

Diaspora And Identity Construction Maluku Community in The Netherlands

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Issue Details

Issue Title: Issue 3

Received: 08 February, 2021

Accepted: 19 March, 2021

Published: 22 May, 2021

Pages: 1651-1664

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Linguistica Antverpiensia

Abstract

The Moluccans In The Netherlands Are One Of The Ethnic Minorities Who Have Historically Been Transported To The Netherlands After The Changes Of World War. This Resulted In Around 4000 KNIL Soldiers And Their Families Being Taken To The Netherlands Where They Traveled To The Land Of The Windmills. This Study Aims To Describe The Identities Of The Moluccans Living In The Netherlands By Focusing On Ethnic Interactions And How The Moluccans Interpret Themselves In The Social Context Of Dutch Society, Social Interactions Between Ethnic Groups Across Countries And Identity Politics And Recommend The Need For Revitalization And Development Of Identity, Community And Multiculturalism Insight. The Term "Maluku Holland" Is Used In Writing As A Category That Differentiates It From The Moluccans Living In Indonesia. The Social Interaction Between The Maluku People In The Netherlands In The Early Days Of The Maluku People In The Netherlands Had Obstacles To Integrate With Dutch Society. However, Along With The Dutch Government's Policy Of Restoring The Honor Of The KNIL Soldiers, The Moluccans Slowly Reconstructed Their More Inclusive Identity, But Did Not Forget Their Cultural Roots. The Construction Of The Identity Of The Maluku Community In The Netherlands Is Very Significant, Especially Regarding Who Is Called "The Original Maluku People" Nowadays Is No Longer As Rigid As In The Past, Considering That The Young People Of The Dutch Moluccas Prioritize Actively In Deconstructing What It Means To Be Maluku In The Netherlands. Furthermore, The Long History Of The Netherlands Shows That The Value Of Tolerance And Multiculturalism Is Not Something That Is Given. Dutch Citizens Are Encouraged By The Government To Be Ready To Accept The Various Forms Of Cultural Diversity Brought By Migrants. This Attitude Is Confirmed By Legislation Supporting The Issuance Of Laws Prohibiting Discriminatory Acts Against Ethnic Minority Groups. The Values Of Tolerance And Multiculturalism Were Born And Developed Because Of The Social Dynamics In Them. This Process Is A Process That Continues Until Now.

Keywords: Diaspora, Identity Construction, Multiculturalism.

Introduction

The Beginning Of The Phenomenon Of "The End Of Geography" Actually Begins With The Spread Of Humans Who Leave Their Ancestral Lands To The New Lands Which Become Their Destination And Place Of Residence. They Are What Is Known As The Diaspora. This Distribution Of People Does Not Follow The Same Pattern As One Another, And There Are Variations That Differentiate Diaspora Communities Around The World. According To Michel Bruneau (2010) There Are Four Variations In Which Diaspora Communities Can Be Grouped. First, The Entrepreneurial Diaspora Group. Second, The Religious Diaspora Group. Third, The Political Diaspora Group. Maluku-Dutch People Belong To This Diaspora Group, Where They Were Forcibly Transported To The Netherlands After The Handover Of Indonesian Sovereignty Which Later Formed The

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Organization Of The Republic Of South Maluku (RMS). And Finally, The Racial And Cultural Diaspora Groups.³

Maluku People In The Netherlands Prefer To Be Categorized As Moluccans And Not As Ambonese. For Them, The Term Maluku Is A More Neutral Social Category, Covering People Not Only From Ambon And Its Surroundings But Also People From Ternate, Seram, Kei Islands, And Tanimbar. The Term Maluku Was Born As An Answer To The Social And Political Dynamics Occurring In The Maluku Community In The Netherlands.

The Dutch Moluccans Emphasized Their Moluccan Identity As A Way To Differentiate Them From The Dutch And Were Also Active In Maintaining This Cultural Identity. In Every Community Meeting, Aspects That Introduce And Encourage Maluku Culture Are Always Found, Such As Traditional Dances And Folk Songs, Food, And Traditional Clothes, Although Many Of Them No Longer Speak Malay. Identities To Malukuan Are Still Preserved From Generation To Generation And Parents Are Consciously Educating Children In Maluku Ways.

The Maluku People In The Netherlands And Other Diasporas Are An Example Of An "Imaginary Community" Or Imagined Community Based On The Idea Of Sharing Cultural Practices (Between The Diaspora And The People Living In Their Home Country) That Takes Place Across Territorial And Historical Boundaries. The Moluccans In The Netherlands Also Adopted Dutch Values As An Expression Of Their Closeness To The Dutch People, While Still Maintaining Their Cultural Identity.

Cultural Identity Cannot Be Formed Without Acknowledging The Existence Of The Other Side, Namely Divisions And Differences. Based On Hall's Premise, This Paper Analyzes Dutch Maluku People In Constructing And Negotiating Their Identity In The Context Of Dutch Society.⁴

Methods

This Research Is A Qualitative Research Designed In The Framework Of A National Strategy Study Which Is Focused On The Construction Of The Identity Of The Maluku People In The Netherlands. Data Obtained Through The Process Of Observation And Interviews. The Informants In This Study Consisted Of Maluku Community Leaders, Religious Leaders, Dutch Community Leaders, Government Officials Who Had Served In The Maluku Community Area, As Well As Other People Who Interacted With The Maluku People At The Research Location. Data Analysis Was Carried Out In Three Steps, Namely Data Processing, Data Reduction, Presentation In The Form Of Descriptions And Explanations / Interpretations, And Drawing Research Conclusions.

