

A DEMOGRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE INDO-DUTCH POPULATION, 1930–2001

Evert van Imhoff,[†] Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute
Gijs Beets, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute

Indonesia was a Dutch colony until 1949. In the aftermath of World War II and the independence of the former Dutch East Indies, many people migrated from Indonesia to the Netherlands or other Western countries. This migrant population, known as the Indo-Dutch population, consists of Europeans, Asians, and persons of mixed European–Asian blood. These groups have all associated themselves with and experienced the colonial culture of the former Dutch Indies, and have carried this cultural experience elsewhere through migration. This paper provides a demographic history of the Indo-Dutch population, using a variety of data sources and methods. Starting from the population of ‘Europeans’ according to the 1930 census of the Dutch Indies, a demographic projection is made covering the period 1930–2001. By the beginning of 2001, the estimated number of Indo-Dutch persons is 582,000, including the second generation. Of these 582,000, an estimated 458,000 are living in the Netherlands and 124,000 elsewhere. The composition by age, sex and generation very clearly reflects the demographic history of the population.

Keywords: Indonesia, Netherlands, decolonization, war, ethnicity, migration flow, migrant assimilation, demographic projections, mixed marriage, history

The colonial era of the Netherlands started in the late sixteenth century and came largely to an end with the independence of Indonesia in 1949 and of Surinam in 1975. Today, six islands in the Caribbean (the Dutch Antilles) are the only remaining Dutch overseas territories. By far the most important Dutch colony, by all standards, was Indonesia, the former Dutch (East) Indies.¹ The economic and demographic significance of Indonesia for the Netherlands was immense. Following World War II, the Dutch Indies² became the independent Republic of Indonesia in 1949; in the aftermath of independence, hundreds of thousands of people of both Dutch and mixed Dutch and native-Indonesian descent moved to the Netherlands, establishing the largest migrant subpopulation in Dutch demographic history.

This paper presents a demographic history of the Indo-Dutch population, leading to a reconstruction (or estimate) of its size and composition. As detailed data by age are most recently available from the 1930 census, this demographic reconstruc-

[†] Address for correspondence: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), P.O. Box 11650, 2502 AR The Hague, Netherlands. Email: imhoff@nidi.nl.

tion of the Indo-Dutch population starts from that year. The reconstruction is undertaken for four identifiable groups within the Indo-Dutch population. By 2001, the worldwide Indo-Dutch population was slightly over half a million, including the second generation but disregarding the third. The estimates are compared with population registration data for the Netherlands.

In any such reconstruction, a significant problem is how to define the term 'Indo-Dutch'. Though the problem is intrinsically unsolvable, at least if one wants to do justice to the complicated history of Dutch involvement in Indonesia and the very strong social-cultural effect of the colonial past on Dutch society today, for quantitative purposes definitional choices must be made. The adopted definitions are discussed, as are their consequences for the methodology of the reconstruction. In a nutshell, the first-generation Indo-Dutch population is defined as those who either were Dutch and at some stage left Indonesia, or were non-Dutch Indonesians and at some stage adopted Dutch nationality.

Historical background

The arrival of the first Dutchmen in Indonesia occurred at the end of the sixteenth century. The ensuing period was characterized by colonization, settlement and trade, and much manpower was needed from the mother country. At first, military men and traders (mostly staff of the Dutch United East Indies Company³) left for the colony, followed by civil servants and persons with other professions. Most were unmarried men, and those who were married left their wife and family behind in view of the harsh living conditions. Moreover, the arrival of married persons was almost impossible because of restrictions made by the authorities (Nieuwenhuys 1982). Until the mid-nineteenth century, the Dutch community consisted mostly of men. The number of Europeans (military men excluded) in 1814 was estimated at 2,000 on the islands of Java and Madura. This number increased to 17,300 in 1852 with some 4,800 on the other islands. Around 1860, there were some 22,000 European men and fewer than 1,000 European women.

The shortage of European women was instrumental in the practice of 'concubinage' with native women. These mixed concubinages, and to a lesser extent mixed marriages, were the origin of the Indo-Dutch population in Indonesia (for a full account, see Taylor 1983). The Dutch United East Indies Company did not accept concubinage and the church council established a list of 'sinners'. Nevertheless, by 1800 concubinage was widespread and in the capital Batavia (now Jakarta) it was even part of city lifestyle. An unmarried concubine had the same status as a legal wife (Van Marle 1952).

In the early period of colonization, men came to the Archipelago for their career and to earn money, and returned home afterwards. These persons are noted as the *trekkers* (movers). However, over time, some Europeans began to consider Indonesia as their home country, becoming *blijvers* (stayers) who remained for a longer time or even permanently. The core of these *blijvers* consisted of families who settled from one generation to the next. This group increased through natural growth, as well as through the newcomers turning into *blijvers*.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, a number of developments such as the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, progress in shipbuilding, and the rise of new Western companies in the Dutch Indies, encouraged migration of Europeans to

Indonesia. This included women, some of whom were married by proxy and joined their new husbands, while others came for adventure and work. Legal mixed marriages replaced concubinage, which was in decline in the last 25 years of the nineteenth century. In 1880–1895 there were 500 women to 1,000 men among the European population; around World War II the numbers of women and men were almost equal. The settlement of Europeans became increasingly permanent. In 1900, Europeans and their descendants counted over 91,000, a rapid increase from 44,000 in 1860.

Notwithstanding the improved and expanding infrastructure, among which were increased numbers and types of schools for European and native children by the end of the nineteenth century, Europeans preferred to send their children to the home country for secondary and higher education. After finishing their studies, most children returned to the Dutch Indies to join their parents, to work and make a career. Some Europeans returned to the Netherlands after retirement from duty in the tropics, usually at around age 50 in those days. Others, married to a European or native woman, remained.

In 1942, this pattern of demographic development in the Dutch Indies was rudely interrupted. In 1942, Japan invaded and the World War II occupation began. Immediately after the war, the nationalist movement took over; after four years of fruitless struggle, the Dutch granted independence to the Republic of Indonesia in 1949. In the wake of the war and independence, the majority of Indo-Dutch people and their descendants left for the Netherlands; a significant proportion arriving in that country for the first time. Others went either directly or via the Netherlands to another country such as the USA, Australia, New Zealand or South Africa. Only a small number permanently (until 1967, see below) opted for Indonesian nationality and stayed.

During the colonial era, the Moluccans played a peculiar role. This population group, which originates from the group of islands around Ambon in the Southern Moluccas, always strongly identified itself with the colonial administration, and many of its members adhered to the Christian faith. A large proportion of Moluccan men served in the *Koninklijk Nederlands-Indisch Leger* (KNIL, Royal Dutch Indies Army). After independence, a resistance movement was started in Ambon, which culminated in April 1950 in the declaration of the Republic of the Southern Moluccas (Republik Maluku Selatan, RMS). This uprising failed. In its wake, several thousand Moluccan former KNIL-soldiers and their families came to the Netherlands, thus establishing the Dutch Moluccan population group.

A definition of the term 'Indo-Dutch'

The research reported in this paper was prompted by a request of the Dutch Government to make an estimate of the number of people eligible for financial compensation to the Indo-Dutch community. The scheme was originally launched because of 'presumed deficiencies in the restoration of rights after World War II', and to compensate for 'the policies of previous Dutch governments which were very indifferent, bureaucratic and formalistic' (see <http://www.gebaar.nl>). In setting up this compensation scheme, a particularly problematic issue turned out to be how exactly to define the eligibility criteria. In fact, the 'Indo-Dutch community' comprises a wide range of individuals, with widely different forms of 'Dutch Indies

roots'. In a way, this reflects the complicated and frequently changing legal system of ethnic classification used by the Dutch in colonial times (Fasseur 1994).

It is not possible to unambiguously delineate the Indo-Dutch population on purely objective, demographic criteria. For this reason, this paper works with a sociocultural concept of the term 'Indo-Dutch', which allows investigation of the demographic effect of Dutch colonial history in Indonesia. 'First-generation Indo-Dutch' are defined as persons who for some part of their lives experienced the colonial culture of the former Dutch Indies, and took this culture to other countries by migrating. The 'second-generation Indo-Dutch' are persons born to one or two first-generation Indo-Dutch parents, that is, persons who did not themselves experience the colonial culture, but who as children learned from their parents many stories and perhaps specific customs.

Admittedly, this description of the 'Indo-Dutch' is somewhat vague. However, this is inherent given the turbulent history of Dutch presence in Indonesia. An alternative, for statistical purposes more practical, definition would suffer from the fact that it would always exclude a substantial group that also carries part of Dutch Indies culture. Therefore, a vague definition including the 'softness' of the corresponding data is to be preferred to a 'hard' definition that does insufficient justice to the sociocultural heritage of the colonial past.

