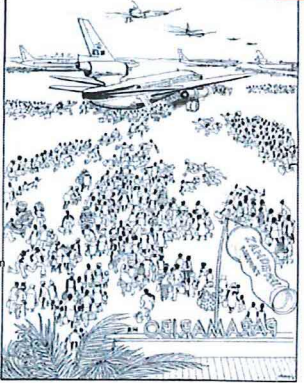


## Decolonisation, Migration and the Dilemmas of the Dutch Pluriform Society


Prof Janny de Jong,  
Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen  
- Euroculture  
- Japan Studies

Janny.deJong@rug.nl





Rond de onafhankelijkheid van Suriname bracht de Rijksrepressie Surinamers van de Zandweg naar Schiphol. Bron: Periscope, Amsterdam (Eppo Dorret/ Elsevier Magazine, 11-10-1975).

## 2015: Polarisation because of refugees/ asylum seekers



### Q: Why did the Dutch society become a more plural society after WWII and what are the main dilemmas in politics and society?

- Introduction: Demographics
  - (How many immigrants? Ethnic background, where do they live?)
- Historical perspective
  - First group of migrants from Indonesia
  - Second group of migrants from Suriname
  - Was there racism and discrimination?
  - Advantage of colonial relationship?
- Multiculturalism and its critics
  - National identity
  - Polarisation
- Conclusion: main dilemmas

