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Crises and Migration: A Case Study of Mollucans in The Netherlands / Aisyah Kotarumalos, Gusnelly – Jakarta : Pusat Penelitian Sumberdaya Regional (PSDR-LIPI), 2005

136 hlm, 21 cm

ISBN: 979 - 3688 - 10 - 6

- 1. Crises
- 2. International Migration
- 3. Ethnicity
- 4. Labor Force
- 5. The Netherlands and European Union
- 6. Mollucans

# CRISES AND MIGRATION: A Case Study of Mollucans in the Netherlands

Published by

Research Center for Regional Resources (PSDR)

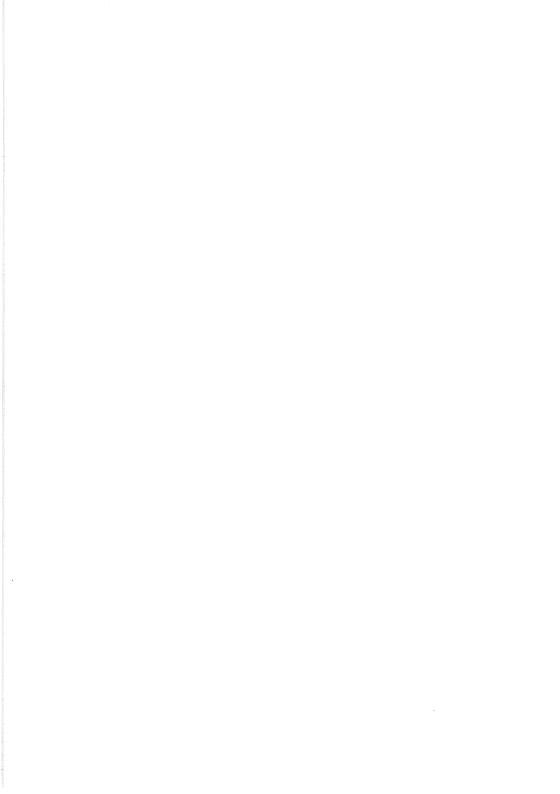
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#### **PREFACE**

This research is a continuing study on the Impacts and Responses to Crises in South East Asia carried out in 2002-2004. One of seven researches conducted by PSDR-LIPI, this study, as a continuing research, still focuses on crisis matters along with a study on migration. The study results on migration show that crises befalling migrants' countries on local, regional, or international levels become a factor that pushes migration. Our research focuses on Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands who migrated because of a political crisis between Indonesia as the colonized country and the Netherlands as the colonizer, between the Republic of Indonesia and the Moluccans, and between the Republic of Indonesia and the Republic of the South Moluccas.

The research team received a great deal of help from people who were particularly kind in supporting it as this was its first research project in Europe. We therefore want to convey our most sincere gratitude to Dr Riwanto for his outstanding critiques on the team's research concept; and Haning, one of the team members, for her brilliant inputs on theory, systematic points of view, and methodology that helped in the successful completion of this research.

Our gratitude also goes to Dr Pieter Romijn, our counterpart from the Netherlands Instituut voor Oorlogs Documentatie (NIOD). As well, we thank Mr. Mintardjo and his family for their time and provision of facilities in Leiden and Muridan, Dr. Fridus Steijlen, Wim Manuhutu, Mrs Farida, Piet Anthony, Sandra Anthony and families for their help. Our highest praise and respect to the board of the Moluccan Historical Museum in Utrecht and the large family of Moluccans in the Netherlands for giving their time and providing facilities for discussions. We really appreciate their enthusiastic willingness to give us very useful information on their lives in the Netherlands.

We are also indebted to the Indonesian Embassy in The Hague for its support and to the board of Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde, Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies Library (KITLV) in Leiden, which helped the team to get secondary data. We thank Wedi and Marjoelein who accompanied the team during the research in Leiden and Amsterdam. Support also

came from Marini, Lussy, Netty, and friends among the Indonesian students in Leiden, Amsterdam and Groningen to whom we can say nothing but thank you, all.

With all our hearts, our thanks go to the family of Hunzeheem (Home for the Elderly) in Groningen province. Their priceless help with the interviews greatly contributed to this team's successful research. Finally we are sorry that we cannot mention individually all those who helped this team but we thank you all for your help and support; especially all the Moluccans in the Netherlands and hope that this book will lessen the distance between us.

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Asia. This condition was also followed by political and human tragedies in some countries, as a result, negative opinions about political stability worsened the recovery from the economic crisis.

Based on the previous problems this year's research (2005) still focused on the crisis but related it to migration issues because migration is one of the solutions to the economic crisis. This research focused on the Netherlands, a country which has better economic stability compared to Southeast Asian countries. The significant research issues were: First, migration has become the trendsetter issue in Europe. Political parties in European countries use anti migration as their platform. Second, there are still only a few studies relating migrations and crises. Most of the migration studies focus on the problems of adaptation in the labour force market. Third, this study analyzes the Moluccan migrant existence and problems in the Netherlands.

At present, the European Union is not only an economic entity but also a home for 375 million citizens who want their lives to be without fear or violence wherever they live in the European Union region. In 2001, the European Union population was approximately 380-390 million people, with 75% the result of migration<sup>2</sup>. It is possible that the number of migrants increases as European Union policies liberate the traffic of people, goods, services and capital to and from these areas. In other words, the countries' borders are becoming fewer and fewer and the advances in transportation causes migration to European countries to be easier.

Migration has contributed to social life in Europe. European identity and population have been formed by migration. These European countries have 18 million people. Most countries receive their migrants from their former colonies such as Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, North Africa, Caribou, Indochina,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sciolino, E. A Crime –Weary France Plans a Crackdown, New York Times: 16. 2002

Suriname, and Indonesia<sup>3</sup>. As a matter of fact, the Netherlands is also open for migration.

The Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics reports 1.6 million migrants from outside the European Union. There are four most dominant countries of migrants in the Netherlands; Italy, Turkey, Morocco and Yugoslavia<sup>4</sup>. Between the 1960s and 1970s European countries, including the Netherlands, needed many labourers. Most migrants came from Mediterranean countries such as Morocco, and Turkey, but their status was only that of *guest workers*. Migrant growth increased faster than non migrant growth and almost 25% received government social subsidies. After World War II many European countries, including the Netherlands, needed to rebuild their giant industries; as a result they needed thousands of low skilled labourers.

Historically migration to the Netherlands is not actually a new matter. Population mobility (manpower) in this country began from the beginning of the 1950s to the 1960s (after World War II) and has also been supported by the unification of some *Western European* countries in the *European Economic Community*. After joining the *European Economic Community* the economy of some countries, including of the Netherlands, became stronger. Jobs done by the migrants are jobs that non migrants are less interested in, those are the 3Ds (*Difficult*, *Dangerous*, and *Dirty jobs*). These kinds of jobs are usually cheap or low paid.

Most migrants come from Mediterranean countries such as Morocco and Turkey. Indonesian migrants like Moluccans have come to the Netherlands after the 1950s mostly because of the political crisis in Indonesia. As a result of the economic crisis in 1997, Indonesian people prefer to look for jobs in the Netherlands rather than in other countries. It is because their relatives

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Pellenbarg, H, Piet and Paul. J.M. Van Steen, The Dynamics of The International Economic and Demographic Exchange Relation of the Netherlands, University of Groningen Press, Netherlands, 1999, p.440..

<sup>4</sup> EUROSTAT, OECD, 2000 and 2001A

have settled there previously. However, there is no exact number of Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands following the economic crisis in 1997.

In the 1970s the number of migrants in the Netherlands was 1.9% and the number increased to 3.6% in the 1980s and to 10% in 2002. In the early 1980s, with not too many migrants, the Dutch government was still optimistic about being able to give proper salaries and social subsidies. But this changed after the Dutch government saw the reality at the end of the decade. In 1991, the number of migrants was 4.7% and became 19% in 1997. At the end of the 1990s, they concentrated in northern and southern Netherlands and also in Utrecht<sup>5</sup>.

The increasing number of migrants, made the Dutch government think harder about how to give them a proper life in the Netherlands that, in fact, is a small country. The increase in the work force needed a broader job field but, in fact, job opportunities became more limited. These problems became worse because education and health facilities were becoming insufficient to serve them. At the beginning of the 1990s, wages and social subsidies fell dramatically. The newcomers were willing to be paid less and this made the salary level decline and changed the position of native workers. This matter was worsened by cultural collisions between native citizens and migrants, an increasing amount of unemployment and higher crime levels. The poor and unskilled migrants coming to a country as a third class in society also widened the differences between the rich and the poor.

#### I.2. Research Problems

Since the 1960s, the Netherlands has been a migration destination country where immigration exceeds emigration. The immigration policy in the Netherlands changes from time to time, to be more restrictive. Immigrants migrate as one way of solving a crisis in their countries; to get a better life.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hillman, 2001 in Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation: 2004

Skeledon (2000) states that there is a positive connection between recession and human struggle.

The Netherlands is an open country, accepting political fugitives and accommodating migrants from its former colonies such as Suriname, Antilles and Indonesia and migrants with economic motives like those from Turkey and Morocco. Crises that happened in Indonesia either political or economic disruptions, made Indonesia a work force, both legal and illegal, exporting country. Indonesian migrants not only go to neighbouring countries but also to the Netherlands. The Indonesian migrants coming to the Netherlands as political fugitives were sometimes involved in revolts such as the G30S PKI, KNIL and RMS, of nurses in 1970 and IAIN students in the 1970s. This research will look at the Moluccan immigrants in the Netherlands.

The history of the Moluccan people in the Netherlands cannot be separated from the Netherlands' interest to recruit 'trustworthy' people. Like people of the same religion, with both the Moluccans and the Dutch being predominantly Christian. The Netherlands loved the Moluccans who were ex KNIL soldiers and the Moluccan people, who were identified as 'black Dutch', were devoted to the Netherlands.

The surrender of sovereignty from the Netherlands to the Republic of Indonesia increased the panic and confusion not only among the KNIL soldiers but also the Moluccan citizens. The independence of the Republic of Indonesia affected a political crisis for the Moluccan people. They were worried that Java would take revenge on them because they had allied with the Dutch and there were rumors spread that Christians would be Islamized. Consequently the Moluccans hoped that the Dutch would return to the Moluccas.

The first KNIL soldier delegation came to the Netherlands and begged to settle there. The Netherlands accepted this proposal and about 4000 soldiers along with \$500 family members came in March and April 1951.

The Dutch government provided accommodation for them in camps. They were treated like garbage. But, since the 1960s, Moluccan migrants have

been moved group by group to new accommodation (wijken). Meanwhile, the old generation kept demanding Moluccan independence.

Life in a new community was full of challenges. During the middle of the 1960s Moluccan young men experienced increasing restlessness. Economic and political fluctuations affected their lives. They had to support themselves by becoming manual labourers and competing with other migrants.

The questions to be answered in this research are:

- 1. What are the migration patterns in the Netherlands from the mother country, that is, Indonesia (Moluccas) and from the historical perspective? What has been the response to policies adopted by the Dutch government?
- 2. What is the impact of the crisis on the Netherlands labour policy? And then, how do migrants solve the crisis in their mother countries?

## I.3. The Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this research are:

- 1. Mapping migration patterns in the Netherlands from migrant mother countries and from a time perspective;
- 2. Understanding migrant strategy in handling crises in their original countries;
- 3. Understanding migrant strategy in handling crises in the Netherlands;
- 4. Understanding crises happening in the Netherlands and their impact on migration and manpower.

Specific Objectives of the research are:

- 1. To understand Indonesian (Moluccan) migrant motives for migration to the Netherlands;
- 2. To understand migrant strategy in handling crises in their mother countries;

- 3. To understand migrant strategy in handling crises in the Netherlands;
- 4. To Analyze the social and economic impact of crises amongst the Moluccan groups in the Netherlands;
- 5. To analyze the policies on foreign manpower when it is in crisis;
- 6. To know of the migrant contributions to their mother countries.

## I.4. Literature Study on Crisis and Migration

There have been many studies on crisis matters and their comparison. For example, a study by Stiglitz<sup>6</sup> as quoted by Erwiza et al. states that economic crisis movement initiated in the 1980s spread to Europe and then to Latin America and finally reached Southeast Asia. A study by Anne Booth has also analyzed crisis matters from different time perspectives from the crises in the 1930s to the 1997s in some countries in Southeast Asia<sup>7</sup>.

In classical definition, crisis is a massive and uncontrolled transformation which in the end must be extraordinary and special <sup>8</sup>. And then, the term crisis has developed in meaning<sup>9</sup>.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the word 'crisis' was used to describe a difficult condition in an economic social phenomenon in Europe. The definition widened from socio economic crisis to crisis in a family. The broadening of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Stiglitz. Joseph 'Responding to Economic Crises: Policy Alternative for Equitable Recovery and Development 1998 visit <a href="http://www.nsi-ins.ca/pubs/newtit.html/crisis">http://www.nsi-ins.ca/pubs/newtit.html/crisis</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Erwiza, et al., Dampak dan Respon Terhadap Krisis: Kasus Malaysia dan Thailand, PSDR-LIPI, Jakarta, 2003, p.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> O. Connor, J. The Meaning of Crisis. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Okposin. B. Samuel and Yu. Ming Ceng 'Economic Crisis in Malaysia:Cause Implication and Police Description', Pelanduk Publication. Selangor Dahrul Ihksan, 2000, p.29.

definition was caused by political and socio economic reality that was in the development and complexities studied by social scientists. *Habermas*, for example, states that crisis is related closely to one's point of view, therefore, historians see crisis at critical moments in which institutions are experiencing transformation. The changes trigger various, fast and unexpected developments and create many forms of violence found in social studies of disaster. Social scientists haven't seen much yet of how a certain society faces crises such as natural disaster, war, and communal destruction<sup>10</sup>

Social crisis and political crisis are two terms that refer to a crisis. Actually, both a political crisis and an economic crisis are very difficult to define precisely in literature because the word 'crisis' has been used to illustrate various phenomena. For example, Marx and Engels show that social and political crises that happened in the 19th century were not the same as those that happened at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century. According to Marx and Engels, political and social crises were identified as struggles in and between national bourgeoisie, landlords and other social factions at the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th century. However, in the middle of the 19th century, the same expression came up in the class struggle between the capital owning class and labourers11. Crisis happens not only as a process that cannot be predicted and a chaos in bourgeois revolution but also as a struggle in the relationship between capital owners and labourers. Because of that, from the 19th century to now, crisis has been a transformation period that brings two social and political meanings. First is the bourgeois revolution and counter revolution and second is labour class revolution against capitalism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> White, Ben. Milan Titus and Boomgard 'The Experience of Crisis In Indonesia: Comparative Local. and Historical Dimension'. paper presented in workshop entitled 'Indonesia in Transition'. At Gajah Mada University on 22-23 August 2001, Yogyakarta, 2002

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Marx, K and F. Engels. Manifesto of The Communist party. New York. originally published in 1848. 1948.

Now, the term 'crisis' is becoming more complex. It refers to political, social or economic crisis seen not only at the macro level but also at the institutional level and even the individual level. Crisis, referring to the individual level, is usually used by psychologists. This research wants to see the correlation between crisis and migration. Migration is one of the ways to face crisis in the migrants' original country.

A study made by Gonzales III, for example, shows that foreign workers, especially unskilled and uneducated labourers are needed during the economic boom in Asia. When a crisis happens, migrants are considered a burden for receiver countries in Asia<sup>12</sup>. Big deportations by the Malaysian government of illegal migrants shows how a crisis befalling the country of destination of the migrants can change the policy in manpower and immigration.

Some countries in western Europe, including the Netherlands, in the period after World War II and in the 1960s to the 1970s, accepted an unskilled/low skilled labour force. This was done due to the expansion of industries in some European countries for which labourers were not available. However, in the next period, especially at the end of the 1990s, the demand for and recruitment of migrant labourers was done selectively in line with a migration wave into the European area. In fact, the migration flow could not be stopped despite the changes in various policies made by government.

International migration is an important phenomenon throughout the world due to the increase of mutual dependence among continents, improvement in communication systems and the internationalizing of capital with the work force. Fast economic growth and social and political conditions greatly influence the increase of people mobilization. According to Hugo, as quoted by Aswatini, the desire to migrate comes up individually but the decision in-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Gonzales III. Joaquin L.. The Miracle Turned Crisis in the East Asian Region: Implications for Policies Affecting Transnational Migrants. Sojourn 14(1), pp.140-158.

volves the family<sup>13</sup>. In the decision taking, one's migration status might be the result of two choices, that is, migrate or stay. The ones who stay are often the wives and children.

Migrants can be divided into four categories. First is settler, people who intend to settle in a new country. There are three favourite countries: the USA, Canada, and Australia. The second category is contract based workers; they usually come to a country for a certain time; their contract period. It happens usually in the Gulf countries. The third one is professionals, that is, employees who work in multinational companies with their duty to work abroad, they are known as expatriates and are not more than 1% of the migrant workforce. The last category is illegal workers with a significant number usually in immigration countries. They come to the destination by being smuggled, extending their visas, or working with tourist visas<sup>14</sup>. The migrants working in the new countries have to be able to adapt by strengthening group solidarity or in other ways.

There are two major reasons for why people migrate. The first is the push factor. Bad political, security or economic conditions felt by people often become push factors that urge people in one country to take part in international migration. Vietnamese refugees who went by boat and were called boat people to their neighbouring countries, in the hope that they could be placed. In western countries, East German refugees going to West Germany after the Berlin wall was destroyed in 1989, Cuban and Haitian refugees going to the USA and Albanian refugees going abroad from Kosovo in 1998 are situational examples that give the notion of not trusting their governments by escaping from their countries. The second reason is pull factors that drag people to migrate to other countries. They consist of various factors like a political system that guarantees more freedom and rights of citizenship for every indi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Aswatini (ed.). Migrasi dan Pembangunan di Kawasan Timur Indonesia: Isu Ketenagakerjaan, AusAID and PPK-LIPI, Jakarta, 1999, p.76.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Stalker. http/pstalker.com/migration/mg types.com. 16-02-04

vidual, better security systems and economic factors such as a more strongly developing economy that offers more chances to study and work and also earn higher incomes than in their mother countries<sup>15</sup>.

Besides push and pull factor theories, there are some other theories that analyze international migration, e.g., a migration system framework that sees people moving as a result of 'macro structure' and 'micro structure' interactions. Macro structure sees big scale factors such as economic integration practices<sup>16</sup>. The Marxist approach views that work force migration from developing countries with a large work force to the rich countries, is a form of exploitation<sup>17</sup>.

Migration research states that almost all migrants keep their relationship with the people or institutions in their original countries. This is proven by their correspondence and sending money to their countries. From the 1920s to the 1930s research on migration just dealt with how the migrants adapted to their new environment or out of the environment they had lived in. The next decade showed the strong influences on how migrants continued being tied to family, community, tradition and what made them migrate. Some research showed that migrants who left their villages still maintained their relationship socially and economically with their families in the villages. According to Lipton, as quoted by H.Tjipto, international migrants can be characterized as migrants who have high incomes and desire to send their money and mostly are educated<sup>18</sup>. On the other hand, international migration can be considered

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Sunarto, Kamanto Pengantar Sosiologi, FE-UI., Jakarta, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Castles, Stephen and Miller. Mark. *The Age of Migration*, pp.22-23, Macmillan. Basingstoke. 1993.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Jones, Gavin *Is Demographic Uniformity inevitable*?. Journal of the Australian Population Association. 10 (1), 1993, pp. 1-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Tjiptojerijanto. P. *Migrasi Internasional: Proses. Sistem dan Masalah Kebijakan.* in Jurnal Penduduk dan Pembangunan, edn. IX. No.1-2, Puslitbang kependudukan dan Ketenagakerjaan-LIPI, Jakarta, 1998.

as an opportunity; especially this is an indirect process in improving the quality of human resources.

How a country treats a migrant work force is interesting. A study by Iredale (2000) shows a different phenomenon by looking at a case in Singapore. Migration to Singapore is meant to guarantee economic growth by not being hindered by the lack of educated workers. Singapore is no longer a developing country, so many educated workers from much lower standards of economy go there. Hui (2001) shows that the Singaporean government national policy is to attract workers to come to this country freely as long as the workers have good skills and education. If they can integrate socially, they can be pushed more politically to stay in Singapore. The Singaporean government does not give special attention to ethnic composition changes in the long term. Furthermore, as explained by Yap (1999), the Singaporean government has made adjustments through integration programs for educated migrants to stay in Singapore with a Social Integration Management Service (SIMS)<sup>19</sup>. This program is especially for migrants who have lived less than two years in Singapore.

In the Netherlands, an initial policy towards the migrants was to reduce the social differences between migrants and native citizens. It focused on how they could access better jobs, education, housing, and legal position. The cultural differences are respected fully and the migrants are supported to learn the Dutch language.

Studies of migrant problems in the Netherlands have been done by several researchers, like *Wim Willems* who focuses on the migrant problem in relation to political matters in the Netherlands especially after the colonization period when the entry of people from its former colonies created political

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Ong, A. Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logic of Transnationality, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999. Itztigsohn, J., Dore Cabral, C., Hernandes Medina, E. And Vazques,O.'Mapping Dominican Transnationalism: narrow and broad transnational practices', Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22 (2), 1999. pp. 316-39.

changes in the Netherlands<sup>20</sup>. When Moluccan migrants came to the Netherlands, in the 1950s, the Dutch government had to formulate political policies that at least gave attention to the migrants' welfare in the Netherlands by forming CAZ and other institutions to help the Moluccan migrants handle their difficulties in sleeping during their settlement in the Netherlands and it added a new colour to Dutch political life at that time<sup>21</sup>.

#### I.5. Research Scope and Variables

#### 1.5.1. Crisis

There are two kinds of variables that have become the focus here; those are crisis and migration variables. A crisis variable that is observed, is crisis that happens in two different places: mother countries and destination countries. First, the crisis faced by migrants at that time was a political one. Migrants decided to leave their villages and go to the Netherlands due to the taking over of the authority in 1949, by ceding sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia. Second is the crisis that happened in the Netherlands from 1930 to 1990. This crisis was not only in economics but also in social and political lives.

#### 1.5.2. Migration

The second variable is migration, especially international migration. According to a world migration report, international migration is defined as people who move to live in foreign countries. From the definition, interna-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ohliger. Rainer. Karen Schönwalder and Triaadafilos Triadafilopoulos (eds.) *European Encounters. Migration and European Societes since 1945*, Ashgate Publishing, England, 2002.p.9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Veenman, Justus The *Social Integration of Moluccans*, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994, p.3.

tional migration is actually migrating and not including a short term stay like tourists, entrepreneur visits to foreign countries, university students, commuters, etc.