There are two aspects of this definition that are particularly imprecise, for which demographic or statistical operationalization will always be debatable to some extent. The first aspect concerns where to draw the line between a Dutch-Indies and an Indonesian cultural background. Ideally, the definition would be something like 'originating from the Dutch Indies or Indonesia, but always feeling a special emotional tie with the Netherlands'; however, for quantitative research this is not a useable criterion. In this paper the line has been drawn at the year 1967:⁴ if a person from Indonesia settled in the Netherlands before 1967, he or she did so from a 'special emotional tie with the Netherlands'. Conversely, if an originally Dutch person did *not* leave Indonesia before 1967, he or she apparently opted for being Indonesian rather than Indo-Dutch, and therefore is not included in the Indo-Dutch population.

The second aspect concerns where to draw the line between the first and second generations. Until 1949 this is quite easy: the first generation consists of everyone who until then had lived in the Dutch Indies. However, after 1949 it becomes more difficult: when did a person experience the Dutch-Indies culture? Here the paper uses two criteria: (1) someone born in Indonesia belongs to the first generation, someone born outside Indonesia belongs to the second generation; however (2) someone born after 1949 in the Netherlands in a socio-cultural environment completely focused on the return to Indonesia is still included in the first generation. Moluccans who were born in the Netherlands in closed Moluccan communities – it was only in the 1970s that these communities gradually opened up and became more integrated – are thus included in the first generation.

Outline of method

Within the Indo-Dutch first generation, four different groups can be distinguished. First are the 'wartime Dutch in Indonesia': persons who during World War II resided in the Dutch Indies where they had the legal status of 'Dutch'. Second are

‘wartime (Indo)-Dutch in the Netherlands’: persons who before the war had resided in the Dutch Indies where they had the legal status of ‘Dutch’, but who had already left the Dutch Indies before the war, in virtually all cases, for the Netherlands. The third group can be termed ‘wartime non-Dutch’: persons who during or after the war resided in the Dutch Indies, did not have the legal status of ‘Dutch’, but later obtained that status by settling permanently in the Netherlands. Fourth, a special subgroup within this third category are the ‘Moluccans’: persons from Ambon and the other Moluccas who saw themselves forced to choose between Indonesia and the Netherlands, for that reason moved to the Netherlands, but once there lived for many years in a closed Moluccan culture because they believed that their stay in the Netherlands was to be temporary.

The children of these groups together constitute the *second generation* Indo-Dutch.

The availability of data is quite different for each of these four groups, with important implications for the method of demographic reconstruction. Numerically by far the most important group is the wartime Dutch in Indonesia. Appropriate data on the Dutch (European) population in the Dutch Indies by age and sex are most recently available from the 1930 census. Using aggregate flow data for this population for the period 1931–1945, supplemented by extrapolations and estimates, the population by age and sex at the end of 1945 was reconstructed. Subsequently, the 1945 population was projected to 2001.

The wartime (Indo)-Dutch in the Netherlands consists to an important extent of children of Dutch people residing in the Dutch Indies who for educational reasons were living in the Netherlands at the outbreak of World War II. From the irregularities in the age composition of the wartime Dutch in Indonesia, the wartime (Indo)-Dutch in the Netherlands population at the end of 1945 was reconstructed and subsequently projected to 2001.

For the wartime non-Dutch, a natural starting point in time for the calculations is lacking because this group of Indo-Dutch persons has only gradually, over a number of years, entered the Indo-Dutch population. Therefore, the starting point is taken to be the event ‘granting of Dutch citizenship after first having immigrated from Indonesia’. These calculations are based on Statistics Netherlands (SN) registration data on immigration and naturalization over the years 1946–1967.

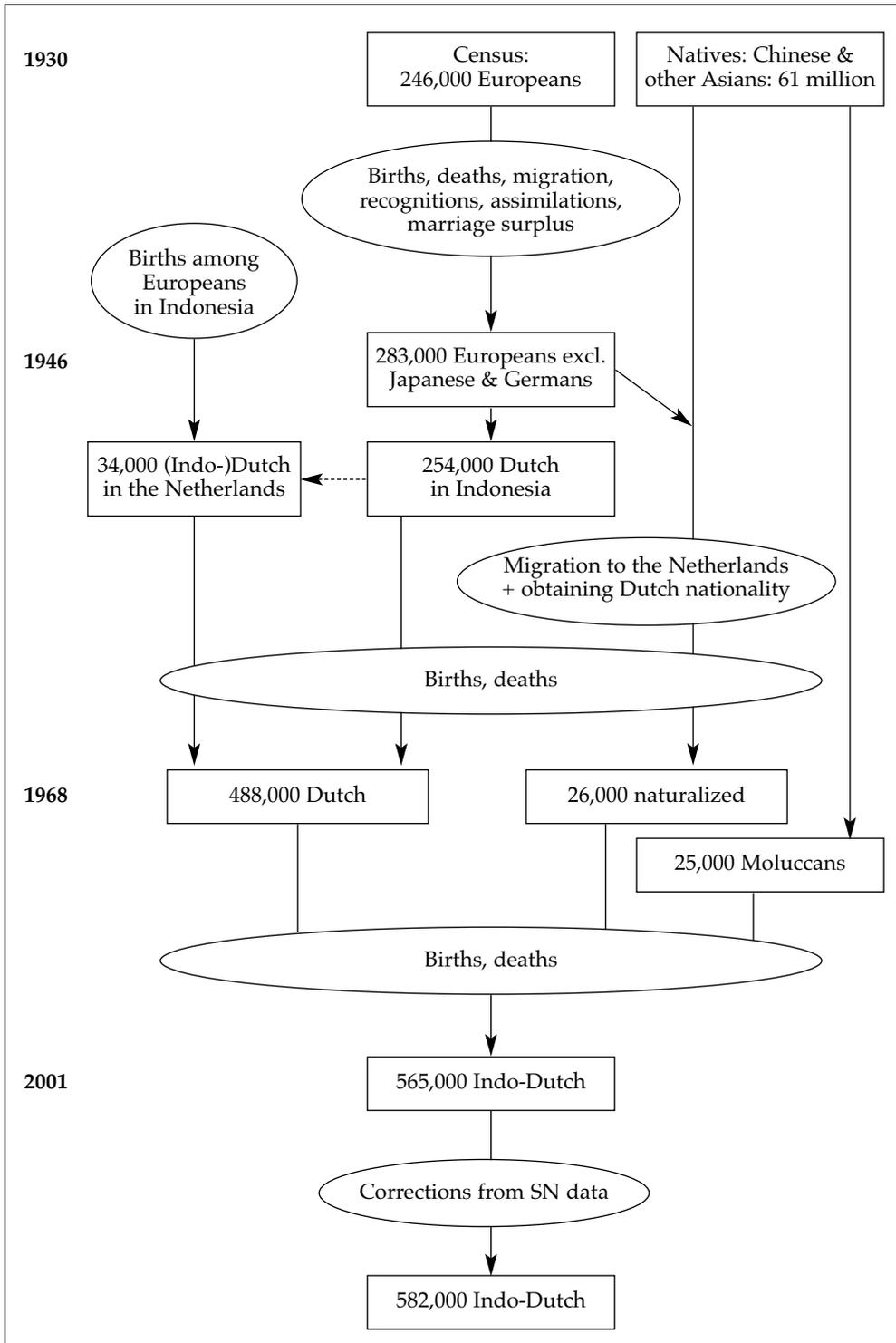
The Moluccans require yet another approach because they settled in the Netherlands before 1967, but had adopted Dutch nationality to only a very limited extent by 1967. For this group, the study started from a special registration of Moluccans in the Netherlands by age and sex at 1 January 1968. Subsequently, this population was projected to 2001.

For the demographic projections of 1930–1945 (wartime Dutch in Indonesia) and 1945–2001 (all groups) the standard cohort-component method was used incorporating all components of population change including naturalization. The population is classified by sex and single years of age. Figure 1 summarizes the method of demographic reconstruction.

Wartime Dutch in Indonesia, 1930–1945

The largest group of the Indo-Dutch originates from those persons who lived in the Dutch Indies during the Japanese occupation and had the legal status of ‘Dutch’. Because the data are very incomplete, a large number of simplifying assumptions

Figure 1 Outline of demographic reconstruction



and approximations must be made. Since appropriate data by age and sex are most recently available from the Dutch Indies census of 1930, the demographic reconstruction covers the full period 1930–1945. In the data, the ‘Dutch’ are usually not distinguished separately but included in the somewhat broader group ‘Europeans (including the formally assimilated)’, from which the ‘Dutch’ (85–90 per cent of the total) have subsequently been isolated. For the period 1931–1940, the data for the various components of population change are of reasonable quality, but the breakdown by age and sex is very limited or completely absent, necessitating assumptions to achieve disaggregation by age and sex. After 1940 no demographic statistics are available. The reconstruction for 1941–1945 is therefore based on extrapolation, evidence from the literature, and reasonable (although imperfect and debatable) suppositions. In particular, the specific conditions under the Japanese occupation had to be taken into account.

