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Affected Ethnic Identities

An exploration into the effects of the integration debate on the ethnic identifications of third generation Indische Netherlanders

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Preface

I have conducted this study because of my own interest, but in an indirect way. I had conducted a study on Indische Netherlanders before, but that project did not really feel finished to me since I had so many questions left afterwards. The prior study was very much focused on a historical perspective and I felt I could not put forward a perspective on the here and now. Making a connection between my prior studies on both Indische Netherlanders and the integration debate I tried to make up for what I missed in my previous project and tried to give a nuanced perspective on the current situation of ethnic identity in the Netherlands.

In terms of the fieldwork I must admit I underestimated the number of interviews, and the amount of work that came along with them. One of the reasons it never felt like a burden to me however, was the fact that I really enjoyed doing it. Practically all interviews ended up in good and laid-back conversations, either in the respondent's house or at a public spot like a restaurant or bar. A not to be underestimated factor in this was that the meetings I had with my respondents often went hand-in-hand with good (Indische) food, which always pushed aside the feeling of 'working' on a thesis study . I want to take up this opportunity to once again thank all my respondents for cooperating on this project and making the entire fieldwork experience such an easy-going one. I also want to congratulate Ed and Wesley, who both became father while I was working on this project.

I have had a great deal of luck concerning my supervisors. While working on this project I had two different 'first' supervisors, Marlene de Vries and Jan-Willem Duyvendak. Duyvendak decided to step in and replace De Vries after she went on an early retirement while this project was still in progress. In terms of knowledge of useful literature Duyvendak appeared to be a great replacement, since De Vries is more specialized in the "field of Indische Netherlanders" while he has published several articles and books on the integration debate in the Netherlands. The combination of these two subjects used in this project was in that way perfectly covered in a sense. And even though the whole process took a little longer to finish because of the supervisor switch, I feel the final result profited from it. I therefore want to thank my two supervisors, and second reader Barak Kalir as well, for their support, literature suggestions and critical reading.

1. Introduction

§1.1 Introduction

As anyone living in the Netherlands can probably affirm, media coverage and political attention surrounding national identity and the position of ethnic minorities have become constant and quite normal in the Netherlands. The public and political debate on the integration of ethnic minorities, which is strongly related to debates on national identity, has developed into one of the most prevalent public affairs over the last two decades. By the term public affair I mean a social problem that is made public through media and political attention. Even though one could argue that integration issues surrounding ethnic minorities have become somewhat less central in political parties' programmes over the last few years, one can not deny the great amount of attention this public affair still receives constantly.

The current state of the integration debate is quite different from what it used to be in the 1970's and 80's, when one could hardly speak of a debate at all. Ethnic minorities were to maintain their ethnic identity, since a vast majority of the political parties believed that would have a positive effect on their emancipation. Tolerance and carefulness seemed to be the keywords. One of the first changes of discourse on ethnic minorities were to be seen in the early 90's, when for instance politician Frits Bolkestein publicly problematized the relationship between Western and Islamic culture, claiming the two to be incompatible. At that point the minority policy had already moved from a group to a more individual perspective, putting more emphasis on the individual immigrant's responsibility to integrate well into Dutch society. During the 90's a debate on the position of ethnic minorities began to develop further and multicultural ideals and cultural relativism became more and more questioned. In 2000 it reached a new zenith with Paul Scheffer's article "the Multicultural Tragedy", published in one of the most read newspapers. Scheffer voiced his concern of an emergence of an ethnic underclass, high unemployment and crime rates in immigrant groups and the rising number of 'black schools' in the country. He stated Dutch politics had maintained the "integration with maintenance of cultural identity ideal" for too long. His article sparked public debate, and following events like 9/11 and the murder of right-wing politician Fortuyn in 2002 turned the integration debate into a political priority. We will get to a more detailed and thorough historical perspective later, but for now it is sufficient to quote Sleegers in that "the content and tone of the political and public debates have changed from a dominant discourse with multiculturalism as ideal and a 'mild style of speaking', to a

dominant discourse in which stricter demands of cultural adjustment are more and more accompanied by 'clear' or even 'hard' language" (Sleegers 2007: 5, my translation). We do have to note here that some other scholars hold a slightly more nuanced perspective on this change of discourse that Sleegers proposes, something we will get further into later on.

Reactions in political and public debate to this hard language, anti-immigration and anti-Islamic statements often point to moral objections against singling out particular ethnic groups (Muslims, Moroccans, Antilleans). Additionally, critics also point to the possible contrary effects on the actual integration of these groups. Some scholars and publicists have focused more on these contrary and polarizing effects of the debate. Harchaoui for example stresses the negative effects of the hardened tone in his article "Normoverschrijding en allochtone jongeren"(2004). His main point is that the one-sided attention to crime in relation to allochthon, and mostly Moroccan, youth has a stagnating effect on their emancipation. This perspective is something that has sparked my interest. Not in the last place since focussing on this idea of negative effects of the hardened tone in the integration debate allows me to combine two topics that I have done some research in recently. Before I started working on this master's thesis I wrote a bachelor's thesis on the assimilation of Indische Netherlanders, mostly based on literature. During my master's I had also done some research into the integration debate, looking at the different ways in which integration problems of the Moroccan-Dutch and Chinese-Dutch are portrayed in the public debate. I feel that the previous studies I conducted on both of these topics could lead me towards a more in depth view in this project. I assume that the connection between the integration debate and Indische Netherlanders that I am talking about here might need some more explanation.

There are several immigrant categories in the Netherlands and the 'big four' consist of Turks, Antillians, Surinamese and Moroccans. Another category, the first after the WWII, the first coloured immigrant group and also the biggest, are Indische Netherlanders. Most of them arrived after Indonesia's independence in 1949 in several 'immigration waves'. We do have to note here that Indische Netherlanders are a significantly different immigrant category than other immigrants that have come to the Netherlands from Indonesia such as Moluccans and Indonesians. The specific immigration histories set these categories apart from each other. Since the 1970's the Indische Netherlanders have been considered a well-assimilated group and were therefore never subject to the Minority Policy that started out in the early 1980's. Indische Netherlanders are therefore not considered one of the big immigrant categories/groups. Since the 1980's however, a certain part of the second generation seemed to have developed some kind of new interest in their ethnic background. From that point on a

part of second and now also third generation Indische Netherlanders identify themselves to certain extent as “Indo” and define themselves by that term. One can find an enormous amount of Indische community sites on the internet, several youth organisations (with the aim of preserving culture and community), weblogs, pasar malams that are organized throughout the country etcetera. The point I am trying to make is that while Indische Netherlanders are considered well assimilated, they still remain visible.

The fact that a certain part of the second and third generation of a seemingly assimilated immigrant category/group returns to some kind of ethnic awareness is not a unique phenomenon outside of the Netherlands. It reminds one of Gans’ classical piece (1979) in which he handles “a new kind of ethnic involvement” in the United States which he calls symbolic ethnicity. Put shortly, his point was that from the third generation on immigrants are less concerned with ethnic culture and organizations but more with maintaining an ethnic identity, a feeling of being a certain ethnic. The ethnic role they take on is therefore far less ascriptive than “a voluntary role that people assume alongside other roles” (1979:8). The studies of both Alba (1990) and Waters (1990) show some similarities with the case of Indo’s in the Netherlands as well. As did Gans, both Alba and Waters conducted a study into the ethnic identifications of “white ethnics” in the United States. Alba speaks of a paradox between the decline of objective ethnic differences and the subjective importance of ethnic origins to white Americans. In their concluding remarks, both Alba and Waters stress the voluntary nature of the ethnic involvement of these “white ethnics”. Their ethnic identity seems to be based on choice, does not affect much and matters only in voluntary ways, as Waters puts it.

In one of her articles on Indische Netherlanders (1999) de Vries reflects on the theoretical connection between the social situation of these white ethnics in the United States and second and third generation Indo’s in the Netherlands. She concludes that while there are many parallels, the optional or symbolic ethnicity that Gans, Alba and Waters speak of is only partly the case for Indische Netherlanders. Their ethnic identity is only partly optional since she feels a certain kind of “inescapability” from ethnic heritage remains, by which she means the consequences of the colonial period and the Second World War. She does add however that this inescapable part of Indische heritage applies mostly to second generation Indische Netherlanders and to a much lesser extent to the third generation. I will therefore focus this study on third generation Indische Netherlanders, since they seem to have more freedom in the way they define themselves ethnically.

At this point we can see the connection between the debate on integration and Indische Netherlanders more clearly. The fact that third generation Indo's seem to have a certain form of optional ethnicity makes them interesting to a research on any negative or contrary effects of the hardened tone in the integration debate. Since they have some kind of freedom to move between being Dutch and being ethnic/allochthon, how, if at all, does the current state of the integration debate affect them? If the one-sided negative attention to allochthon youth effects their emancipation in a negative way, as Harchaoui puts it, how does this work for people who are in a way 'in between' allochthon and autochthon, and have the option to move between those two**.** Even though Indische Netherlanders are considered a well-assimilated group and are no subject of discussion in the integration debate as are for instance Moroccans, I feel the optional or symbolic nature of their ethnic identity gives Indische Netherlanders a unique position in current Dutch society. A study into the effects of the current integration debate on their ethnic self-definitions could provide valuable information about the contrary effects of this hardened tone on the integration and emancipation of other immigrant categories.

As de Vries showed in her book *Indisch is een gevoel* (2009) published recently, the category of third generation Indo's is quite heterogenous, not only in terms of social-economic issues such as income and education but also in their looks or appearance and more importantly in the way individuals give meaning to their ethnic heritage. If we take all these differences into account, we might be able to learn about the effects of the integration debate in greater detail. So in order to come up with a thorough answer to the main research question, we must also look at these varieties within the research population carefully. To what extent does categorization from outside have any effect for instance, in other words, does skin colour or ethnic appearance play a role? One could expect someone who is often labelled as non-Dutch or foreign to have a different perspective on the debate than one who is always labelled as Dutch. And what about education, does a higher level of education lead to higher political engagement and therefore a greater effect of the current integration debate on one's own ethnic background? I have formulated my main research question and subsequent questions below.

§1.2 Research questions

Main question: does the 'hardened' tone of the integration debate in the Netherlands have any effect on the way third generation Indische Netherlanders give meaning to their ethnic identity?

- Does it lead them to an embrace or an abandoning of an Indische ethnic identity?
- Does skin colour play a role in this?
- What about education/income/class?
- Does their level of commitment to their Indische background have any effect on this as well?
- Does their ethnic heritage give them a certain view on the current integration debate?
- Does this 'hardened' tone have any effect on the way the respondents give meaning to their ethnic identity in different contexts?

§1.3 Methodology

The research population for this study thus concerns anyone who one could share under the category "third generation Indische Netherlanders". Basically, this category contains anyone who has at least one grandparent who was born in the former colony of the Dutch Indies and later migrated to the Netherlands. The term "Indo" or "Indische Netherlander" is contested among a certain part of the former inhabitants of the Dutch Indies and their descendents, and in most of the studies on them as well. The points of contestation are for example the question whether or not the white Dutch people who lived in the colony and their descendents are supposed to be referred to as "Indo" as well since some people feel the term only refers to coloured people. Another point is whether or not the descendents of any of the former inhabitants of the Dutch Indies should be called Indische Netherlanders since some people believe it is a term that refers to the past, to a colonial situation which does not exist anymore.

Based on my personal experience as a descendent of a former inhabitant of the Dutch Indies, and on my previous studies on this subject, I decided to use the term Indo or Indische Netherlander to refer to not only the former inhabitants of the Dutch Indies, white or coloured, but their descendents as well. The idea that only coloured Indische Netherlanders should be considered "Indo", is usually based on the thought that in the colonial situation the "original" Indo, having both Indonesian and European blood, was "in between" the white colonialists and the Indonesian population in terms of class. Indo was a term that used to have class connotations. However, some of these white colonialists were living in the colony for a

number of generations and therefore considered it to be their home. As a person with an Indische background I sometimes have conversations about Indische identity with other people who describe themselves as "Indo". In this way I learned that some of their descendents also refer to themselves as Indo, just like the descendents of the "original" Indo's. The term no longer has those same class connotations, at least not primarily, and has been transformed into a vehicle for ethnic identifications. Additionally, when I started this project, I figured that if I was to leave them out based on the skin colour of their forefathers this would be based on the same racist ideology that divided the colony at that time. I therefore decided to include descendents of these "white Indo's" (sometimes referred to as "totoks") to the pool of potential respondents as well. I did not however make the difference between descendents of white or coloured Indo's a central issue for this project and curiously enough the final sample of respondents does not include any "totok" descendents. The reason I still mention this is only to clarify my personal view on the term Indo, and to show that it does not have a clear-cut and unambiguous meaning to all the people who use it.

Another point I want to clarify is the question of generations. When can one be considered first, second or third generation? Different scholars hold different opinions on this issue. I decided to go with the standard put forward by Marlene de Vries, who states that she considers the first generation to be the people who arrived in the Netherlands at the age of 13 or older. The people who were either 12 or younger at that the time of arrival or were born in the Netherlands, are therefore considered second generation. Their children obviously form the third generation. One must however not see these guidelines as rigid boundaries between generations. Since the ages of the people who arrived in the Netherlands varied widely, and people tend to have children at different ages, a generation does not necessarily coincide with a certain age group. On top of that, integration processes such as "mental decolonisation" which I discussed briefly in the introduction, are not experienced and lived through similarly by the individuals in a certain generation. The boundaries and differences between generations are therefore not fixed and rigid, but merely a guideline. For example, one of the respondents for this project turned out to be a second generation Indische Netherlander, if one uses De Vries' definition. It was not until the interview that I learned he "officially" was a second generation Indo since he did not even know himself and never even thought about it. However, he was quite young for his generation (42) and in terms of mental decolonisation had all the characteristics of a third generation member. I therefore decided to include him in the analysis anyway.