#### 1.5.3. Migration that is related to crisis

Conflict and instability (in this case crisis) taking place in the context of migrant movements vary greatly, such as migrant types and their currents (direction and width) of population movements. In simple terms, any crises that caused exit related to migration can be categorized into various typologies (social, economic and politics) that are interrelated.

#### I.6. Research Method

#### 1.6.1. Approach

The approach used in this research was the multidimensional (interdisciplinary) approach by using the descriptive analytical method. The Interdisciplinary approach is needed in this research considering the phenomena coming up in various problems.

#### I.6.2. Data Collecting

Data was collected from two sources: literature and fieldwork. The latter was used to get secondary data and the studies that have been made on migration in the Netherlands. Field research was conducted by having in depth interviews with experts on citizenship, Dutch government officials, European Union Commission officials and the migrants.

No	Name	Explanation	Time of Interview
1.	Dr. Fridus Steijlen	Researcher specialist in the Moluccan ethnic group, Lecturer at Erasmus University, Rotterdam and head of the research division at KITLV, Leiden.	31 May 2005 10 June 2005
2.	Widjoyo Muridan	Researcher and PhD candidate at Leiden University	30 May 2005 10 June 2005 11 June 2005
3.	Mintardjo	Indonesian migrant	31 May 2005 2 June 2005 5 June 2005 8 June 2005
4.	Dr Peter Romijn	Head Research Department Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD).	9 June 2005
5.	Drs.W.Chr. Wim Manuhutu	Head of Moluccan Museum in the Netherlands and also Moluccan migrant (non ex KNIL descendant)	2 June 2005
6.	Sulaiman	Head of Political Division in Indonesian Embassy	3 June 2005
7.	Farida Pattisahusiwa	Muslim Moluccan migrant	5 June 2005
8.	Piet Anthony Lilipaly	Teacher (Christian Moluccan migrant in Groningen, ex KNIL descendant) and Social Consultant.	6 June 2005 7 June 2005
9.	Miki	Moluccan migrant	7 June 2005
10.	Wedi	Indonesian migrant	4 June 2005 11 June 2005 12 June 2005
11.	Marjoelein	Dutch citizen	11 June 2005 12 June 2005

#### I.6.3. Research Location

This research held in the Netherlands was in Leiden, Groningen and the Hague. The first year of this research will focus on the crises and migration patterns and case studies of the Moluccans in the Netherlands, the second year will emphasize the migrant Turkish dynamic in the Netherlands. What the mechanism is for tackling the problems of certain migrant communities or groups and how the Dutch government handles their problems, and the third year of this research will look at the relationship between the mother countries and the European Union.

## I.7. Composition of Repor

The research report entitled Crisis and Migration: a Netherlands Case Study consists of five chapters as follows:

- I. Introduction: analyzing the background of research, research problems, objectives of research, analytical framework, methodology, etc.
- II. Introduction of the Netherlands and Crisis: Crises in the Netherlands on national, regional and global scales.
- III. Development and patterns of International migration happening in the Netherlands seen from different time perspectives.
- IV. Migrants in the Netherlands: a Case Study of Moluccan people: the causes of migration, efforts to handle the crises in new places by both migrants and the government and housing patterns.
- V. Conclusion.

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#### **CHAPTER II**

## THE NETHERLANDS: The Country and Its Crises

#### Nur Aisyah Kotarumalos

#### II.1. Introduction

This chapter will concentrate on two things about the Netherlands: *First*, the geography, population and economy; and second, it will focus on the crises that hit the Netherlands between 1930 and 1990.

The Netherlands, a small country in Europe is known for its tulips, windmills and wooden shoes. The tulip, which has many colours actually comes from Turkey. Carolus Clusius, an Austrian botanist, took the tulip bulb and planted it in the Netherlands in the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. Now, the Netherlands is successfully breeding the tulip.

As a low lying country, in the past the Netherlands relied greatly on windmills. The windmill has many functions: to distribute water, drain the polders and grind corn. However, these days, only 200 windmills are still working out of 1000. The Dutch government conserves them for nostalgic and aesthetic reasons.

The wooden shoes, part of the Dutch national costume, are very famous. The farmers and the bulb growers wear these shoes because they are cheap, durable and safe. A few years ago, these shoes were worn by labourers in the manufacturing industries too, after the European Community endorsed them. Now many tourists visiting the Netherlands buy these mini shoes as souvenirs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Dutch Culture, http://www.thehollandring.com/ducthculture.shtml, 19 April 2005

### II.2. The Geography: A Small and Low Lying Country

The Netherlands is located in the lowlands of northwest Europe between 50'45 and 53'52 latitude and 3'21 and 7'13 longitude. It is bordered by the North Sea on the north and west, by Belgium on the south and by Germany on the east.<sup>2</sup> It covers 41.526 sq km divided into two regions: 33.883 sq km of land and 7.643 sq km of water. Therefore, the Netherlands is a 'small country'. However, one of the government institution mottoes is: 'The Netherlands is small, Think Big!' This country is only 50% of the area of Scotland and double that of Wales<sup>3</sup>.

It is popularly known as Dutch speaking, Holland and the Netherlands. The name 'Holland' is taken from the name of the coastal provinces in the south and north. In the past those provinces played a significant role. 'The Netherlands' derives from *nether*, meaning low. As we know, the Netherlands is a low lying country. The highest point is the *Vaalserberg* hill in the south east which reaches 321 metres above sea level and the lowest point, near Rotterdam, is some 6.7 metres below sea level.

The capital city is Amsterdam but the seat of the government is the Hague. The Netherlands has 12 provinces: *Zeeland*, *South Holland*, *North Holland*, *Friesland* and *Groningen*, all of which border the North Sea; and *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Utrecht*, *Gelderland*, *Overijssel*, *Drenthe* and *Flevoland*. further inland.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> http://reference.allrefer.com

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Rudy B. Andeweg and Galen A. Irwin, Governance and Politics of the Netherlands, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2005, p.1



The kingdom of the Netherlands or *Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* was formed in 1815. In 1830 Belgium separated and formed a kingdom. The kingdom has two overseas regions, the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba in the Carribean Sea, both of them self governing. The Netherlands gained independence in 1579 from Spain but the northern provinces of the low country and the Union of Utrecht, were granted independence in 1648.

The Netherlands is governed by the House of Orange-Nassau. The independent monarchy was founded in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna. Before that the Netherlands was known as a 'puppet state' because the government was under Napoleon's regime. The first king was the Corsican/French, Louis Bonaparte who was Napoleon Bonaparte's brother. He ruled from 1806 to 1810<sup>4</sup>. After the collapse of Napoleon Bonaparte, the Netherlands kingdom was re established and Belgium was under Netherlands authority. However, this did not last long and in 1830 Belgium declared its independence.

Under Napoleonic authority, the Netherlands was ruled by William I. He was a descendant of John Elder, a younger brother of William of Orange (popularly known as William the Silent). At that time, the Netherlands was a constitutional monarchy. His family had a significant role in Dutch politics. Their hometown was Dillenburg in Germany.

Between 1815 and now, the Kingdom of the Netherlands had seven kings, as follows<sup>5</sup>:

•	William I	1815-1840
•	William II	1840-1849
•	William III	1849-1890
•	Emma (regent)	1890-1898

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dutch monarchy, http://www.en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch monarchy, 28 April 2005

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rudy B. Andeweg, op.cit, p. 190

• Wilhelmina 1898-1948

Juliana 1948-1980

• Beatrix 1980-

Even though the Constitution states 'king' in fact the 'king' is often female. This has been so for over a century. The 'king' is the head of the state while the head of the government is in the Prime Minister.

The national language of the Netherlands is Dutch, spoken by more than 21 million Dutch and Flemish people. Also in the Antilles, Aruba and Suriname where the Dutch language has become the language of government and education. Dutch is also often the chosen second language in northern France and Germany. In the European Union, Dutch is one of the official languages. Many historical documents and files were written in the Dutch language especially in the former Dutch colonies such as Indonesia<sup>6</sup>.

There are two dominant religions in the Netherlands i.e. Protestant and Catholic. Protestants are in the majority from the Province of Zeeland in the south west to the Province of Groningen in the north east. There are many groups among the Protestants like the Reformed Church, Freethinkers and Lutherans. However, the role of the church now is not as important as in the past. It has been declining since 1950 but religious communities still strongly affect social affairs. Other religions such as Islam and Hinduism increased in the last few years due to the rising migrant numbers from Turkey, Morocco, Indonesia and Suriname and also the guaranteed religious freedom<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Holland Ring, http://www.thehollandring.com/toen-nu.shtml

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid.

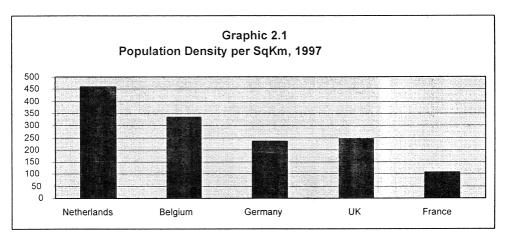
Table 2.1
Important Dates in Dutch History

1st Century BC to 4th Century AD	Romans occupy the southern portion of the low countries	
7 <sup>th</sup> Century	Conversion to Christianity carried out largely in this period	
12 <sup>th</sup> and 13 <sup>th</sup> Century	Expansion of towns and granting of many city charters	
13 <sup>th</sup> and 14 <sup>th</sup> Century	Foundation of the higher water control boards (hoogheemroadschappen) to coordinate control of water	
1384-1579	Burgundian and Hapsburg rule	
1566	Revolt breaks out against Philip II of Spain William (the Silent) of Orange eventually becomes leader of the revolt	
1579	Union of Utrecht; northern provinces first agree to cooperate	
1648	Peace of Westphalia ends the Eighty Years War; Spain acknowledges the independence of the Netherlands	
17 <sup>th</sup> Century	The Golden Age	
1795-1813	Period of French Rule, from 1795 to 1806 as the Batavian Republic	
1814	Kingdom of The Netherlands founded at the Congress of Vienna	
1830-1839	Belgian revolts, Belgium leaves the Kingdom	
1848	Introduction of Ministerial responsibility	
1914-1918	The Netherlands remain neutral during the First World War; Kaiser Wilhelm seeks refuge following the War	
1917	'Great Pacification', resulting in male suffrage, proportional representation and state financing of church schools	
1940-1945	German forces occupy the Netherlands	
1949	Former Indonesian colonies gain independence	
1952-1958	The Netherlands becomes a founding member of the European Union	
2002	Assassination of populist politician Pim Fortuyn; the Netherlands exchanges the guilder for the euro	

#### II.3. The Population: Country of Immigrants

The total population of the Netherlands now is over 16 million. In 1900 it was only about 5 million. The total area is 41,526 sq km consisting of land, rivers, canals and lakes. It means each square kilometre accommodates an average of 460 people, making the Netherlands one of the most densely populated countries in the European Community and also the world (Graph 2.1). The Randstad conurbation in the west of the country is the most densely populated area; around the cities of Amsterdam, the Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht.

Graphic 2.1
Population Density per SqKm, 1997



Source: http://www.alsagerschool.co.uk/subjects/sub\_content/geography/Gpop/HTMLENH/stats/den.htm, viewed 20 May 2005

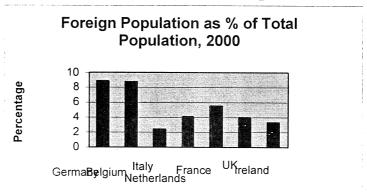
The number of foreign people who live in the Netherlands is increasing every year. At least 20,000 more people have settled here since the mid 1980s. Mostly they came to the Netherlands for family reunions. These people were usually non Dutch men and who brought their wives and children. More-

over 21,000 asylum seekers applied to stay in the Netherlands from 1990 to 1991. In 1991 the Dutch government granted residence permits to 2,695 asylum seekers.

Also the Dutch government invites nearly 600 refugees to enter the country every year. This is the Dutch contribution to the international effort to accommodate refugees who cannot go back to their countries or settle in their neighbouring countries. The Dutch government admits international migrants such as refugees who have the right to enter other countries on the international treaties principles<sup>8</sup>.

Compared with other European countries, the proportion of foreign people in the Netherlands is similar to that in the United Kingdom, 4% of the total population. Germany and Belgium have the greatest proportion, nearly 9% of the total population (Graph 2.2).

Graphic: 2.2 Foreign Population as % of Total Population, 2000



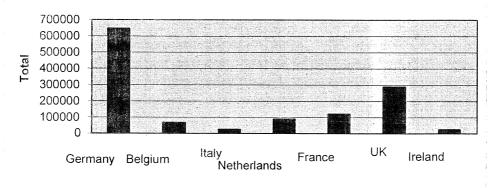
Source: http://www.alsagerschool.co.uk/subjects/sub\_content/geography/Gpop/HTMLENH/stats/den.htm, viewed 20 May 2005

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid. However, Graph 2.3 shows a different picture from *Graph 2.2*. It shows

that the number of non Dutch people who came to the Netherlands in 2000 was greater that the number of non Belgian people who came to that country. 100,000 foreign people came to the Netherlands while only about 70,000 foreign people came to Belgium. More people came to the Netherlands than came to Belgium though the percentage of foreign people in Belgium is much higher.

Graphic 2.3:
Foreign Population Inflow in 2000

#### Foreign Population Inflow in 2000



Source: http://www.alsagerschool.co.uk/subjects/sub\_content/geography/Gpop/HTMLENH/stats/den.htm, viewed 20 May 2005

Now there are four types of migration flows in the Netherlands: First, the migration from a former territory (these are migrants from Suriname, Antilles and Aruban); Second, migration from Mediterranean countries, Turkey and Morocco (family reunions and marriage); Third, migration from the European Union countries; and the Last refugees and asylum seekers<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

#### II.4. Economic Characteristics

Although a small country, the Netherlands has a significant place on the European continent. The Netherlands has the world's largest harbour in Rotterdam and the elegant airport Schiphol near Amsterdam<sup>10</sup>. Andeweg writes: 'Rotterdam has become the major storage depot for petroleum products for northwestern Europe and is the home of the oil spot market<sup>11</sup>. Also, it has good inland shipping on the rivers Rhine, Meuse and Schelde. Therefore many goods are distributed to Germany and all over Europe by car, train or ship. So, the Netherlands is very convenient for investors, traders and businesspeople to conduct their activities in this region.

Developed as a varied economy after 1960, the Netherlands is categorized as a late industrialiser. Zanden concludes that in this period other small countries in Europe had their own uniqueness, for example, Denmark developed agricultural products and Norway deliberately focused on fisheries and shipping industries. Trade was the primary sector in developing the industries in the Netherlands.

The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in the Netherlands is similar to the GDP in northwestern Europe (Table 2.2). However, from 1973 to 1987 the economic conditions, not only in the Netherlands, but also in northwest Europe became worse. Fortunately, most countries recovered from the oil and economic crises.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Its closest competitors in Europe are Antwerp, Marseille. Hamburg, Le Havre and Amsterdam that all handle a maximum 1/3 of the goods of Rotterdam. Its largest competitor worldwide is Singapore, Annelies Hogenbirk and Rajneesh Narula, Globalization and The Small Economy: The Case of The Netherlands in Van den Bulcke, D and A. Verbeeke (1999), Globalization and The Small Economy, Edgar Elgar

<sup>11</sup> Rudy B. Andeweg, op.cit, p. 190

Table 2.2

Growth Patterns for The Netherlands Compared to those of Other

Northwestern European Countries

Period	GDP	Secrification of the secretary of the se	GDP per Capita	
	Netherlands	Northwestern Europe**	Netherlands	Northwestern Europe
1960-73	4.83	4.52	3.57	3.63
1973-79	2.68	2.26	1.93	2.05
1979-87	1.22	2.01	0.67	1.74
1987-94	2.54	1.76	1.83	1.13
1994-97	2.9	2.3#		

Source: Van Ark and De Jong, 1996, p: 201

\* = OECD 1998

# = EU average calculated by OECD secretariat

\*\* = Northwest European countries include Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK

Compared to other western countries such as Germany, France and the UK, the percentage the primary sector contributed to the GDP in the Netherlands was the greatest, 4%. In other countries the primary sector contributed less than 2.5% to the GDP. However, the tertiary sectors contributed more than half to the GDP in all these countries.

Table 2.3
Basic Economic Indicators1995

	Germany	France	UK	Netherlands
Population (1000)	81662	58141	58613	15457
GDP (bln US\$, PPPs)	1673.8	1159.3	1041.9	305.6
GDP per capita (PPPs)	20497	19939	17776	19782
Sectoral GDP (%)				
Primary	1.3	0.5	2.2	4.0
Secondary	41.1	33.6	34.4	31.8
Tertiary	57.7	65.8	63.4	64.1
Sectoral Labour (%)				
Agriculture	3.3	5.1	2.1	4.0
Industry	37.6	27.8	27.7	23.0
Services	59.1	67.3	70.2	73.0
Export (fob) (mln US\$)	523000	286762	242692	197087
Export/GDP (%)	21.7	18.7	22.0	49.8
Import (cif) (mln US\$)	463472	267059	265696	177912
Import/GDP (%)	19.2	17.4	24.1	45.0

Source: OECD Economic Survey, various issues

Dutch companies have also invested their capital and sold their products all over the world (Table 2.4). Those companies are equal to American and Japanese companies in international trade. In consumer products Unilever is the leading consumer product seller in Indonesia although in the world Procter

and Gamble, the American company is the leader. One of the top three oil companies in the world is Royal Dutch Shell. Shell is also one of the greatest companies in terms of the oil volume in the world<sup>12</sup>.

Table 2.4
Some of The Most Significant Dutch MNEs by Industrial Sector

Name	Industry	Dutch Ranking by 1995 Revenues	1996 Revenues (mln guilders)	
Manufacturing MNEs				
Royal Dutch Shell	Petroleum and Refining	1	215753	
Unilever2	Food and Personal Products	2	87795	
Philips	Electronic & Electrical Equipment	3	69195#	
Akzo	Chemicals	8	22438#	
Nobel				
KNP BT	Paper and Packaging	12	13637	
Heineken	Beverages	15	12189	
DSM	Chemicals	16	10263	
Reed Elsevier	Printing and Publishing	19	8901	
Polygram	Music and Entertainment	20	9488	
Hoogovens	Steel	21	7933	
Stork	Stork Machinery and eng. Services		4916	
Wolters and Kluwer	Printing and Publishing	28	4315	
Van Leer	Packaging	32	4179	
Oce-van der Grinten	Photocopiers and Printers	39	4174	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Buunk, 1999, De economie in Nederland, Groningen: Wolters Noordhoff, p. 33 in Rudy B. Andeweg and Galen A. Irwin, Governance and Politics of The Netherlands, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005

CSM Food Products		40	3026
Gist Brocades	Biotechnology/Food	47	2020
	Additives		
Tulip	Computers	94	532*
Baan	Software	109	348*
Non-Financial			
Service MNEs			
Ahold	Retail	6	36538
SHV	Retail	7	29963
KPN	Telecommunications	10	20505
Vendex International	Retail	14	12145
KLM	Air Transport	17	10358
Nedlloyd	Sea Transport	22	6831
Pakhoed	Storage/Transportation	45	3594
Randstad	Employment	26	5953
Heidemij (Arcadis)	Environmental	71	1066
	Engineering		
Van Ommeron	Storage/Transportation	72	880
Financial MNEs			
ING	G Insurance/Banking		47551
FORTIS1	Insurance/Banking	5	40774
AEGON	Insurance/Banking	9	24487
ABN-AMBRO	Banking	11	19091
RABOBANK Banking		18	9647

Sources: Revenues based on estimates from Het Financieel Dagblad: de omzetcijfers van 1996;

Jaarboek van Nederlandse ondernemingen 1995/1996, Uitgeverij Tutein Nolthenius, 9<sup>th</sup> edition and annual report.

Adapted from Hoesel and Narula (1999)

<sup>#</sup> Dutch rankings based on Jaarboek van Nederlandse ondernemingen 1995/1996, Uitgeverij Tutein Nolthenius, 9th edition.

<sup>\* 1995</sup> figures

Due to 'greater exposure to international trade', the Open for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) categorized the Dutch economy as an open economy. 'Open' indicates that the country has high levels of imports and exports and that therefore the welfare of the country and its inhabitants is highly dependent upon trade and commerce. The Netherlands is the eighth largest exporter of goods and services in the world<sup>13</sup>.

## II.5. The Netherlands: Crises and their Impact

Some crises hit the economic foundation of the Netherlands, however, the Dutch government could recover and restore the country. Those crises were the impact of the global crises such as the economic depression, post Second World War, oil crises and economic crises.

## II.5.1. Economic Depression 1930

The great depression and great agrarian protectionism in Europe had a major impact on Dutch agriculture in the 1930s. Dutch dairy products and vegetables could not be exported to Germany due to protectionism and bilateral clearing agreements. Also the United Kingdom prioritized products from its commonwealth countries. It was a very difficult situation for the Dutch government as Germany and the United Kingdom were important markets. To overcome that problem, the Dutch increased prices and gave subsidies to the agricultural sector. The new Prime Minister, Hendrik Colijn encouraged this policy because he was afraid of right wing extremists who might manipulate the farmers<sup>14</sup>. Senior officials also supported the government as they felt it had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Rudy B. Andeweg, op.cit, p. 188

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> His orthodox Calvinist party got an important number of its votes from the countryside, just as the Catholic party and the more liberal Calvinist party who were also members of Colijns governmental coalition. Hein A.M. Klemann, Internal Economic and Political Problems in the 1930s and International Economic Relations: The Case of the Netherlands, http://www.eh.net/XIII congress/cd/papers/20Klemann203.pdf, 22 September 2005

the only policy to protect the agricultural products. *Klemann* says: 'The Hague tried to keep the guilder at the 1925 gold level by a deflation policy, this agricultural policy was contradictory to its own monetary targets. However, this was not the only problem these high ranked civil servants found in the governmental policy'.

The Cabinet of Colijn also introduced a policy of austerity by decreasing the unemployment benefits. This policy was to keep the value of the currency, however, it stimulated the *Jordan Riots* in 1934. The number of jobless people was still high while the government was still in doubt about whether to devaluate the guilder in 1936. Another policy was to terminate women, upon marriage from their jobs in the public administration sector. The principle was that only the breadwinners kept their jobs so there would be opportunities for families without jobs<sup>15</sup>.