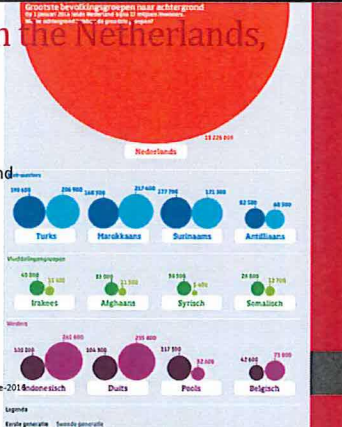



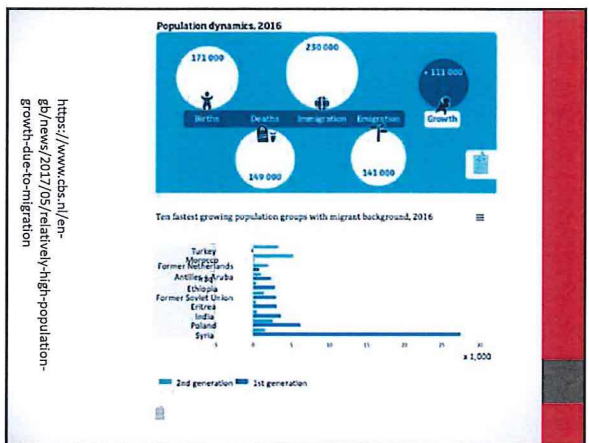
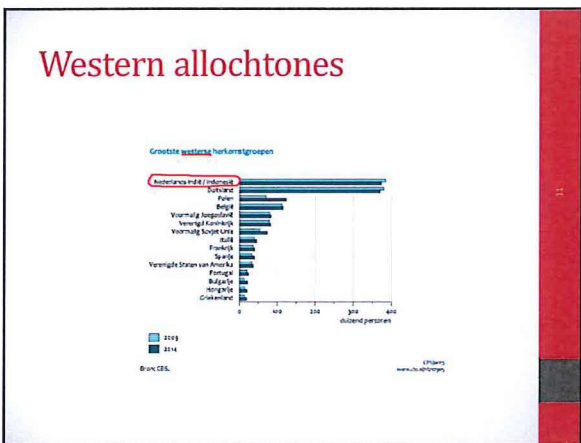
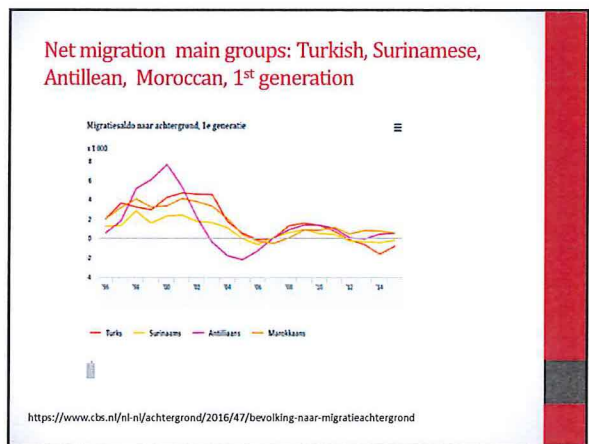
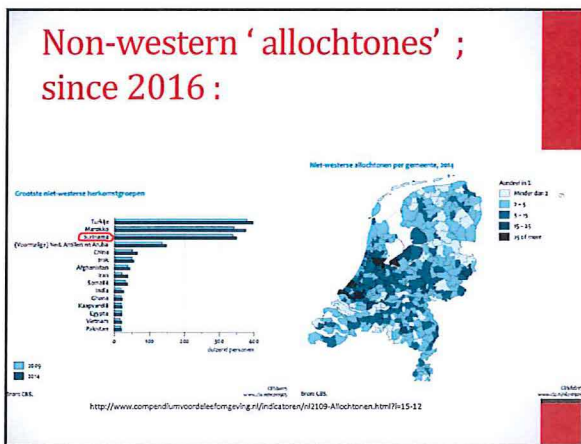
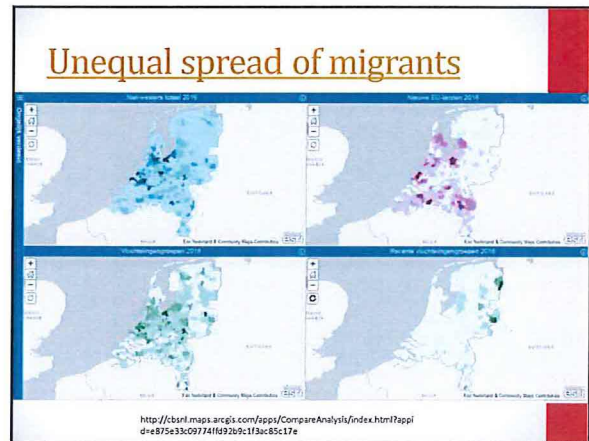
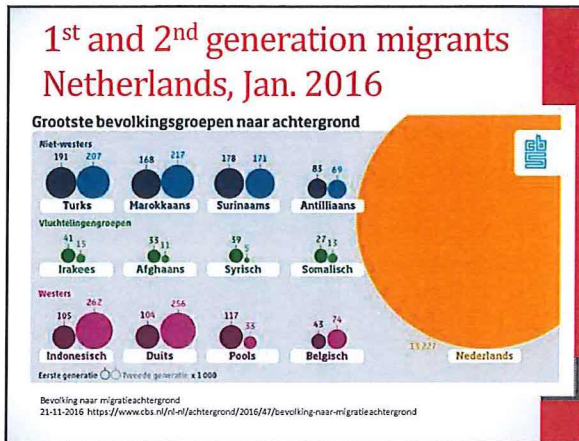
**Jaarrapport Integratie 2016**

## Population in the Netherlands, 2016

- Dutch background
- Non-western background
- Refugees
- Western background

<https://www.cib.nl/publicatie/2016/47/jaarrapport-integratie-2016>







## 2. Historical perspective

- Different groups of immigrants
  - Postcolonial immigrants
  - Guest workers 1960s 1970s
  - Migrants European Union, increase since 2004
  - Refugees

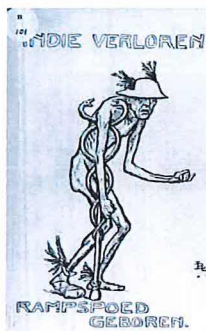
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## decolonisation

