

# Dutch Migration History

*Looking Back and Moving Forward*

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## Abstract

Since 1850, thousands of publications have been written about migration to and from the Netherlands. Migration is an important topic for political and social debates, now as well as in the past. The nature of migration changes continuously, as does the way in which migration and integration issues are problematized, and changes are a reason for migration historians to take a fresh look at migrations in the past. Over time, the focus has moved from legal, to demographic, economic, sociological and emancipatory, and back to legal and economic. In recent decades, the analytical and comparative approach has been strengthened: between categories of migrants, between men and women, and between countries. This is the way forward.

**Keywords:** immigration, emigration, policy-driven, policy trap, interdisciplinary

## Introduction

Migration literature, in its broadest sense, looks at who moves, how many people move, why people move, what happens to them after they move, what happens to the people they leave behind and to the countries they move to or from, and how authorities (national, local, international and non-governmental) try to regulate migration and integration. This enumeration suggests that the number of publications on integration and migration to and from the Netherlands in the past hundred years will be extensive. There are, for example, more than a thousand titles dealing with Moroccan migration to the Netherlands alone.<sup>1</sup> Further, the US Library of Congress lists 250 titles that testify to the history of some 20 million Americans who can trace their ancestry back to the Netherlands. It is not possible or useful here to refer to all the publications on Dutch migration. The focus in this overview

<sup>1</sup> N. Bouras, *Land van Herkomst. Perspectieven op verbondenheid met Marokko, 1960-2010* (Hilversum 2012).

is on historical publications, but even this literature is too extensive to cover fully. I therefore focus on studies that have introduced new twists and concepts. Since a few decades, the field is strongly interdisciplinary, with many Dutch historians using theories from the social sciences and working together with migration researchers from other disciplines. With regard to recent migrations, the lines between migration history and other types of migration research are blurred. Recently, the comparative and collaborative angle has been strengthened, as illustrated by *The encyclopedia of Migration and minorities in Europe. From the seventeenth century to the present*, and the five volumes *The encyclopedia of global human migration*, which cover over 2000 years of migration worldwide.<sup>2</sup>

Over time, changes have occurred in migration history. In the middle of the nineteenth century when the first Dutch Alien Law was introduced, the legal perspective dominated with an emphasis on the history of the regulation and restriction of migration. At the end of the nineteenth century, the demographic perspective became more important, followed by the economic perspective in the 1920s and 1930s and a sociological perspective in the 1950s. From the 1980s onwards, the number of relevant publications increased steeply and the perspectives diversified. The (Dutch) literature on migration and integration intertwines with policy, and has been influenced by changes in migration. Rather surprisingly, numerous studies start with the observation that people have always moved.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, authors feel a need to point this out, although authors writing on for example marital behaviour do not begin their publications with the observation that many people marry.

## The nineteenth century

In an attempt to emphasise the negative aspects of migration, the Dutch lawyer S.J. van Geuns started his 1853 book on foreigners with the observation that the word 'alien' came from the old Germanic word *Alilanti*, as did the German word *Elend* (misery).<sup>4</sup> In 1894, the Dutch lawyer J.B. Gorsira in a similar fashion started his book on the admittance and deportation of

2 K.J. Bade et al. (eds.), *The encyclopedia of Migration and minorities in Europe. From the seventeenth century to the present* (Cambridge 2011); I. Ness et al., *The encyclopedia of global human migration* (Chichester 2013).

3 S. Gargas, 'Moderne Emigratie', *De Economist* 64:2 (1915) 569-582.

4 S.J. van Geuns, *Proeve eener geschiedenis van de toelating en vestiging van vreemdelingen in Nederland tot het jaar 1795* (Schoonhoven 1853) 1.

foreigners by pointing out that in ancient Rome the word *Hostis* was used for both foreigner *and* enemy.<sup>5</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century, historical migration research was the playing field of lawyers. Political changes and the introduction of national laws around 1800 were a reason for Van Geuns to make a 300-page inventory in 1853 of all the rules regarding the admission of foreigners in earlier centuries.<sup>6</sup> Reciprocity was the leading principle: in the past 'we' were willing to protect foreign traders in the Netherlands if the Dutch were protected in the countries these foreigners came from. In 1864, the Dutch lawyer A.P.Th. Eyssell pointed out that policy changes were needed, because of increased contacts between people including the Dutch.<sup>7</sup> In 1888, H.B. Greven asked if immigration was favourable for 'old' countries (meaning North-Western Europe).<sup>8</sup> Had it done any good then or in the past? These questions have been asked in tandem since the nineteenth century.

In 1853, an anonymous author wrote a 300-page book on Dutch migration to the US.<sup>9</sup> The author described the prevailing situation and included historical observations. Migrants were categorised into four groups: those who were escaping poverty, those who had forgotten that they could serve God everywhere in the world, those who were dissatisfied with God (the 'democrats') and those escaping justice. The categorisation of migrants has become a favourite pastime of migration historians since then, albeit using different categories. The Dutch who had emigrated earlier had mostly succumbed to disease and exhaustion, according to the anonymous author. Some of them had turned to God and survived, whilst the others had turned to alcohol and perished.<sup>10</sup> The author strongly advised against emigration. The book was the beginning of hundreds of publications about emigration (mostly to the US) published between 1853 and 1900.<sup>11</sup> Many of these studies were descriptive, and most contained overviews of the number of migrants and historical reflections. Some authors continued to warn future migrants, but many more tried to prove how both Dutch migrants and the US had

5 J. B. Gorsira, *Toelating en uitzetting van vreemdelingen* (Den Haag 1894) 7.

6 Van Geuns, *Proeve eener geschiedenis*.

7 A.P.Th. Eyssell, *De regtsmagt over vreemdelingen in Nederland* (Den Haag 1864).

8 H.B. Greven, 'Immigratie van werklieden en vrijhandel', *De Economist* (1888) 166-132.

9 *De Landverhuizing naar de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika* (Bergen op Zoom 1853).

10 *De Landverhuizing*, 55.