Discussion

History Of Migration Of The Moluccans In The Netherlands

The Arrival Of The Moluccans To The Netherlands Had Different Initial Motivations From The Moroccan And Turkish Migrants. Initially The Moluccans Did Not See The Netherlands As A Land Of Hope To Be Occupied Forever.

Their Arrival Was Not On Their Own Accord, But Because Of The Command Of The Military Command. The Emergence Of The Maluku Community In The Netherlands Initially Began With Political Upheaval In Indonesia In 1950. After The Formation Of The RIS (Republic Of The United States Of Indonesia), Indonesia Returned To Being A Unitary State. The System For The Formation Of The Federal State Was Aborted And This Caused Many Problems, Especially The People Of Maluku Who Wanted The Right To Fully Autonomous Government.⁵

The Transfer Of Sovereignty To Indonesia On December 28, 1949 At The Same Time Mobilized Around 3000 Men Of The KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger)

³ Bruneau, Michel. 2010. "Diasporas, transnational spaces and communities", in Rainer Bauböck and Thomas Faist Diaspora and Transnationalism. Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press. Pg 39.

⁴ Hall, Stuart. 1990. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", In Jonathan Rutherford (ed.). Identity, Community, Culture, Difference. Lawrence and Wishart Ltd. Pg. 224-224

⁵ Steijlen, Fridus. 1991. "An Unexplored History: Nationalism Among Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1951-1990", Cakalele. Vol. 2, No.1. Pg 27.

And in the process around 12,500 more and their families decided to move to the Netherlands. This decision confused about 62 thousand Dutch Indies KNIL soldiers at that time, between deciding to join Soekarno's Nationalist Armies or join the Dutch Army.⁶ The Dutch Government decided to attract 3,578 people plus about 8,500 family members to live in the Netherlands.⁷ Arriving in the Netherlands, they lived in about 90 wards of the former Nazi concentration. Of the approximately 12,500 Moluccan immigrants who arrived in the Netherlands in 1951, the majority were low-ranking soldiers in the KNIL (Royal Dutch East-Indian Army). They arrived with a family that was predominantly Christian.⁸

Most of these soldiers were pariah, with low educational backgrounds, speaking very limited Dutch. Some of them agreed with the idea of independence for the RMS (Republic of South Maluku) which in 1950 was proclaimed by figures Soumokil and J.A. Manusama in Maluku. The Muslim community is also divided according to their regional origins. Traditionalist Islamists also believe in RMS as a form of struggle. They live in a ward in the Wijk area. Meanwhile, Modernist Islam has more faith in the new Indonesian government system. They live in the Riddelkerk Ward.⁹ In addition, Muslims also live in the Westerbork area (Drenthe Province).

The RMS movement championed by the people of Maluku is like a melody in the midst of the frenzy of the Indonesian nation which is shaping its national identity with great fanfare, so it is not surprising that this movement has almost no significant influence in changing Indonesia's formation. After Soumokil's death as chairman of the RMS, the position of the Maluku people in the Netherlands increasingly did not have a clear struggle orientation, whether to return to Maluku or remain in the Netherlands.¹⁰

The First Heavy Decade

The very complicated initial arrival shows the difficulty of life not only in the problem of being stepchildren in a foreign country, but also class problems, which cause the people of Maluku to be unable to access transportation, health, and higher education for their children. They live in humid residential complexes with often problematic electrical facilities. This first generation lived in ex-Nazi wards built in the 1930s, in areas such as Westerbork and Vught, and had difficulty speaking Dutch.¹¹

When the status as a KNIL soldier was removed, the economic situation worsened. The misery did not stop at that problem, aid from the government was also only in the form of subsistence food. Electricity, fuel oil, and also the kitchen is communal.

After the opening of the labor market, it was due to the government's belief that it was impossible for Maluku people to return to their homeland.¹² To support their husband's low salary, some women also work in agricultural areas and help harvest fruit and vegetables.¹³

⁶ Amersfoort van, Hans. 2004. "The Waxing and Waning of a Diaspora: Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1950–2002", in the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. Pg 154.

⁷ Van Kaam, Ben. 1981. The South Moluccans. Background to the Train Hijacking. London: C. Hurst and Company. Pg 133.

⁸ Oostindie, Gert. 2010. Postcolonial Netherlands Sixty-five Years of Forgetting, Commemorating, Silencing. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Pg 27.

⁹ Bartels, Dieter. 1989. Moluccans in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation, and Emancipation among an East-Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Leiden. Pg 27.

¹⁰ Steijlen, Fridus. 1991. "An Unexplored History: Nationalism among Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1951–1990", Cakalele. Vol. 2, No.1. Pg 34.

¹¹ Oostindie, Gert. 2010. Postcolonial Netherlands Sixty-five Years of Forgetting, Commemorating, Silencing. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Pg 14–16.

¹² Benda-Beckmann, Franz Von and Keebet von Benda-Beckmann. 2007. Social Security between Past and Future. Lit Verlag. Pg 263.

¹³ Wittermans, Tamme and Noel P. Gist. 1961. "Urbanization and Integration of the Ambonese in the Netherlands". The Sociological Quarterly II / 2.

These Migrants Were Not Allowed To Find Work Because Of The Prohibition Against The Dutch Labor Union. They Received Three Guilders For Adults And Two Guilders For Children Each Week And Toiletries (Bartels, 1989: 128-29).¹⁴ Apart From Assistance From The Dutch Government, The GPM (Maluku Protestant Church) Also Helps Financially For Migrants From Maluku In The Netherlands.

