Changing Perceptions on Surinamese Migrants in Dutch Media from 1975-2000

Master Thesis History of Society

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I. Introduction

1.1. Introduction topic and research question

When we consider what we know about the world we live in and ask ourselves where we get the information about the latest events, new developments and achievements from, we realise that the media (television, newspapers, internet) plays a great part in providing us with information; sometimes it can even be the only source of knowledge. The media can even impose stereotypes, as if certain points or opinions are being repeated over and over, they just become "generally true" as a stereotype. Stereotypes can take the form of racism, which is an extreme and specific form of discrimination. For example, discrimination in labour markets in the present day is still a very serious problem. In my research I will examine the public image of Surinamese migrants in Dutch newspapers from 1975 to 2000.

Over the last fifty years, the country has changed from a relatively homogeneous population into a more multicultural society. The three largest minorities in the Netherlands are now Surinamese, Turkish and Moroccan. Apart from these, there are also a large number of Netherlands Antilleans, Africans, Asians and Europeans living in the Netherlands. In my research, I will describe the main causes that led to the migration flows of Surinamese to the Netherlands, as well as the integration situation faced by them and their descendants at the time of their arrival; furthermore, I will study how the migration and integration situations were perceived in Dutch newspapers.

The Dutch government never openly encouraged immigration, whereas emigration was more than welcomed after the war, which is why more than half a million Dutch citizens found a new home in countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada. At the same time, that Dutch citizens were leaving the Netherlands, people from different countries with various motivations, started coming to the country. One of the reasons was decolonisation, which caused an enormous wave of migrants from Indonesia in the late 1940s until the early 1960s and from 1970s onward, as well as from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles. From that time on, the Netherlands became a country of immigration. For the purpose of this research all types of migration to the Netherlands are going to be considered in the following chapters.

In my thesis I will be focusing on Surinamese migration. Although a tradition of immigration to the Netherlands already existed (Suriname formed part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and migration was not regulated), after the 1960s immigration picked up rapidly
around Surinamese independence in 1975 – when citizens of Suriname were given the option of a Dutch or Surinamese citizenship – and again in 1980 when visa requirements began to be imposed on the Surinamese. Suriname at that time was a multicultural society. The majority of the Surinamese population were of African (Creoles and Maroons), Hindustani (from Indian states Bihar and Eastern Uttar Pradesh) and Javanese descent. There were other groups as well (Amerindians, Europeans, Brazilians, Chinese, Lebanese), but they constituted a very small percentage of the population. But how did all these ethnic groups get to Suriname? From the seventeenth century, the Dutch colonisers brought slaves from Africa to work on plantations as the native population was supposed unsuitable to work there.

The Surinamese Creole people are the mixed descendants of those African slaves who formed a new culture with Europeans. The Maroons were slaves who escaped from plantations and formed their own settlements. However, after slavery was abolished in 1863, most of the former slaves refused to stay on plantations even if they were to be paid for their work. Therefore, the Dutch government made a decision to import indentured labourers from British India and later from Java. On February 26th 1873, the first ship Lalla Rookh sailed to Suriname with 410 Hindustani immigrants on board (11 had died on the way)\(^1\). According to their contracts, they had to work on plantations for five years, after which they were allowed to return to British India. Over the years many of them stayed and formed a large ethnic community in Suriname. The Creole could be called Dutch in terms of their religion, culture and language. Surinamese, except for the indigenous American-Indians, could be called “twice migrants” due to their history, as they had been forced to migrate or semi forced, first to Suriname and then to the Netherlands.

Doubts whether the Surinamese could integrate successfully in the Netherlands were openly expressed among the local Dutch population\(^2\). Suriname was considered to be less socially and economically developed and the level of education and work experience was lower. Now it has been more than thirty years since the start of the main migration to the Netherlands, but the question of integration is still of contemporary importance. In 2008 there were in total about 338,000 of Surinamese living in the Netherlands\(^3\), which amounts to 2.06% of the whole population. In my research I will also study why and by what circumstances the Surinamese came to the Netherlands. It is important to examine the facts on the migration of Surinamese people and what was said in print media. The reasons for migration are very important in the

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\(^1\) Choenni, Chan, Integration Hindustani Style? On the migration, History and Diaspora of Hindustanis (Amsterdam 2011)

\(^2\) Zorlu, Aslan and Joop Hartog, "Migration and Immigrants: The Case of the Netherlands." Tinbergen Institute Discussion Paper. 01-042.3 (2001):28

\(^3\) CBS, Omvang en spreiding van Surinaamse bevolkingsgroepen in Nederland. 2008. P.97
process of creating an image: were Surinamese migrants political victims or did they flee according to their own “selfish” reasons?

As in the last few decades, it has become obvious that the process of integration is not homogeneous, but depends on various factors: the local society must have efficient integration policies and newcomers must be prepared to integrate, but also the hosting society must present a correspondingly suitable environment. In my view, the integration policies do not play the main role in integration. Proper systems of housing, education and ability to work are obviously very important. But tolerance and attitude of the host country is also very important. The Netherlands was known to be a very tolerant country. That is why in my research I will be looking at the level of Dutch tolerance presented the newspapers and trying to answer the question of whether the myth of Dutch tolerance is true. The Netherlands has changed its attitude towards tolerance over the last few decades. It is important to notice that the situation changed all over the world, not just in the Netherlands. The main discussion concerns, of course, Muslim communities, comprised of Moroccans, Turks and partly Muslims of Hindustani origin in the Netherlands. Nonetheless, all minorities in the Netherlands started to feel the changes in the attitude of the natives.

Since the government did not consider the Netherlands as a country of immigration, the integration policies were not ready by the time of the Surinamese arrival. As already stated, the media not only depicts public opinion, but also forms it. Therefore, it is very important to examine the reaction of local Dutch population about the Surinamese arrival. In my research I will examine Dutch newspapers in selected the years 1975 and 2000 on the subject of Surinamese migrants. I have selected this time frame and these key years, as in 1975 Suriname became independent, which provoked a flow of Surinamese migration, and 1980 bringing the second wave of migration. Reading the newspapers I have noticed that in 1990 the relatively negative attitude towards Surinamese migrants changed; as now Turks and Moroccans became the main issue. In order to ensure whether the situation remained the same later on, I also checked the newspapers from the year 2000. My main research question is: how has the public image of Surinamese migrants changed from the years 1975 to 2000 according to Dutch newspapers? I will carefully read the newspapers and identify the main themes of discussion therein; the repeated images of Surinamese migrants; and stereotypes which were imposed by these images. Moreover, I will address the following questions:

- Why did Surinamese migrate from Suriname to the Netherlands? What were the main reasons?
- How did the Dutch hosting society look by the time of migration?
Was there a common Dutch reaction to the sudden emergence of a Surinamese minority as reflected in the media?

1.2. Main theoretical concepts. Migration and public image.

Migration

When considering migration one should remember that there are various types of migration. Migration can be briefly characterised as the movement by people (individuals or groups) with the intention to change domicile for a long period of time. Migration is studied in variety of fields: History, Economics, Demography, Geography, Sociology etc; as migration inevitably affects different realms of life. There are basically two main fields of migration: emigration (“outflow” of people from a country, or region, or city) and immigration (“inflow” of people to a country, or region, or city). According to the reasons and the nature of emigration, it could be forced or voluntary, political, economic, cultural, etc. But generally speaking emigration implies the idea that a migrant has a better life after settling elsewhere; that the standard of living will change, economic or social prospects will increase; or that through emigration a migrant is trying to save what he already has. Concerning the time period of migration, it might be temporal or permanent. Internal migration is a migration that takes place within one country, and if the movement occurs across national borders, it is an international migration. As I am writing about the migrants from Suriname after its independence in 1975 we are officially dealing with international migration.

Due to the complexity and multiplicity of this concept, it is treated in differently in different countries. That is why I will present the concept of migration in case of the Netherlands, which throughout its history faces all kinds of migration. In legal terms a "newcomer" can be an alien (a foreigner who has no citizenship and therefore fewer rights) and a citizen. This terminology can be quite complex. As, for example, a child that is born in an immigrant family is not an immigrant but could still be an alien. Moreover not all aliens are the same: if you are a member of the European Union or European community you can enter the Netherlands at any time and stay in the country without registration for three months, and members can look for work without a permit. Citizens of a non EC/EU country, especially after the signing of the Schengen Agreement in 1985, must go through many legal procedures to enter

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the Schengen zone. Of course speaking of the time of Surinamese arrival in 1975 the entering procedures were different, as immigration policies were still being established.

A person who is born in the Netherlands (a Dutch citizen) and leaves the country to live abroad is called an emigrant. Those of Dutch nationality who decide to return are called repatriates. In case of the Netherlands, people who came to the country from independent Indonesia are called repatriates. An immigrant who decides to go back to the country of origin is called a returnee.

As stated, there are different reasons to migrate that form different types of migration. It could be for political or religious reasons (which could include gender, race, sexuality etc). Those who seek asylum because of their gender, race, sexuality, religion, ethnicity, or because they oppose the government of the country of origin are known as refugees. The other type of migration is economic migration which includes those who seek a better life in relation to work opportunities. Also we should not forget family reunion migration and "marriage" migration, when either a family of an immigrant follows them, or brides migrate to marry elsewhere. The Netherlands has faced all the types of migration and all types of migrants throughout its history. To have a better understanding of the type of migration we are dealing with we should look closer at the history of migration to the Netherlands and in particular the migration of Surinamese, which is a part of post-colonial migration to the Netherlands. As colonialism came to an end after WWII, the former colonies became newly independent states. Postcolonial migration is a migration of people from former colonies to the former colonial empire or anywhere else, such as from India and Pakistan to the United Kingdom. In case of the Netherlands, postcolonial migration occurred in the late 1940s and the 1950s, when people from Indonesia (Dutch, Indonesians and Indo European) and from the Republic of South Maluku migrated to the Netherlands, and in the 1970s and 1980s when migration occurred from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles.

Public Image: three theories of media coverage.

Most of what we know (or we think we know) is not based on our own experience. All our knowledge can be described as a collection of stories: read, heard, seen and told. The stories (histories) that are out of our reach and sight, that we cannot witness and have our own judgment of, we get primarily from the media. For example, how do we know what is currently happening in Israel? We do not live there; we do not hear shootings and bombs falling on our roofs: we read about it in newspapers, listen to the radio and watch it on television. This means that most of what we know about the world now is based on what media tells us. Media contributes to one of
the factors that shape public image of these issues and the public opinion thereover. Public image and public opinion stand very close to each other. Public image is the public (most common, shared) view of a certain issue, whereas public opinion is the shared understanding of an issue. An event, an organisation, or a minority can gain its own public image, even though it could be far from the reality or not completely true.

There are several theories that describe how media affects public image: priming theory, agenda setting theory and framing theory. In order to understand how, in the opinion of media and communication scholars, media influences people, I will briefly introduce all three.

**Priming theory**

Priming theory states that the images (pictures) that we get from media provoke the same or related ideas in our minds. By that, media scholars mean that the well-known concept of a negative impact of violence in media: if a person were to see a figure from a film or cartoon commit a violent action towards someone else without permanent consequences, it could provoke that person to repeat the same action in his life. Priming theory is not very important for my thesis, as I deal with newspapers, but it is a nice example of how in theory the media could influence people's behaviour.

**Framing theory**

In one of his articles David Weaver quotes Entman, who describes the process of framing thus: "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described". Framing as a social construction is used by political and social movements, political leaders etc. It could be understood as an inevitable process of selection of information and emphasising some of the aspects, which influence a person's perception of this information. The theory claims that the actual facts do not even have to be altered or changed, the "the frame" that is surrounding the issue will change the readers perspective. For example, the theory is often used to describe how politicians are framing some of the issues; they are presenting the facts as a problem, when in reality it could not be a problem. It could be also understood as simply an "exaggeration" of some of the problems; in our case it could be the problems regarding migration and new

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6 Weaver D.H., Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming. Journal of Communication 57 (2007):143
minorities. An example of how the framing theory could work, would be a journalist choosing a story where there has been a fight between a Surinamese man and a Dutch man, even though the same day there have been other cases of fights among just Dutch, and writes an article about the ethnicity based conflict, where he raises a question, as to whether Surinamese and Dutch people are able to coexist. While describing the crime the journalist does not forget to mention that an arrestee is of a Surinamese origin; then the journalist writes an article about the violence of Surinamese minority. The fight between two men could be a matter of a misunderstanding rather than an ethnicity based conflict, and although there were other crimes that happened the same day or that week committed by local Dutch people, the journalist picked those stories and framed them in a way he wanted the audience to read them.

The Agenda Setting theory

The Agenda Setting theory concerns the ability of the media to manage the salience of issues influencing public view in a different way. It states that if one topic is appertaining inmedia over and over again (is being repeated frequently), if the media concentrates on few subjects, the audience will perceive the topic as more important than others. This theory is based on the concept of accessibility: the more frequently the media covers an issue, the more those issues become accessible in people's memories.

The last two theories state that the media does not actually reflect the reality, but filters and shapes it. Some of the aspects of the world's news are emphasised, some are barely covered and some are completely ignored. If asked about the most important things that are happening in the world now, it is likely that one will recreate the images of what has been read in newspapers; it could be a sports event, a presidential election in only one country, or a military conflict etc. Not only does media influence the "pictures" we have about the world, but it also tells us how to interpret these pictures. Maxwell McCombs wrote about the psychological trait, the degree of need for orientation. In order to interest the audience, the topic must seem relevant and important. Some are obviously more influenced by media than others. Some are just disinterested. So for every individual the level of influence is different. But the level of common knowledge about a subject also increases or decreases the influence of media. This means that if the reader hears about a certain subject for the first time, and it is brand new information, the level of influence is much higher than if the reader already knew about it and carries some

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8 McCombs Maxwell. *The Agenda Setting role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public opinion*. (University of Texas at Austin):9
additional information; with which they can form their own opinion. For example, reading articles about Surinamese people being involved in drugs or crime, even if the percentage of those involved be very small, can create a specific image of Surinamese people being violent and drug users.

### 1.3. Main Sources

I cannot analyse all the media in the Netherlands for my thesis. As my main sources I have taken Dutch national newspapers from 1975 until 2000 that represent most of the relevant groups of Dutch society: social democrats, liberals, communists, right wing populists and orthodox Christians. This resulted in the following selection of papers:

* Het Vrije Volk. Social democratic daily newspaper. Based in Rotterdam since 1971. The last edition appeared in 1991, and thereafter the newspaper was merged with Rotterdam’s Nieuwblad into Rotterdam’s Dagblad.

* Nederlands Dagblad. This newspaper still exists in the Netherlands. It broadcasts the Orthodox Christian point of view

* De Waarheid (the Truth). This was the newspaper of the Communist Party in the Netherlands (CPN). It disappeared after 1990.

* De Telegraaf. The largest and most populist daily newspaper that exists to this day. It is now famous for many sensational and sports articles. Back then it had a slightly more serious image. However, financial news coverage has gained a more serious tone nowadays.

* De Volkskrant. Originally a Roman Catholic newspaper, but became a left wing newspaper in the 1960s.

* NRC Handelsblad. One of the largest daily newspapers in the Netherlands. I have read NRC Handelsblad for the years 1990 and 2000. In 2000 Het Vrije Volk and De Waarheid were no longer in circulation, which left me with only three newspapers. I used this newspaper for additional information.

I have chosen newspapers that are intended for a wide audience. Het Vrije Volk, Nederlands Dagblad and De Waarheid were the small scale newspapers. Het Vrije Volk was still the largest Dutch newspaper in the 1950s, but after 1971 it became a small local newspaper in Rotterdam. De Waarheid was read by Dutch communists who after WWII, and especially after the Soviet occupation of Hungary in 1944 and later the unveiling of the truths of Stalinist cruelty, were increasingly unpopular in the Netherlands. The Nederlands Dagblad, on the other hand, was a serious newspaper read mostly by Orthodox Christians, but its daily circulation was very
small in comparison with De Telegraaf (2013:463,000)\textsuperscript{9} or De Volkskrant (2013:275,000)\textsuperscript{10}. In 1975 the daily circulation was 22,000 papers, in 1985 it was 12,000 papers. De Telegraaf is one of the biggest newspapers in the Netherlands and it targets a very broad audience using a populist style. Both NRC Handelsblad (2013:202,000)\textsuperscript{11} and De Volkskrant are the newspapers whose audience mostly consists of skilled people and intellectuals.

The total number of articles dedicated to Surinamese immigration and Surinamese minority that I have examined over the four selected years of 1975, 1980, 1990 and 2000 is 501. Of course there have been more articles written on Surinamese people, but I counted only those that were about Surinamese people in the Netherlands and only those that I actually used as my sources. Advertisements, articles that just stated the facts about the political situation in Suriname, even though they appear in the search, I did not include. Most of the articles I paid attention to were editorials, analytical articles (where newspapers not only stated some facts but also analysed them and shared their own opinion about them). From sports articles I chose those that not only stated that the Dutch team won, but also analysed why the team won. I used articles that were published on the front page or that had “loud” titles, which could catch the attention of the audience. From the table, the regression of numbers of articles about Surinamese migrants in 1990 and 2000, which could mean the loss of interest or lack of information, can be noted. In the majority of the newspapers the number of articles increased (for the most part) or stayed the same from 1975 to 1980.

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\textsuperscript{9} \url{http://www.hoi-online.nl/} HOI, Institute for Media Auditing 2013.14.08

\textsuperscript{10} ibid

\textsuperscript{11} \url{http://www.hoi-online.nl/} HOI, Institute for Media Auditing 2013.14.08
1.4. Literature report

In this part of my thesis I will examine the main literature regarding Surinamese migration, the reaction of the Dutch government and Dutch people towards Surinamese migrants; I will examine the literature regarding the research of the influence of media on people, which I find relevant for the subject of my thesis. The literature included consists of articles and books. It should be noted that most of the significant literature on the subject of migration to the Netherlands was published over the last thirty years. I have accumulated most of the relevant works for my thesis. In this historiographical section, I will focus on several directions. First of all, I will focus on literature specifically regarding Surinamese migration. Secondly, I will focus on the debate on the media’s specific influence on people. I will also include literature on the subject of the connection between education, social status and integration process, which I find important to mention (and sometimes impossible to avoid) in regard to the question of acceptance of Surinamese migrants. This information comes mostly from articles. I should also mention that my Dutch language ability enables me to read Dutch newspaper articles. The newspaper articles are short pieces with an introduction, main part and conclusion, and are easy to follow and understand. Reading books in Dutch, on the other hand, would have taken me a lot of time. That is why I have chosen to read the translated versions. This is why I have not read books on Surinamese migration that had not been translated, such as some works of John Schuster and Guno Jones, but I often came across references to them in translated versions.