11 See for instance: W.F. Andriessen, 'Is emigratie naar de Vereenigde Staten van N.-Amerika nog langer aanbevelingswaardig?', *De Economist* (1892) 109-122; D. Versteeg, *De pelgrim-vaders van het westen. Eene geschiedenis van de worstelingen der Hollandsche nederzettingen in Michigan, benevens een schets van de stichting der kolonie Pella in Iowa* (Grand Rapids 1886).

profited from immigration in the past (and would in the future).<sup>12</sup> The topic would continue in later years.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the German-English geographer E.G. Ravenstein published his 'laws' of migration based on census data from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. One of his conclusions was that 'woman is a greater migrant than man'.<sup>13</sup> Ravenstein's work triggered a response in the Netherlands. In 1893, F.S. van Nierop used it as a starting point for his study of migration to and from Amsterdam<sup>14</sup> and in 1899, M. de Voogt produced a detailed overview for Rotterdam, using Ravenstein's type of data.<sup>15</sup> In the same vein, but not published until 1938, the American sociologist D. Swaine Thomas wrote a 400-page book for which she used data from the Amsterdam Bureau of Statistics for the period from 1892 to 1930, separated according to gender and age.<sup>16</sup> She proved Ravenstein's observations were correct for Amsterdam: young women outnumbered young men in terms of mobility. None of these authors formulated new 'laws' in the way Ravenstein had done and this lessened the impact of these studies.

## From 1900 until 1940

In the first decades of the twentieth century, literature about migration to Suriname increased, although this interest surpassed the numerical importance of Dutch migration to Suriname. The Dutch parliament decided to encourage migration to Suriname, and commissioned a report from the *Suriname Studie-Syndicaat*. In response, Pyttersen, a former sugar planter on Java, wrote a large number of publications about 'white' migration to Suriname.<sup>17</sup> He was one of many. The Dutch authorities hoped that Suriname would generate increased revenue if more white Dutch people migrated there. In 1923, C. van Drimmelen, who in 1902 became the Dutch agent-general for immigration in Suriname and in 1910 founded the *Surinaamsche Immigranten Vereeniging* (Suriname Immigrant Society), wrote that he

12 'Landverhuizing naar de Vereenigde Staten van Noord-Amerika', *De Economist* 18:2 (1869) 638-682.

13 E.G. Ravenstein, 'The laws of migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society* 48/2 (1885) 167-235 and 52/2 (1889) 241-305.

14 F.S. van Nierop, 'De immigratie en emigratie te Amsterdam', *De Economist* 42:1 (1893) 189-219.

15 M. de Voogt, 'Iets over de bevolking van Rotterdam', *De Economist* 48:2 (1899) 483-535.

16 D. Swain Thomas, *Research memorandum on migration differentials* (New York 1938).

17 Including: Tj. Pyttersen, 'Kunnen wij dat zelf niet?', *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids (NWIG)* 10:1 (1929) 337-354.

understood many Dutch wanted to escape unemployment and misery in the Netherlands. However, the 'white race' was not suited to live on the equator. Suriname needed people of high skill and standards, but history proved, according to Van Drimmelen, that 'whites' could not survive and thrive in Suriname. Thousands of Dutch, French, Germans and English people had settled in the colony and they had vanished, leaving only traces of mixed blood.<sup>18</sup> In 1927, L. Knappert, Professor of Church History at Leiden University, similarly described earlier migrations to Suriname as a warning. He pointed to the failed migration of the Labadists in the seventeenth century. The Labadists were an orthodox Protestant sect that originated in France, but gained a foothold in the Netherlands. Some of them migrated to Suriname, where most died miserably.<sup>19</sup> The migration of Germans in the eighteenth century had also failed,<sup>20</sup> as had the poorly organised migration of Dutch farmers to Suriname in 1845. Only those who had been willing to discard their West-European character and accept a strong mixture with 'negro blood' survived, D. van Blom, Professor of Economics at Leiden University, wrote in 1919.<sup>21</sup> Authors, however, also pointed out that migration could reduce overpopulation in the Netherlands. Interest in migration to Suriname increased when the US introduced quota measures.<sup>22</sup> In the 1930s, emigration became a policy field because of the (failed) migrations to Suriname and the US restrictions. Dutch authorities encouraged the creation of emigration centres that had to monitor and organise migrations. The Dutch Emigration Law (1936) only regarded free overseas migration as emigration, and not refugee migration or migration to neighbouring countries or the colonies.<sup>23</sup> This definition of emigration dominated academic literature for decades afterwards.<sup>24</sup>

18 C. van Drimmelen, 'Kolonisatie van het blanke ras in de tropen', *NWIG* 4:1 (1923) 193-204.

19 L. Knappert, 'De Labadisten in Suriname', *NWIG* 8:1 (1927) 193-218.

20 R. Bijlsma, 'Migratie van Duitschers in Suriname 1733-1740', *NWIG* 1:2 (1919) 413-417.

21 D. van Blom, 'Kolonisatie met Nederlandsche boeren in Suriname', *NWIG* 1:1 (1919) 345-359.

22 W. R. Menkman, 'Nog eens emigratie van Nederlanders naar Suriname', *NWIG* 9:1 (1928) 213-229.

23 E. van Bolshuis, *Landverhuizingswet 1936* (Den Haag 1937); G.Th.J. Delfgaauw, 'Emigratie als bijdrage tot vermindering van de bevolking van Nederland', *De Economist* 101:1 (1953) 337-359, 357.

24 An exception was: F. Dekker, *Voortrekkers uit Oud Nederland. Uit Nederland's geschiedenis buiten de grenzen* (Den Haag 1938).

## From 1945 until 1985

In the period from 1945 to 1985, descriptive and policy-driven studies remained common. Categories of migrants (labour, refugees, family and colonial) continued to be studied separately, and emigration was not studied in the same context as immigration.<sup>25</sup> Publications on labour history – which strongly increased in numbers from the 1970s onwards – paid barely any attention to migration.

In 1949, the demographer W.R. Heere predicted that based on a historical overview of migration and fertility data, the Dutch population would grow from 9.9 million in 1949 to 11 million in 1970 (in reality it was 13 million). Immigration into the Netherlands, he believed, would have little influence on Dutch population growth.<sup>26</sup> A similar extrapolation led W. Steigenga to the same conclusion.<sup>27</sup> Belgium, France and England were recruiting foreign workers because they had shortages on the labour market, Steigenga wrote. The Netherlands was, however, not in need of foreign workers with the exception of miners. There were less foreign workers in the Netherlands in 1949 than there were in 1936. Young women, trained for office work, were unemployed and should be redirected towards care work. This would reduce a need for the immigration of foreign women. In general, emigration should be encouraged, emigration policies should be highly selective and (potential) emigrants should be helped and monitored, Steigenga concluded. It was the beginning of a large body of literature on emigrants, and of the governmental organisation of emigration.<sup>28</sup> Most publications dealt with policies and described the current situation. Few references were made to earlier emigrations.<sup>29</sup>

25 This changed in 2008. H. Obdeijn and M. Schrover, *Komen en gaan. Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam 2008).