The period to 1930

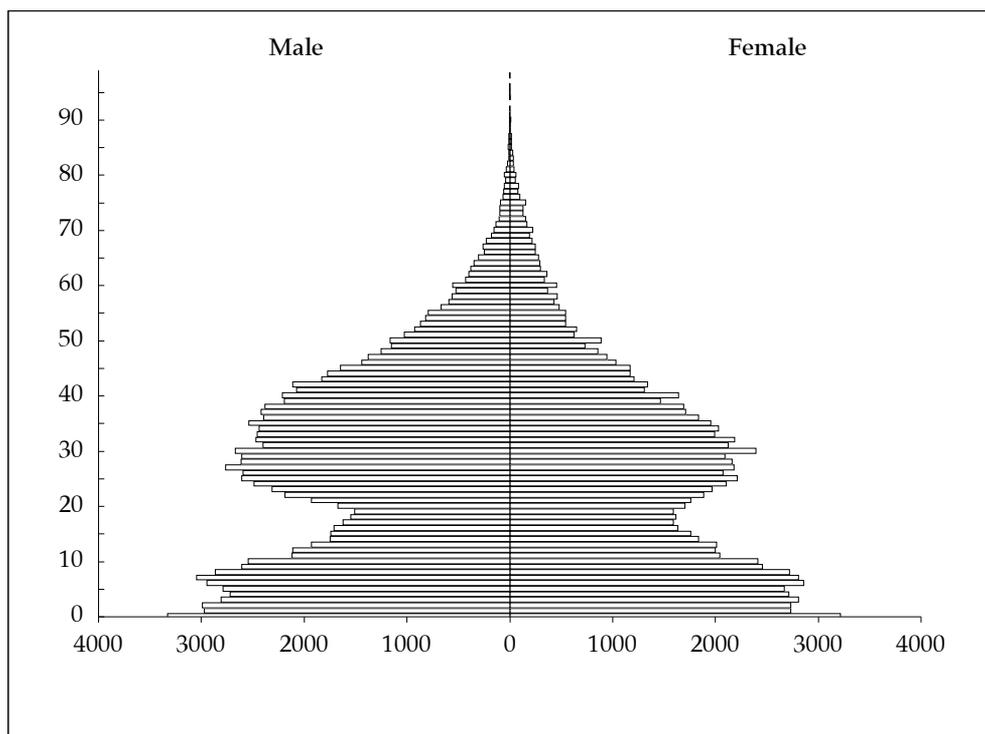
Since the mid-nineteenth century, vital statistics were reported annually by the colonial administration. These statistics concerned births, deaths and marriages between Europeans and between Europeans and native persons, Chinese or other Asians. However, initially they did not cover the total area of Indonesia.

From 1880, a simple count of the population was carried out every five years, but the reliability and coverage of these counts left much to be desired. In 1909 it was decided to conduct a population census. The report of the first population census held in 1920 stated that this census should be considered as experimental and that the results were not fully reliable. The results of the second census, held on 7 October 1930, were regarded as reliable. In the second half of the 1930s preparations were made for a 1940 census and a test-census was conducted in two districts in 1938 (Gooszen 1994). However, the 1940 census did not take place because of World War II.

In the 1930 census, four categories of persons were distinguished: Natives, Europeans, Chinese, and ‘Other Asians’. Here the focus is on the Europeans (including the formally assimilated), since the ‘Dutch’ belong to this group. The Europeans were defined according to formal legal criteria (Fasseur 1994). In 1930, the group consisted of 86.7 per cent Dutch; the remainder were other Europeans such as Germans, British and Belgians, and non-Europeans such as Americans and Australians, as well as several other groups of foreigners such as Japanese, Egyptian, and Turkish.

The legal status of women was determined by that of their husband. A non-European woman automatically obtained European status on marrying a European man. The ‘marriage surplus’ is the difference between the number of non-European women who moved to the European population as a consequence of their marriage to a European man and the number of European women who left the European population through marriage to a non-European man.

The legal status of children was determined by that of their father. The legitimate children of a European man were automatically included in the European population. Transfer of illegitimate children to the European population could occur through adoption, a term that in 1867 was replaced by *erkenning* (recognition). Recognition of children took place by notarial act. By this procedure the child obtained the status of the father. Every year children of non-European mothers were

Figure 2 European population in Indonesia by age and sex, 1930

Source: Dutch East Indies census 1930.

recognized by their European fathers and in this way obtained European status. Descendants of these children in the male line were also considered as Europeans.

In order to obtain European legal status, natives, Chinese and other Asians could make a request to the Governor-General, for example in view of trade or entry to European schools. The first request for *gelijkstelling* (assimilation) took place in 1871. Initially there was an additional condition: the person making the request should adhere to the Christian religion; however, this condition was dropped in 1894. Another condition was that the person concerned should be 'appropriate' for the European society; this was dropped in 1913. The main criterion then was the need of the person concerned to have equal rights as the Europeans.

In 1930, the census counted 60.7 million persons in Indonesia, among whom were 246,000 Europeans. Thus, the European population constituted just 0.4 per cent of the total population of the Dutch Indies. Of the Europeans, 87 per cent had Dutch nationality. Of these Dutch persons, 74 per cent had been born in Indonesia and 26 per cent in the Netherlands (*totoks*). Figure 2 shows the composition by age and sex of Europeans according to the 1930 census. A very striking feature of this graph is the relatively small proportion aged 10–20 years, the age category of secondary school students. Two factors contribute to this 'teenager gap': the widespread practice of Indo-Dutch children attending secondary and higher education in Europe (the Netherlands), that is, age-specific migration; and an acceleration of

births among Dutch Indies Europeans after 1918. As argued elsewhere (Van Imhoff and Beets 2003; Van Imhoff, Beets and Huisman 2003), these factors are about equally responsible for the size of the teenager gap.

The period 1931–1941

The population at 1 January 1931, classified by age and sex, constitutes the starting population for the projection of the European population. This base population was estimated from the 1930 census population by adjusting for population growth during the intervening three-month period.

The subsequent growth of the European population is determined not only by births, deaths and migration, but also by the number of assimilations and recognitions, and the marriage surplus. Data on these three additional components of population growth and on births and deaths are available from the annual administrative reports (*Indisch Verslag*) to 1940. Immigration to and emigration from Indonesia were both highly age-specific and therefore had a sizable effect on the age distribution of the population (see Appendix for technical details). For 1941, administrative reports on the components of population change are unavailable. These components have thus been estimated from the trends in 1931–1940. The size of the European population in the Dutch Indies on 1 January 1942 is estimated at 305,000.

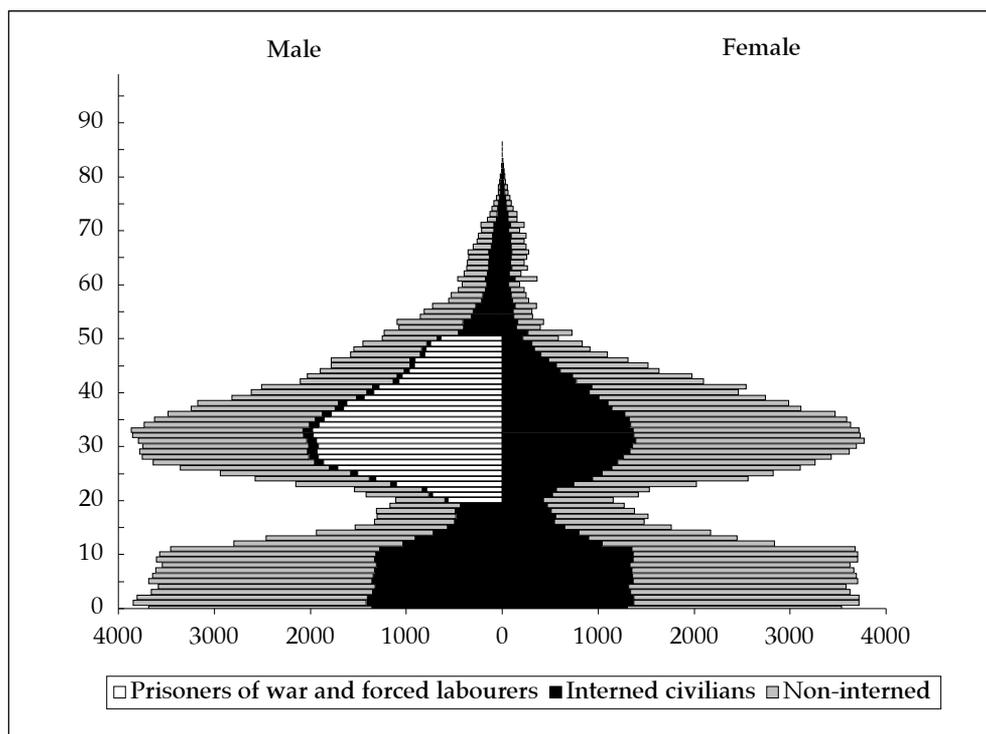
The war years 1942–1945

Directly after the attack on Pearl Harbour on 7 December 1941, the Japanese army conquered most countries of Southeast Asia including the Dutch East Indies. The occupation of the Dutch Indies was largely completed on 9 March 1942, when the Royal Dutch Indies Army formally surrendered. Immediately, the Japanese implemented their policy of internment, which in principle included all Europeans (including Indo-Europeans) except for the Japanese allies (Germans and Italians) and citizens of neutral countries such as Switzerland.⁵ On internment, men were separated from women and children. Old and sick men and boys aged 11–16 years stayed at internment camps for men; young and healthy men were enrolled for work (Van Velden 1963) while military men were put in prisoner-of-war camps. The majority of Indo-Europeans initially remained outside the internment camps but many of them were interned in 1944 and 1945. In general, almost all Europeans were interned for some period during the occupation and most for the entire period, either in Indonesia or elsewhere, until the Japanese capitulation on 15 August 1945.