In the following historiography I will chronologically delineate the literature and existing scientific debates on the subject of migration to the Netherlands and the media influence thereof.

Debates on migration to the Netherlands; facts and figures. Post-colonial migration: a new phenomenon in Dutch history?

In this historiographical overview, I will discuss the main literature regarding the history of migration to the Netherlands in general, and in particular migration from Suriname. Dutch politicians in the 1970s and 1980s had been emphasising the fact that the Netherlands had never been a country of immigration and should never be¹². This statement is very controversial and was discussed by several authors. One of the most important writers on this subject is Jan

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Lucassen, who published many highly detailed and informative works over the past thirty years on the topic of global labour history, labour migration and labour relations. The relevant articles are “From mobility transition to comparative global migration history”, “Migration, Migration History, History. Old Paradigms and New Perspectives”. The most relevant for my thesis is his book (with Rinus Penninx as a co-author) Newcomers: Immigrants and their Descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995. This book can be regarded as an introduction to the history of migration in the Netherlands from the middle of sixteenth century to today. This book is an attempt, not only to describe the history of migration and foreigners themselves, but also to show the circumstances of the arrival of newcomers, their reception by Dutch society over the years and the place in the society that they and their descendants received.

The authors argue that the Netherlands was never a stranger to migration, and that, apparently, migration was an ongoing process over many centuries. This means they opposed the idea of Dutch politicians from 1970s that the Netherlands had never experienced such a massive migration flow before. The other aspect is that the Netherlands was not very much prepared in the sense of migration and integration policies. Lucassen argues that the Netherlands was never an easy place to get a citizenship, even though a huge percentage of the ‘burgers’ (formal citizens) of Amsterdam in the sixteenth century were originally immigrants. Even at that time, the majority of immigrants who wanted to remain in the country would try to marry locals in order to gain the right to stay. Like most of the researchers on this subject, the authors believe that one of the main reasons for initial denial of the image of the Netherlands as the country of immigration and total lack of complete integration policies is the influence of the previously existing system of pillars, about which I will talk later in detail. In another book, of which Lucassen (with Feldman and Oltmer) was one of the authors, he argues that the reason why the country was unprepared (in a sense that there were no relevant integration policies) and why immigrants and local society found itself in a very “undefined position”, is due to the absence of an internal Dutch slavery tradition. Migrants coming from Suriname to the Netherlands did not automatically fall into a racial category. They spoke the language of their coloniser, they were brought into a relatively Dutch system; many of them were Christians. In the opinion of the authors, Surinamese immigrants experienced modest, and sometimes fast, social mobility, and the Dutch society received newcomers fairly well.

In the book "Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity formations in the Netherlands", edited by Ulbe Bosma, Guno Jones writes that Dutch politicians had been expressing concerns of

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13 Lucassen, Jan and Rinus Penninx, Newcomers. Immigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995 (Amsterdam 1994) :56
Surinamese migration long before the independence of Suriname and waves of migration. These concerns were not only about numbers, but also about the identities of Surinamese: Dutch politicians had been discussing cultural differences between Surinamese and Dutch, and their doubts that Surinamese culture would fit into Dutch society\textsuperscript{15}. When these migration waves occurred in 1975 and 1980, and a large number of Surinamese went to the Netherlands, these migrants were not treated as fellow citizens from a former colony. In the same book, Ulbe Bosma argues that the discussion on how to integrate new migrants did not have a post-colonial character: there was no clear distinction between labour migrants and post-colonial migrants\textsuperscript{16}.

The other important work regarding the subject of interest, is Gert Oostindie’s book; Postcolonial Netherlands: Sixty five years of forgetting, commemorating, silencing, which follows the same idea that the Netherlands had no public debate on migration; the immigrants had to fight for their recognition in society. The book covers the history of postcolonial migration to the Netherlands (from Indonesia, Suriname and the Antilles) and the immigrant’s struggle for recognition (their rights and participation). Oostindie argues as well, that the traditional socio-political structure before rapid immigration plays a large part in the process of recognition: verzuiling or "pillarization". Catholic and Protestants, but also socialists and liberals, organised themselves into their own "pillars", presenting their members with a broad spectrum of duties, mores and services. In his view, this system had a stabilising effect after World War II. However, after the turbulence of the 60s and 70s (a turbulent period of a social and economic reconstruction) and the waves of migration, the Netherlands launched into a rapid process of secularisation. This is why the way the issues of migration and multiculturalism were addressed by politicians and society as a whole were strongly influenced by the removal of traditional religious and socio-political divisions.

The proof that the Netherlands was denying being a country of immigration could be found even in the manner the newcomers were called. Migrants from Indonesia were called “repatriates”, from Suriname and Netherlands Antilles “Kingdom fellows” (rijksgenoten) and migrants from Turkey and Morocco “guest workers”\textsuperscript{17}. Migration Policymaking in Europe: the Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present, edited by Giovanna Zincone, Rinus Penninx and Maren Borkert, shows the whole retrospective of the history of migration policymaking in Europe. The Netherlands, along with countries such as France, Germany and Great Britain, are examined as a separate case. The authors believe that the “real” policymaking started after the 1990s, when Dutch politicians started to officially recognise immigrants; the

\textsuperscript{15} Bosma, Ulbe, ed., \textit{Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands.} (Amsterdam, 2012): 41
\textsuperscript{16} Bosma, Ulbe, ed., \textit{Post-colonial immigrants and identity formations in the Netherlands.} (Amsterdam, 2012):199
\textsuperscript{17} Zincone, Giovanna, Penninx,Rinus, Borkert.Maren, Migration Policymaking in Europe. The dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present. (Amsterdam, 2011)
Dutch politicians were insisting on Dutch exceptionalism in immigration and integration policymaking\(^\text{18}\).

The question of the reasons of migration of Suriname was discussed by Lucassen (1994, 2006), Bosma (2012), Oostindie (2007), Penninx (2006), Schover (2008). They all agree that that Surinamese had no faith in an independent Suriname; the Netherlands seemed to be a "safe place" with some essential stability. Hans van Amersfoort (2011), however, also blames the Dutch government, as in his opinion the government of the prime minister Den Uyl completely misunderstood the nature of Surinamese migration (that the Surinamese did not believe in the future of an independent Suriname), and that through their actions (future visa requirements, the question of citizenship) they had provoked the immigration\(^\text{19}\).

I have also looked at the final report of the European Forum of Migration Studies (EFMS 2006): Integration and integration policies IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study (the authors who wrote about integration policies in the Netherlands were: W. Koopmans, T. Duyvene de Wit, J.Veenman). The aim of this forum was to identify and fill the existing gaps in integration research. The authors wrote that obstacles in the way of successful integration are: legal barriers or rules of institutions that prohibit participation and membership of immigrants, discriminatory behaviour and prejudices of the society, and lack of support by state and civil society\(^\text{20}\). Apart from other conclusions, one in particular captured my attention: the idea that immigration may both increase and decrease the stability and balance of the society, as well as increase or decrease the integration process\(^\text{21}\). On one hand, it could help to fill gaps in the labour market and secure the labour market, which leads to economic growth, and therefore to social stability; immigrants as consumers are also increasing economic claims. On the other hand, as a result of immigration the hosting society could also suffer from an increase of tensions due to, for example, new ethnic conflicts, an increase of extremism or formation of new parties that want to fight immigration or budget spending on immigrants’ needs, etc. In case of the Netherlands, the disadvantages are recognised. During the time of massive immigration (one third of population of Suriname migrated to the Netherlands) in Dutch circles people were more or less confused by the fact that most of the Surinamese were coming to the Netherlands without a house or a job, which meant the government was spending more money. Moreover, if we are talking about the Netherlands now, the situation with immigrants is evidently “heated” by, at least, Geert Wilders’ anti-migrant speeches.

\(^{18}\) Zincone, Giovanna, Penninx,Rinus, Borkert. Maren, Migration Policymaking in Europe. The dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present. (Amsterdam, 2011): 158
\(^{19}\) Amersfoort van, Hans, How the Dutch Government stimulated the unwanted immigration from Suriname. IMI Working papers Series 2011, N.47 2011. P.16
\(^{20}\) EFMS 2006. Integration and integration policies. IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study. P. 19
\(^{21}\) EFMS 2006. Integration and integration policies. IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study. P. 21
Most the works of Justus Veenman concern the labour market, dependencies between migration and economic stability, socioeconomic integration. In one of the articles (“Naturalisation and Socioeconomic Integration: the Case of the Netherlands”) with a co-author Pieter Bevelander he argues that the Netherlands has a relatively high percent of naturalization (immigrants that received Dutch nationality). Authors come to the conclusion that educational level (and also whether the immigrant received his or her education degree) of the immigrant has a great impact on the possibility to receive Dutch passport in future.

Uitemark in Dynamics of Power in Dutch Integration Politics: from accommodation to confrontation speaks of "Culturalism" as a discourse organised around the idea that the world is divided into cultures and that our enlightened, liberal culture should be defended against the claims of minorities committed to illiberal religions and ideologies. Even though many scholars speak of multiculturalism as the main policy towards migrants after 1980 in the Netherlands, Hans Entzinger writes, that the term multiculturalism was barely used in 1980, however the Dutch Minorities' Policy of the 1980s was without doubt multicultural. Uitermark, however, argues that Dutch civil sphere experienced not only one transformation (from pillarization) but another one at the end of twentieth century: the lift to culturalism which must not be confused with conservatism. Uitermark points out that Dutch people are more or less concerned with preserving their "contemporary Dutch culture" (which includes gender issues, attitude to sexual minorities...). Gordijn argues that an important element of Dutch culture is a strong desire for conformity, by with she means that if you want to be one of ‘the’ Dutch, you will have to become exactly like the them. As an example of Dutch conformity she writes about the Dutch "canon" (canons) which represents Dutch historical developments and supposed to lead to more understanding of Dutch identity. Rob van Ginkel in Reframing Dutch Culture: Between otherness and authenticity argues that increasing popularity of local level political parties and emphasizing the uniqueness of local traditions and folklore is the sign of a struggle for the national identity against newcomers. Aslan Zorlu and Joop Hartog express the idea that the only reason why immigrants from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles had benefits, in comparison to Turkish and Moroccans, was their acquaintance with Dutch language and culture; this made it easier for them to be more or less accepted by indigenous Dutch.

25 Zorlu, Aslan and Joop Hartog, "Migration and Immigrants: The Case of the Netherlands." Tinbergen Institute Discussion Paper. 01-042.3 (2001):22
Others, on the contrary, were not accepted even if they had Dutch nationality: Juno Jones argued that having the Dutch passport did not guarantee acceptance; he spoke of phenomenon of "alienation of citizens"26.

"Migration Policymaking in Europe. The dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present" is a work of researches from ten different European countries what joined to write a comparative study on migration movements themselves and on state efforts to regulate them. The initiative was undertaken by one of the research clusters of the IMISCOE Research Network, which defined its task as studying the multilevel governance of immigrant and immigration policies. These are researches from various scientific disciplines: from political science, policy analysis, sociology, geography, history and legal studies. One of the countries they look at is the Netherlands as well. The authors speak of Dutch "exceptionalism" regarding the topic of immigration and integration; they also agree with Oostindie that the legacy of pillarisation in the form of political culture of conflict accommodation may explain why policymaking has for so long remained behind the closed doors27. Scholten disagrees though on the subject of Dutch "exceptionalism", in his opinion in terms of globalization all the counties created their own "models of integration"28. And the Dutch integration model from 1970s till 1990s was the institutionalized cultural pluralism, the emancipation of immigrant minorities, which fell into the definition of pillarisation system29.

In 2009 Ostendorf and Musterd publish a research on the relationship between the residential segregation of ethnic minorities and integration (or assimilation) process. The authors criticise the existing integration policy. They note that the relationship between segregation and integration suffers from too much political and too little scholarly attention. They argue that education appears to be a key factor for successful integration, both in socio-economic terms and in social and cultural terms. On the other hand, they also add that in their view the promotion of mixed neighbourhoods as a panacea for societal ills and as a guarantee for social cohesion should be treated with scepticism.

A group of researchers published an article (Education and Cultural Integration among Ethnic Minorities and Natives in The Netherlands: A Test of the Integration Paradox) on the subject of the direct and indirect effects of education on attitudinal indicators of cultural integration. The authors presumed that more educated minorities express more ethnic hostility, identify more with their country of origin and have better relations with the host population.

27 Zincone, Giovanna, Penninx, Rinus, Borkert, Mare, Migration Policymaking in Europe. The dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present. (Amsterdam, 2011) 159
29 Scholten Peter. Dutch Research Policy Diologues in Comparative Perspective. Framing Immigrant Integration (Amsterdam 2011). :68
They made a questionnaire which included questions concerning the attitude towards mixed relationships ("Would it bother you if one of your children chooses a native Dutch person as a partner?"), their perception of their origin ("Do you feel more Dutch or (ethnicity or origin)?"), Dutch media usage and original country media usage ("How many times a week do you watch Dutch or original country TV channels?"). At the end they came to a very interesting conclusion that more educated minorities do not necessarily have more positive contact with natives and do not necessarily experience less discrimination.

J.Tillie and B.Slijper examine the recent debates on the multicultural democracy. The main idea of the research is that the attitude to migration policies changed due to the events of "nine eleven". Many people started to question and doubt the effectiveness of these policies. Most of the debates are about Islam, but the questions also concern migrants with a non-European socio-cultural background. The authors look at the migrant communities in Amsterdam. Penninx argues that after the Van Gogh murder there the growth of disappointment and conviction in politics can be seen, and not only the integration did not work but it cannot be done at all because of a lack of control and admission.\(^{30}\)

C.Bagley's article "Immigrant Minorities in the Netherlands: Integration and Assimilation" is one of the earliest works I have found on the subject of immigration and integration. Bagley gives a brief description of immigration to the Netherlands. He studies the relationships between migrants and hosts as a complex phenomenon and investigates their interactions. His conclusions about Dutch society are the most relevant for my thesis. He describes the Dutch as a very closed society that does not want to let strangers into its "homeland" or "blocs". By the "blocs" he means the system of pillars in the Netherlands, the system of segregation of Dutch society, which will be described later. In his opinion, the Dutchman is distinctly unfriendly to an immigrant not because he is an immigrant, but because he is not a member of his "bloc". His conclusions flow out of the idea of a pillarised society, which for the author was still the actual realm. The idea of the dependencies between the traditional Dutch socio-cultural system and immigrant's integration is very interesting.

It seems that among the scholars of history of migration to the Netherlands and Dutch integration policies there is no common understanding whether integration policies of the Dutch government in the 80s and 90s were multicultural or they were something else. Steven Vertovec wrote an article in 1999, entitled “More multi, less culturalism: the anthropology of cultural complexity and the new politics of pluralism”, where he called multicultural politics: “politics of difference”, “politics of identity” and “politics of recognition”. In his opinion, multiculturalism is

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\(^{30}\) Penninx R., Dutch Immigrant Policies Before and After the Van Gogh Murder., University of Amsterdam, 2006
the solution for our “post-modern decay of the society”31. Indeed, some historians regard multiculturalism as the only way to achieve equality and equity in our contemporary society. They say that the concept of culture - a “package” of traits, values and practice; tied historically to one place; transmitted between generations etc.32 – is no longer applicable in order to describe a society; the same can be said about concepts of nation and nation-state. Nevertheless, there is a difference between policies that imply multiculturalism and a society that follows, comply and respect “multicultural rules”. In this case there can be a division of concepts. Policies can be “multicultural”, but a society can be “cultural”. Culturalism, as has been said, must not be confused with conservatism; it must not be confused with nationalism either. Culturalism is the idea that individuals are defined by their culture; “cultures” must be maintained and protected. It states that each sociocultural constitution is a compilation of specific values, traditions and mind-set, which is passed on to successive generations as traditional knowledge; having this common knowledge makes an individual a part of the group33. This mind-set does not necessarily need to have started centuries ago. A culture can adapt some new values and make them a part of the “culture’s identity”, such as, for instance, freedom of speech, equality between men and women, sexual freedom etc. In order to be accepted in the group (“cultural entity”) an individual must share the same values. Culturalism can become a political ideology, even if it is not evident. Does the fact that the French Senate gave the approval for a bill prohibiting the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols in public schools in 2004, or that Switzerland banned the construction of Mosque minarets by referendum in 2009 make these counties followers of the policies of “culturalism”? The Dutch pillarised society, about which I will write later (see 2.2), was not multicultural, and multiculturalism in the Netherlands is not “pillarisation in new clothes”34. The Catholics and Protestants that started the process of pillarisation formed a large group within the Dutch society, they were recognised as members of Dutch society, whereas immigrants in the Netherlands that were targeted by multicultural policies were small marginal groups that were not recognised as members of Dutch society. In my research I will try to answer the question of whether the term "culturalism" as discussed by Uitermark and others is more suitable for describing how Dutch society was coping with immigration from Suriname. That means that the Dutch society could recognise migrants as members of society when the migrants adapted same values and mind-set as the Dutch.

32 ibid
Media influences on public opinion?

As I am writing my thesis based on Dutch newspapers from 1975-2000, it is very important to clarify the influence media has on people. There has been much research on this subject, but mostly regarding the impact of the television. I strongly believe, that even though newspapers in our time play a less important role in news making, back in 1980s newspapers were still one of the main sources of information.

In Media in Question, Brants, Hermes and Zoonen suggest that currently media is a mixture of dimensions; information and entertainment, citizens and consumers are pretty much the same thing; over time it is difficult to separate them and distinguish whether the article in the newspaper is only meant for an informative purpose or for entertainment\textsuperscript{35}. Maxwell McCombs wrote about the importance of agenda-setting theory (one of the theories that will be described later); in his opinion readers not only get factual information from the media (and the media is basically the only source of this information), but people are also being "dictated" to which affair is important and which is not, and therefore they form their understanding on the basis of what they have read. For the author, the influence that media has on people is pretty obvious\textsuperscript{36}. For Maurice Vergeer, on the other hand, the influence that media has is very controversial. He argues that negative coverage does not automatically mean a negative image among the readers\textsuperscript{37}. On the other hand, the author was mainly opposing the Cultivation Theory by Gebner, which indicates that the direct influence of media on an audience leaves the audience with a misperception of what is true or not.