- 1949 Indonesia
- 1962 West New Guinea
- 1975 Suriname



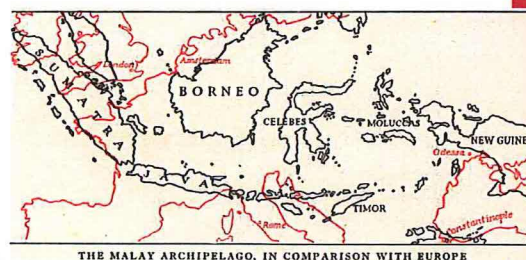
[http://www.koninkrijk.nl/over/branden/for\\_suriname/na\\_het\\_van\\_indonesi...](http://www.koninkrijk.nl/over/branden/for_suriname/na_het_van_indonesi...)



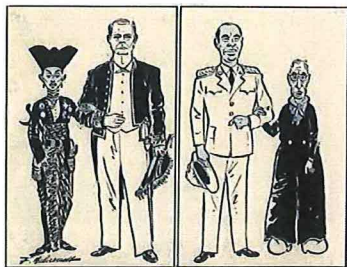
Loss of the Indies a disaster?

"Indies lost, disastrous cost"  
C.G.S Sandberg, 1914  
Brochure, 1914

J.S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India, a study of plural economy*, 1944



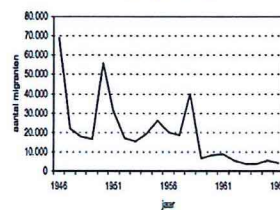
THE MALAY ARCHIPELAGO, IN COMPARISON WITH EUROPE



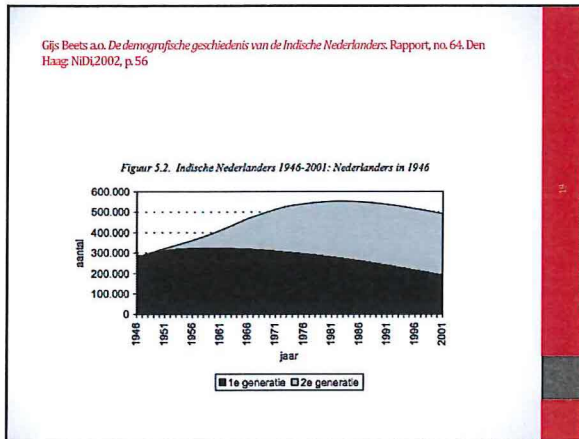
Cartoon van Fritz Behrevelt uit Algemeen Handelsblad (1942)

### Migration to the Netherlands from Netherlands Indies/ Indonesia, 1946-1966 (including New Guinea)

Figuur 5.1. Migratie naar Nederland vanuit Nederlands-Indië/Indonesië, 1946-1966 (inclusief Nieuw-Guinea)



Bron: CBS.



**'Decolonisation upside down'**


*Statute of the Kingdom of the Netherlands (KoN) 1954: Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles become constituent countries of KoN*

- 1975 Suriname independent
- 1986 Aruba autonomous country within KoN
- 2010 Dissolvement of Netherlands Antilles: Curacao and St Maarten autonomous country within KoN; Bonaire, St Eustatius and Saba are autonomous special municipalities of the kingdom.

**Colour blindness..**

"Also Dutchmen, but not in the narrow meaning of the word"

PM Willem Drees



Photograph: <https://www.koninkrijk.nl/willem-drees>


- Willems, Wim. "Het tweeslachtige overheidsbeleid jegens Nederlanders uit de kolonie." In Conny Kristel, ed. *Binnenskamers. Terugkeer en opvang na de Tweede Wereldoorlog. Besluitvorming.* (Amsterdam: B. Bakker, 2002) 93-122.