Companies themselves had to change their policies to survive in the economic recession. *The Internationale Credit-en Handelsvereniging* Rotterdam Company, a leading trading firm in Indonesia, replaced its European employees with Indonesian workers<sup>16</sup>. This policy was made not for *Indonesianisasi* but for profit principles. Hiring local workers was much cheaper than hiring European workers.

## II.5.2. Post Second World War

The Second World War began in the Netherlands on 10 May 1940. After successfully invading Poland, Hitler decided to invade France, Belgium and the Netherlands.<sup>17</sup> The Germans attacked intensively all of the Nether-

<sup>15</sup> http://www.zum.de/whkmla/region/lowcountries/neth192940.html, 23 September 2005

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Allen G.C and Audrey G. Donnithorne, Western Enterprise in Indonesia and Malaya; A Study in economic development, Allen and Unwin, London, 1957, p. 124

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> P.K Ojong, Perang Eropa Jilid I, Penerbit Buku Kompas, July 2003, p.19

lands borders by using troops, tanks and heavy equipment. On the fourth day, Hitler gave Rotterdam an ultimatum: 'Surrender or be bombed'. Although the Dutch still fought the German occupation, the next day the Dutch officially surrendered after heavy bombardment of Rotterdam.

During the War, Queen Wilhelmina was exiled to London by the German army. Exiled in London, Queen Wilhelmina became a symbol against the Nazi occupation. The popularity of the monarchy increased while before some members of the elite complained about the structure of the state. They wanted the Netherlands to be a republic rather than a monarchy<sup>18</sup>.

The impact of the Second World War on the Netherlands was very severe. 40.000 people died and Rotterdam was totally destroyed with only a few Jewish people able to survive the war. The Netherlands also lost significant income from its former colonies, Indonesia declared its independence on 17 August 1945. The Indonesian people took control of their economy and also of Dutch companies. The number of Dutch people who wanted to work in Indonesia decreased drastically due to the political instability in Indonesia and the economic recovery in the Netherlands<sup>19</sup>.

For six years the Netherlands was occupied by the Germans and suffered heavy destruction. Nevertheless, the years following the War were marked by intensive efforts to rebuild the country and to restore trade and industry<sup>20</sup>. From 1948, the European economy began to revitalize. Some of the factors that contributed to the rapid economic growth in Europe.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Rudy B. Andeweg, op.cit, p. 13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Jasper Van De Kerkhof, Indonesianisasi of Dutch Economic Interest, 1930-1960, The Case of Internationalization, Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia and Oceania, KITLV, 2005, p. 193

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> The Holland Ring, http://www.thehollandring.com/toen-nu.sht

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Economic Recovery and Economic Cooperation 1945-1960, http://www.thecorner.org/hists/europe/econ-coop.htm, 13 April 2005

## 1. Adoption of new policies

Economic recovery was successful due to most European governments implementing new policies. They changed from *laissez-faire policies* to more government investment policies. For example, the British government adopted the Beveridge Report recommending heavy investment to develop welfare services. A comprehensive scheme of modernization, was prepared in 1946 by Jean Monnet, the Commissioner for the Plan for the Reconstruction of Key Industries, in France. Financial resources had to be provided by the French government to establish a new transport system, modernize the machines of the basic industries, construct more houses and improve farming facilities.

## 2. Expansion in world trade

The economic recovery was supported by an external factor; the world trade. All the people in the world realized that war just made matters worse. Cooperation in the economic sector would help to restore European countries. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation and the European Economic Community paradigms were to increase trade within European countries by lowering tariffs. As a result, intra European trade rose dramatically.

## 3. Science and technology

Invention in the chemical and electrical engineering sector contributed a lot to restoring the economy of European countries after the Second World War. Many consumer products were made and sold, such as refrigerators, washing machines, radios and television sets at low prices.

## 4. International Funding

The significant factor in recovery from the post war malaise was international funding such as from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Monetary Fund and Marshall Aid (European Recovery Program).

The UNRRA funding was established in late 1943. It consisted of 44 member countries. The financial funding was from the 44 member nations with the United States as the greatest donor. The relief was for daily needs such as food, clothing and medicine delivered to the eastern European countries like Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Italy.

More financial funding was set up in 1944 at a conference in New Hampshire: The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) and the International Monetary Fund. War torn and developing countries could borrow money from the World Bank while the IMF was for countries which had imbalance payment problems.

Pioneered by the US Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, the program of Marshall Aid was managed by the Economic Cooperation Administration. Marshall promised that the United States would grant financial assistance to European countries if only they would revitalize their economies on cooperative principles. A joint program for economic reconstruction after the Second World War was encouraged. The European countries should agree on a tariff system and prepare their industrial and agricultural production together. They had to avoid unnecessary economic competition and strengthen their mutual economic cooperation.

In Paris, in July 1947, the European countries studied Marshall's proposal. The Soviet Union criticized the exposure of the financial records of each recipient and the scheme to sell non essential US goods to Europe. The points were about economic independence and new imperialism strategy. The United States only wanted to keep its commercial interest in the communist market. Loth observes that America wanted to keep European countries as their partners and prevent Soviet influences; communism<sup>22</sup>. As a result the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Loth, Wilfried The Division of The World 1941-1955, Routledge, London, 1988, p.147. 'In the same way the reconstruction that the interest in the reconstruction of German industry and the integration of European economy can not be explained only in terms of the fear of an expansion Soviet power zone, so too the consequence of economic aid to (western) Europe and its concentration in the spring of 1947 also can not only be explained in terms of an interest in a multilateral system of free trade'.

Soviet Union and its satellites pulled out and did not receive any American funding.

However the western European countries had a different opinion. They thought that America would help to restore their economies. The sixteen western countries comprised of Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Greece, Portugal, Switzerland, Eire and Turkey set up the Committee of European Economic Cooperation and proposed a four year recovery program on 16 July 1947. However, the American Congress postponed the program due to the great amount of financial aid it would need. It would not take a long time before the United States approved the program, in April 1948, because Czechoslovakia became Communist country.

The United States spent about \$12 billion between 1948 and 1952, on assistance for economic reconstruction in western countries (Great Britain, France and West Germany). The Netherlands itself received one billion dollars in the same period. The huge financial funding made the economies of the western European countries become enormous. The productivity rose significantly within two years after the launching of the Marshall Plan. The annual rate of growth in the output of goods increased dramatically from 2.7% in 1870-1913 to 3.9% in 1950-1960. By 1952, European countries had not only recovered but also experienced an economic boom. The Marshall Plan contributed a lot to the recovery of the European economy. Also the Marshall Plan inspired further economic cooperation among the European countries such as the Treaty of Dunkirk (1947), the Pact of Brussels (1948), the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (1948), the Uniscan (1950), the Nordic Council (1953), the European Coal and Steel Community (1952), the European Economic Community (1958) and the European Free Trade Association (1958).

## II.5.3. Oil Crises (1973 and 1979)

During the 1960s, Dutch economic growth was remarkable. The Dutch government was successful in bringing welfare back to the people after the Second World War. In the 1960<sup>23</sup>:

- a. GNP and Net Personal Income increased significantly;
- b. Occupational patterns changed from primary and secondary sectors to tertiary and 'quartiary' sectors;
- c. The level of education rose especially in the number of students who studied in the universities;
- d. The level of social security increased;
- e. The productivity increased slowly, however, the wages increased faster. It meant that the company could gain little profit;
- f. The phenomenon of guest workers who did 3 D jobs (dirty, dangerous, and difficult) while the number of Dutch people who would do these jobs was unavailable.

In this period many people came to the Netherlands to find jobs. They came not only from former colonies of the Netherlands but also from the neighbouring countries such as Spain, and Italy<sup>24</sup>. Later the Dutch government invited guest workers from Mediterranean countries; Morocco and Turkey.

At the beginning of the 1970s, the Dutch economy was in a worse condition. Inflation went higher and higher to reach more than 10%. Social conflicts such as strikes became common and the income policy failed and as a consequence the labour market became very limited. The proportion of job-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> C.P. Middendorp, Ideology in Dutch Politics, Van Gorcum & Comp b.V, 1991, p.41

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hans Vermeulen and Rinux Pennix (eds.) Immigrant Integration The Dutch Case, Het Spinhuis Publisher, 2002, p. 10 and also http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History of The Netherlands#Post-war Years, 22 Nov 2005.

less people increased to 5% of the working population in 1975 and until 1979 remained steady. Moreover, during this period about 25% of the working population did not work because these people were sick or unfit. The rise in unemployment made the expense for social welfare payments increase significantly from 18.6% in 1973 to 24.8% in 1979. Furthermore, industrial production dropped by about 5% between 1974 and 1976<sup>25</sup>.

Due to spending on social welfare and subsidies for industry during this period, the Dutch government budgetary deficit went up dramatically. Between 1973 and 1975 under the Cabinet of Den Uyl the deficit increased drastically from 2% to 10%. However, it leveled off for two years after 1975 but increased again under the Van Agt administration. In 1979, the Dutch government had to face an inflation rate that increased to 13% of the government budget.<sup>26</sup>

OPEC raised the crude oil price dramatically, ten times per barrel more than before. This condition led to economic downfall not only in Europe but in the whole world<sup>27</sup>. During this period, people thought carefully when they used electricity or vehicles. They had to save energy otherwise they must pay dearly.

## II.5.4. Economic Crisis (1980-1984)

After the Second Oil Crisis, another crisis hit the economies of most European countries. This crisis was called the 'Dutch disease' one of the causes of which was the increasing expense of unemployment benefits. After the Second World War, the Dutch government implemented full employment. It was successful in that the unemployment rate fell drastically and generally was no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> op.cit, C.P. Middendorp

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Oil Crisis http://www2.exxonmobil.com/Benelux-English/About/Bnl\_HS\_ES\_OilCrisis.asp, 2 April 2005.

higher than 1 or 2%. The economic sector grew rapidly and demanded labour from other countries especially from Mediterranean countries such as Morocco and Turkey.<sup>28</sup>

Even though the unemployment rate was low, the number of women who worked was very small. Until 1960, the proportion of women workers was not more than 20%. It was the opposite condition in Britain and the United States of America where the number of women workers was very high. As Visser and Hemmerijk assert:<sup>29</sup>

Women's work for wages was girl's work.

It meant that women who married lost their jobs. Generally in the late 1960s most men worked and women just stayed at home.

In the early 1970s, the number of jobless people started to increase slightly. It increased until the 1980s. The number of jobless people rose dramatically from 200.000 in 1980 to more than 800.000 in 1984. It affected the budgetary system, firstly of the Van Agt administration. The government budget had significant deficit, increasing from 4% to 9% between 1978 and 1983. The greater number of jobless people made the volume of welfare rise until 1983. However, after 1983 it fell because of the reductions in the benefit rates.<sup>30</sup>

To cope with the Dutch disease, according to *Hoogenboom* and *Van Vliet*, there were five solutions:<sup>31</sup>

• Reduce the wage costs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Andeweg, op.cit, p. 198

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> J.Visser and A. Hemerijck A Dutch Miracle: Job Growth. Welfare Reform and Corporatism in the Netherlands, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam, 1997, p.33

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> C.P Middendorp, op.cit, p. 42

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> R. Hoogenboom and M. Van Vliet, 'Uitgepolderd? Over het welvaaartscheppende vermogen van Nederland anno 2000', Ministerie van Economische Zaken. 2000, www.minez.nl in Rudy B. Andeweg and Galen A. Irwin, Governance and Politics of the Netherlands, Palgrave Macmillan, London. 2005, p. 197

- The System of Social Welfare has to be reformed
- The Governmental finances have to be restructured
- Improve the functions of the market
- A stable economic climate is required

The first solution was that the Dutch government reduce the wage costs. If people worked, they did not receive unemployment benefits and they had to pay taxes. In early 1980 the slogan of the government was 'Jobs, Jobs, Jobs, Jobs.' 32

The Dutch government applied a 'guided wages policy' (*geleide loon politiek*) that meant keeping the wages low. However, it did not last long due to the wage explosion at the end of 1980. In 1982 another policy was issued, more successful, popularly known as the 'Wassenaar Accord'. This agreement was to force the trade unions and employers to control the wages.

Under the Cabinet of Prime Minister Lubbers, government expenditure was reduced. Later on Minister of Finance Gerrit Zalm reformed the government finances by differentiating income and expenditure and if the income increased the expenditure would not rise. These were known as 'Zalm Norm' and were carried out by the Balkenende I and II Cabinets.

#### II.6. Conclusion

The Netherlands is a developed country. Located on the European continent, The Netherlands is bordered by the North Sea in the north and west, by Belgium in the south and by Germany in the east. It covers 41.526 sq km with a population of over 16 million. This country is home for migrants from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname and Indonesia and for asylum seekers and refugees. This is unavoidable when the prosperity of the Netherlands attracts many people to get better jobs. homes and education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> R.F.M Lubbers 'In seeking a "Third Way", The Dutch Model is Worth a Look', International Herald Tribune, 1997, www.iht.com

However no miracle could protect the Netherlands economy from crises. As an open economy, the Netherlands is strongly influenced by global forces. The Dutch government had to face the crises that had hit it from the economic recession in 1930, post Second World War in 1940-1949, oil crises in 1973 and 1979 and an economic crisis in 1980-1984.

Generally, the impact of the crises was greater unemployment and a government budget deficit. The solution to cope with the crises was by creating more jobs. In a welfare state, the Dutch government had to give social insurance subsidies to those who were jobless. When there were crises, the unemployment rate increased which meant the expenses for social insurance subsidies increased as well, as more people were jobless. Other solutions that significantly contributed to the recovery in the Dutch economy especially post the Second World War was international funding like the Marshall Plan Aid. Though the Netherlands is strongly reliant on the global market, this country had succeeded in restructuring its economy. Within ten years after the Second World War, the Dutch economy was booming.

The next challenge was the integration in the European Union where movement of people, goods and capital are encouraged as far as the European Union territory. The capitalists now move their investment to eastern Europe where the labour wages are much lower. As a consequence jobs in the Netherlands will be more limited and the competition will be greater than before.

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#### CHAPTER III

## THE INTERATIONAL MIGRATION WAVE IN THE NETHERLANDS

## Gusnelly

#### III.1. Introduction

Migrants started to come to the Netherlands in increasing numbers when World War II ended. In recent decades, migrants created certain problems for the Dutch government. The more migrants that come to the Netherlands the harder the Dutch government has to think about how to give them a proper life. The increase of the work force will be followed by a requirement for greater job opportunities. In fact, job opportunities are limited now. The problems become complicated when education and health facilities cannot support the flow of migrants. Social impact such as unemployment, crime, and poverty will follow this situation. The Dutch government has to improve some policies with regard to migrants.

This chapter focuses on migrant problems in the Netherlands from a historical perspective. It will view development, trends and patterns in three periods; before World War II (before the 1950s). after World War II (after the 1950s) and after the European Union. It will look at migration changes from pre World War II until the present as well as their repeating patterns. for example, how and why migrants from Turkey, Morocco and other places came to the Netherlands over the three periods.

Those changes are very interesting, especially after the formation of the European Union committed to create easier bureaucratic procedures related to the traffic of goods, services and people. Therefore, a big change is inevitable, especially in many policies connected with the work force and people welfare problems. The policies that were taken by governmental institutions in handling every problem related to immigrants were not all the same. The

government, however, must give its attention to the immigrants considering that the Netherlands is an open country and a migrant destination.

Are there repeating patterns on some migration processes that have occurred at the different times and are there anything unique among the migrants? How far is the Dutch government on the migrant side (especially labourer migrants) in the Netherlands, especially in facing work competition? Regarding all of those problems it would be useful to take future steps to face migration problems and the work force sending to foreign countries without many changes and sacrifices.

# III.2. Migration Trends and Patterns from a Historical Perspective III.2.1.Period before World War II

Since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, European countries, including the Netherlands, have become the destinations of migrants. The Utrecht Province, for example, has many inhabitants not unlike Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In 1849, the population of Utrecht was 149,380 which had become 489,608 in 1940, 40% of the total population were migrants. From 1913 to 1914, the number increased after two steel companies were opened, and needed more workers. Despite the fact that labourers were needed, around 30% were absorbed in the sector of trade and transportation, especially in the 1930s. Before World War II, the government provided jobs. For example, migrant and non migrant citizens in any area could get a job out of their hometowns, and in 1921, about 5% of the Netherlands citizens worked out of their own hometowns. From 1937 to the 1950s, about 4000 Utrecht inhabitants worked out of towns like Amsterdam and Rotterdam¹. Migrant citizens worked in industrial, manufacturing, agricultural and service sectors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jan Kok. 2004. Choices and Constraints in the Migration of Families: The Central Netherlands. 1850-1940 in History of the Family, Science Direct., Amsterdam, pp. 140-142 or visit www.sciencedirect.com.

The migration trends in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to the 1940s were quite the same; dependent on the growth and economic conditions of the country. When the economic growth was positive it was easier to get a job, and migration would happen. The increase of staple food and dairy product export to Germany and England in the early 1920s had a positive impact on farmers who produced cheese, chickens and pigs, especially in the western side of Utrecht Province<sup>55</sup>. The absorption of a work force in this sector was surely increasing. The next development, in the 1900s, showed that migrants preferred to live in villages. Turkish migrants, for example, chose villages in southern Netherlands that was rich in agricultural products. But, at the end of the 1990s, they were concentrated in the northern Netherlands and the southern side of Utrecht Province. It might be because of the greater competition to find a job that they looked for better farmlands considering that agriculture is a favoured sector in the Netherlands.

In the 1920s migrants came to the Netherlands mostly in groups and very seldom individually. They came from Mediterranean and non European countries, for example, colonies. Their natives can be categorized into 3 groups, first, because of political reasons, second, because of an invitation to settle in the Netherlands since their families had moved there previously and provided jobs for them, third, refugee groups<sup>56</sup>. Their movement in groups was supported by the government because of the need for a work force and the government had to fill the vacancies in industry, mining, and agriculture. Individual migrants mostly came to visit their relatives or to study. They were usually spontaneous migrants that might live in the Netherlands legally or illegally. It was unavoidable because the Dutch government at that time tended to focus on its colonies so it was not too strict about handling immigration matters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 141.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Veldman, Willemein. Migration in the European Union: A Changing Face of European Societies, Euroculture, Groningen, 2004. p. 4

#### III.2.2. Period after World War II

Migration currents in the Netherlands are actually not new. It is not only a means of economic expansion for some people but also a factor that influences population growth in the Netherlands. In the 1950s due to the growth of industry in some European countries, including the Netherlands, many migrants came to the Netherlands to get better jobs. Starting from 1954 to 1958 European governments, through the Common Nordic Labour Market and the European Economic Community helped in facilitating migrant movements to the destination countries. It was estimated that about 20-30 million people migrated to Europe<sup>4</sup>. and migrants chose the Netherlands as one of their destinations. Citizen mobilization (work force) in this country that was started in the 1950s-1960s (after World War II), was also supported by the fusion of some western European countries in the European Economic Community (EEC)<sup>5</sup>. The economy of the countries allied in the EEC, including the Netherlands, became stronger. Another factor that pushed migration in this decade was the process of decolonization of ex-Netherlands colonies such as Indonesia and Suriname. It is estimated that in the middle of 1965, many PKI members (Indonesian Communist Party) escaped to the Netherlands and stayed.

There were also many migrants from southern and northern Mediterranean countries such as Turkey, Morocco and Egypt and from western Africa such as Senegal and Ghana who migrated to Europe to look for jobs. Moroccans and Turks dominated in numbers, so their communities are quite strong in European countries like the Netherlands and Germany.

The recruitment history of migrant workers from Morocco and Turkey in the 1960s and the 1970s shows that the motivation to get a job and escape

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ohliger, Rainer, Karen SchVnwalder and Triaadafilos Triadafilopoulos (eds.) *European Encounters. Migrants. Migration and European Societes since 1945*, Ashgate Publishing England, 2002. pp. 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Luhulima, Eropa Sebagai Kekuatan Dunia: Lintasan Sejarah dan Tantangan Masa Depan, Gramedia Pustaka Utama, Jakarta, 1992. pp. 109-130.

from an economic crisis (push factor) pushed, especially men, to migrate to the Netherlands (Graph 3.1)6. According to historian Hartmurt Welble in one of his research reports entitled European encounters: migrant, migration and European Societies since 1945 states that more than half the European populations in this period were migrants (foreigners). In 1970-1971, there were about 15 million foreigners in Europe and it increased to 19 million people in 1992-19937. Besides that they moved in ethnic groups, they also had strong networks in the destination countries. In other words, economic reasons were closely related to family reunion reasons that had been their initial reason. Actually family reasons were still the first reason to move to other countries. The same was so in Indonesia so that every year there were new job seekers who entered the job seeker market. Later the pattern changed to a form where they followed their families because of marriage. Only small numbers of migrants migrate to the Netherlands to study. The Dutch government has been more selective in recruiting foreign workers since the middle of the 1970s (after the world fuel crisis) up to the present. Work demand and offers were made under a demand driven system. Under this system, only those who come from the European Economic Area (EEA) can get a job in the Netherlands for a limited time and it is not allowed to accept workers from outside the EEA8.

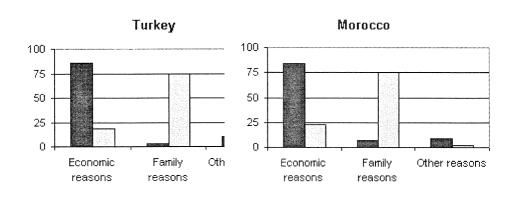
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Schoorl., Jeannette and Liesbeth Heering, et al. Push and Pull Factors International Migration. NIDI/Eurostat. Lange Houtstraat 19 2511 CV. Den Haag, 2001. or website http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/web/html/pushpull/

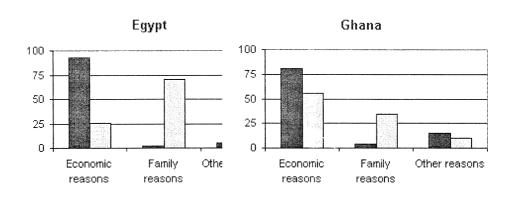
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ohliger, Rainer, Karen SchVnwalder and Triaadafilos Triadafilopoulos (eds.). *European Encounters. Migrants. Migration and European Societes since 1945.* Ashgate Publishing, England, 2002. pp. 10-11.