The way media influences public opinion was also discussed by Algra, Elands and Schoeman in an article about the public image of Dutch veterans from the image of a "hero" to "perpetrator" and then from "perpetrator" to "victim". The authors describe how the media created stereotypes in their journalistic portrayal of Dutch veterans by mainly focusing on failures and misconduct\textsuperscript{38}. In the article “Integrating migrants in the Netherlands: the Role of Education, Employment, and the Media” Justus Veenman concludes: “Journalists do not simply describe the facts, but make a selection of facts, then give their own interpretation of these facts and finally comment on the facts basised on their own interpretation. By doing this, they can easily affect public opinion as well as policy making, both positively as well as negatively. As

\textsuperscript{36} McCombs Maxwell. The Agenda Setting role of the Mass Media in the Shaping of Public opinion. (University of Texas at Austin. 2008)
\textsuperscript{37} Vergeer M., Een gekleurde blik op de wereld. Een studie naar de relatie tussen blootsstelling aan media en opvattingen over etnische minderheden. (University Nijmegen. 2000)
far as immigrant integration is concerned, the situation is no different. For this reason the media is an actor, and not the least important one, in the field of immigrant integration”39. Liesbet van Zoonen writes in Media, Culture and Citizenship (Media, Cultuur and Burgerschap) about how the problems of ethnic minorities were portrayed in the Dutch media and she came to several conclusions. First of all, media pays little attention to ethnic minorities; and even if it does, the coverage is usually negative. Second of all, and that which I find very important, is that media tends to emphasise the background (origins) and culture of minorities when it comes to describing crime.

1.5. Innovative aspects: how does this research contribute to academic debates and methodological innovation?

In the twenty first century, intercultural and interpersonal contacts between people became much easier in terms of globalisation. Advanced transportation and telecommunication (internet) enabled the exchange of different products, and aspects of different cultures and ideas. And as been already said, due to globalisation, multiculturalism has become part of our everyday world. The migration of Surinamese to the Netherlands has become part of ongoing changes to Dutch and immigration integration policies, perception of Dutch people of the Netherlands as a land of immigration and, therefore, changes of Dutch society itself. In this research I will try to present an innovative perspective on the migratory and integration processes as a heterogeneous phenomenon. I will show not only the circumstances and situations the Surinamese face at the beginning of arrival to the Netherlands, but also how the public image of “new citizens” has changed over time, and how massive immigration altered the common perception of the Netherlands to Dutch people.

I will also carefully examine the impact of the phenomenon of pillarisation on immigration and integration occurring through information given in Dutch newspapers. In order to achieve this, I will use several newspapers for my research that represent different political parties and social groups, and which also originally come from a certain pillar. I will look closely at the main questions the newspapers pose on matter of emergence of migration and what solutions they propose (if they do).

In the article "Immigration, intermarriage and the changing face of Europe in the post war period" Lucassen and Laarman point out that the most pessimistic scenarios predict an ongoing cultural clash between ‘them’ and the indigenous European population, because of the unwillingness of migrants and their children to adopt indigenous way of life, and fear the emergence of ethnic ghettos or ‘parallel societies’⁴⁰. I would like to argue with this. Through my research I would like to show that for the past forty years the Surinamese community faced the process of integration and there is no threat of emergencies of ethnic ghettos.

1.6. Methods and expected challenges

As one of my methods I have chosen a qualitative method in order to achieve the clear picture of the Surinamese migration to the Netherlands over the past forty years. My aim is to conduct research that follows several case studies with data collected through Dutch newspapers from 1975 till 2000. A qualitative method helps towards a better understanding of “causality” as a relation between the event and its consequences; which means a qualitative method is used to answer the questions of why and how a certain event occurred. The researcher, in order to answer his questions, collects “evidence” through case studies. The main reason I chose this method is the richness in data I collected, which allows me to have a varied range of factors behind the circumstances of Surinamese migration on display and explore it from several perspectives. Another advantage of the qualitative method of research is that it shows the real-life interactions between people, which I find very suitable to my preferences and interests. However, I must draw attention to some points of critique. There are few, in my opinion, disadvantages. This type of research method is more subjective and preconceived in its nature than others (such as quantitative types), which constitutes danger for the researcher to fall into their own biased interpretations. In my research I will try to overcome this challenge and be as objective as possible.

This type of study has a more subjective nature in comparison to others, mostly quantitative types of studies, and as a consequence, it leaves a large space for the researchers own interpretations, which could be very dangerous.

In order to collect data I used several techniques such as discourse analysis, institutional analysis and case studies. A discourse analysis is the examination of written (in my case)

language or any semiotic event. By semiotic event I mean the study of communication systems and signs used in people’s interactions. This method must not be confused with “reading against the grain”, which I am using as well, although they are very similar. Reading against the grain means finding the authors motive or goal and ignoring it, and trying to understand, what was behind the intent. The object of discourse analysis is not only the understanding of a speaker’s goal and motive (between the lines), but also the naturally occurring language use. Institutional analysis often means the analysis of information that the researcher gets from specific institutions. In my case I am getting my information from local and national Dutch newspapers, which opens the doors to following questions: which political parties (or social groups) do these newspapers represent? What are the aims of these newspapers, what is their audience? As I mentioned before I tried to use the newspapers that were read by most of the relevant groups of Dutch society. I use de Telegraaf, a national newspaper, which is a populist newspaper, famous for its sensational articles, and I use de Volkskrant, another national newspaper, read by intellectuals and skilled people; het Vrije Volk, Nederlands Dagblad, two small local newspapers that broadcasted the social democratic and Othodox Christian points of view. That is why I carefully examined the articles in these newspapers, taking into account their general ideology.

In order to explain the importance of media and its impacts on people, apart from the Agenda Setting theory and the Framing theory, I am partly using the Cultivation theory. The theory was used to examine the long-term effects of television. It states that the more people that live in “television world”, “the more likely they are to believe social reality portrayed on television”41. I believe that, even if television gives a stronger image than newspapers, the impact of a “newspaper world” is still huge.

In order to find articles on Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands I use three key words: "Surinaamse", "Surinamer" and "migratie". From all the given articles I chose only those that were describing Surinamese migrants going to the Netherlands (or migrants that were already in the Netherlands), excluding articles about Suriname and its political and economic situation. To recognise if an article gave a positive or negative description of Surinamese migrants, I looked closely at the words the authors were using. Positive reporting: is for example, if the article covers news about good education, successful solutions etc. This means that the key words were: "good", "successful", "peaceful", "convenient" and "useful"42. It was much easier to recognise the negative news; the key words were mainly: "problematic", "crime", "violence", "drugs", "discrimination", and “misunderstanding”43. Sometimes the article is very short or just a

41 Cohen, J., & Weimann, G. Cultivation revisited: Some genres have some effects on some viewers. In Communication Reports, 13(2), 2006. P. 1-17
42 "goed", “succesvol”, “vreedzaam”, “handig”, “bruikbaar”
43 “problematisch”, “misdaad”, “geweld”, “drugs”, “discriminatie”, “misvatting”
description of the event that had nothing to do with problems or solutions, and so was difficult to categorise as "positive" or "negative", it could have been "neutral". On the other hand, with the same keywords, the article could have been either positive or negative. For example, an article could contain such words as "drugs" or "crime", but were about the Surinamese successfully coping with these problems. Context is very important in analysing newspapers. Such words as "new" and "exotic" could have both negative and positive meanings. Also, it matters greatly if the newspapers mention nationality when they write about crime: do they mention if the murderer or burglar was Dutch? Surinamese?

I am also examining the circumstances of Surinamese migration and perceptions of migrants, as has been mentioned before, by examining how the themes around migration changed in newspapers. I separated all the news into four themes: "migration and Dutch economy", "crime and drugs", "Dutch tolerance and social interactions", and "Surinamese integration". By the "migration and Dutch economy" theme I mean the problems of unemployment, and spending on housing, etc. By the "crime and drugs" I mean the articles about the emerging drug addiction problems and all articles about violent actions of Surinamese migrants. The "Dutch tolerance and social interactions" theme is about how Dutch people have accepted migrants. By the "integration issues" I mean the new integration policies, again housing questions, and education issues. Using the qualitative method I am not only going to answer the questions where, when and what, but also why we have the media messages we do. Using the comparative method I will compare the collected information with time gaps of five and ten years (1975, 1980, 1990 and 2000) in order to see the changes in given case studies. It should also be mentioned that most of the articles I use are about Surinamese migrants, excluding articles that were written by Surinamese; sometimes, though, I included articles with interviews with Surinamese.

In addition, I am also using a quantitative method in order to see the progress (or regress) in numbers of articles about Surinamese, about discrimination issues etc; in order to see how many “head articles” about Surinamese appear in a certain year.
II. Migration to the Netherlands

Although I am writing about migration after 1975 it is important to have a brief look at the earlier migration that was never unfamiliar to the Netherlands. Due to the expansion of the Dutch East India Company, wine and salt trade, and the production of cheese and butter, the Netherlands reached a level of great prosperity in the seventeenth century. The Republic was one of the richest countries in the world, and thus was an attraction to many who sought a better life; traders, sailors, and intellectuals. The Netherlands was perceived by foreigners as an open-minded country; it attracted those who were persecuted for their beliefs or ethnicity, such as Huguenots (protestant reformed church of France), Jews (who came from Spain and Portugal that was conquered by Catholics). Moreover, after the reformation and the Batavian revolution of 1795, and the proclamation of freedom and political equality in 1796, the country strengthened the image of a country where social differences and variety of opinions are accepted. The migrants were warmly welcomed and the reason for that lies in an answer to the question: who came and why? At that time, most migrants were mainly specialised traders, city people, and intellectuals who would contribute to the country's economy. These people were respected. On the other hand, German seasonal workers were mocked for a long time; and this changed only after 1870, when, due to an economic boom in Germany, Dutch people began to work there instead.  

In the late nineteenth century, industrialisation started in the Netherlands, which brought a new wave of migration, and mostly labour migrants. After 1900, the developments of the Dutch industry were the reason for a massive labour migration from Italy, Poland, and Slovenia, as the government could not find enough workers. Some of them settled, but most migrants left the country later. During WWI, there were a large amount of Belgian refugees coming to the Netherlands as Belgium had been defeated by the Germans. After the WWII foreign workers were needed once again and the Netherlands welcomed migrants from Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, and Spain.  

After WWII, the Netherlands faced two kinds of migration: repatriates (as a result of decolonisation in Indonesia) and political refugees (from Hungary). After Indonesian announced independence in 1945, most of the Dutch population decided to return to the Netherlands, even though many of them were born in Indonesia. From the mid-1960s there was a shift from employing labourers from the northern Mediterranean, to employing those from Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey. This migration was supposed to be temporary, but after the 1970s the labour

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migration started to gain the contours of an economic migration. The "return percentage" was getting lower and lower. On the other hand, families of workers started to move to the Netherlands. Why did this happen? In the late 1970s it became more difficult to enter the Netherlands, and the Dutch government realised that the migration flow of immigrants was basically uncontrollable, which had to be changed. The government started to work on new regulations: from that time entry to the country was only possible after prior approval. If the worker were to leave the country they would lose the residence permit and it would be very difficult (nearly impossible) to get it back. For a migrant it meant that they had to decide whether to stay or to leave. This is how family reunion began. Turkish and Moroccan migrants who began as temporary labourers became permanent immigrants, and now they constitute one of the largest groups of immigrants in the Netherlands.

2.1. Surinamese migration

Before 1975, Suriname was a part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and therefore, migration between the two countries was more or less internal. When Henck Arron (the leader of the National Party of Suriname) announced that Suriname would be independent by the end of 1975, the country faced a massive migration flow to the Netherlands due to disbelief in a happy future of an independent Suriname. As has been already said, most of the population expressed pessimistic thoughts about an independent Suriname, and people were not sure they would be able to coexist together under the new government. That is why the biggest waves of migration took place from 1973 to 1975 and in 1979-1980. In 1975, the Dutch government allowed people from Suriname to freely settle in the Netherlands up to 1980 and close to the date of expiry of the agreement, nearly a third of the population of Suriname left to go the Netherlands. Most of migrants from the period 1975-1980, were pushed to go to the Netherlands for the economic reasons as a lack of faith in economic stability in Suriname. After 1980, migration continued, but mostly for a different reason as independent Suriname took on a form of dictatorship. After the December killings in 1982, when a group under the leadership of the dictator Desi Bouterse took fifteen citizens who had criticised the military dictatorship to Fort Zeelandia and executed them, many people took this as unacceptable and requested the right to asylum in the Netherlands. Also, migration was going on the basis of family reunion or bringing over marriage partners.

It is not that easy to define Surinamese migration to the Netherlands. At the time, immigrants from Suriname (and Dutch Antilles) were called 'rijksgenoten' (fellow citizens of the overseas parts of the Kingdom of the Netherlands), as if it were a matter of internal migration. Those migrants of Indo European origin could also be called repatriates, regarding the fact that
Suriname was a part of the Netherlands. After 1980, those Surinamese migrants who fled for political reasons, could be called refugees.

2.2. The Dutch hosting society

The Dutch nation has traditionally always been proud of being a host country and for welcoming migrants with a great level of tolerance, even though it was not always true: for example, German low class workers, and Jews experienced the opposite. However, the Netherlands gained an image of an open minded country towards people of different nationalities and immigrants. On the other hand, it has been noticed that after the war and especially after 1970s, the Netherlands faced immigration flows which have no historical precedent.45

What kind of society did the Surinamese migrants face in 1970s? Migrants were not dealing with a monopolistic society. After the circumstances of the Reformation, the Netherlands became a country that hosted two main religious branches: Catholics and Protestants (Calvinists). This society in that form survived until the nineteenth century, when the Netherlands faced a social segregation into four main groups (pillars, "zuilen"): Catholics, Protestants, Socialists and Liberals (or three groups: Catholics, Protestants and Social-democrats). Pillarisation was initially organised by religious groups, and socialists and liberals followed in the same way. All these pillars dominated political, social and cultural life on all levels: from a grocery store to Universities. They had their own newspapers, trade unions, associations, schools and etc. In comparison to a classic model of a class society, in a pillarised society, social status, annual income and ethnical origin were not the main attributes of social segregation. Pillarised society was divided vertically according to different religions or ideologies. After WWII the process of depillarisation began, and later escalated in the 1970s. Old, usual institutions were ruined; the habitual way of life was dramatically altered. All the social relations were affected by pillarisation (marriage, friendship, etc), but when the pillars started to break down, people realised that they were not very different from people from other pillars. It became normal to choose what newspapers you want to read for yourself, what television channel you want to watch etc. This process was happening along with a massive migration to the Netherlands. The pillarised society has disappeared, although it is still possible to still find some "remains" of pillarisation, such as both public and religious schools, all paid for by the state.

Another not less important fact is that the Netherlands was considered to be unprepared for the massive flow of migration, even though the country regarded itself as "migrant friendly". Until 1980, Surinamese people were allowed to enter the Netherlands without a visa. All the guest workers from Morocco and Turkey however, were expected to leave the country after a short period of time, which is why, basically, there were no immigration regulations (housing, schools, integration policies) regarding guest workers. After the 1970s a huge percentage of Moroccans and Turks stayed, and later brought their families. Thus, the Netherlands changed from a more or less single monolithic ethnic society into a multicultural society in just a couple of decades.

2.3. Integration policies in the Netherlands.

After WWII, the Netherlands was considered to be overpopulated by Dutch politicians and immigration was unwelcomed⁴⁶, despite an enormous influx of postcolonial migrants from Indonesia. Therein lies a paradox: even though Dutch politics did not want the Netherlands to become an immigrant country and even though emigration was supported, it became a country of migrants in a short period of time. Around the 1960s however, the Netherlands had been suffering from labour shortages in different sectors (especially for low skilled or unskilled workers), which is why many foreign guest workers were recruited from various countries. At first there were workers from Italy, Greece and Spain, but also from the colonies in the Caribbean: Suriname and Netherlands Antilles, and later from Morocco and Turkey. These recruitment contracts were organised and monitored by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, trade unions and the organisations of employers⁴⁷. The fact that the Netherlands did not see itself as an immigration country very much affected integration. There were practically no integration policies, if we are talking about the 1970s⁴⁸. It was all based on the assumption that migrants would return to their homelands. As a result, all the reception facilities were supposed to be short term oriented⁴⁹. Their integration was not the aim of the Dutch government. The main aim, on the other hand, was to ensure that they would feel comfortable living in the Netherlands in Dutch society without giving up their usual and habitual way of life, and their values. The migrants' children even had an opportunity to have an extra education in

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⁴⁶ Zincone, Giovanna and Penninx, Rinus (ed.) Migration policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present. (Amsterdam, 2012): 4
⁴⁷ Lucassen, Jan and Rinus Penninx, Newcomers. Immigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995 (Amsterdam 1994) 134
⁴⁸ Zorlu, Aslan and Joop Hartog, 'Migration and Immigrants: The Case of the Netherlands', Tinbergen Institute Discussion Paper No. 01-042/3 (2001) 2
⁴⁹ Lucassen, Jan and Rinus Penninx, Newcomers. Immigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995 (Amsterdam 1994) 134
schools in their own language and culture. There was a welfare policy regarding the support of asylum seekers and refugees, for which the Ministry for Culture, Recreation and Social Work was responsible\textsuperscript{50}. Migrants from Suriname and the Netherlands Antilles also belonged in this category of vulnerable groups. That is why, when Surinamese migrants came to the Netherlands, there was no practice or experience of successful integration.

Only after the 1970s, after the politicians came to an understanding that all the Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese migrants were not leaving the country, only then did integration become the major aim of the Dutch government. It was then that the first integration policies were implemented, known as the Ethnic Minorities Policy\textsuperscript{51}. A policy to prompt equality and justice among a vulnerable groups of Dutch society that were perceived as culturally different, in order to prevent them from becoming marginalised groups in society. That is why the main goals of the EM policy were to achieve equality in socio-economic, political and cultural domains, enable the minorities to participate equally in these domains; and that the policy meant for Surinamese and Dutch Antilleans, Moluccans, guest workers etc.\textsuperscript{52} The situation was rather complicated, and different ministries were responsible for different domains, who sometimes did not communicate well\textsuperscript{53}. Many integration scholars find the EM Policy of the 1980 multiculturalist\textsuperscript{54}. Dissapointment in the EM Policies had already started to grow in the 1980s. But only by the 1990s had it become the topic of a public debate\textsuperscript{55}.