26 W.R. Heere, 'De tegenwoordige en toekomstige demografische situatie in Nederland', *De Economist* 97: 1 (1949) 1-34.

27 W. Steigenga, 'Bevolkingsvermeerdering en arbeidsvoorziening', *De Economist* 97: 1 (1949) 54-83.

28 *De gaande man. Gronden van de emigratiebeslissing. Rapport naar aanleiding van een onderzoek verricht in opdracht van de Regeringscommissaris voor de emigratie met een inleiding door Prof. dr. S.J. Groenman* (Den Haag 1950); W. Petersen, *Planned migration. The social determinants of the Dutch-Canadian movement* (London 1955); N.H. Frijda, *Emigranten, niet-emigranten. Kwantitatieve analyse van een onderzoek naar de motieven van een groep emigranten* (Den Haag 1960); B.P. Hofstede, *Thwarted exodus. Post-War overseas migration from the Netherlands* (Den Haag 1964).

29 Exceptions are: H.S. Lucas, *Netherlanders in America; Dutch immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789-1950* (London 1955); J.A.A. Hartland, *De geschiedenis van de Nederlandse emigratie tot de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Den Haag 1959).

Ideas about how to best organise emigration from the Netherlands – via bilateral treaties, with close and long-term monitoring of migrants, and by encouraging the migrants to stick together and hold on to their religion and ‘Dutchness’ – formed the blueprint for the organisation of guest-worker immigration into the Netherlands only a few years later. The Dutch psychologist R. Wentholt advised on emigration from the Netherlands, and immigration into the Netherlands. In 1961 he wrote an important publication on Dutch emigration, and in 1967 he edited an equally influential volume on guest workers.<sup>30</sup> He copied his ideas from one domain to the other.

The literature on migration from the Dutch East Indies increased when the country became independent Indonesia.<sup>31</sup> Historical research followed a few decades later. In 1973, Bagley, who worked at the Department of Sociology at the University of Surrey, published his study on Dutch race relations.<sup>32</sup> He identified pillarisation, housing and the slow pace of change in the Netherlands as factors explaining integration and race relations. The Netherlands absorbed 300,000 ‘refugees’ from Indonesia: 280,000 of these were ‘brown Dutchmen’, Bagley wrote. The percentage of people of mixed ancestry in the Dutch former colony was much larger than the percentage in India: there were 220,000 Eurasians in the Dutch East Indies out of a population of 70 million, and 119,000 Anglo-Indians out of a population of 338 million. The ‘brown’ children of Dutch fathers became Dutch because their fathers wanted them to be Dutch, whereas the ‘brown’ children of English fathers wanted to be English because of the arrogance of their fathers, who treated them with distaste. In Bagley’s view, this history explained the tolerant attitude in the Netherlands towards foreigners.

## From 1985 onwards

After 1985, the literature on migration history became more analytical and boomed, mostly due to the pioneering work of Jan Lucassen and Rinus Penninx.<sup>33</sup> They introduced the twin concept of ‘position acquisition and

30 R. Wentholt, *Kenmerken van de Nederlandse emigrant. Een analyse van persoonlijke achtergronden, omstandigheden en beweegredenen* (Den Haag 1961); R. Wentholt (ed.), *Buitenlandse arbeiders in Nederland. Een veelzijdige benadering van een complex vraagstuk* (Leiden 1967).

31 P.W. van der Veur, ‘The Eurasians of Indonesia; castaways of colonialism’, *Pacific Affairs* 27:2 (1954) 124-137; J. Kraak, *De repatriëring uit Indonesië. Een onderzoek naar de integratie van de gerepatriëerden uit Indonesië in de Nederlandse samenleving* (Den Haag 1958).

32 C. Bagley, *The Dutch plural society. A comparative study in race relations* (London 1973).

33 J. Lucassen and R. Penninx, *Nieuwkomers, nakomelingen, Nederlanders. Immigratie in Nederland 1550-1993* (Amsterdam 1985).

position allocation'. Migrants are allocated a position and acquire a position because of for example skills, connections and class. Jan Lucassen can be regarded as the founding father of Dutch migration history. As the volume of literature after 1985 is very large, the description below is grouped around subjects: emigration, colonial migration, migration systems, refugees, regulation of migration, oral history, transnationalism, integration, and debates about costs and gains.

Emigration literature in this period paid much attention to Dutch migrants in the nineteenth century US.<sup>34</sup> The study of R. Kroes was important, because he analysed when, how and why Dutch ethnicity persisted. A large number of publications focused on Protestants – especially the Secessionists (*afgescheidenen*), who migrated to the US and formed recognisable communities.<sup>35</sup> There was much more literature on the migration of Protestants than on Catholics, although Protestants did not migrate in greater numbers. After the 1990s, attention became more balanced, especially because of the work of H. van Stekelenburg,<sup>36</sup> although interest in the unassimilated Protestant migrants continued.<sup>37</sup> It was part of a trend: migrants who did not assimilate received more attention than those who did. The persistence of Dutch ethnicity was described in positive terms by authors on both sides of the Atlantic. This was surprising, because these studies appeared at a time when the persistence of ethnicity among immigrants into the Netherlands was increasingly seen as problematic.

34 J. Stellingwerf, *Amsterdamse emigranten. Onbekende brieven uit de prairie van Iowo 1846-1873* (Amsterdam 1975); J.D. Bratt, *Dutch Calvinism in modern America* (Grand Rapids 1984); P. Webber, *Pella Dutch: the portrait of a language and its use in one of Iowa's ethnic communities* (Ames 1988); R. Kroes, *The persistence of ethnicity; Dutch Calvinist pioneers in Amsterdam, Montana* (Urbana 1992).

35 R.P. Swierenga, 'Dutch immigration patterns in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in: R.P. Swierenga (ed.), *The Dutch in America* (New Brunswick 1985); R.P. Swierenga, *Faith and family; Dutch immigration and settlement in the United States, 1820-1920* (New York 2000); G. Harinck and H. Krabbendam (ed.), *Morsels in the melting Pot. The persistence of Dutch immigrant communities in North America* (Amsterdam 2006); A. Amelink, *De gereformeerden overzee* (Amsterdam 2006).

36 M. Smits, *Met kompas emigreren. Katholieken en het vraagstuk van de emigratie in Nederland (1946-1972)* (Nijmegen and Den Haag 1989); H. van Stekelenburg, *Landverhuizing als regionaal verschijnsel 1820-1880. Van Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika 1820-1880* (Tilburg 1991); H. van Stekelenburg, *Hier is alles vooruitgang. Landverhuizing van Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika 1880-1940* (Tilburg 1995); H. van Stekelenburg, *De grote trek. Emigratie vanuit Noord-Brabant naar Noord-Amerika, 1947-1963* (Tilburg 2000).