One Of The Basic Social Assets Possessed By Moluccan Migrants Is The Same Religion, Namely Christianity, With The Majority Of Dutch Citizens. This Makes Deep Integration Easier. Social Organizations Such As Church-Based. Such As The Maluku Integration Evangelical Church (GIM) Which Is An Evangelic Sect, GPMT (Southeast Maluku Protestant Church), GMJD (Maluku Emergency Friday Church).¹⁵ A Church Like This Has A Dual Function, Both As A Source Of Finance, As Well As Being A Liaison Between Maluku Citizens In The Netherlands Who Are Separated From Each Other. The Church Facilitates Mutual Visits Between Wards. The Church Is Also A Means Of Maintaining Identity, Because The Name Of The Church Sometimes Represents The Ethnicity Of Its Identity, Because The Name Of The Church Sometimes Represents The Ethnicity Of Its People. This Place Of Worship Is Also A Good Facilitator For Maluku People In Celebrating The Rituals Of Life (Birth, Baptism, Marriage And Death).

On The Other Hand, The Church Has Also Become An Important Tool For Linking Ideologies.¹⁶ Openly Supported The RMS Movement.¹⁷ The Function Of This Religious House Is Also Very Crucial In Facilitating The Despair Of The People Who Are Plagued By Great Political Disappointment In The Netherlands. Finally, The Position In Church Teaching Also Contributed To The Modernization Process. GPM, For Example, In Its Teachings Is Considered Too Rationalistic And Scientific, And This Is Seen As In Accordance With The Assimilation Process Of The Moluccans Towards The Character Of The Dutch.¹⁸

Racially, These First Migrants Experienced Feelings Of Inferiority Because They Were Different From The Majority Dutch. Physically, Maluku People Have Curly Hair And Dark Skin. This Sense Of Physical Difference Causes Exclusivity And Interdependence Among Maluku Children.

Decade Of Radicalization: "Nationalism Without Nation"

The Total Number Of Second Generation Moluccan Immigrants In The 1970s Reached Around 40 Thousand People.¹⁹ This Second Generation Came To The Netherlands When They Were An Average Of 10 Years Old. They Grew Up In A Period Where There Was A Dissonance Between The Maluku Culture And The Dutch People's Lifestyle. On The Other Hand, It Was In This Generation That The Dutch Government Began To Make Transfers From The Wards To Proper Housing Areas.

When The Wards Were Moved, Many Children Lost Their Playmates. This Second Generation Started Living In Urban Areas Close To Public Facilities Such As Shops, Gas Stations, Hospitals And Cinemas. Living In A Ward With No Barriers At First, Now Each Family Head Is Blocked By A Wall. Meanwhile, When They Were Still In The Ward, Their Lives Were Still Full Of Regulations That Were Full Of Maluku Cultural Values. This

¹⁴ Bartels, Dieter. 1989. Moluccans in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation, and Emancipation among an East-Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Leiden. Pp 128-129.

¹⁵ Wittermans, Tamme and Noel P. Gist. 1961 "Urbanization and Integration of the Ambonese in the Netherlands". The Sociological Quarterly II / 2. Pp. 126-127.

¹⁶ Amersfoort van, Hans. 2004. "The Waxing and Waning of a Diaspora: Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1950-2002", In the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. Pg 158.

¹⁷ Steijlen, Fridus. 1991. "An Unexplored History: Nationalism among Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1951-1990", Cakalele. Vol. 2, No.1. Pg 28.

¹⁸ Bartels, Dieter. 1989. Moluccans in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation, and Emancipation among an East-Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Leiden. Pg 98.

¹⁹ Bartels, Dieter. 1986. "Can The Train Ever be Stopped Again Development in the Moluccan Community in The Netherlands", Indonesia, vol 41, April page 33.

Generation Is Referred To As The Dual Generation Have Two Different Worlds.²⁰ This Confusion Of Identity Is One Of The Causes Of The Emergence Of Radical Movements.

In Addition, Children In This Generation Are Fed With Stories Of The Experiences Of Their Parents Who Were Betrayed, Deceived, And Exploited During The Colonial Period Which Made It More Difficult For Them To Accept Foreigners. Young People Of This Generation Feel Isolated And Uprooted From The Various Identities Of Their Parents And The Places Where They Live.²¹

The Culmination Of This Feeling Of Being Isolated And Deprived Of Cultural Roots Was The Radicalization Of The Movement That Occurred When Hearing Of President Suharto's 1967 Visit. The Visit Was Postponed For Another Five Years. The Occupation Movement Continued And The Largest Was On 31 August 1970 When Former KNIL Soldiers Occupied The Indonesian Embassy In The Hague.

These Soldiers Forced Suharto To Meet With The Third President Of The RMS Who Was Very Charismatic At That Time, J.A. Manusama. Visits Were Canceled Until 1971.²² The Radicalization Movement Then Continued. The Search For Identity In The Form Of Radicalization Of The Youth Movement In The 1970s Began To Look To Global Inspirations Such As The Palestinian Liberation Movement From Israeli Colonization, The Pakistan Independence Movement From India, And The Success Of The Vietnamese Army In Expelling America.²³

This Generation Also Learned A Lot From The Ideas Of Marx And Anti-Colonialism.²⁴ They Also Identified Their Identity With The "Black Panther" Struggle Movement In America In The 1970s Which Fought For Racial Equality. This Young Man Not Only Imitated His Ideology, But Also His Hairstyle And The Way He Dressed.²⁵ They Also Imitated The Student Movement In The Paris Revolution Of 1968 Which Overthrew President Charles De Gaulle.²⁶ On Average, They Were Between 18-20 Years Old. There Is A Feeling Of Belonging To Black People Who Are Entitled To Fight For Their Rights And Equality. The Radicalization Of The Movement Then Led To The Plan To Kidnap Queen Juliana.²⁷

The Period Of The 1970s Was The Culmination Of The Disappointment Of The Young Maluku People. This Second Generation Felt The Loyalty Of Their Parents Was Neglected And Betrayed. They Feel Rejected By The Country In Which They Are Located. The Increasing Political Atmosphere Was Focused On The Struggles Of The RMS. These Young People Saw That The Dutch And Indonesian Governments, Which Were Dominated By The Javanese People, Were

²⁰ Amersfoort van, Hans. 2004. "The Waxing and Waning of a Diaspora: Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1950–2002", In the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. Pg 332.