\textsuperscript{50} Lucassen, Jan and Rinus Penninx, Newcomers. Immigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995 (Amsterdam 1994) 134
\textsuperscript{51} Zincone, Giovanna and Penninx, Rinus (ed.) Migration policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present. (Amsterdam, 2012):132
\textsuperscript{52} Zincone, Giovanna and Penninx, Rinus (ed.) Migration policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present. (Amsterdam, 2012):143
\textsuperscript{53} ibid
\textsuperscript{55} Lucassen, Jan and Rinus Penninx, Newcomers. Immigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995 (Amsterdam 1994) 145
III. Analysis 1975


At the beginning of 1975, the Surinamese Prime Minister Henck Arron announced the forthcoming independence of Suriname. Obviously, it was all over the Dutch news. This news came as surprise: Arron’s own party and many politicians therein were not in favour of a rapid independence. For example, Jaggernath Lachmon, a Surinamese politician, and one of the founders of the Hindustani Progressive Reform Party, thought the government acted too fast despite always having supported independence. Independence was never even discussed openly during the NPS election campaign (National Party of Suriname)\textsuperscript{56}. And there were reasons for that. First of all, the main fear was concerned that the tensions among different ethnicities (especially Hindustanis and Creoles), could have led to open conflicts. Hindustanis, mainly, Javanese and Chinese feared Creole domination in Paramaribo. However, Arron insisted on independence. In 1973, Joop den Uyl, the leader of the Dutch Labour Party, became prime minister. The problem of the forthcoming independence of Suriname and the flow of Surinamese immigrants fell on his shoulders; it became one of the main priorities of Joop den Uyl and his cabinet.

On the topic of Surinamese independence and migration there were two major themes: about those who already lived in the Netherlands, and those who want to leave Suriname. First, however, it can be noticed in Dutch newspapers that there was some sort of assurance that those Surinamese people who lived in the Netherlands would soon leave the country and go back home. All newspapers were writing about the "expected exodus of Surinamese from the Netherlands"\textsuperscript{57}. In May 1975, De Volkskrant was discussing the future of those Surinamese who would want to stay in the Netherlands, as after November 26th Surinamese in the Netherlands would become foreigners. Arron’s cabinet was requesting free entry for those who wanted to work in the Netherlands after independence\textsuperscript{58}. The newspaper wrote: “The cabinet of Den Uyl cannot agree to this, as it contradicts Benelux law. Luxemburg would even prefer visa requirements, because they are afraid of a Suriname “invasion” to the countries of Benelux”\textsuperscript{59}. As for the rules of family reunification, they depend on whether a Surinamese person was sponsored financially by someone from Suriname or from the Netherlands, and it total, as writes

\textsuperscript{56} Amersfoort van, Hans. "How the Dutch Government stimulated the unwanted immigration from Suriname." IMI Working papers Series. 47. (2011):11
\textsuperscript{57} Nederlands Dagblad. 05.02.1975
\textsuperscript{58} De Volkskrant 06.05.1975
\textsuperscript{59} ibid
de Volkskrant, “the Netherlands is ready to receive about 50 thousand Surinamese after independence”\textsuperscript{60}. In June 1975, however, de Volkskrant writes about 20 thousand Surinamese: Paramaribo wants a complete freedom of movement. The Hague offers a possibility to stay in the Netherlands if, after one year the individuals are able to find a job and a house. Moreover, as for family reunification, it is permitted to bring cousins to the Netherlands. All in all, it estimated to allow about 20 thousand Surinamese to move to the Netherlands\textsuperscript{61}. This means that newspapers were expecting the immigration from Suriname to be strongly regulated and controlled and for most Surinamese to leave the Netherlands.

However, this exodus never occurred, and on the contrary, the Netherlands faced a rapid immigration from Suriname. By the end of 1975, the migration took such a visible form that it was impossible to ignore it. Dutch newspapers wrote that the reason why the Surinamese "were running away" from Suriname was because of a lack of faith in the future of the country. On the other hand, those who already lived in the Netherlands did not want to go back. According to Tjark Petzoldt, a Surinamese writer whose family migrated to the Netherlands after WWII, the Surinamese in the Netherlands had an outdated image of home: "dirty, dark streets and slum dwellings, instead of warm a climate and fruit hanging on trees in abundance\textsuperscript{62}". Tjark Petzoldt was right, Suriname is full of natural resources, especially timber and minerals; and most of the country is covered by rainforest\textsuperscript{63}. But the Surinamese in the Netherlands did not see that as a potential for wellbeing.

In the opinion of the Dutch media, the blame for emigration from Suriname was on Premier Arron’s head. In August 1975, the Nederlands Dagblad wrote that Minister Van Doorn was doing everything to limit immigration from Suriname. When speaking of the Surinamese government however, he thought: "they have a potential to stop the flow, but the exact measures, which have been taken in Suriname, are totally unknown to me\textsuperscript{64}." In September 1975, the Nederlands Dagblad wrote that Henk Arron had been accused of political inactivity: "at the press conference Premier Arron said that the Surinamese government is doing everything possible to keep Surinamese people in the country”. To the question of "could you give an example?", he said that the government has pointed out the increase in employment and improved social services\textsuperscript{65}. Moreover, as the Nederlands Dagblad wrote, Premier Arron expressed accusations towards the government in the Netherlands, that "migrants are too attracted by child care and

\textsuperscript{60} ibid
\textsuperscript{61} De Volkskrant. 23.06.1975
\textsuperscript{62} Telegraaf 29.11.1975
\textsuperscript{63} Dooijes, Michael. Foreign Aid, a nation’s blessing or a curse: how Multilateral Institutions have hindered Suriname’s integration into the world economy. Bidnetwork.org
\textsuperscript{64} Nederlands Dagblad. 12.08.1975
\textsuperscript{65} Nederlands Dagblad. 18.09.1975
The Telegraaf, right before the independence, was stressing the fact that the first task of the Surinamese government was to arrange repatriation of people in the Netherlands; it could be facilitated by "striving for political stability and improving employment and living conditions in Suriname". Arron was attempting to convince the press that the repatriation was going well with help of an association called "Tenasu" (Terug naar Suriname/Back to Suriname). In September 1975, the Nederlands Dagblad wrote: "if there is a threat of a flood, you do not evacuate the population immediately, as long as you still have options to strengthen the levees."

From the Dutch side, closer to "independence day" a reader could notice the emergence of sorrowful newspaper articles about "lonely mothers and grandmothers who would soon be reunited with their families". For example, under the title "Who wants to have Surinamese Dutch?" the Telegraaf described the story of "Moesje Vroom" ("Mother Vroom"), an 84 year old: "her children and grandchildren moved away from her little house to the Netherlands and she was left alone. Not for long however, as Emile Wijntuin, the Chairman of Parliament of Suriname, predicted wonderful things. Her family will soon return to their own country. From the letters she knew that life in the Netherlands was becoming very difficult. There was discrimination, it was cold and there was a threat of unemployment."

Dutch media was stressing the fact that, apart from the lack of trust in the new government, the second reason for such immigration from Suriname was a widespread belief that the Netherlands was "paradise on Earth". This is why Surinamese people, being completely unprepared (with no money and no place to live), bought one-way tickets to Amsterdam; they just "sent a message to their family that lives there and sat on a plane. Annoyed, the Nederlands Dagblad wrote: "there must be a registration office in Paramaribo that checks the availability of a place to stay and some means. If this is ok, then the trip could be accepted. The same office must also change the very rosy perception of Dutch society that Surinamese people have. Moreover, the Surinamese were settling mainly in three big cities in the Netherlands (Amsterdam, the Hague and Rotterdam), "largely because of their lack of knowledge about the rest of the country; this, later on, created a problem of rapid emergence of Surinamese minorities concentrated just in some parts of the country, which will be discussed later.

On the matter of conditions in the Netherlands, some of the newspapers, such as the Telegraaf or the Nederlands Dagblad, were quite contradictory and, I may say, hypocritical. On
one hand, in order to prevent immigration, they were pointing out "horrors" that the Surinamese would face if they came to the Netherlands; on the other hand, the Dutch press made it clear that it was quite obvious why Surinamese in the Netherlands did not want to leave the country: "what to do with those people who became used to social security, a fixed salary and accustomed to comfort in the Netherlands?"\(^{73}\)

### 3.2. How tolerant were the Dutch?

The freshly arriving migrants from Suriname were practically never described as a multiracial society. In most of the articles they were simply called "Surinamese". The reader could find a few occurrences of the explanation of Surinamese racial division: "Since Arron announced independence, Hindustanis, Javanese and Chinese became afraid of future Creole domination."\(^{74}\) Even though the most common description of those Surinamese who came to the Netherlands was: "mostly Creoles and Hindustanis are onboard of this flight", which means that by Surinamese, the Dutch press implied those of mixed race descendants of West African slaves, Europeans and contract labourers from India.

There were many articles on the topic of how it was extremely difficult for Creoles and Hindustanis to cooperate in Suriname,\(^{76}\) which made the Dutch media concerned about the tensions that could occur in the Netherlands as well. "Tensions seem inevitable", writes het Vrije Volk in May 1975.\(^{77}\) By the tensions they meant not only the conflicts between Hindustanis and Creoles, but mainly conflicts between the Surinamese and indigenous Dutch. In September, the Nederlands Dagblad wrote: "Now Amsterdam has became home to more than 30,000 Surinamese, which is 4% of the city's total population; in the Hague it is over 15,000. As we heard, Rotterdam cannot even count the current rate of new residents.\(^{78}\) The Dutch government and municipalities were worried about the emergence of a minority problem, because, even though "Dutch people are well known for being against racial discrimination, that does not mean that the residence of so many people with a different skin colour and from a different cultural background will not come as a shock.\(^{79}\) The problem also was, as mentioned before, the fact that Surinamese were not dispersing in the Netherlands, but settling mainly in three big cities in the country. Under the title "Van Doorn outlines the gloomy picture; virtually no acceptance of

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\(^{73}\) Telegraaf 29.11.1975  
\(^{74}\) Nederlands Dagblad. 02.09.1975  
\(^{75}\) Het Vrije Volk. 20.08.1975  
\(^{76}\) Nederlands Dagblad. 02.09.1975  
\(^{77}\) Het Vrije Volk. 30.05.1975  
\(^{78}\) Nederlands Dagblad. 02.09.1975  
\(^{79}\) Nederlands Dagblad. 02.09.1975
Surinamese flow”\textsuperscript{80}. Het Vrije Volk describes the new major problem in the Netherlands: the rapid growth of a sizeable minority of Surinamese\textsuperscript{81}. This is why the government was doing whatever it could to "spread" the newcomers evenly. On the other hand, the Nederlands Dagblad believed that “integration of a group of strangers within a small urban community (and not in a big city) was much harder”\textsuperscript{82}.

By the end of 1975, in the Netherlands there were about 110,000 Surinamese people\textsuperscript{83}, which immediately raised the question of tolerance and racial discrimination. In het Vrije Volk's opinion, the reception of migrants in Rotterdam was turning out to be a fiasco. In spite of the widespread idea of a "tolerant Dutchman", the Netherlands, as was said, was inclined to negativity towards non European immigrants. The reason for this is in the colonial past of the Netherlands: "ultimate consequence of its colonial legacy is that Dutch people can be expected to accept racial discrimination with no feelings involved"\textsuperscript{84}. When newspapers wrote about Dutch people in general, the word tolerant was put most of the time in inverted commas in order to show the reader that it was not true.

The question of discrimination was also raised during discussions in the House of Representatives on the subject of Dutch Nationality or changes to the Criminal Code. De Waarheid considered that the very idea of division into different races is discriminatory. It was, most of all, critical of the position of Joop Glimmerveen, a Dutch far right politician. Joop Glimmerveen ran a campaign against immigration to the Netherlands (in particular to the Hague). In 1975 he suggested including a special article regarding Surinamese in the Criminal Code. De Waarheid writes that it was completely outrageous: "...now we are in need of urgent actions regarding racism. The Surinamese do not form one race, they are multiracial. What kind of world do we live in with this kind of formalism? If we continue going this way, we will soon end up making some kind of Nuremberg Racial Law. The consequence of this will be a detailed and discriminatory classification of the population.\textsuperscript{85} By the Nuremberg Laws they mean two anti-Semitic laws in Nazi Germany: The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour, which prohibited marriages and intercourse between Jews and Germans, and the Reich Citizenship Law, which allowed only those of "Aryan blood" to be citizens of Reich. Speaking of Joop Glimmerveen, he eventually inclined to praise Hitler in his speeches, and the next year, in 1976, he spent fourteen days in prison. Even though his actions were considered to be an act of racial discrimination, one must not forget that he had supporters.

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item [\textsuperscript{80}] At the time the minister of Culture, Recreation and Social Work
\item [\textsuperscript{81}] Het Vrije Volk. 22.11.1975
\item [\textsuperscript{82}] Nederlands Dagblad. 02.09.1975
\item [\textsuperscript{83}] Amersfoort van, Hans, How the Dutch Government stimulated the unwanted immigration from Suriname. IMI Working papers Series 2011, N.47 2011. P.16
\item [\textsuperscript{84}] Het Vrije Volk. 30.05.1975
\item [\textsuperscript{85}] De Waarheid. 05.02.1975
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
During the discussion right before the independence there was the question of acquisition of Dutch citizenship for those Surinamese who already lived in the Netherlands. At first, it was proposed to take away the Dutch citizenship of all Surinamese in the Netherlands who had a Surinamese father; if the father was unknown, then those with a Surinamese mother, even if they had already lived in the Netherlands for a very long time. This proposal was immediately considered racist by Surinamese people, and it was withdrawn. In the end they agreed that only those who had lived in the Netherlands before 1975 could have Dutch citizenship. In October De Waarheid wrote about one of these discussions: "the speaker of DS 7O (Democratisch Socialisten’70) Verwoert proposed to limit the possibility of acquisition of nationality; only those Surinamese who had come before January 1971 and have work and residence permits, could receive a Dutch nationality. As for their families, this question will be left behind for now. To this, Andre de Leeuw, the member of the communist party CPN, pointed out, that Drees (Labour Party) and DS 70 were way too "noisy" about this issue, and it seemed that their load appeals to return and deportation regulations so far were not very different from "recent racist sentiments". He accused them of being hypocrites: "in 1954 the whole population of Suriname with the same skin and hair received Dutch citizenship, when it seemed profitable to the illusory colonial interests."

The Church also took part in the campaign against discrimination. The Council of Churches was asked to address the concerns of the growing number of Surinamese in the Netherlands. In April, the Nederlands Dagblad wrote that, according to the Council of Churches, "Surinamese experience a lot of misunderstanding and resistance. Thus, the disturbing gap between the races becomes visible. Moreover, the Council reminded the readers not to forget that 33% of Surinamese were Christians; the Council asked for support of local churches to receive newcomers, to visit them at home and show signs of hospitality, help with housing, education and employment, so that they "would feel at home in the Netherlands."

In conclusion to this section, it must be pointed out, that the Surinamese indeed suffered from discrimination and resistance from local populations. In order to understand the origin of such misunderstanding, it is important to look at the economic and social issues regarding Surinamese migration.

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87 De Waarheid. 22.09.1975
88 De Waarheid. 22.09.1975
89 ibid
90 Nederlands Dagblad. 18.04.1975
91 ibid
3.3. Reception of Surinamese migrants: questions of housing, employment and education.

A) Housing

The first and main question that was raised in the Dutch press as a consequence of Surinamese migration to the Netherlands was: "where all the newcomers are going to live?". As discussed before, the Netherlands was not ready to receive so many migrants at once for a permanent residence. Due to the devastations of WWII as well as natural population growth, there was still a limited number of houses available in the 1970s and 1980s, which was not enough to provide for all the Surinamese migrants. Moreover, the Surinamese were mainly looking for a place in the three big cities: Amsterdam, The Hague and Rotterdam. In January 1975 the so called Central Bureau (Centraal Bureau Uitvoering Vestigingsbeleid Rijksgenoten van het Ministerie van CRM) had already started the reception of overseas citizens at Schiphol, who had come to the Netherlands permanently. This Bureau organised temporary shelters for newcomers; and provided the preregistration for social security, health insurance and some clothes. All these measures were taken in order to help immigrants with beginning of their lives in the Netherlands. However, there were still no suitable locations for all the Surinamese. Within a month they had already come to realise that the "work plan" did not work. The flow of Surinamese just increased problems; there were too many immigrants, which could not find homes. The Nederlands Dagblad wrote about the situation in Rotterdam: "In Rotterdam there are now more than 12,000 Surinamese and Antilleans, which is about 2% of the total population. In addition, there is a large number of foreign guest workers. What both groups have in common is that they require provisions for housing, employment, education and so on. The municipality believes that the capacity of Rotterdam has been considerably exceeded.

The preferential housing scheme (Regeling Rijksvoorkeurswoningen) started working after the arrival of Surinamese and Antillean people, and its aim was to distribute these minorities throughout the country. The problem was, as was mentioned before, that most of the Surinamese strongly believed in social facilities in the Netherlands and they came here completely unprepared. Some of them had relatives or friends. Closer to the day of

93 Nederlands Dagblad. 04.01.1975
94 Nederlands Dagblad. 14.02.1975
95 ibid
independence, the reader could find appeals from the Dutch media to the newcomers to seek shelters with relatives and acquaintances. For example, de Waarheid wrote: "six months ago Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague faced the pressure of migration, and they still confront great difficulties. That is even though incoming Surinamese are recommended to live with relatives and acquaintances at first, who generally live in the three major cities." Van Dam, who was responsible for housing, suggested that 5% of new houses must be given to the Surinamese, however, wrote De Waarheid, the new houses were rarely built in small municipalities. He proposed the idea to provide houses outside of these three big cities, but Surinamese organisations gave this a hostile reception. They demanded measures to solve the problems instead of spreading them all over the country; as they were also worried that bringing groups of Surinamese to the villages, where people had never previously been in contact with non-Europeans, could raise new tensions.