I conducted 21 in depth semi-structured interviews (12 male, 9 female), using a standardized topic list which was also inspired by the studies and topic lists used by Waters (1990) and De Vries (2009). Since the subject of this study is somewhat complicated, I expected that far from all the respondents would be very conscious of any influence of the tone of the integration debate on the way they see their ethnic background. Even if there would have been some kind of influence, some people might not have noticed this at all. The best method to test this would have been to interview them some time before 2000, and then again now in 2009. But since that obviously was not an option I had to find another solution to this explorative project. I have included the topic list in the appendix, but I feel I need to explain something about its basic set-up here. I generally started the interviews by asking them to give me a short life history, how they define oneself ethnically, whether or not they would say they were raised in an "Indische" way (and what they understand to be an Indische upbringing), how one goes about "being Indisch" etcetera. After I had obtained sufficient insight into the way the respondent defines and talks about his/her Indische background, I would make a switch of topic and started talking about the integration debate. I then asked them whether or not it was something they noticed or cared about at all, how they thought about it, and made sure they reflected on their own background forming their opinion as well. Some of the respondents were conscious about whether or not the integration debate had any effect on the way they viewed their background, others however admitted they were not sure. I therefore compared the way they spoke about their Indische identity before and after the switch to the integration debate. Some of respondents who admitted they were not sure did indeed show some noticeable changes. And even though I realize this only shows us some kind of "interview-effect", I do believe this at least hints towards some kind of unconscious effect the hardened tone of the integration has on their ethnic identifications.

In terms of sampling I used the snowball-sampling technique. Since one uses the respondents' social networks one of this technique's pitfalls is that the researcher could end up with too much of the same "type" of people. And even though I tried to keep the sample for this project as varied as possible in terms of gender, age, income/education/class, and level of interest in Indische identity, the final sample is somewhat overrepresented by people with a relatively high education. It was however never my intention to make the sample completely representative to the category "third generation Indische Netherlanders", since that would probably be close to impossible. Not only because it is quite hard to represent such a large and heterogeneous category with only 21 people, but also because there is very little information

about the entire category since most of them are simply not ‘visible’. It would therefore be impossible to check whether or not the sample would be representative.

2. Historical perspective on the integration debate

We will start with a short discussion of the historical development of the debate and policies regarding the integration of minorities. Since it only has an introductory purpose to the more specific subject of this project it will be no more than a general overview. We will for instance not go into policies extensively, but only discuss a more general development of discourse or way of thinking that comes forward in analyses of the debate. I feel this will be necessary for a better understanding of this particular project, its intensions and to place its results in a historical perspective.

§2.1 Development in terms of policies and views

Large scale immigration to the Netherlands started in the 1950's and 60's with not only the 'repatriation' of Indische Netherlanders, but also the recruitment of guest workers from several countries e.g. Turkey, Morocco and several countries in southern Europe. Since it was believed that their stay in the Netherlands would be temporarily the policies concerning the position of the guest workers in Dutch society focused mostly on maintaining group cohesion and culture. It was believed the guest workers would only stay until their economic goals would be reached. This idea continued through the 1970's with the Dutch government's policies remaining to be focused on "managing labor migration, encouraging the guest workers to return to their country of origin, and regulating family and marriage migration"(Duyvendak; Pels; Rijksschroeff 2009: 131).

It was not until the early 1980's that these assumptions about guest workers altered. Most of them were not returning to their home countries, and with the follow-up migration of partners, children and other family members their numbers only seemed to be growing. Because of these growing numbers of labour migrants, and with the number of other immigrant categories rising as well such as the Surinamese following Suriname's independence in 1975, the Dutch government started to develop a policy towards the integration of ethnic minorities called "Minority Policy". The WRR's (Scientific Council) report titled "Ethnic Minorities" was very influential to the initial policy at that time. Put shortly, it was assumed the Netherlands had become multi-ethnic and that the majority and minorities should live in harmony, with mutual respect and equal opportunities. Adaptation to Dutch culture was not made an issue at that time, since the maintenance of one's own identity was believed to have a positive effect on the processes of integration. The social-economic

position of ethnic minorities was on the other hand the most important theme (Entzinger 2003; Sleegers 2007). The policy's main objective was to make up the social-economic arrears of the target immigrant categories (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans), which did not include Indische Netherlands based on their relatively positive social position I mentioned earlier.

I will not go into any details of the changes in policies extensively, so I feel it is sufficient to discuss the change in the early 1990's from the Minority Policy to the Integration Policy only shortly. Along with the introduction of the term "allochtoon", it moved the focus from a group perspective to a more individual level. Increasing the level of education and labour market participation became more central, and the responsibilities and commitment of the individual to integration issues were put forward. In terms of policy the cultural factor moved to the background. Integration was defined as "a process leading to the full and equal participation of individuals and groups in society, for which mutual respect for identity is seen as a necessary condition" (Contourennota 1994 in Entzinger 2003: 72). The cultural factor was moved even further to the background.

Looking at this quote from the 1994 Contourennota one might get the idea that multicultural ideals were omnipresent in the 1990's. But we should not forget that in 1991 politician Frits Bolkestein had sparked some public debate by stating that the differences between Western and Islamic cultures are irreconcilable. He openly questioned the notion that one should not criticize other cultures and stated that 'lower cultures' should adapt to 'our higher western culture'. In his view immigrants should adapt to the dominant cultural patterns wherever they clash with their own background. Since Bolkestein was not only fiercely criticized but also gained a lot support through his statements I think it would not be correct to leave the impression that there was some kind of unquestioned consensus about the position of immigrants and their children in the Netherlands at that time.

In historical analyses, both Entzinger and Sleegers speak of the 1990's as a period in which it became more and more accepted to take a critical stance towards immigrants among politicians. In 1996 'loyalty to the Netherlands' was made an issue for the first time when two political parties critically addressed the fact that some migrants have double passports. In 1998 the law on civic integration became operative, which was based on the idea that many immigrants arriving in the Netherlands were not sufficiently qualified to enter the labour market on the requirements set by a highly developed economy. Since then migrants have to report for an interview once they have arrived in the Netherlands, so it can be determined whether one needs to attend a civic integration course based on several criteria (knowledge of

Dutch, level of education, age). The cultural factor thus entered the policy on integration once again. These two events can both be seen as symbolic to the stance towards the position of immigrants or allochthons and their own responsibility in this at that time. Both Sleegers and Entzinger mention these developments and see them as a part of a process that eventually led to another turning point in the integration debate, namely Paul Scheffer's article "the Multicultural Tragedy" published in a quality newspaper in 2000.

In this article, Scheffer complains about the lack of interest Dutch politicians seem to have in what he calls "the emergence of an ethnic underclass". Scheffer worries about high unemployment rates among allochthons, high crime and poverty rates and the high level of high school drop-outs. Scheffer articulates his concern about the continuing immigration and states that the state of affairs at that time was only increasing ethnic separation. He feels that especially the Islam poses a problem to integration in Dutch society, and suggests that a stronger national consciousness and less indifference are needed to solve these problems. Cosmopolitan ideology and cultural relativism of the Dutch elite have prevented them from demanding newcomers to adapt, according to Scheffer. A civilisation offensive is needed, immigrants need to adapt to liberal democracy principles. Immigrants should have better and more knowledge of "our history and culture". He believes in the need of a shared ideology, rooted in liberal democracy and Dutch history and culture. The multiculturalist ideology that was dominant during the 80's and 90's, as he puts it, is to blame for the problems he mentions.

The article sparked the public and political debate, with both advocates and adversaries of the "multicultural society" responding fiercely. In the heat of the debate and in the aftermath of 9/11, the integration debate became one of the most prominent issues during the 2002 elections in the Netherlands. The murder of right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn, whose views were similar to Paul Scheffer's, right before these elections was another event that sparked the fierceness of the debate. Multiculturalism was suddenly turned into a negative term, which referred to the integration policies of the 80's and 90's that had 'failed'. One year after these elections Entzinger stated the debate created an assimilationist view, in which nationhood and classical nationalist considerations like protecting one's language and culture and an emphasis on common descend and shared history are used increasingly often in support of the need for immigrant incorporation (Entzinger 2003). In her 2007 piece Sleegers confirms this by stating that "allochthon" and "autochthon" have increasingly become a dichotomy. Adaptation to a homogenous and static national identity has become more and more central in the debate and in policy as well. While this national identity is commonly

portrayed as modern, western, open and tolerant the 'other', often Muslim, identity is portrayed as the exact opposite of that. Even though Sleegers adds that during the 2006 elections most of the political parties' programmes were more nuanced in their view on integration issues, the integration debate remains a prominent political and public affair (Sleegers 2007).

§2.2 A nuanced perspective

Even though it is not my intention to falsify the quick historical overview presented above, I do wish to add some nuance to it. In my opinion, it now looks too much as if the Dutch nation as a whole went from tolerant multiculturalists to ethnocentric xenophobes in only a matter of years. It might be useful to look at some pieces by Jan-Willem Duyvendak who shows a slightly different perspective on the integration debate, as he understands it in the light of the progressive values that seem to be pretty uniformly held in Dutch society (Duyvendak 2006; Duyvendak, Houtman 2009; Duyvendak, Pels, Rijksschroeff 2009).

In an article written together with Trees Pels and Rally Rijksschroeff, the authors explain their view by first discussing a study they conducted after the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry asked them to evaluate the objectives and results of integration policy between 1970 and 2002. Put shortly, they concluded the integration policy did not fail nor was it about pluralism. They even stated the policy had been fairly successful in socio-economic terms, while the socio-cultural results were somewhat more mixed. While they admit it is hard to demonstrate a causal relationship between policies and their outcomes, their "report led the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry to conclude that the facts did not corroborate the popular belief that socioeconomic integration had failed. On the contrary, many migrants were either fully or partially integrated[…] It is difficult to understand why Dutch majority elites came to believe that tolerance for cultural differences among immigrant minorities had somehow produced bad results instead. Moreover, a review of sociocultural policy shows that Dutch integration policy has not been characterized for long periods of time by a commitment to pluralism" (Duyvendak, Pels, Rijksschroeff 2009: 135-136).

Like Sleegers, the authors point to a dichotomy that is being created between "Islamic" and "Dutch" identities. There seems to be some kind of quest for a new collective identity, exemplified by for instance a new national historical museum and a national historical canon, in which the Islamic "other" plays a big role. At first sight this seems like a contradiction with the fact that the integration process apparently was fairly successful, at

least in socio-economic terms. For an explanation, the authors point to the remarkably uniform progressive ideals that the Dutch majority seems to have developed after the collapse of pillarization in the 1960's. They state the value gap between for instance Muslim groups and the majority population is greater than in other countries. It is the cultural homogeneity of the Dutch mainstream that creates a dichotomy between Muslims and non-Muslim Netherlanders, not a policy that is over-tolerant of cultural differences or a 'failed' integration process. And so while the integration policy apparently did not fail, and was not about pluralism all along, it still appears that the Dutch have become less tolerant of cultural difference in some way over the last decade.

For that reason it might be interesting to look at an article by Scheepers, Coenders and Lubbers as well. In their article *'Het tolerante land' in historisch en landenvergelijkend perspectief* the authors seek an answer to the question whether or not there was an obvious decline of ethnic tolerance in 2002, the year Pim Fortuyn was murdered and the integration debate was one of the most prominent issues during the parliamentary elections. They analysed survey-data collected at the end of 2002 and in the beginning of 2003, and compared these with prior data and data from other countries. Put shortly, they concluded that while it is often believed the "Fortuyn-revolution" increased ethnocentrism, the general attitude towards ethnic minorities did not change in or around 2002. Interestingly, they add that while is it often thought that the Netherlands was an outstandingly tolerant nation towards ethnic minorities during the 70's and 80's, this might not have been the case. The general attitude might have been far less positive than commonly thought. So Netherlanders did not become less tolerant over the last decade, simply because they were not that tolerant before that time either.

When speaking of Pim Fortuyn, we could add a point Oosterwaal makes in her thesis *Political polarization on ethnic integration policy in the Netherlands: Culture war in a multiparty democracy?* as well. She states that while Dutch politics seems to have polarized strongly on issues concerning integration between 2002 and 2006, this polarization of views can not be seen in greater society. Using statistical survey-data from multiple sources, she effectively shows that while there was a strong polarization in politics after several "focusing events" such as the murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh, and Paul Scheffer's publication "The Multicultural Tragedy", one can hardly observe any polarization in greater society. Apparently, public opinion on integration issues was not affected as strongly as the positions politicians took in. We must however not forget that less polarization does not mean

that public opinion did not change at all. If everybody moves their opinion in the same direction, that will not lead to any difference in polarization.

So even though the integration policy did not fail and Netherlanders in general did not move from tolerant multiculturalists to intolerant ethnocentrists in a time span of a couple of years, it is still obvious the tone of the integration debate has hardened and the visibility of integration related issues in the media has strongly increased over the last 15 to 20 years. While Bolkestein was fiercely attacked in 1991 after his statements on Islam, his way of speaking and reasoning is now far more normal and accepted. Through the pieces of Scheepers, Coenders and Lubbers and Oosterwaal we can conclude however that this change in discourse among politicians is not mirrored in greater society. Apparently there is some kind of distance between politicians and greater society, which shows how particular the political articulation of the perceived problems surrounding integration issues is.

One of the scholars who analyzed this phenomenon is Baukje Prins. In her book *Voorbij de Onschuld* Prins categorizes this hardened tone of speaking and reasoning about cultural difference, and calls the politicians and public figures who engage in this discourse "New Realists". She recognizes five characteristics of these New Realists, the first one being the bravery by which a New Realist presents oneself. A New Realists tells it how it is and is a spokesperson for the common people (by which is usually meant, the authochthon population). He/she sees this sense of reality as a part of the Dutch national identity, since being Dutch stands for being open, straightforward and realistic. It is a goal to the New Realist to end the power of the left-wing progressive elite, who in the New Realist's opinion are too cultural relativistic and politically correct about racism and intolerance. And finally, the New Realist presents him/herself as the true feminist, who stands up against the oppression of allochthon women.

In this project however, we are looking at this hardened tone to see if it affects people in the way they define their ethnic backgrounds. Let us take a look at a few authors and scholars who somehow touched on this subject.

§2.3 Effects on ethnic identifications

One good example can be found in Harchaoui's article "*normoverschrijding en allochtone jongeren*", published in 2004. Harchaoui handles the widely discussed idea that norms and values in Dutch society are in decay, and states that the integration debate is constantly at the centre of this discussion. It is believed that certain cultural backgrounds lead to deviations in

norms, and so the debate on integration is often linked to ideas about the deterioration of norms and values. The main point Harchaoui is trying to make is that this way of thinking and the amount of media attention this line of thought receives helps to create a self-fulfilling prophecy that has a negative effect on the emancipation of ethnic minorities.