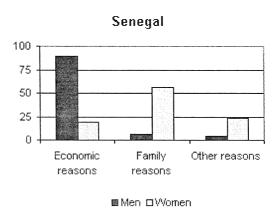
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Roodenburg. Hans. Rob Euwals and Harry Terrele 'Effect on Immigrant on Labour Market and Government Budgets: the Case of the Netherlands'. in *European Review*. Vol 12. No 3. United Kingdom. Academia Europea, UK, 2004. p. 378.

Graph 3.1

Migration Motivation Based on Gender and Sender Countries In
1960-1970







Source: http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/web/html/pushpull/

Moroccans and Senegalese have many similarities in motives for leaving their countries of origin and with regard to the motive for choosing a particular country of destination. However, important differences exist in the distribution pattern of the emigration flows from the respective countries, including the degree of orientation towards destination in the European Union. Moroccan women like to stay in their country, if not, they have to follow their husband who migrates but Senegalese women are more prepared to work in other countries to get higher salaries including working in the Netherlands. For Egyptian, Ghananian, and Senegalese migrants, Italy is the best place to work and settle. European countries like Germany, Italy, Spain and England are very attractive for migrants from Ghana and Senegal. In contrast, Egyptian migrants are less interested in European countries including the Netherlands<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Schoorl. Jeannette and Liesbeth Heering et al.Push and Pull Factors International Migration. NIDI/Eurostat. Lange Houtstraat 19 2511 CV. Den Haag, 2001 or website http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/web/html/pushpull.

So, from the religious point of view only Muslims from Turkey and Morocco enter European countries including the Netherlands.

At the beginning of the 1970s the migrant work force was known as guest workers. Around 55,000 people from Morocco and Turkey entered the Netherlands; 35,000 people who worked and the rest were their family members (including wives and children)<sup>10</sup>. The number of migrants from Morocco and Turkey in the Netherlands was less than that in Germany, Spain, and Italy (Graph 3.2). Moroccans did not need complicated administration to enter Spain because it is geographically close. They prefer Germany, Spain, and Italy for their initial experience.

The guest workers usually worked in industry, manufacturing, mining, and agriculture. They were mostly men under 35 years of age<sup>11</sup>.

They liked to work in western Netherlands and the south of Limburg Province. Migrants from Mediterranean countries worked in big cities and stayed in cheap housing<sup>12</sup>. Around half the Netherlands population are Moroccan and Turkish after 25 years of immigration. They have been the biggest ethnic groups in the Netherlands and have enriched the ethnic mix of the Netherlands.

The migrant currents to the Netherlands also come from its ex colonies like Suriname and Indonesia. In the 1970s, there were two big migration waves

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Roodenburg. Hans. Rob Euwals and Harry Terrele 'Effect of Immigrants on Labour Market and Government Budgets: the Case of the Netherlands'.in *European Review*. Vol 12. No 3.,Academia Europea, UK, 2004. p. 378.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Tinnemans, W. 1994 'Een gouden armband; een geshiedenis van mediterrane immigranten. Untrech NCB (in Dutch) Country Report Havelaar, Anne, Buur.. Eltje and Abel, Paul I. Muslim Voices in The European Union. Amsterdam, 1999. pp. 37-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Roodenburg. Hans. Rob Euwals and Harry Terrele 'Effect of Immigrants on Labour Market and Government Budgets: the Case of the Netherlands'. in *European Review*. Vol 12. No 3. Academia Europea. United Kingdom, 2004. p. *381* 

from Suriname to the Netherlands to big cities such as Rotterdam and the Hague. Their arrival was mostly illegal; working as contract based labourers and after the contract was finished, returning to their country. But, after Suriname got its independence in the middle of the 1970s when the Dutch government gave them freedom to choose their citizenship and the second migration wave happened. Their status was legal and they were provided with housing by the Dutch government.

Actually not only the Netherlands accepted migrants from its ex colonies but other European countries did the same. England, for example, is also a country that gave attention to its ex colonies by setting up its commonwealth and the British government made a specific rule for the migrants in The Commonwealth Immigrant Act of 1962. The government facilitated education, housing, and equal rights for migrants as for non migrants. But, the government limited the work period for black people (contract based) until 1971. Germany also gave easy accommodation for migrants from eastern Europe, Turkey and the Mediterranean countries. The migrants worked as contract based workers in the industrial sector and lived in dormitories separated from their families. However, this system was considered inefficient due to the fact that the number of illegal migrants increased. The entry of illegal workers to Western European countries via border areas became a big issue at the beginning of the 1970s, especially when the global economic recession occurred in 1973. The same occurred in the USA when many migrants from neighbouring countries came to the US to look for jobs. Consequently the USA strengthened provisions against migrant waves coming to that country. The same policy was also taken by the Dutch government in the middle of the 1970s by sending the migrants home and strengthening the provision against the entry of migrants to the Netherlands. The Wassenar Agreement, for example, was a program between the Dutch government and the Indonesian government to send ex KNIL soldiers back to Indonesia. This program was conducted from 1975 to 2002 with two main purposes: First, to reduce the Dutch government burden to support ex KNIL soldiers; and Second, to give them a chance to go back to their country and become Indonesian citizens<sup>13</sup>.

Many countries try to limit migrants coming to them by implementing some rules but this does not stop the migrant flow to Europe. Emigration from Turkey and Morocco is strongly EU oriented. However, this does not mean that Turkish and Moroccan migrants opt for the same EU countries. When looking at the top five destination countries for recent migrants, Turkey and Morocco have only France and the Netherlands in common. Germany (number one destination for Turks) and Austria (number two) do not attract Moroccans, whereas Italy (number two destination for Moroccans) and Spain (number three) do not attract Turks<sup>14</sup>. In 1990 the total number of migrants living in 12 European countries was about 13 million people. 3 million migrants came from developing countries, 2 million came from some developed countries outside the European countries, 5 million came from Europe and the rest came from other countries<sup>15</sup>.

In the Netherlands, from 14.714,2 thousand people in 1987, around 159.9 thousand were migrants from Europe and around 434.9 thousand were migrants from out of Europe (*Table 3.1*). The number of migrants in France was higher than in the Netherlands (*Table 3.2*). In 2005, the Netherlands population was 16,150,511 people occupying only 41,526 sq km and, of course, this area is considered too small for that number of people. If seen from the ethnic composition, in 1994, migrants from Turkey were almost 46% followed by Mo-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Interview with Mr Sulaiman. Political attachI, Republic of Indonesia Embassy 4 June 2005 in The Haque.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Schoorl. Jeannette and Liesbeth Heering, et al. Push and Pull Factors International Migration. NIDI/Eurostat. Lange Houtstraat 19 2511 CV. Den Haag, 2001 p. 6; or website http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/web/html/pushpull.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Stove, Gustaaf Crime and Moroccan Migrant Youth in the Netherlands, 2002. p.65.

rocco 38.3%, Suriname 6.2%, Pakistan 2.2% and Indonesia 1.6% of the Netherlands total population<sup>16</sup>.

Table 3.1

Number of Foreign Inhabitants in Europe in 1987

Countries	Total	Migrants		Non-Migrants	
		(%)			
Belgium	9.864,8	532,7	(5,4 %)	315,2	(3,2 %)
Denmark	61. 170,	1 377,4	(2,3 %)	3 195,5	(5,2 %)
Greece	9. 739,6	55,3	(0,6 %)	31,3	(0,3 %)
France	54. 272,2	1 577,9	(2,9 %)	2 102,6	(3,9 %)
Ireland	3 .543,0	61,7	(1,7 %)	17,8	(0,5 %)
Italy	56. 556,9	91,1	(0,2 %)	112,1	(0,2 %)
Luxemburg	384,2	101,6	(26,4%)	10,3	(2,7 %)
The Netherlands	14.714,2	159,9	(1,1 %)	434,9	(2,9 %)
Portugal	10.270,0	23,9	(0,3 %)	65,6	(0,6 %)
Spain	38.832,3	193,3	(0,5 %)	141,6	(0,4 %)
United Kingdom	56.075,0	810,0	(1,6 %)	1 651,0	(2,9 %)

Source: Gustaaf Stove, 2002, p. 69.

The increasing number of migrants will continue to be in line with the increase of migration currents considering the policies that have been taken by the Europeans. As a result, job opportunities become limited and their lives more difficult. Besides, the use of the Euro as currency has created contradictions in the Netherlands society. Recently, they have demanded that the government reject the European Union Constitution. Society feels, at this time, unstable, so they worry that the continuing use of the Euro as currency, can destroy their economy because all goods have become more expensive<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Hisyam, M. *Sekilas Sejarah dan Peranan Dalam Dakwah Islam di Nederlan*. Den Haag. PPME/YMAE Press, Den Haag, 1996. p. 1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Interview with Piet Athony 7 June 2005 in Groningen and Interview with Marjoelein 11 June 2005 in Leiden.

From 1995 to 2000, 130 thousand people entered the Netherlands as migrants. In 1998, the number of foreigners who come to the Netherlands was 122 thousand. Government statistics obtained from the central data base of immigration in the Netherlands mentions that there are several factors for the migrants to come to the Netherlands so that they can be categorized into several types: political asylum, job, family reunion, marriage, study, pension and medical treatment.

Those who come to the Netherlands for political asylum cannot live as freely as other types of migrants do. Some of them cannot even be accepted by the Dutch government fully and is difficult to get a residence permit. But since 2001, the Dutch government has had a policy that gives them a chance to be permanent citizens of the Netherlands. According to *Vreemdelingen Wet*, to become permanent citizens, they must take three steps. *First*, they must change their status from political asylum to temporary refugee; *second*, they, then, must request a temporary permit for residence; and *third*, they can propose to get a permanent residence permit. It takes three years to change their status to be a permanent resident (permanent status)<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Nicholas. Han and Arno Sprangers 'Migration Motives of non Dutch Immigrants in the Netherlands'. Working paper No 4 in *Conference of European Statisticians*, UN Statistical Commission and UN Economic Commission for Europe and the Statistical Office of The European Communities (EUROSTAT) Press, Geneva, 2001. pp.2-3

Table 3.2

Number of Migrant Ethnic Groups in the Netherlands
In Period 1971-1997 (000)

Migrant Ethnic	1971	1975	1980	1985	1990	1997
Group						
Turkey	30	63	120	156	206	280
Morocco	22	33	72	111	168	233
South Europe	62	76	72	65	105	143
Antillean	18	19	36	47	81	95
Suriname	38	69	146	181	237	287
Moluccan	26	29	35	35	35	38
East Europe	10	18	33	53	64	435
Other Ethnic groups	252	316	473	559	642	680
Population Percentage	1,9	2,3	3,4	3,9	4,3	4,3

Source: Vermeulen, Hans and Rinus Penninx (eds.) 2000, p.9.

Table 2 shows that Turkish people lived and developed in the Netherlands from 1971 to 1997 proven by the increase of their population from year to year. In the work field, they also showed a great progress especially in entrepreneurship. In 1986 there were only 1,895 Turkish people that were entrepreneurs in the Netherlands and this number increased to 5,385 people in 1992 and 7,453 people in 1997. They work in trading, retail, hotels and restaurants<sup>19</sup>. The number of Surinamese in the Netherlands is also increasing from year to year. But they are not as fortunate as the Turkish people. They usually become labourers or civil servants. Moroccans also have the same jobs as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Havelaar. Anne, Eltje Buur and Paul Abell. 'Muslim Voices in the European Union: Dutch Country Report, Second phase'. in journal on *European Union*. European Union, Amsterdam, 1999. pp. 31-32.

labourers and farmers. In 1986, 866 people became entrepreneurs and the number increased to 1,912 people in 1992 and 2,844 in 1997. It is far different with Moluccan people. They mostly become labourers in factories rather than entrepreneurs. The number of Moluccans is also not significant because the growth in their numbers is not high from year to year.

## III.2.3. Period after the European Union

To get a better analysis of migration problems in the Netherlands after the unification to form the European Union, we have to understand the meaning of the unification itself. In this case, there are three matters that become considerations: First, the affiliation of country borders in the global economic and political system that encouraged unionism individually or collectively to carry out economic activities in some European countries; Second, poverty in reality grew stronger as the result of the dependence of a developing country on developed countries and it provoked migration or mobility without protection or guarantee; and Third, regional economic instability in society<sup>20</sup>. This may happen in the future, or at present, in European Union regions. After European Union unification, followed by the ex Soviet Union countries that joined the European Union, country borders become affiliated and border areas become more crowded and illegal migrants flood the migrant receiver countries.

The idea to form a joint community in the European Union was accomplished by it being ratified as the Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997. The agreement is about citizen rights in each country as members of the European Union to travel from and to anywhere in the European region, work freely in any member country, expanding of European Union areas to Central and Eastern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Haris. Abdul and Nyoman Adika Gelombang Migrasi dan Konflik Kepentingan Regional Dari Perbudakan ke Perdagangan Manusia. LESFI. Yogyakarta, 2002. pp. 2-3.

Europe in 2000 and the launching of a single European monetary unit (Euro)<sup>21</sup>. Although free migration policies will be implemented after a transition period, some migration policies began to be redesigned by the European Union government, for instance, Resolution 557 (1973) about worker rights in Europe. Besides that, the European Union government is also responsible for the free entry of people in the European Union region that is adapted from some regulations such as the European Convention on Establishment (1995), the code of European Social Security (revised) in 1990 and the European Social Charter (1961), the European Convention on the Legal Status of migrant workers (1997) and the European Convention on Social Security in 1972<sup>22</sup>. The renewal of some regulations was to minimize the entry of illegal migrants by asking country members to ease conditions for migrants; the quota system being one of them. There was also a need for cooperation between the sender country and the receiver country to guarantee individual freedom to get a job wherever they migrate.

After the unification of the European countries in the 1990s, only 15 countries joined with a migrant population of 5% (19 million people) out of the total European Union population. We can imagine the percentage of migrant population if 10 more countries join the present European Union<sup>23</sup>, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> There are some reasons why Europe uses a single monetary unit. First, a monetary unit is a basic term of the economy of a country so that it can accelerate commerce and economic relationships between the nationals in one region. Second, a single currency can compete with the US monetary unit that greatly influences the world economy. European countries believe that the using of one monetary unit is not a monopoly. Third, one monetary unit is hoped to become the unifier of many political powers in Europe so that disintegration in one region can be avoided. Kompas 19 June 2004.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Gülçiçek, 2004, The situation of Turkish migrant workers in Europe: Motion for a Recommendation, paper presentation on *discussed in the Assembly Council of Europe*, page 4-5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> The countries in the EU are Austria. Belgium. the Czech Republic. Cyprus. Denmark. Estonia. Finland. France. Germany. Greece. Hungary. Ireland. Italy. Latvia. Lithuania. Luxembourg. Malta. the Netherlands. Poland. Portugal Slovakia. Slovenia. Spain. Sweden and the UK.

the number of foreigners in western European countries. In recent periods there have been many migrants from the one region migrating to western European countries plus migrants from Asia. The migrants coming from one region are, for example, from the Soviet Union (eastern Europe) and from out of the region are, for example, Japan, China, the Philippines and Latin America.

In 1999, these were about 130,600 migrants in the Netherlands. The biggest number was from Turkey followed by Morocco and from Asia, from China (including Taiwan) with 3,099 people in 1997, 3,647 people in 2000 and 3,948 people in 2002.

This number was quite similar to the number of migrants from Turkey and Morocco in the same years. The number of migrants from Turkey was 7,453 people in 1997, 8,310 people in 2001 and 6,181 people in 2002. The number of migrants from Morocco was 2,844 people in 1997, 5,235 people in 2001, and 5,192 people in 2002. The number of migrants from Suriname was less than from China and only reached 3,569 people in 2001 and 3,413 in 2002<sup>24</sup>.

We can categorize the destination countries in the group: First, Germany, Spain, France, Sweden, and the Netherlands, Second, Belgium and Austria, and Third, England, Portugal, Italy, and Luxemburg. The migrants are refugees, political asylum seekers, contract based workers (including seasonal workers, workers with other limitations and expatriates) and permanent migrants, families of the migrants and temporary visitors like tourists and students<sup>25</sup>. Based on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Statistics the Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek). For more information. see www.cbs.nl and Statistical Office of The European Communities (Eurostat) Report. 2001: p 20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Angenend, Steffen and Hernandes, Carolina..G. 'Migration and Asylum as Political Challenges for Asian-European Cooperation'. in *Foreign Workers. Refugees and Irregular Immigrant: Political Challenges and Perspectives Asia-Europe Cooperation*, Council for Asia-Europe Cooperation. Asia Secretariat and Japan Centre for International Exchange, Diliman, the Philippines, 2004.

ethnicity, migrants from Turkey and Morocco always choose countries in the European Union regions; Germany, the Netherlands, Italy, France, Austria, Belgium and Spain. Germany is their favourite place to migrate to with 47% migrants from Turkey and 29% migrants from Morocco, whereas in the Netherlands, there are 5% migrants from Turkey and 7% from Morocco so that it can be seen that these countries provide better job opportunities. Turkish migrants choose Austria as the second destination but not Moroccan migrants because they prefer Italy (*Graph 3.2*)<sup>26</sup>.

Ghananian and Senegalese migrants prefer to migrate to out of the European Union regions and USA. Some European countries that they are still interested in are Germany, France, Italy and Spain. They are not really interested to migrate to the Netherlands because they find it difficult to adapt considering that most of the migrants from Ghana like Egypt are Muslims. Because every time they migrate they have to mix their culture, customs and, of course, religions and it is an important matter for them. This is proven by the fact that in the Netherlands every ethnic background person lives in a group with their own culture and customs. Turkish people, for example, will not worship in a place that does not have a Muslim community.

Observing the dynamics of migrant motivations in finding the country they want to migrate to is a matter of the economic growth of a country. In concept, the happenings in a country will be followed by some changes in all of society's aspects of life. The better the economy of a country is, the more people will come, so the migration volume will be higher. In international migration activities, it is not only about the labour context but also about problems of natural resource cultivation and investment<sup>27</sup>.

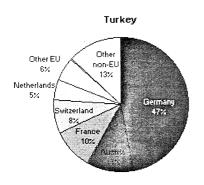
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Schoorl. Jeannette and Liesbeth Heering. 2001. *Push and Pull Factors International Migration*. NIDI/Eurostat. Lange Houtstraat 19 2511 CV. Den Haag, 2001. or website http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/web/html/pushpull.

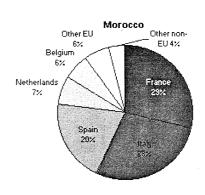
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Haris, Abdul and Nyoman Adika. *Gelombang Migrasi dan Konflik Kepentingan Regional:* Dari Perbudakan ke Perdagangan Manusia. LESFI. Yogyakarta, 2002. pp.8-9.

Graph 3.2

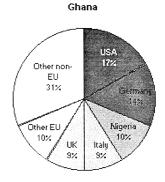
Destination Countries Which Migrants Are Interested in Most

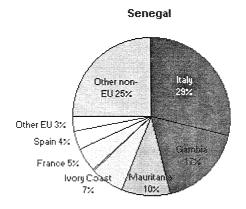
Based on Ethnicity











Source: http://www.nidi.knaw.nl/web/html/pushpull

This does not mean that the sender countries are not aware of work force market trends. The Dutch government revised migration regulations and the need to master the Dutch language became the main priority. Before the European Union was established, migrants could learn Dutch after they arrived in the Netherlands and the Dutch government would give a subsidy. However, after the European Union, every migrant candidate for permanent residence must fulfill the requirement to speak Dutch or at least posses a notification letter that he/she will learn Dutch at his/her own expense. The migrants must also have an income guarantee fund of around 2,500 Euro and about a half of it (around 1,500 Euro) will become their life guarantee if they want to settle in the Netherlands<sup>28</sup>

It seems that there is a preventative step in the policy taken by the Dutch government against cultural domination from arriving groups in the Netherlands. Since long ago, European countries, including the Netherlands,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Interview with Mrs Evi.12 June 2005 in the Hague.

have been heterogeneous in cultures and always try to renew and reject the standardizing doctrines that would destroy European culture. This is what the Dutch government tries to avoid because of the recent trend as each ethnic group coming to the Netherlands defends its ethnic traditions and customs. Turkish people, for instance, tend to use their own language and maintain their cultures. If from year to year the Turkish and Moroccan Muslim majority become stronger and more dominant in the Netherlands, consequently, the Netherlands will become a country that has Islamic cultural influence.

In fact, the Netherlands is a county with a Christian majority based on ancient Roman cultures. Multicultural issues in the Netherlands cannot, however, be avoided as a result of the strengthening ethnic influence in all aspects of life.

To reduce the impact of multicultural issues and conflicts, the Dutch government implants nationalism through language. This is done due to the fact that migrants give negative and positive contributions in the context of global unity building for the involved countries in certain periods. In reality, social-cultural transformation acceleration in destination countries and migrant origin countries happens because of direct collision. All migrant groups usually want to migrate with all their social-cultural identity. This creates social and cultural conflicts with native citizens who have different cultural characteristics<sup>29</sup>. This might be a bit similar to the Thai government's use of language as a tool to overthrow the Islamic culture of the Pattani tribe. The Pattani community must use the Thai language and worship Buddha in their daily lives. The Pattani community, though from a Malayan ethnic group, has been under the Thai kingdom and had to have Thai identity and culture. Instilling nationalism by government in these migrants seems to be successful only among Moluccan migrants. They quickly adapt with the Netherlands native citizens (non migrant) by, for example, marriage (see Chapter IV). For Dutch people,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Haris,. Abdul and Nyoman Adika. Gelombang Migrasi dan Konflik Kepentingan Regional: Dari Perbudakan ke Perdagangan Manusia. LESFI. Yogyakarta, 2002. p. 17.

socializing with Moluccan migrants is their preference rather than socializing with migrants from Turkey or Morocco<sup>30</sup>.

# III.2.4. International Migration Impact on the Netherlands after European Union

The freedom of people to move in the European region, which Germany and Austria are afraid of, will actually be implemented after a transition period from two to seven years after the unification of the European Union. The control of new borders will be omitted after a longer transition period. Under this rule, the countries joined in the European Union can still prepare to handle problems appearing from the upcoming free migration. It is also estimated that the mobility will happen more among skilled workers, specialists, and labourers from border areas with limited migration status to try to get a better life as part of the work force market in western European countries since these countries are the countries that they are not afraid to migrate to.

