moluccans in the Netherlands

Colonial history is nowadays still rendered in the identity of our participants. The colonial history of Moluccans in the Netherlands is linked to the KNIL, as almost all first generation Moluccan men were actively involved in the KNIL. Our participants have argued that they are still involved with the KNIL, as the work of their grandfathers in the KNIL has never received any recognition. This is expressed in actions like striving for repair payments of overdue salary, as their grandparents were let go off their jobs as soon as they arrived in the Netherlands.

As we have seen in chapter 4, our participants identify strongly with their Moluccan family, in particular their grandparents. Our participants express both gratitude for their sacrife as well as anger about their mistreatment. Our participants show a distinction between those who base their identity on the future-minded perspective that their grandparents had and participants who base their identity on the pain that their grandparents experienced. Wouter explained[88], visibly emotional when talking about it, that the future-minded stance of his grandparents, is something which is he is extremely thankful for:

> *En dit is het meest belangrijke voor mij, het is een stukje toekomstperspectief wat mijn opa en oma wouden creëren. Ja dat zij al die moeite hebben gedaan om hier naartoe te komen en dat zij alles aan de kant hebben gezet, hun familie hebben achtergelaten.*

> *And the most important thing is the fact that my grandparents came here to create a future perspective, they were future-minded and they put everything aside, left their whole family behind.*

Chantal explains that her grandparents has a strong influence on who she has become and what she will teach her children:

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[88] Interview Wouter 23ʳᵈ of February

Het is gewoon zo dat ik daar bijna om kan huilen dat ik het zo sterk voel. Zoals mijn opa dat voelde omdat ik echt als ik daarover nadenk, zie ik zie ik zijn gezicht, zijn pijn van en dat dat het is ik, wat ik zeg als ik daar als ik dood moet gaan tot de dood dit moet doen doe ik dat. En ik hoop dat mijn kinderen, dat als ik op een dag kinderen mag krijgen natuurlijk, als ze gezond zijn, dan hoop ik gewoon dat ik dit mee kan geven. En niet dat domme boze 'Nee ik haat Nederland' , nee, waarom, verdiep je, leer je dingen en dan mag je van mij je mond opentrekken want zo heb ik het ook moeten leren. Want ik heb ook op mijn donder gehad omdat ik met mijn grote mond wat zei, omdat ik het niet wist.

It's the fact that I can cry about it, that is how strongly I feel. Like my grandpa felt it. If I think about it, and my grandpa' face and pain, then it just fuels me to continue on until I die. I hope that my children, if I ever am so lucky to have children and they would be healthy, I hope I can pass this on. Not the stupid anger towards the Netherlands, but to take an interest in things and learn things. Then you can open your mouth. That is how I was taught. Oh I have been punished badly for opening my mouth without knowing what to say.

Chantal express here, how the pain of her grandparents finds it ways into her life:

'Hij (Granddad) had ook een bloed hekel aan Indonesië omdat ja die hem natuurlijk ook, toentertijd, in de rug hadden gestoken. Dus dat was voor hem gewoon heel dubbel. Hij had er moeite mee dat zijn kinderen met Nederlanders thuis kwamen, hij vond het gewoon helemaal, helemaal zes keer niks. Ja en dan word je ouder en dan ga je dingen aan elkaar linken. Ik was toen twaalf en dan ga je wordt je begin 20 en dan ga je dingen met elkaar linken. Waarom deed me opa, waarom zei die dat? Die pijn van hem en dat is wel waarom ik denk ik ook zo fel ben. Ik heb altijd zijn woede en zijn pijn gezien van wat er is gebeurd. Hij hoefde niks te zeggen maar je zag het gewoon aan hem.

> *'My granddad hated Indonesia because they stabbed him in his back, back then. To him it was very difficult, because he really struggled seeing his children come home with Dutch partners, he really disliked it. And then I got older and started to link things. I was 12 then and started to really think about things in my twenties. Why did my grandpa do that, why did he say that? His pain is why I am so punchy and so dedicated. I have always felt his anger and saw his pain and what had happened. He did not have to say anything, I just saw it on his face.'*

We have seen that strong identification with family, in this case with grandparents in specific, is a form of participation in ethnic personal networks and that is responsible for the construction of an external ethnic identity that is linked to being Moluccan (Isajiw 1981, 2). Additionally, we see that our participants experience anger due to pain done to their grandparents. This feeling of anger, lies at the core of constructing a Moluccan internal ethnic identity that is solidly linked to colonialism.

6.4 Awareness and Recognition

In this section, we are going to discuss the expression of the need for awareness on the Moluccan colonial history and recognition of the pain and betrayal that our participants experience. Our participants seem to focus on understanding how their identity is related to Moluccan colonial history. At the same time they express a need for more interest from out-group members into the history of Moluccans: more than half of our participants are critical of the ways that the Dutch government has treated Moluccans and other postcolonial groups.[89] Our participants have stated that a focus on decolonization, in which creating awareness and recognition of the painful history of the period of colonization and the consequences for the Moluccans community, is central within the third generation. In order to create more awareness, our participants focus on spreading information about the Moluccan history through social media[90], raising their voice in protests and meetings and demanding a need for changes in the educational system. Most of our participants express a feeling of being overshadowed and argue that the history of Moluccans in the Netherlands is underrepresented.[91] Wouter explains that he has become very aware of the Moluccan history:

Nee maar toen heeft hij mij gewoon die familiegeschiedenis uitgelegd en ook hij gaf duidelijk aan van ' ja kijk, je bent ziet er ook anders uit , een andere huidskleur, je hebt geen Nederlandse achternaam' en je draagt een bepaalde geschiedenis met je mee. En en en (lange stilte) ja ik weet niet, dat is gewoon dat is door de jaren heen wel belangrijk voor mij geworden, om dat te weten en kennen.

He then explained to me our family history and he just said to me ' Look, you look different, je have a different skin colour, je do not have a Dutch last name and you carry a certain history with you'. And yeah (long silence), that has become more and more important over the years, to know the history.

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[89] N=12
[90] N=4
[91] N=16

Wouter, like many others, aims to understand the Moluccan colonial history because it is an important guideline for understanding 'who you are'.[92] In our opinion, this expresses an important element of internal ethnic identification: our participants identify with being Moluccan and express this as a state of being as well as a feeling. We argue that this is an element of internal ethnic identification because it is based on a feeling, an idea, that understanding the history is important for understanding their identity in general (Isajiw 1981, 3).

Multiple participants express that anger is an aspect that needs to be taken into account when trying to understand the construction of our participants' identity.[93] First of all, our participants feel overlooked and overshadowed because of the lack of interest in their community and history. Secondly, there is a certain shared pain in the Moluccan community that is caused by the false promises that are made by the Dutch government, such as a return to the Moluccas. Our participants argue that this pain and anger caused by false promises will continue as long as recognition of this pain is deferred. We therefore argue that pain and are responsible for constructing a symbolic national identity that is strongly related to the commemoration of Moluccan colonial history. Our participants focus on social media and newspapers as an important method for connecting, sharing and most importantly creating awareness about the Moluccan history and current community. Menno for example explains that he uses social media to show people who Moluccans are:[94]

> *Ik wil mensen gewoon laten weten waar we vandaan komen. Gelukkig hebben we social media, dan kunnen we lekker gewoon delen en als je het interessant vindt kun je het lezen of niet. Moet je zelf weten, Maar dat we in ieder geval mensen laten weten we zijn.*

> *I just want to show people where we come from. Luckily there is social media and we can share stuff, people can read it if they think it is interesting, or they don't. But in this case, we at least show people who we are.*

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[92] N=14
[93] N=4
[94] Interview Menno 29th of March

Also Tamara uses social media to create awareness. She does so by sharing pictures that display the living locations and conditions of Moluccans in the past, but also by posting pictures of demonstrations throughout the years. Another participant, Gerry, is photojournalist and has a strong focus on sharing things he argues are important to know about the Moluccan community. He shares pictures from community meetings, demonstrations and portraits from members from the Moluccan neighbourhoods.