²¹ Steijlen, Fridus. 1991. "An Unexplored History: Nationalism Among Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1951–1990", Cakalele. Vol. 2, No.1. pp. 31-32.

²² Van Kaam, Ben. 1981. The South Moluccans. Background to the Train Hijacking. London: C. Hurst and Company. Pg 141.

²³ *Ibid. Pg 142.*

²⁴ Steijlen, Fridus. 1991. "An Unexplored History: Nationalism Among Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1951–1990", Cakalele. Vol. 2, No.1. Pg 30.

²⁵ Bartels, Dieter. 1986. "Can The Train Ever be Stopped Again Development in the Moluccan Community in The Netherlands", Indonesia, vol 41, April. Pg 33.

²⁶ Amersfoort van, Hans. 2004. "The Waxing and Waning of a Diaspora: Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1950–2002", In the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. Pg 162.

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¹¹ Steijlen, Fridus. 1991. "An Unexplored History: Nationalism Among Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1951-1990", Cakalele. Vol. 2, No.1. pp. 31-32.

¹² Van Kaam, Ben. 1981. The South Moluccans. Background to the Train Hijacking. London: C. Hurst and Company. Pg 141.

¹³ *Ibid.* Pg 142.

¹⁴ Steijlen, Fridus. 1991. "An Unexplored History: Nationalism Among Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1951-1990", Cakalele. Vol. 2, No.1. Pg 30.

¹⁵ Bartels, Dieter. 1986. "Can The Train Ever be Stopped Again Development in the Moluccan Community in The Netherlands", Indonesia, vol 41, April. Pg 33.

¹⁶ Amersfoort van, Hans. 2004. "The Waxing and Waning of a Diaspora: Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1950-2002", In the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. Pg 162.

¹⁷ Bartels, Dieter. 1989. Moluccans in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival, Socialization, Identity Formation, and Emancipation among an East-Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Leiden. Page 17.

The Source Of Their Suffering (Bartels, 1989: 118-19).²⁸ Uniquely, The RMS Movement In The 1967-1970s Was Not Interested In Forcing The Government To Improve Their Position In The Midst Of Dutch Society, But Instead Forcing Maluku's Independence And The Will To Return To The Maluku Homeland.

Differences Between Moluccans And Other Immigrants In The Netherlands

The Core Narrative Regarding Their Origins In The Netherlands Is A Significant Factor For The Dutch Moluccans In Understanding Their Identity And Culture As Well As Their Status In Dealing With Other Ethnic Minorities In The Netherlands.

For The Dutch Moluccans, They Refused To Be Equated With Other Migrants Or Even Refugees Because They Never Came To The Netherlands Voluntarily. On The Other Hand, The Dutch Moluccans Believed That It Was The Dutch Who Had Caused Them To Be Stranded In Their Country. This View Is Fundamentally Inherent In The Dutch Moluccan Community. They Are Not The Same As Other Migrants Such As Turks And Moroccans Who Came To The Netherlands As "Guest Workers" To Work In The Netherlands.

They Realized That Their Presence In The Netherlands Was An Honor Because They Were Part Of The Dutch Colonial Army. Many Of The Dutch Moluccans Complained About The Ways The Dutch Government Treated Them. As Told By The Informant Below.

"We People Have Been Brought In By The Dutch Government. We Never Asked To Be Taken To The Netherlands. We Are Different From The Turks, Moroccans And Other Migrants Who Came To The Netherlands. Therefore, We Are Proud To Be Moluccans In The Netherlands (Third Generation, November 2017)"²⁹

"No Matter How Good We Are, We Will Still Be Considered Foreigners. They Don't See And Learn What Makes Us Different From Them. Moroccans And Urks Are Immigrants, They Come Here Because They Want That. Meanwhile, Our Parents Never Asked To Come To Holland. The Dutch Government Gave Orders To Come To The Netherlands. Therefore, They Should Integrate Into Dutch Society (Second Generation, November 2017)."³⁰

Almost All Informants Expressed The Same Thing About The Difference In Treatment They Received Which They Thought Was Unfair. The Dutch Moluccans Do Not Agree That They Are Categorized As Immigrants By The Dutch. The Dutch Often Perceive That There Is No Difference Between Other Ethnic Minorities And The Dutch Moluccans. For The Dutch Moluccans, The Historical Background That Caused Them To Be Stranded In The Netherlands Was The Dividing Line Between Them And Other Immigrants. For Their Children, Grandchildren And Great-Grandchildren Of The Dutch Moluccas, They Are Proud Of This History.

Maluku Community Integration

Until 1960 Fighting Was Still Going On In Maluku By The Republic Of South Maluku (RMS), Led By Its President, Dr. Chr. R.S. Robbert Steven Soumokil, Esq. He Was Captured In 1963 By Indonesian Soldiers. After His Execution In 1966, J.A. Manusama B.Sc. Established A Government In Exile And

²⁸ Bartels, Dieter. 1989. Moluccans in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation, and Emancipation among an East-Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Leiden. Pp. 118-119.