Experience with previous extensions has shown that only a small number in the work force emigrate. But, migration has occurred freely although there are no legal provisions. People will be able to easily cross borders without legal documentation because of the closeness of one country's border to that of another. Besides that, border areas that are weak structurally must consider the increasing competition from new countries. Economists say that European Union trade balances with the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland and Hungary are affected directly in trying to create jobs for 65,000 workers in the manufacturing industry, and the number could increase to 114,000. In Germany, as a border country, the increase in job demand could reach 77,000<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Interview with Marjolein 11 June 2005 in Leiden and Peter Romijn 9 June 2005 in Amsterdam.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Luhulima. CPF. *Ekonomi Politik Perluasan Keanggotaan Uni Eropa*. on Kompas, 17 January 2002.

Under those conditions, anxiety appears that migrants from poor European countries will come flocking into wealthy western European countries. Ed Vulliamy in his book The Guardian says that the trend occurring in the Netherlands and Western Europe is the appearance of anxiety that leads to xenophobia<sup>32</sup>. Meanwhile, for the Eastern European community, it brings happiness. Some mass media in England use such terms as menace, agents of social upheaval and millions of immigrants. In the Netherlands, the success of the Lijst Pim Fortuyn Party as the second placed in the election in 2002 and as the government coalition partner shows the existence of serious problems relating to migration matters in the country. In every campaign, this ultra nationalist party always issues anti immigrant policies to the Netherlands. It shows that the anxiety and restlessness of the Dutch community towards migrants are becoming greater and greater. This is because the number of illegal inhabitants in the Netherlands, whether refugees or non refugees, is increasing. The parliament even demands that the government provide a special military force to eradicate illegal immigration.

What happens in western Europe will affect the Netherlands. Basically, the main countries in western Europe are Germany, France, England and the Netherlands. So, what happens in the European Union will impact on those countries. The Netherlands thinks that it is not a wealthy country anymore. This is because, after joining the European Union and using the monetary unit Euro, the Dutch community feels the hurtful impact such as the increase in food prices considering that the exchange rate of the Euro is high and the Netherlands chooses not to become a producer country because this country prefers to be an investor country. New policies in manpower are being created, e.g., the implementation of lower wages to attract investors. Lower production costs mean that investors can enjoy greater benefits so that by transferring some manufacturers, like Philips, to Poland this will give more benefits for the Netherlands. Philips closed its branch in *Eindhoven*, in the Netherlands.

<sup>32</sup> http://www.kompas.com 12 March 2005

erlands, and opened a new branch in Poland. The change in relative prices of production factors, like the decline of wages in Poland, will cause changes in job fields.

## III.2.5.Impact on the Labour Force and the Netherlands Economy

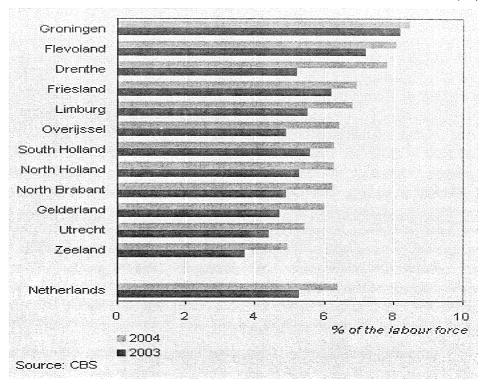
The global economic growth rate has created a qualified work market competition climate in the Netherlands supported by manpower policies made selectively with a demand driven system. It is different from work competition at the beginning of the 1950s when migrants in the Netherlands could get jobs easily so that the workers were usually low skilled. The high work competition level in the Netherlands now is marked by basic changes especially in work force management that has to improve human resources to maximize production, different from the recruitment system in the 1950s or at the beginning of the 1970s that gave priority to manual and low skilled labourers. So, it can be concluded that it will be getting difficult to get a job in the Netherlands and it makes the Netherlands afraid that this will raise conflicts. A report about manpower from the Amsterdam Institute says that around 31.4% of the Netherlands inhabitants got jobs in 1988, with 1,886,000 working as part timers. The change occurred after the Netherlands joined the European Union and companies prefer to accept part time workers so that wages are relatively lower and the workers can be laid off anytime when the companies are in deficit. In 1997, the number of part time workers became 2,656,000 people<sup>33</sup>. All migrants of ethnic backgrounds found it difficult to get a job after the Netherlands joined the European Union. In some cities, like Amsterdam, there are many beggars and street people who do not have jobs to support them.

According to the Netherlands statistic data, now the rate of unemployment is reaching 6.4% of the Netherlands total population from 5.3% in the previous year and it is estimated that it will increase if free migration in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Web magazine. 28 February 2005 or Statistics The Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek). For more information, see www.cbs.nl.

European Union region is implemented. The increase of unemployment has occurred in all provinces in the Netherlands (*Graph 3.3*). Groningen Province had the highest unemployment level, 8.5% in 2004 (8.1% the previous year) out of the total population. Drenthe Province unemployment was 7.8% in 2004 from 4.6% in 2003, and in Flevoland Province unemployment was 8.0% in 2004 from 7.6% in 2003.

Graph 3.3
Unemployment Level in Each Province in the Netherlands in 2003(%)



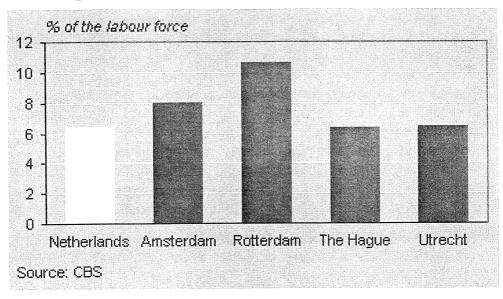
Source: Ingrid Beckers, Web magazine

Dated 1 September 2005

Rotterdam in 2004 had the highest unemployment level (11% of total population) (*Graph 3.4*). Amsterdam was in the second rank that reached 8% in the same year. Rotterdam as a big business city in the Netherlands with modern infrastructure has become a job seeker destination. This city, the biggest port in the Netherlands, has a dense population and many migrants. Its higher economic growth rate provides a wider job field, production resources and good market potential so that it attracts foreigners to migrate to this city as well as to Amsterdam. As the Netherlands capital city, Amsterdam also attracts people regardless of the tough competition for jobs. After joining the European Union and using the Euro, there have been drastic changes felt by the Netherlands inhabitants. Consequently, many people have become traders, beggars, street singers, street people and criminals that concern the Dutch government<sup>34</sup>. For foreign tourists, Amsterdam is more dangerous than Rotterdam and other cities. Tourists prefer to visit Utrecht because it is safe and quiet.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Interview with Marini 10 Juni 2005 in the Netherlands.

Graph 3.4
Unemployment level in each city in the Netherlands in 2004 (%)



Source: Ingrid Beckers, Web magazine dated 1 September 2005

In relation to ethnicity, the rate of unemployment was 16% in 2004 from 14% in 2003. Meanwhile, the rate of native population unemployment was 5.2% in 2004 from 4.2% in 2003<sup>35</sup>. In the 1970s a train hijacking by Moluccans in the Netherlands provoked an increase of unemployment in the Moluccan community<sup>36</sup>. Another case, a murder of a movie director named Van Hoog by Moroccan men, also triggered the same condition. In 2003 the rate of Moroccan unemployment in the Netherlands was 15% and increased to become 24% in 2004. It is because for the past two years, company owners in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Web magazine. 28 February 2005 or Statistics The Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek) page 20. For more information. see www.cbs.nl

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Interview with Piet Anthony 6 June 2005 in Groningen.

the Netherlands are afraid to accept Moroccan workers. The same also happened in social life with Dutch people preferring to socialize with other people rather than with Moroccan people<sup>37</sup>.

#### II.3. Conclusion

International migration is closely related to relationships between people that started and were built long ago. Its concept and meaning has been changing vastly from a multidimensional perspective. Those changes create some problems that involve groups in society who protect their own interests<sup>38</sup>.

Theoretically, the first migration activity was because of individual or group survival. To fulfill the need, people tend to look for areas or countries that have a better economic level out of their place of origin so that they take a decision to migrate, most want to get a higher salary and to get a job easily (economic reasons). Certain groups like migrants from Turkey and Morocco in the Netherlands have marriage as one factor to migrate. The good development of these two group economies in the Netherlands tends to be a motivation for the next generation to migrate. In other words, the success of the first generation provokes the next generation to migrate<sup>39</sup>. The same case occurs in migrant receiver countries like the USA. Many first generation migrants have become multimillionaires in this country, like *Sabeer Bhatia* from India. He came to the US from India in 1988 with \$200 in his pocket. He then invented Hotmail which in 1998 and he sold to Microsoft for \$ 10 million<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Interview with Roger Toll, Director of KITLV Jakarta 5 March 2005, Jakarta,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Haris, Abdul and Nyoman Adika Gelombang Migrasi dan Konflik Kepentingan Regional: Dari Perbudakan ke Perdagangan Manusia, LESFI, Yogyakarta, 2002 p. 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Interview with Roger Toll, Director of KITLV Jakarta 5 March 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Stalker, Peter. *The No-Nonsense Guide to International Migration*. London. New International Publication, London, 2001. p.20.

Migration to the Netherlands over some periods shows that men always initiate the decision to migrate. The decision to migrate can be because of war or economic and political crises in migrant origin countries. Just like a rotating wheel, finally migrants from Turkey and Morocco can be successful in the Netherlands and, for example, Turkish migrants dominate almost 30% of business in the Netherlands especially in catering and hotels. They are also the biggest number of migrants in some European countries including in the Netherlands. In 1999 there were about 130,600 migrants in the Netherlands with Turkish migrants as the biggest number followed by migrants from Morocco. Migrants from China (including Taiwan) are the biggest number of migrants from Asia with about 3,099 people in 1997, 3,647 people in 2001 and 3,948 people in 2002. Migrants from Turkey were about 7,453 people in 1997, 8,310 people in 2001, and 6,181 people in 2002. Migrants from Morocco were about 2,844 people in 1997, 5,235 people in 2001 and 5,192 people in 2004. Migrants from Suriname (its position is below China) were about 3,569 people in 2001 and 3,413 people in 2003.

Migrants in the Netherlands enjoyed fast development and better economic levels. But this changes from time to time, meaning that sometimes their position is up but sometimes it is down. This reality is happening in the Netherlands now. An economic crisis is being experienced by the Dutch government because it is in a transition period after joining the European Union. Migrants from Morocco, for example, are the ethnic group that faces many difficulties in getting a job. The competition among ethnic groups to get better lives in the Netherlands comes in line with the spread of multicultural issues in this country, and it becomes a very sensitive issue that triggers conflicts. When people migrate, they also bring their culture, language and customs. And, the Netherlands cannot avoid the migrants coming to this country; as a matter of fact, no country can do that. Migrants not only give benefits to their countries of origin, like sending back remittances but also make a great contribution as the main economic capital in a country. Money is not enough to accommodate the wheel of an economy. There was something in common in the trend of migration at the beginning of the 20th century up to the unification of the EU. Migration is greatly correlated to economic growth and condition of a country. When the economic growth is positive, which means wider job opportunities, migration will happen more and more to this country.

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#### CHAPTER IV

# SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND MIGRANT MOBILITY: A Case Study of Moluccans in the Netherlands

Gusnelly

#### IV.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on Indonesian migrant problems especially of Moluccan migrant problems in the Netherlands. The discussion starts with the history of the Moluccan arrival (KNIL) in the Netherlands, the relationship between the KNIL and the Dutch, and the motivation and patterns of the migration.

The Moluccan migrant arrival in the Netherlands has become a *historical tragedy*<sup>1</sup>. They came in groups and lived in unhealthy isolated camps; their first settlement in the camps was an interesting phenomenon of many sad experiences and sufferings. This chapter also describes how Moluccans adapted and integrated within their groups of Moluccans and among the Dutch. When they were still in the camps and when they lived in wards (*Wijk*). The socialization between the Moluccans and the Dutch people became part of the initial phase of the Moluccan community life in the Netherlands. Various conflicts in social life, economics, culture and politics had become their norm. Later, this chapter will describe the first, second and third generations of Moluccan migrants.

The Republic of the South Moluccas (RMS) ideology was one factor in why Moluccans migrated to the Netherlands in the 1950s. Solidarity among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This term is taken from interview with Peter Romijn, a researcher on NIOD 19 June 2005, in Amsterdam.

the Moluccans (especially the ideal to build the RMS) made Moluccans in the Netherlands keep in contact with their families in the Moluccas and support them. The various dynamics in Moluccan migrant life is a new study for Indonesian people from which they can take lessons.

### IV.2. Indonesian Migrants in the Netherlands

## IV.2.1. Indonesian Migration History in the Netherlands

The Netherlands receives many Indonesian people. This is because the Dutch had occupied Indonesia for 350 years. As a matter of fact, the arrival of Indonesians in the Netherlands started to be discussed in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was an impact of the, what was so called, ethical policy, changes in the Netherlands Indies. This policy gave more opportunities for educated Indonesians to study in the Netherlands and made a good impact on the development of young Indonesians at that time.

Many studies on migration and migration problems in Europe have been conducted, such as the study made by Floris Vermeulen<sup>2</sup>. Vermeulen concludes that migrants become one factor that influences the government to make a decision. Other studies about Moluccan migrants were conducted by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A researcher and migration expert from the Netherlands who is still active as a researcher at the Institute of Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) Department of Political Sciences University of Amsterdam. His PhD dissertation 'The History of Migrant Organization in Amsterdam and Berlin 1960-1990', has been published in Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies 1999 in the Netherlands. Another piece about migration is 'Immigration Policy and Ethnic Organization in Amsterdam, 1960-1990: A Local Historical Approach', presented in workshop '*Immigration Policies: between centre and peripheries, national state and EU*', held by the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR).

Fridus Steijlen<sup>3</sup>, Dieter Bartels<sup>4</sup> and Hans Van Amersfoort<sup>5</sup> (1982). Amersfoort found that Indonesian migrants came to the Netherlands starting in the early 1940s. Another report claims that an Indonesian man, Abdus Zamad, came to the Netherlands at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. He was an ambassador of the Aceh sultanate and was buried in St. Peiter's church in Middleburg<sup>6</sup>. Whether other Indonesians visited the Netherlands in that and the following centuries is not known. It is assumed that the Dutch government kept the information quiet so that the native residents did not know the historical facts relating to the Netherlands. The Dutch wanted to conquer Indonesia and also exploit it.

However in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the political climate changed in the Neherlands. The government issued *De ethische politiek* and as a consequence many students from Indonesia came to the Netherlands to study. At first this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Fridus Steijlen a Dutch anthropologist in the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast and Caribbean Studies in Leiden who is also a researcher at the Royal Academy of Art and Sciences (KNAW) in the Netherlands. He has analyzed Molluccan migration since 1976.Research on ethnic Moluccans is familiar to him and he is very close to the Moluccans in the Netherlands. At present Fridus is directing his research to ethnic crimes by taking the cases of Moluccan and Caribbean migrants

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Dieter Bartels, an anthropologist from Cornel University, making his dissertation on Moluccans and their problems as migrants in the Netherlands. For almost 20 years he has been dealing with Moluccan lives so that Moluccans are familiar with him. Until now he likes to spend his time in the Netherlands rather than in America because he wants to mingle with Moluccans in the Netherlands. One of his books about Moluccans is 'Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival that proves how close he is to Moluccans especially in the Netherlands. This book analyzes many aspects of both history and anthropology especially about integration problems of the Moluccans in the Netherlands.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Amersvoort, 'Immigration in the Netherlands 1945-1975' in Immigration and the Formation of Minority Groups: The Dutch Experience 1945-1975, Cambridge University Press, London, 1982. pp. 81-82.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Hisyam, M. Sekilas Sejarah dan Peranan Dalam Dakwah Islam di Nederland, Den Haag, PPME/YMAE Press, Den Haag, 1996. p. 9

was limited only to the upper class. Then students from various strata were sent in the 1930s. Not only students, but also sailors, restaurant staff and manual workers in industries<sup>7</sup>. However, when World War II broke out, the students returned to Indonesia.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many civilians from Indonesia went to the Netherlands. It was because the law permitted Indonesians, as residents of one of the Netherlands colonies to change their citizenship, by marriage, to become Dutch<sup>8</sup>. So, through *Staatblaad* some Indonesians married Dutch people, lived in the Netherlands and had to obey all the laws and regulations in the Netherlands. The Netherlands regulations determined that those who were Christians had to obey the Dutch civil regulations. Mixed marriages transferred people to be Dutch citizens. They were usually civilians and did not work for the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (*Koninklijk Nederlands Indies Leger: KNIL*).

Amersfoort classified 5 periods of Indonesian migration:

- 1. 1945-1948. Indonesian people migrated to the Netherlands because of the fighting against the colonial power. In the first period, these migrants were refugees. Their settlement in the Netherlands was only temporary until the chaotic situation in Indonesia was under control. Some people, however, preferred to live in the Netherlands permanently, especially those who married a Dutch person or those who were under work contracts with the Dutch government such as teachers, nurses, etc.
- 2. 1949-1951. Indonesian people migrated to the Netherlands for family reunion reasons. They wanted to visit their family who had settled in the Netherlands previously.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> ibid., pp. 10-17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Supriadi, Wila Chandrawila Hukum Perkawinan Indonesia dan Belanda, Mandar Maju, Bandung, 2002. p.15

- 3. 1951-1956. was when the biggest number of Indonesian migrants went to the Netherlands from the KNIL dominated by Moluccans. Most were Moluccans.
- 4. 1958. Indonesian people migrated to the Netherlands because they did not want to accept the nationalization process in Indonesia. That year, all assets and companies in Indonesia were nationalized. The nationalization movement made some Indonesians who were pro-Netherlands migrate there. In 1965. Indonesian people migrated to the Netherlands because of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) revolution on 30 September 1965, called the G30S/PKI in Indonesia. They were also students who were sent to the Netherlands and other countries by Soekarno and were not allowed to come back to Indonesia because they were involved in the PKI. Until now, they still live there and set up organizations that care for Indonesians.

From the explanation above, migration is not simple but there is an establishment of human relations. In other words, people will think carefully when they want to migrate, they should determine what country they will go to, plan what they will do and perhaps who will accept them. When there was a political crisis in Indonesia, the Netherlands became the destination country for Indonesians. Also when big riots occurred in the Moluccas in 1998, many Moluccans went to the Netherlands because they had family there. In the last decade, following the economic crisis in 1997, many Indonesians migrated to countries in Europe including the Netherlands.

The Moluccan migrants are the biggest number of Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands. Their migration can be categorized as that of refugees because First, they lived in the Netherlands just temporarily not permanently; Second, they migrated because of political chaos in Indonesia due to the RMS;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Interview with Mr Mintardjoon 30 May 2005, Leiden.

and Third, they got special treatment from the Dutch government. However, the refugee term was never applied to Moluccan migrants because they did not feel like refugees. Finally, Moluccan migration was, categorized as permanent migration.

The Moluccan willingness to stay permanently came up as they had worked in the Netherlands for a long time. Also, they had the same religion and beliefs that made it easy for them to be accepted as Dutch citizens. However, for some people the migration was just temporary until what they wanted was accomplished. They migrated to the Netherlands as a strategy so that they could establish the RMS when they would return to Indonesia. Another issue is that some Moluccan migrants do not want to be called Indonesian migrants. They can accept the term of Indonesian migrants geographically and historically but ideologically they have pro and contra desires in their own community (especially in the first generation)<sup>10</sup>. Moluccans who arrived in the Netherlands in 1951 considered that they had not become Indonesian citizens. At that time, they just acknowledged the Netherlands Indies although the Republic of Indonesian Union (RIS) had already been formed in 1949. Those who came to the Netherlands were not only KNIL soldiers and their families but also civilians11, who had a relationship with Moluccans, as quoted in this following interview:

I am the second generation of Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands and my surname is Manuhutu. My father and his friends migrated to the Netherlands but they were not KNIL members because at that time my father was a university student in Makassar. When riots happened in Moluccas between the Indonesian government and the RMS, my father fled to Semarang with some of his family and then went to the Netherlands at the same time KNIL went to the Netherlands too. So, I did not experience living in camps. My

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Interview with the elderly in Hunzeheem 8 June 2005 in Groningen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Interview with Wim Manuhutu, head of the Dutch Moluccan History Museum 1 June 2005 in Utrecht.

mother was born in Jakarta (Netherlands Indies) but she has Dutch blood (Indo). She finished her teacher training in the Netherlands Indies and was then sent by the Dutch government to Den Haag to teach in a special school for Moluccan children in the Netherlands. At this place my mother met my father.

Although most Moluccan migrants were ex KNIL members, non ex KNIL members were accepted and mingled with other Moluccans in the Netherlands. Those who did not live in camps sympathized with other Moluccans who lived in camps. There was no objection when a non KNIL member's son was appointed to head the Moluccan History Museum in Utrecht. For Moluccans, if there was a Moluccan who could become a leader, they would accept him. It was because there were only a few Moluccans in the second generation who were highly educated.

# IV.2.2. General Description of the Economic and Social Condition of Indonesian Migrants

According to Samuel, as quoted by Abdul Haris, migration activities can mean a change of dwelling, either permanent or semi permanent that includes newcomers, temporary immigrant workers, guest workers, students, or illegal migrants who cross a country's borders. Some factors become the reasons and motivations for why people migrate, such as economic matters. Getting a job easily and a higher salary in a new place attract people to migrate. Migration can contextually be said to be a life survival. This survival process in a wider meaning, can be connected to economics, politics and culture. Quoting Peterson, Tjiptoherianto<sup>12</sup>. concludes that citizen mobility can be *suffering* or *cornered*. In the case of Indonesian migrants, Moluccan migration to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Tjiptoherianto, P. 'Transmigrasi dan Produktifitas SDM dalam Otonomi Daerah', seminar paper presented in a day seminar Seratus Tahun Kolonisasi, 55 Tahun Transmigrasi, PPK-LIPI and Depnakertrans, Jakarta, 2005.

the Netherlands was initially semi permanent migration. The pattern changed into being permanent because they refused to return to Indonesia. Meanwhile, other Indonesians migrated for economic reasons. They could be semi permanent (in contract based job) and they could be permanent at any time.

Indonesian migrants have existed in the Netherlands since the beginning of the 20th century with different arrival patterns and motivations. They migrated for both economic and political reasons. The Moluccans' wish to have an independent country separated from Indonesia was finally irrelevant because they had become permanent residents.