We have just discussed how our participants strive for more awareness about the Moluccan community. However our participants also strive for recognition of the Moluccan community in the Netherlands and their painful history. Multiple participants experience anger and argue that the Dutch should take responsibility for their actions during the colonial era.[95] They want the Dutch to do so by recognizing that they made missteps and false promises. The period of colonization and the aftermath has left its scars in the Moluccan community. Our participants, despite all being differently involved and connected to the Moluccan community, do have shared goals and perform elements of anti-colonialism, a form of long-distance nationalism. They do so in particular by striving to hold on to the Moluccan culture and its continuation, instead of adapting fully to the Dutch national culture. Our participants join in protests against the Dutch government, but just as importantly, they want the postcolonial legacies to be discussed and strive for a more realistic portrayal of colonial history in history books.[96] Our participants feel a need to claim their own space within the educational system. Our participants' views are in line with Bosma (2012), who argues that the period of colonization is silenced and put away as taboos. Our postcolonial lens of research has created a space in which the discussion and aftermath of the colonial period is discussed freely. Some participants argue that just a mere appreciation of the Dutch government for the active participation and hard work that Moluccan KNIL soldiers performed, would already be a step

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[95] N=9
[96] N=17

into gaining recognition.[97] Chantal expresses her need for recognition but also the pain that arrived from not getting any recognition in the last 70 years:

> *En dan nu zoveel jaar later 'own up to it'. Zeg gewoon sorry, we fucked up. Sorry man. Niet dat het dingen beter maakt, maar het is een stukje erkenning. Nu lijkt het net of wij allemaal dom zijn en dingen in het rond roepen gewoon om om maar gewoon lekker tegendraads te zijn. Maar dat want dat denken mensen ook vaak van ons Molukkers. Nou ja Molukkers zijn agressief, altijd ruzie dit dat en dan denk ik van nee. Er zit zoveel woede in dat we soms misschien zelf niet altijd kunnen plaatsen, maar zoveel woede. Wij pikken gewoon niks. We worden wel neergezet als een dom boos volk.*

> *And now, years later, just own up to it. Just say sorry, we fucked up. Sorry man. Not that it makes anything better but some recognition would be good. Now it looks like we are all stupid and call out things just to be stubborn. Because that is what people think of us Moluccans. Moluccans are supposed to be aggressive, always fighting and then I think, no. There is so much anger, we cannot always figure out how and why, but the anger is there. We just do not deal with all the bullshit even though we are portrayed as angry and stupid people.*

In conclusion, we argue that attachment to the Moluccan neighbourhood and RMS, are related to the construction of both symbolic but in particular territorial national identity of our participants. We argue that the importance of the Moluccan neighbourhood and RMS are too responsible for the expression of long-distance nationalism towards the Moluccas.

We conclude that the postcolonial history of Moluccans in the Netherlands and the false promises made by the Dutch during and after the period of colonization, still lies at the heart of the pain experienced by the third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. We argue that this pain and anger is responsible for constructing a national and ethnic identity that is related to the Moluccan roots of our participants. We argue, based on our participants' experiences, the connectedness to the Moluccan history and therefore constructing of a national and ethnic identity based on not merely their Dutch citizenship but also on Moluccan roots, will continue as long as the Moluccan history stays unrecognized and separation by the Moluccan community

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[97] N=4

carries on. We argue that emotional attachment to the Moluccan community and a need for a continuation of the Moluccan culture, shows how our participants experience a sense of belonging to the Moluccan community. As we have discussed in chapter 5, our participants share both national and ethnic social locations. These shared social locations may be responsible for a strong connection between Moluccans.

Finishing this chapter, we take in consideration Oostindie (2010, 116) view, who argues that the colonial baggage was let go off by third-generation Moluccans in the Netherlands. We maintain, based on our study, that Moluccans in the third generation still experience the colonial baggage, however not necessarily as strongly based on the Malay, the dream of remigration and the strict Moluccan community, but because recognition of the pain and betrayal done to their grandparents has not yet happened.

Gerry:

"*Ik wil gewoon een biertje drinken en het hebben over het weer ofzo. Je wordt continu geconfronteerd met je identiteit. En in dit land wordt je ertoe gedwongen. Maar ook als ik naar de Molukken ga. Ik ben bijvoorbeeld veel te licht voor een Molukker, daar. Zij ook (refereert naar zijn vriendin).*"

Zendea, partner of Gerry adds to that:

"*Daar word je ook niet als volwaardig aangezien. Dus wij als Molukse-Nederlanders zweven er een beetje tussenin. We voelen ons daar niet thuis maar hier ook niet. Je wordt daar gewoon als Nederlander gezien.*"

Gerry:

"*I just want to drink a beer and talk about the weather or something. You are continuously confronted with your identity. And in this country, you are forced to do this. But also, when I am visiting the Moluccas. I am, for example, way to light to be a Moluccan, there. She too (referring to his girlfriend.)*"

Zendea, partner of Gerry adds to that:

"*Yes, there you are also not seen as full-fledged. So we as Moluccan-Dutch are hovering between a bit. We do not feel home there, but also not here. There you are seen as Dutch person.*"

Gerry and Zendea explain that in the Netherlands they are continuously confronted with their identity. An example of this continuous confrontation is that Gerry and Zendea are many times asked where they are from on parties they go to. They are also continuously confronted with their identity on the Moluccas, where they are seen as too light to be Moluccan and therefore seen as Dutch. This creates the feeling they do not belong on the Moluccas, as well as in the Netherlands. To understand the mechanisms behind this continuous confrontation, this chapter delves into the discussion of how exclusion influences the identity formation of Moluccan-Dutch people of the third generation. Central to this discussion is how they are excluded by Dutch people, Moluccans in the Netherlands and Moluccans on the Moluccas.

7.1 Exclusion by Dutch people

First of all we will discuss how Moluccan-Dutch people of the third generation are excluded by Dutch people. Many of our participants, ten, experienced racism by Dutch people and seven of them already experienced racism in their childhood by other children.[98] Joris explains an experience of racism he had in his childhood:

> *Toen werd ik wel een beetje geconfronteerd als kind, dat je dat je bruin bent of zwart bent, hoe ze het ook zeiden. Dan heb je niet zozeer door wat ze daarmee bedoelen, weet je wel ja dat je anders bent, maar je bent niet je denkt niet van, maar dat komt omdat ik een Molukse vader heb. Zo denk je niet als kind zijnde.*

> *Then, I was a bit confronted as a child, that you are brown or black, in whatever way they said it. Then, you did not really understand what they meant with this. You know that you are different, but not that you think that is because I have a Moluccan father. That is not the way you think when you are a child.*

Other ways Moluccan-Dutch people experience racism, in or after childhood, is through racial slurs[99], such as being called monkey or peanut. Additionally, participants are being treated negatively, because of their skin colour or last name, by individuals as well as institutes. Cas, father of two, explains his experience with the latter:[100]

> *Bijvoorbeeld ik wil mijn dochter inschrijven op een basisschool en wordt gewoon afgewezen. Dan hoor ik dat bijvoorbeeld de buurman of zo, ik zeg even wat, Jan van Dalen, even iets clichés, maar die wordt dan wel uitgenodigd. En dan denk ik, je merkt nu eigenlijk wel dat het hier al begint.*

> *For example, I want to sign in my daughter to an elementary school and is being declined. Then I hear from, for example, a neighbour, I am just saying something, Jan van Dalen[1], something cliché, and they are invited. And then you think, you notice it is already starting here.*

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[98] 6 of the 7 participants experienced racism by other children, one participant by a teacher in high school.
[99] N=6

[100] Interview Cas 18th of March

As Wekker (2010) discusses, racism is used to externalize a racialized other. She discusses that White is seen as the norm in the Netherlands and not as an ethnicity. Anyone outside this norm, for example people with a non-White skin colour, are seen as ethnic and therefore externalized as the other. Also our participants experience feelings of exclusion.[101] An example is Dennis' experience on Dutch parties:[102]

> *Dan is het al gelijk van 'oh ja!', of ze schrikken dat iemand met kleur er is, zeg maar. En dat het gewoon opeens opvallend is, oh iemand heeft een kleurtje. En, dan ja, dan gaan ze opeens gelijk van waar kom je vandaan. Dat wel heel leuk hoor, is gewoon heel lief. Is gewoon vaak respect en interesse en dat is gewoon heel fijn. Maar ja, doordat ze zo van oh, jaa.. maar ja.. dat is je cultuur. Als je dan, dan vragen ze bijvoorbeeld wat en dan, voordat ik antwoord heb ik gegeven, zeggen ze, ooh ja, dat is, gewoon je cultuur van hun. Dat hoort gewoon de Molukken en dan heb je nog geen antwoord gegeven. Ja vaak als zij zo kunnen inleven, dat je je ook niet helemaal Nederlands gevoelt. Want altijd zullen mensen wel zeggen van oh ja, maar dat is, ja weet je wel. Dat is geen Nederlander, gewoon half Moluks. Moet je niet vergeten. Dat is niet erg, want ik ben gewoon trots hoor. Dat in het midden, als halfbloedje. Je voelt je ook niet helemaal bij de Nederlanders thuis.*

> *It is instantly like 'Oh yes!', of they are shocked that there is someone with a colour. And that it is striking, oh, someone has a colour. And, then yes, then they will immediately ask where you are from. That is very nice, it is very sweet. Many times it is respect and interest and it is just very nice. But yes, because they are like ohh, yes, but.. that is your culture. That is just the Moluccas, and then you did not give any answer. Many times when then empathize, then you also do not totally feel Dutch. Because always people will say, but that is, you know. That is not a Dutch person, but half Moluccan. You should not forget. That is not bad, because I am proud. That in the middle, as half blood. You do not totally feel at home with Dutch.*

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[101] N=7

[102] Interview Dennis 16th March

Dennis explains that Dutch people at parties are shocked by a person-of-colour being present on the party. He is instantly seen as different because of his skin. This example shows that a non-White skin colour is seen as something that does not fit the Dutch identity. Dennis describes how this reaction on his skin-colour quickly turns into an interest in his Moluccan background. Although he sees this interest as positive, others show interest because he is seen as different, which gives David the feeling of being excluded. Questions on the Moluccan background emphasizes someone's roots and this emphasis implies that someone is not Dutch or at least not totally Dutch. This could create that Moluccan-Dutch people do not have a feeling of sameness with Dutch people, which creates a feeling of exclusion. In our view this might explain why some participants feel Moluccan when asked about their Moluccan background.[103]

Another way in which exclusion is manifested is through the unrecognized history, as we have seen in the same-named chapter. Participants mention that they want more recognition for the history between the Moluccas and the Netherlands. At many schools this part of the Dutch history is not or insufficiently discussed. Because Moluccan history is insufficiently recognized and our Dutch-Moluccan participants do not see themselves represented in the Dutch history, our participants do not feel recognized and experience feelings of exclusion.