²⁹ Petronella Haurissa (44 years), interview 19 November 2017, 11.27 pm

³⁰ Wim Manuhutu (51 years), Interview 19 November 2017, 12.40 pm

Succeeded In Replacing Soumokil As President. The Execution Of Robbert Steven Soumokil In 1966 Led To The First Acts Of Violence By Maluku Youth In The Netherlands, Which Burned The Indonesian Embassy In The Hague.³¹

Further Protests In The Battle For The Independence Of The RMS (Republik Maluku Selatan) Ensued In The Following Years. Best Known Are The Occupation Of The Residence Of The Indonesian Ambassador In Wassenaar In 1970 And The Hijacking Of Trains Near Wijster In 1975 And De Punt In 1977. These Protests Left Deep Scars In The Netherlands And Maluku Society.

According To The Dutch Government, The Violent Protests Of The 1970s Were An Expression Of Dissatisfaction About The Low Position Of The Maluku Community In Dutch Society. In The Following Years Steps Were Taken To Address Social Problems. Several Maluku Institutions Were Also Established. In The Early 1980s, Negotiations Began Between The Government And The United Body (BP), Maluku's Largest Organization. These Negotiations Eventually Led To A "Joint Statement" Signed In 1986 By The Prime Minister And The Reverend Metiarij Lubbers, Chairman Of BP. The First Generation Of Moluccans Were Given A Commemorative Medal And An Annual Allowance. Unemployment, Drug Abuse And Housing Problems Are Discussed And Addressed.

The Foundation Of The Maluku Historical Museum Is Also Possible, Since Many Moluccans Are 'Stateless', They Are Not In A Position To Travel To Maluku For Many Years. This Situation Started To Improve In 1980 With An Increasing Number Of Maluku People Starting To Visit Maluku, And Especially The Villages Where They Came From. There They Encountered Maluku Culture Which Had Undergone So Many Changes In The Last Fifty Years. This Is An Experience In Itself In The Maluku Tradition In The Netherlands. The Relationship Between Maluku Here And There Remains Strong.

After Several Years, The Government Decided That Maluku Should Be Able To Support Itself Financially. At That Time, Many Of Them Were Already Working, Mostly In Factories. The Swadaya Rule Was Established In 1956. It States That People Must Be Able To Support Themselves. Only If This Doesn't Work Will The Government Provide Support.

One Symbol Of The Self-Help Rule Is The Individual Kitchen Which Takes Over The Place Of The Soup Kitchen. The People Of Maluku Launched Strong Protests Against The Rule Of Self-Help. They Hold The Government Responsible For Their Presence.

In The Late 1950s, The Government Decided That The People Of Maluku Should Integrate More Fully Into Dutch Society. The Option To Return To Maluku Is No Longer Expected. Part Of This New Policy Moved The Maluku Community From The Camp To The New Ward. Maluku Integration Is To Take Place In Groups. Wards Were Built In Villages And Cities, Allowing For Further Contact Between Maluku And The Netherlands.

Moluccan Social Interaction In The Netherlands

In The Mid-1980s, Bartels' Ethnographic Research,³² Noted That The Development Of Maluku Migrants Cannot Be Completely Read Singly Because Each Community In The Netherlands Has Different Developments And Characteristics. The Maluku Community In Capelle, For Example, Tends To Be

³¹ <http://wartasejarah.blogspot.co.id/2013/10/sejarah-orang-maluku-di-belanda.html>

³² Bartels, Dieter. 1989. Moluccans in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation, and Emancipation among an East-Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Leiden. VII.

urally And Politically Conservative. This Is Because They Live In Enclaves Limit Contact With The Outside Community.

Meanwhile, The Community In Calemborg Is A Mixed Area, So Interactions In The Dutch Community Are Common. The Maluku Community In Woerden tends To Be Scattered And The Frequency Of Marriages Between Maluku People And The Dutch Is Quite High. They Tend To Be Less Dogmatic About The Nationalism Of The Maluku Homeland. Meanwhile, The Maluku Community Who Live In Amsterdam Are Ambonese Christian Chinese Who Are More Cosmopolitan And Emancipatory.²³

In Addition, The Maluku Community In Various Other Areas Such As Assen, Groningen, Deventer, Vaassen, Tiel, Middelburg, Krimpen Also Spread To Maastricht, And Several Muslim Communities Are Also Found In Haarlem And Rotterdam. One Of The Links Between These Separate Communities Is To Use The Pela Bond. This Bond Is Maintained Until The Third Generation (Oostindie, 2010).²⁴

However, This Bond Was Nothing More Than Just A Gathering Of Young People. In The Villages Of Their Great-Grandfather's Origin In Maluku, Marriage Between Pela Partners Is Strictly Prohibited. Violators Of Pela Marriages Can Be Paraded In Public By Experiencing Physical Torture In Public Known As Bailele Or Salele. Meanwhile, The Maluku Community In The Netherlands, Those Who Are Married To One Pela, Do Not Get Formal Sanctions Like In Maluku. The Dutch Police Rarely Received Reports Of Physical Violence Due To Customary Violations In The Maluku Community Area.²⁵

Pela Has Also Undergone Operational Changes. Pela's Supernatural Sanctions Are No Longer Feared By Young People. Violations Against Pela That Were Initially Believed To Bring Bad Luck, Curses, Serious Illness That Led To Death, Distress, Disasters And Accidents Are No Longer Trusted By Generations Born And Raised In The Netherlands. The Imagination That Is Built Up Among Young People Is Also International In Nature And Is Not Only Divided Like The Separate Nature Of The Housing Inhabited By The People Of Maluku In The Previous Generation.