For the period 1942–1945 almost no demographic data are available. The previously calculated European population on 1 January 1942 formed the base for the reconstruction of the demographic development during the occupation period. However, an adjustment was made: Germans and Japanese were subtracted, as they were not interned. The few Italians were not subtracted since they were also interned at a later date. The adjusted European population on 1 January 1942 numbered 294,000.

For the demographic reconstruction during the Japanese occupation, the 1942 adjusted European population is divided into three categories: prisoners of war and forced labourers (42,000), interned civilians (80,000), and persons who stayed outside camps (172,000). This breakdown, which is based on sources from the literature and information from experts of the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD), is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3 European population (excluding Japanese and Germans) by category, age and sex, 1 January 1942



For each of these categories, assumptions were made on the components of population change. For example, it was assumed that the prisoners of war and forced labourers were men aged 20–50 in early 1942. Of these, 19.5 per cent had died by the end of 1945. The interned civilians were mostly women, children, older men and handicapped persons, of whom 13 per cent had died by the end of the war. Of the remainder of the population, those who stayed outside the camps, five per cent had died by the end of 1945. On the basis of these and other assumptions (see Appendix) the projections could be extended to 1 January 1946. The number of Europeans at this date equals 283,000: 34,000 survivors from the prisoner-of-war and labour camps, 73,000 from the civilian camps, and 176,000 from the non-interned. That the population outside the camps actually increased, was because their living conditions were roughly comparable to those of the native population. This implied, among other things, that children continued to be born more or less normally. Fertility rates were lower than before the war, but because of the favourable age structure (many women of reproductive age), the number of births exceeded the number of deaths.

From Europeans to Dutch

Isolating the Dutch from the slightly larger group of Europeans (excluding Japanese and Germans) requires an estimate of the percentage Dutch. This was set at 92

per cent, that is, 260,000 persons. This percentage is based on the 1930 percentage (87), migration trends during 1930–1940 by nationality, and the fact that the Japanese and Germans have already been excluded from the 1946 population.

A further adjustment is the subtraction of those persons who, after the independence of Indonesia, opted for Indonesian nationality and did not change their minds thereafter. Since these persons never left Indonesia, they are not included in the definition of 'Indo-Dutch'. In 1945, this category was estimated at 6,000.⁶ The remaining 254,000 Dutch persons have all left Indonesia, either as true repatriates or as first-time migrants. By far the majority of these Indo-Dutch moved to the Netherlands; a small group, however, settled in other countries such as the USA, Australia, or New Zealand.⁷ A summary of the various steps ultimately leading to the estimate of 254,000 is given in Figure 4.

Wartime (Indo)-Dutch in the Netherlands

A second important original group of Indo-Dutch consists of those who had lived in Indonesia during the prewar years, but had left before the outbreak of World War II. This group experienced the war not in Indonesia but somewhere else, in most cases in the Netherlands.

The Indo-Dutch in the prewar Netherlands consisted mainly of two groups. The first was the pensioners: persons who, after a career in the Dutch Indies, had returned to the Netherlands. The second group consisted of secondary-school and university students: children from families living in the Dutch Indies who were sent to the Netherlands for educational purposes.

About the pensioners very little is known, except that it was quite a sizable group. Despite this, it was decided to omit the pensioners from the demographic reconstruction. This decision can be justified by the fact that this group will hardly affect the size of the reconstructed Indo-Dutch population in 2001. First, the pensioners themselves are no longer alive. Second, although their children may still be alive in 2001, these children have to a large extent already been accounted for elsewhere in the reconstruction. Since orientation towards Indonesia typically passed from one generation to the next, it is quite likely that the majority of these children stayed in Indonesia during the war and, as a consequence, are included in the 'wartime Dutch in Indonesia' group.

The group of Indo-Dutch who spent the war in the Netherlands as secondary-school or university students was quite large. This group is associated with the very specific age pattern of migration between Indonesia and the Netherlands. From the sharp irregularity in the age distribution of the Dutch in Indonesia (see Figure 3), the number of students, that is, the Indo-Dutch in the Netherlands on 1 January 1946, can be estimated at about 34,000, concentrated in the age range 15–30 years.⁸

The period 1946–2001

The two previous sections have ascertained the Indo-Dutch population of Dutch legal status on 1 January 1946: a total of 288,000 persons comprising 34,000 living in the Netherlands (students) and 254,000 living in Indonesia. This Dutch population was projected forward to obtain the development of the population over the full period 1946–2001, including the second generation.

Figure 4 Demographic development of the Dutch in Indonesia, 1930–1946

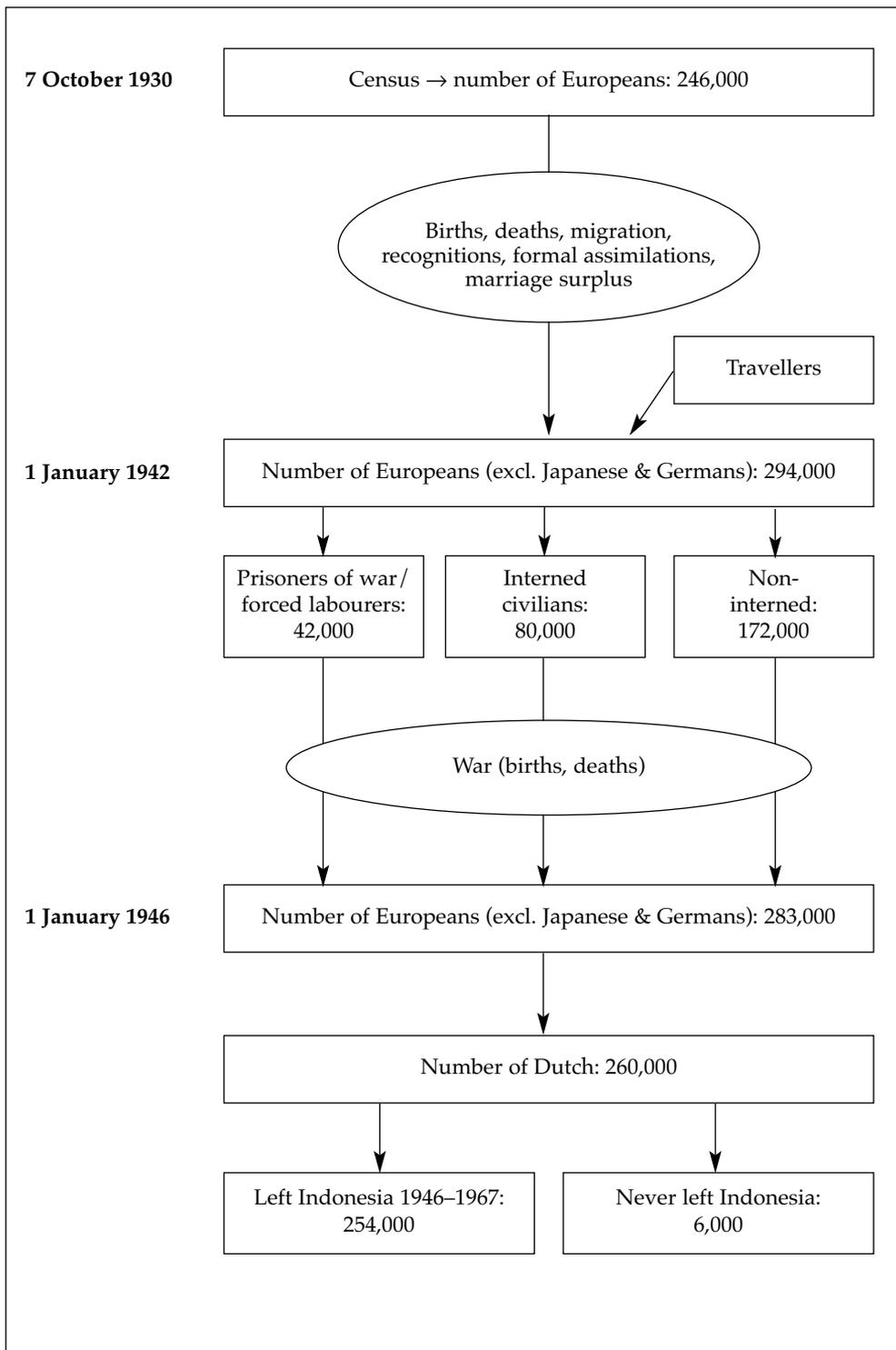
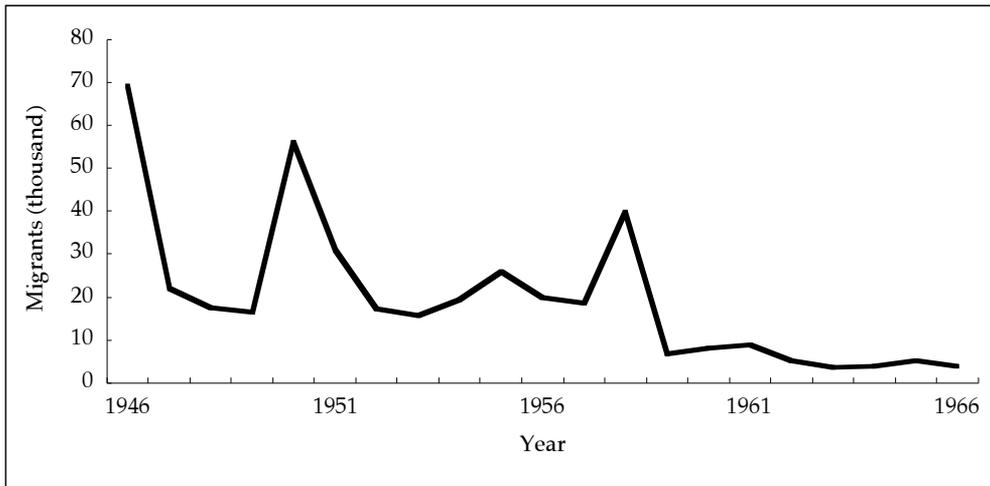