37 B. Biemond-Boer, "Die Hollanders zijn gek". *Identiteit en integratie van bevindelijk gereformeerden in Canada* (Amsterdam 2008); E. Koops, *De dynamiek van een emigratiecultuur. De emigratie van gereformeerden, hervormden en katholieken naar Noord-Amerika in vergelijkend perspectief (1947-1963)* (Hilversum 2010).

In the 1950s, Australia and Canada favoured Dutch immigrants, because they were seen as easy assimilators. This idea is reflected in literature from the 1980s onwards.<sup>38</sup> Authors in the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand described how Dutch immigrants were at the top of the list of migrant groups who gave up their language within one generation.<sup>39</sup> In 1995, G. Extra argued that a dominant characteristic of Dutch identity was the denial of Dutch identity, or the fact that the Dutch did not perceive Dutch language as a core value of cultural identity.<sup>40</sup> This fitted perfectly with public and political debates about integration and the language of immigrants in the Netherlands at the time, but no references were made.

When the interest of historians in migration from the Dutch East Indies increased from the 1980s onwards – with W. Willems and U. Bosma as the leading authors – comparisons became more important.<sup>41</sup> A.L. Stoler compared French Indochina and the Dutch East Indies, and concluded that children of mixed parentage destabilised national identity, posed a dilemma to colonial rule and undermined imperial domination.<sup>42</sup> According to T. Andrade, the Dutch, contrary to other European states, were able to take over maritime-based trade and migration systems from the Asians and create new ones, because they were supported by a strong state, interested

38 For example: H. Palmer, 'Canadian immigration and ethnic history in the 1970s and 1980s' *International Migration Review* 15:3 (1981) 471-501; W.C. Van den Hoonaard, *Silent ethnicity: the Dutch of New Brunswick* (Fredericton 1991) 54; Y. van Dongen, 'The invisible immigrants', *New Zealand Geographic* 15 (1992) 66-92; F.J. Schryer, *The Netherlandic presence in Ontario. Pillars, class and Dutch ethnicity* (Waterloo 1998).

39 J. Klatter-Folmer and S. Kroon, 'Dutch overseas: introductory remarks on Dutch as an immigrant language', in: J. Klatter-Folmer and S. Kroon (eds), *Dutch overseas. Studies in maintenance and loss of Dutch as an immigrant language* (Tilburg 1997) 1-18; M. Hulsen, *Language loss and language processing. Three generations of Dutch migrants in New Zealand* (Nijmegen 2000) 14.

40 G. Extra, 'The context of ethnic communities and ethnic community languages in the Netherlands', in: T. Vallen, A. Birkhoff and T. Buwalda (eds.), *Home language and school in a European perspective* (Tilburg 1995) 85-106, 103.

41 J.E. Ellemers and R.E.F. Vaillant, *Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden* (Muiderberg 1985); W. Willems and L. Lucassen (ed.), *Het onbekende vaderland. De repatriëring van Indische Nederlanders (1946-1964)* (Den Haag 1994); W. Willems, et al. (eds.), *Uit Indië geboren. Vier eeuwen familiegeschiedenis* (Zwolle 1997); W. Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië 1945-1995. De geschiedenis van Indische Nederlanders* (Amsterdam 2001); H.W. van den Doel, *Afscheid van Indië* (Amsterdam 2001); H. Meijer, *In Indië geworteld. De twintigste eeuw* (Amsterdam 2004); U. Bosma, R. Raben en W. Willems, *De geschiedenis van Indische Nederlanders* (Amsterdam 2006); U. Bosma and R. Raben, *Being "Dutch" in the Indies. A history of creolisation and empire, 1500-1920* (Singapore and Ohio 2008).

42 A.L. Stoler, 'Sexual affronts and racial frontiers: European identities and the cultural politics of exclusion in colonial Southeast Asia', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 34 (1992) 540-551; A.L. Stoler, *Carnal knowledge and imperial power. Race and the intimate in colonial rule* (Berkeley etc. 2002).

in maritime affairs. Asian states were more interested in agriculture, and this enabled the Dutch to take over from pirates and create new sea-based migration and trade systems.<sup>43</sup> D. Merwick explained the involvement of the Dutch nation with its colonies in the seventeenth century as being related to how the Dutch saw themselves. They wanted trading posts that would enable them to stay on the margins of foreign societies. Unlike the English, Spanish and French, they barely went inland. The Dutch were interested in trade, not in land or souls. In later periods, this intent was difficult to sustain. According to Merwick, this explains twentieth century Dutch scholarship on the Dutch East Indies, which is tainted by guilt and shame about contacts that became different to what they were intended to be.<sup>44</sup>

F. Gouda showed that Dutch colonial regimes aimed at association, not assimilation. She adhered to the idea of Bagley that this was to do with pillarised Dutch society, in which cohesion was reached via segmentation according to religion. Western ideas were adapted to local customs in the colonies. Respect for and a thorough knowledge of the Dutch East Indian society characterised Dutch rule, which was justified by representing the native population as feminine and childlike.<sup>45</sup> Gouda introduced the terms 'mimicry' and 'projection' to describe the colonial ties between the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies.<sup>46</sup> Mimicry is imitation: concealing and camouflaging. European practices and mores were transferred to the colonies, transformed by indigenous traditions, and then migrated back to the mother country to support ideas of the West's intellectual superiority. Dutch civil servants made use of empirical techniques or ethnographic insights in their administration of the Dutch East Indies in order to implement a system of governance that could be seen as morally responsible. R. van Ginkel and B. Henkes described how the nineteenth and early twentieth century study of people in the Dutch East Indies was functional in defining

43 T. Andrade, 'Rise and fall of Dutch Taiwan 1624-1662: Cooperative colonization and the statist model of European Expansion', *Journal of World History (JWH)* 17:4 (2006), 429-450; T. Andrade, 'The company's Chinese pirates: how the Dutch East India Company tried to lead a coalition of pirates to war against China, 1632-1662', *JWH* 15:4 (2005) 415-444.

44 D. Merwick, *The shame and the sorrow: Dutch-Amerindian encounters in New Netherland* (Philadelphia 2006).

45 F. Gouda, 'Beelden van (on)mannelijkheid in de koloniale cultuur van Nedelands-Indië, 1900-1949', *Sociologie* 3:1 (2007) 64-80; J. Clancy-Smith and F. Gouda (eds.), *Domesticating the empire. Race, gender and family life in French and Dutch colonialism* (Charlottesville and London 1998).