In 1994, it was estimated that around 1.6 million Indonesian migrants lived in the Netherlands. Referring to the data from the Indonesian Citizen Protection, number RR-0267/DEPLU/II/2005 dated 4 February 2005, there were 12,245 Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands. Of that number, 6,568 people were formal and informal workers, 2,083 people were married to local residents, and around 689 people<sup>13</sup> were students and in training workers. The assumption is that this number will not increase due to the more strict immigration regulations issued by the Dutch government at this time. Foreigners who want to live in the Netherlands must have deposit money or a permanent guarantor registered as a Dutch permanent citizen.

The Dutch government still gives social insurance subsidies to the elderly Indonesian people who have lived and worked in the Netherlands for a certain time. They will not lose their subsidies although they come back to Indonesia<sup>14</sup>. In this case, the Dutch government does not limit their citizenship. The period worked and the deduction of salary become the basis of the subsidy. It means that there will be no difficulties, especially in their financial conditions, for elderly people. Mr Mintardjo, for example, has lived and worked

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Interview with Indonesian Embassy staff 3 June 2005 in the Hague.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Kompas Soal Orang Indonesia yang Kembali ke Tanah Air: The Netherlands Tetap Beri Tunjangan Sosial, Kompas, 7 March 2000.

in the Netherlands since 1949 and he receives a pension until now. The elderly get subsidies for food and house rent every month. All subsidies are based on the deductions from their salaries when they were still working<sup>15</sup>.

The financial situation is not difficult for Indonesians who marry local residents. Usually, their spouses have already settled to support their lives. Indonesian women who marry Dutch men choose to be housewives rather than workers. In contrast, the Indonesian men will do any job to support their families<sup>16</sup>. They generally work in informal sectors as house painters, merchants, shop assistants or restaurant waiters. It is very difficult for them to get formal jobs or be professionals with high salaries because they are not Dutch citizens. For them, working as manual labourers or waiters in the Netherlands is better than working as private employees in Indonesia as is shown by the following interview:

I married a Dutch woman and chose to follow my wife to the Netherlands. I was sure that by following my wife to the Netherlands, it would be easier for us to maintain our family. My wife would have difficulties if she had to find a job in Indonesia and the climate is not suitable for my wife. I decided to go to the Netherlands because I was sure that my family would have a better life here. Until now, our marriage is not officially recognised by the state. Although my marriage is illegal, my existence here is legal. It is better for me to be a manual worker here than being a private employee in Indonesia because the salary in Indonesia cannot support our daily life. I can still go back to Indonesia once a year with the income I get in the Netherlands. I will hang on in here until my proposal to be a permanent resident is accepted by the Dutch government<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Interview with Mr Mintardjo 31 May 2005 in Leiden, Mr. Mintardjo is an Indonesian migrant living for almost 10 years in the Netherlands.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Interview with Mrs Evi 11 June 2005 in the Hague.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Interview with Wandi (an assumed name) 11 Junie 2005 in Leiden.

Until now the number of professionals in the Netherlands is not known precisely. Mostly they prefer to maintain their Indonesian citizenship although they have married local residents. To keep their citizenship status, they must go to the Indonesian Embassy every time their visas expire.

Improving their lives is the main factor why Indonesian people migrate. They have considered the advantages and the disadvantages that they will get.

Generally, illegal Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands come to the Netherlands as illegal workers or to follow their families. After their tourist visas expire, they do not want to extend them because the Dutch government will make it difficult for them to do so. The Dutch government will charge a very high tariff and apply strict regulations to get a permanent residence permit. They therefore decide to be illegal citizens rather than go back to Indonesia. They often think 'is there any job for me if I return to Indonesia?' Some Indonesian migrants in the Netherlands want to go back to Indonesia when they have earned much money so that they can start a business in Indonesia. Before the EU unification, many illegal workers were willing to be deported to Indonesia because the government would pay all the costs. But now, illegal workers must provide much money if they are deported. Besides, if they ever want to return to the Netherlands, they must pay a lot<sup>18</sup>.

## IV.3. Moluccan Migrants in the Netherlands

The existence of Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands is not new because their community has enriched the Netherlands with the uniqueness of their culture. It has been at least 40 years that Moluccans have lived in the Netherlands since their initial arrival in big groups. It was not an easy thing to do because they had to integrate with local residents in the Netherlands. They

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Interview with Wandi (an assumed name) 11 Junie 2005 in Leiden.

also had to fight for a better life, better education and equal rights with local citizens. They felt that they had benefited the Netherlands, so they wanted to be Dutch citizens. This belief made them survive in the Netherlands and in 1997 their number reached 50,000. In 1963, the Indonesian Embassy in the Netherlands collected data on Indonesian people in the Netherlands. Some KNIL members and Moluccans registered and asked the government to return them to their homeland. From 1975 to 2002, a Dutch institution called 'Pelita' headed by Soedharmo Djajadiwangsa (General Inspector of Internal Affairs/ Secretary of the Moluccan Repatriation Community) repatriated many Moluccans to Indonesia<sup>19</sup>. Moluccans who wanted to be repatriated were: First, those who were homesick and did not want to be separated from their families; Second, those who did not fit in with the Dutch culture so they could not adapt to the culture; Third, those who could not adapt to the climate in the Netherlands. The Indonesian government gave them the chance to work in agriculture. Each family was given 2 ha of farmland and a house to live in. This policy reminded them that it is difficult to separate from Indonesia by forming the RMS. This pessimistic feeling can be found in the third and fourth generations because they have already forgotten about forming the RMS<sup>20</sup>.

Moluccan migrants are a minority group in the Netherlands. The number of Moluccan migrants did not increase in comparison with Turkish and Moroccan migrants. Turkish migrants have reached 300,000 and Moroccan migrants have reached 233,000.<sup>21</sup>. If looked at from the settlement point of view, Moluccans live in the rural areas of the Netherlands. Due to their first settlements being in isolated camps, one of which was in *Hoogkerg* village in Groningen Province.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Interview with Wandi 6 June 2005, in Leiden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Interview with Mr X 3 June 2005 in the Hague.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Interview with Fridus Steijlen 31 May 2005, Leiden.

### IV.3.1. Process of Moluccan Migrant Arrival in the Netherlands

Moluccas<sup>22</sup> is one of island groups in Indonesia which have been called the 'Spice Islands'. The name was given because the islands are rich in natural resources especially spices. The spices, for so long a blessing for the islands, turned into a curse under which Moluccans had to suffer for centuries and which, indirectly, still affect them today. The beauty of the Moluccas is still proclaimed in the sweet lyrics in songs sung until now. It, unconsciously, is a factor that makes Moluccans in the Netherlands still love their mother country. With the big number of their community in the Netherlands, the Netherlands is part of their lives and is their second home.

In 1951, the Mollucan soldiers (ex KNIL) and their families were transported to the Netherlands in 14 ships. Some information claims that their number was about 12,500 to 13,000 people<sup>23</sup>. The Dutch government decided to bring the 3.578 soldiers plus around 8,500 family members 'temporarily' to Holland in March and April 1951. Around 65.5% of the troops were ethnic Ambonese people because they were born in the Central Moluccas.(Ambon, Ceram, Haruku, Saparua, and Nusalaut) and 10.6% were born outside the Moluccas but of Ambonese origin. Around 23.9% came from Tanimbar and Kei Islands in the South Moluccas<sup>24</sup>. Some of them came to the Netherlands not to be permanent inhabitants but only temporarily because of the political chaos and their intention to form the *Republic of South Moluccas* (RMS).

The KNIL had done many things for the Dutch government such as fighting the Japanese. However, the Netherlands was defeated and the posi-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Vermeulen. Hans and Rinus Penninx (eds.) Immigrant Integration: The Dutch Case, Het Spinhuis, Amsterdam. 2000. pp. 8-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Veenman, Justus The *Social Integration of Moluccans*, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. p.3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Veenman, Justus The Social Integration of Moluccans, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. p.3.

tion of the KNIL became worse. They were loyal to the Dutch, however, Soekarno-Hatta declared the independence of Indonesia. The worry was reduced when the Netherlands did not admit the independence of Indonesia and returned to Indonesia with its allies. KNIL soldiers (Moluccans) began, once again, to be the Netherlands' puppet force. They did not respond to the Indonesian government's policy to absorb them as members of the Indonesian forces although, in fact, in 1947, the Moluccas became one of the provinces in Indonesia.

The war between the Netherlands and Indonesia ended after 'the Round Table Conference' held in Den Haag from the 23<sup>rd</sup>August to the 2<sup>nd</sup>November 1949. As a result, on the 27<sup>th</sup>December 1949, the Netherlands acknowledged Indonesian sovereignty under the name of the Republic of Indonesian Union (RIS). Then Indonesia consisted of some states, one of which was the Eastern Indonesian State of which the Moluccas were a part. Later, at the beginning of the 1950s some provinces in Sumatera attempted to separate from the federation and wanted to establish the Republic of Indonesia. The Moluccans also wanted to form the RMS and on 25 April 1950 they declared their independence.

To eradicate the RMS action, the Indonesian government asked the ex KNIL soldiers again to join the Federal Indonesian Republican Army (APRIS) but hardly anyone responded. Only 1,000 people out of 25,000 ex KNIL soldiers were willing to join APRIS. About 6,000 personnel were fired and 12,000 people were mobilized to the Moluccas and to some other areas. Around 2,000 people sent to the Moluccas finally joined and became RMS soldiers and 4,000 personnel were under the RIS force<sup>25</sup>. Both those who joined the APRIS and those under the RIS force finally resigned because they were considered traitorous.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bartels, Dietels Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. pp.12-13.

The negotiations between the Dutch government and the ex KNIL soldiers also came to a deadlock because they did not want to mobilize them from Java to the Moluccas but wanted to transfer them to the Netherlands. The Dutch government tried to hinder what they wanted because the Dutch government did not want to be involved in conflict with the RIS government. The ex KNIL soldiers and their followers eventually had to face the RIS government. The decision of the Dutch government to reject bringing them to the Netherlands was not accepted by the Moluccans and they brought the case before a Netherlands court. While waiting for the decision, they still made preparations to establish the RMS. In the end, the Dutch government permitted them to come to the Netherlands and be placed in specific places for just six months before returning to Indonesia<sup>26</sup>. After six months the Moluccans refused to return to Indonesia because they had not accomplished the RMS yet. As well, they did not want to return because they wanted the Dutch government to pay for their loyalty to the Netherlands. They also demanded that they be appointed to the official army in the Netherlands. The Netherlands, of course, rejected the demand due to the fact that these people were actually Indonesian citizens. Besides, based on the military regulation of 1931, they did not fulfil the requirements of the Netherlands military forces.<sup>27</sup>

#### IV.3.2. KNIL and the Dutch Government

The relationship between the Moluccans and the Netherlands has existed for more than 350 years (1595-1945), since the Netherlands colonized Indonesia. The Moluccan area was taken by the Dutch from the Portuguese. Later, the Netherlands established the *Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC) in the Netherlands Indies. Most workers were Moluccans and they worked as teachers, soldiers, servants, and priests. Those who worked in of-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> ibid., pp.11-12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Interview with Fridus Steijlen 31 May 2005, Leiden.

fices were usually of lower class and they were mostly Christians. The Dutch government also employed them as soldiers known as the Royal Netherlands Indies Army (*Koninklijk Nederlands Indies Leger*: KNIL). The Moluccans became the backbone of the Dutch government when the Netherlands colonized Indonesia. Some KNIL members joined the Royal Dutch Navy, a special army that was placed not only in the Netherlands Indies but also in other Dutch colonies. However, Moluccans preferred to be the members of KNIL rather than to be the members of the Royal Dutch Navy. KNIL was actually similar to a police force that was in charge of keeping and controlling security in the Netherlands Indies. When Japan invaded Indonesia in the 1940s, KNIL helped the Dutch government to face Japan although finally the Netherlands lost the Netherlands Indies in 1942.

## III.3.3.Ideology of the Republic of South Moluccas (RMS)

Those who came to the Netherlands, both KNIL members and non KNIL members, were RSM supporters. The RMS movement was triggered off by the Andi Azis movement in Makassar in 1950, that asked to leave federal Indonesia. Moluccans led by Soumokil and Manusama wanted to form the RMS. The RMS was monopolized by the two big religious groups, Christian (80%) and Muslim. Christians dominated the RMS because of their closeness to the Netherlands<sup>28</sup>. Those who did not become RMS supporters were under RMS control<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Moluccan Christian groups long ago became the golden boys of the Dutch government. Most of them worked with the Dutch government or became KNIL members. It is because of the Dutch regulations that the Dutch government applied civil regulations to the Christians. Those who were Muslims or of other religions lived based on their religious regulations. This factor made Moluccan Christians feel that they were part of European society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Bartels, Dietels *Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival*, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. p. 15.

Actually, when Moluccan migrants arrived in the Netherlands, they had in mind the strategy to build the RMS. The RMS was led first by Soumokil (1950-1966). In 1952, Soumokil started political action through the *allied body*, an organization that specially contributed to the RMS political aspirations. There were various attempts at unification. The Dutch government rejected the designation South Moluccas in order to avoid offending the government of Indonesia, with which the Dutch government tried to normalize relations after the Round Table Conference<sup>30</sup>.

In the mid 1960s, the RMS both in the Netherlands and Indonesia protested many times against the Indonesian government under Soeharto. Moluccan youth became increasingly restless. Much less patient than their parents and with a great deal less trust in the honourable intention of the Dutch government or the effectiveness of their own bickering leadership, feeling alienated, uprooted and powerless. Moluccan youth became increasingly radicalized, insisting that both the Netherlands and Indonesia listen to their demand for the establishment of a free RMS<sup>31</sup>.

In December 1962, several factions decided to create a federation called *Badan Persekutuan* (BP). In April, 1966, the Indonesian government executed the RMS President Soumokil. So militant youth set fire to the Indonesian Embassy in the Hague. In mid 1966, they also formed an emergency government and appointed *J.A. Manusama* as the president<sup>32</sup>. Manusama's followers' ac-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Moluccan Christian groups long ago became the golden boys of the Dutch government. Most of them worked with the Dutch government or became KNIL members. It is because of the Dutch regulations that the Dutch government applied civil regulations to the Christians. Those who were Muslims or of other religions lived based on their religious regulations. This factor made Moluccan Christians feel that they were part of European society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Bartels, Dietels Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. p. 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Interview with Fridus Steijlen 31 May 2005, Leiden, For more information see Bartels, Dietels Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. p. 16.

tivities were carried out in guerrilla style. The Moluccans in the Netherlands also asked for sympathy from the Dutch people to support their struggle. When the BP failed, the various groups within the BP were dissolved in June 1966 to form a new unitary front called *Badan Persatuan Rajat Maluku Selatan* (BPRMS). At the same time, the formation of the emergency government was announced. The government in exile was promised the backing of the BPRMS, which could claim the support of the majority of the Moluccans in the Netherlands<sup>33</sup>. Its goal was to unite the Moluccan community in the Netherlands as they were from many ethnic groups. This organization was also built to avoid disintegration among Moluccans in the Netherlands. Conflicts often occurred when they elected the new RMS committee<sup>34</sup>. All members thought that the leader should be from their island. To maintain the ideology of the RMS, the Allied Body of the RMS was changed into the Union Body of South Moluccan Society (BPRMS). Both organizations became lobbyists to the Dutch government<sup>35</sup>.

In the 1970s, the RMS was stronger because the Indonesian New Order government paid no attention to them. The government developed more in western Indonesian than in eastern Indonesia, including the Moluccas Province. The good communications between the Moluccans in Indonesia and in the Netherlands made the Indonesian government spend much energy to face a Moluccan revolution. They chose the RMS ideology dominated by Christians because they thought that the Indonesian government was unfair.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Bartels, Dietels Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. p. 16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Steijlen, Fridus Using Old Notions for New Ideologies: RMS and Mollucan Conflict, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV), Leiden, 2005. p. 6.; For detailed information see, Bartels, Dietels Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. p. 17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Bartels, Dietels Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. p. 15.

When Soeharto visited the Netherlands on August, 1970, students supported by the RMS in the Netherlands, hijacked a train. This was called the *Wassenar Incident*. Soeharto's purpose was to sign an agreement on repatriation between the Dutch government and the Indonesian government linked by the *Pelita* Foundation and the Indonesian embassy. The action to reject Soeharto was ignored by the Dutch government and the agreement of Wasenaar have implemented until 2002. The agreement was to return Indonesian people in the Netherlands to Indonesia. From 1975 to 2002, about 1,500 Moluccan people were sent back to Indonesia.

In the Wassenar Incident, the young Moluccan extremists hijacked a train near Assen (in the northern part of Holland), a town located in an area with one of the largest concentrations of Moluccans in Holland. In May 1977, two different groups occupied an elementary school and hijacked yet another train, taking a total of 105 children and 59 adults hostage. Twenty days later, Dutch troops recaptured the train and school. Six terrorists and two hostages were killed<sup>36</sup>.

Riots caused by the Moluccans both in Indonesia and in the Netherlands made the Dutch government consider them rebels. Many companies did not want to accept them as workers because they were considered bad people. Students were arrested and the Dutch police made sweeping raids because they were afraid that the students would hijack something again.

For Moluccan society, the RMS is an ideal that has not yet been achieved. Until the present, there are around 4,000 people that still hold to the RMS ideology. The difficulty to build the RMS is because the situation and conditions are not favourable anymore. The RMS leaders from the first and second generations are disappearing one by one. Meanwhile, the younger generations (the third and fourth generations) think that the ideal to form the RMS just causes them difficulties in their daily lives. Those who still hold the RMS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Interview with Ronald Anthony 6 June 2005 in Groningen

ideology strongly are sure that someday they can form the RMS. The supporters of the RMS have a symbol that they wear. Generally, a woven scarf symbolizing the Moluccas. They also install an RMS flag either big or small in their houses. Some people express their love for the Moluccas not by supporting the RMS but by learning the Moluccan culture so that they keep traditional musical instruments in their houses.

### IV.4. Social Interactions

## IV.4.1. Life and Interaction in the Camps

During the transition time, Moluccans experienced many difficulties when they first came to the Netherlands. Climate, food and language differences became significant problems at that time. They came with their families in the hope that they could get good treatment and services from the Dutch government for what they had done for the Dutch government. Regular houses were not available. Furthermore, the government did not want the Moluccans to live in regular houses, but in camps, whether only for six months or for several years<sup>37</sup>. It was never meant for them to integrate in Dutch society. The Dutch government was supposed to return to Indonesia as soon as possible.

The Dutch government put them in isolated and bad camps where almost 200-300 people or 30-40 families lived. The camps were spread over several areas. The Moluccan camps were military barracks, prison camps and two camps from the German period, Kamp Vught (renamed Lunetten) and Kamp Westerbork (renamed Schatenberg)<sup>38</sup>. These camps were made up of wooden houses consisting of some rooms, one living room and one kitchen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Interview with Fridus Steijlen 31 May 2005, in Leiden.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Bartels, Dietels Moluccans in Exile: A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Centre for the study of Social Conflict and Moluccan Advisory Council, Leiden, 1989. p.18.

Each room was occupied by one family. In the living room there was a fire-place that was big enough to warm the temperature in winter. They were also provided with woollen coats during winter. However, their coats did not actually keep them warm so they seldom went out of the camps. Most of them could not speak Dutch and used their own language, Moluccan Malay that allowed them socialize only within their own group. The Dutch government also sent priests to fulfil the needs of their religious lives. Nine priests were sent to serve 53 camps in 1953.

The Dutch government set up a special institution to manage the Moluccan welfare in the transition period. In 1952, the *Commission for the Care of Ambonese* (CAZ)<sup>39</sup> was established under the Ministry for Social Work<sup>40</sup>. Moluccans did not have to work because the Dutch government provided them with food, clothes, and other daily needs every week. The allowance was 1.5 gulden per family/week. To Moluccans, what the Dutch government gave them was not equal to what they had given to the Netherlands. They sometimes felt guilty that they had killed people in their own country for the Netherlands as quoted in the following interview<sup>41</sup>:

History has recorded that Moluccans especially the KNIL were traitors

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Interview with Fridus Steijlen 31 May 2005, in Leiden

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Smeets, Henk Mollucans in the Netherlands, Moluks Historisch Museum, Utrecht, 1992. pp. 27-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Commission for the Care of Ambonese (CAZ) was trusted by the Dutch government to take care of Moluccan welfare in the Netherlands. Initially, this institution was only for a couple of years because Moluccans were not expected to stay long in the Netherlands; because many Moluccans rejected being returned to Indonesia, they became the responsibility of the Dutch government by demanding to be Dutch citizens. Therefore, welfare and education matters became the responsibility of the Dutch government. Finally in 1967, an Ambonese Department under the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work (CRM) was established and now known as the Ministry of Welfare, Health and Cultural Affairs (WVC), see Veenman, Justus (ed.),The Social Integration of Mollucans, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994.pp. 4-5.

in the colonization era. We (our parents) had killed our brothers and sisters (Indonesian people). The question is whether we have to be dissolved in the bitter history? We, in the Netherlands, can only accept the facts. Now we are old. We really miss our hometowns. But what can we do if we go back to the Moluccas? We cry when we remember our relatives in the Moluccas who have become Indonesian citizens. We still admit that Indonesia is our country. If we had not opposed Indonesia, we would be together with our other family and relatives now in the Moluccas, and we could die there. We are old now, but we can still do our best for our country Indonesia.

The Moluccans were given insufficient clothes and food for a long time and then they started to earn money. They worked for the Dutch farmers near the camps, for example, by helping to harvest vegetables and they were paid three gulden per week. When CAZ came to the camps, they would take a day off because they were afraid if CAZ knew what they were doing they might be punished in some way. They had worked for three years. They could not leave their cultures such as celebration parties. The money they had was spent on parties. When frequently they did not have money, they stole vegetables, animals like pigs, dogs, or cows owned by the farmers. In every party, women also participated. Bachelors would look for girls from their villages before a party<sup>42</sup>.

Parties were important to release stress and conflict among the campers. In the first years of living in the camps, the Dutch government still put Muslims and Christians in the same place. The percentages of the religions were Protestant (93%), Catholic (4.5%), and Muslim (2.5%)<sup>43</sup>. The conflicts based on religion actually happened firstly in the Netherlands among the Moluccans. The conflict could be simple such as over food. For example,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Veenman, Justus (ed.),The Social Integration of Moluccans, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. p 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Interview with the elderly in an old people's home in Groningen, 8 June 2005.

when the Christians cooked the food, they did not care if it could not be eaten by Muslims (halal). This was difficult to avoid since they used the same kitchen. Another conflict occurred over the committee positions in the RMS. Until now, they are still in conflict when they elect the new members of the RMS committee. However, they forget all conflicts when they can dance and sing together.