Exclusion is also manifested in derogatory stereotypes, such as comments about belonging to Satudarah, that Moluccans are late, that all Moluccans are RMS-supporters and especially about the train hijackings that happened in the 70s. Yola describes:

Maar ik denk wel dat iedere Molukker weleens de opmerking heeft gehoord 'Kom je hier op de motor met Satudarah aan?' of als je in de trein zit dat mensen dan vragen of je die gaat overvallen.

I think that every Moluccan has heard the comment 'Are you coming here with you motor-cycle with Satudarah?' or when you are in the train and that people as if you are going to hijack the train.

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[103] N=2

Steijlen (2012, 117) discussed that these attacks created a separation in the Moluccan community that influenced the sense of belonging to the Moluccan community: some would feel more Moluccan, while others started to review their relationship with the Moluccan community. Although we did not see how these hijackings influenced the sense of belonging of our participants, we did see that four participants see comments on the train hijackings as jokes, while it forms a big source of frustration for four other participants. This shows that individuals perceive and respond to discrimination differently.

Addition to that, participants explain that Dutch people are not much aware of who Moluccans are, the colonial history between the Moluccans and the reasons behind the presence of Moluccans in the Netherlands. One participant said ignorance created that people only know these stereotypes. Kendrick adds to this:

Je kan niet iedereen over één kam scheren van 'oh ja Molukkers, Satudarah en treinkapingen.

You cannot generalize everybody, like 'Oh Moluccans, Satudarah and train hijackings.

Kendrick explains that these derogatory stereotypes create an essentialized identity of the Other. Many of our participants experience being called train hijackers or being linked to the train hijackings.[104] Although these hijackings took place in the 70s, the third generation is still linked to these. Dutch people emphasize that these stereotypes, such as the hijackings and hostages, are part of a Moluccan identity. However the violent image of the (de)colonization of the Netherlands in Indonesia, and so the Moluccas, is left out of the Dutch identity.

Although these forms of racism and derogatory stereotypes are built on false images and generalizations about Moluccans, they do have major real-life consequences for Moluccan-Dutch people. As Erikson (1986; in Phinney 1996, 922-925) describes, members of an oppressed ethnic minority could internalize negative views of the dominant society and develop a negative identity and self-hatred. Although our participants did not talk about the latter,

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[104] N=11

participants did tell us to be confronted with being ascribed as 'different'.[105] As a consequence ten participants struggled with their identity. Most had tried to find out who they are and how their Dutch and Moluccan identities come together in their puberty[106]. A few participants are still searching for their identity.[107] Chantal shares her experiences leading to an identity crisis:[108]

Het is me wel dat ik zeg maar thuis niet per se een identiteitscrisis had, de crisis klinkt misschien wat extreem, met daarmee in de knoop zat zeg maar, maar daarbuiten, de middelbare school en dat je dan wel je plekje probeert te zoeken (...) dat je eigenlijk de enige bent met een Molukse achtergrond en dan kijken ze naar jou en dan zien ze je aan voor een Surinamer. En dat geeft niet, maar je kon niet zo makkelijk levelen met iemand daar. Dus ja dan in de puberteit, je wilt toch ook ergens bij horen, trekje trekje dan maar naar. Ik trok bijvoorbeeld heel erg naar mijn Turkse vriendinnen. (...). Ik kwam er ook wel achter dat ik toch wel heel anders dacht ook over sommige dingen. Ik dacht altijd dat ik best toch wel dat best wel lekker Hollands was.

At home I did not really have an identity crisis. Crisis is maybe quite extreme, but struggling with that. But outside, at high school and that you are trying to find your own place (..,) That you are the only one with a Moluccan background, and that they look at you and they see you for a Surinamese. That does not matter, but I could not level with someone there easily. So in puberty, you want to belong to something. So then I got more drawn to my Turkish friends (...) I found out that I thought totally differently about other things. I always thought that I was quite Dutch.

Chantal explains that at home she did not feel like she was in an identity crisis, but at school she did. She thought to be Dutch, but her classmates did not see her that way and she was therefore excluded. During puberty she wanted to belong to something and was trying to find her own place at school. Bauman (1996, 137) discusses that the question of identity comes

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[105] N=5

[106] N=8

[107] Ten participants used to struggle and on top of that two participants are still struggling.

[108] Interview Chantal 17th of February

to the fore with uncertainty about where someone belongs to. As Bauman states, Chantal started to feel like she did not fit in with her classmates and therefore started to doubt her self-identification, as she started doubting her Dutchness. Demmers (2017) discusses that an important element for the construction of identity is sameness and collectively as these influence a feeling of in- or exclusion. Chantal did not feel the same as her White Dutch classmates, she felt like she did fit in with her Dutch classmates, so looked for sameness elsewhere. She did find sameness with her Turkish-Dutch classmates, who have a migration background like her. Chantal, as well as one other participant, both identified better with their classmates with a migration background. Also both these participants had the least connection with their Dutch background and a bigger connection with their Moluccan identity.

7.2 Exclusion by Moluccan people

Second of all, there is also exclusion from the Moluccan community in the Netherlands towards third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people.[109] An example is Tamara's experience:

> *Het is me wel dat ik zeg maar thuis niet per se een identiteitscrisis had, de crisis klinkt misschien wat extreem, met daarmee in de knoop zat zeg maar. Maar daarbuiten, de middelbare school en dat je dan wel je plekje probeert te zoeken (...) dat je eigenlijk de enige bent met een Molukse achtergrond en dan kijken ze naar jou en dan zien ze je aan voor een Surinamer. En dat geeft niet, maar je kon niet zo makkelijk levelen met iemand daar. Dus ja dan in de puberteit, je wilt toch ook ergens bij horen, trekje trekje dan maar naar. Ik trok bijvoorbeeld heel erg naar mijn Turkse vriendinnen. (...). Ik kwam er ook wel achter dat ik toch wel heel anders dacht ook over sommige dingen. Ik dacht altijd dat ik best toch wel dat best wel lekker Hollands was.*

> *At home I did not really have an identity crisis. Crisis is maybe quite extreme, but struggling with that. But outside, at high school and that you are trying to find your own place (..,) That you are the only one with a Moluccan background, and that they look at you and they think you are a Surinamese. That does not matter, but I could not level with someone there as easily. So in puberty, you want to belong to something. So then I got more drawn to my Turkish friends (...) I found out that I thought totally differently about other things. I always thought that I was quite Dutch.*

Tamara explains that at Moluccan parties she felt excluded by 'full blood' Moluccans and she is called White. The racial slur "Belanda" is the assumption that a certain skin colour is Moluccan and that a lighter skin colour means someone is not Moluccan. In this case Moluccans use a lighter skin colour as a motive to exclude other Moluccans. The 'full-blooded' Moluccans, who may also experience racism, use their dark skin colour as a part of self-identification and their ethnic identity, while simultaneously excluding people who do not totally fit this mold.