Harchaoui states that since the 1997 Note on crime in relationship to cultural integration, the "cultural explanation" for the relatively high representation of allochthon youths in crime statistics is most commonly heard. He explains that crime is being culturalized through processes of stereotyping, without there being any attention to the dynamics of culture. He challenges the notion that cultural integration would lead to a lower crime rate by pointing to the first generation immigrants, who were culturally less integrated but who were and are showing lower crime rates. Harchaoui puts forward the notion of relative deprivation, saying that a high cultural integration in combination with a slacking social-economic integration leads to higher crime rates. He goes on by stating the Moroccan youth has gone through a development of emancipation in the fields of religion, organisations, social networks and student unions. "But because of the one-sided attention to criminal activity of allochthon, and particularly Moroccan, youths it seems this unrecognized and unnamed development of emancipation is stagnating" (Harchaoui 2004: 222, my translation). Harchaoui then goes on by pointing out that religious conservatism is often used to illustrate some kind deviation in norms and values between Muslims and greater Dutch society, while these symbols of religious conservatism hardly have any relevance to the Muslim youth. He states that since they are addressed one-sidedly (as criminals and/or extremists) on a collective level, their social identity becomes disqualified. The danger in this is that these youths might accept a criminal self-image and create suspicions towards Dutch society, culture and state which then can only lead to anomy. This same line of thought comes forward in Sleegers' piece as she explains that these discussions not only describe social reality but also actively contribute to the creation of this social reality as well. She states that a social category based on appearance is being created, and that this category of "allochthon" or "Muslim" makes it hard for the people who are being ascribed to that category to adapt or identify with "Dutchness", as they are never seen as *real* Netherlanders (Sleegers 2007:68).

Another piece we could take a look at is Graumans' and Van den Berg's article "Interetnische relaties in een gemengde basisschool" (2008). While the study they conducted did not have the same objectives as this project and does not touch on this particular subject thoroughly, their conclusion might be interesting to look at. Their main focus was the way in which children in an ethnically mixed elementary school ethnically categorize and frame each

other. Graumans and Van den Berg intensively interviewed and observed the children in one class over two periods of time, with one year in between. Put shortly, they concluded that the way the children ethnically frame and categorize developed or changed in two ways during that year. The first change was that the children seemed to use different categories. While in the first year the children used “Dutch” and “foreign” as two broad categories to categorize each other, in the second year this changed to “Dutch” and “Moroccan”. Secondly, membership to any of these two categories was no longer based on one’s factual ethnic background, but on behaviour. “Wild” or “tough” behaviour became associated with the Moroccan category, while “calm” or “boring” became associated with the Dutch category. To be categorized as Dutch or Moroccan one did not have to be ethnically Dutch or Moroccan, one only had to “behave like one”. The authors thus conclude that ethnic framing and categorizing changed and increased in importance in the children’s experience, and state that internationally comparative research must be done to find out how these changes are being caused. They do however carefully hypothesize that both the current political climate and the amount of attention the media gives to issues concerning cultural and ethnic differences might play a role in this. In that sense their conclusions can be coupled with Harchaoui’s and Sleeger’s statements on the consequences of the hardened tone in the integration debate.

As mentioned in the introduction, these consequences are the main focus on this project. But instead of focussing on for instance Moroccan youths who are constantly put in the centre of attention in the integration debate, I interviewed third generation Indische Netherlands. I shortly explained my choice for this category of people in the introduction, and in the following chapter I will set forth a highly summarized overview of the history of Indische Netherlanders and some theoretical frameworks to better explain the significance of the research I conducted.

3. Indische Netherlanders, historically and theoretically

§3.1 Colonial period

The Dutchmen in the Dutch Indies initially consisted mostly of male soldiers. And even though marriage with indigenous women was outlawed for a long period of time, "blending" did take place at a certain level. One of the results were people with a mixed European and Indonesian descent (not all of the Europeans in the colony were Dutch), at that time referred to as Indo's or Indo-Europeans. In 1848 the "Algemene Bepalingen van Wetgeving" law came into force. For the first time the colonial government tried to divide the population into groups: Europeans, and Inlanders. Membership to any of these two categories was passed on by one's father. This basically meant that if an Indo-European child was recognized by his father (which did not occur self-evidently), he/she would obtain legal status as a European. The 1940 census shows that the European category consisted of 300.000 people, of which several scholars estimate about 180.000 to have been Indo-European. (Kraak et al. 1958; Ellemers 1985)

Membership to the European category and the legal "on paper" equality that came along with that did however not mean equality in real life. As Van Delden points out, the social position of an Indo was decided by skin colour, manners, speech and measure of "European orientation" (Van Delden 1989: 26-31). Wertheim even went beyond Van Delden's point by stating there was some kind of caste structure in the colony, in which the white "totoks" formed the top-layer, inlanders were the bottom layer and Indo-Europeans were right in the middle. Wertheim himself, and other scholars with him, later admitted that this image he painted was too rigid. Especially in late colonial times the racial boundaries became less rigid, which showed itself through for example more space for mixed marriages. The racial boundaries were cut by lines of social mobility, class, and culture (Willems 2006: 164). Even though the caste structure image was thus too simplistic and rigid, I do not want to claim there were no differences between Indo-Europeans and Europeans in the Dutch Indies. For instance on the labour market, while white Dutchmen often had top positions in the military, the government and in private business, Indo-Europeans had lower positions and were dependent on their skin colour, speech and measure of "European orientation" in terms of social mobility (Ellemers and Vaillant 1985: 18-25; Surie 1971 :58-60; Van Delden 1989: 26-31).

Some sources speak of an "Indische community", while in my opinion the Indo-European population was too heterogeneous to speak of a true community. First of all the colony was enormous and home to a large number of different peoples. Indo-Europeans were therefore a mix between Europeans and peoples such as Moluccans, Minahassans, Timorese, Toegoenese and Depoccans. One should not view an Indo-European at that time as simply a mix between a "European" and an "Inlander", since the local context was also very important (Ellemers 1985: 19-20). Next to this, and probably more importantly there was also the dimension of class. As comes forward in the "repatriëringsrapport", written in 1958 by Kraak after the arrival of the repatriates in the Netherlands, Indo-Europeans were quite heterogeneous in terms of class and social position. Since we do not have enough space here to go into Kraak's repatriëtingsrapport extensively, it is sufficient to recognize that through the different types that Kraak formulates, the strongly diversified social positions of Indo-Europeans come forward clearly.

§ 3.2 "Repatration" to the Netherlands

After the independence of Indonesia in 1949 every person with a European status was able to opt for Dutch nationality and repatriate to the Netherlands. This rule thus also applied to the Indo-Europeans with a European status, of which most never saw the Netherlands before. Because of anti-Dutch sentiments in the new-born nation-state Indonesia a great majority of them did. Ellemers and Vaillant are two of the scholars who presented an analysis of this repatriation. They state the repatriation lasted from the end of the Second World War in 1945 until 1968 when the last 'spijtoptanten' (those who regretted to initially have chosen for the Indonesian nationality, and opted for Dutch nationality and repatriated when they had a second chance) came over. They divide the entire repatriation into different phases, which I will not get into too extensively. I feel it is sufficient to say that in the first phases mostly "totoks" came over, later on more and more Indo-Europeans who could not afford to go earlier on a financial level and eventually during 1960's mostly "spijtoptanten" (who consisted of only Indo-Europeans).

In terms of integration policy the Dutch government took a very assimilationist course. This was already to be seen in the early stages of the repatriation, when so-called "Eastern Netherlanders" were refused financial support for the trip from Indonesia to the Netherlands. Schuster speaks of a "racialization of Indische Netherlanders" in this respect, since the division between "Western" and "Eastern" Netherlanders was mostly based on class and

therefore skin colour as well. This exclusion was legitimized by the state by pointing to the harsh economical situation after the War, the shortage of housing and the idea that Indo-Europeans would not be able to assimilate into Dutch society. Once it became clear the situation in the new-born state of Indonesia became extremely rough for Indo-Europeans, the rule was abolished. (Schuster 1999)

When the first Indo-Europeans arrived, there was some fear for an emergence of a weak-social group. One of the most prominent measures the government took to prevent this was the so-called "spreading policy". Since there was a shortage of housing in the Netherlands after the War, there were some difficulties with the appointment of houses to repatriates. A large amount of the repatriates did not have the financial means to buy a house. A lot of them were therefore sheltered in so-called "contract pensions". According to Surie about 134.000 people, almost half of the total 300.000, stayed in these contract pensions between 1950 and 1969. To provide all these people with proper housing, the Dutch government came up with the 5% rule. Thus rule basically stated that 5 % of all the new houses that were built in Netherlands were to be reserved for the repatriates. The reason scholars call the whole process of appointing housing to the repatriates who resided in contract pensions "spreading policy", is that the repatriates were literally spread out through out the country. This spreading was a part of the policy directed towards the prevention of the emergence of weak-social group.

The statistics Ellemers and Vaillant put forward about this spreading are impressive. They compare the distribution of the Dutch population in 1968 with the distribution of the repatriates who came to the Netherlands in between 1953 and 1968, and obtained a house through the help of the government. One could say the similarities are quite striking. While the difference is largest in the provinces Groningen, Drenthe and Friesland (7,5% of Indische Netherlanders versus 10,9% of the Dutch population), in Utrecht, Noord- and Zuid-Holland (48,5% versus 46,7%), Gelderland and Overijssel (19,5% versus 18,6%), and Noord-Brabant, Zeeland and Limburg (24,5% versus 23,8%) the differences are remarkably small. Additionally, we should note that families were not placed randomly across the country, since their religion and the local religious views were also taken into account because pillarization was still prominent at that time. Additionally some measures were taken in the field of the labour market as well, as the government provided retraining and extra education programmes for the repatriates. Similar programmes were also provided to the children, of which some had slight arrears in the Dutch language. In general, one can conclude that the Dutch government

considered the integration/assimilation of Indische Netherlanders to be of great importance during the 1950's and 60's.

The government's fear for the emergence of a weak-social group quickly turned into optimism as Van Amersfoort concluded in 1974 that "the unanimous vision on the Indische Netherlanders – after barely twenty years – is that they have not developed into a minority" (van Amersfoort 1974: 90, my translation). Van Amersfoort states the distribution policy was one of greatest contributing factors in this, and calls it one of most successful moves of the Dutch government in relation to Indische Netherlanders. Surie on the other hand points to the Indische Netherlanders themselves, as he relates their social situation to the idea of "the marginal man". He claims that because of their insecurity about their social status, both in the colony and later on in the Netherlands, the Indische Netherlanders always referred positively to the "Dutch dominant". According to Surie, this positive image of the Netherlands and Dutch culture was the main contributing factor to the successful integration of Indische Netherlands. Whether we follow Surie's of Van Amersfoort's explanation, to this project it matters most to simply state the integration of Indische Netherlanders has at least been relatively successful. .

§3.3 Current situation

In their book *Indische Netherlanders*, written halfway the 1980's, Ellemers en Vaillant give notice to an "unmistakable (re)new(ed) attention of young(er) Indische Netherlanders and repatriates to the events during and after the second World War in Indonesia...Additionally it seems that there is a growing interest among the younger generation in their Indische background" (Ellemers and Vaillant 1985: 105, my translation). Ten years later, in the mid 1990's, Ten Hoorn also handles this new interest in his thesis *Indo-Europeanen, een onbestaanbare groep?* He focuses on the ethnicity and ethnization of Indische Netherlanders and hypothesizes along the same line as Ellemers and Vaillant as he puts forward the idea that the arrival of other migrant groups has had a great influence on the renewed attention among Indische Netherlanders for their ethnic background. "The increase of the number facilities on behalf of migrants and minorities has led the Indische Netherlanders to start demanding facilities for themselves as well" (Ten Hoorn 1996: 59, my translation). To illustrate this, Ten Hoorn points to the "Indonesië Gids Nederland" which "includes more than 100 pages of institutes, clubs and organizations with an Indische character" of which most have been founded during the 80's and 90's (ibid.: 61).

Now, more than a decade later, we can also add the dimension of the internet to this story. The number of websites with Indische identity as a central subject is enormous and not all of these websites are directed towards the younger generations. First and second generation Indo's are also to be found online on weblogs and community sites such as Hyves. Indische food, history and identity are subjects that are widely discussed on Indische forums. The wish to "maintain the Indische culture" is something that one will often see on either one of the websites, weblogs and community sites. This "reinvented" ethnicity is of one of the main issues in Boersma's thesis *Indovation, de Indische identiteit van de derde generatie*. She states that "being Indisch" is something different to third generation Indo's than to their grandparents. On top of this a lot of these third generation members do not give any expression to their Indische background at all while to others it is something close to a lifestyle. Some of the third generation Indische Netherlanders join Indische youth organizations, visit Asian parties (such as ILoveIndo and Very AZN), have a particular trendy "Asian" style of clothing, and visit and discuss about Indische identity on Indische websites and online forums. Boersma points to some of these youth organizations such as Nasi Idjo, IJO and Darah Ketiga (of which I interviewed one of the council members for this project) and explains that even among these organizations there are strong differences in the way they look at Indische identity. While some emphasize a common descent with other Asian immigrant groups and Indonesians, others identify strongly with a more historical perspective and point to the racial boundaries that existed in colonial times and the events during and after the war of independence (e.g. the violence against Indo's who were considered Dutch by the Indonesian nationalists). These people therefore reject Indonesian symbols such as the Indonesian flag or the Garuda. .

Like these organizations, individuals differ strongly in how they express their ethnic identity as well. This point also comes forward in Captain's 2003 piece "Indo Rulez! De indische derde generatie in de Nederlandse letteren". One of the ways she illustrates this point is by quoting journalist Ricci Schildwacht: "I don't have a position in any Indische organization or institute, I am not a member of anything either. I haven't read most of the Indische literature and other things that have been written about the Dutch Indies or Indonesia. So it might seem like I don't care about my ethnic background, but the opposite is true: everyday I am conscious of being an Indo" (Captain 2003: 268, my translation).

This point of individualized ethnic identity is one of the main points Marlene de Vries puts forward in her 1999 piece mentioned in the introduction. De Vries takes both the second and third generation in account, in order to grasp "the meaning of ethnicity to people who are

in the final stages of assimilation". She concludes that Indische ethnicity has become more and more a matter of choice and interpretation. According to De Vries, Indische ethnicity is highly individualized and often lived through without close contact with co-ethnics. She understands it to be something that is not imposed on the people in question, and often a matter of personal or familial construction. By personal or familial construction she means the way in which people construct their ethnicity, and states that people differ strongly in how and what they construct as Indisch on the individual and familial level.