Figure 5 Migration to the Netherlands from Indonesia, 1946–1966^a

a Including New Guinea (since 1963 the Indonesian territory of Irian Jaya).

Source: Statistics Netherlands.

As already noted, in addition to this Dutch Indo-Dutch population, there were two other groups that fall under the definition of Indo-Dutch. These are the 'wartime non-Dutch', persons who during the war were not of Dutch legal status but who obtained that status after the war by settling permanently in the Netherlands. Within this group, the Moluccans constitute a special category. This section presents the development of all groups since 1946.

The wartime Dutch

With the exception of the students, all Dutch Indo-Dutch were residing in Indonesia by late 1945. Over the years, they all left Indonesia, the majority for the Netherlands. Figure 5 shows the time path of the departure of this population in terms of the migration flow from Indonesia to the Netherlands. This flow is characterized by three major waves: the first directly after World War II and the start of the struggle for independence; the second at independence in 1949; and the third in 1958, when the Indonesian Government forced the remaining Dutch to choose either taking Indonesian nationality or leaving Indonesia.

This population, which by definition belongs to the first generation, has developed demographically over time. Lacking directly useable registration data, assumptions were made for each component of population change. Especially important are the assumptions regarding the degree of mixed marriage, since this determines the size of the second generation relative to the first, and the extent to which births after 1945 should be considered as part of the first or second generation. The details of these assumptions are given in the Appendix.

Under these assumptions, the population increases from 288,000 on 1 January 1946 to 492,000 on 1 January 2001. Because of the fact that after 1945 Indo-Dutch children continue to be born in Indonesia, the first generation continues to increase

for a number of years; it reaches a maximum of 325,000 in 1959, after which mortality dominates resulting in a decline to 190,000 in 2001. The second generation increases at a fast pace, and reaches a maximum of 302,000 in 1999; by 2001, this is marginally reduced to 301,000. It should be emphasized that this total Dutch population of 492,000 in 2001 includes persons who do not live in the Netherlands, possibly even some who have not been in the Netherlands since the war.

The wartime Non-Dutch

By the end of World War II, the Dutch constituted a tiny fraction (less than 0.5%) of the total population of Indonesia, by that time an estimated 70 million; almost all of these are included in this reconstruction of the Indo-Dutch population. The only non-Dutch members of the Indonesian population to be included in the concept of Indo-Dutch are those who expressed their special emotional ties with the Netherlands by later emigrating to the Netherlands and obtaining Dutch nationality. How many such persons exist? In other words: how many non-Dutch Europeans, Chinese, other Asians and natives, residing in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation, migrated to the Netherlands after 1 January 1946 and obtained or applied for Dutch nationality before 1 January 1967?

Statistics Netherlands provided data on annual numbers of naturalizations since 1946, and on naturalized Indonesians since 1951. The number of naturalized Indonesians was initially quite small, but increased especially during the 1960s. During the period 1951–1967 22,500 Indonesian persons adopted Dutch nationality.⁹ To these are added a small number of naturalizations of non-Indonesian former residents of Indonesia, estimated at 700 persons. For the total group of 23,000 persons, assumptions were made concerning their age, sex and demographic behaviour from the moment of their naturalization (see Appendix).

Under these assumptions, the originally-non-Dutch group of Indo-Dutch persons develops to reach 38,000 in 2001 (not necessarily still residing in the Netherlands), 17,000 of whom belong to the first generation (i.e. the survivors of the original 23,000) and 21,000 to the second generation.

The Moluccans

In Indo-Dutch demographic history, the Moluccans¹⁰ constitute a special category. They belong to the Indo-Dutch population as defined in this paper, but they are only to a very small extent included in the originally-non-Dutch group discussed in the previous section. The reason for this is that by 1967 most Moluccans did not satisfy the naturalization criterion. Therefore, a separate approach had to be adopted for them.

The Moluccan population in the Netherlands mainly originates from the 3,578 Moluccan former soldiers in the Royal Dutch Indies Army and 574 non-military men who arrived in the Netherlands in 1951, together with their families. All in all they numbered about 12,500 persons, including a few stowaways. By 1958, most of these Moluccans had forsaken their Indonesian citizenship and were in fact stateless. Only a minority had obtained Dutch nationality, or retained Indonesian nationality.

The starting point for the estimate of the Moluccan subpopulation was a 1968 publication by the Dutch Ministry of Social Work (CRM), based on the administration of a Commission in charge of care for the Moluccans. The report contains a

table of the Moluccan population by sex and broad age groups on 1 January 1968. All these persons were included in the first generation: all of them were born either in Indonesia, or in the Netherlands in a fully Moluccan environment oriented towards eventually returning to the (Free) Republic of the Southern Moluccas. On 1 January 1968 there were 25,400 Moluccans in the Netherlands. Their age distribution by single years of age was obtained by spline interpolation.

This 1968 population was projected to 2001 under certain assumptions (see Appendix). Of special importance is the fact that children born in fully Moluccan communities after 1 January 1968 were counted as belonging to the first generation. As a result, the first generation continues to grow until 1982 when it reaches 29,000. In 2001, the Moluccan population comprises 42,000 persons (not necessarily still residing in the Netherlands): 26,000 of the first generation (but to a large extent born in the Netherlands) and 16,000 of the second generation.

Total Indo-Dutch population

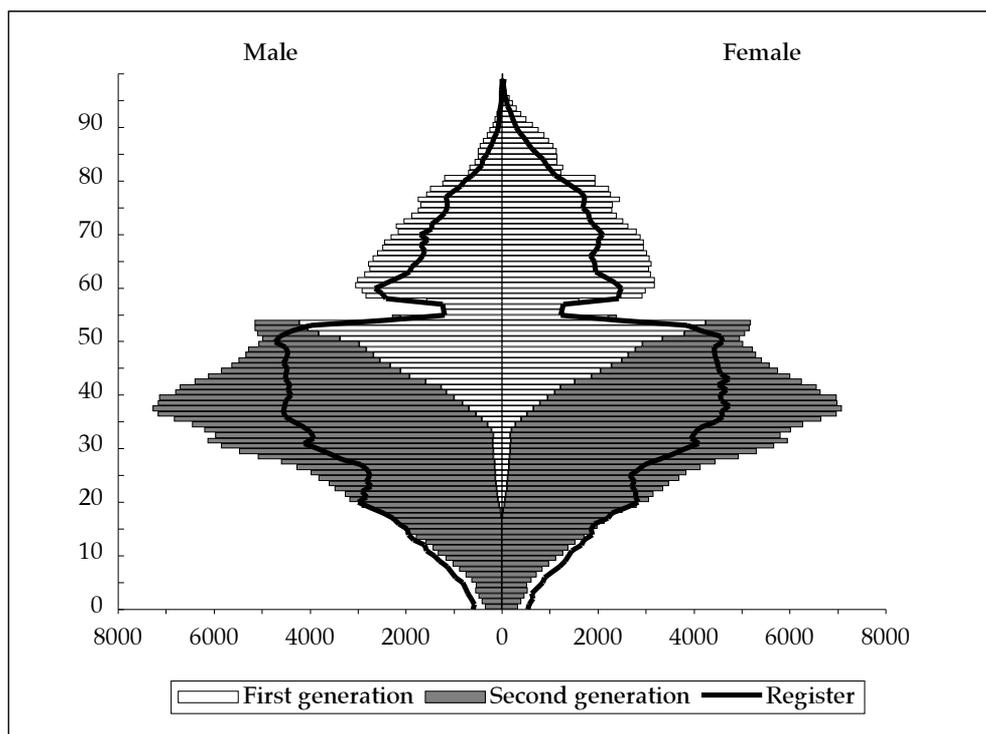
To obtain the total Indo-Dutch population, one cannot simply add up the three groups reconstructed in the previous subsections, because there is a partial overlap between 'naturalizations 1946–1967' and 'Moluccans'. In order to avoid double counts, the group 'Moluccans' has to be reduced by the percentage already naturalized before 1967, estimated at 17 per cent (see Appendix). With this correction, the combined first and second generation Indo-Dutch population on 1 January 2001 amounts to: 492,000 originally Dutch, plus 38,000 naturalized during 1946–1967, plus 42,000 Moluccans, minus 7,000 Moluccans naturalized during 1946–1967; in total 565,000 persons. These persons do not necessarily all live in the Netherlands in 2001.