46 F. Gouda, 'Mimicry and projection in the colonial encounter: the Dutch East Indies/Indonesia as experimental laboratory, 1900-1942', *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 1:2 (2000) 1-20.

the Dutch.<sup>47</sup> The same people studied the Guinean hinterlands *and* Dutch folklore. Feelings of urgency drove authors. Societies that would soon be lost to modernity had to be mapped, F. Sysling pointed out.<sup>48</sup>

G.R. Knight described how the Dutch community in the Dutch East Indies changed when more Dutch women moved to the colony, and transport and communication became cheaper and faster.<sup>49</sup> The Dutch community explicitly set itself apart from the native population. The result was a form of 'enclavement'; microcosmic worlds inhabited by Europeans. This segregation occurred in a society in which miscegenation was widespread, socially accepted and legally validated. Bosma and Raben showed how class and gender influenced the process of enclavement.<sup>50</sup>

Attention to Moluccan migration increased after Moluccans in the 1970s hijacked trains in the Netherlands twice, in an attempt to force the Dutch government to support their demands for an independent Moluccan state. Many people in the Netherlands, and the press worldwide, wondered who the Moluccans were and what their goals were. This stimulated historical research, with H. Smeets and F. Steijlen as leading authors.<sup>51</sup> Moluccans have so far barely been studied in the same context as the Harkis – Algerians who were part of the French colonial army in Algeria – or the Gurkhas – Nepalese who were part of the British colonial army.<sup>52</sup> The comparative angle could also be strengthened for other groups: people who came from the Dutch East Indies to the Netherlands could be compared more with the *Pied Noirs* who came to France, the Anglo-Indians who came to the UK or the *Retornados* who came to Portugal.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, most authors either

47 R. van Ginkel and B. Henkes, 'On peasants and "primitive peoples": moments of rapprochement and distance between folklore studies and anthropology in the Netherlands', *Ethnos* 68:1 (2003) 112-134.

48 F. Sysling, 'Geographies of difference. Dutch physical anthropology in the colonies and the Netherlands, ca. 1900-1940', *BMGN* 128:1 (2013) 105-126.

49 G. Roger Knight, 'A sugar factory and its swimming pool: incorporation and differentiation in Dutch colonial society in Java', *Ethnic and Racial Studies (ERS)* 24:3 (May 2001) 451-471.

50 U. Bosma and R. Raben, *De oude Indische wereld 1500-1920* (Amsterdam 2003); See for an earlier study along these lines: J.A.A. van Doorn, *A divided society. Segmentation and mediation in late-colonial Indonesia* (Rotterdam 1983).

51 H. Smeets and F. Steijlen, *In Nederland gebleven. De geschiedenis van Molukkers 1951-2006* (Amsterdam and Utrecht 2006).

52 G.D. Enjelvin, 'Entrée des Harkis dans L'Histoire de France', *French Cultural Studies* 15 (2004) 61-75; J. McCormack, 'Memory and exile: contemporary France and the Algerian War (1954-1962)', *Critical Studies* 30: 1 (2008) 177-138; O. Khalidi, 'Ethnic group recruitment in the Indian army: the contrasting cases of Sikhs, Muslims, Gurkhas and others', *Pacific Affairs* 74: 4 (2001-2002) 529-552.

53 But see: J.-L. Miège and C. Dubois (ed.) *L'Europe retrouvée. Les migrations de la décolonisation* (Paris 1994).

started or ended their study at the moment of decolonisation. J. Th. Lindblad is an exception and bridged the period between colonial and post-colonial by describing the process of 'Indonisation' after independence.<sup>54</sup> C. Laarman added to this perspective by analysing how colonial rhetoric influenced the post-colonial reception of migrants from the colonies in the Netherlands.<sup>55</sup> The Dutch West Indies received less attention than the East Indies, until G. Oostindie started to direct attention to that part of the Dutch empire.<sup>56</sup> Most attention was paid to migration from the colonies to the metropolis, with the exception of B.R. Rijkschroeff who described the migration from the Dutch East Indies to the US.<sup>57</sup>

K. Fatah-Black recently pointed out how the histories of Europeans moving to and from Suriname in the eighteenth century illustrate the limitations of an empire-centred approach. People, goods and ideas travelled within an Atlantic-wide network. People migrated within empires, as well as between and outside them. By tracing the circuits through which Europeans arrived in and left Suriname in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, it becomes clear how the colony was part of an Atlantic world.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, M. Vink looked at Dutch slave trading in the seventeenth century and saw the Indian Ocean basin as a Braudel-type unit of analysis.<sup>59</sup>

In 1984, Jan Lucassen – building on the ideas of geographers<sup>60</sup> – introduced his historical migration system approach, which sees migration as part of the global movement of goods, people, services and information.<sup>61</sup> Based on a study of migrations to the Dutch North Sea coasts, Lucassen showed how migrants followed well-trodden paths and used networks.

54 J.Th. Lindblad, 'Van Javasche Bank naar Bank Indonesia. Voorbeeld uit de praktijk van indonesianisasi', *TSEG* 1: 1 (2004) 28-46.

55 C. Laarman, *Oude onbekenden. Het politieke en publieke debat over postkoloniale migranten in Nederland, 1945-2005* (Hilversum 2013); C. Laarman, 'The Dutch nation as an imagined family. Family metaphor in political and public debates in the Netherlands on migrants from the (former) Dutch East Indies 1949-1966', *ERS* 36: 7 (2013) 1232-1250.

56 G. Oostindie and E. Maduro, *In het land van de overheerser. Deel II: Antilliaanse en Surinamers in Nederland 1634/1667-1954* (Dordrecht 1986).

57 B.R. Rijkschroeff, *Een ervaring rijker. De Indische immigranten in de Verenigde Staten van Amerika* (Delft 1989).

58 K. Fatah-Black, 'A Swiss village in the Dutch tropics. The limitations of empire-centered Approaches to the Early Modern Atlantic World', *BMGN* 128:1 (2013) 31-52.

59 M. Vink, 'The world's oldest trade': Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century', *JWH* 14:2 (2003) 131-177.

60 See: A.L. Mabogunje, 'Systems approach to a theory of rural urban migration', *Geographical Analysis* 2:1 (1970) 1-18.

61 J. Lucassen, *Naar de kusten van de Noordzee. Trekarbeid in Europees perspectief, 1600-1900* (Gouda 1984).

Authorities influenced the creation and continuation of migration systems. Later migration historians adopted the migration system approach.<sup>62</sup> Migration systems can exist long after the original push and pull factors that led to the creation of the system have disappeared. On the basis of a detailed analysis of German migration to the Netherlands in the nineteenth century, in 2002 I showed how and why immigrant communities, once in place, became a reason for new migrants to migrate.<sup>63</sup> Germans formed by far the largest group of migrants in the Netherlands in the eighteenth, nineteenth and a large part of the twentieth century. The attention paid to this group was, however, for a long time less than that paid to smaller, more 'exotic' groups. Groups of the German migrants were concentrated in jobs and neighbourhoods, and their communities formed an attraction for new migrants long after the economic opportunities had diminished.