Another example is Bijlmermeer or Bijlmer, which is a neighbourhood that forms Amsterdam Zuidoost. When the Surinamese started to migrate to the Netherlands, Bijlmer seemed to be a convenient place for these migrants. Originally Bijlmer was planned to host the growing population of Amsterdam after WWII, as it was also quite affordable; but because of the increasing number of migrants from Suriname, it was decided Bijlmer would serve as a housing place for them. However, because of the amount of Surinamese migrants, Bijlmer immediately gained the reputation of a "black city". Het Vrije Volk wrote in September: the "Municipality speaks of a critical, if not explosive, situation in Bijlmer; the number of Surinamese has increased to 10,000." B) Employment and education.

In August 1975, De Waarheid pointed out that the government was making the wrong problem a major one. Instead of dealing with housing for such a long period of time, it should look at the increasing problem of unemployment. "Only few Surinamese migrants are qualified enough to work," wrote Het Vrije Volk. Even though immigrants from former colonies could speak Dutch and they were more familiar with Dutch society (in comparison with Turks and Moroccans), they still had major difficulties finding work. The economic situation in the Netherlands at the time of Surinamese migration is discussed in the next part; nevertheless, it is important to mention now, that the Netherlands was suffering from a high level of

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97 De Waarheid.07.08.1975
98 ibid
99 Het Vrije Volk. 06.08.1975
100 Het Vrije Volk.02.09.1975
101 De Waarheid.07.08.1975
102 Het Vrije Volk 22.11.1975
103 Zorlu, Aslan and Joop Hartog, ‘Migration and Immigrants: The Case of the Netherlands’, Tinbergen Institute Discussion Paper No. 01-042/3 (2001) 28
unemployment before the Surinamese came. The migration of unskilled Surinamese with a very low income, increased the level of unemployment and became a danger for social stability.

Furthermore, the lack of education among many Surinamese migrants was also stressed in Dutch media. However, some newspapers were expressing doubts whether it was the fault of the Surinamese or Dutch government. The Telegraaf wrote that, even when the Surinamese wanted to study in the Netherlands, they could not find the course or they did not meet entry requirements for the study: "It is very disappointing that many do not understand the unkindness of their existence\textsuperscript{104}."] The newspaper called for the government to intervene and make it easier for them to study: "if you speak a different language, think differently, no wonder that you cannot catch up with the intellectual baggage of a Dutchman and meet the requirements. But one, for example, can certainly be a skilled craftsman and retain his own cultural Surinamese heritage.\textsuperscript{105}"


It seems important to give a short overview of the economic situation in the Netherlands. During the period of Surinamese immigration in 1975, the Netherlands went through a difficult time. The so-called Dutch Disease struck its economy. Earlier in 1959, a gigantic gas field was discovered in Groningen. Its exploitation was quite expensive; the government support in building gas pipelines was needed, and eventually a lot of money was spent on this project. Moreover, it was essential to establish a new trade rule called Take-or-Pay (a kind of contract when the customer either takes the product from a supplier or pays a penalty) and fix the prices of gas and oil\textsuperscript{106}. It was expected to be a good thing for the Dutch economy; however, it took an unexpected turn: the sudden growth of export led to the onflow of foreign capital, which led to the growth of national nominal currency (Guilder) and the drop of foreign currency. As a result, the Guilder became stronger in comparison to foreign currencies, which made export more expensive for other countries to buy, while import became cheaper. The commodity industry was rapidly growing and was attracting labour from other sections of the economy, which led to a shortage of labour\textsuperscript{107}. The flow of the guest workers was earlier initiated by employers and was intended to be temporary; in the early 1970s they started losing their jobs, but they were still not

\textsuperscript{104} Telegraaf 29.11.1975
\textsuperscript{105} ibid
\textsuperscript{106} Expert. № 17 (849) 29.04.2013
going back to their homelands. As a result of this process, in the 1970s (and until the 1980s) the Netherlands was facing quite a high level of unemployment.

Furthermore, the Netherlands also promised to support Suriname financially after the independence with development funding for a long period. The negotiations had already already in January 1975, mainly discussing the duration and extent of the Dutch development aid to Suriname. De Volkskrant wrote that negotiations about Dutch help grew into a conflict between the Netherlands and Suriname: “the amount of money varies between three hundred and five hundred million guilders”. These payments, called Tready Funds, started after 1975 and were stopped for a while after the "December Murders", as mentioned earlier. At the beginning, before the independence the Dutch government tried to reach a compromise of about one billion guilders, but Arron wanted much more. In the end, they settled for 3.5 billion guilders, which was agreed upon in June 1975, with the signing of the "Treaty on Development Cooperation between the Netherlands and Suriname". The aim of this Treaty was to help Suriname to develop itself in the shortest possible period of time. This money was supposed to be spent over about 15 years. Moreover, a lot of money was spent on financing the ministries like Defence (it was counted that the Dutch military presence in Suriname cost up to approximately 95 million guilders per year), Education, Culture and Science (scholarships for the Caribbean students), agencies that received migrants in the Netherlands. This was another reason for the expressed discontent in Dutch press: the Dutch government did whatever it could to help Suriname, but the Surinamese still wanted to "run away". For example, de Volkskrant wrote in May 1975: “The Netherlands has already gone too far with its development aid, migration arrangements, including family reunifications etc.”

It became quite obvious that Dutch people were not very happy with the flow of thousands people who needed work, while they themselves were in need. In September 1975 De Waarheid wrote: "it is currently very unfavourable. The Netherlands is struggling with high unemployment. However, it seems that a relatively large number of Surinamese can easily find work. This apparently can be explained by the fact that we are still in need of guest workers. A country that likes to use guest workers so much cannot refuse Surinamese access".

109 De Volkskrant 04.01.1975
110 De Volkskrant 18.03.1975
111 Oostindie, Gert and Inge Klinkers. *Decolonising the Caribbean: Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective* (Amsterdam University Press, 2003):161
112 Ibid P.166
113 De Volkskrant 06.05.1975
114 De Waarheid 02.09.1975
More articles on the topic of the government spending appeared close to the date of the independence of Suriname. In general, they all had a negative or irritated tone. Het Vrije Volk wrote: "the majority of these migrants leave everything in Suriname and come to the Netherlands without any significant property, house, job or income. The care and supervision of these immigrants requires millions. For the immigrants themselves it is of course much harder than they thought it would be. But it was their choice to leave an independent Suriname for an unknown future. Moreover, they can always return to the country of their origin." It is an interesting question whether Surinamese had a choice or not. The newspaper states that it was primarily the choice of Surinamese to come to the Netherlands and face the problem of "finding their own niche". On the other hand, it is important to remember that Surinamese were brought with the ideas of the Netherlands as a country of "milk and honey"; for them the unknown future of independent Suriname was probably much scarier than going to the Netherlands.

One of the most interesting articles was published in the Nederlands Dagblad in September. In this title article the editor was posing a question, as to whether it was fair to Dutch people that the government spent so much money on newcomers: "they (the Surinamese) always had had a free access to our country, but this was never made to be used this way. How absurd it would be if we were to compare this to internal migration in the Netherlands. Suppose thousands of people from Groningen decided to quit their jobs, sell their houses and move to Amsterdam. Would be there government agencies to pick them up and help them with pocket money, shelter and work? Of course, the comparison is unrealistic, because no one is so foolish to burn all the bridges behind them." The Nederlands Dagblad uses the phrase “burning bridges behind” more than once. For example: "the assistance is not needed for those who willingly burnt the bridges behind him." Once again the reader can notice a tone of accusation and condemnation towards Surinamese immigrants. By all this they mean that, if it was their decision to migrate, no one forced them (and that is what the articles are implying), then the Dutch government is not obliged to help them with money and housing.

3.5. Conclusion 1975

As has been said, the Prime Minister Joop den Uyl and his cabinet were dealing with the first flow of immigration. However, as we can see, the results of his policies towards migration and migrants are very contradictory and polysemantic. By the end of 1975 the Netherlands could count more than 110,000 Surinamese immigrants. Analysing the events and decisions made we

115 Het Vrije Volk 24.10.1975
116 Nederlands Dagblad 02.09.1975
117 Nederlands Dagblad 22.09.1975
could come to the conclusion that the Dutch government totally misunderstood the reasons and dynamics of the emigration from Suriname.\textsuperscript{118}

The main public reaction in the Netherlands could be characterised by disbelief and denial: The Netherlands was not supposed to be a country of immigration; people from Suriname (and also Turkey and Morocco) would soon go to their fatherlands. This can explain the absence of integration policies and utter chaos regarding the system of social housing and labour market.

The public image of Surinamese migrants introduced in Dutch newspapers in relation to my main question could be characterised as: lazy, irresponsible and naïve. Lazy: the Dutch government, in the opinion of media, was doing everything in its power to help Suriname; Suriname would be from that time on totally in hands of its citizens. Instead of facing the inevitable difficulties however, the Surinamese would rather go to the Netherlands and receive money and help from the Dutch government. Irresponsible: Surinamese back in their own country had a house, probably a job and some stability; but they decided to leave everything behind and come to the Netherlands "without a penny"; no Dutch person would do that. Naïve: Surinamese people had an unrealistic vision of the Netherlands; they imagined it as a country of milk and honey, but when they arrived they realised that their vision was very far from the reality.

In 1975, only three themes ("migration and Dutch economy", "Dutch tolerance and social interactions", and "Surinamese integration") were presented in newspapers. The most vivid was Dutch economy and the negative impact of migration; the newspapers were ruthlessly discussing how many problems the migrants had caused the country. This probably affected the two following topics: tolerance and racism and Surinamese integration. The articles were mostly quite negatively minded.

However, every newspaper had its own specific tone when it came to describing Surinamese migrants and Surinamese migration. The most negative attitude towards Surinamese migration the reader could find was in the Telegraaf. By negative attitude I mean some aggressive appeals to stop immigration; in this newspaper Surinamese were described as lazy and irresponsible more than in all other newspapers. Het Vrije Volk and the Nederlands Dagblad also took a similar position toward migration from Suriname. Both newspapers were very much concerned by the emergence of a new minority, which could lead to tensions between the Dutch and Surinamese. On the other hand, newspapers were mostly blaming the Surinamese and Dutch governments for creating such a situation that made people from both sides suffer.

\textsuperscript{118} Amersfoort van, Hans. "How the Dutch Government stimulated the unwanted immigration from Suriname." IMI Working papers Series. 47. (2011):2
De Volkskrant was more or less neutral about migrants. The newspaper was more focused on economics and the issues concerning the development money that the Netherlands would have to give to Suriname and the newspaper was discussing the political future of Suriname (the question where the country was ready to be independent or not). The newspaper however, was sympathising with Surinamese people; this becomes more obvious when reading de Volkskrant in 1980. Surinamese people became victims of a political play between the Netherlands and Suriname.

De Waarheid took a protective position. The newspaper was accusing Dutch politicians of being hypocrites, of thinking only about saving money, escaping from responsibilities and not caring about Surinamese people.

All in all, the newspapers were discussing economic problems that could cause the immigration of the Surinamese. They all thought migration would bring more problems for the Netherlands; and later in 1980 de Volkskrant was very right to write that: "visa or no visa, varieties of complex situations are going to arise". At the beginning of 1975 all five newspapers were encouraging emigration of Surinamese from the Netherlands, and moreover, they expressed assurance that Dutch policies would sooner or later limit the number of Surinamese in the Netherlands, as it seemed obvious that after Suriname became independent Surinamese people would become foreigners. Some newspapers (the Telegraaf, Het Vrije Volk, and the Nederlands Dagblad) were supporting the idea that the Surinamese could take care of themselves without Dutch supervision; the Nederlands Dagblad was especially annoyed by the amount of government spending on newcomers and development of Suriname. De Volkskrant thought that Dutch supervision and help was needed and it was the Netherlands responsibility to take care of Suriname before and after independence; but it had to be done properly: the Netherlands could not just give money to Suriname; the Dutch government must track how this money was spent.

The information that was absent in the newspapers was the information about Surinamese culture and traditions. The readers could find some information about the history of Suriname (that it was Dutch colony) and about ethnicities in Suriname, but there was nothing about Surinamese culture. This, in my opinion, means that Dutch media did just not consider covering this information as important, as in its opinion, the Surinamese would go back, or the Dutch media did not know that the Surinamese had a culture at all, and the newspapers were not eager to find out for the same reasons.

119 De Volkskrant 28.08.1980
120 Nederlands Dagblad 02.09.1975
121 De Volkskrant 24.01.1975
IV. Analysis 1980

4.1. The new migration flaw from Suriname: escape from political dictatorship

After the independence of Suriname, the governments of the Netherlands and Suriname signed an agreement for five years of a free entry corridor between the two countries. It was also agreed that up to 1980, the Surinamese could get a residence permit within three months after they had come to the Netherlands: during this period they must have found work and a place to stay. Those who failed these requirements, would be officially staying illegally in the Netherlands. 1980 was the year of the end of this agreement (25th of November); and after 1980, a visa to enter the Netherlands would be required. Any Surinamese would be treated as a foreigner.

By January 1980, Dutch newspapers had already predicted an increase in the number of illegal Surinamese residents in the Netherlands. As has already been said, in order to get the residence permit, any Surinamese migrant must find a job. The Nederlands Dagblad wrote that many could not find a job and were hiding with relatives, friends or acquaintances. The local Dutch were worried about the growing number of illegal migrants in the Netherlands. The living conditions of those in hiding were far from ideal. Their situation became much worse after the introduction of the so-called November Act 1, which prohibited employers from hiring illegal foreigners; this law was mainly orientated against Surinamese in the Netherlands.

This was when the second immigration flow from Suriname occurred. De Volkskrant wrote that there had been a joke circulating in Suriname: "Could the last Surinamer who goes to the Netherlands turn off the light at the airport Zanderi?" Under the title Exodus to our country must stop, in August 1980 the Telegraaf wrote: "Surinamese who are still able to leave under the slogan "holidays in Holland", are waiting at the airport, though they have no intention to return". The situation in Paramaribo is out of hand; there is a long waiting list of passengers who are hoping for a vacant spot. Some of them first fly to Paris and then to Amsterdam. Every day in the Surinamese capital there are long queues in the KLM office to book a flight before the November 25th. During the first five months of 1980 the Netherlands had already received

122 Nederlands Dagblad 25.11.1980
123 Nederlands Dagblad 25.01.1980
124 ibid
125 De Volkskrant 28.08.1980
126 Telegraaf 19.08.1980
more than 9000 newcomers and the number rapidly picked up in August. De Volkskrant wrote that the number of Surinamese in the Netherlands varied from 150 to 200 thousand. Most of those that migrated from Suriname in 1980 were opposed to the new political situation in the country. In February 1980, Desi Bouterse, a Surinamese military sergeant and his followers, fifteen fellow sergeants, overthrew the Henk Arron government; this event led to the military dictatorship in Suriname: the National Military Council replaced the democratic government. Later in August, the first president of Suriname, Johan Ferrier, was disposed and forced out of the office and Hendrick Chin A. Sen became the new president. This so-called Coup d'etat (Sergeant Coup), was a great shock to many citizens of Suriname (especially those of Hindustani origin, who were afraid of Creole dominance in their country), and as they still had a possibility to move to the Netherlands, many of them took this opportunity. The Dutch media wrote that after the Coup in August, the airport in Paramaribo was closed for a while, and when it started working again it was immediately flooded by more than eight hundred people who wanted to leave.

After the 25th of November 1980, the date of the end of the agreement, the new president Chin A. Sen gave a speech on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the country. In this speech he addressed those Surinamese who were in the Netherlands, and he expressed a hope that they would return and help to develop their country: "Surinamese, come back to the homeland." Even though it seems that the Dutch media could understand the reason for the exodus of Surinamese in 1980, especially after August, the repatriation was openly encouraged. Dutch newspapers were writing about the help of the Dutch government: "...it is prepared to take measures to promote and support Suriname in order to reduce emigration." As has been said before, by the time of the end of the agreement there were already many illegal Surinamese in the Netherlands, and the Dutch government took actions in order to deport them. There was also a question of money that was raised prior to the end of the agreement. As discussed earlier, after independence, Suriname signed an agreement that the Netherlands would finance the development of the country. It was a matter of about 3.5 billion guilders (approximately 1.5 billion dollars at the time) over ten to fifteen years, and about 100 million dollars over a year. Later in 1982, the financing was stopped as a result of the so-called December murders of fifteen oppositional spokesmen for which the military dictatorship of Bouterse was responsible, but it

127 ibid
128 De Volkskrant 27.08.1980
129 Nederlands Dagblad 20.08.1980
130 Telegraaf 26.11.1980
131 Nederlands Dagblad 23.08.1980
132 Nederlands Dagblad 27.11.1980
was resumed after the return to a democratically elected government in 1991\textsuperscript{133}.

The Netherlands' government was not happy with the way the Dutch development funds were being spent in Suriname. Instead of spending money, as the Nederlands dagblad wrote, in a way that people would benefit immediately and in the long-term, the money was inserted into "prestige objects", such as a railway line from "nowhere to nowhere"\textsuperscript{134}. Also, a lot of money went to the pockets of corrupt officials and politicians, even though they insisted that money had been spent properly\textsuperscript{135}. According to de Volkskrant, the development aid was still necessary, but the government should have focused on how the money was being spent: "there was money, but there was nothing done with it"\textsuperscript{136}.

It is easy to notice the change of the tone used about immigration in 1980 in comparison to that in 1975. It was obviously unwanted, but this time it was understandable: Surinamese who went to the Netherlands after the Coup d'état were considered more or less to be refugees that were seeking asylum. The discontent about the migration flow could sometimes overcome common sense, and in Dutch media the reader could find several articles about Surinamese, who had all the documents and all the rights to enter the Netherlands, but they were stopped at the border and were forced to return to Suriname\textsuperscript{137}.

The Dutch newspapers were writing that all Surinamese organisations in the Netherlands were deeply dissatisfied with the attempts to limit immigration. The Dutch government was trying to do everything to make the number of Surinamese in the Netherlands smaller. First of all the government was working on funding the repatriation policy; the main goal was to make the idea of going back to Suriname more attractive\textsuperscript{138}. Second of all, in August 1980, the Dutch government started to discuss visa requirements for Surinamese after November 1980\textsuperscript{139}.