**Different skin colour =discrimination?**

"the Dutch did not so much discriminate on the basis of colour or ethnicity but on behaviour"



**Assimilation....**



Fragmenten uit:  
**Djangan Loepah!**  
huishoudelijke wenken voor gerepatrieerden


Uitgegeven door:  
Comité van Eerstelijns en Particulier Initiatief voor  
Sociale Zorg t.v.v. gerepatrieerden (O.S.K.Z.)

Den Haag, jan 1960 / dec 1961.

**Adjusting to life in the Netherlands**

- The do's and don'ts of a visit,
- How to mend clothes,
- How to economise, life style in the colonies was different..... ( and to avoid an angry husband...)

*Djangan loepah, stencil 17*  
[http://www.vluchtelingen.nl/files/default/Files/bronnen/djangan\\_loepah.pdf](http://www.vluchtelingen.nl/files/default/Files/bronnen/djangan_loepah.pdf)



Boze woorden, omdat de uitgeven meer zijn dan de inkomsten!

## Moluccan former soldiers & families in the Netherlands



in jaren tijdens het transport naar Nederland. D  
igere:kt. (Foto: MuMa)

[https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschiedenis\\_van\\_de\\_Molukkers\\_in\\_Nederland#/media/File:MoluksebarakNederlandOpenluchtmuseum.jpg](https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschiedenis_van_de_Molukkers_in_Nederland#/media/File:MoluksebarakNederlandOpenluchtmuseum.jpg)

## New distant relatives



Leonard  
Freed, ca  
1960

## History Moluccan people in the Netherlands

- 1970-1978 terrorist actions of Moluccan youth;
- Hijacks of trains ( 2x) occupation of embassy, consulate, school, provincial government building

-----  
more acknowledgement position, pension rights, history ( museum, hist. study)



Schiphol, 6  
January 1975  
Bert Verhooff

## Differences immigration from Indonesia, 1950s and Suriname, 1970s

- Language capabilities
- Possibility and willingness to adapt
- Economic circumstances
- Political climate
- Role of the media
- Role of private organisations\*

\*See Ulbe Bosma, *Terug uit de koloniën: Zestig jaar postkoloniale migranten en hun organisaties* Amsterdam 2009.

## Colonial inheritance included the arrival of coloured inhabitants

- This belated discovery [in 1975] that the Netherlands had become a multi-racial society caused the country its first true imperial hangover'
- Wesseling, H.L. "Post-Imperial Holland." *Journal of Contemporary History* 15, no. 1 (January 1, 1980):138



Postcolonial Netherlands: was the colonial relationship an advantage?

- Gert Oost-Indie
- Colonial migrants easily accepted
- Charlotte Laarman
- Bonus-malus paradox
- 'discursive citizenship'

### 3. Multiculturalism and its critics

- Marlou Schrover :pillarization different from multiculturalism
  - Small minorities
  - Weak social economic position
  - Not seen as 'members of Dutch society but as outsiders

Multiculturalism became 'ideology', managing cultural diversity: "Living together while maintaining separate cultures"

### Pillarization 1900- 1960

Lijpharts view on Dutch society: a 'unity in diversity'

- Each of the pillars has its own organisations (trade unions, health care, radio and television, schools etc.)
- Personal contacts limited to the political elite
- A. Lijphart, *The Politics of Accomodation: Pluralism and Democracy in the Netherlands* (1968)

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- Marlou Schrover: cultural 'freezing'
- static view on the 'Islamic community' by the Dutch authorities.

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## Multiculturalism= segregation

- "Multiculturalism allowed countries to seem tolerant by showering minorities with rights, while at the same time segregating them"
- Problems: Institutionalisation
  - In practice no homogenous groups existed
  - Increase of competition between groups
  - Government interference in immigrant organisations had a crowding-out effect. Especially the left wing organisations were affected.
  - 1983: policy memorandum: migrants ('ethnic minorities') had to respect and honour the norms and values of Dutch society.

