

Ethnic minorities and Heritage

A study of the Moluccan community in the Netherlands



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Preface

This thesis report is written in the contexts of concluding the master study of Cultural Geography, at the faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen.

Here, I would like to thank all my respondents, under which I specifically thank Hilda Tutuarima-Wieringa who played an important role as key-person in arranging interview meetings. Specific mention is also deserved for Trien Solisa who made it possible for me to experience several meetings and ceremonies within the Moluccan community.

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Finally I would like to thank my supervisors, dr. Peter Groote and prof. dr. Gregory Ashworth for their helpful remarks, suggestions and recommendations.

I have found the research interesting, enjoyable and satisfying to complete and I hope that you as reader shall have the same experience.

Laurieke F. Zijp

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Summary

The central question that is dealt with in this thesis is: *'How are ethnic minorities, in particular the Moluccan population, represented in local heritage and the heritage policies within the Northern region of the Netherlands'?*

Hereby, heritage of ethnic minorities is centralised. Heritage is defined as a set of meanings we, the society, give to a certain object in the present' (Ashworth et. al., 2007). The manner in which the Dutch government and society deal with minority heritage and how heritage locations are used is dealt with.

Specific focus is given to the Moluccan community that resides in the Northern region of the Netherlands. This minority group arrived in the Netherlands in 1951, after serving in the Royal Dutch Indies Army. They were scattered around the Netherlands and placed in residential camps. Thirteen of these are located within the Northern region of the Netherlands. During the 1960's the Dutch government changed its policies and recognised that the Moluccan community's stay was not temporary. As a result, Moluccan residential districts were developed.

To gather research information there has been made use of triangulation with several methods. The research methods that have been used during this research are document research, observation and interviews.

According to the result of these methods, the Moluccan heritage locations in the Northern region on the Netherlands consist of, one, the locations of the former residential camps, second, the cemeteries connected to the residential camps, third, the places of Moluccan resistance of the 1970's and fourth, from a later time period, the residential districts with their churches and meeting centres.

Of the thirteen locations of residential camps in the Northern region of the Netherlands there are seven locations that, however in different ways, have a present memory of the camps and the past presence of the Moluccan community in these locations. The places of Moluccan resistance have the four locations of the actual actions and a monument at the cemetery of Assen and there are 8 residential districts located in the Northern region of the Netherlands.

As an answer to the main question it can be stated that the ethnic minorities in the form of the Moluccan population are represented within local heritage in the Northern region of the Netherlands. However, they are not at all represented within

heritage policies and most of the small number of present monuments and heritage sites are not or barely commodified.

The present monuments and sites have an exclusivist character. People are not aware of the existence and the locations of the monuments and sites. Those who do, miss information about the meaning behind the monuments and sites. Here lay large possibilities in improving the representation of the Moluccan community within the local heritage of the Northern region of the Netherlands. For instance, the possible uses of minority heritage in the areas of political, social and economic values can be utilized to a larger extent than it is today.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Since the time of colonisation Western heritage has made a mark on local heritage in countries around the world. European heritage has had a controlling impact on the creation and regulation of heritage in the colonised countries. Nowadays in this post-colonial era, things have changed and many immigrants, from formerly colonised countries, are living in European cities and regions.

These immigrants took their own heritage with them from their country of origin and supposedly will create new heritage within the European cities and regions. These sorts of developments might have the consequence that the official local heritage no longer reflects the residents sufficient enough. Therefore it is conceivable that the local heritage policies will have to be adapted to the new composition of the population.

Within this context in the Netherlands, a minority group that quickly comes to mind is the group of Asian immigrants from the Moluccas region, now part of Indonesia. The question then arises whether the Moluccan community is represented in the Dutch history and its heritage. In England, minority heritage was given considerable attention when the Ministry of Culture presented the SS Empire Windrush within the first twelve English national icons. This brought the so-called “Windrush generation”, the first group of West Indian immigrant workers to England. The Moluccans were the first group of non-European immigrants that arrived in the Netherlands. Therefore they have played an integral part in the origins of the multi-cultural Netherlands. However, there is little known of in which manner the Moluccan community is included into Dutch heritage. Moreover this field has not attracted a lot of academic attention.

Heritage can be categorised in several scales, the local, the nation-state and the supra-national level. This thesis will focus on heritage at a local level. Local heritage will be interpreted specifically for the Northern region of the Netherlands. As stated above the focus of this thesis will be on the representation of ethnic minorities within local heritage. First, it will explore how ethnic minorities are represented in local heritage and heritage policies. Secondly, an insight will be given into the way minority heritage matters in the homemaking process of ethnic minority

communities in Western European regions. Finally, it will look at whether generational differences exist in the way heritage is experienced within the Moluccan community.

1.2 Problem statement

The main objective of this research is to get a better insight into how ethnic minorities are represented within local heritage. The subject ethnic minority in this research is the Moluccan community within the Netherlands. The main question is whether the Moluccan community is included in the representation of Dutch history and its heritage. In order to do so it is important to categorise first which Moluccan heritage is present in the Netherlands and whether this heritage is inclusive or exclusive. An inclusive heritage is open to the whole of society where an exclusive heritage is solely reserved for the community from which the heritage originated. In this context it is imperative to explore meanings which are given to Moluccan heritage by residents.

Heritage in this sense is a very broad concept. To narrow this down, this thesis will use the approach of official and unofficial heritage in the form of monumental buildings and statues, streets and square names as well cityscapes.

1.3 Social and Academic relevance

The link between geography and heritage is that heritage is often inherently a spatial phenomenon. Heritage is mostly located in a specific place and all heritage is interconnected to people who give meaning to it. Secondly, heritage plays an important role in the signification, representation and identity of places and with this it is of crucial importance within the contemporary cultural and historical geography (Graham et al., 2004).

Today there is still little academic attention to minority heritage in the literature or heritage listings (Brown, 2002). The following quote shows that this issue has been recognised in the UK; “The key policy document affecting the wider heritage sector to come out of English Heritage in recent years, *Power of Place*, reports the public perception that the contributions of black and Asian people are not adequately represented in heritage provision in England and identifies the need for action to be taken by heritage agencies to engage with minority groups” (English Heritage, *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, 25.). But even then, it might seem that the subject is not sufficiently addressed.

On the social side one could argue that currently the issue of integration of ethnic minorities in European cities is on the top of the current social political agenda. In the civic societies of today's world there is a need for a new approach on how to deal with immigrants and integration issues. The frustrated and tense social debate on this subject has accumulated into a negative connotation and is increasingly set on imposing obligations to newcomers. Improved knowledge about the effects of heritage directed to ethnic minorities could help politicians and policymakers to develop legislation and policies specifically addressed to the use of heritage in combination with the integration of immigrants and their home making process. With this research I believe to be able to make a contribution to the debate arguing that the approach should and can be turned into a positive direction. When governments use positive elements, like minority heritage, to improve the integration process and, more importantly, to socialise newcomers and minority groups into civic society I think this will improve the process and contribute to a better societal environment for native as well as for minority communities.

1.4 Research question

The research question used in this thesis is:

How are ethnic minorities, in particular the Moluccan population, represented in local heritage and the heritage policies within the Northern region of the Netherlands?

Several sub-questions have been formulated to answer the research question. These are:

1. What are the important Moluccan heritage locations in the Northern region of the Netherlands?
2. What attitude does the government of the Netherlands and Dutch heritage organisations have towards Moluccan heritage in the Netherlands?
3. In what manner does minority heritage take a part in the home making process of the Moluccan population?
4. Are there any generational differences in the way heritage is experienced within the Moluccan community?

1.5 Structure of the report

The focal point of this thesis is local heritage concerning the Moluccan community within the Northern region of the Netherlands. In addition to the empirical research, a theoretical point of view will be given in chapter two. Here, the core definitions of

heritage and dissonant heritage are explained, also policy models and practices are discussed. Furthermore the usage of terms and nuances in the area of culture, identity and immigrants are explained, finally the chapter concludes with a focus on the concept of home.

Then attention is given to the methodology used in the research for this thesis in chapter three. Specifically the where, what and whom that is researched and by which methods this is realized is discussed.

In chapter four, for contextual purposes background information is given on the Moluccan community. First, the geography of the country of origin, the Moluccas, Indonesia is given. Secondly, the history and reason for their presence in the Netherlands is discussed. Next their ethnicity and community is looked into. Fourthly, the Moluccan heritage locations are looked into and finally the Dutch policies on Moluccan heritage are discussed.

In the following chapter, chapter five, an overview is given of all the results gathered out of the observations, conversations and interviews. Afterwards in chapter six the research results are combined with the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two and analysed. The overall research is given a final conclusion in chapter seven.

Chapter 2 Heritage and ethnic minorities

2.1 Defining heritage

This chapter deals with the theoretical and conceptual framework of this thesis. In the following paragraphs the core definitions of heritage and dissonant heritage are explained.

2.1.1 Heritage

Several definitions can be given to the term heritage. For example, the United Nations World Heritage Organisation (UNESCO), states that 'heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations' (UNESCO, 2005). In this thesis however, the definition as given by Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007) is used. 'Heritage is a set of meaning we, society, give to a certain object in the present'. With this definition you can state that heritage is about the creation of the present, not of the past (Ashworth, 2008). People in the present society are not only responsible for creating heritage but also for the management and the meanings given to it. Within cultures heritage plays an important role in the production and exchange of meanings (Graham et al., 2004). The term heritage can be defined into two categories; tangible heritage and intangible heritage. Tangible cultural heritage covers monuments, buildings and sites. Intangible cultural heritage is manifested in oral traditions and expressions, including language, the performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship (de Baets., A, 2004). In this thesis, however, only the tangible cultural heritage of the Moluccan community is addressed.