She therefore makes the theoretical connection with the works of Alba and Waters on "optional ethnicity" in the United States. Modifying her view on this theoretical connection she does however point the differences between the second and third generation. As mentioned in the introduction, the voluntary nature of Indische identity applies far more to the third than the second generation. She hereby points to the "inescapable" part of Indische heritage that some of the second generation members (but practically none of the third generation) experience as "disadvantageous". "The criterion for optional ethnicity, so it seems, is the pleasure you get from your choice, that little extra it provides in a positive sense. As long as parts of the ethnic heritage are looked upon as disadvantageous, or even as something you would be better free from, the term optional ethnicity does not seem appropriate" (De Vries 1999: 43).

§3.4 Theoretical considerations

As mentioned in the introduction, De Vries' findings published in 1999 remind one of Herbert Gans' classical piece on symbolic ethnicity. In this 1979 article Gans speaks of recent changes of interest in ethnicity in the United States at that time. He argues that this new interest should not be viewed as some kind of revival but more of a new kind of ethnic involvement, since assimilation and acculturation continue to take place. He states that this new ethnic involvement has more to do with identity, with the *feeling* of being Irish, Italian, Polish etc. Gans' hypothesis is that third generation ethnics put less emphasis on the actual ethnic cultures and organizations, and value the maintenance of an ethnic identity, a feeling of being a certain ethnic, more. "By identity, I mean here simply the sociopsychological elements that accompany role behaviour, and the ethnic role is today less of an ascriptive than *a voluntary role that people assume alongside other roles*" (Gans 1979: 8). These ethnic roles are to be "chosen" contextually, since ethnicity has become a far less taken for granted phenomenon that is no longer strongly anchored in certain groups and roles. According to Gans, this has

two consequences. Firstly, people now look for easy ways of expressing their ethnic identity that do not conflict with the other roles they take on in their life. Additionally, they look for ways of expressing their ethnic identity that suit them best personally. Ethnic identity thus becomes a more voluntary, diverse and individualistic form of ethnicity. Gans concludes ethnicity now has a more expressive than an instrumental function in peoples' lives.

The name of the term "symbolic ethnicity" is based on Gans' analysis of the expressive behaviour engaging in this individualistic form of ethnicity which involves the use of symbols. Put shortly, these symbols are taken from the "old" ethnic culture, are pulled out of its original context and have become stand-ins for it. In order for these symbols to work they must be visible and clear to large numbers of third generation ethnics. Gans also adds that this form of ethnicity might persist through the 5th and 6th generation, especially when larger society offers benefits for being ethnic. As long as it serves as a positively distinguishing characteristic, it might persist for a couple of generations but Gans claims it would be foolish to believe symbolic ethnicity could last longer than this.

A decade after Gans published this piece both Alba and Waters conducted studies into this new ethnic involvement as well. Alba analyzed what he calls a paradox between the decline of objective ethnic differences and the subjective importance of ethnic origins to white Americans. He concludes that the meaning of ethnicity has changed, and that there has been a change in the ethnic differences that matter. Since ethnicity remains embedded in the social fabric, a new ethnic group has emerged: the European Americans. Alba adds that ethnicity also seems to be revitalized by new non-European immigrants (a point made by Ellemers and Ten Hoorn in relation to the case of Indische Netherlanders as well), and speaks of "incentives" to retain a specific ethnic identity. "The transformation of ethnicity", the title of his work, is the fact that a particular ethnic identity no longer has to be in contradiction with being American.

Alba sums up four features of this transformation of ethnicity, starting with the intensity of peoples' ethnic involvement that varies widely. While 1/5th of the ethnic category is intensely interested in their ethnic identity, another 1/5th is not involved with their ethnic background at all. The rest is somewhere in between those two. Secondly, this new ethnicity is reflected in ethnic experiences that are shallow and occasional. Thirdly, this ethnicity is often equated with a family history. This is also a part of its individualistic nature, and Alba explains this by pointing to the fact that ethnics seem to have less in common because of acculturation, intermarriage and moving out of ethnic neighbourhoods because of social mobility. De Vries also brought forward this point when she discussed the personal or familial

construction of Indische identity. The last feature Alba mentions follows logically as he states this ethnicity is not anchored in strong ethnic structures. Another point he makes however proved to be more important to this particular study, as he mentions this new form of ethnicity can be viewed as some form of cultural capital. Ethnicity can be used as a vehicle to make a connection with other ethnics, a point will we see in a more recent publication by De Vries as well.

As mentioned earlier, Waters published on this subject as well with her book *Choosing Identities in America*. Since her conclusions are quite similar to Alba's, I will only discuss some of the points she makes that add up to Alba's work. Waters states that since this ethnicity is chosen contextually, it matters only in voluntary ways. On one hand it gives a special individuality, on the other it provides membership to a certain collective. Ethnicity in this form holds no disadvantages as only the positive features of ethnic identity are emphasized and lived through. Ethnicity becomes something that is enjoyed, and will not cause any problems. According to Waters, this also has its influence of the way the people who engage in this new ethnicity view other minorities. For instance, they often have a negative view on issues such as affirmative action. Their ancestors made it through without affirmative action, so why should there be affirmative action now?

Ten years after her first publication on Indische Netherlanders, De Vries recently published her book *Indisch is een gevoel* in which she refers to both the works of Alba and Waters. Central to her study are the differences between the second and third generation Indische Netherlanders in the way they give meaning to their ethnic background. In her introduction she states that "being Indisch" and "feeling Indisch" are two things that are connected but certainly do not run parallel to each other. She explains this issue by pointing to the work of Hans Vermeulen on this subject. To have a better understanding of her work, and to put Alba's and Waters' theories in a broader perspective I think it will be fruitful for us to take a short look at this particular part of Vermeulen's work as well.

In his dissertation Vermeulen states that politics focused on assimilation do not always lead to assimilation, and that a multicultural policy does not necessarily lead to cultural diversity either. He emphasizes "reactive ethnicity", ethnic movements that can emerge as a reaction or protest against assimilation policies or social exclusion. According to Vermeulen this assimilation pressure can contribute to the maintenance of ethnic bindings. Like Gans, Alba and Waters, Vermeulen speaks of a "new" ethnicity in which the use of cultural artefacts, symbols and stories have become more important to distinguish oneself ethnically because of a decrease of ethnic-cultural difference. In his own words, "a decrease in ethnic-

cultural difference can very well go hand in hand with an increase in ethnic awareness or even ethnization[…]In these days it is common to see assimilation, in the sense of a decrease in ethnic-cultural difference, and ethnization as two sides to the same coin. Some even speak of ethnization as the luxury of assimilation or as a romantic reaction to the success of assimilation" (Vermeulen 2001: 17-18, my translation). "Old" ethnicity refers to a situation in which cultural differences are so obvious these differences do not have to be emphasized. According to Vermeulen, in this "new" ethnicity identity and emphasizing differences become more important than actual differences in culture.

Like Vermeulen, De Vries distinguishes between identity (feeling Indisch) and culture (being Indisch) as well. Her findings about these two not running parallel add up to the point made by Alba about the variety of intensity peoples' ethnic identifications have. De Vries distinguishes five types of relationships between peoples "cultural luggage" and their ethnic identifications. While the first three all have a lot of cultural luggage, meaning they were raised in and are familiar with Indische culture, only the first type identifies strongly with being Indisch. The second type is a little more selective in the continuation of Indische culture, and only identifies contextually. The third type then hardly identifies with being Indisch at all. The same goes for the fourth type, who does not have the same "cultural luggage" and only has little knowledge of Indische culture. The fifth type is a little more curious, since this type has the same small knowledge of Indische culture as the fourth type but identifies relatively strongly with being Indisch.

De Vries speaks of a reorientation on their ethnic background that has taken place in the 1970's and 80's among Indische Netherlanders. This reorientation did not only consist of the earlier mentioned "mental decolonization" (the process, mostly among second generation Indische Netherlanders, in which they try to get rid of Indische customs and characteristics that they experience as negative and unpractical in Dutch society), but also of a revaluation of other Indische customs and manners. This point again reminds one of Gans' theoretical considerations about the symbols that are taken out of its "original" context and are revalued. De Vries then adds that since this mental decolonization has practically completed among third generation Indo's, and since they grew up in a time with more or less multicultural ideals and appreciation for ethnic diversity (according to De Vries; taking this study's chapter on the integration debate into account one might doubt this), the Indische self-image of the third generation is more positive. She makes a similar point to Waters' statement about ethnicity being something that holds no disadvantages, and gives one a certain special individuality. To

the third generation, there is more freedom to make a choice about identifying with their Indische roots or not, even though most of them only have one Indische parent.

When I discussed Alba's work, I mentioned his point about symbolic ethnicity as cultural capital and added that this idea proved to be useful for this project. De Vries also applies this idea, or something close to it, to Indische Netherlanders. She comes up with the term "wider identification" (ruimere identificatie), by which she means that the notion of having a mixed descent contributes to a multicultural and cosmopolitan orientation. De Vries states that Indo's with a wider identification have affinity with other migrant groups and their descendents and therefore have a laid-back way of going about cultural and racial differences. They do not just feel Indo or Indisch, but also a little "allochthon" or "foreigner" just like for instance Turks or Surinamese. During the interviews I conducted and during the analysis afterwards, this idea of a wider identification proved to be really helpful. As we shall see later on, the term wider identification is central to understanding the relationship between the hardened tone in the integration debate and the way third generation Indische Netherlanders give meaning to their ethnic background.

4. Results

§4.1.1 Some introductory thoughts

I have conducted 21 interviews throughout the country, with third generation (with the exception of one respondent who turned out to be second generation during the interview) Indische Netherlanders aging from 21 to 42. The entire sample consists of 9 women and 12 men. The respondents were contacted through e-mail or by telephone, after I received their contact information through either my own social network or other respondents in this project. The social setting in which the interviews took place was either the respondent's home or a public place such as a restaurant or bar. I tried to make sure the place was familiar to the respondent, to create a laid-back and relaxed atmosphere in which the respondents was willing to speak freely.

Every respondent was presented with similar questions, even though the set up of the interview was not very structured. And while the interviews vary in their length and respondents vary strongly in the way they conceptualized their answers, some similarities can be found as well. To make the entire sample and the results of the research more clear I decided to divide the respondents into three categories. The first group I will present consists of the people who are not influenced by the tone of the integration debate in the way they give meaning to their ethnic background. The second category consists of the people who are somehow influenced by the integration debate in a subtle way. The third and last category then consists of the people who were very aware of the integration debate's influence on the way they viewed their ethnic background. Each one of these categories is then also subdivided into several 'profiles' of respondents. The first two categories, the non-affected and subtly affected, are subdivided in profiles based on differences in the levels of identification the respondents have. The affected category is subdivided in profiles based on the way they are affected by the debate.

Since each category has 3 profiles, we end up with 9 profiles of respondents in total. One might ask why there are 9 profiles on a total of only 21 respondents. The reason for this lies in the fact that the respondents simply differ strongly from each other, not only in the way they give meaning to their Indische background but also in the way they are affected by the debate. I went on with recruiting new respondents until I noticed I did not find anything new, and when I started analyzing ended up with 9 different types. One must realise however that even though strong similarities can be found among the people within the same categories and profiles, these types are ideal typical. They are more meant to clarify reality than to describe it

perfectly. In reality it will be more of a continuum instead of strict divisions between these profiles and categories.

As I already mentioned in the methodology paragraph, the sample contains somewhat of a bias towards highly educated Indische Netherlanders. Since I used the snowball sampling technique I stayed within certain social networks which (probably, since there are no statistics on this available) eventually led to overrepresentation of relatively high educated Indo's. I feel that we must also add that the sample might contain another bias, since only people who responded to my invitation were interviewed. People who are completely not interested in their ethnic background are therefore bound to be left out. Of course this was something I had expected, so I tried to join in people with low interest in their Indische background as well. And even though I was fairly successful in this, I still believe that the sample overall probably does not represent the entire category of third generation Indische Netherlanders perfectly well in terms of general interest in their ethnic background. I feel that this sample of respondents is probably more engaged with their ethnic background than the category overall. But as I also mentioned in the methodology paragraph, perfect representation was never my intention.

§4.1.2 Similarities

Before we get to the different groups and individual views I also want to note that some of the respondents' answers were heard almost throughout every interview. Especially when asked about whether or not they felt a certain connection or solidarity with other people with an Indische background, most respondents answered in a similar way. One example of this I found when talking to 38-year old Dennis. When I asked him whether or not he felt a certain connection with other Indo's he responded:

"Well, I do experience recognition out on the street when I see an old Indische couple for example, I always greet them. And for instance when I am out in a club and I see an Indische girl I often go and have a little talk with her…yes I have that sort of recognition"

This idea of solidarity through recognition is something I heard often throughout a lot of the interviews. Some of the other respondents however equated this connection or solidarity with other Indische Netherlanders with not only recognition but also with a certain type of feeling, such as 33-year old Roald:

"In any way there does exist some type of "Indo feeling". For instance, we have never met before but still we already connect with each other. Because we are open to each other, and we both have a certain feeling for this"

38-year old Richie also brought forward this same idea of a certain "Indo feeling", but instantly was very reflexive about this feeling's nature:

"*That connection for me is when I see you, I don't know you but I see he is an Indo so I say that's a nice guy how are you? I'll shake your hand because you're an Indo, a good guy. Or when I find out later that somebody is an Indo. Then I'll use "being Indo" as a way to create a bond in that short moment*"

He does not only state that he feels a certain connection with other Indo's, but also reflects on the way he uses his ethnic background consciously. Kirsten (32) also shared this view on other people with an Indische background, but was a little more reserved:

"*It works to the point that you do have to like somebody. It is not like I like everybody just because they're all Indisch. But you do have more in common with each other, a certain feeling of unity because of those small things you recognize in each other*"

This idea of a certain Indische feeling is not a new discovery. De Vries made this Indische feeling to be one of the central themes in her latest book, illustratively entitled *Indisch is een gevoel* (Indisch is a feeling). De Vries explains she chose to entitle her book this way because of the answers she received when she asked her respondents to describe what their Indische background meant to them. Especially among her third generation respondents, a lot of people had trouble putting it into words clearly and therefore often resorted to stating "it is a feeling". She notes that the meaning of this Indische feeling is conceptualized very individually. One could have this feeling based on the notion of having a mixed descent, on the idea of having different ways of treating others socially than Dutch people, or on having a different skin colour. One option that this Indische feeling can be based on that De Vries does not mention in her work, is however the connectedness with other people with an Indische background that came forward very clearly in this project.