The Dutch government realised that life in the camps was full of bitterness and feelings of isolation. The problem of regular housing became urgent. Under CAZ authority, *Commissie Verwey-Jonker* established in 1957. This institution was to list people who deserved to get pensions. From 4,000 ex KNIL members, only the 1,000 people who had worked for 15 years did so. The others only got financial support based on their working period<sup>44</sup>.

The Dutch government did this because of its promise to the Indonesian government, to return Moluccan migrants. However, the RMS supporters did not want to go back to Indonesia. The next policy was to build schools for Moluccan children with Moluccan Malay as the language of instruction. In 1959, the Verwey-Jonker Commission made recommendations to relocate Moluccans in special villages (wijk) with proper and healthy housing conditions. Parents were given short courses in Dutch language and culture. Those who studied in Dutch schools had to live with Dutch foster parents<sup>45</sup>. This was done to provide a good education. In fact, some Moluccan children were not allowed by their parents to study in Dutch schools. Those who went to Dutch schools could finally compete in the job market with Dutch people<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Miki 6 June 2005 in Groningen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Veenman, Justus (ed), The Social Integration of Moluccans, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. p. 4.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.6.

# IV.4.2. Life and Interaction in Moluccan Villages (Wijk)

The Dutch government realized that Moluccans had become their responsibility. Their lives in camps was far from healthy. The culture and life were no longer suitable for them. They had to adapt to Dutch people and culture. The *Verwey-Jonker Commission under CAZ* made new policies to provide proper housing for Moluccans not too far from the cities. The fact was that they often had been located far away from Dutch society and also many camps were located in areas that had poor employment opportunities.

The Dutch government policy to relocate the Moluccans in the special villages (wijk) was not fully supported by the Moluccans. The first and second generations had pro and contra responses, some families insisted on living in camps because they did not want to mix with local residents. Therefore, it needed almost ten years to apply the policy, from 1950 to 1960. In this period, the transition to integration happened between the Moluccans and the Dutch people. Schools for Moluccan children were the same as for the Dutch children. For Muslim children who were separated from Moluccan Christians in the 1950s, living in the Dutch community was not unusual.

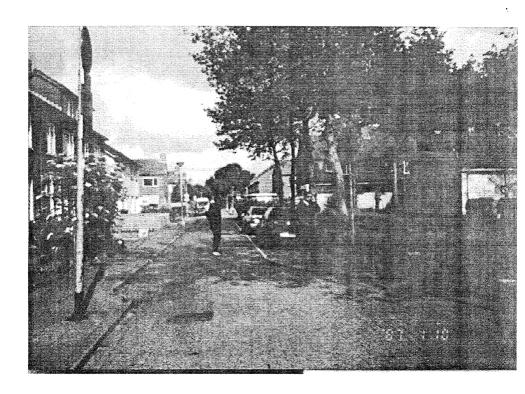
Moluccan villages (wijk) had Dutch houses. The permanent houses were of various sizes and with different rental costs. The houses were of two or three stories. The cheapest house consisted of three rooms 2 X 3 m in size, one living room, one kitchen, one shed and a back yard. Besides the back yard, after the house was fenced, another yard was provided for children as a play area and for vegetable growing (*Picture 4.3*). The Moluccan houses in the wijk were rental houses. If the rental house owner died, the Dutch government would take the rental right. The rental right was usually given to the first generation as the head of a family. Later, the rental right houses were taken by the second generation children because it was difficult to get new and cheap houses provided by the Dutch government<sup>47</sup>. Besides, Moluccans felt that the villages

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Interview with Miki 7 June 2005 in Jensenmaheerd, Groningen.

were part of their existence as they could only adapt in the Moluccan community (*Pictures 4.1 and 4.2*). They also built some houses of worship in the villages.

Picture 4.1

The condition of Moluccans wards (wijk) in Hoogkerg, Groninggen, the Netherlands.

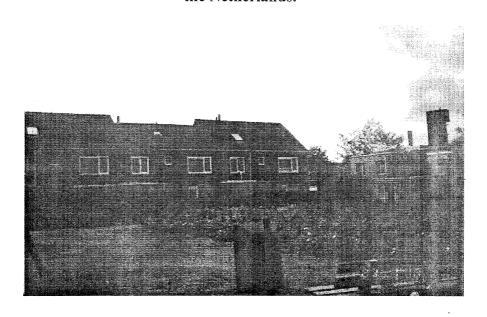


Picture 4.2
The Moluccans ward (wijk) in Hoogkerg, Groninggen, The Netherlands



Picture 4.3

The back yard in the wijk (Moluccans wards) in Hoogkerg, Groningen, the Netherlands.



The Dutch government put Moluccans in wijk according to their religions. However, the fact is that one wijk was occupied by Moluccans from different islands. Of course, this provoked interethnic conflicts. Muslims and Christians were always in conflict although they lived in *Pela Gandong* culture. Moluccan Muslims were eventually moved to *Wyldemerck* camp in *Friesland* Province in northern Netherlands where they could live and cooperate with other Moluccan Muslims<sup>48</sup>. In the determination of religion, parents took control of their children's religion. If the parents were Muslims, auto-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Interview with Mrs. Ida (a pseudonym) 5 June 2005 in Utrecht.

matically their children would be Muslim, until now; Moluccan Muslims live in an *Islamic environment* in *Wallwijk*<sup>49</sup>.

It was difficult to relocate them to other villages unless they could buy their own houses. However, the second generation's children could accept newcomers if the Dutch government rented the houses to Dutch people. The houses rented had been renovated so that the rental cost was higher.

The ironic moment was when inter island conflicts happened in a wijk among Moluccans. The situation in camps was the same as in villages. Those who were educated felt that they had to be listened to because their educational level was the same as of the Dutch people so they had to take part in the RMS decision making.

# IV.5. Development and Social Position of Moluccan Migrants in the Netherlands

In the first period, Moluccans in the Netherlands faced adaptation and integration problems with local citizens. There were many factors that they had to consider about integration problems. The main problem was their understanding of Dutch culture that was far different from Moluccan culture. Moluccans had to know and learn about Dutch culture. They had to adjust themselves to the policies issued by the Dutch government so that their next generation would be eligible for welfare services. When a Moluccan married a Dutch person and vice versa (mixed marriage), cultural conflicts would always happen. The first generation know very little of Dutch culture.

The first generation was mostly born in the 1930s. They had big problems in integrating with local citizens. They were used to living with their culture and found it difficult to leave it. Those who migrated brought their original culture and they still had contacts with people in the Moluccas so they

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Interview with Lilipali 8 June 2005 in Hoogkerg, Groningen.

did not interact with local citizens as their priority. They revived the atmosphere of the Moluccas and introduced the Moluccan culture to their children so that their children could maintain the Moluccan culture. They had done it since they lived in camps in wijk.

## IV.5.1. Moluccan People from Generation to Generation

According to *Bartels* (1990) as quoted by *Sylvia Huwae*, there are four age levels of Moluccans in the Netherlands at present:

- 1. Children between 0 18 years old;
- 2. Young people aged between 18 40 years;
- 3. Adult people in their thirties and middle aged men and women between 35-40 years and 55-60 years;
- 4. Elderly, 55 60 years old and up.

In the elderly group are usually those who were ex KNIL members called the first generation<sup>50</sup> born in the 1930s<sup>51</sup>. The second generation was usually born in the 1950s and experienced living in camps and in wijk. Some people said that the second generation who were born from the 1930s to the 1970s experienced strict lives and education like the military. They still want to maintain Moluccan culture. The young people's group is categorized into two. The first group is those who were born from mixed marriages so that their lives are not pure Moluccan in style. They do not live in wijk and do not socialize with other young Moluccans. The second group is those who were born and carry out activities with other Moluccans. The children's group (0-18 years old) is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Huwae, Sylvia Larangan Perkawinan Pela: Suatu Perkara Kolektif atau Individual?, Muhabbat Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 1996. p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Interview with Mrs. Ida, 5 June 2005 in Utrecht.

children from mixed marriages and non mixed marriages<sup>52</sup>. They do not live in wijk and even far away from wijk. They are called the fourth generation. They mingle with the traditions and culture of the Netherlands. Generally, the third and fourth generations are educated and not different from the Dutch.

The first generation that still lives in the Netherlands is about 2% of the Moluccan population in the Netherlands. In Hoogkerg, three people out of to 60 are still alive, but their condition now is really weak. The first generation preferred to have big families. When they lived in camps, they usually had 6-10 children and created problems for the Dutch government due to the high birth rate.<sup>53</sup>

Moluccans of the first generation still kept ceremonial and customary wedding practices. They were against the mixed marriages of their children. Usually those who held to this principle were the women. They felt isolated if they had to live with people who were not Moluccan<sup>54</sup>. However, many Moluccans from the second generation married non Moluccans although their parents opposed it. Conflicts with their parents became obstacles to marriage. It took a long time to solve the conflicts. If the older brother or sister were allowed to marry a non Moluccan, they younger one would find it easier to do so. In 1990, it was recorded that 11 % of male Moluccans and 19 % of female Moluccans was aged less than 20 years. The third generation was more concerned with their children's education. They are more familiar with European styles especially the sex practices.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Huwae, Sylvia Larangan Perkawinan Pela: Suatu Perkara Kolektif atau Individual?, Muhabbat Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 1996. p. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Veenman, Justus (ed.), The Social Integration of Moluccans, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. pp. 14-15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Huwae, Sylvia Larangan Perkawinan Pela: Suatu Perkara Kolektif atau Individual?, Muhabbat Nijmegen, the Netherlands, 1996. pp 6-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Veenman, Justus (ed.), The Social Integration of Moluccans, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. p. 25.

In the arts, Moluccans are clever in music and dance. The second generation can dance and sing in the Moluccan language. Fortunately, the third and fourth generations can still maintain the culture. However, for important occasions in the Netherlands, Moluccans like to invite Moluccan singers and dancers from Indonesia to show their solidarity. The third generation, as a matter of fact, has its own creations in western style. For example, Moluccan song lyrics full of love and longing for the hometown are sung in jazz, regae or R&B rhythms. Their lifestyles are more modern and free like those of other western people. They have a new identity now and the Netherlands is a country that gives them a future.

# IV.5.2. Economy, Education and Job Opportunities

At the end of the 1950s, the CAZ started to pay more attention to Moluccan life. The first generation was generally low skilled and they were given the chance to work in factories as labourers. They worked individually or in groups. Moreover, the CAZ had permitted them to work on farms owned by local farmers. They had to be independent starting from that time because the CAZ would not subsidize them again.

Non KNIL members were usually more educated because they may have gone to school when they were still in the Netherlands Indies. They could adapt easily and get better jobs. The economic situation of the Moluccans from the 1960s to the 1970s (especially after they moved to the wijk) was a bit better. Some Moluccans from the second generation could go on to higher education and finally became teachers and civil servants. The Dutch government experienced recessions due to the oil crisis in the 1970s. Many factories fired their workers including some Moluccans<sup>56</sup>. It was estimated that 70% of the Moluccan productive people lost their jobs.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Interview with Miki 7 June 2005 in Jensenmaheerd, Groningen.

The chance to get jobs was more difficult after the train hijacking in 1975 (Wassenar Tragedy) by young Moluccans. Similar events happened in 1970, 1975, 1977 and 1978. In 1977, six Moluccans were shot by Dutch soldiers<sup>57</sup>. The situation was worse because it was found out that almost 80 % of young Moluccans were drug and alcohol addicts, as quoted in the following interview:

I realized that in the 1970s it was hard for us, the young Moluccans. Almost 90 % of us living in wijk became alcohol and drug addicts. Drop out students liked to have fun. I felt inspired to solve this problem. I quit going to college and became a teacher to help them. At that time, it was difficult to get jobs and unemployment among the Moluccans was high. Dutch people were afraid of us and our children were raided by police every day<sup>58</sup>. It happened for a couple of years until they could trust Moluccans again.

The quotation shows that the struggle to get acknowledgement from the Dutch government was not easy. However, the Dutch government still gave chances for Moluccan children to study in Dutch schools at the Dutch government expense. They also got the same facilities as Dutch children. Drop out students were given opportunities to do courses so that they could compete on the job market. In the 1980s the situation was much better. Through the *Lubber-Metiary* agreement between the Dutch government and some companies, 1,000 Moluccans finally got jobs.

The education level of the third generation was better than of Turks and Moroccans. Most went to colleges and universities and finally Moluccans in the Netherlands could be equal to Dutch people. Many Moluccans worked as civil servants. They could compete in the job fields. Data shows that in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Veenman, Justus (ed.), The Social Integration of Moluccans, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. p. 25.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

1990s only 1.4% was jobless, 25% men and 30% women <sup>59</sup>. Not all have worked because many people are still in universities like the fourth generation. The higher educational level will make it easier for them to get jobs and be equal. Moluccans have also become political activists in the Netherlands such as Sam Pormes, a senate member of the Groen Links Party, and Usman Santi, an ex Dutch Senator. Wim Manuhutu, an intellectual, has become the head of the Moluccan History Museum in Utrecht. After more than 40 years of living in the Netherlands, Moluccans (the third and fourth generations) can have a good future in that country.

However, the lives of Moluccans in the Netherlands does not make them forget their motherland. Although they would not admit that they were part of Indonesia, they can now accept Indonesia and they want to go back to Indonesia. But some older generation members are worried if they go back to Indonesia where they fear they will face troubles considering that they have no jobs or income.

Moluccans in the Netherlands help their relatives in Indonesia, by sending money or accommodating their relatives as in the Indonesian economic crisis in 1997. They taught them Dutch culture and language so that their relatives could adapt with the local citizens. The Dutch government's effort to help the Moluccans is not in vain because now Moluccans can exist comfortably in the Netherlands.

### IV.6. Conclusion

The Dutch had occupied the Netherlands Indies for 350 years which recently gave the chance to Indonesian people to migrate to the Netherlands. The same applied in other ex Dutch colonies such as Suriname. The ethical policy gave the chance to Indonesians especially students to study in the Neth-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Veenman, Justus (ed.), *The Social Integration of Moluccans*, Koninklijke Vermande/ISEO, Rotterdam, 1994. p. 29.

erlands. Indonesians migrated to the Netherlands especially when a political crisis happened in Indonesia. Moluccan migrants, for example, went to the Netherlands because they were depressed by the political conditions in their homeland. The desire to form the RMS made Moluccans (especially ex KNIL) decide to migrate. Their aspiration was finally fulfilled by the Netherlands due to the fact that they had made a big contribution when the Netherlands colonized Indonesia. Nevertheless, the permission to stay was only temporary not permanent.

The number of Moluccan migrants in 1951 was around 12,500 people and now it has reached 60,000 people. They can adapt with Dutch society and have now lived for 5 generations in the Netherlands. The biggest generations are the second, third and fourth generations. The first and fifth generations are not too large in number. In Hoogkerg, for example, the first generation is only 2% and the fifth generation is 12%-15%. They actually came to the Netherlands only for temporary settlement until they could form the RMS and they lived in desolate and isolated camps like Schateneberg. The differences on climate, food and language became significant problems for Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands.

The desire to form the RMS faced many obstacles. At least, Moluccans in the Netherlands now do not pay much attention to the RMS. The first and second generations can be said to have been loyal supporters of the RMS. The communication with their relatives in the Moluccas can be maintained well until now. Some second generation Moluccans married Dutch people and changed their ideas. However, this triggered off conflicts between the parents and the children. But, once a child in a family married a non Moluccan, it was easier for the next children to marry non Moluccans. When the cultural crises hit Moluccans in the Netherlands, the second generation supported their children to follow more liberal lifestyles. Although the wish to form the RMS still exists, it is only a dream for them. The third and fourth generations have their own identities which are different from those of the first generation. They were born and grew up in the Netherlands and automatically became Dutch

citizens. The old generations still teach the younger generations Moluccan culture by visiting the Moluccan Museum in the Netherlands. They also help their relatives in Indonesia. If their relatives need money, they will send it or find a way for their relatives to get out of trouble.

The Dutch actually accepted Mollucans better than Turks and Morrocans because of their marriage and sexual customs. The Moluccans do not forbid free sex and living together without marriage while Turks and Morrocans do.

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# CHAPTER V CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Nur Aisyah Kotarumalos and Gusnelly

#### V.1. Conclusion

This research tries to explore the correlation between migration and crises, using Moluccan migrants in the Netherlands as the case study. Chapter two illustrates the Netherlands' experience in facing crises from the 1930s to the 1990s. The crises were caused not only by domestic problems but also by global conditions such as the economic depression (1930), post World War II (1940-1949), oil crises (1970 and 1973), and economic crisis (1980-1984). These crises hugely impacted upon employment conditions in the Netherlands as a country that has welfare as a political platform. One way taken by the Netherlands was to open up more job opportunities and lower the salary standard. This policy was considered better than giving social subsidies to the unemployed that could create a high burden from social subsidies increasing the Netherlands expenses. Strangely, when the Netherlands was in an economic boom in 1950-1960, the Netherlands lacked a sufficient work force that made the country invite guest workers from other countries, especially from Mediterranean countries such as Morocco, Turkey, and its ex colonies like Suriname and Indonesia.

This fact was completely different from the conditions in Southeast Asian countries. The crisis in Thailand made urban residents go back to their own villages. For them, cities could not promise a good future. Meanwhile, the crises befalling the Philippines under the Marcos regime (1980s) and the 1997 crisis gave a big push to international migration. The Philippine government supported the citizens to migrate to other countries because the job opportunities in that country were limited. Malaysia sent migrants back to their

countries when crises happened in this country in 1997, this had a negative influence on international migrants especially from Indonesia and the Philippines. The phenomenal moment for Indonesia was when Malaysia sent back thousands of Indonesian workers causing complications for the Indonesian government.

Neither the Netherlands nor the Southeast Asian countries could avoid the crises. The responses to the crises were various, depending on the stability of the economy, demography, political dynamics, and culture. The Netherlands applied the 'welfare state' policy by taking very high taxes and distributing the taxes to the unemployed and senior citizens.

Other countries' economic stability became an important factor that triggered migration for a better life due to the crises happening in the countries of origin. Access and information, spread by relatives and friends, were two most important aspects that migrants had to face. First, to determine where they would migrate to and how they could live in the new country. Turkish, Moroccan, and Indonesian migrants went through the process of getting the access and information so that they could get the true and real conditions of the country they would go to. The process created new patterns and motives of migration such as family reunion and marriage.

Indonesian migrants to the Netherlands were mostly Moluccan. This was because they (ex-KNIL) wanted to form the Republic of the South Moluccas (RMS) and since they had made many contributions when the Netherlands colonized Indonesia, they wanted the Dutch government to help them to establish the RMS. Later they became permanent residents because they refused to go back to Indonesia. The first and second generations had to go through living in two worlds because the facts of living in the Netherlands were not as they expected. They had to experience suffering and sadness.

Moluccans had had difficulty in integrating with the Dutch community because they had a different language, Moluccan Malay, and culture. The Dutch government finally decided to give the Moluccans education in Dutch

culture using the Moluccan Malay language as the language of instruction because they refused to use the Indonesian language in school. Until now, some Moluccans still use the Moluccan Malay language because they do not speak the Indonesian language. But deep in their hearts, they actually can accept Indonesia now because they still have relatives in Indonesia. For them the Netherlands Indies and Indonesia are now the same. The Dutch people try to accept them and to understand their culture. It means that Moluccan existence is not threatening anymore and very well accepted in the Netherlands.

The Dutch acceptance of Moluccans now is far different from what happened in the past. In fact, Moluccans had to suffer first before being accepted, especially in the 1970s when Moluccans were perceived as a threat in the Dutch community. This condition was started by some conflict with the Netherlands government policy, for example, the train hijacking when Soeharto planned to visit the Netherlands to sign an agreement to repatriate ex KNIL to Indonesia. The condition was worsened by the fact that almost 80% of young Moluccans were drug addicts and creating social problems.

Things have changed now. The third and fourth generations can adapt well with Dutch culture and they have even become part of the Dutch community. They are unique because their parents are Moluccan with their culture but they have absorbed Dutch culture which is different from that of their parents. This gives them a new identity.

### V.2. Recommendations

This research, as the initial research on European studies, needs to be followed up. The fact that the Moluccans had migrated to the Netherlands because of political and economic crises in Indonesia can enrich academic knowledge since this research uses the Indonesian point of view, whereas previous research had the Dutch points of view.

The follow up study should focus on the Dutch government's role in accommodating all ethnic groups in the Netherlands. From this research, we

know that the Dutch government did not erase Moluccan culture but gave bigger space for Moluccans to survive and develop their own identity. The Moluccan Museum, for example, was built to commemorate Moluccan arrival in the Netherlands and the gratitude of the Dutch government to the Moluccans that made many contributions in the Netherlands Indies. This museum can symbolize the Moluccans as unifiers in the Netherlands and become the centre of Moluccan arts.

This unique culture is the result of assimilation of the two cultures to make it different from their original culture in Indonesia. They have of course absorbed the Dutch culture but they have not forgotten their own culture and identity. It is obviously shown in the music played by Moluccans that has both a Moluccan and a Dutch touch.

From this research, the Indonesian government can learn from the Dutch government in integrating the cultural differences in the community. The Dutch government view is that conflicts among Moluccan migrants are related to economic problems so the solution must deal with the problems. The absence of economic access is seen as a source of social dissension.

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### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

## Nur Aisyah Kotarumalos and Gusnelly

Belanda sebagai sebuah negara kecil lebih akrab dikenal sebagai negara tulip atau negara kincir angin dengan ibukota Amsterdam. Belanda yang terletak antara 50'45 dan 53'52 garis lintang utara and 3'21 and 7'13 bujur selatan. Luas wilayahnya 41.526 sq km, terdiri atas 2 kawasan yaitu tanah 33.883 sq km dan perairan 7.643 sq km. Meskipun hanya kecil akan tetapi Negara ini terkanl dengan sebutan "The Netherlands is small, Think Big!. Meskipun ibukota Belanda berada di Amsterdam namun pusat pemerintahan berada di Denhaag. Belanda memiliki 12 propinsi Zeeland, South Holland, North Holland, Friesland and Groningen, North Brabant, Limburg, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Drenthe and Flevoland. Agama yang paling dominant adalah Protestant dan Khatolik. Namun ada juga penganut agama Islam dan Hindu. Dua agama bertambah banyak penganutnya karena dibawa oleh migra dari Turki, Maroko, Indonesia dan Suriname.