2.1.2 Dissonant heritage

Dissonant heritage concerns the sites or landscape iconographies surrounding the remembrance of warfare, insurgents and rebellions. These sites and spaces are intertwined with dissonant meanings because of the position these landscapes have as locations of power, the higher cultural meaning of these heritage sites and the role that heritage sites play in the social construction of identity (McCarthy, 2005). Thus, in many cases the past is a dissonant concept and the claim of anyone upon a heritage site disinherits the claim of others. Therefore, one could ask if heritage

should include one's distasteful pasts. Some examples of European history that concern this concept are the Jewish holocaust and Srebrenica. Dutch examples concerning the Moluccan community would start with the false pretexts under which the Moluccan families arrived in the Netherlands. And it continues with the hijacking and hostage events where Moluccan youths tried to battle the Dutch government during the 1970's.

Managing dissonant heritage is one of the largest challenges that contemporary European societies face in managing their pasts. Physical relics of these events remain throughout the regions, as do the memories of the victims and those involved. As the WWII concentration camps have become part of the European dissonant heritage, the conflict sites of Moluccan resistance have become part of the Dutch dissonant heritage. It is perhaps more comfortable to keep dissonant heritage in the past, but the past, no matter how awful, can still be seen as an important function to create unity and to prevent its reoccurrence (Ashworth & Howard, 1999).

2.2 Heritage policies

The policies of a society concerning their heritage and the minority heritage within a society can be seen through the models created by Ashworth et. al. (2007) on how heritage is seen within plural societies. Next to this, it is important to know how a society in general deals with its heritage and whether their policies on heritage are able to safeguard minority heritage within society.

2.2.1 Plural society models (Ashworth et. al., 2007)

In order to layout the relationship between cultural pluralism and official local policies Ashworth et. al. (2007) developed a model in which they create a typology of policy reactions to social pluralism. With this it can be stated that all societies are plural in some dimension and that societies have plural pasts. In other words it is meant that different societies have different visions of policies. In total there are five sets of models (Ashworth et. al., 2007):

1. Assimilatory, integrationist or single-core,
2. Melting pot,
3. Core+,
4. Pillar,
5. Salad bowl / rainbow / mosaic.

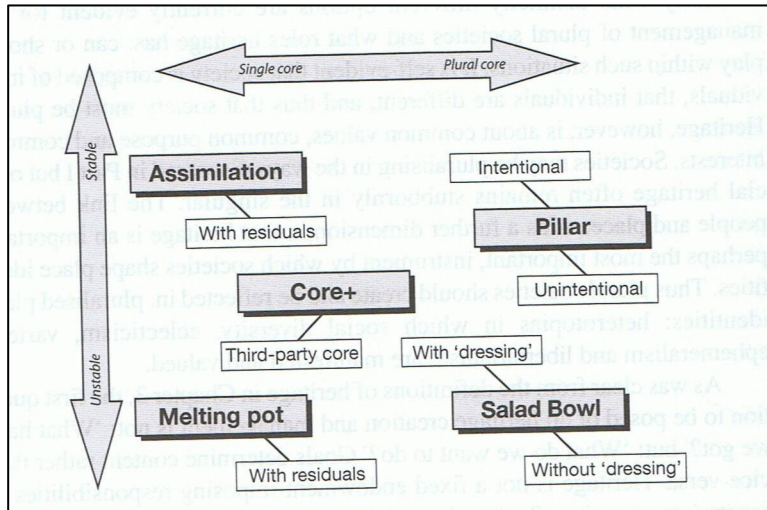


Figure 2.1: The plural society models.

Source: Ashworth et. al., 2007.

*** Assimilatory, integrationist or single-core**

In the assimilation model, only one legitimated set of common values, social norms and practices within society is accepted. There is just one ethnic cultural characteristic that determines the place identity. In these societies place identity is strongly linked to social identity, there is a strong attachment to the idea of insiders and outsiders. ‘The people belong to the place and the place belongs to the people’. The assimilation model is currently most seen in middle European countries. In an extreme form this could lead to an absolute denial of the potential of any pluralisation of society.

In this model the function of heritage is to stimulate the assimilation of ‘outsiders’ into the core and with this also the strengthening of the core among ‘insiders’. However, the management and control of non-conforming groups and ideas is a major practical problem with this model. Examples of heritage policy options to control these problems are transitional measures effecting social change among deviant groups by creating and promoting a national history through the teaching of biased geography and history, or by marginalisation of deviance through denial and museumification. This can lead to concealment or destruction of non-conforming heritage.

*** Melting pot**

The idea of a melting pot society is that within a settler society, ethnically diverse immigrant streams were ‘melted’ into a new homogeneous identity. The difference between assimilation society and a melting pot society is that, even though both have one single core, in an assimilation society the core values are those of the existing ‘insider’ group. This contrasts to the melting pot society, where a new set of core values is created by the absorption of all the new entering ingredients. The

melting pot model is seen in settler societies and post-colonial countries. Some examples of countries where the melting pot model is seen are the United States, Canada, Australia and Indonesia.

In this model the function of heritage is to stimulate immigrants to leave their own heritage and identity and adopt the new place heritage. Through this they create a mutual heritage. In most of these countries heritage plays a very important role and it is evident that flags, anthems, national icons etc., play a vital role in the creation of the national identity.

*** Core+**

Within the core+ model a consensual core identity exists as a leading culture. This leading culture is surrounded by a number of distinctive minority cultural groups. The relationship between the core and the surrounding cultural groups can be twofold. There are inclusivist add-ons and exclusivist ones. Within these societies it is important that the core culture is accepted by the minorities by attaching an undisputed primacy to it and that there is no competing view possible with the core culture. The most important difference with the assimilation model and the melting pot model is that, there is no intention to incorporate minority groups into the existing core or the composite national identity. The add-ons are seen as having a valid and continuing existence. The core+ model is found in developed Western democratic countries and in emergent post-colonial societies. An excellent example of this model is the situation in The Netherlands, where Dutch society is the primacy core but with the Frisian culture as an add-on.

Within the core+ model, heritage has multiple roles. It can be used as an instrument for the creation and sustaining of the leading culture, but it can simultaneously be used to promote the heritage and values of the core within the add-ons and the other way round to promote the heritage and values of the add-ons within the core population. Sometimes ethnic add-ons are being used as heritage tourism attractions and can be seen in many cities around the world in the form of 'China Town's' or 'Little Italy's'.

*** Pillar**

The Pillar model is created around the idea of maintaining separation and minimal contact between groups without favouring one group above the other. It consists of a society containing several self-sustaining pillars which collectively support the superstructure of the unified state. This model allows the different pillars to manage their own cultural, social, educational, political and even economic

institutions. The pillar model originates in the Netherlands. It started with the division of the Protestant and Catholic pillar, which were later supplemented by others, such as the Liberal pillar and most recently the possibility of an Islamic pillar. Another example of the pillar model can be found in the Apartheid South Africa, where it was based on race rather than culture.

Within the Pillar model the role of heritage is also in the form of pillars. Every pillar creates, manages and consumes its own heritage. Heritage is not used as an instrument for social cohesion as is seen within the other models.

*** Salad bowl / rainbow / mosaic models**

Salad bowl / rainbow / mosaic models generally concern a multicultural society. The models are based on the idea that several ingredients collectively create a new core without losing their own specific characteristics. The salad bowl stands for the metaphor of a salad, in which all different ingredients are recognisable and remain unique with their own taste. The mosaic model symbolizes a recognisable pattern laid out by individual fragments. The most recent rainbow model is also a metaphor in which every cultural group is represented by a colour in a rainbow. Here, each group remains having its distinctive colour, but merges at the edges. Variation of these models is possible in a core or coreless variance, with or without a dressing, structure or pattern. Examples are the societies in the United States, Canada and South Africa.

Within these models heritage policies can also be inclusivist or exclusivist. With the former, heritage is focused on openness, wide accessibility and total inclusion. In the case of exclusivist policies, heritage is focused on the empowerment of the individual groups. Each will be able to create, select and manage their heritage.

2.2.2 Who decides what is heritage?

First of all people decide what is heritage, society creates heritage as a view of its present. This is done, either by looking backwards to a past or forward to a future (Graham et. al., 2004). With heritage a society decides what elements of its past, present and future are to be seen as representing the community in the contemporary time. Nevertheless, official heritage is mostly designated by a small group of elites. Therefore, this practice often does not give a complete image of what is seen as a local or regional heritage by its society. Unofficial heritage can be important and more inclusive, but not listed as official heritage.

For example in the West, religious buildings of non-Christian religions are rarely listed as official heritage for their own historic value. Generally, the official argument for this is that these buildings are from a too recent time period. The Shah Jehan mosque in Woking, just outside of London, is the only mosque listed on its religious qualities within England. Several other mosques are listed as well, but for the fact that they coincidentally occupy an historic building that predates the Islamic use (Brown, 2002).

2.2.3 Heritage policies in the Netherlands

The Netherlands can be categorized as a decentralised unitary state. Hereby, the local government has a fairly large degree of autonomy. The Dutch system consists of three governing levels, the national, regional and the local. Within this system there is a strong role for the local level, the municipality (Woltjer, 2007).

Within the Dutch system planning is used as an agent of protection and integration. A common saying within the spheres of international planning is 'God made the world, and the Dutch made Holland' (Faludi, 2005). With this argument is meant that since the Dutch conquered the sea and protected the reclaimed lands against flooding, the Dutch have learnt to put the common good above individual's interest.

In the beginning of the twentieth century, due to deep religious differences and a pattern of rigid separation between communities, a 'pillarization' model emerged. In this way the different groups, pillars, were able to retain their different identities. Within this system the Netherlands had a weak central authority and cities and provinces were mainly self-governing (Faludi, 2005).