The total Indo-Dutch population size is now past its maximum, 616,000, which was reached in 1984. The first generation declined from its maximum of 357,000 in 1968 to 229,000 in 2001. Since 1985, the second generation has been more numerous than the first. The second generation has by 2001 almost reached its maximum size, with 336,000 persons.

The bars in Figure 6 show the distribution of the Indo-Dutch population in 2001 by age, sex and generation. The demographic history of the group is very clearly illustrated in this distribution. The constriction at about age 55 (in the first generation) is related to the low numbers of births among the Dutch during the Japanese occupation. At younger ages, the size of the first generation quickly diminishes; the first generation aged 20–35 is solely due to the inclusion of some children born in Moluccan communities during 1968–1980. Starting with age 54 (birth year 1946), the second generation starts to appear. The very sizable second generation at age 20–40 is due to the large number of births in 1960–1980, arising from the large number of first-generation Indo-Dutch in the reproductive age range, high period fertility in the Netherlands generally (until the early 1970s), and the high rate of mixed marriage among the Indo-Dutch (recall that the characteristic 'second generation Indo-Dutch' can be acquired if either the father or mother is Dutch). The second generation is destined to die out towards the end of the twenty-first century.

Figure 1 gives an overview of the steps that together make up the full reconstruction of the 565,000-strong Indo-Dutch population in 2001. The last step, the alignment of this number with official statistics, is explained in the next section.

Figure 6 Comparisons of estimates of the Indo-Dutch population by age, sex and generation, 1 January 2001^a



a Reconstruction (bars): irrespective of country of residence; register (black line): residing in the Netherlands.

Source: Register: Statistics Netherlands; reconstruction: authors' calculations.

The Indo-Dutch and the population statistics of Statistics Netherlands

In the official statistics of the 'population with a foreign background' obtained from the population register, Statistics Netherlands (SN) uses three defining characteristics: country of birth of the person, country of birth of the person's mother, and country of birth of the person's father. SN considers as a foreigner anyone with at least one parent born abroad. If such a person is born abroad, he is considered as a first-generation foreigner; if born in the Netherlands, as a second-generation foreigner. SN counted 2.9 million foreigners in the Netherlands on 1 January 2001, constituting 18 per cent of the total population of 16.0 million. The largest group, with 404,000 persons, had Indonesia (including the former Dutch Indies) as country of origin, followed by Germany (399,000), Turkey (320,000), Surinam (309,000) and Morocco (273,000) (Statistics Netherlands, electronic database <<http://www.statline.cbs.nl>>).

According to the SN definition, someone born abroad from two Dutch-born parents is not considered a foreigner. There is much to say in favour of this practice: typically these cases will be Dutch children who happen to have been born in

Table 1 Comparison of estimates of the Indo-Dutch population, 1 January 2001 (thousands)

Population register		Reconstruction	
Born in IND, ^a two NL ^b -born parents ^c	27		
Born in IND, one or two <i>non</i>			
NL-born parents	139		
Total first generation	166	First generation	229
Born in NL, two IND-born parents	71		
Born in NL, one IND-born parent	194		
Total second generation	265	Second generation	337
Total	431	Total	565

a Indonesia (including the former Dutch Indies).

b Netherlands.

c Statistics Netherlands considers this group as part of the native Dutch population, and not of the foreigners with country of origin Indonesia (including the former Dutch Indies).

Source: Register: Statistics Netherlands; Reconstruction: authors' calculations.

another country, for example because their parents are temporarily living abroad for employment. However, this definition excludes from the 'foreign background' statistics children who were born in the Dutch Indies to two Dutch-born parents (*totoks*), spent part of their childhood there, and only later migrated to the Netherlands. SN data on this group of children show that in 2001 they numbered around 27,000.

In this section, a comparison is made between these SN population register data and the Indo-Dutch population reconstructed in earlier sections of this paper. According to the register data (see Table 1), on 1 January 2001 there were 431,000 persons residing in the Netherlands from Indonesia (either born there, or with a parent born there). According to the demographic reconstruction, the Indo-Dutch population in 2001 amounted to 565,000 persons. The distribution of both populations by age and sex is shown in Figure 6.

It should not come as a surprise that the numbers from the register and reconstruction are so widely different. Recall that the definitions of the population are quite different in important respects. First, the register only counts persons residing in the Netherlands. In contrast, the reconstructed population of 565,000 includes Indo-Dutch people living outside the Netherlands. Second, SN only uses country of birth as a defining characteristic. The definition adopted in this paper is broader in that it only requires that someone has experienced for some time the colonial culture of the former Dutch Indies (either himself or herself, as the first generation, or through a parent, as the second generation). Notably, the *totoks* (and their Dutch-born children) account for a sizable proportion of the difference: they are not

counted in the register data, but they are in the reconstruction. Third, this paper's definition is somewhat narrower in that it does not include persons with a notably Indonesian background, and SN does. This difference operates for the youngest age groups in particular. Fourth, another reason why the reconstructed population is probably somewhat smaller than the SN population relates to location during World War II. In the reconstruction, the bulk of the 1945 population consists of those Dutch who stayed in Indonesia; apart from them, only students (those born in Indonesia, living in the Netherlands during the war, and aged 15–30 in 1945) were explicitly included in the reconstruction. However, there are undoubtedly other groups of persons born in Indonesia, who are included (together with their children) in the SN data but not in the reconstructed population. Fifth and finally, with respect to the Moluccans the paper's definition is substantially broader than that of the SN register. Indeed, the first-generation Moluccans in the calculations include not only those born in Indonesia (in the Moluccas), but also all children born in the Netherlands in fully Moluccan communities. As a result, this paper's second-generation Moluccans have a longer turnover than those in the SN statistics.

All potential sources of differences between the SN register figures and the reconstructed data were systematically investigated, and they were quantified as much as possible. The details of this systematic comparison are given in Beets *et al.* (2002). What is important here is that from this systematic data analysis, three small categories of Indo-Dutch alive in 2001 can be identified that are not included in the reconstruction thus far, but do satisfy the definition of Indo-Dutch: first, 2,000 survivors of those born in the Dutch Indies, who were living in the Netherlands during the war but not as students (first generation, born before 1946); second, 10,000 survivors of those born to the first group in the Netherlands before or during the war (second generation, born before 1946); and third, 5,000 survivors of those born to the first group in the Netherlands after the war (second generation, born after 1945). After inclusion of these 'forgotten' groups, the total Indo-Dutch population on 1 January 2001 stands at 582,000 (see Table 2).

Table 3 gives an overview of the differences between the SN register data and the reconstruction after correction. Once more it should be emphasized that each statistical source uses a quite different definition of Indo-Dutch. In the register figures, what counts is country of birth (Indonesia, including the former Dutch Indies) and current residence (Netherlands). In the reconstruction, what counts is ever having experienced the colonial culture of the former Dutch Indies and having taken this culture outside Indonesia by migration.

Naturally, the demographic reconstruction of the Indo-Dutch population is subject to several sources of uncertainty. These uncertainties are particularly important for the postwar generations, for which additional assumptions were required on the demographic components, notably fertility and mixed marriage. Because it has been possible to achieve a quite reasonable match between the reconstructed numbers and the 'hard' numbers from the population register it may be tempting to conclude that the demographic reconstruction of the Indo-Dutch population presented in this paper is fairly reliable. However, the unravelling of the difference between the register figures and the reconstruction after correction, summarized in Table 3, is based on sometimes rather crude calculations, and in some cases hardly more than 'educated guesses'. It therefore seems advisable to use the reconstructed numbers with a safety margin of 10 per cent or so.