The Generation Of The 1980s Has Become More Integrated With Dutch Society. They No Longer Lived In Wards With Dark Wards, But Moved To Live In Big Cities Such As Amsterdam, Rotterdam, And Utrecht. Even Some Of Them Do Not Really Realize The Historical Roots Of Their Parents' Politics. The Unity Of The Community Is Based More On A Sense Of Difference (Distinctiveness) With Other Community Identities.

However, This Integrative Identity Is No Longer Opposed To A Generation That Is Still Exclusive, Considering That The Radical Generation Was Not Fertile In This Decade But In The Era Of Their Previous Parents. The Discovery And Affirmation Of The Identity Of The Current Generation Is Not Found Through The Teachings Of Parents, But By Creating And Enjoying Maluku Pop Culture Media. Awareness Of Different Identities Is Conveyed In Ways Related To Music Celebrations And The Publication Of Maluku Magazines.

Also Realized That What Their Parents Were
le And Wasteful Because They Only Represented
ere, The People Of Maluku In The Country That
ry Do Not Feel The Need To Be Liberated. At The
n Migrants And Their Homeland In The Post-1980s
As Strong As Before. This Is Because This Third
aised In The Netherlands And Does Not Have Strong

³⁶
lose Again When The Conflict In Maluku Occurred In
ial Assistance For Refugees Was Provided Through
nd Ties Concerned With The Riots In Maluku. This
forcement For The Younger Generation Who Are Starting
Ancestral Lands.³⁷

larity Caused By Momentum Such As This Conflict Not
elations Between Maluku People In The Netherlands And
al Lands, But Also Between Fellow Maluku Communities In
Addition, The Emergence Of Maluku Social Organization Ties
At Liberating Maluku, But For The Sake Of Demonstrating
Maluku Identity Amid The Identities Of Other Migrant
, Such As The People Of Morocco, Turkey, West Indies, And

itical Field, The Involvement Of Maluku Descendants In Access
National Politics Has Begun To Increase. The Latest Oostindie
Reveals That This Access Is Inseparable Due To Political
Which Has Even Allowed Non-Dutch Citizens To Vote In Local
> 1985.³⁸ However, For The Sake Of Electoral Electability, These
cians Cannot Act On Behalf Of One Ethnicity. For Example, When
Served As A Member Of The Lower House Of The Dutch Parliament
nough He Claimed To Be Of Maluku Descent, He Represented The
A Wider Minority.

More Wise Policy Of The Dutch Government Towards Maluku
Was Also Seen When In The End The Minister Of Home Affairs, Koos
In 1986, Provides A Policy Of Subsidizing 2000 Guilders Per Year Per
Household.³⁹ This Gift Is The State's Conception Of The Demands Of
That Have Flared Up For More Than Two Decades. This Subsidy Policy Is
ry Meaningful In Improving The Standard Of Living Of The People Of
Until Now. This Is In Line With What The Respondents Described Below.
*The Netherlands Government Is Very Good For Us Maluku People, We Can
In Factories. Now We Are Also Able To Visit Our Home Country, Maluku.*
*in Generation, November 2017.*⁴⁰

more, The Fourth, Fifth, And So On Generations Are Now Brought
of An Open European Society. Meanwhile, The Transfer Of
forgetting, Commemorating, Silencing,
Silencing.

ICA ANTVERPIENSIA, 2021, ISSUE-3

www.hivt.be

ISSN: 0304-2294

is Of Separatist Movements, But ch As Heroism And Folk Tales In

erstands The Malay Language Used
Used As The Lingua Franca Of
meanwhile, Modern Indonesian Is No
ion Is Different From The First Arrival
, Only About 16% Of Men Can Speak
ong Women.⁴²

d But Did Not Always Run Smoothly
lands Were Considered To Have A Higher
In Addition, Maluku People Are No Longer
r Ancestors. This Area Is No Longer Dreamed Of
A Vacation Destination.

, The Third Generation Is Increasingly Aware That
In The End, This Generation Became Increasingly
ore Comfortable Than Having To Actually Return To

ction In The Netherlands
And Identity Mostly Emphasize Place Of Origin As A
And Are Resistant To Western Homogeneity (Anthias
ifficult To Recognize The Ways In Which The Moluccans
In The Process Of Both, On The One Hand They Mingled
But On The Other Hand They Also Upheld Their Ancestral
erences That Depend On Them. Imagination Even Though
hometowns. Anthias Argued, Diasporic Identities Are At Once
re A Transnational Identification Network That Includes The
Community.⁴³

id Some Of The Second Generation Who Experienced Migration,
Colonial Government To Bring In The Former KNIL And Their
ecision And Very Prestigious. However, The Beautiful Image Of
mediately Fell Apart When The KNIL Soldiers Arrived In The
Government Welcomed Them With A Ceremony Stating That The
missed From Their Jobs. In Fact, The Identity As A KNIL Soldier Is
Proud Of. As A Result, Life In The Netherlands Became Unclear
ive Only At The Mercy Of The Dutch Government Considering That
rowed To Work. Indirectly, This Resulted In The Proliferation Of
To Their Hometowns Which Was Mediated Through The RMS. The
supporters. Their Actions Culminated In The Late 1970s When
To Amsterdam, Occupied The Indonesian Consulate
erly The Train Hijacking. Had A Major
The Resurgence Of Maluku
y. However, At The
s organized As
To