Dari sisi pertumbuhan ekonomi maka terlihat bahwa tingkat pendapatan GDP (The Growth Domestic Products) sebesar 3,57 di tahun 1960-1973, kemudian menurun sampai 1,83 di tahun 1987-1994. Kemerosotan GDP ini paling rendah yaitu 0,67 di 1979-1987 karena krisis minyak.

Jika melihat berbagai persoalan ekonomi maka krisis menjadi salah satu persolan yang tidak bisa dilepaskan. Berbagai macam krisis sudah dihadapi oleh pemerintah Belanda mulai dari tahun 1930 sampai dengan tahun 2000. Depresi ekonomi di tahun 1930-an terjadi karena para pelaku ekonomi dunia menguasai pasar internasional yang mengakibatkan para pemilik modal bebas menjalankan usahanya tanpa campur tangan pemerintah. Pemilik industri berusaha meningkatkan produksinya sebanyak mungkin untuk kemudian menjualnya ke pasar Internasional. Akhirnya timbul kejenuhan, terlalu banyak barang menumpuk, sehingga perputaran modal berhenti yang mengakibatkan

krisis global. Kemudian krisis di tahun 1970-an juga menjadi krisis global terparah yang disebabkan oleh tingginya harga minyak di pasar Internasional. Krisis ini menimbulkan beberapa problem bagi negara-negara Eropa Barat yang disebabkan meningkatnya angka pengangguran sementara investasi mengalami penurunan. Para investor lebih memilih menanamkan investasinya ke negara yang memiliki tingkat upah yang lebih rendah seperti Asia.

Penjabaran diatas memperlihatkan bahwa sejarah telah membuktikan tak ada satupun negara dapat menghindari krisis baik yang terjadi di dalam negara, wilayah dan bahkan dunia. Belanda, sebagai salah satu negara Barat yang berkembang dengan pesat pun harus berjuang menghadapi krisis baik yang terjadi di negara jajahannya (di masa lampau) maupun yang terjadi di negaranya saat ini. Ditambah lagi negeri kincir angin ini telah menarik perhatian migrant baik yang datang dari jajahannya dan sekitar Eropa Barat. Pada kenyataannya tingkat mobilitas penduduk menjadi meningkat ketika terjadi krisis di negara atau wilayahnya. Keputusan untuk migrasi biasanya akan muncul setelah keluarga (person) membuat perbandingan pendapatan antara dua negara (negara asal dan negara yang akan didatanginya). Keputusan migrasi tidak dibuat begitu saja, akan tetapi harus ada penghubung yang jelas di negara yang akan didatangi, misalnya teman, saudara atau kenalan yang mungkin dapat membantu mencarikan pekerjaan atau menumpang tinggal sementara.

Sejarah semua keluarga migrant di Belanda memiliki variasi yang berbeda-beda dengan tingkat keahlian yang juga berbeda. Secara historis juga dahulu selalu dikatakan bahwa aktivitas migrasi dipandang sebagai suatu proses kolonialisasi, baik yang dilakukan karena kepentingan ekonomi maupun politik. Kemudian berkembang, dimana migrasi seringkali dikatakan sebagai jalan keluar dari krisis, baik krisis ekonomi, politik dan bencana alam. Dalam aktifitas migrasi factor lain yang juga menentukan keberhasilan sebuah keluarga migrant adalah pendidikan, keahlian, kepala keluarga dan jenis kelamin. Oleh karena itu aktifitas migrasi selalu dipenuhi oleh nuansa dan dinamika yang sangat kompleks.

Migrasi telah memainkan kontruksi sosial penting di Eropa. Populasi dan identitas negeri Eropa terbentuk oleh adanya migrasi. Negara-negara Eropa ini memiliki populasi orang asing sekitar 18 juta orang. Kebanyakan negaranegara menerima migrannya yang berasal dari negeri jajahannya seperti Algeria, Maroko, Tunisia, Afrika Barat, Karibia, Indo-Chinese, Suriname, Indonesia. Terdapat 1,6 juta jumlah migran dari luar UE berasal dari beberapa negara seperti, Turki, USA, Maroko dan Yugoslavia (Eurostat, 2001). Pada tahun 1970-an, terdapat hanya 1,9 persen penduduk migran di Belanda. Pada tahun 1999 terdapat sekitar 130.600 orang asing (migran). Namun angka ini naik menjadi 3,6 persen pada tahun 1980-an, dan 10 persen pada tahun 2002. Dari jumlah penduduk yang mencapai 14.714,2 ribu orang di tahun 1987, tercatat sekitar 159,9 ribu orang asing adalah mereka yang berasal dari negara dikawasan Eropa dan sekitar 434,9 ribu orang adalah mereka yang berasal dari negara di luar kawasan Eropa. Pada tahun 2000-an jumlah penduduknya sudah mencapai 16,150,511 jiwa. Dengan jumlah penduduk sebanyak itu maka wilayah yang hanya sebesar 41,526 sq km sangatlah kecil. Jika dilihat dari komposisi etnisnya maka pada tahun 1994, jumlah migran Turki hampir mencapai 46 persen, kemudian Marokko sekitar 38,3 persen, Suriname 6,2 persen, Pakistan 2,2 persen dan Indonesia 1,6 persen dari total penduduk Belanda secara keseluruhan.

Kebutuhan migran sangat besar terutama setelah Perang Dunia kedua karena negara-negara Eropa termasuk Belanda menata kembali industri-industri raksasanya. Seiring dengan itu maka kebutuhan akan tenaga kerja sangat besar. Sebagian besar tenaga kerja berasal dari negara-negara di kawasan Mediterania seperti Maroko dan Turki. Pekerjaan yang menjadi lahan mata pencaharian migran adalah yang berkaitan dengan 3D yaitu pekerjaan kasar (Dificult job), berbahaya (Dangerous) dan kotor (Dirty). Pekerjaan seperti ini biasanya upahnya sangat murah dan kurang diminati oleh penduduk non-migran.

Selain itu migrasi tenaga kerja juga dipengaruhi oleh Kebebasan perpindahan orang dalam level inter-regional (yang disponsori oleh negaranegara Skandinavia dan diikuti oleh Benelux) yang di ulis dalam *Treaty of* 

*Rome*. Runtuhnya tembok Berlin pada tahun 1961 juga meningkatkan arus migrasi dari Jerman Timur ke negara-negara tetangganya termasuk Belanda.

Berangkat dari fakta diatas maka dapat disimpulkan bahwa pertumbuhan ekonomi positif akan menciptakan kesempatan kerja yang banyak dan menarik minat orang-orang untuk berdatangan dengan sendirinya. Menurut Samuel seperti yang dikutip oleh Abdul Haris disebutkan migrasi dalam konteks yang kontemporer, aktivitas migrasi dapat diartikan sebagai suatu perubahan tempat tinggal, baik permanen maupun semi permanen yang dapat mencakup pendatang, imigran pekerja temporer, pekerja tamu, mahasiswa maupun pendatang ilegal yang menyeberangi suatu batas wilayah negara. Ada beberapa faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi migrasi antara lain karena alasan ekonomi, kesempatan untuk mendapatkan pekerjaan dengan mudah dan kesempatan memperoleh upah yang besar.

Arus migrasi yang cenderung masuk ke Belanda sebelum PD II pada umumnya adalah berkelompok-kelompok dan jarang yang datang sendirisendiri. Mereka datang dari negara-negara di kawasan Eropa Mediterania dan negara-negara non-Eropa, misalnya dari negara-negara jajahan. Bagi mereka yang datang berkelompok ini dapat dibagi menjadi tiga kategori, *pertama*, karena alasan politik, *kedua*, diminta (diundang) untuk datang karena sudah memiliki banyak sanak saudara (keluarga) di Belanda atau yang menyediakan lapangan kerja dan *ketiga*, kelompok pengungsi.

Kemudahan untuk datang berkelompok ini dimungkinkan oleh pemerintah karena kebutuhan akan tenaga kerja dan pemerintah harus mengisi banyak kekosongan di beberapa sektor seperti industri, pertambangan dan pertanian. Sementara migran yang datang perorangan biasanya lebih banyak karena ingin mengunjungi keluarga atau sekolah. Migran yang datang perorangan ini pada umumnya adalah migran spontan yang bisa jadi tinggal di Belanda secara legal dan ilegal. Hal ini tidak bisa dipungkiri karena pemerintah Belanda pada masa-masa ini lebih fokus pada negara jajahannya sehingga tidak terlalu ketat dalam masalah keimigrasian.

Kedatangan migran Maluku di tahun 1951 dengan jumlah 12.500 orang dapat dikategorikan sebagai migran yang datang berkelompok. Ketegori ini agak berbeda dengan kedatangan migran Maroko dan Turki di tahun 1970-an. Orang Maroko dan Turki yang datang ke Belanda di tahun 1970-an dapat dikelompokkan dalam 2 kategori yaitu berkelompok dan sendiri-sendiri. Mereka yang datang berkelompok sebagian besar adalah sebagai pekerja tamu dan yang datang sendiri-sendiri karena reuni keluarga. Dari jumlah sekitar 35.000 ribu orang adalah sebagai *pekerja tamu* dan 20.000 orang adalah anggota keluarga (termasuk istri dan anak-anak).

Para pekerja tamu ini pada umumnya bekerja di sektor industri manufaktur, pertambangan dan pertanian. Mareka ini pada umumnya adalah laki-laki dan usia mereka rata-rata dibawah 35 tahun. Wilayah yang menjadi areanya adalah di daerah Belanda bagian Barat dan di propinsi bagian selatan Limburg. Kota-kota besar menjadi tempat tujuan utama para migran dari Mediteranian dan tinggal di perumahan-perumahan penduduk yang miskin dengan sewa yang sangat murah. Diperkirakan 25 tahun kemudian jumlah migran Maroko dan Turki ini sudah hampir setengah dari jumlah penduduk Belanda secara keseluruhan.

Pada periode yang sama aliran migrasi ke Belanda juga berdatangan dari bekas negara jajahan (bekas kolonialisasi) Suriname. Ada dua gelombang migran dari Suriname masuk ke Belanda dan juga menempati wilayah-wilayah kota besar seperti Roterdam dan Den Haag. Kedatangan migran Suriname pertama di tahun 1970-an pada umumnya masuk secara ilegal. Mereka yang masuk secara ilegal bekerja sebagai pekerja kontrak dan setelah itu harus kembali ke negaranya. Namun pertengahan tahun 1970-an (setelah Suriname merdeka) pemerintah Belanda memberikan kesempatan kepada warga Suriname untuk memilih kewarganegaraannya. Pada kesempatan inilah masuknya gelombang migran kedua dari Suriname di tahun 1970-an. Status mereka sudah resmi menjadi warganegara dan disediakan tempat tinggal oleh pemerintah Belanda.

Keberadaan etnis Maluku di Belanda bukanlah lagi sebuah hal baru bagi sebagian orang karena mereka sudah menjadi salah kelompok etnis yang memperkaya negeri Belanda dengan keunikan budayanya. Setidaknya lebih dari 40 tahun sudah orang Maluku berada di Belanda dan pada tahun 1997 sudah mencapai 50.000 orang. Jumlah ini mungkin tidak terlalu memperlihatkan peningkatan yang terlalu signifikan apabila dibandingkan dengan kelompok etnis Turki ataupun Maroko. Penduduk Turki pada tahun yang sama sudah hampir mencapai 300.000 orang sementara orang Maroko sudah berjumlah 233.000 orang. Dilihat dari tempat tinggalnya orang-orang Maluku lebih banyak berdomisili di daerah pinggiran (pedesaan) di Belanda karena memang mereka tinggal dalam perkampungan khusus orang Maluku yang berada jauh dari kota. Ada beberapa tempat yang menjadi domisili orang Maluku di Belanda antara lain daerah *Assen*, *Groningen* dan *Leiden* (*Walwijk*), di daerah ini paling banyak terdapat komunitas Maluku Islam.

Proses yang panjang dari rencana perjalanan ini sudah dimulai sejak awal tahun 1940-an yang dimulai dengan perundingan dengan pemerintah Belanda dan baru terwujud pada awal tahun 1950-an. Perundingan ini bermula ketika KNIL yang menjadi tulang punggung Belanda dalam menghadang pasukan Jepang mulai merasa tidak mampu melawan Jepang dan pada akhirnya Belanda kalah. Kemudian orang-orang KNIL mulai merasa khawatir ketika Soekarno-Hatta memproklamasikan kemerdekaan Indonesia. Orang Maluku (eks-KNIL) tidak merespon kebijakan pemerintah Indonesia untuk masuk ke dalam Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia meskipun pada tahun 1947 Maluku sudah resmi dijadikan propinsi dan menjadi bagian dari negara Indonesia. Mereka lebih memilih membentuk negara Republik Maluku Selatan (RMS). Guna meredam aksi RMS ini, pemerintah Indonesia kembali meminta kepada bekas tentara KNIL untuk bergabung dalam Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia Serikat (APRIS) akan tetapi tidak banyak yang meresponnya. Dari 25.000 orang Maluku yang menjadi anggota KNIL hanya sekitar 1000 saja yang menerima bergabung dalam Angkatan Perang Republik Indonesia Serikat (APRIS). Sekitar 6.000 orang diberhentikan dan sebanyak 12.000 dimobilisasi ke Maluku dan beberapa daerah lainnya. Namun dari mereka yang dimobilisasi ke Maluku akhirnya bergabung sekitar 2.000 orang dalam angkatan perang Republik Maluku Selatan dan 4.000 orang berada dalam pengawasan tentara RIS.

Kedatangan bekas anggota KNIL ke Belanda merupakan sebuah tragedy sejarah bagi migran Maluku di Belanda. Mereka tinggal di dalam kampkamp (barak) yang berada di kota-kota kecil di pedesaan dan sangat tidak sehat (layak). Tujuan pemerintah Belanda memasukan mereka ke dalam kampkamp ini pada mulanya hanya sementara saja karena mereka akan dikembalikan ke Maluku setelah 6 bulan tinggal di Belanda. Orang-orang Maluku ini tinggal terpisah dari masyarakat Belanda seperti sengaja di isolasikan.

Barak mereka hanya terbuat dari dinding kayu dan terdiri dari beberapa buah kamar, satu ruang makan dan satu ruang dapur umum. Setiap satu kamar ditempati oleh satu kepala keluarga. Pada ruang makan disediakan tempat perapian yang cukup besar agar tidak terlalu dingin. Biasanya ketika musim dingin mereka disediakan mantel (coat) yang terbuat dari bahan wool. Bagi mereka pakaian itu tidak membuat mereka hangat ketika musim dingin datang. Biasanya ketika musim dingin mereka jarang yang mau keluar rumah kecuali mereka yang punya mantel lain yang lebih tebal.

Ketika pemerintah Belanda meminta orang Maluku untuk kembali ke Indonesia, mereka menolak. Pemerintah Belanda tidak mungkin membiarkan orang Maluku terus hidup tidak layak. Mereka harus dapat berkembang dan beradaptasi dengan penduduk setempat. Pada tahun 1952 dibentuk Commision for the Care of Amboinese (CAZ) yang berada dibawah tanggung jawab menteri Pekerjaan Sosial (Ministry for Social Work) yang memiliki badan organisasi tersendiri. Orang-orang (Maluku) ini tidak dibolehkan bekerja karena pemerintah Belanda sudah memberikan jatah makanan, pakaian dan kebutuhan pokok lainnya setiap minggu. Uang saku untuk setiap kepala keluarga diberikan sebanyak 1,5 gulden setiap minggunya. Namun apa yang diberikan oleh CAZ tidaklah mencukupi kebutuhan mereka. Orang Maluku

mencari akal untuk mendapatkan uang lebih. Mereka bekerja dengan para petani Belanda di desa-desa yang ada disekitar barak-barak. Mereka bekerja menyiangi sayuran yang akan dijual atau memanen sayuran petani dengan penghasilan sekitar 3 gulden setiap minggunya. Ketika CAZ datang ke kamp, mereka yang bekerja akan mengambil cuti karena takut ketahuan oleh anggota CAZ. Situasi seperti ini berlangsung cukup lama yaitu sekitar 3 tahun. Seringkali untuuk mengatasi kesulitan makanan, mereka mencuri sayur-sayuran, ternak seperti babi, anjing atau sapi petani di desa setempat. Dalam pesta keterlibatan perempuan tidak pernah terabaikan. Bagi mereka yang masih bujangan, mencari perempuan dari desa setempat sudah dilakukan beberapa hari sebelum pesta dilakukan.

Periode pertama orang maluku datang ke Belanda mereka sudah dihadapkan pada persoalan integrasi dan adaptasi dengan masayarakat Belanda. Ada banyak factor yang harus mereka pertimbangkan dalam persoalan intergasi tersebut. Masalah yang utama adalah pemahaman mereka akan budaya masyarakat Belanda yang sangat jauh berbeda dengan budaya Maluku. Kemudian masalah pendidikan bagi anak-anak dan generasi penerus Maluku di Belanda. Secara bertahap dan sedikit demi sedikit mereka harus menyesuaikan dengan sistem pemerintahan Belanda mempelajari berbagai kebijakan pemerintah yang dapat memberi kesejahteraan buat generasi penerus. Selanjutnya persoalan baru muncul lagi ketika mereka menikah dengan orang Belanda (mix married), pertentangan budaya (culture) tetap akan menjadi problema dalam perkawinan tersebut. Upaya yang dilakukan dalam berintegrasi dengan penduduk setempat adalah dengan menyekolahkan anak-anak di sekolah Belanda. Namun mereka yang masih kuat dengan budaya Maluku lebih memilih menyekolahkan anak-anaknya di sekolah khusus untuk anak-anak Maluku. Pemerintah Belanda merasa barak tidak cukup menampung mereka dan kemudian diputuskan memindahkan ke wijk (rumah di kampung). Keinginan pemerintah Belanda ini juga mendapatkan sikap pro dan kontra dari kelompok generasi pertama. Ada beberapa keluarga yang bersikeras tetap tinggal di Barak karena tidak mau bercampur dengan penduduk setempat. Sehingga pemindahan

mereka ke *wijk* membutuhkan beberapa tahun (hampir sepuluh tahun) mulai pertengahan tahun 1950-an sampai pertengahan tahun 1960-an.

Generasi pertama dari orang Maluku yang datang ke Belanda pada umumnya adalah mereka yang lahir di Maluku pada tahun 1930-an¹. Orangorang Maluku dari generasi pertama biasa hidup dalam dua dunia (living in two world). Kebiasaan dan tradisi dari daerah asal sangat sulit hilang selama mereka masih tetap melakukan kontak dengan saudara-saudara dan keluarga di tanah airnya. Akibatnya bisa saja kontak dan komunikasi dengan masyarakat setempat tidak lagi menjadi menjadi prioritas bagi mereka. Saat ini memang jumlah mereka suda tidak banyak dalam arti kata orang Maluku yang hidup dalam dua dunia sudah mulai habis. Akan tetapi ada generasi kedua yang juga memiliki sikap yang sama dengan generasi sebelumnya. Ada sebagian dari generasi kedua yang juga hidup dalam dua dunia. Pada umumnya adalah mereka yang lahir di tanah Maluku atau yang memiliki orang tua yang sangat kuat kepercayaannya pada budaya Maluku.

Generasi kedua merupakan anak-anak muda yang hidup dalam kebimbangan yaitu antara memperjuangkan idealisme sebagai anak Maluku atau sebagai warga baru di Belanda. Generasi kedua ini adalah anak-anak yang lahir di Maluku pada awal tahun 1950-an atau yang lahir di Belanda pada pertengahan tahun 1950-an sampai awal tahun 1960-an. Mereka masih ada yang dapat menerima sepenuhnya atau sebagian saja dari ide idiologi RMS dan rasa cinta tanah air yang diajarkan oleh orang tua. Namun demikian tetap saja pengaruh budaya setempat tidak dapat mereka hindari. Hal ini disebabkan karena pada pertengahan tahun 1950-an dan 1960-an, sebagian besar dari anakanak (generasi ke dua) pernah tinggal dengan orang Belanda dan sekolah Belanda. Pemerintah Belanda merasa perlu melakukan itu agar memudahkan adaptasi bagi masyarakat Maluku mengingat sulitnya hal itu dilakukan oleh orang tua mereka (generasi pertama). Akan tetapi belum tentu demikian halnya dengan generasi ke dua terhadap anak-anak mereka (generasi ke tiga maupun generasi ke empat). Generasi ke dua sudah banyak yang menikah dengan penduduk setempat sehingga budaya dan sistem pendidikan yang diberikan kepada anak-anaknya pun sudah mengalami perbedaan. Walaupun masih ada keinginan untuk mengajarkan budaya daerah Maluku akan tetapi tidak lagi mendapat mendapat dukungan anak-anak mereka. Kemudian salah satu cara adalah dengan memasukkan anak-anak belajar budaya Maluku di Museum Maluku di Utrecth. Museum Maluku menyediakan buku-buku dan peralatan seni lainnya agar dapat dipelajari oleh anak-anak muda yaitu generasi ke tiga dan ke empat. Generasi ke tiga dan generasi ke empat pada umumnya sudah tidak lagi peduli dengan identitas Maluku mereka. Kebanyakan dari anak-anak generasi ketiga dan ke empat sudah lahir di Belanda dan otomatis menjadi warga negara Belanda. Wajah dan perilaku hidup sehari-hari sudah seperti anak-anak Belanda pada umumnya. Berbeda sekali dengan orang tua mereka, ketika masih kecil masih kuat dengan budaya Maluku.

Dalam perekonomian dan lapangan kerja, orang Maluku di Belanda lebih banyak bekerja sebagai buruh pabrik atau pekerja kasar. Hanya sebagian kecil dari mereka yang memiliki pendidikan tinggi karena hampir sebagian besar dari mereka adalah berpendidikan rendah, terutama generasi ke 1 dan generasi ke 2. Namun demikian masih ada beberapa orang yang duduk dalam pemerintahan dan partai politik. Misalnya Sam Pormes yang saat ini menjadi salah satu anggota senat dari partai Hijau (*Groen Links Partij*). Setidaknya keberadaan orang Maluku sampai saat ini masih dapat diterima oleh masyarakat Belanda (penduduk setempat). Orang Maluku yang pada umumnya Kristen masih dapat beradaptasi dengan masyarakat setempat dan menikah dengan orang Belanda.