At the national level, heritage planning in the Netherlands started in 1875. The Dutch duo Victor de Stuers and Pierre Cuypers are seen as the founders of 'The Dutch government service for the protection of monuments' (Rijksdienst Monumentenzorg) (Ashworth, 2008)(Wikipedia, 2008). Nowadays, the protection of heritage in the Netherlands is done according to the law preservation of cultural property of 1984 and the monumental law of 1988. The ministry of Education, Culture and Science is responsible for the execution of these laws.

At a local level, according to the municipalities of Groningen and Assen there is no specific policy on minority heritage. When buildings or sites have a specific value that makes them interesting for society they are marked as heritage sites after being judged by municipality representatives. In this process, it makes no difference

what the function of the buildings or sites are, or to which societal group they belong to.

2.3 Uses of heritage

Heritage is that part of history that we, society, select in the present to use for contemporary purposes. This can be in the markets of Political, Social, Economic and Psychological (Graham et al., 2004). When the past is commodified it can be used in these perspectives.

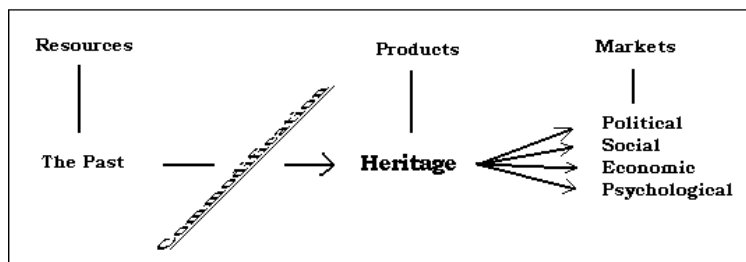


Figure 2.2: Uses of heritage.

Source: Ashworth, 2008.

Logically, for political, social and psychological purposes, heritage plays an important role in the construction and reproduction of identities. It defines a common past and can be used in means of unifying as well as differentiating peoples (Graham et. al., 2004).

However, heritage always has an economic part as well, for its presence always costs money. Nevertheless it has certain value and if it is used in a correct manner, heritage can also earn profits. Looking at heritage in the context of economic management several models have been made. The models discussed in Graham et. al. (2004) are, the windfall gain model, the turnstile model, a commodification model and an economic system model.

The windfall gain model assumes that heritage sites that already exist due to attached other meanings and purposes can be accommodated for economic uses. Hereby, it is first important that the economic function does not intervene with the existing function. Second, economic use may not harm or disorder the site and third, changes made should be tolerated by existing users. A variant of this model is the turnstile model which is more focused on individual heritage usage. The heritage is sold as a product that can be consumed by different groups for different reasons. Next, the commodification model focuses on making the past into tradable commodities. Here, elements from the past are selected to be assembled into a heritage product. Selection is a keyword in this model, parts of history are chosen to rebuild and recreate a historic site for economic purposes. And finally, the

economic systems model places the economic use of heritage into a wider context. This model recognizes the effects commodification has on heritage sites and looks for a more sustainable way of using heritage (Graham et.al., 2004).

2.4 Culture, identity and ethnicity

In the creation and development of the sense of culture, identity and ethnicity of individuals within a society, heritage plays a significant role. Especially in the case of minority heritage the culture of the minority group is important to keep in mind. In this thesis, the definition of the term culture is 'a shared set of meanings that is lived through the material and symbolic practices of everyday life' (Knox & Marston 2004). Next to this, identity is defined as 'the sense that people make of themselves through their subjective feelings based on their everyday experiences and wider social relations (Knox & Martson, 2004). The difference between culture and identity lies in the fact that culture incorporates identity. Additionally, the definition used for ethnicity is 'a socially created system of rules about who belongs and who does not belong to a particular group based upon actual or perceived commonality' (Knox & Marston, 2004).

When the three definitions are combined it can be stated that in the creation of culture, identity and ethnicity, a minority group is defined by its homeland culture and the way this culture is continued in the new surroundings. Next to this, the terms can be connected into the ethnic identity whereby the larger group defines the common feeling based upon common history and origin.

The sense of belonging is an essential element to identity. For the purpose and value of human existence, the past plays a fundamental role in the representation of identity and the provision of meanings, individually or communal. The importance of this process can be shown through the fact that people that have cut off their past through migration often recreate their own heritage (Graham et al., 2004). With this, however, they always take a part of their cut off past with them in the process of creating a new heritage.

People are constantly changing and adapting their identity, depending on where they are, what they are doing and whom they are living with. So basically, it depends on the situation one is in, which identity is dominant. When people migrate from one culture to another culture, they will adapt and retool their identity into the new culture. They will select those elements from both cultures that they feel fit best to their identity and which do not, hence taking best from both cultures.

Nevertheless, identities can coexist and overlap with each other; the one does not necessarily replace or exclude the other (Storey, 2001). Heritage is the way through which people in the present identify themselves with their past which plays, therefore, an important part in the creation of their identity (Graham et al., 2004).

2.5 Home

Home, as place, is not only a physical location where people live, but it is also an idea, and therefore it is embedded with feeling. These feelings consist of a sense of belonging, desire and intimacy, but they concern also fear, violence and alienation. To put it simply, home is the relation between a place and a set of feelings and cultural meanings (Blunt & Dowling, 2006).

Blunt and Dowling (2006) give attention to the humanistic geographers approach to the concept of home. Here, home is seen as a meaningful place where people create a sense of home in terms of comfort and belonging. As quoted from Tuan (1971) 'home is a place to which one withdraws and from which one ventures forth'. It is seen that the idea of home is the basis of the development of one's identity.

2.5.1 Home making

The term home-making means the cultivation, nurturing and preservation of home, the personal and localized experiences of home. Four normative values of home which are pointed out by Young (1997) are safety, individualisation, privacy and preservation (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Within the home making process, especially in the situation when people are sheltered in residential camps, the sense of autonomy plays an important role. Hereby, the creation of places to uphold certain cultural customs, or make it possible for people to prepare their own foods plays an important part (Blunt & Dowling, (2006).

In the situation of the Moluccan immigrants in the Netherlands, in most cases it concerns groups of people, families, who moved from a collective to a more individualistic society. In these cases, the collective values remain very important inside the house, and the migrant family will try to protect itself from negative influences from the individualistic surroundings (Hofstede, 2000). In most migrant hosting countries, with individualistic values, politicians have been promoting a dispersal policy whereby, they believe, migrants will integrate more easily than when they are living in migrant ghetto's. According to Hofstede (2000), however, immigrants will possibly integrate more easily when they can create their own semi-

closed community in which they can find mutual support. Migrants that feel supported by their community will have a greater feeling of safety and will be less resistant to their new surroundings than migrants who feel isolated (Hofstede, 2000).

Within the homemaking process, the naming and renaming of buildings has proved to be an effective method for increasing feelings of 'community ownership', making home (Gard'ner, 2004). In Gard'ners article on the heritage of the Bangladeshi community in east London he noted also that the Bangladeshi immigrants started to recognize and value sites of cultural significance to their community. In his study Gard'ner (2004) shows that the active remembrance of the recent past of cultural heritage can have social and economic benefits. It plays an important part in the sense of social inclusion, community identity and quality of life. However, many of the buildings and sites important to the Bangladeshi community are not old enough nor can be considered of sufficient architectural or historical value to warrant statutory listing (Gard'ner, 2004). As the Moluccan community is similarly recently present in Dutch society the same is probably be true for the importance of sites of Moluccan heritage in the Northern region of the Netherlands.

2.5.2 Between cultures

In many situations you see that the children of immigrants are in between cultures. They do not want to disrespect their parent's values, but they also are trying to fit into the new culture with their own values. To this end, to become a full and adapted citizen of the new society, it is important for children to create their own cultural identity, by which they can understand their own cultural values, as well as creating a cultural identity of the country, society of residence (Hofstede, 2000). Hereby it is important that children are able to get their own information about their history. That they can verify the information given by family members and that they can explore their history. Most importantly they should be able to develop that part of their identity.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Research population and research location

The subject of this research consists of two populations; first, a population of an ethnic minority group, and secondly, the included heritage items. Both the populations and the chosen location are discussed below.

3.1.1 Research population

Minority heritage in Western Europe can be divided in three distinctive categories. First, the spatially concentrated minorities who define themselves in linguistic or religious terms, secondly, the diasporas of Jews, Roma or Gypsies and finally the later twentieth-century postcolonial immigrants into Western European cities (Graham, 2004). In this research the latter category is central because it consists of the group of Moluccan immigrants that came into the Netherlands. Even though their history is deeply linked with the Dutch colonial era, here, the group fits best within the third category.

Focus is given specifically to the Moluccan community in the Northern region of the Netherlands. In this thesis the group is referred to as 'the Moluccan community' and is discussed more thoroughly in the following chapter. Also, individuals who relevantly work with, for, or have special interest in the Moluccan community have been included into the research.

3.1.2 Research location

In many cases heritage is linked to a specific location. For example a monument which stands for a key moment in history that occurred in a certain place. But in many cases of local heritage the local site is being used only as an instrument for the communication of a wider heritage message (Graham et al., 2004). However, one meaning does not exclude the other. They could have local, as well as national or even at a supra-national level, significance.

Here, the addressed heritage for this thesis is located in the Northern region of the Netherlands, the provinces Groningen, Drenthe and Friesland. Only selected locations that represent Moluccan heritage have been observed and discussed.

3.2 Research on heritage

The research focuses on both official and unofficial heritage in the form of monumental buildings, statues, streets, square names and cityscapes that are linked to or have special importance for the Moluccan community in the Netherlands.

In first instance, several previously selected Moluccan heritage locations have been focused upon. These locations were selected because of their historical value in being former Moluccan residential camps located in the Northern region of the Netherlands and four locations of Moluccan resistance expression against the Dutch government. Next to these previous selected heritage locations, the research population has been asked to complement the list of possible Moluccan heritage locations. These locations have been included into the researched heritage.