Table 2 Reconstructed Indo-Dutch population, before and after correction for ‘forgotten’ groups, 1 January 2001 (thousands)

	Before correction	After correction
First generation		
Born 1945 or earlier	139	141
Born 1946 or later	89	89
Total	229	231
Second generation		
Born 1945 or earlier	0	10
Born 1946 or later	337	342
Total	337	352
Total		
Born 1945 or earlier	139	151
Born 1946 or later	426	431
Total	565	582

Source: Authors’ calculations.

Table 3 Differences in estimates of the Indo-Dutch population by country of residence, 1 January 2001 (thousands)

Estimate	Total	Residence	
		Netherlands	Abroad
Register: born in Indonesia	166	166	0
Subtract: register, not reconstruction	–20	–20	
Add: reconstruction, not register	85	33	52
Total = reconstruction first generation	231	179	52
Register: born in NL ^a to IND ^b -born parent(s)	265	265	
Subtract: register, not reconstruction	–35	–35	
Add: reconstruction, not register	122	50	72
Total = reconstruction second generation	352	280	72
Register, first and second generation	430	430	
Reconstruction, first and second generation	582	458	124

a Netherlands.

b Indonesia (including the former Dutch Indies).

Source: Register: Statistics Netherlands; Reconstruction: authors’ calculations.

Summary

This paper has described the demographic history of the Indo-Dutch population. Its purpose was to investigate the demographic effect of Dutch colonial history in the former Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia. This has been achieved by dividing the Indo-Dutch population into four groups with different histories and different data availability and reconstructing their demographic histories. For all groups, a demographic projection was made up to 2001, under certain assumptions regarding fertility, mortality, and mixed marriage. Finally, in determining the aggregate Indo-Dutch population on 1 January 2001, a few minor corrections were made, in view of a systematic comparison with SN population register data. The reconstructed size of the Indo-Dutch population was 288,000 in 1945, and 582,000 in 2001 (including the second generation). Of these 582,000, an estimated 458,000 resided in the Netherlands and 124,000 abroad.

Appendix

Assumptions: Europeans, 1931–1940

- 1 *Fertility*: absolute numbers from the annual *Indisch Verslag* (Dutch East Indies Report), in total 63,742 live born children of Europeans including formally assimilated. Age pattern: observed age-specific fertility rates (ASFRs) in the Netherlands. From this, it appears that the fertility among Europeans in the 1930s (TFR of 2.2–2.5) was about 10 per cent lower than in the Netherlands (2.5–2.8).
- 2 *Recognitions*: absolute numbers from *Verslag* (6,658 recognitions by a European father). Distribution by age and sex: by assumption, all were aged 0–10, with 50 per cent boys and 50 per cent girls.
- 3 *Marriage surplus*: for the total period, the marriage surplus amounted to 4,462 (*Verslag*). Assumption: all women were aged 20–35.
- 4 *Formal assimilations*: during 1931–1940 there were 5,979 formal assimilations (*Verslag*). Assumption: age range 20–64, for 70 per cent men and 30 per cent women.
- 5 *Mortality*: absolute numbers from *Verslag* (24,460 deceased Europeans including formally assimilated). Age pattern: observed age- and sex-specific mortality rates in the Netherlands. From this, it appears that the mortality rates for Europeans in the 1930s were substantially higher than in the Netherlands: for men 2.5 times as high, for women around twice as high. Life expectancy at birth for European men in Indonesia was around 55 years (Netherlands: 66) and for women 60 years (Netherlands: 67).
- 6 *Migration*: absolute numbers from migration statistics of Statistics Netherlands. Immigration (from the Netherlands to Indonesia) for the period 1931–1940 amounted to 100,407, emigration (from Indonesia to the Netherlands) to 106,557, i.e. a net migration loss of 6,150. Distribution by sex: 52 per cent male. Age pattern: estimated from irregularities in the 1930 census age distribution, under the assumption of an approximately stable population in 1930.

Assumptions: Europeans, 1941

Estimates for 1941 obtained by extrapolation of 1931–1940 trends are: 7,400 births, 2,700 deaths, 700 recognitions, 600 formal assimilations, and a marriage surplus of

500. The migration numbers (604 immigrants, 17 emigrants) are from SN. It is possible that in 1941 the migration from Indonesia to Australia and elsewhere increased somewhat, but no data have been found.

Assumptions: Europeans (not including Japanese and Germans), 1942–1945, distinguished by prisoners of war and forced labourers, interned civilians, non-interned

- 1 *Disaggregation by age and sex:* Prisoners of war and forced labourers: men, aged 20–50 on 1 January 1942. Civilian camps: especially women, children, older men, and handicapped persons. Non-Interned: the rest of the population.
- 2 *Mortality:* Prisoners of war: by end 1945, 19.5 per cent deceased. Civilian camps: by end 1945, 13 per cent deceased. Non-Interned: by end 1945, 5 per cent deceased. This latter percentage is based on the mortality among the native population of Java, assuming that the living conditions of both population groups can be considered as comparable.¹¹ Age pattern of mortality: same procedure as for 1931–1941.
- 3 *Fertility:* By assumption: births in 1942 at their normal level, since the conception of almost all 1942 births occurred before March 1942. In 1943, that the fertility of the non-interned decreased to 70 per cent of its 1942 level, and in 1944 and 1945 to 60 per cent. As the civilian camps had very few married men, and men and women were imprisoned separately, fertility among interned civilians in 1943 was set at 10 per cent of its 1942 level, and 5 per cent in 1944 and 1945. Some of these births were, no doubt, unwanted (e.g. from Japanese fathers).
- 4 *Migration:* during the war, no emigration occurred from Indonesia to the Netherlands. In the reverse direction, about 200 persons immigrated from the Netherlands, the majority arriving in 1942. Migration after the capitulation of Japan, 15 August 1945, does not affect the end-1945 population estimate. It is assumed that those who succeeded in fleeing from Indonesia during the war (e.g. to Australia) returned after the war.
- 5 *Recognitions, marriage surplus, formal assimilations:* By assumption: 1942, 10 per cent of the 1941 level; 1943–1945, none. Distribution by age and sex: same as for period 1931–1941.

Assumptions: wartime Dutch, 1946–2000

- 1 *Mortality:* on the basis of the age- and sex-specific mortality rates that prevailed in the Netherlands during 1946–2000. From the demographic reconstruction 1930–1945, it appeared that mortality among Europeans in Indonesia was more than twice as high as in the Netherlands. Therefore, the Dutch mortality rates were subjected to a scaling factor: slightly over two during 1946–1956; linearly decreasing during 1956–1963; a constant value of one from 1963 onwards. The idea behind this assumption is that a large part of the Indo-Dutch did not arrive in the Netherlands in 1946, but only in the course of the 1950s. In addition, for 1946 an estimated extra 3,500 European deaths resulting from the *bersiap* period¹² have been taken into account.
- 2 *Recognitions:* in 1946–1949, recognitions continued to occur, but data are missing. It was assumed that annual recognitions were 300 until 1949, and zero afterwards.

- 3 *Marriage surplus*: in 1946–1949 a number of marriages took place between Dutch men (mostly military) and native women, who obtained Dutch status and nationality. Lacking any quantitative data, a marriage surplus of 300 per year was assumed, and zero from 1950 onward.
- 4 *Formal assimilations*: in theory, formal assimilation was still possible after World War II. In practice, it did not occur because after the capitulation of Japan, the legal statuses (apart from nationality) of Europeans and natives were equal (Han 1998).
- 5 *Births – fertility*: in determining the number of births after 1945, decisive for the demographic development of the second-generation Indo-Dutch, several complications arise. The first concerns the fertility level of Indo-Dutch women. From the demographic reconstruction 1930–1945, it appeared that the ASFRs among Europeans in Indonesia during the 1930s were about 90 per cent of those prevailing in the Netherlands at the time. For the postwar period, the ASFRs observed in the Netherlands were adopted after multiplying by a time-varying scaling factor: 45 per cent in 1946, 95 per cent in 1947–1956, and linearly increasing during 1956–1963 to 100 per cent from 1963. The reason for the low 1946 scaling factor is the exceptionally high fertility in the Netherlands, while in the Dutch Indies, the *bersiap* period depressed the fertility of Europeans.
- 6 *Births – mixed marriage*: in demographic projection models, births are generated by applying ASFRs to numbers of women distinguished by age. However, the second-generation Indo-Dutch derive their colonial background (customs and culture) from either parent. The greater the extent of mixed marriage among the first-generation Indo-Dutch, the larger the factor by which the number of births to first-generation Indo-Dutch women should be multiplied to obtain all births contributing to the second generation. Hardly anything is known about mixed marriage of (Dutch) Indo-Dutch persons. In 1946 it was undoubtedly quite limited (almost the complete Indo-Dutch population was still residing in Indonesia), and today it is undoubtedly quite common (the group has become very much ‘diluted’ within the total population of the Netherlands). It was assumed that mixed marriage has increased gradually over time, from 10 per cent in 1946 to 65 per cent in 1973 and after.¹³
- 7 *Births – first versus second generation*: the third complication in modelling births concerns the assignment of newly-born children to the first and second generations. For the Dutch Indo-Dutch, everyone born after World War II in Indonesia was considered as belonging to the first generation; the births that occurred outside Indonesia (mostly in the Netherlands) were allocated to the second generation. Of the total number of births generated by the model, the proportion contributing to the first generation (which obviously declines sharply over time), was determined from the timing pattern of migration from Indonesia to the Netherlands (see Figure 5), assuming that the annual migration flows were evenly spread over the year. The percentage that were first-generation births declines from 92 in 1946, to 63 in 1950, 8 in 1960 and 0 in 1967 and later.
- 8 *First versus second generation*: the first generation consists of: (a) everyone alive by 1 January 1946; (b) recognitions and marriage surpluses in 1946–1949; (c) births after 1945 if they occurred on Indonesian territory. Births to first-generation parents were considered as second generation. Births to second-generation

parents were not taken into account, because these children are no longer considered to be Indo-Dutch.