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[109] N=6

Participant Nina, who does not have Dutch (grand)parents, feels also excluded by Moluccans. She is half Moluccan, a quarter Manadonese and a quarter Javanese. In the first interview she mentions that she was called 'dog eater', because she is quarter Manadonese. When asking about being excluded by the Moluccan community through for example being called 'dog eater' she explained:

> *Ja ik vind dat eigenlijk wel leuk. Ja ik heb dat wel, ja super raar. Ik vind het niet raar dat ik zo wordt genoemd. Maar wel, dat ik het vroeger vervelend, best wel naar vond dat ik Manadonese wordt genoemd door Molukkers. Omdat ik dacht, I am just like you guys, I am Moluks. Want als er een halfbloed Molukker was, dan zouden ze die persoon ook niet Nederlands noemen, je hoort gewoon bij ons, je bent Moluks. Maar omdat ik Moluks en Manadonese ben, dan zeggen ze ja, je bent Manadonees. Dat vond ik altijd wel echt jammer. (…) Ik heb me nooit echt volledig buitengesloten gevoelt. Ja vond het wel jammer dat ik Manadonese word genoemd (…) Maar ik wist gewoon niet wat is Manadonees, wie dat zijn. Ja dat vond ik altijd wel jammer. Maar nu heb ik allemaal geaccepteerd, ik ben ook een Manadonees en daar weet ik niet veel van.*

> *I actually like it. I have that, super weird. I do not think it is weird I am called that way. But in the past I did dislike it. It was quite nasty to be called Manadonese by Moluccans. Because I thought, I am just like you guys, I am Moluccan. If there is a half-blood Moluccan, that person would not be called Dutch, you are just one of us, you are Moluccan. But because I am Moluccan and Manadonese, then they will say you are a Manadonese. That was always too bad. (…) I never really felt totally excluded. I always thought it was too bad I was called Manadonese. Maybe I just did not know what Manadonese is, who they are. I always thought that was too bad. But now I have totally excepted that. I am Manadonese and I do not know much about it.*

Nina explains that she used to feel excluded through these stigmatizing racist comments, because Moluccans would emphasize her Manadonese, rather than, her Moluccan side. She felt sameness with some other Moluccans, but excluded by some Moluccans saw her as the other. As discussed earlier could the emphasis on another background give Nina the feeling to be less Moluccan and more Manadonese. However, every individual experiences

exclusion differently and responds to this differently. For Nina, these comments did not make her feel more Manadonese than Moluccan, because she does not know many Manadonese and is not aware of a big Manadonese community. In our view this might have prevented her from forming the idea of sameness with other Manadonese and feeling a connection towards them. Nina also mentions that, although she disliked it in the past, she does like to be called 'dog eater' now. This example shows that the way people perceive and respond to discrimination changes over time.

Dennis also experienced exclusion by Moluccan people.[110] When we asked if he feels better connection connection with Moluccan people, he answered:

> *Ik ben sneller bevriend met een Nederlander. Ik ben ook gewoon een beetje, echt zo'n Nederlander geworden, daar kan ik sneller mee in gesprek gaan. Met Molukkers ben ik bang dat ze gaan praten over de Molukken, of dat ze Moluks, Maleis gaan praten. Dan ben ik, ik deel het kleurtje en de afkomst en dat is het vaak. Ik ben juist zo vernederlands ben, dat dat me een beetje me weerhoudt om met Molukse mensen ja een soort, iets op te bouwen of dergelijke. Ja het is gewoon heel anders.. Ja die mensen, die weten. Ik heb het idee dat ik te weinig weet over mijn eigen cultuur en dat zij misschien een stuk meer weten. En dat kan soms wel negatief door Molukkers worden bekeken. Zeggen ze van ja je moet toch wel iets over je eigen cultuur weten. Ja klopt ook. Vind ik ook, helemaal gelijk in. Maar ik heb dat heb ik dus niet, dus dan vermijd ik het liever.*

> *I am quicker friends with a Dutch person. I am also became a Dutch person, I can have a conversation with them quicker. With an Moluccan I am scared that they will talk about the Moluccans, or that they will talk Moluccan Malay. Then I am, I share the colour and the background, that is it. I think I became so Dutch, that it keep me away from Moluccan people, to build something with them, or something like that. It is totally different. Those people, they know. I have the idea that I do know too little about my own culture and that they may know way more. That can negatively perceived Moluccans. They will say you should know something about your own culture. That is right. I agree, that is totally right. But I do not have that, so I rather avoid it.*

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[110] Interview Dennis 16th of March

As Dennis explains he does not know much about the Moluccan culture, does not speak Malay and is scared to be excluded for that. Therefore he excludes himself from other Moluccan-Dutch people and feels a better connection with Dutch people. This quote illustrates that while he shares his skin colour and background with other Moluccans, he does not feel another connection with Moluccans. He only feels a certain sameness with other Moluccans, but this is actually so small that he rather connects with Dutch people. This shows again that skin colour forms a part of 'the' Moluccan identity. As we discussed, there are more parts of the Moluccan identity people could connect to, however Dennis does not share this connection. Additionally, David's quote also illustrates that the inability to speak Malay has been the cause of exclusion. This also shows that speaking the Moluccan Malay language can be seen as important in the feeling of belonging to the Moluccan community.[111]

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[111] N=2

7.2 Exclusion by Moluccans on the Moluccas

Third of all, Moluccan-Dutch people are excluded by Moluccans on the Moluccas[112], as Celine describes:[113]

> *Maar alleen het gekke is, de mensen daar (op de Molukken) zien jou niet als Moluks, hè? Want je bent Nederlands en je draagt andere kleding en je gedraagt je anders. En dat vinden zij ook, wij werden ook wel uitgescholden soms, hè? En op neer gekeken. Dat was ook wel lastig.*

> *Only the crazy thing is, the people there (on the Moluccas) do not see you as Moluccan, he? Because you are Dutch and you wear different clothing and behave differently. That is what they also think, we also scold at some time her? And looked down upon. That was difficult.*

Celine explains that on the Moluccas she is looked down upon by Moluccans. Celine describes that she is seen as Dutch, or at least as non-Moluccan, because she does not act as other Moluccans at the Moluccas.[114] The quote that opened this chapter shows that skin colour is also part of the Moluccan identity of Moluccans on the Moluccan.

These different ways of exclusion cause Moluccan-Dutch individuals to constantly (re)negotiate their identity. In the Netherlands people are excluded because they are seen as Moluccan and non-Dutch, but on the Moluccas, they are seen as Dutch and non-Moluccan.

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[112] N=3

[113] Interview Celine 17th of March

[114] Celine did not express the ways in which she acted differently.

However in the same interview Celine also tells us about her experience of leaving Ambon:

> *Ja is heel raar, hoor, maar mijn broertje, mijn neefje en ik. We zijn alle derde generatie. Wij zaten achterin het busje en we reden weg en toen moesten we alle drie huilen. Het was heel gek, maar. Het was ja, ik weet niet, maar toen wist je gewoon van hé, dit is waar ik vandaan kom. Dit is niet zomaar een land, dit is speciaal. Het is gewoon ja heel gek, maar dat deed wat met je, dat zit gewoon in je lichaam zat. Je gaat nu afscheid nemen, je weet niet wanneer je weer terugkomt en terwijl we daar nog nooit waren geweest! Je daar voelde je goed aan van 'Ik ben moluks'. (…) Ja heel bijzonder. Het is een plek hè waar je vandaan komt en waar je ergens ook wel thuishoort en komt, want anders voel je dat niet?*

> *Yes, it is really weird, but my brother, my cousin and me. We are all third-generation. We were in the back of the van and when we drove away, all three of us had to cry. It was really weird. I do not know, but then you just knew, this is where I come from. This is not just a country, this is special. It is really weird, but it does something to you, it is just in your body. You are saying goodbye and do not know when we come back, while we had never been there! There, you really felt 'I am Moluccan'. (…) Really special. It is the place where you are from and in a way also belong and come home to, because otherwise you do not feel this way.*

McLeod (2010) states that diaspora communities are built by links to the old country and that, although children of migrants may never have been in the old country, they can have strong emotional bonds with the old country. Celine's quote illustrates that she, as part of the Moluccan diaspora, has those strong emotional bonds with the Moluccas and even felt like coming home on the Moluccas. Although she was excluded by Moluccans on the Moluccan, she still feels this strong connection with the Moluccas. The feeling of being excluded coexists with the belonging she feels towards the Moluccas.

McLeod (2010) also describes that the sense of identity and belonging of diasporic people is eternally split between different locations. Although exclusion can coexist with a sense of belonging to something, the exclusion Moluccan-Dutch people experience in the Netherlands, as well as on the Moluccas, can influence their sense of belonging towards both Dutch and Moluccan people. Dennis explains this experience with this well:

> *Alsof je net niet helemaal bij de Molukse cultuur past, maar ook niet helemaal bij de Nederlandse. Je zit er een beetje tussenin, je bent van hybride. Van, dat is ook wel. Ik ben ook gewoon een halfbloedje. Dat past daar ook wel perfect in. Als je kijkt naar goed naar mijn ouders, maar ja je zit een beetje er tussenin van ja. Ik hoor net niet bij hun en ook niet helemaal bij hun. Je zit er net tussen hangen. Ja dat kan soms wel als buitengesloten, ja, ja kan dat wel aanvoelen, zou ik zeggen.*

> *It is just like you do not totally fit the Moluccan culture, but also not the Dutch culture. You are kind of between, you are hybrid. That is also true. I am also a half blood. That totally fits that. If you look at my parents well, yes, you are a bit between. I just do not fit with them and also not totally with them. You are hanging between. Sometimes that can feel like being excluded I would say.*

Dennis expresses always being between and not totally fitting both the Moluccan and Dutch culture. He is hybrid and feels 'half blood'. Although the identities of our participants are split between different locations, our participants do feel both Moluccan and Dutch at the same time and feel a sense of belonging towards both these locations. This is in line with McLeod (2010), who argues that the concept of home is complex and under constant negotiation.