3.3 Methods

The methodology used in the research is qualitative. Triangulation has been made use of to optimize the gathering of the available information. Various research methods that interconnect with each other are used to optimize the validity of the methods. By this, it is meant that the information gathered by a research method in one stage of the research will influence the execution of the other research methods used in a second stage. The research methods that have been used during this research are document research, observation and interviews.

3.3.1 Document research

The research project started by gathering information in the field of heritage, dissonant heritage and minorities. Specific focus is given on minority heritage and plural societies, the development of culture and identity, and the home making process.

In order to get a better insight into the Moluccan community in the Northern region of the Netherlands and the policies concerning this community various documents have been gathered. Indeed, several documents, like academic articles, books, newspaper articles and media like internet and television documentaries have given more insight in the Moluccan community, their history, living situation and their heritage.

During later stages of the research, the document research continued as the research population pointed out new sources of information that could be included into the research.

3.3.2 Observation

The observation method started by making a list of the sites that are important for the Moluccan history in the Northern region of the Netherlands. This list consists of thirteen former Moluccan residential camps located in the Northern region of the Netherlands and four sites of Moluccan resistance in the province of Drenthe. The observation of these sites has taken place by means of field research.

In a period of two weeks all the sites have been visited and observed. All sites have been thoroughly observed and information gathered about the current state of the site. Also, an estimation of the heritage value has been made. Next to this, conversations took place with individuals living in the surroundings of the locations, or which are present occupants and owners of the sites and people that had a specific connection to the sites. For example, a forester responsible for the maintenance of a former camp location was interviewed.

In addition to the observation of the several sites, the researcher also attended meetings organized by the Moluccan community itself. Most notably are the RMS celebration of April 25th, the 'De Punt train hijacking' remembrance ceremony of June 11th and a political café which was attended by all ranks of the community. Through these observations valuable information was obtained concerning the Moluccan community and their connection to the history of the sites, the value-adding, status and feelings towards the sites today.

3.3.3 Interviews

The focus group method is believed to be a suited method to get thorough information on the intangible aspects of this research. The focus group method is relevant for this specific research group for the fact stated by Morgan in 1988 that focus groups are particularly well suited to exploring topics where complex patterns of behaviour and motivation are evident, or where diverse views are held (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005, p131). Thus, personal experiences and feelings about the issues felt by the research objects can be reached this way. The research population, the Moluccan community, has a wide diversity of opinions on the matter as well and here a focus group meeting seems most suitable for maximum results. However,

during the research it became clear that it was complicated to organise meetings that involved sufficient participants to really talk in-depth and maximize the effect of the focus group method.

This resulted in several meetings that can be defined as 'small group interviews'. For these interviews the chosen method used was the same as in focus group meetings whereby "the basic format is 'a group of individuals selected and assembled by researchers to discuss and comment on, from personal experience, the topic that is the subject of research'" (Flowerdew & Martin, 2005, p129) was sustained.

The Moluccan community is considered as a closed community and it is therefore difficult for outsiders to enter. Therefore, in order to gain their trust to conduct this research, there has been made use of several key-persons, so called gatekeepers, to help with the selection of the relevant individuals and arrange interviews and sessions. The snowballing method has proven to be a very productive method to reach crucial persons within the Moluccan community.

The interviews and discussions took place by making use of several issue statements, supported by image material taken during the observations, in order to foster the discussion. The interviews and discussions were recorded by making use of audio recording equipment and were transcribed as a written text afterwards. It has been chosen to take the interviews within small groups, because in the Moluccan community it is felt that this is the friendliest method and will make the subjects feel most comfortable. Thus, by this more information about the topics will be given.

In addition to the interviews with members of the Moluccan community, also several interviews with representatives of housing associations, nongovernmental organisations, museums and municipalities took place.

Chapter 4 The Netherlands and the Moluccan community.

4.1 Geography

The Moluccan is an Island group in the East of Indonesia. Since 1999 part of this region is known as the two Indonesian provinces South-Moluccas and North-Moluccas. The capital city is Ambon City, located on Ambon Island. The Moluccan archipelago consists of about 150 Islands, the main ones being Ambon, Buru and Ceram. It covers a total area of 26,975 km² and has a population of 1.3 million.



Figure 4.1: Map Indonesia and the Moluccan



Source: Atlas Moluku. Landelijk steunpunt educatie Molukkers, Utrecht 1998.

4.2 History

In 1509, Portuguese explorers reached Amboina, the heart of the Spice Islands, as the first Europeans in the area. With this the first European commercial-colonial empire was created. In the beginning of the 17th century, Dutch merchants of the East India Company subsequently replaced the Portuguese. They founded the city of Batavia in 1619 on the Island of Java (now known as Jakarta) and the Dutch East Indies where created. After many decades of flourishing trade the Dutch empire of Indonesia came to an end at the middle of the 20th century. In 1927, although with little success, the Indonesian Nationalist Party was founded. During the Second World War the Japanese occupied the region. In August 1945, at the

end of the war when the Japanese had left, but before the Dutch could return, the Indonesian Nationalist leader Sukarno proclaimed the country's independence. After their return, the Dutch fought the nationalist movement for several years, but in 1949 they gave in and ceded independence (Palmer et. al. 2002).

Next to this the Marshall Plan was announced in the spring of 1947. A plan designed by the United States to hasten European economic recovery. Under pressure of the United States part of the deal was that colonies had to be given up. Therefore, the Dutch planned to leave the region. However, Moluccan soldiers that served in the Royal Dutch Indies Army, KNIL, during the WWII against the Japanese and later against the Indonesian Army were largely stationed on the island of Java. It was decided that there was no other solution than to evacuate them and bring them to the Netherlands, for the time being. Eleven sailing ships brought 12.880 Moluccans from Java, Indonesia, to the Netherlands in the period of March and June 1951. It concerned KNIL soldiers, marines and civilians who had, in some way, a connection to the Royal Dutch Indies Army (Smeets & Steijlen, 2006).

4.3 Ethnicity

Today, the population of Indonesia consist of 86,1% Muslims, 5,7% Protestants, 3% Roman Catholics and 1,8% Hindus (CIA Factbook, 2008). The Moluccan people that came to the Netherlands in 1951, and of which the Moluccan society consists today contain mainly a Protestant-Christian community, although there were also some Islamic communities.

As mentioned above this community consists of families of men that were in some way related to the Royal Dutch Indies Army. This contains two groups, the KNIL soldiers and the marines. These two can be seen as two separate groups. After their arrival in the Netherlands in 1951 the marines were incorporated within the Royal Dutch marines. The KNIL soldiers however, were released from the army quite soon after their arrival and were temporarily sheltered in residential camps. Aiming at the Moluccan community in the Northern region of the Netherlands this research focuses on the latter group. This is because the marines were not located within the Northern region of the Netherlands.

According to the definition of the CBS, the bureau for Dutch statistics, the first generation Moluccan community is defined as Indies-Dutch category D. This category consists of 'Moluccans: persons native to the Moluccas who saw

themselves forced to choose between Indonesia and the Netherlands, and due to this reason relocated to the Netherlands. However within the Netherlands they stayed within a closed Dutch-Indies or Moluccan cultural setting for a long time period. This was because it was supposed that their stay in the Netherlands would only be temporary. The children of these groups are defined as second and third generation Indies-Dutch (CBS, 2003).

4.4 The Moluccan community

The residential camps played an important part in the home making process for the Moluccan community in the Netherlands. Because they were able to live together and thus create their own community it gave a sense of security that improved the feeling of creating a home. The residential camps were abandoned in the sixties and seventies, but most Moluccan families continued to live close to each other in so-called Moluccan districts. Nowadays about 40% of Moluccan families live within the Moluccan districts. Most of these families are homogenous Moluccan. The remaining part, 60% of Moluccan families moved out of the residential camps and Moluccan districts into Dutch communities. Many of the latter families now consist of mixed, Moluccan-Dutch, marriages (Smeets & Steijlen, 2006).

4.5 Moluccan heritage in the Netherlands

When searching for Moluccan heritage in the Netherlands. The first places to look at are the residential camps where the Moluccan families were sheltered after their first arrival. In total there were 88 camps scattered over the Netherlands.

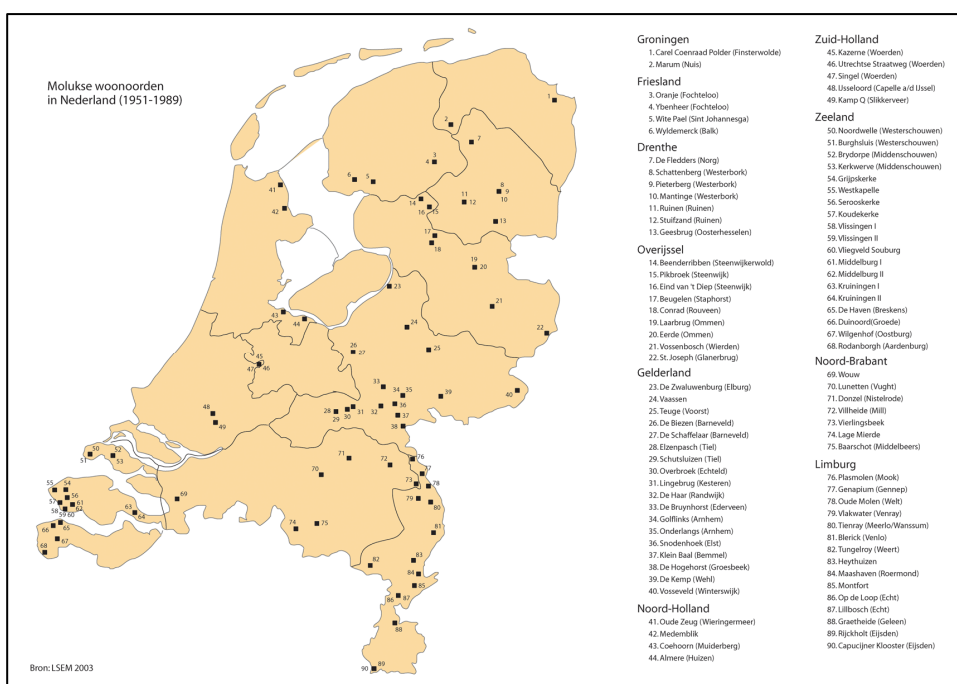


Figure 4.2: Moluccan residential camps in the Netherlands.