C. Lesger identified the factors that shaped migration systems in the seventeenth century in the Netherlands.<sup>64</sup> According to his gravitation model, the nature of migration between two places is influenced by the size of places (the larger the place, the greater the pull) and the distance between them (the larger the distance, the smaller the pull). Distance is related to costs: costs of travel, loss of income and mental costs caused by greater demands from adjustment. Large towns have contacts with many other places, mostly with other large towns. Between them, there are information-poor regions.

In 1990, the anthropologist A. Appadurai introduced the concept 'ethnoscapes', which he defined as the landscape of group identity that is influenced by claims to space.<sup>65</sup> Migrants can claim space, but support and bonds can exist with little reference to locality, as J. van Lottum and I showed for nineteenth century Utrecht.<sup>66</sup> In 2010, C. Quispel used ideas related to claims to space to explain concentrations of Surinamese in

62 See: L. Page Moch, *Moving Europeans. Migration in Western Europe since 1650* (Bloomington 1992); D. Hoerder, *Cultures in contact: world migrations in the second millennium* (Durham 2002).

63 M. Schrover, *Een kolonie van Duitsers. Groepsvorming onder Duitse immigranten in Utrecht in de negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2002).

64 C. Lesger, 'Informatiestromen en de herkomstgebieden van migranten in de Nederlanden in de vroegmoderne tijd', *TSEG* 3:1 (2006) 3-23; C. Lesger, 'Variaties in de herkomstpatronen van nieuwe burgers in Nederlandse steden omstreeks het midden van de zeventiende eeuw', *TSEG* 3:4 (2006) 118-139.

65 A. Appadurai, 'Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy', *Public Culture* 2 (1990) 1-23.

66 M. Schrover and J. van Lottum, 'Spatial concentrations and communities of immigrants in the Netherlands 1800-1900', *Continuity and Change* 22:2 (2007) 215-252; M. Schrover, 'Living together, working together: concentrations amongst German immigrants in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century', *Continuity and Change* 18 (2003) 263-285.

Amsterdam:<sup>67</sup> concentrations evolved from necessity and opportunity, rather than from preference.

As a rule, migration within networks has received more attention than has less visible migration outside networks.<sup>68</sup> In 2010, E. Koops used the older concept of migration culture to describe the migration of certain groups of post-war Dutch emigrants: people migrated because ‘all the others’ did.<sup>69</sup> In some cases and places, migration became so common that those who did not migrate became the exception.<sup>70</sup>

The migration system approach, with its emphasis on the combined travel of goods, ideas and people, has increased interest in the networks of, for example, traders in the Early Modern Period.<sup>71</sup> From the fifteenth century onwards, Dutch merchants created ethnic communities, through which they were connected to their countries of origin and to each other, and through which goods and people travelled, as well as mores and ideas, as M. van Gelder showed.<sup>72</sup>

In the 1980s, when the guest worker migration regime came to an end and refugees became more visible, the number of historical studies on refugee migration increased. Refugee migration was under-studied compared with the study of labour migration or colonial migration, and refugees were seldom compared with other categories of migrants. In 1985, H. Bots described the flight of the Huguenots, and J. Briels that of people from the southern part of the Dutch Republic.<sup>73</sup> B. Moore described refugees from Nazi Germany in the Netherlands,<sup>74</sup> and M. Bossenbroek the flight of the Belgian population to the Netherlands at the beginning of the First World

67 C. Quispel, ‘Toekomst te huur’. Migratie, etniciteit en stigmatisering: de Robert Taylor Homes in Chicago en de Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam’, *TSEG* 7:1 (2010) 88-109.

68 C. Lesger, L. Lucassen and M. Schrover, ‘Is there life outside the migrant network? German immigrants in 19th century Netherlands and the need for a more balanced migration typology’, *Annales de Démographie Historique* (2003) 29-45.

69 E. Koops, *De dynamiek van een emigratiecultuur 1947-1963* (Hilversum 2010).

70 Compare: H. de Haas and A. van Rooij ‘Migration as emancipation? The impact of internal and international migration on the position of women left behind in rural Morocco’, *Oxford Development Studies* 38:1 (2010) 43-62.

71 K. Meeuwse, *Opkomst en ondergang van de Ruslui* (Utrecht 1996); J.W. Veluweekamp, *Archangel. Nederlandse ondernemers in Rusland 1550-1785* (Amsterdam 2000).

72 M. van Gelder, ‘How to influence Venetian economic policy: collective petitions of the Netherlandish merchant community in the early seventeenth century’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 24:1 (2009) 29-47.

73 H. Bots, G.H.M. Posthumus Meyjes and F. Wieringa, *Vlucht naar de vrijheid. De hugenoten en de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam 1985); J. Briels, *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek 1572-1630. Een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie* (Sint-Niklaas 1985).

74 B. Moore, *Refugees from Nazi Germany in The Netherlands 1933-1940* (Dordrecht 1986).

War,<sup>75</sup> which was later followed by E. de Roodt's study of the same subject.<sup>76</sup> These were preceded by R. van Roosbroeck's study of Dutch refugees in Germany in the period from 1550 to 1600<sup>77</sup> and followed Roosendaal's study of Dutch refugees in France in the period from 1787 to 1795.<sup>78</sup> In the 1990s, the literature moved to asylum policies.<sup>79</sup> In 2012, T. Walaardt added to this literature by analysing the arguments that were used to justify policies for a fifty-year period.<sup>80</sup> He showed how and why arguments and strategies changed over time, how they were copied from one group of refugees onto the next and how and why the image of the 'true refugee' changed or remained the same.<sup>81</sup>

Societal debates about migration and integration policies stimulated historical interest in migration regulation, as it had done in the nineteenth century. In 1990, Leo Lucassen looked at the allocation of a position for Roma and Sinti (Gypsies) in the nineteenth century via the process of stigmatisation. Stigmatisation is the dissemination of negative ideas about a specific group by an authoritative body, and the attachment of this stigma to the specific group.<sup>82</sup> In 1965, O. Moorman Van Kappen, whose study was criticised for its anti-'Gypsy' overtones, had already described policies regarding gypsies in the Netherlands in the period from 1420 to 1750.<sup>83</sup> Moorman van Kappen explained anti-immigrant practices from a histori-

75 M. Bossenbroek (ed.), *Vluchten voor de Grootte Oorlog. Belgen in Nederland 1914-1918* (Amsterdam 1988).

76 E. de Roodt, *Oorlogsgasten. Vluchtelingen en krijgsgevangenen in Nederland tijdens de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Zaltbommel 2000).