In conclusion we argue that Moluccan-Dutch people of the third generation experience exclusion by Dutch people, Dutch-Moluccans and people on the Moluccas. Individuals vary in the extent they experience exclusion and their experiences change over time, but for many it creates this inner- conflict to whom they belong. For many participants this leads to an identity-crisis. However, as we have seen in chapter 'Together One', this does not mean participants feel like they do not belong to Dutch people or Moluccans. However, it does mean participants do have the feeling they do not totally fit in with both other Dutch people and the Dutch identity and other Moluccans in the Netherlands and the Moluccan identity. Our Moluccan-Dutch participants are in-between these two identities. Their identity is constantly contested, negotiated and like all identities fluid and changing over time. We have to note that every identity is under negotiation and that the identities of Moluccan-Dutch individuals do not always have to be under a bigger negotiation. We also add that our participants do not experience exclusion at all times and therefore do not constantly negotiate their identity.

8 Conclusion

In this conclusion we give a step-by-step answer to the question 'With regards to the colonial past, how do third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people construct and perceive their national and ethnic identity in relation to their sense of belonging?' We will first consider the relation of the colonial past to the construction of ethnic and national identities of our participants. We will discuss this by drawing upon the conclusions of chapter 6. Then we will draw on the conclusions of chapter 7, in which we discussed how our participants experience exclusion and how this influences their identity. From there on, we will discuss the perception and construction of the national and ethnic identity of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. We will draw on the conclusions of chapter 4, to discuss how Moluccan-Dutch people construct their Moluccan identity, after which we draw on the conclusions of chapter 5 to discuss how Moluccan-Dutch people perceive their Moluccan and Dutch identity and how these identities form one. Together this will answer our main question.

8.1 Seeing identity through a postcolonial lens

We conclude that the effects of postcolonialism can still be seen within the Moluccan community in the Netherlands. As we have seen in chapter 6, the unrecognized postcolonial history of Moluccans has caused many of our participants to experience pain, anger, and a continuous negotiation of their identity. We have discussed how the postcolonial history of Moluccans in the Netherlands, that includes false promises and unrecognition of the sacrifice of the first generation, lies at the heart of the pain experienced by the third generation.

By using a postcolonial lens, we have aimed at giving those who are spoken for a subject position in which they could actively represent him- or herself from their own perspectives and are able to speak back (Ponzanesi 2009, 88). We maintain the idea that through our postcolonial lens, we have aimed at creating a space in which participants could openly discuss and express their experiences and feelings, without feeling silenced. We have concluded that to understand the construction of our participants' identity, we must understand the base and consequence of pain and anger. We argue that the pain that is done to the grandparents together with a lack of recognition of the Moluccan community and history, are responsible for anger experienced by our participants. Even when anger is not experienced by everyone equally strongly, it was

often mentioned during interviews. In our opinion, this anger is related to the performance of identity politics in the third generation, by joining in social and political organizations, with the aim of representing the interests of a group that experiences itself to be 'different' from the rest of society (Busbridge 2016). Our participants set themselves off by taking action, such as going to protests, supporting RMS, joining Facebook groups, or by creating awareness through the use of social media.

Besides performing identity politics, we argue that pain and anger are additionally responsible for the continuation of the connectedness of the Moluccan community. Our participants argue that within the Moluccan community, there is a feeling of common understanding and a shared need for recognition. In our opinion the experienced connectedness to the Moluccan culture and community is related to unrecognition of Moluccan colonial history and separatism by the Moluccan community carries, expressed through for example the Moluccan neighbourhood. We therefore argue that our participants construct a national and ethnic identity not based merely on Dutch citizenship but also on their connection with the Moluccan community,

Our research reconsiders Oostindie's (2010, 116) view, who argued that the colonial baggage was let go off by third-generation Moluccans in the Netherlands. We maintain the idea that third-generation Moluccan-Dutch do carry on the colonial baggage, not necessarily as strongly based on Malay, the dream of remigration and the strict Moluccan community, as Oostindie argues, but through a connection to the Moluccas, a needed recognition of the pain and betrayal done to their grandparents and the creation of more awareness of the painful history between the Netherlands and Moluccans.

8.2 The ways in which exclusion influences identity

We have seen that participants experience exclusion by three groups: Dutch people, Moluccan people in the Netherlands, and Moluccans on the Moluccas. Participants already experienced racism by Dutch people during childhood. Later in life they also experience racism, derogatory stereotypes, and they are being treated negatively because of their last name by individuals and institutes. These are all forms of exclusion that make participants feel like they are different and doubt their feeling of sameness with Dutch people. Also questions about someone's background gives a feeling of exclusion. It shows that they are seen as non-Dutch and emphasizes their Moluccan background, which makes participants feel more Moluccan. Additionally, participants do not see themselves represented in Dutch history and feel excluded through this unrecognized history. Participants also experience exclusion from Moluccans in the Netherlands. A dark skin colour is seen as part of the Moluccan identity and participants experience racism because of their light skin. Participants also experience exclusion by comments emphasizing their non-Moluccan ethnic background and their inability to speak Malay. These ways of exclusion give participants the feeling that they do not totally belong to the Moluccan community. Participants also experience exclusion on the Moluccas. On the Moluccas they too are excluded for their light skin colour and because they act differently.

All these forms of exclusion caused participants to question where they belong. This uncertainty about where someone belongs causes people to question their identity and many participants have had an identity crisis. However, this does not mean that our participants have the feeling they do not totally belong to Dutch or Moluccan people, or the Moluccas. The feelings of exclusion co-exist with a sense of belonging to something. However, exclusion does cause our participants to feel like they are always in-between identities and do not totally belong. Their identity is constantly contested, negotiated and like all identities fluid and changing over time.

Fleischmann (2016, 153) states that these contests could lead to an increase in ethnic and a decrease in national identity. Although we did not observe this, participants were more talkative about their Moluccan identity, both in a national and ethnic way. However, it is not possible to draw conclusions from this and a follow-up research is needed for this.

8.3 Constructing a Moluccan national and ethnic identity

As we have seen in empirical chapter 4, both the ethnic and national identity of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people are partly based on their connection to the Moluccan culture. We have seen that family, traditions, respect, pride, and recognition lie at the core of the connectedness towards the Moluccan culture and are responsible for constructing both a national as well as ethnic identity. Additionally, we argue that our participants too, construct their identity based on the performance of elements that enhance the long-distance nationalism. This will be discussed afterwards.

The first element of identification that has come to the fore in our empirical chapter is symbolic national identification (Triandafyllidou 1998, 598). We argue that elements such as shared descent, traditions, and historical memories, represent cultural affiliation with the Moluccan culture and are therefore responsible for the construction of a Moluccan national identity. This is especially expressed in our participants' focus on Moluccan history, the importance of tradition and being proud by blood.

The second element of national identification is civic national identification. We argue that through the Moluccan neighbourhood and political involvement with RMS, our participants express territorial ties towards the Moluccas (Triandafyllidou 1998, 599). We have additionally seen that within the Moluccan neighbourhood, mobilization towards the RMS is expressed freely, as it represents a place in which the Moluccan culture is indeed expressed and continued.

The third element of identification is the construction of external ethnic ties. We argue that connection and involvement in the Moluccan culture can be seen as a form of external ethnic identification. Our participants express involvement in ethnic personal networks through strong ties with the Moluccan family and pelaship (Isajiw 1981,3). Both the Moluccan family and pela's express a strong connection towards other Moluccans. Furthermore, involvement in ethnic networks is also expressed through political involvement with RMS, living in the Moluccan neighbourhood and the implementation of tradition, as all are observable behaviour and express a form of participation in the Moluccan community.

The fourth and last element of identification discussed in our research is internal national identification. We argue that this form of identification is expressed through

recognition in other Moluccans and feeling proud of being Moluccan. We argue that internal ethnic identification is not necessarily a fixed entity but an attitude, feeling or idea (Isajiw 1981, 3). Our participants express that being a proud Moluccan is 'in their blood' and recognition in others comes naturally. This natural or 'by blood'-connection cannot be observed but is expressed through feelings and ideas that make our participants internally identify with their Moluccan roots and other Moluccans.

Additionally, we have seen that all four elements that create long-distance nationalism, coined by Schiller (2002, 572-575), are performed by our participants: 1. the expression of separatism by arguing for the importance of the Moluccan neighbourhood; 2. expression of anti-colonialist ideas by supporting RMS and aiming for colonial history to be taught in school; 3. expression of regime change by challenging current Dutch politics by participating in demonstrations; and 4. participation is expressed through active involvement in the political life of RMS and family on the Moluccas. We therefore state that our participants, despite living in the Netherlands, experience forms of long-distance nationalism towards the Moluccas.

We have thus shown that the identity of our participants is constructed based on their connection to the Moluccan culture and history. As we have discussed in chapter 4, the Moluccan culture is connected and as our participants feel connected to this culture, we argue that it is inevitable that they do not construct their identity based on this connection.