De Vries does mention another point that the feeling of being Indisch can be based on, and this point is another issue that came forward in my interviews quite universally. Next to a certain connection with other Indische Netherlanders, my respondents also generally (only four out of the twenty-one did not) spoke of the connection between their conception of being Indisch and their family. Not only De Vries talks about this connection, but Alba mentions the

importance of family history to third generation ethnics as well. As I mentioned earlier, when Alba sums up the features of what he calls the transformation of ethnicity, he states that the emphasis that these people put on their family when they speak of their ethnic background is also a part of the individualistic nature of their ethnic identity. Since they no longer share a lot of the same characteristics with other ethnics that belong to the same ethnic category any longer, such as ethnic neighbourhoods or culture, the family becomes far more central to ethnicity according to Alba. I am not willing to commit to saying the same explanation goes for Indische Netherlanders, but it is quite clear that the family is a central issue to my respondents' ideas about their ethnic background.

John M. (34) for instance, explained he usually does not really feel like an Indo. It is only in certain contexts or situations he is reminded of his Indische background and feels more Indisch, such as during family get-togethers.

"*Family feasts or get-togethers of my Indische side are always great. Everybody makes food, it always very pleasant. During things like that I do have a sense of being Indisch*"

When asked if she would define herself as Indisch, Romy (25) answered:

Romy: "*I never say I am Indisch*"

Interviewer: "*Never?*"

R: "*Well sometimes but not always*"

I: "*Ok, so when would you say you are …*"

R: "*Well with family I am Indisch*"

Royce's (21) answer to this question is quite similar in terms of the connection between his affiliation with Indische identity and his family, even though he does define himself as Indisch in contrast to Romy:

"*Yes, I really feel Indisch because, well, I have an entire Indische family which I do a lot of stuff with*"

Whether or not respondents feel very Indisch or not Indisch at all does not matter interestingly enough. 17 out of the 21 respondents responded in a way similar to Romy and Royce, regardless of their level of interest or commitment to their ethnic background. The

family is obviously a central issue to the way most of the respondents conceptualize their ethnicity. Naomi (23) is no exception to this, and she even goes a little further when talking about her family:

"*When it comes to being social I just, well, I always call it family culture it is not Indische culture per se really. It is just family culture [...] I think that a lot of factors play a role. Family culture is my culture, but not the only one*"

Naomi indicates that what she considers as her Indische background does not extend beyond her family. This is probably why she is one of the few exceptions to the connectedness to other Indische Netherlanders we discussed above. To her, this connectedness or solidarity only works within her own family. This strong equation between Indische identity and family was unique in the sample of respondents used for this study, but I would not be surprised if this phenomenon could be observed more often among third generation Indische Netherlanders throughout the country.

§ 4.1.3 Ethnically labelled

Something else that came forward quite strikingly did not have to do with the respondents' own views, but with how they are labelled ethnically by others in daily life. Only a few noted they were never labelled as a non-Dutch or allochthon person, and most of the respondents argued they were either sometimes or often asked about their ethnic background. Something I found to be quite striking is the fact that 14 of the 21 respondents noted they are labelled as either South-American, Spanish, Turkish or Moroccan. Out of these 14, 10 respondents mentioned all of these four categories or nationalities and most of them in that exact same order as well. One could say that this observation is quite peculiar to say the least. A conclusion that can be drawn from this is that "Indische Netherlander" or "Indo" are not categories people use to label others ethnically in the Netherlands nowadays. This observation could very well be connected with an often heard complaint by respondents about Dutch people who, according to them, "do not know anything about history of the Dutch Indies" and "do not understand the term Indisch". One of the most often heard complaints is that "Indisch" is usually equated with "Indonesian", or even "Indian". "So you are Indonesian?" or "does that mean you are from India?" are the kind of questions that cause a great deal of frustration among a lot of the respondents.

§4.1.4 Freedom of choice

One of the more central points in this study however has to do with the personal dimension of third generation immigrant ethnic identity. As discussed extensively in the introduction and through the discussion of other scholars' work, third generation Indische Netherlanders have some kind of "freedom" to define their ethnic identity in an individual way. The reason I put freedom between quotation marks is because one could argue about to which extent there really exists freedom in this context, or to which extent one can really make a choice to ethnic. But as De Vries' study has shown quite clearly, the space third generation Indische Netherlanders have to move between defining themselves as Indisch or not is far larger than that of the second generation. We can therefore assume beforehand that some kind of freedom to feel Indisch or not exist to the respondents of this study. One way to illustrate this "freedom" nicely is to compare people within the same family in the way they define and give meaning to their Indische background, a method also used by De Vries in her latest work. While these people were either raised by the same parents and grew up in the same social environment, or at least grew up in the same larger family, they still show differences in how they conceptualize their ethnic identity.

In this study I have included several people from the same family as well, such as brothers Brian and Wesley and sisters Annoesjka and Ulrike. I also had the chance to interview cousins Carien and Roos, and Royce and Tamara. I observed the strongest differences between Annoesjka and Ulrike. While her Indische background is of very little importance to Annoesjka, Ulrike has defined an Indische identity for herself in which her Indische background has a far more central place in her day-to-day life. A similar difference, but less strong can be found between Royce and Tamara as well. Carien and Roos, and Brian and Wesley seem to be somewhat more similar, but differences in how they conceptualize their Indische identity also exist and more importantly in how their conception is affected by the integration debate as well. I will not go into the family members extensively here, since I chose to describe the respondents by the earlier mentioned categories and profiles. The reason I mentioned them here was only to clarify further and strengthen the points made by Alba, Waters and De Vries about the voluntary nature of third generation immigrant ethnicity.

4.2 The non-affected category

In this first category we will discuss three different profiles of respondents. While all three profiles differ from each other in levels of identification, they all have one thing in common. None of the respondents are affected by the hardened tone in the integration debate in how they give meaning to their ethnic background. Respondents with a very low level of identification, a more ambiguous type of identification or with a high level of identification all correspond with each other on this.

§4.2.1 "An interesting background"

The first couple of respondents I will discuss do not identify strongly with their Indische background. They hardly ever think about this part of their ethnic background, and do not consider it to be a prominent feature of their personal identities. Bo (21) for instance, answered in this way when I asked him whether or not he defines himself as an Indo:

"*Well, I just feel like a Dutch person with an interesting background. I don't walk around every day saying I am an Indo or something. It is probably because of the way I look as well, people don't ever notice my Indische side when they see me. So I am hardly ever confronted with it*"

Bo makes two points here, that are both interesting to this study. His way of describing his ethnic background as something that is "interesting" is something I heard a lot throughout the interviews. The point he makes about his appearance is something we will get back to at a later stage. On the interesting background point we can again make a connection with Waters, who spoke of a certain kind of special individuality that this "new ethnicity" seems to provide to ethnics. De Vries goes into this same individuality as well, naming it a certain "premium of being ethnic". She notices that her respondents use their ethnic background to subtly distinguish themselves from others in a positive way. The way Naomi put it, this point came forward very clearly:

"*I just feel like a Dutch girl, but one with a very interesting background. Of course it is a little more interesting than to be a descendent of just Dutch farmers*"

The point about an interesting background is not something that only came forward among the people that I describe in this first profile. The reason I mention it here is because to the respondents in this profile, Indische identity does not go beyond this idea of having an

interesting background. To Lotte (26), this feeling of an interesting background was even stronger than the feeling of being Indisch:

Interviewer: *"Would you describe yourself as Indisch?"*

Lotte: "*No, well…yes, in a way. If they ask are you 100% Dutch then I say no. So in a way I do not feel completely Dutch but not necessarily Indisch*"

Lotte related this to her social network in which, according to herself, are hardly any Dutch people at all. Because of all her non-Dutch or allochthon friends, she feels a bit like an allochthon as well. She noted that her allochthon friends label her as a non-Dutch, and thus finds a way to legitimize this by pointing to her Indische background. Lotte therefore was the only person among the respondents who were not affected by the integration debate in how they view their ethnic background, who has a so-called "wider identification". But we will get to this point later on.

The ethnic experiences that these respondents have remain very shallow. To most of them the sense of feeling Indisch was not very contextual either, something we will see differently among a lot of the other respondents. Only Naomi and John M. (as shown in the quote mentioned earlier) noted the extent to which they feel Indisch changes sometimes according to the context or situation they are in.

Naomi: "*Sometimes I feel really Indo, at parties with only Dutch people for example. Birthdays and such, with only really Dutch people. They go and sit in a circle and they'll give you something to drink and then you really have to wait until they ask you if you'd like something to drink and usually there is no food. They just sit in a circle and stare at each other. When I am at my grandma's everybody is welcome and can take and do whatever they want*"

This is the only point in her entire interview in which we can see Naomi was trying to distinguish herself from being Dutch. Throughout the interview she called herself "just a Dutch person", but here she was obviously criticizing the Dutch way of having a birthday party and implies that the way her family does it is more appropriate. However, this part of her interview is unique to not only her own interview but to the other people in this profile as well. They do not really feel Indisch, and does not change in any context or situation.

The respondents noted they did not grow up in an Indische culture either. They all claimed they were not raised any differently from other Dutch people their age. Their knowledge of Indonesian (usually referred to as either Bahasa or Malay) for instance was very

low, as it was for most of the respondents. And they claimed they did not receive any "cultural luggage", as De Vries would call it, from parents or grandparents. As Carien put it:

"*I think I didn't have any interest in it so far because my mother so clearly said "I live in the Netherlands now so now I feel Dutch too". So then you think if you already feel Dutch, wouldn't it be strange for me to not feel Dutch as well?[…]It just really wasn't an issue we talked about at home*"

When it came to the integration debate, the respondents took up different positions. But they did correspond with each other in the fact that they did not relate it to their own background. I presented them with several issues that in one way or another have something to do with the debate on the integration of ethnic minorities. Each of them had a balanced opinion on this, but never based their opinion on their identity as a third generation Indische Netherlander, or as a descendent of a migrant. Their Indische background and the current state of the integration debate were two completely unrelated issues to them. It was therefore no surprise that their image of their ethnic background is not in any way affected by the current tone of the integration debate. When I asked them about it more directly, the answer was every single time a plain and simple "no". As Bo put it:

"*The way I look at issues like this, the integration debate, it doesn't really have anything to do with my Indische background I think. I think it is more influenced by the free upbringing I had and the social scientific education I am currently taking*"

Or in Carien's words:

"*That whole Indische identity doesn't exist anymore in my opinion. Young people hardly know what it is about…It is all a long time ago, all I know about is of course the food and the way you look.[…] When people talk about Turks or Moroccans, I really don't think about myself. Or my own family no not at all*"

Put shortly, to these respondents their Indische background is not something that is addressed often in their daily life. It is not something that is of great importance to them, and they usually only refer to their Indische heritage as an "interesting background". They do not have many Indische people in their social networks either.

§4.2.2 "It is very ambiguous"

The respondents in this profile differed from the last respondents mostly in their level of interest in or commitment to their Indische background. Instead of only referring to just an interesting background, Tamara (31), Romy (25) and Roos (28) all feel a stronger connection to their Indische roots than the last group of respondents. The reasons they have for this are various. Let us take Tamara as a first example. She pointed out she has always had a good deal of interest in her Indische roots, but also noted this interest had grown after her son Nordin was born. Since Nordin's father is a Dutch Moroccan, Tamara admitted she was worried he would grow up feeling like a Moroccan and not paying any attention to his Indische roots. Since she wants to show him his Indische side as well, her level of interest in her background has increased as well.

Romy has a good deal of interest in her background as well, and noted it is something she has always been proud of. She differed from Tamara in that she never had a change in her level of commitment. She claimed feeling Indisch is something that has always been natural to her, even though she also noted she was not *"really Indisch because I am not half Indonesian half European, that's what I see as Indisch. I am more European than Indonesian*" since only her mother is Indisch. She continued to say she does really feel like an Indo, and even went on by stating:

"*Actually I have always felt like an allochthon, because people always ask you where you are from, that does say something. It means you stand out somehow. It was never a reason for me to embrace my Indische side more but still…*"

Roos showed a higher level of commitment to her background than the first group as well:

"*I want to wake up my cousins, because I mean hello it is your background and I think it is a bad thing if they do not know certain things, or do not know anything. If they say certain ignorant things then I just I think you're supposed to know this as an Indische person*"

Her level of commitment to her ethnic background came up most clearly when she evinced her frustration about the ignorance she perceives to be among other young Indo's around her about the history of Indische Netherlanders. This way of looking at her background is obviously related to the research she conducted into Indische identity for her anthropology studies. Her great knowledge of the history of Indische Netherlanders forms a large part, but not all, of her way of giving meaning to her background. She had developed an interest in her background while growing up, but had a lot of questions about it since it was

not a widely discussed issue at home. She therefore conducted a study to find out more about Indische identity, for herself and others. But besides the more militant attitude she showed above, she also gave presence to a more reserved side about having an Indische background:

"*It is not like I don't want to carry it out, but I am not going to be yelling out hey hey look at me I am Indisch*"

Even though these respondents feel a stronger connection to their background than the people in the first profile, it still remains a personal issue to them. Not in the last place because they do not know a lot of other Indische people. All three have ambiguous feelings about whether they are really Indisch or not. On the one hand they really feel Indisch, on the other they admit they are not really sure. And while they have different reasons for it, they do correspond with each other on that point.

Interviewer: "*Would you define yourself as Indisch?*"

Tamara: "*Hmm…No, well yes I find it very difficult. It is very ambiguous, I don't feel 100% Dutch at all but I don't feel 100% Indisch either. I don't think that is possible if you have a Dutch father*"

Interviewer: "*Are there certain moments on which you feel more or less Indisch?*"

Roos: "*Yes, when you are around those super-Dutch people or non-Dutch on the other hand…yes well that's almost always then haha. But I mean when you are around certain rich folks they'll instantly see like hey you're not Dutch, then I always feel like a foreigner. And if you're among allochthons you'll feel like a foreigner too on the hand but on the other you don't because you're like the least foreign person there, it is a little ambiguous*"

When it came to the issues related to the integration debate however, these respondents answered in the same way as the people in the first profile. Since they all consider it a personal issue, they do not relate to any type of politics or public discussion. It seems they do relate their ethnic background to issues outside their own personal life.

Interviewer: "*Does your own background play a role when you form your opinion?*"

Romy: "*No, no that is absolutely not relevant because it is just…I just don't have that at all that I see things that make me feel like my Indische background has anything to do with it*"

Tamara was a little less outspoken since she was not as sure as Romy, but she also thought the tone of the current integration debate does not play a role in how she looks at her Indische heritage. Roos evinced she did not see a relationship either. When discussing all the

issues that are somehow related to the integration debate, they never mentioned their background as something they base their opinion on.