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## Populist parties Pim Fortuyn/ Geert Wilders/Baudet

- " We willen het land teruggeven aan de mensen" .
- We want to return the country to the people
- Issues: Islam
- EU free movement policy: immigrants from Poland, bulgaria, Rumania
- Role of social Media (TWITTER)

## Mood and policy shift towards minorities

### Integration

- Multiculturalism
- 'soft approach'

### Assimilation

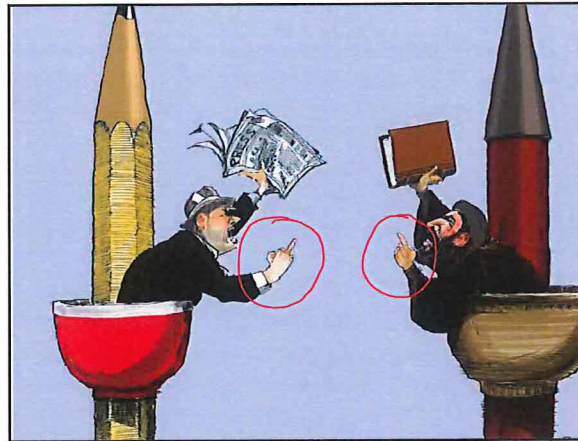
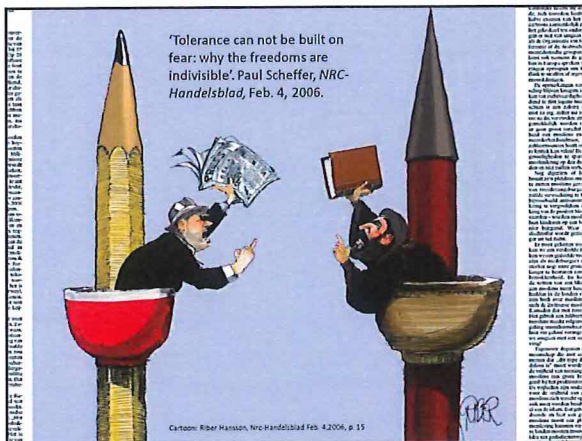
- 'hard approach'
- 'Leitkultur'
- 'Speaking Dutch'
- Immigration law in effect 1.1.2007: Civic integration test

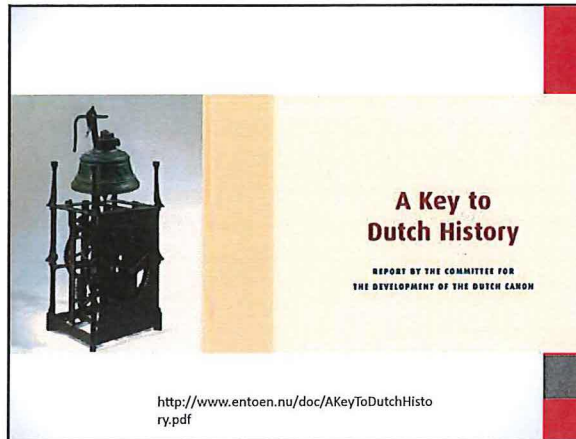
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## Role of 'national' history stressed

- Netherlands: 'the multicultural tragedy' (Paul Scheffer) 2000
  - collective memory needs to be strengthened:
  - More attention to national history.
  - See for instance: project Dutch canon
  - National Historical Museum (established 2008; did not get a building of its own)

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When we, as individuals, pick and mix cultural elements for ourselves, we do not do so indiscriminately, but according to our natures. Societies, too, must retain the ability to discriminate, to reject as well as to accept, to value some things above others, and to insist on the acceptance of those values by all their members. [...]  
 If we are to build a plural society on the foundation of what unites us, we must face up to what divides. But the questions of core freedoms and primary loyalties can't be ducked. No society, no matter how tolerant, can expect to thrive if its citizens don't prize what their citizenship means – if, when asked what they stand for as Frenchmen, as Indians, as Britons, they cannot give clear replies.