8.4 Perception of a Moluccan national and ethnic identity

Our Moluccan-Dutch participants perceive their Dutch identity mostly as a national identity, mainly through practicalities obtained by living in the Netherlands. Participants experience their Moluccan identity as both ethnic and national identity. It is heightened as an ethnic identity while performing Moluccan traditions, participating in communal activities related to their roots and being in the presence of other Moluccans. Participants perceive themselves Moluccan in a national way through the political ideal of the RMS and through territorial ties to the Moluccas. Together these two identities form one fluid identity, in which their Moluccan identity is experienced as something inherently part of them, as a feeling, and the Dutch identity as a nationality they have received. Both identities coexist at the same time in everyone that we have interviewed, however, the way both are constructed and perceived differ per individual. We argue that the example given by Menno highlights how our participants experience a form of duality within their identity:

> *Ik hang sowieso de vlag uit, de Molukse vlag. Koningsdag hangt de Nederlandse vlag uit dus het maakt niet uit hoor, ik doe het alle twee.*

> *I definitely hoist the flag, the Moluccan flag. Yes, that is something I do. Yes, the Moluccan flag. On Kingsday, I hoist the Dutch flag, so it does not really matter. I do both.*

We have seen that all our participants experience a form of belonging towards being Moluccan and being Dutch and that their identity is shaped by their feelings of belonging to both. In our context Steijlen (2012, 117) argues that three factors influence the sense of belonging: 1. The hijackings made some feel more Moluccan and made others review their sense of belonging towards the Moluccan community. 2. An increase in visiting the Moluccas influences the sense of belonging and 3. There is a decrease in mobilization towards the RMS, which led to a decrease of the sense of belonging to the Moluccas. Based on our empirical data we argue that participants do not express a change in their sense of belonging to the Moluccan community, although the train hijackings and hostage did have other consequences for them. Some see it as a joke, others as a form of exclusion. Secondly, we have not studied an in- or decrease in visitations to the Moluccas. We do observe participants have sense of belonging towards the Moluccas, even participants who did not visit the Moluccas. Thirdly, our data

suggests limited mobilization towards the RMS and we observe that our participants do have a feeling of belonging to the RMS, as it is responsible for a feeling of unity, as Verkuyten (1999, 68) states. Additionally, we have seen that the affinity with the RMS is a way to strive for recognition.

Additionally we have our own findings on the sense of belonging of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. Participants feel Moluccan through emotional attachment towards the Moluccan culture, common descent, and a shared history. They also have social attachments to other Moluccans, and through shared social locations with other Moluccans, such as ethnicity or skin colour, they find recognition in each other. We have also seen that the participants' sense of belonging is related to emotional attachments experienced towards the Moluccan neighbourhood. The Moluccan neighbourhood is a place where the Moluccan culture is continued, they can meet other Moluccans, and it is a place that feels like a small version of the Moluccas. This brings us to the last place our participants expressed a sense of belonging to: the Moluccas. Our participants expressed strong emotional attachments towards their 'homeland' and described it as home. The Moluccas fulfill a feeling of homecoming.

In co-existence with this, all participants also feel a connection to the Dutch culture, often expressed as a more external connection, but equally important. Our participants describe the Netherlands as their 'place to be' and do not express a need to move back to the Moluccas. Our participants perceive the Netherlands as their 'home'. We argue that the diasporic nature of the identity of third-generation Moluccans makes it difficult to feel completely Dutch or completely Moluccan. At the same time, our participants do identify with both: being Dutch and being Moluccan.

We have seen that both the construction and perception of our participants' ethnic and national identities relate to their sense of belonging. Our participants have shown multiple locations they feel like they belong to.

In conclusion, we argue that our participants construct and perceive their identity as both Dutch and Moluccan, which they both feel like they belong to. It is expected that the ethnic and national identities of diasporic groups map neatly onto the distinction between subordinate and superordinate identities (Fleischmann 2016, 152). This is however not the case, because diasporic people can adopt their own way of organizing and integrating identities into the self.

The identity of individuals with a diasporic background is therefore often dual: people belong to the majority country in which they live, while at the same time feeling a connection to their roots, thus the minority group. We take on Fleischmann and Verkuyten's (2016, 152) idea that a dual identity includes being 'high on both', meaning that people identify with both cultures, sometimes even equally so.

8.5 Follow-up research

In our opinion, it would be interesting to do follow-up research. In this section we will suggest three different ideas for follow-up research.

Firstly, in our research, our participants were less talkative about their Dutch side. We argue that it could therefore be interesting to study how third-generation Moluccan construct their symbolic ties they have with their Dutch national identity. We had one participant who expressed that her grandparents were very royalist towards the Dutch before they came to the Netherlands. Even though we had too limited time to dive into this, it would be interesting to gain a better understanding of the construction of a Dutch identity. In comparison to the Moluccan national identity, participants did not express many ways in which they identify as Dutch. An explanation could be that ethnicity is taken for granted and harder to explicitly express, because participants were born and are living in the Netherlands. It could also be that, because in the Dutch society Moluccan-Dutch people are seen as Moluccan rather than Dutch and because this thought might be emphasized by Dutch people, it is easier to talk about identifying as Moluccan. In a possible next research, it would therefore be interesting to focus on the ways in which Moluccans feel Dutch and if these ways are as easily and observably expressed as feeling Moluccan.

A second follow-up research could include a distinction between third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people who live in the Moluccan neighbourhood and those who do not. As we have learned during this research, most of our participants express the importance of the Moluccan neighbourhood, while most of them do not live there. It would be interesting to research whether people who live in the Moluccan neighbourhood construct and perceive their national and ethnic identity differently than those who do not.

The last idea for a follow-up research would be to investigate the differences or similarities between third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people who have two Moluccan parents in comparison to those who have one Moluccan parent. We argue that it would be interesting to research whether these two groups experience a different connection to Moluccan culture and community as well as to Dutch culture and the Netherlands. Additionally, in our opinion, it would be interesting to investigate the feelings of exclusion and how this is perceived by each group.

Furthermore, it would contribute to the academic field to do participant observation while studying third-generation Moluccans. This could include participating in Moluccan festivities, visitation of the Moluccan neighbourhood, and 'hanging out' with participants. We argue that active participation would indeed give more insight into elements that are central in the Moluccan culture. In our research, due to Covid-19 regulations, we were unable to attend festivities or events, however, it would be of great academic relevance to attend events such as RMS day, protest, demonstrations, or political meetings, to be able to understand the research group better.

8.6 Discussion

In this discussion we want to look back on the social and academic relevance and our role as researchers. In our view, our research has contributed to the academic field of anthropology as it has created insight into what elements are central in the perception and construction of the national and ethnic identity of third-generation Moluccan-Dutch people and the relation to a sense of belonging. With our conclusion on the duality of identity, we add to a wider understanding of diasporic group identities, as we have given space to our participants to express their identity, describing how they feel both Moluccan and Dutch. On top of that, the colonial past is mostly studied in relation to the first- and second-generation Moluccan-Dutch people. We aimed to contribute to filling this gap and to break through the taboos and silences around the colonial past. With this thesis we have contributed to this as we have given our participants an open space to talk about the colonial past and we have used both a postcolonial view, as well as a holistic perspective, to understand that even though the Moluccan community has been in the Netherlands for 70 years, the colonial history is still expressed in their identity.

We argue that our research has also been socially relevant. Our participants have expressed appreciation for the interest shown in their community. They have expressed that a lot of research done on the Moluccan community is too limited or does not allow Moluccans to speak for themselves. As we expressed gratitude for their participation in our research, our participants expressed thankfulness for a chance to speak about things that they argued to be important and overshadowed.

We are aware that our role as researchers has possibly influenced our data and research. We understand that we have our own perspectives on topics and biases that inevitably influenced our data. Our position as White female students also possibly influenced our data. As our research majorly relies on what our participants share with us, our position as White female students may have influenced what people were willing to share with us. It could be the case that our participants would have shared more with someone they perceive as more academically knowledgeable or a person-of-colour. Not only the gathering of data might have been influenced by our position, but also our choice of the data we decided to be relevant for this thesis. Added to that, we tried to keep our research's validity high by using questions and topic lists during interviews. This way we tried to stay close to the topics we wanted to research. Due

to the Covid-19 restrictions most interviews took place online and it was impossible to attend any activities[115]. Because of that it was not possible to do participant observation. Therefore, our data mainly relies on what participants told us instead of also relying on our observations. This presumably influences the reliability of our research and new research with participant observation could possibly give new or different insights.

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[115] Such as cultural activities, celebrations, church services and more.

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Attachment 1: Summary in Research Language

Samenvatting in Onderzoekstaal

In deze thesis geven we antwoord op onze hoofdvraag: 'Kijkend naar het koloniale verleden, hoe construeren en beschouwen Nederlanders van de derde generatie hun nationale en etnische identiteit in relatie tot hun gevoel van behoren?'. Voor deze samenvatting zullen we stap voor stap antwoord geven op deze vraag.