Source: Landelijk Steunpunt Educatie Molukkers, 2003.

In the 1960's however, the Dutch government changed its policies and decided that the Moluccan community had to slowly integrate into the Dutch society. The government realised that the Moluccan people were not temporarily in the Netherlands, but that their stay was indefinite. Forty-four Moluccan districts were built and the Moluccan community was relocated into them.

This policy change caused severe stress for the community considering its delicate history. It resulted in resistance in the form of small scale riots.

Next to this there are also several dissonant heritage locations concerning the Moluccan community and their battle for a free Moluccan state, in the Northern region of the Netherlands. In this context there are four crucial occasions of Moluccan resistance and protest against the Dutch government:

- * The train hijacking at Wijster in December 1975.
- * The train hijacking at De Punt in May 1977.
- * The hostage situation at the primary school, Bovensmilde in May 1977.
- * The hostage situation at the Province hall, Assen in March 1978.

This research focuses on the Moluccan heritage in the Northern region of the Netherlands. This means that the thirteen residential camps and eight Moluccan districts located in the provinces of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe and the four locations associated with Moluccan resistance are dealt with first. Secondly, Moluccan community members have been asked for other possible locations for the Moluccan community in the Northern regions of the Netherlands.

4.6 Dutch policy on Moluccan heritage

In general, the local government is not involved with Moluccan heritage. Until 1982 the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work (CRM) contained a department for Moluccan issues. Due to financial cut backs the Ministry of CRM was dismantled in 1982 and with this the Moluccan department disappeared as well. In 2006 Minister Verdonk of the Ministry of Alien Affairs (cabinet Balkenende III, July 2006 – Feb. 2007) stated that it was time for the Dutch government to interfere and dismantle the Moluccan districts, because it would obstruct the integration process of the third generation Moluccans. Later that year Minister Verdonk came back on this statement and announced that the Moluccan districts were not a national concern and were to be handled by local governments and housing associations (Brabant's Dagblad, Oct 16, 2006).

More specifically looking on a local level at policies that concern Moluccan residential districts the local government of the municipality of Assen states that; 'The municipality does not conduct policies that foster the disappearance of Moluccan districts. Even though, there are thoughts that this will happen, in waving motions, naturally. However, there are concerns about the results of clustering and whether this results in social problems and also the issue of Moluccans, living in this form, are capable of integrating better and being part of Dutch society. The municipality of Assen believes that the Moluccan community in general is well integrated. Nowadays, of the Moluccan community in Assen, around 40% lives within the Moluccan districts. The municipality believes that as long as housing associations are not experiencing any problems such as in the field of violence, nuisance or pauperisation, there is no reason to implement policies dealing with the issues (Tatipikalawan, 2008). It seems that most municipalities that incorporated Moluccan districts deal with this in the same manner. As is dealt with in the next chapter, the housing associations have a similar view regarding the Moluccan tenants.

Chapter 5 Results

5.1 Observations and interviews

Research for the presence and meaning of Moluccan heritage in the Northern region of the Netherlands started with desk research. Here, information about the Moluccan community and possible heritage sites was gathered first. This resulted into a list of possible heritage locations of thirteen former Moluccan residential camps and four locations of Moluccan resistance.

By means of gathering information through observation all the locations were visited. The sites were physically visited, observed and pictures were taken. Next to this, recent owners and residents of the locations or surroundings were questioned. First, these conversations gave a general feeling about the site, but also revealed background information and several new sites of interest were retrieved, such as cemeteries and residential districts with churches and meeting centres.

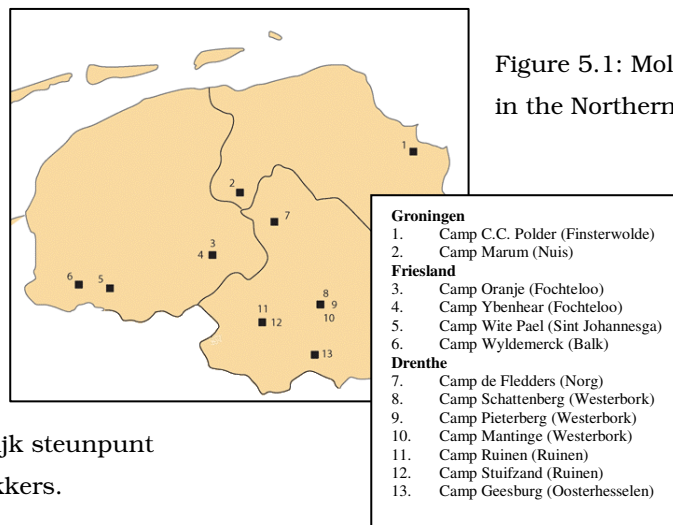
Following in this paragraph an overview of the results gathered from the interviews is given. With this, several of the most important quotes from the interviewees are integrated within the text. Next to that numerous talks and meetings were attended. In this sense, to be able to place the quotes in their right perspective, it is important to have some background information of the most important interviewees.

The inserted quotes are given by; R. Tutuarima, a first generation Moluccan woman who moved out of the camps into a Dutch community. H. Tutuarima-Wieringa, second generation Moluccan woman who grew up outside the Moluccan districts and is now living within a Dutch community. U. Tehupuring and M. Tehupuring, husband and wife, second generation Moluccans who are living within a Moluccan district. Mr Tehupuring was involved in the hostage situation in 1977 at the primary school in Bovensmilde and Mrs. Tehupuring was, at the time, dating one of the, killed, hijackers of the train hijacking of 1977. T. Solisa, second generation Moluccan woman, living outside the Moluccan districts, and participant of the church board in Bovensmilde. W. Manuhutu, second generation Moluccan men, director of the Moluccan Historic Museum in Utrecht. O. Tatipikalawan, second generation Moluccan men, grew up and is recently living outside the Moluccan districts and is working in the field of cultural policies for the municipality of Assen. And finally, one anonymous, a second generation Moluccan women, living within a Moluccan district.

According to the interviewees, the Moluccan heritage locations in the Northern region on the Netherlands consist of, one, the locations of the former residential camps, secondly, the cemeteries connected to the residential camps. Thirdly, the places of Moluccan resistance and finally -and final from a later time period- the residential districts with their churches and meeting centres.

5.2 Moluccan residential camps

Of the thirteen residential camps located in the Northern region of the Netherlands five camps have totally disappeared. These camps were located at Nuis (camp Marum), Sint Johannesga (camp Wite Peal), Ruinen (Camp Stuifzand), Westerbork (Camp Mantinge) and Westerbork (camp Pietersberg). Considering the latter, the local government did memorialise it by calling the suburban area, now located at the location, with the same name, Pietersberg. From camp Mantinge as well, the original buildings plans were kept and stored by the present owner of the location. At the location in Norg, Camp De Fledders, there is a monument



Source: Landelijk steunpunt
Educatie Molukkers.

honouring the memory of the camp. But this monument focuses on the time period of '40 – '45. The remaining seven camps do have, however in different ways, a present memory of the camps and the past presence of the Moluccan community in these locations.

The interviewees have pointed out that the residential camps are definitely important for the local Moluccan heritage. The residential camps are seen as the location where their Dutch-Moluccan roots lay. Thus, they feel a strong personal relationship with these locations. Subsequently, they find the camp where they lived themselves of most value. The value of other camp locations is connected to

family and friends who remember from their own perspective how they have lived there.

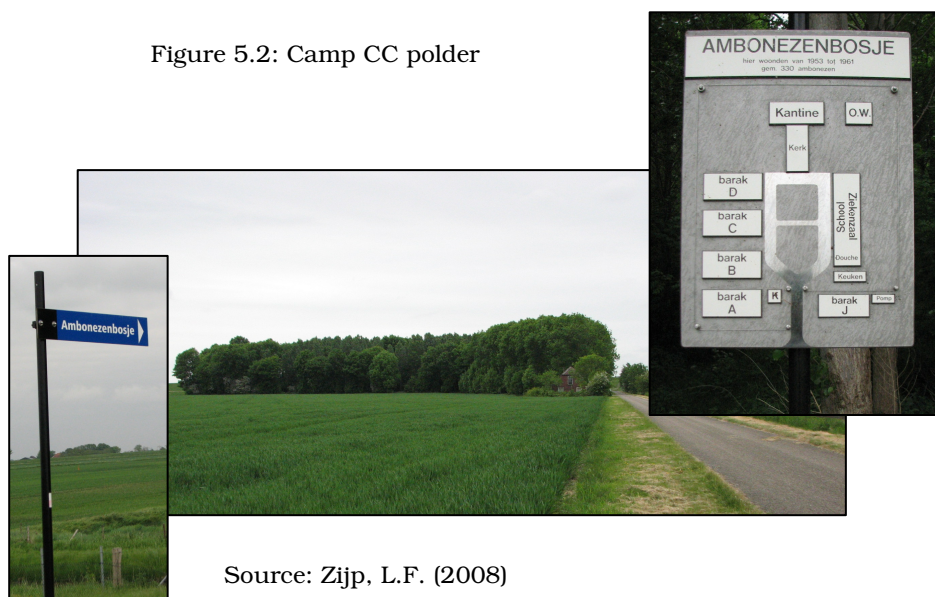
“I have always lived in Marum, camp Nuis, what a pity that there is nothing left of the camp”.
M. Tutuarima.

As each one of the seven locations with a present memory of the camps and the past presence of the Moluccan community deserves specific mention, they are consecutively dealt with below.