We, The People Of Maluku, Are A Big Family And We Feel Very Close To Each Other. Unlike The Dutch Who Think That The Family Is Only Oom And His Aunt. After All, Their Ties Are Not As Strong As Those Of Us Maluku People. But We Whose Family Names Are Oom, Auntie, Cousins, Nieces And Even People Who Come From The Same Village. We Consider To Be Siblings (Fourth Generation, November 2017)".⁴⁹

"I Like Maluku Culture And Its Hospitality. If We Go To The House Of The Dutch During Their Meal, They Don't Offer Us To Eat. But If We Go To A Moluccan House At Mealtime, We Will Definitely Be Invited To Eat Too. That's The Good Thing We Have Custom At Mealtimes The Dutch Only Provide Food For Them Only Unless We Have Made An Afspraak (Promise) To Come For Mealtime. So We Will Not Be Offered A Meal 'Fourth Generation, November 2017'.⁵¹

The Netherlands And Other Diasporas Are An Example Of An International Community (Anderson, 1983) Which Is Based On The

The Maluku People In The Netherlands And Other Diasporas Are An Example Of An "Imagined Community" Or Imagined Community (Anderson, 1983) Which Is Based On The Mealtimes The Dutch Only Provide Food For Afspraak (Promise) To Come For Mealtime. So We Will Not Generation, November 2017".⁵¹

Maluku People In The Netherlands
"Imagined Community" Or Imagined Community
Ancestry in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation
Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the
Social Sciences, University of Leiden.
for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation,
Netherlands. Publication No. 32, Center for the
Social Sciences, University of Leiden. Pg 165.

Idea Of Sharing Cultural Practices (Between The Diaspora And The People Living In Their Home Country) That Takes Place Across Borders, Territory And History.⁵²
"Now, Apart From Adapting Katong To The Traditions Of The Dutch People To Do As They Do, Maluku Culture Is Still Applied In The Netherlands, Such As The Totobuang Dance, Sawat, Panas Pela And Maluku Regional Music Concerts".⁵³

The Moluccans In The Netherlands Also Adopted Dutch Values As An Expression Of Their Closeness To The Dutch People. The Dutch Moluccans Did Not State That All Dutch Culture Was Not Good, But They Also Expressed Their Admiration For Dutch Culture As Expressed By Some Of The Informants Below.⁵⁴
"Dutch Culture Is More Structured. More Rational And Also More Open ... Freeer And More Emancipatory. That's Them ... "(Fourth Generation, November 2017).⁵⁵

"The Rubber Watch That I Hate The Most Is From The Maluku Custom. If I Have An Appointment, I Try To Be On Time Like Other Dutch People. I Am Not Like Other Moluccans Who Like Rubber Watches ... "(Fourth Generation, November 2017).⁵⁶

They Are Also Amazed At How The Dutch Government Manages Its Population, Provides Freedom Of Speech, Meets The Needs Of Its Citizens, And Makes The People More Prosperous. Many Dutch Moluccan Children Admit That They Have Become "Too Dutch To Be Moluccans". They Realized That Their Dutchness Would Probably Cause Them To No Longer Be Considered As Indigenous Moluccans (See Bartels 1989 And Compare Carruthers 2002).⁵⁷ For The Youth Of The Dutch Moluccas, They Expressed Their Astonishment At How The Maluku People In This Country Ate Rice, Up To Three Times A Day. Many Of Them Still Eat Rice, But Not As Often As The People Of Maluku In Indonesia. Most Of Them Eat Bread In The Morning And Besides That The Main Menu Of The Dutch Is Potatoes, Instead Of Rice.

"Like The Papeda There (Maluku). The Papeda Here Is Also Made Of Sago. However, When My Grandparents Came To The Netherlands, It Was Difficult For Them To Find Sago. In Fact, They Want To Eat Papeda. So They Made Papeda From Potatoes. Mine Was Large With The Potato Papeda And Not The Sago Papeda. I Love The Potato Papeda. So, When I Came To Maluku, The People There Offered Me Papeda Food And When I Ate "What Is This Food ... Ooh ... What Is This Food?" The Taste Is Very Different And I Don't Like It. (Fourth Generation, November 2017).⁵⁸

Even So, The Moluccans In The Country Of Maluku Also Admitted That The Dutch Moluccans Were Different From Them And This Became Clear Evidence, Especially When The Dutch Moluccans Came To Visit Maluku. The Maluku People In Maluku Realize That The Dutch Moluccans Have Different Postures, Ways Of Walking, And Ways Of Dressing. For The Maluku People In Maluku, The Dutch Moluccans Are Considered To Have A Higher Status Because Of The Level Of Education And Are Also Considered To Have A Lot Of Money. This Indirectly Led Them To Be Treated With Respect And For The Dutch Moluccans This Made Them Feel Foreign, As Revealed By This Informant.

"Looks Like We Are Treated With Respect. For Example, At Mealtimes, My Brothers And Sisters In Maluku Do Not Eat Together. At First We Ate, My Dutch Family And I Ate, And Only Then Did The Moluccans Eat. Brothers In Maluku Eat Separately: The First Is Men

⁵² Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

⁵³ Andreas (40 years), interview 20 November 2017, 12.39 pm

⁵⁴ Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

⁵⁵ Yaya Samanery (41 years), Interview 21 November 2017, 11.20 pm

⁵⁶ Coory (39 years), interview 20 November 2017 at 12.52 pm

⁵⁷ Bartels, Dieter. 1989. *Moluccans in Exile. A Struggle for Ethnic Survival. Socialization, Identity Formation and Emancipation among an East-Indonesian Minority in the Netherlands*. Publication No. 32, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Leiden.