§4.2.3 "I am an Indo"

Both of the respondents in the final profile of first category, John V.(42) and Chris(32), grew up in a social environment in which being Indisch was something natural and are therefore very clear about their position towards their Indische background. They are two of only a few respondents who have two Indische parents, most of them only have one. Both Chris and John V. feel Indisch, just because they "are". So far I have pretty much avoided discussing the cultural factor, since I find it very complicated to determine the level of "Indische culture" – or "cultural luggage" as De Vries would call it - that one has been raised in by just one in-depth interview. Since I can only find out what a respondent perceives to be the amount of Indische aspects the way he/she was raised had, one can only guess about its factuality. This leaves the researcher with quite insufficient tools for comparison, in my opinion. Sometimes however, the difference can be so obvious one can still take it into account, as it is in this case. I feel it is safe to say the "cultural factor" was stronger with John V. and Chris than with the other respondents. And even though this might only be relative to the other people used for this research, it did have its effect on their image of their background. The way they looked at their Indische heritage was far more natural, and involved less thinking or reflecting about their position.

John V. is the respondent I mentioned earlier who turned out to be a second generation Indische Netherlander during his interview. As I explained I still decided to use his interview. The process of "mental decolonization" has clearly completed with John. He was very reflexive about what he called "the negative features of Indische culture in Dutch society". He was especially critical of what he called "the submissiveness of Indo's", and stated one needs to get over that in order to be successful in the Netherlands. "One needs to be harder here", as he put it. Being the director of a marketing company, he had obviously overcome those obstacles himself. He grew up in Amsterdam-West in 1970's, where according to him a lot of Indische Netherlanders lived at that time. He also married an Indische woman, which is another fact that makes him rather unique to the entire sample of respondents because most of them did not have an Indische partner. The place where he grew up and the fact that his wife is an Indo as well resulted in a strong Indische social network.

This same goes for Chris, as he also has an Indische partner and a strong Indische network. He is one of the highest members on the board of a national Indische youth organization called Darah Ketiga. This organization, whose name is translated as "Third Blood" referring to the third generation Indische Netherlanders they represent, has formulated an objective for itself to stimulate the maintenance and development of Indische culture in the Netherlands. It is therefore not surprising Chris is very involved with his Indische background and like John never doubts whether or not he is Indisch. As John put it:

"*Yes I am an Indo. Naturally I have a bottle in the bathroom, well not really a bottle anymore we have faucets. That is always the thing where you can determine whether one is Indo or not, the botol tjebok*" (a hygienic bottle of water used in the bathroom)

The way both of these respondents went about their ethnic background was therefore not contextual either. In Chris' words:

"*Actually I always am who I am. At work, or with the guys from Darah Ketiga...I always feel Indo. I am not Dutch and certainly not Indonesian, I am an Indo and that's that. That is what I want to represent to everybody. The way I see it, it is a race that has come into existence. We don't have a country, we don't have anything. You have to claim what you can and make the best out of it*"

When it came to the influence of the integration debate on their image of their background, the result was mostly the same as the others in this category. The people in this profile differ from the others because their view on their background made them have a certain position towards other ethnic groups. When discussing the integration debate, both Chris and John showed an antagonistic attitude towards other immigrant groups. They both claimed that since the Indische Netherlanders had made it, why should the other immigrants not be able to do as good as they did? This reminds one of Waters point on the white ethnics in the United States who had a negative view of affirmative action since their ancestors had made it through without such measures. In this case Chris' and John's negative view of other minorities was not based on certain government measures but merely on what they believed to be the other groups' social positions and, more importantly, their "willingness to integrate" in Dutch society. Chris and John were not the only respondents who showed this line of thinking, but in both their interviews it came forward far more strongly.

But as I already mentioned, Chris and John generally did not differ from the other respondents in this category as the current tone of the integration debate did not have any effect on the way they give meaning to their ethnic background. This is not very surprising, as they have a very clear view of their position as Indische Netherlanders in today's society. The

current integration debate is not about Indische Netherlanders and therefore their background had nothing to do with it, according to them. As John responded to the question whether his image of his background altered through the current tone of the integration debate:

"*But then you don't feel like an Indo, then you feel like a fellow allochthon even though that is not what you are. I don't have that and my environment doesn't have that either*"

4.3 The subtly affected category

Like the respondents in the first category, these respondents also have different levels of identification and different ways of going about their Indische heritage. The major difference however is that these respondents are somehow influenced by the tone of the integration debate in how they give meaning to their background. The respondents differ in the ways their meaning-giving was affected, but none of them is very conscious about this nor is the effect very thorough. Their ethnic background either becomes more important, they become more aware of their skin colour, they take on a role of negotiator between different migrant groups, or they find a common ground with other migrants through because of the colonial aspect of their background.

Something that comes forward quite obviously in this category is the wider identification the respondents have. All 5 respondents have an identification that goes beyond merely feeling Indisch. This wider identification is not similar among all of them, and it appears to be connected to the subtle changes in how they give meaning to their background.

§4.3.1 *Wider identification*

I have already mentioned wider identification multiple times as a term that proved to be essential to this project. I have taken this term from De Vries' latest work, in which she describes wider identification (ruimere identificatie in Dutch) as "*a multicultural and cosmopolitan disposition, that shows itself through feelings of affinity with other migrants and their descendents and in a laid-back fashion of dealing with cultural and racial differences*" (De Vries 2009: 357, my translation). De Vries notes that this form of identification is most likely not the result of an Indische heritage, but more the result of an awareness of having a mixed descent. She therefore also puts forward that this might be more of generation phenomenon than something that is influenced by having an Indische or another migrant background. I have therefore applied the term a little differently, as I have not labelled all the

people with multicultural ideals as respondents with a wider identification. I have made sure that only the people who base this orientation towards other migrants on their own ethnic background are to considered respondents with a wider identification.

As we have also discussed earlier, Alba made a similar point when he discussed the cultural capital his respondents seemed to have. Alba noticed they used their own background to create a certain type of intimacy with people from another ethnic background. In this study I have observed that Indo's show empathy with other people with a migrant background, and in some way implement their own migrant background to create a bond. They feel a connection with them, and feel as they are a part of greater allochthon or at least non-Dutch ensemble instead of only feeling Indisch. I have found that having a wider identification is connected to whether or not respondents are influenced by the tone of the integration debate on how they give meaning to their background.

So far we have discussed one respondent who has a wider identification. Lotte's multicultural ideals are related to her social network, which became clear when she noted she has very few Dutch friends. She feels like a non-Dutch just like her friends, and she noted herself she is also labelled by them as non-Dutch. The way she gave meaning to her background was very much connected to this wider identification, as she legitimized her feelings of being non-Dutch by pointing to her mixed descent. She was unique in sense that she was the only respondents with a wider identification (total of 9) who was not somehow affected by the integration debate in how she views her ethnic background. This is probably related to her indifference towards politics and political issues. She simply does not care about the arguments in the integration debate or any other political issue for that matter, and therefore did not really form an opinion on it either.

The rest of respondents with a wider identification were all influenced in one way or another. We must note however that a wider identification does not mean the exact same thing to each different respondent. Additionally, some of the respondents were not sure about the debate's effect on their image of their background, others said it had no effect. But all of the respondents in this category show some subtle change in how they view their background. This might only have been an interview effect, but I still decided to give notice to it as I explained in the methodology paragraph.

§4.3.2"It's not that important"

The two respondents in the first profile were both one of the few people who have two Indische parents. To both Dennis (38) and Richie (37) feeling Indisch therefore has something natural, since they grew up in an Indische environment. Richie's situation was a little more complicated as his parents got divorced while he was still young and he was, as he put it, practically raised in another Indische family that lived across the street from his mother's house because his mother was always working. At a later stage he worked in several Indische toko's or shops, and therefore always seemed to have some kind of Indische network around him. He noted however that his Indische heritage is not that important to him.

"*Yes I am an Indo, I have always been proud of it that I have a colour and that I am different […] and I am happy with that but it has never been really important to me*"

This same goes for Dennis, as he noted it has not been very central in his life either. Especially when he was young growing up, he lacked interest in his Indische background. According to himself it was at a later stage in his life when he gained some affinity with his ethnic background.

"*When I was 27 or 28, that is when I realized like oh right I have an Indische background. At that time those IloveAsian parties and stuff started to come up, I've only been there once it was a little too mixed for me. Chinese girls and filipino's I don't really have anything with those people. It was also because of the internet, you know those websites…with the photo's and stuff I liked that. That turn-around came with my fascination for the old Dutch Indies, some kind of desire for a country that doesn't exist any more. I had videotapes that I bought at some pasar malam, with old footage of Batavia in the 1920's, fascinating*"

The connection he feels to his background shows itself mostly through his interest in the history of the Dutch Indies. Besides when watching a documentary on this, or looking some information up on the internet, he claimed it hardly ever comes forward. Something he did bring up quite extensively, and something that is obviously connected to his own historical interest and knowledge, was his frustration about the ignorance among Dutch people about the history of Indische Netherlanders and the Dutch Indies. This was something that came up among a lot of the respondents, but to Dennis it seemed to be more important than to the others who were less bothered by this.

"*I still have to explain sometimes what the difference is between an Indo and an Indonesian person, sometimes even Indo and Indian. That people don't know that in Belgium…alright…but in the Netherlands? I don't understand that and I can get really frustrated over that, I really have to calm myself down at moments like that. I tell them it is*

ok, it is not you, it is more because of the school system. But I think it is just insane that is explained badly, and still is, like they are ashamed of it"

Even though Dennis and Richie both gave notice of some kind of connection they felt to other Indische Netherlanders, they both admitted this connection was somewhat shallow. Especially Richie was very reflexive of this connection and how he used it to build a bond with not only other Indische Netherlanders but other migrants as well.

"*For instance when I am talking to a Thai girl then it will come up. Then I'll use my background to make contact with people. With asian I use it…well sometimes I also use it to make contact with other exotic types. Moroccans, Indo's, Asians, negroes. It usually works*"

He noted he takes on a role of mediator between groups, between mainstream Dutch ethnics and migrants. And both this role he takes on and his Indische background in general are addressed more strongly in a context in which issues related to the integration debate come up. In moments like that, he is suddenly very much aware of his Indische background which changes from a footnote into a very important part of his identity. He noted he is then reminded of his "different skin colour".

"*Maybe it is not very conscious but I think it works that way. At times like that I realize I am coloured. If someone makes a racist joke for example I always hear it, maybe I am not even bothered by it but I always hear it. It makes me realize how I look. They'll never notice but I can hear it*"

Dennis' wider identification was also based on having a different skin colour, but he never talked about taking up a mediator role. His wider identification started to show most clearly when discussing issues related to the integration debate. Like Richie, he constantly reflected on his ethnic background when forming his arguments on either one of the issues. It was clear that while at first he noted it was not something very central to him, his ethnicity gains in importance because of the hardened tone of the integration debate. In his words:

"*You're just walking on the street and at a certain point you're going to think shit maybe they'll think I am a brown one too you know? Sometimes I have the feeling I have to be extra polite…but on the other hand if I see a Moroccan boy he is always very friendly, "sir do you have the time?" My cousin used to live in the Bijlmer, I never felt unsafe there. I thought I don't look like a standard cheesehead anyway so, I guess it also has its advantages[…]Now one is really made conscious of his brown outside because of Wilders and stuff, and not in a positive sense*"

So in conclusion we can say both of the respondents in this profile became more aware of their ethnic background because of the hardened tone in the integration debate. When issues related to the debate were discussed both Richie and Dennis constantly referred to their Indische roots when they formulated their opinions. This change of awareness went hand in hand with a wider identification, which was a little different to Richie little than to Dennis. It appeared a little stronger to Richie, especially when he gave notice of the mediator role he contextually takes on. When speaking of other migrant groups in relation to the integration debate he noted "I feel like I have to defend them, even though I do not feel like an allochthon myself". To both of them the connection they felt to other migrants and their descendents was very much based on having a "different skin colour". Not only did their ethnic awareness grow as a reaction to the current tone of the integration debate, but their wider identification got stronger as well. Especially Dennis' feelings or connection because of having a non-white skin colour showed themselves mostly when discussing the integration debate. When analyzing their answers one can notice they do not necessarily respond or react to the integration debate itself, but more to the idea of processes and mechanisms of ethnic exclusion that they seem to associate with the hardened tone of the debate. When they define their position in and opinion on the debate and relate their background to this, they do not speak directly of "inburgeringscursussen", or a head scarf tax, or whether or not a Dutch national identity exists. They speak of tendencies in greater society they fear exist, and that are exemplified by the more nationalistic tone of the integration debate.

§*4.3.3 "I'd never renounce it"*

Brian's (27) way of handling his Indische background was quite different from Dennis' and Richie's. On the one hand he claims his background is something that is very important to him, but on the other hand it appeared to me his knowledge about his background was somewhat limited. One of the ways this showed itself was when he talked about his wish of going to Indonesia. It became clear he does not differentiate between "Indo/Indisch" and "Indonesian", for instance when he told me "*I'd like to go there, to see how the Indo's in Indonesia are*". As he put it himself, he has a certain "craving for the culture" and he would never renounce his ethnic roots. He used the terms pride and proud a lot when talking about his Indische roots, but it seems this feeling of pride was the only basis for his identification with his background.

"*I am proud to be an Indo, I would not want to be completely Dutch. It is because my mother was born there and that I know it is really important to her. I also do it for her, keeping it up*"

This also showed when he noted he usually feels Dutch, and that he feels Indisch mostly during family meetings.

"*I completely went up in the Dutch culture. The only moments I had points of contact with my roots was with birthdays and stuff. We would all eat nice food together and stuff, those are the times you are proud of your background*"

Like many of the other respondent he does not have a lot of other people with an Indische background in his social network. But something in which he did differ from the other respondents came up when he claimed he is critical of Dutch or Western culture. He spoke of an anti-globalist movement he was once involved in, and noted he is very critical of the capitalist system and the position of the "Western world" in this. The interesting thing about this was that he involved his background in these views as well, to strengthen his point.