SALMAN RUSHDIE<sup>1</sup>

- ### 'culture' stressed
- Attention to history always a blessing?
  - 'Integration' increasingly related to 'identity' and 'loyalty'
  - Strong focus on what 'THEY' should do to become a part of 'WE'
  - Marlou Schrover: fluidity of collective identity construction makes searching for 'the' identity pointless. ( 353)
  - Yet: historic research in showing how migration developed, creating a more balanced view on the issue is very important

- ### Discussion on what citizenship means
- Membership  
 Citizens need to see themselves to be part of the political state where they reside.
    - Does this include a 'shared identity'?
  - Equal rights and duties
  - Participation in a free and equal way in democratic process

- ### T.Todorov, *The Fear of Barbarians*
- 'A newcomer to the country can be required to respect its laws (...), but not to love it (...)  
 Only totalitarian societies make it obligatory to love one's country.'<sup>1</sup>
  - Todorov, *The Fear of Barbarians*, p. 80-81
- Tzvetan Todorov is a philosopher, theorist, and literary critic. Born in Sofia, Bulgaria, he has lived in France since 1963.
- 



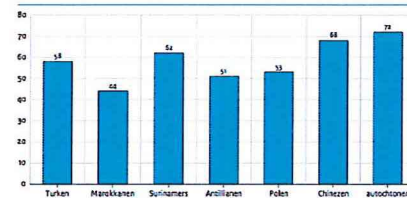
## Political right and multiculturalism?

- In itself a stern policy toward immigration not specific for parties on the right, nor stress on patriotism or heritage.
- Yet: xenophobia is the minimum programme of parties of the extreme right; immigration important political issue
- Polarisation mounted after terrorist attacks and economic crisis of 2008
- Framing of public debate, role of social media, in particular tweets. "media spectacle"

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## Recent opinion polls

Opinions about minority groups by Dutch



a Op een schaal van 0 (zeer negatieve gevoelens) tot 100 (zeer positieve gevoelens).  
Bron: scp (cul'12)

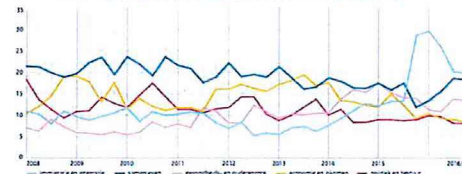
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## The danger of 'identity' as form of exclusion

- Being "Danish" or "Italian," "American" or "European" won't just be an identity; it will be a rebuff and a reproof to those whom it excludes. The state, far from disappearing, may be about to come into its own: the privileges of citizenship, the protections of card-holding residency rights, will be wielded as political trumps. Intolerant demagogues in established democracies will demand "tests"—of knowledge, of language, of attitude—to determine whether desperate newcomers are deserving of British or Dutch or French "identity."
- Tony Jut, 'Edge people', NYR blog, 23 February 2010

## Perception of the biggest societal issues in Netherlands, 2008-2016

Figuur 19 Ontwikkelingen in het nationale probleembesef, de vijf grootste categorieën onderwerpen van het vierde kwartaal 2016, bevolking van 18+, 2008-2016/4 (in procenten van het nationale probleembesef)



a. Welk vindt u op dit moment de grootste problemen in ons land? Waar bent u zeer negatief of boos over of waar schijnt u zich voor als het om de Nederlandse samenleving gaat? Respondenten konden slechts maximaal vijf onderwerpen kiezen. De vervolgrij zijn ingedeeld in zes categorieën. Elk respondent tot een maximum twee keer een onderwerp is per respondent in hetzelfde evenwijdig aan het aantal genoemde onderwerpen.  
Bron: scp 2008/4-2016/4

## To conclude:

- Rise of populist parties on immigrant/ refugee issue
- Restrictive policy; more stress on 'culture' might lead to more instead of less tensions
- Perceived tensions high
- Polarisation and public debate an important and serious matter