Om deze vraag te kunnen beantwoord, hebben wij tien weken, tussen 2 februari en 16 april 2021, interviews gehad met derde generatie Moluks-Nederlandse mensen in Nederland. Ons onderzoek draagt bij aan het academisch veld, omdat het een focus legt op de ervaring van derde generatie Moluks-Nederlandse mensen en hoe zij hun nationale en etnische identiteit zowel construeren als beschouwen. Doordat wij kijken vanuit een postkoloniale lens is er ruimte voor onze participanten om historische aspecten, die mogelijk onderdrukt zijn door taboes, toch aan het licht te kunnen brengen. Daarnaast is onderzoek ook van sociale relevantie; ons onderzoek toont interesse in een groep, die stelt dat ze ondergesneeuwd zijn en te weinig erkenning krijgen. Wij zijn van mening dat ons onderzoek bijdraagt aan meer erkenning van en besef van de Molukse geschiedenis en gemeenschap.

Op basis van onze empirische data, zijn wij tot een aantal conclusies gekomen. In hoofdstuk 4 betogen we welke elementen centraal staan in de Molukse cultuur en hoe deze elementen samen zorgen voor een verbonden cultuur. We zien dat onze participanten hun Molukse symbolische nationale identiteit en interne- en externe etnische identiteit hebben vormgegeven op basis van verbinding met familie, het belang van tradities, respect voor ouderen, een gevoel van trots en herkenning in andere Molukkers. We beargumenteren daarom dat een sterke verbondenheid met de Molukse cultuur en de elementen die centraal staan, bijdraagt aan het vormgeven van een identiteit die in het teken staat van Moluks zijn.

In hoofdstuk 5 bespreken we hoe onze participanten hun Molukse en Nederlandse identiteiten beschouwen. Het vorige hoofdstuk kijkt alleen naar de Molukse cultuur en identiteit. In dit hoofdstuk kijken we naar én Molukse én Nederlandse identiteit en niet de constructie, zoals het vorige hoofdstuk, maar hoe onze participanten hun identiteiten beschouwen en wanneer deze worden benadrukt. Onze participanten beschouwen hun Nederlandse identiteit met name als een nationale identiteit en vooral door praktische zaken door in Nederland te zijn geboren

en te wonen. Participanten beschouwen hun Molukse identiteit als een etnische en nationale identiteit. Ze beschouwen het als een etnische identiteit door Molukse tradities, culturele activiteiten georganiseerd door de gemeenschap en het samen zijn met andere Molukkers. Ze beschouwen hun Molukse identiteit als een nationale identiteit door het politieke ideaal van de RMS en door een gevoel van behoren naar een bepaalde territoriale plek: de Molukken. De Nederlandse en Molukse identiteit zijn met elkaar verweven en vormen samen een fluide identiteit.

In hoofdstuk 6 kijken we naar welke effecten kolonialisme nog speelt in het leven van onze participanten. De niet erkende koloniale geschiedenis tussen Nederland en de Molukken zorgt voor pijn, woede en een constant afwegingen over wie je bent en waar je behoort. Onze participanten leggen uit dat binnen de Molukse gemeenschap er begrip is, maar dat er weinig erkenning is van en bewustwording is over de geschiedenis van de Molukken door de Nederlandse overheid onderwijssysteem. Onze participanten laten zien dat de Molukse wijk en de RMS bijdragen aan erkenning en de fundering leggen voor een Molukse territoriale en symbolische nationale identificatie. De valse beloftes die gemaakt zijn door de Nederlandse overheid, word door onze participanten nog steeds benoemd als iets wat verantwoordelijk is voor pijn en verdriet in de derde generatie. De derde generatie focust daarom meer op dekolonisatie: ze streven naar continuïteit van de Molukse cultuur en meer aandacht voor de koloniale geschiedenis van Nederland in het onderwijssysteem.

In hoofdstuk 7 leggen we uit hoe Molukse-Nederlandse mensen van de derde generatie zijn buitengesloten door Nederlanders, Molukkers in Nederland en Molukker op de Molukken. Participanten ervaren onder meer racisme, negatieve stereotypen en discriminatie op achternaam. Deze vormen van exclusie zorgen ervoor dat participanten zich afvragen waar ze behoren, wat leidt tot een identiteitscrisis die veel participanten hebben ervaren of nu nog ervaren. Dit betekent echter niet dat onze participanten zich nergens thuisvoelen; het gevoel van uitsluiting bestaat naast het gevoel van behoren. Het betekent echter wel dat ze het gevoel hebben dat ze altijd tussen twee identiteiten zitten en hun identiteit wordt constant betwist en zit in een continue dialoog zit.

Wij concluderen dat onze participanten een sterke verbondenheid voelen met hun Molukse roots. Ze dragen dat uit door een sterke verbondenheid met de Molukse cultuur en het construeren van zowel een nationale als etnische identiteit is sterk verbonden met Molukse

familie, tradities, respect, trots en erkenning in andere Molukkers. Tegelijkertijd voelen onze participanten een sterke verbondenheid met hun Nederlandse kant. Ze zien hun Nederlandse identiteit vooral terug in praktische zaken zoals een Nederlandse identiteit, hier wonen en werken. Ze voelen zich behoren tot beide identiteiten en samen vormen die één identiteit die in een constante dialoog zit. Als een diasporische migranten groep identificeer ze dus niet enkel door verbondenheid met hun etnische achtergrond, maar ook door een gevoel van behoren voelen voor het land waar ze in wonen. We stellen daarom dat onze participanten niet enkel een Nederlandse of Molukse identiteit hebben, maar een duale identiteit.

Attachment 2: Reflections

This version does not contain our reflections.

Attachment 3: Observation List

Observation List

● Event (if applicable)

- ❖ Music, Lecture, Artistic, Religious, etc

● Location

- ❖ Online: which medium
- ❖ Offline: Inside or outside the Moluccan Neighbourhood: Church, School, House etc.
- ❖ Architecture
- ❖ Weather

● Space

- ❖ Objects in the room (religion, nationalistic, culturel artifcats)
- ❖ How are people seated/standing
- ❖ Distribution over space
- ❖ Atmosphere

● People

- ❖ Moluccan people only
- ❖ Different generations
- ❖ Present and absent people
- ❖ Relationships (family, friends, strangers)
- ❖ Any outsiders?

Actions

- ❖ Type of actions
- ❖ Individual actions
- ❖ Changes in actions

● Social interaction

- ❖ Atmosphere (warm, hostile?)
- ❖ Conversation topics (related to Moluccan tradition, culture, RMS, nationalism etc.)
- ❖ Reciprocity
- ❖ Reactions
- ❖ Non-verban communication

Behaviour

- ❖ Visible emotions
- ❖ Stated emotions
- ❖ Expressions

● Spoken language

- ❖ Dutch. Malay etc.

● Remarkable aspects

- ❖ Observation of politics between people
- ❖ Change in behaviour because of our presence

Feelings researchers

- ❖ Interpretations
- ❖ Emotions
- ❖ Reactions

Attachment 4: Questions List Semi-structured Interview

Topic	Questions
Introduction	❖ Ons zelf introduceren ❖ Onderzoeksdoel: Inzicht krijgen in: Hoe, met betrekking tot het koloniale verleden, Molukse Nederlanders tussen de 18-40 jaar oud ervaren dat hun nationale en etnische identiteit hun sense of belonging beïnvloed in vergelijking met Molukse Nederlanders tussen 41-60 jaar oud. ❖ Hoe dit interview bijdraagt ❖ Het een informele/semi-gestructureerd interview zal zijn ❖ Uitleggen dat het interview altijd gestopt kan worden en data kan worden vernietigd indien gewenst. ❖ Informed consent: uitleg over het maken van aantekening. ❖ Informeren over bescherming persoonsgegevens, anonimiteit en privacy en dat een pseudoniem wordt gebruikt[116].
Starting questions	❖ Kun je iets vertellen over jezelf? ❖ Wat is je naam? ❖ Wat je leeftijd? ❖ Wat is je geslacht? ❖ Wat is je gender? ❖ Wat is je woonplaats? ❖ Wat is nationaliteit?
Living in Moluccan neighbourhood	❖ Ben je geboren in een Molukse wijk? ❖ Welke Molukse wijk ben je geboren? ❖ Woon je op dit moment in een Molukse wijk? ❖ In hoeverre is de Molukse wijk belangrijk voor jou?

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[116] Questions are in Dutch because Dutch will be the language in which we will do our interviews, small talk and other methods of gaining data.

	❖ Wat betekent de wijk voor jou in het behoud van de Molukse cultuur? ❖ Wat zijn elementen van de Molukse wijk, die typerend zijn voor de Molukse cultuur?
Family	❖ Hoe zou je jouw familie beschrijven? ❖ Staat de Molukse cultuur centraal binnen jouw familie? ❖ Welke elementen van de Molukse cultuur, komen in jouw familie naar voren? ❖ Vieren jullie als familie Molukse onafhankelijkheid?
Community	❖ Wat is de rol van de Molukse gemeenschap in jouw leven? ❖ Op welke manier voel je je verbonden met de Molukse gemeenschap? ❖ Op wat voor manier speelt de Molukse gemeenschap een rol in jouw leven? ❖ Heb jij vrienden en familie die onderdeel zijn van de Molukse gemeenschap? Hoe beinvloed dit jou betrokkenheid? ❖ Waarom zou het belangrijk voor je (kunnen) zijn, om vrienden te hebben uit de Molukse gemeenschap? ❖ Waarom zou het belangrijk voor je (kunnen) zijn, om familie te hebben uit de Molukse gemeenschap?
Religion	❖ Ben je lid van deze kerk? ❖ Ga je vaak naar de kerk, waarom? ❖ Met wie ga je? ❖ Op voor manier is deze kerk belangrijk voor jou? ❖ Zijn alle leden Moluks, of komen er ook niet-Molukkers? ❖ Welke elementen van de Molukse cultuur zie je terug in de kerk en kerkgemeenschap?