"*I have a craving for that [Indonesian] culture. It is also because Dutch culture does not appeal to me. I am proud I grew up here, with the freedom of choice and everything but the Dutch people how they behaved in the colonies and stuff…that is why I am happy I am also half something else*"

This critical stance seems to be connected to his wider identification, as that is based on the idea of being a part of a group of people who have a history of colonial suppression. This is the basis for the connection Brian feels with other migrant groups that have either a colonial history or are currently in a disadvantaged position in Dutch society.

"*They behaved scandalously over there, that is kind of my aversion against Dutch people. How they treated women and children in Indonesia killing them in cold blood, stealing spices and stuff. That is where I see that parallel with the here and now. […] I can agree with them on that, the Surinamese and all them. I can imagine they take a stance like that…because of slavery of course, it becomes a question of principle*"

Brian started out saying he usually felt Dutch, but when the integration debate came up he clearly positioned himself as a non-Dutch individual. He started taking an outsider perspective, speaking about "those Dutch people" and "how they behaved". Historical awareness suddenly became more important as he put the group he feels a part of in the victimized position. His ethnic awareness grew just like Dennis' and Richie's, even though

his personal way of going about Indische background was very different from theirs. When asked directly if he was aware of any effect of the hardened tone in the debate on the view he views his ethnic background, he evinced he could not be sure and was not very conscious about it.

§4.3.4 Indisch 3.0

Kirsten (32) and Ed (31) are both very engaged with their Indische background. A commitment which shows itself through the internet weblog entitled Indisch 3.0 they founded together. "*Indisch 3.0 is a weblog on which the Indische third generation speaks out*", as one can read on the weblog itself. Not surprisingly, Kirsten and Ed were quite similar in the way they give meaning to their Indische roots. They way their Indische heritage was treated at their homes growing up however did differ from each other. To Kirsten it has been something more normal throughout life while Ed's interest in his roots emerged strongly after his first trip to Indonesia. Kirsten:

"*Yes, both my parents are Indisch. And my grandparents used to tell me about the Indies. Told me stories about how they used to live and that sort of things, they would tell me interesting things about Indische life. At that age I was never conscious of being Indisch. You know if both of your parents are like that, then you don't have any...you know people with a Dutch father or mother they can at least notice a difference*"

Ed:

"*Well in my family it [Indische heritage] was very present until my grandparents died. I was 6 or 7 and after that it was gone for a long time. I think my father is an example of an Indische man who was taught by his parents to behave as Dutch as possible. After the death of his parents he did not really bring it into our lives at all. […] To me it has a very strong connection to Indonesia and my travels to Indonesia because I have traced my family roots there. And the book that was closed when my grandparents died was at that point opened up again*"

This makes Ed one of the respondents who grew up with a lot of questions about their ethnic background and at a certain point decided to start 'looking' for their roots, either by travelling, on the internet or in literature. Comparing Ed and Kirsten we can say that even though the bases for their identifications with their background differ from each other, the way they give meaning to their Indische heritage is quite similar. They both showed a certain

cosmopolitan vision on the world which they related strongly to their identity as an Indische Netherlander. Kirsten:

"*We come from another culture and I notice that I look differently at certain issues. Like for instance when I was with only Dutch people and we were talking about adopting Chinese children. People were saying that was very wrong because a lot of people make money of that so that is wrong. But if you think like that than you automatically condemn the entire Asian and African ehh...I notice that I look differently at that because I was raised in a different culture*"

Ed:

"*And that Indische, I still don't necessarily see it as an identity or something but more as a way of looking at the world, a kind of vision of diversity in which I have always felt comfortable. I've always enjoyed having a lot cultures around me*"

This cosmopolitan vision also translated into a strong wider identification, as already to be seen in the quote above. Ed claimed he has a certain "sensitivity for cultures" because of his mixed descent that enables him to blend in easily with people from other backgrounds. Kirsten made a similar point on this:

"*What I notice is that you can have a connection with other migrant groups very easily. I had a Moroccan trainee two years ago and even though we come from very different backgrounds, some things are still the same. Dutch people are more sober and blunt […] you still share certain experiences […] from the moment you leave your country of origin you're not really of part of it anymore and the country you're going to, you're not really a part of that either. In my experience that is something you share with other groups*"

For Kirsten the hardened tone of the integration debate was a reason to distance herself from being Dutch. Her place as an Indische individual therefore also changed into a mediator role as we have seen earlier with Richie.

"*If he [Wilders] makes comments like that that is when I think well apparently I am not a part of what Dutch is. I don't feel like one of the Dutch people to be honest. […] I was in a tram when an Indian guy and Moroccan guy got in a fight. The Indian guy told the Moroccan "go back to your own country". The rest of the people in the tram were all Dutch. I just felt like if anyone is going to have to say something it is me, because I was the only one who was kind of coloured you know. […] I think that because I am Indisch I can see that sort of thing more clearly, I am more sensitive to it. That sort of nuances, Dutch people have that political correctness like everyone should be equal*"

Ed was very reflexive of his position as an Indische Netherlander in reaction to the issues related to the integration debate as well. He started wondering "what part is Indisch, what is dutch, and what is my position in this". While he first spoke of his background as mostly a way of looking at the world, when discussing the debate the migration history aspect of his background gained in importance to him. Any time the integration debate is brought up this provides a context that reminds him of, and makes him reflect stronger on, his background.

4.4 The affected category

This category differs from the other two in that these 6 respondents are very conscious about the effects of hardened tone integration debate on the way they view their Indische ancestry. While the first profile I will discuss has a lower level of identification than the others, the greatest differences between the profiles in this category lie in the way the respondents were influenced by the integration debate.

§4.4.1 *A fiercer position*

The first profile we will discuss is an interesting one as it consists of Annoesjka and Menko, who both evinced a very low level of identification. When speaking of and discussing the integration debate, their interest in their background seemed to be sparked since they found a way to distance themselves from some of the ideas displayed by participants of the debate. Implementing or using their Indische background in this way, they did not give notice to some kind of wider identification.

Both Menko and Annoesjka told me their Indische background was not something that was very important to them in daily life. Menko:

"*In my situation it is like…people don't recognize my Indonesian background so for me it has never been an issue. […] I never had the urge to go and look for my roots or something. My dad can cook very good Indonesian food and that is about it. Really, it is that superficial*"

Annoesjka:

"*Yes I always say I am Indisch, but it is completely different from my sister Ulrike for instance. She is far more involved with it, I don't have that. I call myself Indisch because people don't expect that because of the way I look and that is always something funny"*

Both noted they hardly know any other Indische Netherlanders outside of their own family and added there is no context or situation is which they feel more or less Indisch than they usually do. However, when they were asked specifically whether or not there is a relationship between their positions in the integration debate, and if there is a certain influence this debate has on the way they look at their ethnic background both Menko and Annoesjka suddenly changed this image. Menko:

"*Yes, I do have that. That is the part I really like about having a different background than just my Frisian background. I also have an Indonesian part in me and that gives something worldly to how I look at things. […] Double passports well...I don't think you can read of a document which culture somebody is from. And the way I look at that, my Indonesian background has contributed to that*"

Annoesjka:

"*My ancestors are not from here originally, but I have not lived through that myself. But I do have a more nuanced vision on that [the integration debate], because somehow you do feel indirectly addressed, because I am not 100% Dutch either. So that makes me fiercer, the position I take becomes fiercer*"

It seems that the connection they feel with their Indische roots does not have anything to do with "being" Indisch, or any type of cultural aspect. It is merely the idea of having a mixed descent that is suddenly brought forward and used to strengthen the position they take in debate. Both of them did not bring forward their ethnic background until they were specifically asked about whether they see a relationship between the position they take in the debate and their Indische heritage. In contrast to some of the other respondents they do not base their opinion solely on the notion of having a mixed descent, but use it as a means to make their argument more powerful.

§4.4.2 *In search of meaning*

The three respondents in this profile differ strongly from the last one, since they not only have a much higher level of identification with their own background, but a wider identification as well. Ulrike (35), Royce (21) and Roald (31) all three have strong feelings towards their

Indische ancestry. All three of them also noted they grew up with uncertainties and questions about their background, and at a certain point decided to make their knowledge and commitment to their Indische roots more profound. Ulrike, sister to Annoesjka we have just discussed, showed this very clearly. Even though she grew up in the same social environment as Annoesjka, the bond she feels with her Indische heritage is a lot stronger than Annoesjka's.

"*I always noticed I was different, but I didn't know what it was exactly. I mean everybody is an individual of course but…I just had certain habits and much later I read books and thought "hey I have that too", that sort of recognition. […] It always surprises me I have all those things, because I don't have it from my father. It must somehow be in your genes or something*"

Ulrike grew up with a lot of questions about her background because her Indische father did not it bring up and never talked about it. When she got older she started to get more and more interested and started to recognize herself in certain habits that are labelled as "Indisch" in for instance Indische literature. She is currently the moderator of the Dutch Indies hyve, an online Indische community for which she organizes get-togethers every once in a while. The connection she feels with her Indische side is now present is her everyday life.

Royce displayed a similar image, as he feels a strong connection with his Indische roots but grew up with questions and uncertainties about these roots as well. I have put together some parts of his interview that together show this clearly.

"*I feel Dutch because I am, but I do feel like a different Dutch than 100% Dutch. I am an Indo, an Indische Netherlander that is what I am. So on the other hand I don't feel that Dutch but it is a little hard to explain. […] It is not only from within yourself but also from outside because there are people that ask hey what is your background. You are confronted with it. Maybe that has an even stronger impact than you do yourself. […] I feel a strong connection with my Indische side that's why I talk a lot about it with my grandma. But my mom for instance she doesn't talk about it at all. Being Indisch is like not done or something. […] When I went to high school I got to know more Indische and Moluccan people my age. We started talking about for instance how Moluccan people have a stronger bond. Then I thought I want that too but after a while I reckoned it wasn't really appropriate*"

He shows a clear image of someone who on the one hand has a strong feeling of being Indisch, but on the other hand is a little ambiguous about what this feeling really means or where it comes from. He also noted his awareness of his background is something that has developed throughout the years. This same goes for Roald, who was also driven by his interest in his background and family history to go and "search for the meaning" of his ethnic roots.

"*If I would compare myself to all of my cousins, I would be one of the few who feels really connected. With that much profundity that when I went to Indonesia for the first time I went and laid down in the sawa's for two hours and just absorbed everything, the smell, the friendliness of the people, everything. […] I read a lot about my roots, you know a lot of the first generation people were in those camps. They often don't talk about their time in the Indies because of that, they want to spare us the suffering. My grandpa did occasionally tell me something but…not really*"

Even though all three showed to have a strong feeling of connection to their ethnic roots, they also said it was something contextual. In some contexts or situation they feel "more Indisch". To Ulrike this would be for instance when people asked about her background or when she saw other Indische Netherlanders walking on the street. To Royce and Roald this would be when they are around their families, Indische friends or just among Indische people in general.

Another thing that ties these three respondents together is the fact that they all have a wider identification. To Ulrike this means that she feels a connection with other migrant groups and feels more comfortable among them. For instance, since she grew up with Surinamese friends, she talked about the connection between Indische and Surinamese culture. Royce claimed it is easy for him to put himself in the place of people with another ethnic background, so he therefore feels a connection. And as Roald put it:

"*I am an advocate of united, I love diversity. Like here in Rotterdam, if I want to eat Surinamese I go there and if I want to eat a Turkish lahmacun I go there*"

This wider identification showed itself more strongly when I started discussing the integration debate, especially with Royce and Roald. They both felt they were pushed into the allochthon category, since they both felt they were often labelled as non-Dutch people. As a reaction to this they distanced themselves from being Dutch and gladly took up the role of allochthon or ethnic outsider. Royce:

"*It makes me more conscious of my background, you are constantly reminded you have a different ethnicity. That is also why I want to be allochthon, because I am well-educated and I am doing my best and I just want to show that there are also allochtons who don't steal. That is the common image if you say allochthon people think of someone who picks up a gun and robs a bank or something [laughs]*"

Roald:

"*I was walking on the street with my [Moroccan] girlfriend, and then the police came up for contraceptive frisking. I told them "what contraceptive? This is selective frisking, why didn't you do that whiteface across the street?" […] It gives me additional pride, if you want to think in a limited way and want to categorize people ok, then I will be this. And with a proud feeling too, I'd rather be with the Indo's*"

Ulrike was a little more reserved but also noted her awareness of being Indisch grows whenever she sees or reads anything that is in any way related to the current integration debate.

"*It makes me more conscious of my background. Because these people are against that it, that makes you want to be different even stronger and look for confirmation and the group you belong to. That is what it does, like "I am not going to be what you want me to be'*""

As we have seen earlier, the effect the tone of the integration debate has on especially Royce and Roald does not stand on itself. When discussing the debate Roald associated this with a memory of a situation in which he felt discriminated against. In that sense they do not think directly of the debate itself, but more the mechanisms of ethnic exclusion it reminds them of. What is actually being said or being discussed in the debate is not really relevant, since just the term "integration debate" on itself reminds them of the outsider position they feel they are in. It forms another context in which they notice their otherness. The current tone of the debate strengthens the image of being different. Just the fact that Wilders is very popular is threatening, even though he is not talking about them. It seems they take on the perspective of a migrant outsider.

§4.4.3 *A comparative perspective*

The last respondent I will discuss stood in sharp contrast to Ulrike, Roald and Royce. Wesley (30), Brian's (discussed in paragraph 4.3.3) older brother, had a completely different way of defining his ethnic background in relation to the integration debate.

He said he had no Indische social network growing up but still feels a connection to his background. At the beginning of the interview he claimed it remains something personal and showed it is not contextual to him.

"*I see myself as a Dutch person with an Indische background, but I am also an Indo. Not really super strong like hey hey I am Indo but more that I have an Indische background. […] I*

am not in search of the Indische identity, it is something for myself. I don't have to confirm it via internet forums or something. […] It is just how you are, it is not like I suddenly put on a different suit or something it is just something that is inside you"

We have seen this type of profile earlier, but the reason he differs from all the other respondents showed itself later on in the interview. When the integration debate came up, he evinced a very negative image of other migrant groups in the Netherlands. He took up the perspective of a Dutch insider, in contrast to the migrant outsider perspective the respondents in the last profile gave notice of. Wesley relates his background very strongly to his position in the integration debate. He claims other migrant groups should take example out of the way Indische Netherlanders integrated. Looking at the general social position of other migrant groups in comparison to the general social position of Indische Netherlanders gave him a feeling of pride.