⁵⁸ Andreas (40 years), interview 20 November 2017, 12.25 pm

And The Second Is The Women And The Last Is The Children. So I Feel That We Are Separated By Them And The Men, Women And Children In Maluku. I Wouldn't Mind If They Said That The Boys Eat First And Then The Girls. That Meant My Grandparents, Brothers And Uncles And Then Me, Mom, Aunts, Cousins And Then The Kids. I Don't Really Understand Why They Made It That Way ... Maybe I'm Just Guessing They Treat Us Like That Because We Are Family From Holland And Deserve To Be Treated With Respect" (4th Generation, November 2017).⁵⁹

Identity Of The Moluccan Community In The Netherlands

For The Moluccans In The Netherlands, They Feel That They Are No Longer "Moluccans" Like The Moluccans Who Live In Maluku. Life In The Netherlands Has Made Their Moluccan Identity Even More Different, But They Also Cannot Be Categorized As Dutch Even Though They Represent A Community That Has Successfully Integrated Into Dutch Society.

Both The Moluccas And The Netherlands Were Spaces That Were Transformed Into Places For Dutch Moluccans Through The Meaning They Achieved (Carter, Donald & Squires 1993).⁶⁰ It Is Therefore Not Surprising To Find Narratives About Place Of Origin And Hometown, Of Identity And Belonging And Pervasive Sentiments, In Conditions That Have Become Increasingly Fluid In Generations.

The Identity Of The Shyness Community Is Still Being Maintained, Negotiated And Continuously Updated. For Maluku People In The Netherlands Who Live In The Community (Ward) Of The Maluku People, As In Vught They Use Spatial Strategies In Creating A Deterritorialised Community In The Dutch Space To Remain Maluku In Its Terminology.

The Direct Challenge To The Production And Reproduction Of Maluku Identity Actually Came Not Only From The Dutch Government, But Also From The Moluccans In Maluku. Social Unrest That Occurred Initially In Ambon City In 1999 And Spread To Other Areas And Ended In 2002 (Although Sporadically It Continued Until 2004) Split And Separated The Maluku People In The Netherlands As Well. This Is An Example That Diaspora Identity And Its Relationship With The Country Of Origin Actually Complement Each Other.

And Its Relationship With The Country Of Origin Actually Complement Each Other. The Ambon Riots Had A Positive Impact On The Development Of Identity Awareness Of Becoming Maluku In The Netherlands, As Stated By The Following Informants.

"The Ambon Riots Have Changed Us, Made Us Realize What It Means To Be Maluku In The Netherlands"

"The Conflict In Ambon Has Had A Positive Impact On The Maluku People In The Netherlands. We Become Aware Of Our Identity As Maluku People But Also Our Bond As Maluku People Is Getting Stronger"

"The Riots In Ambon Actually Erased The Ideals Of The RMS In The Netherlands. Of Course, Instead Of Us Insisting On Establishing An RMS State Which Is Not Actually The Ideal Of The Maluku People In Maluku, It Is Better For Us People Who Live In The Netherlands To Do Something More Useful For Them" (Second Generation, November 2017).⁶¹

Conclusion

The Transfer Of Sovereignty To Indonesia On December 28, 1949 At The Same Time Mobilized Around 3000 Men Of The KNIL (Koninklijk Nederlands Indisch Leger) And In The Process Around 12,500 More And Their Families Decided To Move To The Netherlands.

The Social Interaction Between The Maluku People In The Netherlands In The Early Days Of The Maluku People In The Netherlands Had Obstacles To Integrate With Dutch Society. They Interpreted Being Maluku In The Netherlands As A More Essentialist

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years), int...ember 2017, 12.52 pm

And The Second Is The Women And The Last Is The Children. So I Feel That We Are Separated By Them And The Men, Women And Children In Maluku. I Wouldn't Mind If They Said That The Boys Eat First And Then The Girls. That Meant My Grandparents, Brothers And Uncles And Then Me, Mom, Aunts, Cousins And Then The Kids. I Don't Really Understand Why They Made It That Way ... Maybe I'm Just Guessing They Treat Us Like That Because We Are Family From Holland And Deserve To Be Treated With Respect" (4th Generation, November 2017).⁵⁹

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The Social Interaction Between The Maluku People In The Netherlands In The Early Days Of The Maluku People In The Netherlands Had Obstacles To Integrate With Dutch Society. Therefore, They Interpreted Being Maluku In The Netherlands As A More Essentialist Concept.

⁵⁹ Andreas (40 years), interview 21 November 2017, 12.37 pm

⁶⁰ Ibid

⁶¹ Wim Manuhutu (51 years), interview 19 November 2017, 12.52 pm

Today, The Idea Of Moluccas Remains Strong And Becomes An Important Force In The Life Of The Dutch Maluku Community. They Maintain And Maintain Some Aspects Of Maluku Cultural Identity, But At The Same Time Also Accept Dutch Cultural Identity.

The Construction Of The Identity Of The Maluku Community In The Netherlands Is Very Significant, Especially Regarding Who Is Called "The Original Maluku People" Nowadays Is No Longer As Rigid As In The Past, Considering That The Young People Of The Dutch Moluccas Put Forward To Be Active In Deconstructing What It Means To Be Maluku In The Netherlands.

Migration Memories That Contain Pain, Hardship And Trauma Have Been Expressed From Generation To Generation And Have Now Been Transformed Into "The Sites Of Hope And New Beginning" (Hope And New Beginnings). The Values Of Tolerance And Multiculturalism Were Born And Developed Because Of The Social Dynamics In Them. This Process Is A Process That Continues Until Now.

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