* Camp Carel Coenraad Polder (CC Polder), Finsterwolde

Since April 2006, a monument accompanies the location of the old Moluccan residential camp CC Polder, also known as the ‘Ambonezenbosje’. The ‘Ambonezen’ are the people from Ambon Island, the term is used as a synonym of Moluccans.

Figure 5.2: Camp CC polder



Source: Zijp, L.F. (2008)

The monument memorizes the 300 Moluccan people who lived in the camp between 1951 and 1961. The monument was created by an artist (Van der Wije), in cooperation with the Moluccan community and the owners of the land. The owners wanted to remove the woods that cover the formerly camp location but this was prohibited by the local government. Landschapsbeheer Groningen has legal control over the remainder of the woodland (Landschapsbeheer Groningen, 2008).

* Camp Orange and Camp Ybenheer, Fochteloo

These two camps could be considered as one single heritage location due to the fact that both camps were located on the same street within a 500 meter radius. The



Figure: 5.3: Monument entrance camp Ybenheer.

Source: Zijp, L.F. (2008)

camp was developed as a general work camp in the 1930's, served as a work camp for Jews during the WWII and later gave home to the Moluccan KNIL soldiers and their families between 1951 and 1969. Since that time the locations of both camps have been in possession of the foundation for Nature Monuments (Natuurmonumenten).

Today, the original camp gate of camp Ybenheer still stands and in October 2002 a monument was placed in honour of both the time period '40 –'45 and '51 – '69. The text on the monument consists of a poem concerning the Jewish community and a text concerning the Moluccan community. About the Moluccan community it states: *“Here is the entrance of the formally working camp Ybenheer. After the WWII in the period from 1951 until 1968 the camp gave residence to the Moluccan ex-KNIL soldiers and their families”*.

* Camp Wyldemerck, Balk

Camp Wyldemerck was one of the camps created for the Islamic community within the Moluccan society. 24 families lived in this camp in the period between 1954 till 1969. The Islamic residence was relocated to camp Wyldemerck after living in camp Schattenberg. At camp Schattenberg tensions developed between the different religious groups which made it more wishful to create a separate Islamic camp. The camp was also home to the second Mosque ever built in the Netherlands.



Figure 5.4: Monument Camp Wyldemerck.

Source: Zijp, L.F. (2008)

Today, the location is owned by ‘Staatsbosbeheer’ and is left to develop as a forest. All that is left of the camp today is a small monument next to the road at the entrance of the former camp. It shows a map of the former camp layout and on the location where the mosque was located in the centre of the former camp stands a memory stone with a placard stating the text:

“On this location stood the Mosque of camp Wyldemerck, residence to the Islamic Moluccan community (1954-1969)”.

* Camp Schattenberg, Westerbork

The location of camp Schattenberg, nearby the village Westerbork, had functioned as the transit camp Westerbork during the WWII. Currently, the site is a monumental location dealing with the Jewish history and their tragic fate during the WWII. Thus, the museum related to the site focuses mainly on the history of '40-'45, but it also mentions the post-war history of the location. After the war the camp was called Schattenberg and gave residence to the second largest Moluccan community in the Netherlands, 142 families.

Figure 5.5: Exposition museum Westerbork.



Source: Zijp, L.F. (2008)

In the Northern region of the Netherlands camp Schattenberg in Westerbork, is generally seen as the most important heritage location. Camp Schattenberg was the largest camp in the region and thus, many of the interviewees have lived in this camp. This logically enhances the value they attach to this camp.

“It is a special place for me personally. I’m born there and my family roots in the Netherlands lie there. Every year I go back there and think about the time that we lived in Schattenberg.

There is not an official Moluccan monument at the site and I have never visited the museum, I don’t care for it. I have created my own monument by planting a tree at the location where the barracks used to stand. That is my monument to remember the times of camp Schattenberg”.

U. Tehupuring

The fact that the museum Westerbork is giving some attention to the Moluccan history next to the predominant Jewish history of the location is seen as very important. However, none of the interviewees has ever visited the museum.

Since recent years there have been talks over a possible monument on the site in remembrance of the Moluccan families that lived here during the period 1951 till 1968. Museum representatives would welcome possible initiatives from the Moluccan community to do so. However the museum will not take the initiative itself. Also, the museum has reserved the actual location of the camp for Jewish history predominantly. Thus, a monument connected to the Moluccan time period would not be placed inside the camp but could be in the direct surroundings of it (Abuys, 2008).

* Camp Ruinen, Ruinen

At the location of camp Ruinen, there is not much left to remember the period that Moluccan families had their residence in the barracks of the camp. At present, the site is a holiday camp for handicapped children and their families. The camp still has its original layout; the original foundations of the barracks now serve stone cabins placed upon them. The structure of the camp is still visible and the fence surrounding the camp still remains in place.

Recently, the idea has emerged to place a monument stone at the entrance of the camp in remembrance of the Jewish history. The camp owners are open for this idea and are helping the Jewish organisation that is working on this. They are open

to the idea to give attention to the Moluccan period in the camp as well, if they would be approached by an organisation working with Moluccan heritage.

* Camp Geesburg, Oosterhesselen

At the location where camp Geesburg has been the situation is similar to the location of the former camp Ruinen. There are no immediate signs that remember of the Moluccan residence at the location. However the layout of the camp still stands. The barracks of the camp have been transformed into a pig farm and have recently been walled in by brick stones.



Figure 5.6: Camp Geesburg today.



Source: Zijp, L.F. (2008)

Presently, the buildings function as stables and have the exact layout as the barracks used to have. Even the windows and the rooms where the kitchens used to be located are still intact.

The owners of the farm are yearly visited by a number of Moluccan families who have their roots in camp Geesburg. The owners welcome these visitors by showing them around the premises.

5.3 Cemeteries

Next to the residential camps, a lot of value is given to the cemeteries located in the villages where the residential camps used to be located. Many of the graves on these cemeteries are occupied by Moluccan people. And still, many Moluccans wish to be buried on the place where they planted their first roots within the Netherlands. Some examples of this phenomenon are seen on the cemeteries of Marum and Hooghalen. The latter, closely located to the former location of camp Schattenberg,

has around 50% of its graves occupied by Moluccan people. A large percentage of these graves are from small children who did not survive the cold winter or diseases during the years '51 and '52. But there is also a fair share of recent graves from Moluccan people who moved away from the area. They explicitly wished to be buried close to their location of first arrival and residence in the residential camp Schattenberg.



Figure 5.8: Moluccan graves cemetery Hooghalen.



Source: Zijp, L.F. (2008)

Next to this in the interviews comes forward that the cemeteries are closely connected to the memories of the residential camps which are usually nearby. As mentioned, many Moluccans were buried here during the period they lived in the camps under which numerous Moluccan children who past away in 1951 and 1952. Today, the cemeteries are still regularly visited by Moluccan families to remember the death and to take care of the graves. Remarkably, many Moluccans wish to be buried close to the place their roots lay, the residential camp. All interviewees feel this part of Dutch-Moluccan heritage is neglected and deserves more attention.

“On the graveyards near the old camps you see a lot of Moluccan graves, especially children’s graves. I believe this says a lot about the living conditions in those first years”.

T. Solisa

“It would be really good if an information board would be placed at the cemeteries. The information board should describe the situation in which the Moluccans had to live, those first years in the Netherlands. Possibly, an explanation for the numerous Moluccan deaths at that time can be given”.

M. Tehupuring

5.4 Moluccan places of resistance

While observing the locations of the four places of Moluccan resistance in the Northern region of the Netherlands, it is surprising to discover that none of them has a physical reminder on the location itself. The observed locations are:

- * Trainhijacking Wijster
- * Trainhijacking De Punt
- * Hostage primary school Bovensmilde
- * Hostage Province hall Assen

Next to the residential camps, cemeteries and districts, the sites of Moluccan resistance are seen as important places of Moluccan heritage. Hereby, the occurrences of May 1977, the simultaneously organised train hijacking at De Punt and the hostage at the primary school of Bovensmilde, are most mentioned by the interviewees.

The two other occurrences did not really come forward; the train hijacking at Wijster was only mentioned in relation to the recent television film ‘Wijster’ which was released on the 29th of Mei, 2008, and the hostage at the Province Hall Assen was not mentioned at all.

For both train hijacking locations it is logical that the physical trains are the location of events. Being a moving location though, it is difficult to point out a specific location besides the train. In both situations the geographical location where the trains were stopped, close to the villages Wijster in 1975 and De Punt in 1977 were indicated as the locations of the events.

In Bovensmilde, the location where the primary school used to stand still lies fallow. This could be seen as a silent reminder of the events of 1977. Recently, there are talks to place a monument at the site. However, it is still a very sensitive topic for the village inhabitants. The differences of opinion delays further action concerning the placing of a monument. There is a monument on the cemetery of Assen though.

Here, on the location where the Moluccan Hijackers who were killed at the 'de Punt' in 1977 are buried, stands a monument

Figure 5.7: Monument cemetery Assen.

in honour of the Moluccan hijacker victims. Acknowledging the cooperation between the perpetrators of both the train hijacking and the hostage at the primary school of Bovensmilde, both events are represented by this monument. Once a year on June 11th, a ceremony is held by the Moluccan communities of Assen and Bovensmilde.



While discussing the occurrences of

Source: Zijp, L.F. (2008)

1977 with interviewees, three locations are mentioned as important heritage sites. These locations are; the actual location of the train hijacking, the site of the primary school of Bovensmilde and the monument at the cemetery in Assen. In this sense, it is acknowledged that the train hijacking is a difficult site to appoint to a specific location, because the train is a moving object. An interesting remark stating the importance of the actual location of the train hijacking states below.

“Every time I travel by train, I always feel the curve in the railway, by De Punt, where the hijacking has taken place. Then, for a moment, my thoughts always go back to that time”.