77 R. van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Leuven 1968); See also: D. Ormrod, *The Dutch in London: The influence of an immigrant community 1550-1800* (London 1973).

78 J. Roosendaal, *Bataven! Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Frankrijk 1787-1795* (Nijmegen 2003).

79 For instance: M. Leenders, *Ongenode gasten. Van traditioneel asielrecht naar immigratiebeleid, 1815-1938* (Hilversum 1993); C.K. Berghuis, *Geheel ontdaan van onbaatzuchtigheid, Het Nederlandse toelatingsbeleid voor vluchtelingen en displaced persons van 1945 tot 1956* (Amsterdam 1999).

80 T. Walaardt, *Geruisloos Inwilligen. Argumenten en speelruimte in de Nederlandse asielprocedure, 1945-1994* (Hilversum 2012).

81 T. Walaardt, 'From protest heroes to true Christians. Labelling Christian Turks as refugees in the 1970s', *ERS* 36: 7 (2013) 1199-1218; T. Walaardt, 'New Refugees? Portuguese war resisters and one American deserter in the Netherlands in the late 1960s and early 1970s', in: M. Schrover and D.M. Moloney, *Gender, Migration and categorisation: Making distinctions between migrants in Western countries (1900) 1945-2010* (Amsterdam 2013) 75-104.

82 L. Lucassen, 'En men noemde hen zigeuners'. *De geschiedenis van Kaldarasch, Ursari, Lowara en Sinti in Nederland: 1750-1944* (Amsterdam/Den Haag 1990).

83 O. Moorman van Kappen, *Geschiedenis der zigeuners in Nederland: de ontwikkeling van de rechtspositie der Heidens of Egyptenaren in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1420-ca. 1750)* (Assen 1965).

cal perspective. Policies, in the form of what were termed 'heathen hunts' became increasingly more organised by the police and the military, between provinces, across the borders of provinces and across national borders. Authorities concluded treaties to fight what they regarded as a threat. For his study, Lucassen built on the theory of D. van Arkel, which stated that lower authorities can be forced to discriminate by higher authorities.<sup>84</sup> Based on an analysis of correspondence between authorities, Lucassen showed that Gypsies had been absent from the Netherlands for a long time, but were immediately stereotyped negatively when they reappeared in the nineteenth century.<sup>85</sup>

Until the 1990s, migrants were seldom given a voice in historical migration research. This changed in 1995, when Henkes interviewed 23 German women who had come to the Netherlands as domestic servants.<sup>86</sup> This led to a host of studies based on oral histories, such as G. Mak's interviews with newcomers in Overijssel,<sup>87</sup> A. Cottaar's interviews with nurses from Suriname<sup>88</sup> and interviews by Leiden students with guest workers at the Demka steel factory in Utrecht.<sup>89</sup> For her dissertation, Bouras interviewed 41 migrants from Morocco about their ties to their country of origin.<sup>90</sup>

Until the 1980s, policy makers saw the ties of migrants to their countries of origin as an instrument to facilitate the easy return of the migrants. From the 1990s onwards, these ties were increasingly problematised, and were regarded as both the proof and the cause of non-integration. Furthermore, the ties of migrants were seen as their choice, thereby making non-integration also their choice, and as a result not the responsibility of the Dutch authorities. Policy changes encouraged migration researchers to study transnationalism. In the 1970s, economists had introduced the term transnationalism to describe the international relationships of non-governmental actors and multinationals.<sup>91</sup> In the 1980s, it was adopted by

84 D. van Arkel, *The drawing of the mark of Cain. A socio-historical analysis of the growth of anti-Jewish stereotypes* (Amsterdam 2009).

85 This collection was found by Agnes Jongerius and Geertje Mak, *Wien Neerlandsch bloed in de aders vloeit ... Een onderzoek naar de groei van vooroordelen en diskriminatie ten aanzien van zigeuners in Nederland tussen 1868 en 1904 en een poging tot verklaring daarvan* (BA paper Utrecht 1982).

86 B. Henkes, *Heimat in Holland. Duitse dienstmeisjes 1920-1950* (Amsterdam 1995).

87 G. Mak, *Sporen van verplaatsing. Honderd jaar nieuwkomers in Overijssel* (Kampen 2000).

88 A. Cottaar, *Zusters uit Suriname. Naoorlogse belevenissen in de Nederlandse verpleging* (Amsterdam 2003).

89 M. Schrover, J. ten Broeke and R. Rommes, *Migranten bij de Demka-staalfabrieken in Utrecht (1915-1983)* (Utrecht 2008).

90 Bouras, *Land van Herkomst*.

91 R. Keohane en J. Nye, *Transnational relations and world politics* (Cambridge 1972).

migration researchers.<sup>92</sup> In the 1990s, debate about transnationalism among migration researchers exploded.<sup>93</sup> In 2012, Bouras added to the literature by showing how governments in the countries of origin and settlement influenced, shaped and enforced ties at the personal and the institutional level.<sup>94</sup> Immigrant organisations were crucial in the creation and maintenance of ties. The ties of immigrants who are poor, low skilled and Muslim are problematised more than those of other migrants.<sup>95</sup> As a rule, studies on transnationalism focus on ties between two countries (origin and settlement). In 2013, K. Stutje drew attention to the ties of migrants between several countries.<sup>96</sup> People from the colonies – many of them political leaders after independence – organised themselves outside the colony on the basis of anti-imperialism, communism and pan-Islamism. In 2011, C. Antunes and F. Ribeiro Da Silva reconnected the debate about transnational ties with its 1970s' origin.<sup>97</sup> Partnerships contracted in Amsterdam between people from different backgrounds were cross-cultural in nature, and included people with different ethnic backgrounds and religious beliefs. These cross-cultural, transnational and trans-imperial transactions were common throughout the early modern Atlantic world.

In 2005, I. Hoving, H. Dibbits and I introduced the twin concept 'appropriation and denial' to explain the integration process.<sup>98</sup> Integration means that differences are no longer made important. Immigrants, their communities and the rest of society change. Elements of the migrants' culture are appropriated and differences denied. In 2005, E. Kuijpers described how societies changed because of the arrival of immigrants in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century.<sup>99</sup> The arrival of large numbers of poor immigrants changed social relations in Amsterdam: social status no

92 B. Schmitter Heisler and M.O. Heisler, 'Transnational migration and the modern democratic state: familiar problems in new form or a new problem?' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 485:1 (1986) 12-22.

93 N. Glick-Schiller, L. Basch and C. Szanton-Blanc (ed.), *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: race, class, ethnicity and nationalism reconsidered* (New York 1992).

94 Bouras, *Land van herkomst*.

95 N. Bouras, 'Shifting perspectives on transnationalism: analysing Dutch political discourse on Moroccan migrants' transnational ties, 1960-2010', *ERS* 36:7 (2013) 1219-1231.