Het Vrije Volk states that Surinamese organisations were "very much against every possible Dutch intention to stop the immigration"\textsuperscript{140}. "Surinamese had the right to migrate if they want to, they have this right under the agreement between the Netherlands and Suriname", said Boedhoe, the speaker of the Association of Surinamese in the Netherlands, "And they must not be victims of the poor economic situation in the Netherlands"\textsuperscript{141}. The reaction of some Dutch press to the demands of Surinamese organisations was ruthless. The Telegraaf wrote: "we read

\textsuperscript{133} Oostindie, Gert, Klinkers, Inge. Decolonising the Caribbean: Dutch Policies in a Comparative Perspective, 2003. P. 166
\textsuperscript{134} Nederlands Dagblad 28.08.1980
\textsuperscript{135} ibid
\textsuperscript{136} De Volkskrant 06.05.1980
\textsuperscript{137} Telegraaf 06.09.1980
\textsuperscript{138} De Volkskrant 06.05.1980
\textsuperscript{139} De Volkskrant 27.08.1980
\textsuperscript{140} Het Vrije Volk 27.03.1980
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid
with amazement that fifty Surinamese organisations are protesting. It is really pathetic how all these overseas citizens are concerned about the fate of their country. I would recommend all these organisations go back home; both Suriname and the Netherlands would benefit from it\textsuperscript{142}. Other newspapers were sympathetic towards Surinamese migrants; de Volkskrant raised a question: "All the government is trying to do is stop immigration. Does this mean that there is no colonial paternalism or is it badly hidden xenophobia?"\textsuperscript{143}

The economic condition that both Surinamese organisations and Dutch media were referring to was the crisis of 1980s. The first oil crisis in 1973 and the second in 1980 led to an economic downturn in many European countries. The Netherlands was also hit by this crisis. All together these circumstances were the reason for the decrease of the annual growth rate GDP per capita from an average of 1.9 percent to 0.2 percent after 1980\textsuperscript{144}. It is important to mention that in 1975, as already said, the Netherlands was facing a high rate of unemployment. It is also important, that by the time of the second migration flow from Suriname in 1980, it became obvious to the Dutch politicians that those guest workers of Moroccan and Turkish origin would not leave the country; furthermore, family reunion had started\textsuperscript{145}. The level of unemployment took quite a dramatic form: from an average of 1.5 percent it picked up to 4.9 after 1974; and between 1980 and 1985 it rose to a record high of 11.1 percent.\textsuperscript{146} That is why, obviously, the concerns about new migrants from Suriname were openly expressed in Dutch newspapers.

4.2. "Violent" Surinamer

Apart from ongoing appeals to stop immigration to the Netherlands in 1980, in Dutch newspapers a reader could find a lot of articles about the Surinamese who already lived in the country. Mainly they were shown as violent and ruthless. Most of these articles could be found in the newspaper the Telegraaf, which was known for presenting sensational news in order to entertain the audience. But even though the Telegraaf existed more or less to entertain, it does not mean that the information that it gave was any less important in terms of creating an image. Sensational magazines and journals have always been popular; otherwise they would not exist in

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\textsuperscript{142} Telegraaf 13.03.1980
\textsuperscript{143} De Volkskrant 28.08.1980
\textsuperscript{144} Hogelund Jan, In Search of effective disability policy: comparing the developments and outcomes of Dutch and Danish Disability policies. (Amsterdam University Press, 2003 ):66
\textsuperscript{145} Lucassen, Jan and Rinus Penninx, Newcomers. Immigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995 (Amsterdam 1994). : 44
\textsuperscript{146} Hogelund Jan, In Search of effective disability policy: comparing the developments and outcomes of Dutch and Danish Disability policies. (Amsterdam University Press, 2003 ):67
such large amounts in the twenty first century. Moreover, it must be noted that the Telegraaf back then was different from the one we read today; there was much less information about "stars", gossip etc. In 1975 and 1980 the Telegraaf also wrote about politics, economy and recent events. The change towards the "mainly sensational" news could be noticed after 1990. Nevertheless, Surinamese people in the Netherlands were not shown in a good light in the Telegraaf: generalising that they were thieves, murderers and rapists. For example, with the title "Man tries to murder his ex-girlfriend with a knife", the Telegraaf was telling a story about one Surinamese man, whose actions led to hospitalisation of his ex-girlfriend. Also, as another example, there was a story about a housewife of 38 years old, who was raped by four Surinamese men, after they forced her to get in the car at knifepoint.

Another interesting fact can be noted: whenever the robbery or murder was performed by a Surinamese person, his ethnicity was always mentioned. For example, in February the Telegraaf writes about a couple was caught stealing a leather jacket in a closing store in Amsterdam: "a 21 year old woman and her Surinamese boyfriend of 25". Here you can see that they only mention the age of a woman, from which you could guess that she was Dutch, but the fact that the man was Surinamese is obviously stressed. This tendency can be noticed mostly in Telegraaf articles, but sometimes it could be found in other newspapers, such as het Vrije Volk.

The problem that was discussed openly and vividly in all newspapers in 1980 was the rapidly growing problem of drug addiction among the Surinamese. It was written that 90 percent of Surinamese began to use drugs after arrival in the Netherlands. The Nederlands Dagblad quoted an annual report that was published in 1977/1978 and 1979 by the welfare foundation Srefidensie, which was concerned about the Surinamese addicts. According to this report, the addiction started due to the social and economic conditions in which Surinamese live: limited access to the labour market, less opportunities in education, and discrimination and the fact that numerous numbers of Surinamese associations were closed. Most of them started using drugs after three years in the Netherlands, two of which they spent unemployed. Srefidensie wrote that in 1979 they had 906 clients: 78 percent men, 89 percent unmarried, 91 percent already had Dutch nationality and less than 94 percent were unemployed; on average they had 900 guilders a week to obtain drugs, and of this money they got 73 percent through the heroin trade, theft or prostitution. Even though 906 clients was a very small number, these were only those, who

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147 Telegraaf 19.05.1980
148 Telegraaf 24.06.1980
149 Telegraaf 07.02.1980
150 Nederlands Dagblad 30.06.1980
151 Nederlands Dagblad 30.06.1980
152 ibid
came to Srefidensie for help. The number of drug users was much larger. The drug they were referring to was heroin. In the Netherlands there is a sharp contrast between "soft drugs" and "hard drugs". Back then, one of the main problems was the growing number of drug cafes, especially and mainly in Amsterdam, that also "served" heroin, a hard drug. Heroin arrived in substantial quantities in the Netherlands after the 1970s from China and Singapore; it was quite cheap and addictive, especially for those who had tried previously widespread opiates. Later on, the cocaine trade also began in Suriname. It became a very serious and dangerous problem, as at that time the threat of HIV and AIDS had started to expend; this diffusion facilitated by sharing needles while using drugs. In 1980 the government started to develop syringe exchange programs in order to prevent the spread of HIV and AIDS\textsuperscript{153}.

Amsterdam city remained the centre of the heroin problem. Het Vrije Volk wrote that the daily number of visitors to the "help centres" rose from five hundred to one thousand heroin users in four cafes in different parts of the city; and even though these centres were initially intended primarily for the Surinamese, there was an increase of the visits of Dutch and Malaccans as well\textsuperscript{154}. The government tried to prevent the spread of drug cafes, as well as closing many of them. The Telegraaf wrote that Irene Vorrink, the former alderman of the municipality of Amsterdam, who was also the Minister of Health in the Den Uyl cabinet from 1973 to 1977, even had to resign from her position, because she could not prevent the growth of the number of Surinamese drug addicts in Amsterdam\textsuperscript{155}. It was due to Irene Vorrink and the Minister of Justice, Dries van Agt, that the Netherlands had employed a distinction between hard and soft drugs.

4.3. The "Tolerant" Dutchman in 1980

One of the reasons for drug addiction among the Surinamese, as said earlier, was the discriminative environment in the Netherlands. It could be discriminatory, because for the Surinamese it was increasingly difficult to find a place in society. The labour market was not in their favour, most of the jobs were given to ingenious Dutch people; and it was very difficult to find a house as well, as landlords preferred "Dutch" Dutch; which is why the Surinamese quickly became victims of the practices of drug traffickers and other criminals\textsuperscript{156}. It was mentioned that in many "popular morning papers" they wrote how "one is getting fed up more and more by how

\textsuperscript{153} National drug policy: the Netherlands. http://www.parl.gc.ca/. 06.06.2013
\textsuperscript{154} Het Vrije Volk. 26.11.1980
\textsuperscript{155} Telegraaf 05.07.1980
\textsuperscript{156} Nederlands Dagblad 28.08.1980
many immigrants are coming to the Netherlands\textsuperscript{157}. Unlike the year of my previous analysis, in 1980, some Dutch newspapers took a defensive position towards the Surinamese. The circumstances of Surinamese migration had changed, as well as the image of migration: in 1975, the Surinamese migrants, in the opinion of the Dutch press, were running away from some problems that, of course, could occur in any new country; but in 1980 they were running from a dictatorship in Suriname. The blame for all the "disasters" fell on the Dutch government. The Nederlands dagblad wrote: "the discrimination is commonly explained sociologically, but this time the government is the problem"; the paper argued that discrimination and racism must be discussed openly in public, as, from that time on, it was no longer a matter of academic debates, but a harsh reality\textsuperscript{158}. Instead of making discrimination a public issue however, the Netherlands was "pointing fingers" at South Africa, where the discrimination was, of course, much worse\textsuperscript{159}. So, initially, newspapers accused the Dutch government of denying and postponing the problem.

Secondly, the Dutch government was blamed for unwisely accommodating migrants who had a place to stay. Most protests from Dutch people were concerning the growing number of districts where minorities often constituted the majority, which, in opinion of Het Vrije Volk, was quite understandable\textsuperscript{160}.

Due to the absence of a nice environment and lack of good care from the government, the Surinamese became involved with drugs. It was proved by sociologists that 90 percent of newcomers had never tried drugs in Suriname\textsuperscript{161}. Even in the Telegraaf, which always published sensational articles, it was possible to find articles about "over the line" racism among the Dutch population. In January 1980, one Dutch woman from Alkmaar made up a story that she was kidnapped by a Surinamese man; she deliberately tried to accuse the Surinamer of abduction, but after a police investigation it turned out that the story was from her imagination. The author of the article in the Telegraaf wrote: "with some annoyance and increasing amazement I read the news about the "kidnapping". I refuse to believe that she was overwrought. The Surinamese community deserves an apology.\textsuperscript{162}"

As discussed in a previous paragraph, the Dutch society was not showing signs of total acceptance of a fresh Surinamese minority: newspapers were writing about Surinamese drug addiction, about their demonstrations of violence and inability to integrate into the Dutch society. But in contrast to the year 1975, the Surinamese were not "accused", but “pitized”; the Dutch

\textsuperscript{157} ibid
\textsuperscript{158} ibid
\textsuperscript{159} De Waarheid 21.04.1980
\textsuperscript{160} Het Vrije Volk 29.08.1980
\textsuperscript{161} Nederlands Dagblad 15.04.1980
\textsuperscript{162} Telegraaf 15.01.1980
government had failed to provide them with three essential needs: accommodation, jobs and education. Nonetheless, Dutch newspapers (especially the Nederlands Dagblad and het Vrije Volk) were very displeased with the growing number of aliens in the Netherlands and were protesting against immigration. This attitude cannot be called tolerance or acceptance yet.

4.4. Conclusion 1980

If in 1975, the number of Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands came to 110,000, in 1980 it had risen to 145,000163, while the total population of Suriname was about 385,000 in the early 1970s. This meant that about one third of the whole population had migrated to the Netherlands. According to de Volkskrant, it was partly the Dutch government’s mistake. Despite all enthusiastic initiatives that had been taken by the Dutch and Surinamese governments to encourage repatriation, there were still more people arriving than leaving. This was provoked by a sudden change the Dutch governmental policy164. With the tougher policy (especially considering future visa requirements) more Surinamese decided to leave Suriname as soon as possible165.

In 1980, the public image of Surinamese migrants created by the Dutch media is quite controversial. On one hand, in 1990 the very nature of migration changed in the way it was depicted in media: Surinamese in a way became refugees, who were trying to escape the cruel and unjust rule of Desi Bouterse. This image does not carry much negativity, in the sense that many of them had no choice; as they were afraid of being persecuted. Thus, the lazy and irresponsible image slowly disappeared in 1980. Another one came to life: the image of a victim. The Dutch government was blamed for inactivity.

On the other hand, most of the articles were dedicated the unsocial and violent behaviour of the immigrants: they did not follow the rules, they were drug addicts. This could be formulated into one idea that was expressed in the media in a certain way: even though they were victims of the new regime, they did not fit into Dutch society.

In 1980, three themes ("migration and Dutch economy", "crime and drugs", and "Dutch tolerance and social interactions") were included. It is difficult to distinguish which was the most important. The newspapers eagerly discussed the influence of migration on the Dutch economy (problems of unemployment mostly) and difficulties with Surinamese integration. In comparison

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163 Amersfoort van, Hans, How the Dutch Government stimulated the unwanted immigration from Suriname. 2011
164 De Volkskrant 28.08.1980
165 ibid
to 1975, in 1980 the theme "drugs and crime" appeared. The bad economic situation, emergence of a drug problem and the discontent about how the development money from the Dutch government was spent in Suriname, worsened the position of Surinamese in Dutch society, which was also discussed in the newspapers.

In the newspapers, there was a distinction made between the newcomers of the 1980s, and those who had been living in the Netherlands for a while. If the Telegraaf had been appealing to stop immigration, because Surinamese migrants were not capable of integrating into the Dutch society, other newspapers (Nederlands Dagblad, het Vrije Volk) were appealing to stop immigration, because the Dutch government was not able to create a corresponding environment for new migrants and, therefore, the Netherlands was not ready to receive more. Also, whereas in the Telegraaf, the reader could find articles about the Surinamese that contained undisguised racism, other newspapers (de Volkskrant, de Waarheid, Nederlands Dagblad) wrote about racism in Dutch society. And even though some newspapers wrote about racism towards Surinamese migrants, the fact that these newspapers (Nederlands Dagblad, het Vrije Volk) shared the idea that the Surinamese could not fit into Dutch society, and were highlighting their "otherness" could be as considered racist. However, the attitude towards fresh migrants in 1980 was much better as they carried an image of political victims.

As has been already said, the newspapers respond to news differently and they do not cover the same news. The Telegraaf, as it was in 1975, was ruthless towards Surinamese migrants, both those who were already in the Netherlands and newcomers. The newspaper stressed the failure of the Surinamese integrate into Dutch society; unable to find a job in the Netherlands, they stepped into the dark path of drugs and crime. The Nederlands Dagblad and het Vrije Volk were also mostly focused on promoting repatriation; there were a lot of articles about the drug problem as well. The only big difference is that there two newspapers were blaming the Dutch government; they wrote that the government was not doing enough in order to help the Surinamese people. De Waarheid had not changed its position since 1975. De Volkskrant was a bit different from other newspapers. In general, the reader could find much fewer articles about the Surinamese. In 1980 de Volkskrant was focused on the Dutch economy and world's politics (the situations in Poland, Iran and Afghanistan). Also, in de Volkskrant there were barely any articles about Surinamese drug users or criminals. The articles were mainly about future visa requirements and how it would affect Surinamese migrants and the Netherlands. Moreover, the newspaper was more or less patronising migrants, and if it was not, it was appealing to the consciousness of Dutch politicians and to the fair solution of the "Surinamese problem".
V. Analysis of 1990 and 2000

After 1980 the immigration from Suriname to the Netherlands without visas came to an end. Only family reunion was still happening; the main concern was about new migrants from Morocco and Turkey. In 1990 there were mainly three topics being discussed regarding Suriname and Surinamese migrants: 1) the guerrilla war in Suriname, 2) drug trafficking from Suriname, 3) changes of the appearance of some cities as a result of adopting Surinamese traditions and culture and the ongoing problem of racial discrimination. It is also important to mention that there were 40 percent less articles published about Surinamese in 1990 than in 1980.

5.1. The Jungle Commando

The Jungle Commando was officially called the Suriname National Liberation Army. It was a guerrilla group, founded by Ronnie Brunswijk in 1986. Ronnie Brunswijk had served as a personal bodyguard of Desi Bouterse, but turned against him, forming a group to fight the Surinamese government and its military dictatorship. In 1986, the Surinamese army came to the village Brunswijk was from and, even though they could not find him, killed at least 39 villagers. Brunswijk was of Maroon decent and was also fighting for their rights; after Bouterse had won all the power for himself, the Maroon population went through a lot: public buildings, schools, hospitals and even whole villages were destroyed. In December 1990 Bouterse overthrew the government again and retook power\textsuperscript{166}. This action became known as a "telephone coup", as he dismissed the government with a simple telephone call. This did not last for long, however: in 1991 Suriname had another election. The Jungle Commando was supported by many of those Surinamese who lived in the Netherlands: they received weapons and money. The guerrilla war lasted from 1986 to 1992, after which both sides came to an agreement.

In Dutch newspapers, Ronnie Brunswijk gained quite a negative image. In the newspapers he and his soldiers were accused of gross human rights violations, that they were severely mistreating civilians, and his strategic understanding was also being doubted\textsuperscript{167}. For example, de

\textsuperscript{166} De Volkskrant 25.12.1990
\textsuperscript{167} Telegraaf 31.07.1990
Volkskrant called Brunswijk "a criminal that was expelled from his own army"\textsuperscript{168}. Even though he had the nickname "Robin Hood" in Suriname, because of his ideas of fighting "bad guys" for the sake of "good guys", some of the newspapers reminded the readers that his personality was far from the image of the folk hero: his hobbies were luxury cars and disco music\textsuperscript{169}. It was obvious that the Netherlands did not want to create an idea that the Dutch government was helping the rebels in any way: even if the Surinamese minority in the Netherlands was trying to help, the customs in Rotterdam and Schiphol would never approve the shifting of any weapons, as it was illegal\textsuperscript{170}.

The Netherlands was very much involved in the war in Suriname anyway. The Dutch government had tried to help both sides with medicines or food, but any foreign aid in Suriname was immediately associated with foreign "intervention"\textsuperscript{171}. Also, because of the war, thousands of Surinamese fled the country and most of them went to the Netherlands\textsuperscript{172}. On the other hand, when in June 1990 Ronnie Brunswijk, the leader of Jungle Commando, applied for Dutch a visa from Paris for a period of two weeks, it became a big deal in the Dutch press, as officially he was unwelcome in the Netherlands for two reasons: the Netherlands did not want to get an impression of helping the rebels, and the relationship between the Netherlands and the government of Suriname was not good; and the Dutch government was afraid that he could start the war again, but this time from the Netherlands\textsuperscript{173}. Brunswijk promised he just wanted some time in peace, and that his aim was to inform the Netherlands about the situation in eastern Suriname and, maybe, to help Dutch politicians\textsuperscript{174}. In the end he got a Dutch visa.