M. Tehupuring

The site of the primary school of Bovensmilde is still a dissonant location. People not really know how to think or what to do with this location. However, the general opinion, about the possible placing of a monument at the site in the near future, is positive.

“The location where the primary school used to stand is still empty. When I pass by the site the question ‘Whose place is this’ arises in mind. But maybe the fact that the terrain is still fallow after 30 years, says enough”.

T. Solisa

“At the present time there is not a monument in Bovensmilde. I believe a monument would be good for the community here. This, because it will give attention to what has happened here, the history of the community. I do feel that it is important that a possible monument should represent both sides of the occurrence. The monument should be for the victims as well as for the Moluccans, who in fact were also victims”. *Anonymous*

“It would be good if there was a monument in Bovensmilde. However, it is important that it will cover both sites of the story. A monument like that could help explain the Dutch-Moluccan history. This is important for the 3rd and 4th generation Moluccans as well as for the Dutch community”.

H. Tutuarima-Wieringa

“A monument in Bovensmilde is still a very sensitive subject. I’m not sure a bilateral monument would work for this specific situation. I believe a more neutral monument would suit better. Then, it would allow people to give it their own meaning and value”.

W. Manuhutu

Currently, the monument at the cemetery in Assen is the remembrance of the Moluccan victims of the train hijacking at De Punt. It is a monument in remembrance of the occurrences of Mei 1977 as well as a personal burial site of the Moluccans hijackers killed during this occurrence.

“Every year on June 11, my husband and I visit the monument for the fallen Moluccans by the train hijacking at De Punt. One of the fallen men was my boyfriend at the time and my husband himself was involved with the hijacking and hostage at Bovensmilde. Because it is so personal we always visit the monument in de morning and do not attend the official remembrance ceremony given on that day. We want the moment of remembrance to be personal; with this the monument plays a very important factor in the process”.

M. Tehupuring

“The monument at the cemetery in Assen is specifically aimed at the Moluccan victims of the hijacking. I personally believe more in monuments that bring people together. A monument with a amalgamate character”.

W. Manuhutu

5.5 Moluccan residential districts

Currently, the residential districts are still in use and therefore do not fall under the definition of heritage used in this thesis. However in the Dutch cultural policy 2001-2004 (Cultuurnota) The Dutch government service for the protection of monuments (Rijksdienst monumentenzorg), has given instructions to do research and develop policies in the terrain of fairly new, post-war heritage in the time period of 1940-1965. This assignment has been extended for two years in 2005 and is continued under the Governmental service Archaeology, culture landscapes and monuments since 2007 (RACM, 2008). With this there can also be argued that the Moluccan heritage in the form of the residential districts deserves more attention. Next, within the Moluccan community it is felt that the districts are of crucial importance for their cultural heritage in the Netherlands. Therefore the districts, with its churches and meeting centres, play an important role in the Moluccan community.

In 1960 the Dutch government changed its policies concerning the living arrangements of the Moluccan community. At this time it had become apparent that the migration of the Moluccan families to the Netherlands was not of a temporary nature and it was decided that the Moluccan community had to be moved out of the residential camps in order to be able to integrate within the Dutch society. In 1965, a total of 44 residential districts were built, scattered around the Netherlands. Eight districts inhabited 521 families and 56 individuals in the Northern region. They were located in Appingedam, Assen, Delfzijl, Groningen, Hoogkerk, Hoogezand, Marum and Oosterwolde. Later, these locations were expanded with four more districts in two other locations in Assen, Bovensmilde and Foxholm. These Moluccan districts were developed and managed by the national government and were specifically focused on the housing of the Moluccan community. A situation where the government owned the houses was a unique situation within Dutch planning. Again, in the beginning of the 1980's government changed its view on the Moluccan districts. It was decided to decrease government influence by slowly transferring the ownership of the houses within the districts to local housing associations and municipal vendors. With this transfer the status of the Moluccan districts changed from a governmental focus on Moluccan families to a formal agreement between the vendors and representatives of the Moluccan community. In order to maintain the Moluccan districts.

Looking at the layout of the built environment of the Moluccan districts some specific elements that reflect the Moluccan culture can be found. For instance, the backyards of the houses are common community ground. This means that the families take into consideration that in the case of celebrations or meetings the yards are pulled together into one gathering location. This can be seen by the absence of fences and the possibility to establish shades or coverage over all yards. Next to this, the Moluccan districts today contains a mainly Moluccan inhabitation. For instance, in the residential district in Groningen lives only one non-Moluccan family as where in the residential districts in Bovensmilde this number is not much larger: three non-Moluccan families. As mentioned in chapter four, around 40% of Moluccans are living within the Moluccan districts today. However, many of the Moluccans living in regular Dutch communities are still connected to the Moluccan districts by means of attending to church and activities in the meeting centres. After talking to local habitants it becomes clear that heritage values of the residential districts, the layout of the built environment, the churches and meeting centres are considered to be places of interest.

Next to camps and cemeteries, value is attached to the residential districts as well. A general sense within the Moluccan community, living in or outside the districts, is that it is of crucial importance to maintain the Moluccan districts because it keeps the Moluccan community alive. Especially the churches play an important role in this process.

“Many, especially the younger generation, Moluccans who have moved away from the residential districts are still involved with the community by means of the church. However, we need the district to accommodate a surrounding suited for a church and community”.

T. Solisa

5.6 Sense of belonging

The feelings of living together in the camps as well as later in the residential districts of all the interviewees bring good memories. In the camps they made a home and created a new community. Later, when they moved to the residential districts all interviewees remember visiting the camps on a regular basis. The camps gave them a sense of security and safety. Over time, the residential districts took over the function of a semi-closed community.

From the interviews, the image arises that most Moluccan families deliberately choose to either live within the community or leave and live between the Dutch. One of the reasons to leave to community was the high level of social security. People were longing for more privacy. On the other hand, the sense of security provided by the community was and is a specific reason to stay within the community.

“We left the camp in 1960. I did this because I wanted to live on my own. There is a high level of social control within the community. Nevertheless, we have chosen to live between the Dutch and not in a Moluccan district, because we felt this would be better for our children”. R. Tutuarima.

“First we started off living in the camps and later we all had to move into the residential districts. Now, I wouldn’t want to leave the district. Living together gives us a sense of security”. M. Tehupuring

The forced move from the camps to the residential districts was a hard thing to do for the Moluccans. Especially for those who had lived in the more isolated camps like Schattenberg. It was the first time many of them really came in contact with Dutch society.

“In the camp we lived in poor circumstances, but we where together and there was unity. I remember the first day of school after we moved from the camp very well. It was the first time we were a minority. The other children ruled there”.

U. Tehupuring

Nowadays the Moluccan community has become more scattered around the Netherlands. 60% of Moluccans live outside the districts and many have married a Dutch partner. With these changes the existence of Moluccan monuments has become more important during the years.

5.7 Importance of monuments

At the end of the interviews, all interviewees were shown a number of photos of Moluccan monuments in the Northern region of the Netherlands. One remarkable result of showing the pictures was that the interviewees were not aware of the

presence of most of these monuments. They did respond very positively to the monuments and felt that they are very important in the Dutch-Moluccan history.

“I feel that these monuments are very important to us. They give the Moluccan community a place within the Dutch history. I’m afraid that without this we will be forgotten”.

M. Tehupuring

Especially the way that the Moluccan heritage in Finsterwolde is handled is regarded as positive. The renaming of the location of camp C.C. Polder to ‘Ambonezenbosje’ is seen as very positive. Hereby, the name gives recognition and the visualisation of the former camp layout is appreciated.

The museum Westerbork has not been visited by any of the interviewees. Most were not aware of the attention given to the Moluccan time period within the museum exhibition. However, they do stand positively to this and feel that it is very important to have the possibility to visit something like that. The monument close to camp Orange and Ybenheer is seen as an excellent solution. Here both the Jewish as the Moluccan history are represented. The two situations are unable to be compared to each other but it does show that they can have a mutual monument. And the monument in Balk at the Islamic camp is also, despite of its poor maintenance, seen as beautiful. A lot of symbolism in the monument is recognised by them.

“(…) that are spices...This is very relevant as a symbolic reference, possibly to combine two worlds into one”.

O. Tatipikalawan

In general, it is felt important that it is known that some monuments originated out of private initiative. However, information boards near the monuments are missed. Without information available it is felt that, when the generation that can tell about the histories of the location has passed away, the monuments will gradually lose their value. Monuments should be timeless and provide their own story.

“Now the monuments merely have meaning for the direct involved that know the story behind the monument. There should be more information available near the monuments so people can give them meaning”.

O. Tatipikalawan

The importance of Moluccan heritage in general is felt as very valuable. Monuments and heritage sites gives them their history and recognition. It makes them feel that their part of the Dutch history matters and with this, they matter.

Next to this, the existing monuments are valued differently by the different interviewees. For example, if people have a personal connection to the sites, for instance first generation Moluccans in connection to the residential camps, a monument gives them recognition of their past. People, who have a 'second hand' link to the heritage site, second generation Moluccans in connection to the residential camps, will be more likely to use the site to verify the information they have heard and increase their knowledge. People who have a 'third hand' or no direct connection to the heritage sites, in example third or fourth generation Moluccans and others, will use it as a source of information. For them, monuments and heritage sites are a way to explore history and in the case of third or later generations Moluccans, it may help them develop that part of their identity.

Chapter 6 Analysis

6.1 The Moluccan community within Dutch society

Considering all possible variants of the plural society model it seems that the pillar and the core+ variants suits this case best. Within the plural society model (Ashworth et. al., 2007) the Dutch society is seen as a pillar model society. The Dutch society consists, or has consisted, of several distinctive cultural groups, each existing within its own pillar. The Moluccan community within the Netherlands, with its own residential districts and churches, can be seen as one of these pillars. However the pillar model also states that within society one group is not favoured above the other and that all pillars are self containing. Although the Moluccan community does have its own separated residential camps and later residential districts they were never self containing and with this they cannot be considered a full pillar.