Assumptions: wartime non-Dutch, 1946–2000

In 1951–1967 there were 22,510 Indonesian persons adopting Dutch nationality. To these have to be added the naturalizations of European (other than Dutch) and Asian (other than Indonesian) former residents of Indonesia. These were estimated as follows. The immigration flow of foreigners (excluding Indonesians) from Indonesia, as a proportion of the total immigration flow of foreigners (excluding Indonesians) is known. This proportion was applied to the number of naturalizations of foreigners (excluding Indonesians) during 1946–1967. This results in an estimate of 734 persons.

Thus, in total 23,244 persons are involved; the only detail being year of naturalization and statistics showing that around half are minors (children). The following assumptions were used in the demographic projection model: 50 per cent are men, 50 per cent are women; 50 per cent are children aged 0–20, 50 per cent are persons aged 21 and over; at the time of naturalization the person belongs to the first generation; children born to first-generation parents (by definition, these births occur after entry into the Netherlands) belong to the second generation; the remaining assumptions concerning deaths and births are the same as those for the Dutch Indo-Dutch in 1946.

Assumptions: Moluccans, 1968–2000

- 1 *Mortality*: Dutch mortality rates by age and sex.
- 2 *Fertility*: Dutch ASFRs, with two correction factors, one for the fertility level, one for the effect of mixed marriage. In the earlier years, Moluccan fertility was higher than Dutch fertility. Gradually, the group adjusted its fertility behaviour to the national average. This was operationalized by specifying a scaling factor of 1.2 in 1968, linearly decreasing to 1 (i.e. the national average) by 1983. Second-generation children with only one Moluccan parent were considered as Moluccan. However, if the fertility rates are applied to Moluccan women only, one ignores the fact that Moluccan children can also be born from Moluccan men and non-Moluccan women. To correct for this, the fertility rates (or, equivalently, the projected numbers of births) are multiplied by a scaling factor for mixed marriage. This factor was specified as 1.10 in 1968, increasing by 0.01 per year to 1.43 in 2001.
- 3 *First versus second generation*: everyone alive in 1 January 1968 belongs to the first generation. Of the children born after 1 January 1968, a substantial proportion was born in a 'Moluccan environment fully oriented towards remigration'; these children were included in the first generation. Thus, analogously to the procedure adopted for the Dutch Indo-Dutch 1946, one has to assign the births generated after 1968 according to the type of environment in which the birth occurred: if in a Moluccan community, the child belongs to the first generation; if not in a Moluccan community, the child belongs to the second generation. The percentage assigned to the first generation declines over time. As a crude approximation, this was specified as a decline by 6 percentage points per annum, from 94 per cent in 1968 to 0 per cent in 1983 and later.

- 4 *Correction naturalized by 1968*: the groups 'wartime non-Dutch' (i.e. naturalizations 1946–1967) and 'Moluccans' are partially overlapping. The registration system of the Commission in charge of care for the Moluccans contains some information on the number of Moluccans who by early 1968 have obtained Dutch nationality. These data refer to family heads only. If the number of naturalizations from the registration system is multiplied by the average family size (which was 6.0 according to the same registration), it appears that the percentage naturalized amounted to 17.1. Thus, in fact it was assumed that the complete family obtained Dutch nationality. In order to avoid double counting, the subgroup Moluccans should be reduced by the percentage naturalized before 1968, i.e. 17.1 per cent, before it can be combined with the two other Indo-Dutch groups.¹⁴

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Notes

- 1 The Dutch West Indies comprise Surinam and the Dutch Antilles.
- 2 In the Dutch language, 'Indonesia' is reserved exclusively for the independent status of Indonesia, from 1949. For pre-1949, colonial Indonesia, many different terms exist, including 'Dutch East India', 'Dutch East Indies', simply 'Dutch Indies' or even 'Indies', 'Indian Archipelago' or simply 'Archipelago', and even more colourful descriptions like 'the belt of emerald'. In this paper, we use 'Indonesia' for the territory of today's Indonesia as well as for the post-independence state, and 'Dutch Indies' for the pre-1949 country under Dutch colonial rule.
- 3 The Dutch United East Indies Company (*Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, VOC) was founded in 1602, the first company in world history with tradeable shares. It marked the start of the worldwide orientation of the Netherlands, and of a period of strong economic and cultural growth. For Indonesia, however, it signified the start of more than three centuries of suppression and exploitation.
- 4 After the independence of Indonesia in 1949, the Netherlands initially maintained a privileged position and many Dutch hoped to be able to continue their former lives, albeit under a new regime. However, president Sukarno wished to completely end Dutch influence. In 1956–1957, all Dutch who had not yet opted for Indonesian citizenship were forced to either do so or leave the country. This caused a new flow of repatriates to the Netherlands. A number of persons chose Indonesian citizenship, but many came to regret this choice and moved to the Netherlands after all. The year 1967 coincides with the final date set by the Dutch government for allowing these people to change their minds and choose the Netherlands.
- 5 Among the interned there was also a small group of travellers, i.e. persons who 'by accident' were in Indonesia in March 1942.
- 6 Several sources (cited and discussed in Van der Veur 1995) arrive at this number as follows: 31,000 Dutch persons chose Indonesian nationality during 1949–1951; later

(roughly 1956–1963), 25,000 Indonesians of Dutch origin were allowed to change their minds, re-obtained their former Dutch nationality and left. Van der Veur (p.18) argues that the number staying permanently in Indonesia must be ‘a multiple of 6,000’. On the other hand, for the reconstruction in this paper it is the number at the end of 1945 that is of interest.

- 7 Willems (2001:17) estimates the number of Indo-Dutch emigrants to third countries at about 50,000. This number includes some persons born after 1945, and some persons first migrating to the Netherlands before continuing to the third country.
- 8 After the demographic reconstruction reported here had been completed, additional research into the highly interesting phenomenon of this school-related migration showed that the original estimate of 34,000 students is probably too high, and that about 20,000 could be a more realistic figure. See Van Imhoff and Beets (2003).
- 9 By definition, no such naturalizations occurred in 1946–49 because the nationality ‘Indonesian’ did not yet exist.
- 10 A more extensive account of the demographic history of the Moluccans is given in Beets, Walhout and Koesoebjono (2002).
- 11 These mortality assumptions have been formulated in close collaboration with experts from the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation (NIOD).
- 12 The first months after the capitulation of Japan on 15 August 1945 were very chaotic. In many camps, news of the liberation arrived rather late, and former prisoners could not immediately leave the camps. The cause of this was Sukarno’s proclamation of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945, after which ultranationalist youngsters started their militant activities. Both white Dutch people and Indo-Dutch of mixed blood, most of whom had remained outside the camps during the occupation, were in danger, as well as others sympathetic to the Dutch régime. In many places it became extremely dangerous to leave the camps, and those who did were killed, or taken prisoner once again, this time in Indonesian camps. This period of terror, which lasted until early 1946, is termed *bersiap* (‘be watchful’) and is considered as the most militant phase of the Indonesian revolution. Notably on the island of Java, several thousand Dutch were killed (Van den Doel 2001:99; De Jong 1994:81–99).
- 13 The assumed 65 per cent was determined from the SN statistics on persons with a foreign background. As at 1 January 2001, in the Netherlands there were 52,700 persons in the age group 20–29 who had been born in the Netherlands to at least one parent born in Indonesia (or Dutch Indies): 10,800 with both parents born in Indonesia, and 41,900 with one such parent (in other words born from a mixed marriage). This implies, for the marriages from which these children had been born, a percentage of either sex being in a mixed marriage of about 65 $((0.5 \times 41.9) / (0.5 \times 41.9 + 10.8))$.
- 14 The assumptions regarding fertility, mixed marriage, and distinction between first and second generation are slightly different for the 17 per cent ‘naturalized Moluccans’ and the total group of Moluccans. However, the ‘error’ introduced by this is extremely small.

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