The other reason why Ronnie Brunswijk was unwelcome was his reputation of being involved in drug trafficking in Europe, especially with cocaine. The problem of drug expansion in the Netherlands was another topic of discussion in the Dutch media in 1990.

5.2. Drug trafficking. A negative image of the Surinamese?

In 1990, newspapers were writing about the growing concerns regarding the increasing role of Suriname in the international drug trade and the spread of cocaine in the Netherlands.

\textsuperscript{168} De Volkskrant 26.06.1990
\textsuperscript{169} Nederlands Dagblad 21.06.1990
\textsuperscript{170} Nederlands Dagblad 31.08.1990
\textsuperscript{171} Nederlands Dagblad 21.06.1990
\textsuperscript{173} Het Vrije Volk 26.06.1990
\textsuperscript{174} ibid
This fact could have had bad consequences on the relationship between the two countries. They wrote that both sides in Suriname, the Desi Bouterse government and Jungle Commando, were involved\textsuperscript{175}. In March, the Dutch government, the Christian-democratic party (CDA) and the social-democrat (PvdA) drew hope from the observation that the Surinamese authorities had released some of the members of the Jungle Command, who had been captured earlier\textsuperscript{176}. This was regarded as a step towards peace. On the other hand, Dutch politicians thought that cocaine could be the root of the entire conflict in Paramaribo, the source of power and money division\textsuperscript{177}. For example, the speaker of CDA Aarts said that "cocaine is the reason why they kill"\textsuperscript{178}. The drug line started in South America and went through Suriname and thereby was spread to Europe, and in particular to the Netherlands. The Surinamese government claimed to have nothing to do with the cocaine trade\textsuperscript{179}. It even agreed to accept the help of the United States in the fight against cocaine trafficking\textsuperscript{180}. Later, in 1999, Desi Bouterse was proved to have been involved in the drug trade and was convicted in absentia in the Netherlands of trafficking more than 474 kilograms of cocaine. He was believed to be the leader of the Suri Kartel, which was the organisation that was smuggling cocaine from Suriname into Europe.

The Nederlands Dagblad wrote that there were two things of which they could be certain: that "the drug trafficking exists and it is difficult to detect\textsuperscript{181}". The latter was enhanced by the traditional struggle between the army and police, and in Suriname the army, which supported Desi Bouterse, won the battle. The consequences of the "drug war" in Suriname were crucial: the National Criminal Intelligence reported that almost half of all the cocaine that reached the ports in the Netherlands was from Suriname\textsuperscript{182}.

Apart from the news about drug trafficking from Suriname, there were basically no articles about Surinamese drug addicts in the Netherlands as it was in 1980. It seems like this problem ceased to be a public problem. It is also interesting to notice that the story about the guerrilla war in Suriname and drug trafficking did not affect the Dutch public idea about Surinamese migrants. There were no articles found about the connection between drug trafficking and migrants; the fact that Brunswijk and Bouterse were \textit{Surinamese} was not stressed in Dutch media. It does not mean that the "criminal" image of Surinamese migrants had completely disappeared. Of course, once in a while the reader could find articles about shootings among Surinamese youngsters and

\textsuperscript{175} Telegraaf 30.03.1990
\textsuperscript{176} ibid
\textsuperscript{177} Het Vrije Volk 26.03.1990
\textsuperscript{178} ibid
\textsuperscript{179} Telegraaf 04.04.1990
\textsuperscript{180} ibid
\textsuperscript{181} Nederlands Dagblad 29.03.1990
\textsuperscript{182} ibid
robberies etc. For example: "...a man was found with a chest wound; he died in a hospital. Police arrested a man and a woman suspected of knowing something about his death". Or another story in the article with the name "family drama in Apeldoorn": "...last Wednesday a woman was shot by her 22-year-old stepson. The victim was 29 years old, and of Surinamese descent. Her two children, a girl of ten and a boy of nine, managed to escape. The fire was probably the result of relationship problems." Another example: "...a four day old baby was kidnapped by his own father for three days."

Two important things must be said regarding these articles about the so-called "violence" of the Surinamese. First of all, the fact that the people involved in these events were Surinamese was mentioned simply as additional information, and was never stressed. The aim of these articles was to entertain people by telling sensational stories, which could happen in any family of all racial backgrounds. Second of all, all these articles were found mainly in the Telegraaf newspaper that at that time had stepped into a rout that was increasingly pertinent to entertainment and sensational press (gossips, rumours, crime reports etc). In other newspapers (mostly in het Vrije Volk) sometimes the reader could find information about “violent Surinamese” in Suriname. For instance, in December het Vrije Volk wrote that “since the Coup of 1980, the whole history of Suriname has been characterised by violence”. The same newspaper wrote about girls being raped in Suriname by a group of men from the Jungle Commando. Overall however, there were barely any articles about “Surinamese violence” in the Netherlands. That means that the "violent" image of Surinamese people had disappeared from Dutch newspapers by 1990. The same can be said about the image of being drug addicts. It does not mean that the problem of drug addiction was completely solved in the Netherlands, as it is a problem even now, but at least it had no longer become ethnically specific in newspapers.

5.3. The Colourful 11

In 1990 there were many notes and articles to be found about sports achievements of people of Surinamese origin. For example: "Laetitia Vriesde, an athlete of Surinamese origin, who lives in Rotterdam, has won two medals this Sunday at the Caribbean Championships in

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183 Telegraaf 24.01.1990
184 Telegraaf 01.08.1990
185 Telegraaf 30.03.1990
186 Het Vije Volk 29.12.1990
187 Het Vrije Volk 28.03.1990
Mexico City. Most of these articles were about football and a growing number of footballers of Surinamese origin in the Netherlands. Many of them were a part of the Dutch national team. In February 1990, de Telegraaf published an interview with a former German football player Gunther Netzer, and a retired Dutch football player Hans Kraay about the perspectives of the Dutch team at the World Cup. They both were sure that the Netherlands was the main favourite at the World Cup: "The Netherlands has Gullit, Van Basten, Rijkaard and Koeman. Four absolute stars that no other country can compete with". Among the four mentioned football players, two of them were of Surinamese origin: Gullit and Rijkaard. Hans Kraay added: "but if you ask me, whether we are going to be world champions without Gullit, I say we are not. Gullit is a leader, both on and off the pitch". Dutch newspapers published interviews with Surinamese players as well. For example, het Vrije Volk interviewed Ruud Gullit: "Born and raised in Jordaan district I feel primarily Dutch, but I cannot resist the temptation to visit Suriname. I have been there twice. In this country I have roots."

After the Netherlands became European Champions in 1988, these footballers, especially Gullit and van Basten, became international superstars. Football in the Netherlands became even more popular. Sonny Hasnoe, a social worker that dealt with children from disadvantaged neighbourhoods (such as Bijlmer), founded a group of professional football players of Surinamese origin called the Colourful 11 (Kleurrijk Elftal). Hasnoe wanted these football players to serve as an example for underprivileged children that had the same background. Owing to his efforts, many Surinamese boys joined football clubs. In 1989 a catastrophe happened: an airplane flying from Amsterdam Schiphol to Paramaribo Zanderij crashed near the Surinamese airport. On-board this plane were the Colourful 11. They were supposed to play a match in Suriname. Some football players, such as Ruud Gullit, Frank Rijkaard, Aron Winter, Stanley Menzo, were denied permission to go by their football clubs. Stanley Menzo and Hennie Meijer still went to Suriname, but they took an earlier flight. Eighteen other young professionals however, including their coach Nick Stienstra, died in the plane crash. The newspapers wrote about the event as a national tragedy. Het Vrije Volk with the title "Nick Stienstra had big plans for the Colourful 11" wrote: "it is a terrible tragedy and a great loss for both Dutch and Surinamese football."

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188 Telegraaf 04.12.1990  
189 Telegraaf 14.02.1990  
190 ibid  
191 Het Vrije Volk 04.06.1988  
192 Het Vrije Volk 21.09.1989
5.4. Changing appearances

It had been fifteen years since the first migration flow from Suriname to the Netherlands. It has been quite enough time for both sides, Surinamese and Dutch, to adapt something from each culture. In 1990, there were a lot of articles found on the subject of cultural changes in the Netherlands. The main topics discussed in the newspapers were: Surinamese music, fashion, food and changing appearance of some parts of big cities in the Netherlands. Dutch newspapers were promoting Surinamese culture; the keywords were: new, interesting, and unusual. For example, in the Telegraaf you could find advertising for the Amsterdam Soeterijn Theatre, where in January 1990 the program had been devoted to the different types of music and dance from Suriname. The program covered three weekends: Indian and Javanese for the first weekend, the next one was dedicated to Indo-Surinamese and the third week for the Afro Surinamese. It was the Soeterijn Theatre, which was responsible for this advertisement, but the Telegraaf published it and made it accessible for its audience. Is interesting to notice, that a clear distinction was made between different cultures in Suriname, which was basically never discussed in 1975 and 1980. The newspapers wrote that Dutch people did not know much about Surinamese cuisine, and its kitchen deserved as much attention as Indonesian. They were encouraging Dutch people to visit Surinamese restaurants; of course they were making a distinction between Chinese, Hindustanis and Afro Surinamese food as well.

In September in Het Vrije Volk the main editor presented a new weekly column: Fashion Street. The newspaper wrote that many cities in the Netherlands were "bursting with fashionable novelty", and that is why they decided to have a weekly column dedicated to the news styles in fashion brought by Surinamese to the Netherlands; these were the interviews with people who brought new traditions. For example, in the first column they interviewed the singer, the leader of the rock reggae group Rasta man I Ken, who was born in Paramaribo. He brought the new fashion style of having dreadlocks. The newspaper wrote that not only Surinamese, but also Dutch reggae followers started to wear dreadlocks. For example the famous football player Ruud Gullit gained his "typical look" by wearing dreadlocks. In the interview the singer said that in the Netherlands there established a wrong image of Rasta men: Dutch people imagined them always on drugs, wearing dirty clothes and not washing their heads because of dreadlocks, but he claimed that this type of hair style was a part of reggae tradition and they must be always

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193 Telegraaf 11.01.1990
194 Telegraaf 27.09.1990
195 Het Vrije Volk 25.09.1990
196 ibid
washed: "being a rastaman does not require smoking marijuana or drinking, it means enjoying life; I always ask my audience to put on their best clothes when they go to my concerts\textsuperscript{197}. In the next week column the newspaper discussed the growing popularity of traditional women clothes, especially Sari, with a Hindustani bridal makeup artist Seema Sharma.

Many articles that I have found were about the new "ethnic" districts or neighborhoods in Rotterdam and Amsterdam. Regarding Rotterdam the newspapers wrote about the West Kruiskade Street. Nederlands Dagblad mentioned some new restaurants and stores that were opening on this street by Surinamese (Chinese and Hindustanis) and Turkish: "West Kruiskade is now an exotic adventure just around the corner. There are two Chinese restaurants, an acupuncturist, a Chinese supermarket and two Chinese travel agencies; but China image is rapidly changing into Surinamese and Turkish women wearing long robes and headscarves. This neighborhood has emerged into a melting pot of cultures. A Saturday shopping in the West Kruiskade gives you the feeling of a return to Asia or Caribbean"\textsuperscript{198}. This article also gave the information about what every nationality was specialised at, what you could find in their restaurants according to their traditions. They wrote: "It is fantastic here! You have everything in this place: Turkish bakers, Moroccan butchers, and Surinamese groceries".\textsuperscript{199} There were also different cafes that were usual places for certain ethnicities to spend their time. For example, café Nelis, a whiskey bar was a "shelter" for Surinamese and Antilleans; de Nelson for Yugoslavians; "No 10" was a fancy place for Surinamese and the Tres Carabelas for Spaniards; Turkish people had places to drink coffee, as alcohol was strictly forbidden.

In another newspaper, Het Vrije Volk, the question of safety was raised: the newspaper published an interview with a police officer, who had worked in Rotterdam police since 1980. To the question, whether this street was dangerous or not, he replied: "No. this street gained a bad name from the past, when at late 1970s we were suddenly confronted with drugs. Social workers and police did not know how to deal with it. Now Kruiskade is wiped clean. Though, meanwhile, we still have a lot of experience with drug trafficking and users; but now we can handle it a little easier.\textsuperscript{200} The police officer also said that the main reason of such order on this street was because of mutual experience: all the drug users or any infringer knew what would happen if they were captured. The most irritating at the West Kruiskade were not the junkies, street prostitution or drug trafficking, but the parking problem; it was such a mistake to build a tram line there, as writes Het Vrije Volk\textsuperscript{201}; this exotic street became one of the first tourist attractions.

\textsuperscript{197} ibid
\textsuperscript{198} Nederlands Dagblad 27.05.1990
\textsuperscript{199} ibid
\textsuperscript{200} Het Vrije Volk 25.07.1990
\textsuperscript{201} ibid
in Rotterdam. In another article in Het Vrije Volk Rotterdam was called "Little India", mostly because of Hindustanis from Suriname. The article wrote that in some areas in Rotterdam it felt and smelled like in India, it was filled with exotic items like saris, gold, jewellery, posters with Buddhas, because, as it was written, in Suriname Indian traditions were carefully maintained\textsuperscript{202}. All the newspapers were expressing the same opinion: how amazing it was that so many different groups could live in peace all together with all their own customs and traditions.

Speaking of Amsterdam, in Dutch newspapers the reader could find notes and article about the positive changes in Bijlmer area. For example, Telegraaf wrote that "as the major advantage of this neighborhood they regard the car-free surface, the greenery, the nice new houses and the multiracial society. People, especially without children, appreciate the traffic-calmed and green character of Bijlmer\textsuperscript{203}.

Het Vrije Volk also discussed how Surinamese minorities adapted some of the Dutch traditions. In one of the articles the newspaper interviewed a Surinamese woman Elaine, one of the first women entrepreneurs. She stressed the fact that traditionally Surinamese men spent too much time on the hair and clothes; they always wanted to look good, because nice clothes automatically said where you belonged, which gave acceptance. She said: "In Suriname people always spend a lot of money on clothing and jewellery. It is a part of our culture.\textsuperscript{204}" This habit in particular they took to the Netherlands. But the position of Surinamese men and women was drastically changing, when they came to this country: "In our culture a woman is a housewife. She does little initiative; her place is in the family. In the Netherlands you can see how it is changing. Many Surinamese women have a job or receive benefits from the government, which means they have their own income and thus a bit of independence from men. Here you have a barber place for men and women, but in Suriname women never went to a barber, they did everything by themselves at home\textsuperscript{205}. As a result of these changes there were many conflicts and divorces in the Surinamese community; men could not handle very well the fact that women demanded a piece of power. Elaine, as an example, told the newspaper that she had a lot of problems with boys who worked in her company, as they could not accept orders from women\textsuperscript{206}. In another article though Het Vrije Volk discussed how the Surinamese became detached from their traditions, that they were adapting the European thinking, and Dutch norms and values\textsuperscript{207}.

\textsuperscript{202} Het Vrije Volk. 08.08.1990
\textsuperscript{203} Telegraaf 06.06.1990
\textsuperscript{204} Het Vrije Volk 05.09.1990
\textsuperscript{205} Het Vrije Volk 05.09.1990
\textsuperscript{206} ibid
\textsuperscript{207} Het Vrije Volk 03.11.1990
5.5. The "Tolerant Dutchman" in 1990

In 1990 the issue of racism and discrimination was constantly discussed in Dutch media. On the whole, the newspapers were expressing relatively the same idea: Dutch people were not very much tolerant. De Waarheid thought that racism was interwoven with Dutch society; the tradition of being racists, in the opinion of the newspaper, went back into history. They wrote: "we are tolerant, that is right, but rather in relation to manifestations of racism208". What the newspaper meant, I believe, was that by pointing fingers at the situation in South Africa and criticising it, Dutch people regarded themselves tolerant towards other cultures. But in reality the situation in the Netherlands was just not that critic as in South Africa; comparing themselves to Africa they tried to hide their own every day racism. The situation in Africa, they were referring to, was the system of apartheid, racial segregation, which existed after the WWII to 1994. The system implicated the classification of all people into four racial groups (black, white, coloured and Indian); according to these groups people were forced (mainly "blacks") to move to special neighbourhoods (Bantustans); they had separate schools, medical service, leisure places and etc. "Apartheid" in Afrikaans language, which is based on eighteenth century Dutch language, literally means "apart hood" or "state being apart". The fight against apartheid in South Africa was a very sensitive topic in the Netherlands for the Afro-Surinamese minority. Het Vije Volk wrote that after the release of Nelson Mandela, who was in prison for 27 years, the Rotterdam "against Apartheid group" had a big party: many Surinamese artists joined the party (like poets Paul Centerline or Lottie Richter) 209; the Hague also took part in the celebration. In both cities the groups against Apartheid took care of decorating them with flags, pennants on the public buildings, trams and buses210. The celebration was even more delirious when Mandela came to the Netherlands in June of 1990. The newspapers wrote that more than 15,000 people came to Amsterdam to greet him and his wife Winnie211.