Looking at the Moluccan community within Dutch society one could state that it fits better in the core+ variant of the plural society model. Here, the Moluccan community, as the Frisian community, is functioning as an add-on. The Moluccan community can be seen as an exclusive add-on. In the first years after the arrival of the Moluccan community it was believed that there was no need for the minority to adapt to the core culture. In the 1960's however, when it became clear that stay of the Moluccan community was not temporary within the Netherlands, views changed and the Moluccan community increasingly became seen as a part of Dutch society.

6.2 Moluccan heritage locations

In this section attention is given to the way Moluccan heritage is present in the Northern region of the Netherlands, the meanings given to it and the way it is used by the Moluccan community.

6.2.1 Residential camps, cemeteries and residential districts

Of the thirteen residential camps that were located in the Northern region of the Netherlands in four locations there is a monument in remembrance of Moluccan heritage present today. These locations are camp C.C. Polder, Camp Balk, Camp Oranje and camp Ybenheer. Hereby the two camps, Oranje and Ybenheer have been integrated into one monument, what gives a total of three Moluccan monuments at

former residential camp locations. Next to these four monuments attention is given to the Moluccan history at the exposition of the museum Westerbork. And at the two former camp locations of camp Geesburg and camp Ruinen the structure of the barracks still stand which gives recognition to the former camp. This gives a total of six sites of Moluccan residential camp heritage that could be visited.

Concerning the cemeteries near the former camp locations, none of these have monuments dedicated to the Moluccan heritage of the location. However the Moluccan graves could be seen as unofficial monuments of that time and can also be visited.

The residential districts are fairly recent and although policies are changing, often seen as too recent to be official heritage. However, as in the research of Gardner (2004) these forms of recent sites should be seen as important in representing the Moluccan culture by the Moluccan community. The residential districts with its churches and meeting centres play a central role in the Moluccan community. Thus, the residential districts, and especially their churches, can be seen as unofficial heritage. The way the Moluccan community deals with the districts gives it an exclusivist character. Due to the policies handled by the housing associations, whereby the community has a large say in appointing houses to new residents, the community is able to contain the Moluccan districts but also exclude people from the community.

6.2.2 Places of Moluccan resistance

The places of Moluccan resistance are examples of dissonant heritage sites. These sites represent the remembrance of rebellions and resistance of the Moluccans against the Dutch government. As stated by McCarthy (2005) these locations are frequently spaces with intertwined contested meanings. These locations are valued with a higher cultural meaning and they play a critical role in the social constructions of identity. Because of the dissonant nature of these sites one could ask, according to Ashworth and Howard (1999), if heritage should include ones distasteful pasts. This gives a tension between keeping dissonant heritage in the past and the importance of learning from this dissonant heritage.

Of the four places of Moluccan resistance none of them currently has a monument at the location itself. In remembrance of the occurrences of 1977 at De Punt and Bovensmilde there is placed a monument at the cemetery of Assen, at the site where the fallen Moluccan Hijackers lay buried. This monument is a purely

exclusive monument from and for the Moluccan community. This gives a tension field that the monument not only gives remembrance to the occurrences but also charges the site politically. The political ideas, approving the armed struggle, connected to the monument do not represent the thoughts of the whole Moluccan community and with this the monument excludes certain members of the community from using the site of heritage. Also the exclusiveness rejects victims of the events.

6.3 Use of the heritage locations

Looking at the small number of Moluccan heritage sites in the Northern region of the Netherlands one thing that stands out is that most of the existing heritage locations are exclusively Moluccan heritage. With the exception of some shared Jewish and Moluccan monuments, the Moluccan heritage locations are created, managed and consumed by the Moluccan community. There is little to no information given to explain the significance of the monuments and with this the meaning and thoughts behind the monuments are solely known by an even smaller group within the Moluccan community.

From the interviews the image arises that the Moluccan community wishes that their heritage would be more open to a larger audience. Especially information of the existence of monuments and information boards at the Moluccan heritage sites are missed. Many of the Moluccan heritage sites in the Northern region of the Netherlands are not modified for the use of society.

It is important to recapitulate the definition of heritage used in this thesis; 'Heritage is a set of meaning we, society, give to a certain object in the present' (Ashworth, et. al., 2007) and the statement that heritage is about the present not the past. And next to this that, as stated by Graham, et. al. (2004) society is responsible for the management and the meanings given to heritage sites. In the present context of Moluccan heritage the need for information is supported. Without background information about the monuments, they will lose their heritage value over time.

In addition, the Moluccan heritage sites, except the museum in Westerbork, are not commodified. In this field many opportunities in the areas of political, social and economic uses exist.

In the case of social and political uses, minority heritage locations can be used in the creation of individual identities as national identities. Looking at the possible models to place heritage within an economic system (Graham et. al., 2004) there

are many possibilities for economic uses of the Moluccan site as well. The commodification model could be a good way to go. As the Moluccan sites have not been commodified there is still a lot of room to select elements from the Dutch-Moluccan history and assemble this into a Moluccan heritage product. In the case of the Moluccan heritage site the windfall gain model is suitable to explore economic uses. The sites already exist and only have to be moderated for exploitation. Hereby, it is important to keep the common interest of all users in mind.

6.4 Home making

As the residential camps are unwelcome, unpleasant places, within the home making process they could be seen as non-home places. However, the Moluccan community did make home in these camps. They now have, in spite of the poor living conditions, good memories of living in the camp. In the camps, they were able to create a community that provided them with a sense of belonging and security.

The elements pointed out by Blunt and Dowling (2006) concerning the importance of autonomy of camp residents was reasonably present or created. Families had a small but private living space and facilities where created so that the residents could be able to prepare their own foods.

In the period that the Moluccan residential districts were developed the Moluccan culture and its aspects of home were held in consideration with the layout of the built environment. For example, the houses were arranged to provide a common backyard. And there was a system installed that made it possible to easily cover, or roof, the backyard space. This was done to facilitate the cultural customs of the Moluccan community.

Within the residential camps and later the residential districts the Moluccan community was able to create a sense of home, a place that provides its members with a sense of belonging and security. The community gives the residential districts a dominant role in the ability of preceding their culture and giving it on to the next generations.

The living arrangements of the Moluccan community are, according to the theory of Hofstede (2000), a positive factor in the home making process and the integration of the Moluccan people. The fact that they live together in a semi closed society strengthened the Moluccan community. The community provided the people with a sense of security and safety. The statement made by Hofstede (2000), that migrants who live together will possibly integrate more easily and will be less resistant to

their new surroundings, is supported by the fact that today only around 40% of Moluccans are still living within Moluccan residential districts.

The theory of Grad'ner (2004), where he states that the naming and remaining of buildings are an effective method to increase the feeling of community ownership, does not really apply to the Moluccan community. They do like the concept, for instance with the renaming of camp C.C. Polder to Ambonezenbosje, but do not feel the need of renaming buildings or streets within the residential districts.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

Within the Northern region of the Netherlands there are several possible important Moluccan heritage locations. There are thirteen residential camp locations with connecting cemeteries. Next to them, there are four sites of Moluccan resistance and there are twelve residential districts with churches and meeting centres.

Of all these locations there are five sites where attention is given specifically to the Moluccan heritage of the location. These sites are; one, camp C.C. Polder in Finsterwolde, known as 'Ambonezenbosje', secondly, the monument at camp Oranje and camp Ybenheer, Fochteloo, thirdly, the monument at camp Wyldemerck, Balk, fourthly, the museum at camp Schattenberg, Westerbork and fifthly the monument at the cemetery in Assen. Next to these, the locations of camp Ruinen, camp Geesburg in Oosterhesselen, the several cemeteries, the former school terrain in Bovensmilde and the residential districts can be visited.

In the process of the creation and maintenance of minority heritage in the form of Moluccan heritage, private initiatives are necessary. The Dutch government and Dutch heritage organisations do not have a specific policy on the development of minority heritage. All possible interesting heritage locations are seen as the same, no ethnic origin distinctions are made. Involved heritage organisations are open for the possible creation of Moluccan heritage locations, although they do not wish to have an active role in this.

It can be stated that heritage is experienced in several ways by the Moluccans. People have a personal connection to the sites. For instance, the first generation Moluccans in connection to the residential camps experience monuments as a recognition of their past. People who have a 'second hand' link to the heritage site, second generation Moluccans in connection to the residential camps, are more likely to use the site to verify the information they have heard and increase their knowledge. And people who have a 'third hand' or no direct connection to the heritage sites, third, fourth generation Moluccans and others, will use it as a source of information. For them monuments and heritage sites are a way to explore history and in the case of third or later generations Moluccans, it may help them develop that part of their identity.

In this context there is also a difference in the way this heritage is part of the home making process. For the first generation Moluccans the residential camps have

played an important role in the home making process and with this, the heritage sites remind them of those days. The second and later generations are looking for recognition, acceptance and being included into a national history.

To come back to the research question directed in this thesis,

How are ethnic minorities, the Moluccan population, represented in local heritage and the heritage policies within the Northern region of the Netherlands?,

it can be stated that the ethnic minorities in the form of the Moluccan population are represented within local heritage in the Northern region of the Netherlands. However, they are not represented within the heritage policies and most of the small number of present monuments and heritage sites are not or barely commodified.

The present monuments and sites have an exclusivist character. People are not aware of the existence of the locations of the monuments and sites. Those who do, miss information about the meaning behind the monuments and sites. Here lay large possibilities in improving the representation of the Moluccan community within the local heritage of the Northern region of the Netherlands. For instance, the possible uses of minority heritage in the areas of political, social and economic values can be utilized to a larger extent than it is today. Therefore, as the residential districts form a unique situation within the Netherlands, they should be recognised by the Dutch government and heritage organisations.

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