"*There are a lot of young migrants here, Muslims and such, Moroccans, Turks, they are only here to get what they can and they spit in the hand that fed them. They shit on Dutch society, while if you have a positive attitude and you don't let yourself get cornered like "oh they think I am bad", then you'll have your own chances in the Netherlands*"

On the other hand, his image of strong ethnic bonds among other ethnic groups made him regret "the lack of cohesion among Indische Netherlanders", as he put it.

"*Actually I think it is a pity Indo's did not come forward that strongly. Our ancestors should have given us some more consciousness about that. We are Indo's, we are going to stay together, and that is that. But you can see that it is grown apart, we never really had a manifest in this society and I regret that*"

His awareness and even pride of being Indo obviously grew when discussing the integration debate. And like the other respondents in this category he was very conscious of this. But the reason Wesley feels a stronger connection to his Indische roots is quite different than the others in the affected category. He compares the history of his own migrant group to that of others, and concludes "we did better" and therefore takes more pride of having an Indische background. Wesley is far from the only respondent who claimed that since Indische Netherlanders integrated well, other migrant groups should be able to do the same. We discussed a similar way of thinking in Chris' and John V.'s profile in the first category. Since Waters found that the new ethnicity she talks of among white ethnics in the Unites States also had this effect on the way her respondents viewed other minorities, this was not something

unexpected. Waters claimed that some of her white ethnics had a low opinion of for instance affirmative action, since their own ancestors did not have the privilege of such measures but were still successful. In this study there are a couple of respondents who showed this way of thinking as well, but except for Wesley they are all in the "not affected category". Wesley is the only one of them who feels more Indisch and becomes more proud of his ancestry in the context of speaking about the integration debate.

4.5 A general overview

Now that we have looked at all three categories, there are some things we can notice immediately. We can say that a little more than half of the respondents are at least subtly affected by the current integration debate in how they give meaning to their ethnic identity. What this effect means exactly differs between the respondents, but something in which they were all similar to each other was that the effect basically comes down to a strengthening of their ethnic awareness and the connection they feel to their ethnic background. We did not find a strong relationship between the respondents' levels of commitment to their ethnic background and whether or not they were affected by the debate, since both respondents with a very low level of identification and respondents with a relatively high level of identification were represented in the "non-affected", "subtly affected" and "consciously affected" categories. On the other hand we must also note that there were a little more people with a low identification in the non-affected category, and vice versa.

A strong relationship we did find is between having a wider identification and being affected by the integration debate. A wider identification basically comes down to an ethnic identification that goes beyond the borders of "Indisch". Respondents with a wider identification feel some kind of connection with other migrants and migrant descendents, and some of them admit they feel like a fellow allochthon. Most the respondents with this wider identification grew up with questions and uncertainties about their ethnic background, and have a very reflexive way of looking at their ethnic heritage. Their ethnic identities seem to be more fluid and contextual than those of other respondents.

In terms of skin colour or ethnic appearance we can only speak of a subtle relationship, as some of people who said they are never recognized as an Indo or even a migrant descendent are consciously affected by the integration debate. On the other hand there are several respondents who base their wider identification on having a darker skin colour and noted it was a reason for them to feel threatened by the hardened tone of the

integration debate, which made them become more aware of their ethnic background. So overall we can say skin colour does seem to play a role. Level of education or class does however not seem to be relevant, since both highly educated and relatively lowly educated respondents are to be found in all three categories.

The respondents use their ethnic heritage as an argument to explain and justify their position in the integration debate, but it seems they can use it for both a vision with multicultural ideals and one with a more antagonistic view on other migrant groups. So their ethnic heritage does seem to give some respondents certain positions in the integration debate, but these positions are the complete opposite of each other. So there is not a certain position an Indische heritage logically leads to. In terms of contextuality we can say that to the people in the affected categories, who together compose a little over half of the respondents, the integration debate basically forms another context in which they are reminded of their ethnicity or "otherness". Some of them associated it with ethnic exclusion, as it quickly reminded them of one or more times they felt discriminated against.

5. Conclusion

In this study we have tried to look into the effects of the integration debate in the Netherlands. One of the scholars who has published on this is Harchaoui, who states that the one-sided media attention to crime in relation to young allochthons has a stagnating effect on their emancipation. Inspired by this line of thinking we have turned to third generation Indische Netherlanders to see if they are in any way affected by the integration debate. The reason we selected Indische Netherlanders as our research population was based on the notion of symbolic or optional ethnicity. According to De Vries this category of people has very individual ways to define their ethnic identities and have a certain freedom of choice about how to go about their ethnic background. This also means they have some kind of freedom to move between being or feeling autochthon and allochthon. They therefore have a unique and valuable position to look into the effect of the integration debate. Looking at Harchaoui's claim, how does this work for Indische Netherlanders?

The main question we sought an answer to was whether or not the hardened tone of the integration debate in the Netherlands has any kind of effect on the way third generation Indische Netherlanders give meaning to their ethnic background. Subsequently we asked if there would be any effect, would this mean an embrace or an abandoning of an Indische ethnic identity. Additionally we also looked into the role of education or class, skin colour and the level of commitment the respondents have to their Indische background. We also tried to find out if their ethnic heritage gave them a certain view or position in the integration debate and if the debate has any effect on the contextuality of their ethnic identifications.

§5.1 *Affected ethnic identities*

We have seen that the respondents could be categorized as either "not-affected", "subtly affected" or "consciously affected". The influence of the integration debate unanimously means a strengthening of ethnic identification to the respondents who are either subtly or consciously affected. Looking at Alba's study on white ethnics in the United States, we expected to find different levels of identification among the respondents, and we did. The different levels of identification are to be found in every one of the categories. People who are not affected by the integration debate in terms of how they give meaning to their ethnic background can have a very low, a moderate or a high level of identification. The same goes for the subtly affected and affected category of respondents. Even among the people who

were consciously affected in the way they viewed their background there were 2 respondents who usually do not feel Indisch at all. I must say that in the case of Annoesjka and Menko, this change is probably not as profound as the others in the affected category. Even though they said their image changed and they at least partly rely on their background to form their opinion on the current state of the debate, their ethnic awareness is still very low and their background still has little significance to them.

Logically we can conclude that the level of commitment a respondent has to his/her ethnic background, has no strong and direct influence on whether or not he/she is affected by the debate. On the other hand we must note that more people with a low identification level are in the "not affected" category, and there a little more people with relatively high level of identification in the "subtly affected" and "affected" category. Since it remains quite mixed overall I feel we can not really speak of a strong relationship, but there are some subtle nuances to be found.

The strongest relationship we have seen in this study was between being influenced by the debate and having a wider identification. The respondents who showed a wider identification did not only identify with their Indisch roots but also beyond the limits of "Indisch", either as a fellow migrant, migrant descendent or even allochthon. This wider identification seems to go hand in hand with a more fluid image of their ethnic background. These people are constantly developing, and reflecting upon the way they give meaning to their background. All of the respondents with a wider identification also noted their feeling of being Indisch changes according to different contexts. They were not the only respondents who gave notice of a certain contextuality of their ethnic identity, but the fluid nature of their identification appeared to be a lot stronger to me. With the exception of Dennis and Richie, the larger part of the respondents with a wider identification grew up with uncertainties or at least questions about their background. This could explain the reflexive nature of their identifications, and since they form a majority among the people who were either subtly or consciously affected I feel we can speak of a modest relationship between having a certain uncertainty about the meaning of one's background and being influenced by the integration debate in how they conceptualize meaning to this background. Having a wider identification also plays a major role in this since these respondents feel either directly or indirectly addressed in the debate because of their feelings towards other migrant groups.

§5.2 Appearance and education

The first respondent we discussed was Bo, and one of interesting points he made had to do with his appearance. He noted he is never confronted with his ethnic background because he does not look like an Indo. In fact he looks like a typical Dutch guy, as he put it. Besides Bo there were more people making that point like Menko, Annoesjka and to a lesser extent John M. and Naomi. When looking at these respondents we can conclude that since all of them had a low level of identification, appearance does have a certain influence on how people go about their background. But on the other hand, since Menko and Annoesjka were two of the people in the affected category, one could also say there does not seem to be a direct relationship between ethnic appearance and whether or not one is influenced by the debate.

This image changes however if we take the respondents with a wider identification into account, since some of them at least partly based their wider identification on having a different skin colour. To some of them it was a reason to feel threatened by the hardened tone of the integration debate, which made them become more aware of their ethnic background. So skin colour does seem to play a role. We can however not speak of a strong relationship, since a darker skin or "non-Dutch appearance" does not necessarily lead to being influenced by the debate. It seems to be similar to the connection between the different levels of identification and whether or not one was affected by the debate. On the one hand it is too complicated to simply speak of a relationship but on the other hand we should not underestimate the role it plays in the whole process either.

In terms of education and class we can be fairly short. It seems there is no relationship between one's education or class and whether one's image of Indische roots changes because of the debate. Whether one is a college student, a Feyenoord hooligan, the director of a marketing company or working at the local casino it held no relationship to whether one was influenced. The idea that higher educated people are more politically engaged and would therefore also be influenced quicker does not seem to work in this case. I think this can be explained by the magnitude of the integration debate. It is safe to say the integration debate has been very present in Dutch media over the last 10 years. It would be hard for one to miss it. During my fieldwork I noticed that practically everyone had some kind of opinion on it. Only Lotte and to lesser extent Roos did not really form any opinion on it since they admitted they simply do not care about it. And even though Lotte's level of education might have been relatively low, Roos' on the other hand was relatively high. Put shortly, there was no relationship to be found.

§5.3 *Context and position*

We have already touched on the subject of contextuality above. Not all of the respondents showed that their ethnic identities are contextual. It appeared that most people who had a very low identification with their ethnic background did feel more or less Indisch in different contexts or situations. To Chris and John V., the two respondents to which being Indisch was most natural and who seemed to have the highest level of cultural heritage in the sample, there was no sense of contextuality either. They are Indisch, in every time and place, as they would put it. Contextuality of ethnic identity mostly related to the people in between. They noted that they felt more Indisch for instance when around family or other Indische people, at a pasar malam, when around only white Dutch people or whenever someone makes a racist comment. The contextuality was about as varied as the meanings people give to their ethnic identity as a whole. To about half of the respondents, the people in the "subtly affected" and the "affected" category, the integration debate basically forms another context in which they are reminded of their ethnicity and therefore feel a stronger connection.

In terms of the positions the respondents take in the integration debate, it seems that about half of them use their ethnic heritage as an argument to explain and justify their position in the integration debate. The other half does not relate their ethnic heritage to anything political. Having an Indische background does definitely not lead to one fixed position in the debate. Some do not even relate the two to each other, others use it to justify their multicultural ideals while there also respondents who implement their ethnic heritage to explain their antagonistic view on other migrant groups.

§5.4 *In perspective*

So, what does all this say about the public affair? Some of the third generation Indische Netherlanders are influenced by the hardened tone of the debate in that it increases their awareness of having a certain ethnic background. And some of those people found way in it to distance themselves from being Dutch. I feel this could hold vital information for the future, as new generations of migrant descendents are coming of age. Some of them are ascribed to categories that are topic of discussion in the integration debate, in contrast to the respondents of this study. It therefore seems Harchaoui's statements should be taken seriously. The integration debate currently focuses mostly on issues concerning acculturation, assimilation

and integration. But if we take Gans' perspective identifications and *feelings* of being ethnic will increase in importance in the future. I therefore feel the outcome of this explorative study might give a hint towards the social situations of ethnic minorities in the future.

One of the concepts that came forward strongly in this study was wider identification. When relating this study on Indische Netherlanders to other immigrant groups in the Netherlands, one could link this idea of a wider identification to what Alba called "incentives to retain a certain ethnic identity". Not only can a certain ethnic background give an individual the means to positively distinguish oneself from the mainstream, ethnicity also seems to be "embedded in the social fabric", as Alba put it. While Alba is speaking on an American context, this still might be useful to take into consideration. The wider identifications of the respondents of this study could very well prove that ethnic differentiation is socially embedded in the Netherlands as well at this point.

Another thing we might want to take into consideration when using this study's results in relation to other minority groups is the role of skin colour. I must admit that my knowledge on other migrant groups is quite limited, probably too limited to see any parallels or differences. But one thing we can be sure of is that a lot of the immigrant groups (or all of the non-Western, since they seem to be the only ones who become problematized in the debate) have a non-white skin colour. We should therefore take into consideration that the role skin colour plays to the respondents in this study could very well be similar to other non-white migrants and their descendents. Not in the last place since some respondents with a wider identification based this type of identification on having a "different" or "darker" skin colour.

The last point I want to address here has to do with some of the respondents in the "affected" categories. It appears that a great part of them either has or at one point had certain uncertainties about what their ethnic background means to them. They either grew up with obscurities about their ethnic background or at a certain point started asking questions about what their ethnic background means to themselves and what position that gives them towards others. I think this point can be interesting for studies into other migrant groups as well. When discussing for instance radicalizing Muslim youths, social scientists should I my opinion take this in consideration as well. Since uncertainties about the meaning of their ethnic background mattered to some of the respondents in this study, this might work in a similar way to radicalizing Muslim youths.

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Appendix

Topic list interviews:

- Age
- Education
- What neighbourhood did you grow up? How would you describe that neighbourhood?
- Social network ethnically, when growing up? Different from now?
- Would you describe yourself as Indisch? What does that mean to you? How strong is that to you?
- Would you say you were raised in an Indische way?
- Is the way you go about your ethnic background different from other people in your family?
- Did you ever experience a change in the level of interest you have or had in your Indische roots?
- Do you feel a certain connectedness to other Indische Netherlanders? And if so, is that something on a face-to-face level or on a more collective level?
- Are there certain moments on which you feel more or less Indisch?
- Do people ask about your ethnic roots? What do they usually guess?
- Indische Netherlanders as group often used as success story of integration in the Netherlands. Some people claim that because of this Indische culture in the Netherlands has become somewhat diluted. Do you agree? Is it something you experience in a negative or positive way?
- Switch to the integration debate, a little introduction. Is that something you notice? As an Indische person?
- A couple of issues related to this integration debate, let's see if you have a certain opinion on them: "inburgeringscursussen", Maxima: "the Dutch identity does not exist", double passports, Geert Wilders, the incident with Jong Oranje when Surinamese players waved not only the Dutch flag but also the Surinamese flag after winning the European Cup, an Imam who refuses to shake a woman's hand.
- When thinking about these issues and when you formulate your opinion, do you use your own ethnic background as an argument? Do you reflect on your ethnic background? Does that change your way of looking at your ethnic roots?
- How so you see the future of Indische Netherlanders in the Netherlands?