	❖ Op wat voor manier is dit een Molukse kerk, hoe onderscheidt deze kerk zich van andere, niet Molukse, kerken. Wat is de relatie tussen die twee? ❖ Speels de kerk een belangrijke rol in de Molukse gemeenschap (behoud)?
Colonialism	➢ Wat weet je van het koloniale verleden van Nederland en de Molukken? ➢ Wat was de relatie tussen de Molukken en de rest van Nederlands-Indië? ➢ Op wat voor manier werd/is dit besproken in je familie/vriendenkringen of andere sociale kringen? ➢ Hoe is er, wat jou betreft, omgegaan met de Molukse gemeenschap in Nederland? ➢ Ervaar jij negativiteit richting Nederland door de manier waarop zij om zijn gegaan/ omgaan met de Molukse gemeenschap? ➢ Ervaar je negativiteit richting Nederland door het koloniale verleden? ➢ Wat is de relatie tussen Nederland en de Molukken? ➢ Wat is de relatie tussen Nederlanders en Nederlanders Molukkers nu?
Postcolonialism (Us Them, Othering, Oriental dichotomies)	➢ Op wat voor manier heeft het koloniale verleden invloed op de relatie tussen Molukse Nederlanders en andere Nederlanders? ➢ Wat vormt deze relatie? ➢ In hoeverre, naar jouw idee, zijn niet-Molukse Nederlanders bewust zijn het koloniale verleden tussen de twee? Is dit genoeg? ➢ Vind je dat er in Nederland genoeg wordt gesproken over het koloniale verleden?

	➢ Op manier wordt er in Nederland er over het koloniale verleden gesproken? Wat vind je hiervan? ➢ Wat voor vooroordelen zijn er in Nederland over Molukse Nederlanders? ➢ Wat doet dit met jou? Beinvloed dit je gevoel van Molukker en Nederlanders zijn? (Beïnvloeden dit jouw sense of belonging?) (Heb je het idee dat je als 'anders' wordt gezien? ➢ Heb je het idee dat door het koloniale verleden er deze bepaalde vooroordelen zijn over Molukse-Nederlanders?
Identity	❖ Kan je een normale dag voor jou beschrijven? ❖ Wat is belangrijk in jouw dagelijks leven? ❖ Wat is belangrijk in jouw leven? ❖ Hoe definieer je jezelf?
National identity	❖ Hoe zou je jouw nationale identiteit beschrijven? ❖ Wat zijn voor jou belangrijke elementen die invloed hebben op je nationale identiteit? ❖ (Wat is de invloed van de huidige Nederlandse samenleving op jouw nationale identiteit?) ❖ Wat zou jij beschrijven als je 'thuis'? ❖ Op welke manier(en) voel jij je verbonden met de Molukken? ❖ Ben je ooit op de Molukken geweest? Zo ja, hoe heeft het bezoek aan de Molukken jouw connectie tot de Molukken veranderd? Zo nee, heb je een behoefte om naar de Molukken toe te gaan? ❖ Op welke manieren voel je je (emotioneel) verbonden met de Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS) en de Moluk-Nederlandse gemeenschap?

	❖ Ervaar je gevoelens van nationalisme als je denkt aan RMS? ❖ Op welke manieren voel je je verbonden met Nederland? ❖ Hoe staan Nederlands zijn en Moluks zijn met elkaar in verhouding?
Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS)	❖ Wat weet je over de Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS)? ➢ Op welke manieren voel je je verbonden met de Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS)? ➢ Hoe kijk jij aan tegen de RMS? ➢ (Hoe)Wordt de onafhankelijkheidsdag van de RMS bij jullie thuis gevierd? ➢ Zou jij de RMS beschrijven als jouw thuisland?
Nationalism and colonialism	❖ Hoe heeft kolonialisme invloed op hoe jij jouw nationale identiteit beschrijft? ❖ Speelt de acceptatie van de Molukse gemeenschap in Nederland, een rol in het vormen van jouw nationale identiteit? ❖ Speelt de acceptatie van de Molukse gemeenschap in Nederland, een rol in jouw gevoel van behoren in Nederland? ❖ Wat is de invloed?
Communication	➢ Spreek je, geheel of gedeeltelijk, Malay? ➢ Waarom spreek je Ambonees? ➢ Vind je het belangrijk om Ambonees te spreken? ➢ Waarom vind je het belangrijk om Ambonees te spreken? ➢ Zijn er veel mensen in jouw sociale kringen Moluks? ➢ Ben je onderdeel van online sociale Molukse groepen? (for example facebook) ➢ Ben je in contact met mensen op de Molukken?

	➢ Wat is de invloed van media op jouw gevoel van behoren, in relatie tot de Molukken? ➢ Wat is de invloed van wereldwijde demonstratie op jouw behoefte om te streven naar acceptatie van de RMS? ➢ Heb je het gevoel dat, door wereldwijde demonstratie, jij meer de behoefte hebt om je uit te spreken voor dingen die jij belangrijk vindt? ➢ Ervaar je nog steeds gevolgen van de aanslagen en gijzelingen die door Molukkers zijn gedaan in de jaren '70 en '80?
Moluccan community (focus postcolonialism)	➢ Op welke manier ervaar je vooroordelen over Molukse gemeenschap? ❖ Wat doet dit met jou? Beinvloed dit je gevoel van Molukker en Nederlanders zijn? (Beïnvloeden dit jouw sense of belonging?) (Heb je het idee dat je als 'anders' wordt gezien? ❖ Ervaar je uitsluiting in Nederland als Molukse Nederlander? ❖ Heeft deze uitsluiting invloed op in hoeverre je Nederlander en/of Moluks voelt? ❖ Heb je het idee dat door het koloniale verleden er deze bepaalde vooroordelen zijn? ❖ Beïnvloeden deze uitsluitingen en vooroordelen jouw gemeenschap? ❖ Beïnvloeden deze uitsluitingen en vooroordelen hoe je over jezelf denkt?
Sense of belonging	❖ Wat geeft jou een gevoel van thuis? ❖ Wie geeft jou een gevoel van thuis? ❖ Wat zijn voor jou de invloeden van uitsluiting, indien je die ervaart, op je gevoel van behoren tot Nederland?

	❖ En op gevoel van behoren tot de Molukse gemeenschap?
	❖ Wat zijn voor jou de invloeden van vooroordelen, indien je die ervaart, op je gevoel van behoren tot Nederland?
	❖ En op je gevoel van behoren bij Molukse gemeenschap?
	❖ Hoe denk je dat het veranderde beleid, die focuste op meer educatie van Molukse-Nederlanders, voor verandering heeft gezorgd binnen de Molukse gemeenschap?

Attachment 5: Topic List Interviews

Introduction

- ❖ Introduce ourselves
- ❖ Explain research topics and research goal
- ❖ Explain purpose of interview
- ❖ Inform of voluntary participation. Stopping is possible at anytime, without negative consequences
- ❖ Ask for permission (informed consent, explain confidentiality and anonymity)
- ❖ Inform on type of interview: informal interviews and in depth semi-structured interviews.
- ❖ Informant's background
- ❖ Name
- ❖ Age
- ❖ Gender
- ❖ Residential area
- ❖ National status

Community

- ❖ Role of community
- ❖ Community and social circles
- ❖ Leadership within the community
- ❖ Participation in the community[117]

Religion

- ❖ Importance to you
- ❖ Molucan culture and church
- ❖ Moluccan church and other churches

Colonialism

- ❖ Colonial times

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[117] Based on Schiller (2002, 275)

- ❖ Discussing colonialism in social circles
- ❖ Negativity

Postcolonialism

- ❖ Relation Moluccan Dutch people and Dutch people
- ❖ Prejudices
- ❖ Anti-colonial movement[118]

Identity

- ❖ Regular day
- ❖ Important elements life
- ❖ Define yourself

National Identity

- ❖ Describe
- ❖ Home
- ❖ Moluccan
- ❖ Involvement in RMS
- ❖ Separatism from or connection with the Netherlands[119]
- ❖ Nationalism

Republik Maluku Selatan

- ❖ Connectedness
- ❖ Independence

Nationalism and colonialism

- ❖ Acceptation
- ❖ Fight against colonialism

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[118] Based on Schiller (2002, 274)
[119] Based on Schiller (2002, 275)

Communication

- ❖ Ambonese
- ❖ (online) Contact

Sense of belonging

- ❖ Feeling of home
- ❖ Exclusion
- ❖ Prejudices
- ❖ Moluccan community and Netherlands