96 K. Stutje, 'Indonesian identities abroad. International engagement of colonial students in the Netherlands, 1908-1931', *BMGN* 128:1 (2013) 151-17.

97 C. Antunes and F. Ribeiro Da Silva, 'Cross-cultural entrepreneurship in the Atlantic: Africans, Dutch and Sephardic Jews in Western Africa, 1580-1674', *Itinerario* 35:1 (2011) 49-76.

98 I. Hoving, H. Dibbits and M. Schrover (eds.), *Veranderingen van het alleedaagse. Cultuur en migratie in Nederland* (Den Haag 2005).

99 E. Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad. Immigranten en sociale verhoudingen in 17<sup>e</sup>-eeuws Amsterdam* (Hilversum 2005).

longer depended on birth, and social relations were formalised and barriers institutionalised.

In 2004, politicians started to label multiculturalism in the Netherlands as a failure. Similar ideas were voiced in neighbouring countries, frequently without making clear what the original goals of multicultural policies had been. These debates led to historical studies on policy 'failure'. In 2009, S. Bonjour used the gap theory to describe how and why policies did not work out in practice as intended.<sup>100</sup> One reason was disagreement between ministries. Walaardt showed how the gap between policy and practice was the result of strategic manoeuvring by low-level bureaucrats, because it allowed them to solve difficult cases.<sup>101</sup> Gaps continued to exist because they were to the benefit of lobbyists and policymakers alike. With regard to the re-shifting and re-labelling of goals, C. van Eijl's study on the process of 'illegalisation' is important. Migrants who fell outside the guest worker recruitment schemes were called spontaneous migrants in the 1970s and illegal migrants in the 1980s. Deportability (can a migrant be deported) and reciprocity (what effect would deportations have on the Dutch outside the Netherlands) proved to be key to explaining when and why migrations or migrants were labelled illegal.<sup>102</sup>

In the early 2000s, the political and journalistic debate about migration became feminised: more attention was paid to what can be labelled women's issues: veiling, import brides, trafficking, prostitution and honour killings. Migration historians had for a long time paid little attention to the differences between men and women. This has changed in recent years.<sup>103</sup>

100 S. Bonjour, *Grens en gezin. Beleidsvorming inzake gezinsmigratie in Nederland, 1955-2005* (Maastricht 2009).

101 T. Walaardt, 'Patience and perseverance. The asylum procedure of Tamils and Iranians', *TSEG* 8:3 (2011) 2-30.

102 C. van Eijl, *Tussenland. Illegaal in Nederland, 1945-2000* (Hilversum 2012).

103 See for instance: M. Chotkowski, "Baby's kunnen we niet huisvesten, moeder en kind willen we niet scheiden". De rekrutering door Nederland van vrouwelijke arbeidskrachten uit Joegoslavië, 1966-1979', *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 26:1 (2000) 76-100; S.A.W. Goedings, 'Echtgenotes, mijnarbeiders, *au-pairs* en soldaten: de pionnen op het Europese schaakbord. Gender en de Europese migratieonderhandelingen, 1950-1968', *TSEG* 5:1 (2008) 49-74. See also the large number of publications coming out of my NWO Vici project, including: M. Schrover and E.J. Yeo (eds.), *Gender, migration and the public sphere 1850-2005* (New York 2010); M. Schrover, 'Feminization and problematization of migration: Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries', in D. Hoerder and A. Kaur (eds.), *Proletarian and gendered mass migrations. A global perspective on continuities and discontinuities from the 19th to the 21st Centuries* (Leiden 2013) 103-131; M. Schrover and D.M. Moloney, *Gender, migration and categorisation: Making distinctions between migrants in Western countries (1900) 1945-2010* (Amsterdam 2013).

As previously observed, the question posed by Greven in 1888 – does migration generate (economic) profit – has re-emerged with some regularity. In 2002, O. Gelderblom analysed how Dutch hospitality contributed to the wealth of the Republic.<sup>104</sup> He described the networks of traders from the Southern Netherlands in Amsterdam and quantified the contribution of newcomers to the Amsterdam trade. In 1610, about a third of the traders in Amsterdam were newcomers from the South, but Gelderblom concluded that their influence on international trade was less than their numbers would suggest.

In recent years, populist, right-wing politicians have pitched the ‘good’ migrants of the past – especially the Golden Age – against the ‘problematic’ migrants of today. Lucassen and Lucassen tried to counter the politicians’ selective claims by taking stock of who has lost and who has gained in the past five hundred years of migration to the Netherlands.<sup>105</sup> A. Winter pointed out that what is a loss for one, can be a gain for another, economic gain can be social or cultural loss, short-time gain can be long-term loss, and vice versa. Furthermore, all claims are to some extent counterfactual, because we cannot know how society would have looked without migrants.<sup>106</sup>

In 2013, P. Foldvari, B. van Leeuwen, and J.L. van Zanden built on the ideas of Lucassen and Lucassen and quantified how important immigration was to Dutch economic success in the period between 1570 and 1800.<sup>107</sup> They concluded that during the Golden Age, migration had a positive, direct long-term effect on GDP per capita. After 1650, the effect of migrants on economic development became insignificant.

## Conclusion

As stated at the beginning of this article, the literature on Dutch migration history is extensive. Dutch migration historians are very active and have produced a wealth of studies, mostly based on time-consuming archival research. Over time, studies became more theoretical, more comparative, more interdisciplinary and part of larger academic debates. Historical

104 O. Gelderblom, *Zuid-Nederlandse kooplieden en de opkomst van de Amsterdamse stapelmarkt (1578-1630)* (Hilversum 2002).

105 L. Lucassen and J. Lucassen, *Winnaars en verliezers. Een nuchtere balans van vijfhonderd jaar immigratie* (Amsterdam 2011).

106 A. Winter, ‘Profit and loss: the current relevance of historical migration research’, *BMGN* 127:3 (2012) 68-73.

107 P. Foldvari, B. van Leeuwen, and J.L. van Zanden, ‘The contribution of migration to economic development in Holland 1570-1800’, *De Economist* 161 (2013) 1-18.

migration research was clearly driven by changes in migration, as well as by economic and geopolitical changes. Over time, topics reappear in historical studies: the focus moved from legal, to demographic, economic, sociological and emancipatory, and back to legal and economic. Historical interest was linked to societal and political debates. Current authors try to prove less than earlier ones that migration is 'good' or 'bad'. The fact that migration historians are driven by changes in migration makes our work interesting and highly socially relevant. Most historians manage to steer away from the policy trap, although this does mean politicians are less likely to pick up on the results.

### **About the author**

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