In Dutch media of 1990 it was clearly stated that the Surinamese minority (and immigrant in the Netherlands in general) suffered the most from discrimination. It resulted on their job opportunities, housing and education, which means that these problems had not been solved since 1975. The minister De Vries (Social Affairs and Employment), the Regional Employment Agencies of Rotterdam and Amsterdam was very concerned with the situation: the stated the unacceptable negative attitude towards migrants (Surinamese and Antillean origin in particular)

208 De Waarheid 13.01.1990
209 Het Vrije Volk 07.02.1990
210 ibid
211 Het Vrije Volk 18.06.1990
who participates in training courses to become administrators and assistant office managers.\footnote{212} First of all, it took weeks to finally receive an answer about the participation in the course; second, the teachers were rude and tactless. The other article in the same newspaper recounted the terrible conditions of migrants' houses.\footnote{213} It was said that the Surinamese and Antilleans were discriminated when it came to allocation; most migrant were sent to the worst flats: "employees of the Housing Association were providing with accommodation mainly according to the colour of the skin.\footnote{214} In the article the authors also published a report of the Rotterdam Anti Discrimination Action Council (RADAR) that showed: 79 percent of Dutch people, looking for a house, were able to succeed, and only 29 percent of immigrants.\footnote{215} According to RADAR the fact that the immigrants had low income and many children, did not mean that they had fewer opportunities than Dutch, especially because of government benefits. These associations owned most of the houses that were about 500 guilders rent per month or less. The answer of employees of one of the housing agencies was: "it is very difficult to place migrants to the same house with Dutch people; we don't find it appropriate. Someone who works hard would not be happy with the fact that his neighbour receives housing benefits of 350 guilders for the same house.\footnote{216}" This was a clear indication of continuous racial discrimination in the Netherlands. In August and September of 1990 Het Vrije Volk published two articles on the subject of racial discrimination in the Netherlands towards Afro Surinamese minority. The first one had as a title "You will be taken more seriously if you are white in this society\footnote{217} and the second "Black and white thinking in Dutch society\footnote{218}. Both articles argued that the prejudices against the black population in the Netherlands were firmly entrenched into Dutch society; they did not only occur in the street, but they could also be found in one’s daily life, in families, in social science, in educational programs. The newspaper wrote that for the Afro Surinamese population (and Antilleans) it was very difficult to improve their position in this country, even though this country is based on the principle that all men are created equal. They wrote: "…so many white people are terribly afraid of people with different skin colour and different habits.\footnote{219}"

On the other hand, Dutch media was turning to people with an appeal to be tolerant and understanding towards other nationalities. Nederlands Dagblad wrote that "a different culture is not necessarily threatening\footnote{220}; the newspaper suggested that children of migrants could have

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{212}{Het Vrije Volk 22.03.1990}
\item \footnote{213}{Het Vrije Volk 05.10.1990}
\item \footnote{214}{ibid}
\item \footnote{215}{ibid}
\item \footnote{216}{ibid}
\item \footnote{217}{Het Vrije Volk 16.08.1990}
\item \footnote{218}{Het Vrije Volk 05.19.1990}
\item \footnote{219}{Het Vrije Volk 16.08.1990}
\item \footnote{220}{Nederlands Dagblad 21.04.1990}
\end{itemize}}
education not only in their own language, but also in Dutch; the authors were concerned that there was not enough attention paid to the problem of ethnic minorities in education. This article, as we may understand, mainly addresses the problem of the emergence of the new Turkish and Moroccan minority, because Surinamese children could perfectly speak Dutch; but, one way or another, the newspapers called for tolerance.

5.6. Conclusion 1990

In 1990 the reader of Dutch newspapers could notice a clear change of the attitude towards Surinamese migrants. Overall it started to become positive: from previously "violent", "lazy", "drug users" they slowly started to get the image of being "interesting and new" and "hardworking". The replacement of "violent" and "drug users" image can be proved by, first of all, the absence of numerous articles on this topic, which the reader could see in 1980; second of all, the fact of the continuing "cocaine war" in Suriname had no connection to the image of Surinamese people in the Netherlands.

The emergence of new ethnic neighbourhoods was described as something new and exotic in the Netherlands. Dutch media expressed amazement how so many different ethnic minorities could live peacefully in one place. Moreover, it was very positive about the progress Surinamese had made in adapting Dutch traditions and culture, which included fashion, education, willingness to work (even among women).

It is though important to note, that these positive "revues" were also the result of the comparisons of Surinamese minority with Turks and Moroccans; resentment towards the later started to grow at that time. From 1980 the Dutch integration policies were, as has been discussed before, mainly multicultural. In 2000 these policies were claimed to be a failure. But reading the newspapers of 1990 about Surinamese in the Netherlands one could think differently. The reviews on "multicultural coexistence" were highly positive. Every newspaper presented it in a different way. For example, Telegraaf was mostly promoting Surinamese culture (food and entertainment); de Volkskrant was mainly interested in discussing political situation in Suriname, but positive notes could still be found. Nederlands Dagblad, het Vrije Volk, de Waarheid were concerned with the demonstration of racism among Dutch population. In newspapers the reader could find many positive notes and reviews about Surinamese sportsmen, especially football players, some of whom became very popular.

In 1990 it can be noticed, first of all, that the theme "migration and Dutch economy"
regarding the Surinamese disappeared from newspapers. The theme "crime and drugs" did not concern Surinamese people in the Netherlands anymore; drug trafficking was discussed but without references to Surinamese minority in the Netherlands. The theme "Surinamese integration" was mostly positive, as well as "social interactions". This could mean only three things, in my opinion: either the integration of Surinamese was going very well and that is why the newspapers stopped expressing concerns, or there were more important matters to discuss at that period and media lost its interest, or it could be both.

5.7. Analysis 2000

In 2000 a lot of things had changed: Suriname returned to a democratically elected government in 1991; Dutch support was resumed (development funds); multiculturalism in the Netherlands was called to be a failure. NRC Handelsblad published the essay of Paul Scheffer, member of the Labour Party and a specialist in urban studies, with the title "Het Multiculturele drama"\textsuperscript{221}. In this essay he criticised the multicultural integration policy of the government. He claimed that the capacity of the Netherlands to contain different minorities had been exceeded. In his opinion, the Netherland should better maintain its own culture (language, history), because the flow of different nationalities put in shadows the Dutch nationality itself. Moreover, they brought such problems as unemployment, drug addiction, high crime rates. He accused the Dutch government of being indifferent to these problems and demanded actions. But we must not forget about the growing discontent of Dutch people about the Muslim community in the Netherlands. And it is important to say that most of the articles in the newspapers of 2000 that were dedicated to minority problem were about Moroccans and Turks, and not about Surinamese. There were very few articles on the subject of Surinamese migrants; most of them were brief notes. There were no articles found on the subject of discrimination of Afro Surinamese, as we could see in 1990. Of course, the reader could find news (especially in Telegraaf newspaper) about actions of criminal character, but their Surinamese nationality was never stressed.

It seemed the Surinamese gained their niche in Dutch society. There were barely any articles about difficulties that came at the process of finding a job, about drug addiction, about low level of education; Surinamese were integrating, adapting Dutch norms. In 2000 they expressed the desire for a national memorial to slavery. And the answer to their demand was

\textsuperscript{221} NRC Handelsblad 29.01.2000
positive. De Volkskrant, for example, was on their side and expressed assurance that the Netherlands was in need of such a memorial\footnote{De Volkskrant 04.07.2000}. The article quoted Denise Jannah, a singer: "Monuments like this are of a great importance for describing traumatic historical events, no matter how long ago. And it is a form of recognition of the victims, but also of those, who were partly responsible. In the Netherlands it often seems that slavery never existed; at schools the pay very little attention to this."\footnote{ibid}

De Volkskrant also published an inspiring article about single Surinamese mothers, who raised several children from different fathers. Even though it was very difficult, these women were proud of themselves; moreover, they thought, it was a good example for their children: "I think my independence is a good example for my children. Especially for my sons. They will not take it for granted that their future woman is in the kitchen all the time. I think it is important that they are independent and that they treat women as equal beings"\footnote{De Volkskrant 08.07.2000}. Independence of Surinamese women is a clear sign of integration to Dutch society, known to be very sensitive towards equality between women and men; the fact that they shared the same values could be very important for Dutch people as well in sense of recognition of the Surinamese as fellow citizens.

The newspapers wrote about Surinamese culture, Surinamese food and traditions. There was one article about the first Surinamese TV show: John Wijdenbosch and Winston Rodrigues started the first Surinamese comedy "Bradaz Brothers". In this show they laughed at the stereotypes about their own culture and even exaggerated them. Two authors wanted to set a good example for Surinamese kids, to show them what they could achieve if they worked hard for something\footnote{De Volkskrant 30.12.2000}.

\section*{5.8. Surinamese legion}

In 2000 there were a lot more (compared to the year 1990) articles about football players of Surinamese origin, such as Patric Kluivert, Edgar Davids, Michael Reiziger, Winston Bogarde, Jimmy Floyd Hasselbaink, Aron Winter, Clarence Seedorf, Mario Melchiot. At the end of twentieth century the Netherlands was showing great results at football. In 1998 the Dutch team was the fourth at the FIFA World Cup. At the UEFA Championship, even though the Dutch
team was not at their best, Patric Kluivert claimed the Golden Boot for scoring five times; also because of his performance Ajax became a winner of the Champions League in 1995. From this we could come to a conclusion that the image of Surinamese had changed. In June 2000 de Volkskrant wrote that without the Surinamese players the Dutch national football team had no chance in winning the European title, "and yet, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics only 1.87 percent of the Dutch population has a Surinamese background". On February 23d Dutch team won 2-1 against Germany, and in the second half there were six internationals with a Surinamese background on the field: Kluivert, Davids, Seedorf, Bogarde, Reiziger and Hasselbaink, a real "Surinamese Legion". The article writes that sometimes Surinamese players were insulted, discriminated and misunderstood; for example, the photo of Dutch UEFA team with Guus Hiddink and the seating arrangement at the Dutch team (black to black, white to white) caused a sensation. To the question, why there were so many Surinamese football players as part of Dutch national team, Frank Rijkaard, a football player (half Surinamese, half Dutch), answered that the "playful nature of the Surinamese" and "European discipline" was an ideal mixture.

NRC Handelsblad also points out the great contribution of Surinamese in the Dutch team. On the other hand, the newspaper notices that at the stadium you could hardly see any black Dutch and they did not wear orange very often. So the newspaper wondered: why, when the National team had a Surinamese coach and seven black players in the selection, is football itself predominantly popular among "whites"? The answer appeared to be pretty simple: most Surinamese just did not have enough money to buy tickets. Also, the article discussed whether Dutch people perceived Surinamese players as Surinamese or Dutch. The conclusion was that there was no common perception of Surinamese football players: there were people, who saw them as Dutchmen, and there were those, who strongly believed that they were Surinamese, who just happened to live in the Netherlands.

5.9. Conclusion 2000.

The year 2000 clearly shows the changes in the image of Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands. In 2000 a Surinamese person became someone, who works very hard to achieve what he wants; he is integrating successfully into Dutch society; he is investing in the society.

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226 De Volkskrant 02.06.2000
227 ibid
228 ibid
229 NRC Handelsblad 26.06.2000
Surinamese people became very famous because of a great success of many Surinamese players in football. Contributing to such an important aspect of Dutch life as football, Surinamese people became recognized as a part of Dutch society.

Already since 1990 the economic problems (the theme "migration and Dutch economy") caused by migrants had not been discussed anymore; so can be said about the problem of drug addiction. That, I believe, indicates the reduction of aggression towards the Surinamese.

Only few articles were found on the subject of Dutch tolerance, discrimination and racism. De Volkskrant wrote ones that one Surinamese family was "hounded" from the neighbourhood they wanted to live it; their front door was covered with racist slogans; someone threw a brick through their window\textsuperscript{230}. Also the newspapers were mentioning once in a while the discrimination among the Surinamese. As has been already mentioned many times, Surinamese migrants were very diverse; tensions based on ethnic differences existed long before Surinamese came to the Netherlands. They brought these stereotypes to the Netherlands as well. One of the Afro Surinamese was complaining about the Hindustanis: "...they are as black as we are, but they always say that nigga did it\textsuperscript{231}". Nevertheless, the absence of the articles about the Surinamese, racism and discrimination does not necessarily mean that it never occurred anymore. It only means that newspaper had chosen to write about event and issues they thought were more urgent.

\textsuperscript{230} De Volkskrant 09.02.2000
\textsuperscript{231} De Volkskrant 04.07.2000
VI. Conclusion

In 1975, the first big immigration flow from Suriname occurred. The Dutch newspapers shared one common belief: the Surinamese would go back. Most of the newspapers (Telegraaf, het Vije Volk, Nederlands Dagblad) were inclined to criticise Surinamese immigrants. They were characterised as lazy, irresponsible and naïve for running away from problems in Suriname, hiding behind "the Netherlands' back" and for expecting help. In 1980 the number of Surinamese in the Netherlands had risen to 145,000. After 5 years of independence, in 1980, the Dutch government was supposed to "close" the non visa corridor between Suriname and the Netherlands. In 1980, the second immigration flow occurred. Surinamese migrants in Dutch newspapers were now divided into two groups: fresh migrants and those who had lived in the Netherlands for a while. That is why the public image of Surinamese migrants was controversial. On one hand, fresh migrants were seen as victims of the political dictatorship of Desi Bouterse. These people had to leave their homes and became refugees, and this image was not negative. On the other hand, those Surinamese who already lived in the Netherlands were accused of being antisocial, violent and drug addicts. Many newspapers, though, such as het Vrije Volk and Nederlands Dagblad, were calling for understanding. They wrote that these migrants could not fit into Dutch society because of a discriminatory atmosphere: most of them had been unemployed for many years and they could not find a place to stay.

Within ten years, by 1990, the reader of Dutch newspapers could already see a clear change of attitude towards Surinamese migrants. In Suriname, things went back to normal; democracy was restored; the civil war was coming to its end. The newspapers were advertising Surinamese culture, writing about positive changes among the minority as well about positive things the Surinamese had brought to the Dutch society (food, fashion etc). Overall, the attitude towards Surinamese migrants started to become positive. From "violent" and "drug users" Surinamese became "interesting" and "exotic". Close to the year 2000, the reader can notice how much fewer articles can be found in newspapers about Surinamese migrants. Moreover, those that are about Surinamese integration in the Netherlands are highly positive. The newspapers were writing positive reviews of the integration of Surinamese women. Surinamese football players played a large role in establishing a positive image of the Surinamese migrant. Being part of the Dutch National team they became a part of Dutch society. Also, after 1990 newspapers started to make distinctions between different Surinamese ethnicities: they became recognised as Hindustanis, Afro-Surinamese etc. Before 1990, the newspapers had most of the time referred to migrants as “Surinamese” without a determination of their ethnicity.
The framing theory and the agenda setting theory of media coverage state that media can influence public opinion either by selecting some aspects of reality and making them more salient, or by repeating certain aspects and topics over and over again, which gives the impression that they are relevant and important. Using these two theories I can conclude that readers of the Telegraaf, for example, had a more negative image of the Surinamese, than readers of de Volkskrant. The Telegraaf, from 1975 until 1990, had been rather aggressively appealing to stop immigration; the Surinamese minority in the Netherlands was described as unsuitable and deleterious for Dutch society. Only after 1990 could positive changes be noticed. Readers of de Volkskrant were given more information about the political situation of Suriname, about legal procedures that followed the independence of Suriname as well as for Surinamese migrants. The attitude of de Volkskrant towards this minority was more or less neutral, the newspaper was just calling for solutions. De Waarheid had a small audience in the Netherlands. This audience was presented with the most positive view of Surinamese migrants, even though this positive attitude was based on a critique of the Dutch government. Het Vrije Volk and the Nederlands Dagblad had many things in common regarding the coverage of Surinamese immigration. Both newspapers were mainly concerned by the government's expenses. They were afraid that the increasing number of Surinamese would increase instability in the country. It does not mean that het Vrije Volk and Nederlands Dagblad were intentionally creating a negative image of Surinamese immigrants, but they were writing about them as unwelcome guests. Also it is important to mention the positive and negative coverage of news. In 1975 and in 1980 in Dutch newspapers, most of the words the reader could find regarding Surinamese immigration were "problematic", "crime", "drugs", "bad" and "destructive". After 1990, the reader could notice the disappearance of these words and a replacement with "successful", "good", "useful" (e.g.: "successful integration", "good at football" etc.).

The pace of evolution of the public image presented in Dutch newspapers for every newspaper is different. Some newspapers did not change its attitude at all. For instance, de Waarheid had always supported Surinamese migrants and let them have their niche in the Dutch society. The same can be said about de Volkskrant: this newspaper was always more or less neutral about Surinamese minority, even when expressing concerns about the economic situation in the Netherlands. Speaking of de Volkskrant (and de Waarheid as well), the variations of the image of Surinamese were dependent on the integration process of Surinamese migrants: the image was changing from “unemployed” to “employed”, from “uneducated” to “educated”, without adjectives such as“lazy” or “problematic” in addition. The public image of Suriname migrants in Het Vrije Volk and Nederlands Dagblad changed from “lazy”, “irresponsible” and “naïve” to “new”, “interesting” and “hardworking”; in between, Surinamese migrants were also
presented as “victims” of political games between Suriname and the Netherlands. The biggest change in image can be seen in de Telegraaf, which presented a very negative image of migrants in 1975, 1980 and sometimes even into 1990. After 1990 de Telegraaf was focused on positive sides of Surinamese migration: Surinamese football players, Surinamese food and culture. It is also important to mention the problem of drug addiction among the Surinamese. There was a difference in how newspapers wrote about this problem as well: some (de Volkskrant) wrote about drug addiction, some (de Telegraaf) wrote about drug addicts. The difference is that the statement of fact does not necessarily mean negative coverage. De Telegraaf was accusing Surinamese migrants of being lazy and taking drugs, instead of trying to change their lives. Het Vrije Volk and Nederlands Dagblad were accusing the Dutch government of creating unbearable living conditions for Surinamese migrants in the Netherlands that led them into trouble.

I have to admit, that as I have chosen to read newspapers with five and ten years gaps, I might have missed some events regarding Surinamese migration and integration. Sometimes, while reading news from 1990, I found references to events that had happened earlier. For example, the plane crash with the Colourful 11 on board happened in 1989, and I decided to read couple of articles from that year as well, searching for information about the event.

It is important to notice that after 1980, the Netherlands faced another minority problem: the Turks and Moroccans. Before 1990, there had been articles in which Surinamese, Antilleans, Turks and Moroccans were put on the same line and were all called "ethnic minorities". After 1990 the change is very noticeable. De Volkskrant wrote: "The differences between Surinamese and Antilleans and Moroccans and Turks are becoming more visible. The position of Surinamese in the field of education and employment is increasingly similar to that of the native Dutch. Yet, unemployment among Surinamese and Antilleans in 1994 was still 20 percent. Seven years earlier however, the situation had been much worse; the percentage of unemployed among Surinamese and Antilleans was 30 percent".232

Using the key word "Surinamese" (in Dutch) for 1975 the reader could find 766 articles in de Telegraaf and 359 in the Nederlands Dagblad, for instance. For the same newspapers, in 1980 there were 365 and 164 and in 1990 it would be 183 and 196 respectively. The decrease of interest is quite obvious. On the other hand, using the key word "Muslim" in 1975 in total the reader would get 114 articles, in 1980 it would be 302 and in 1990 the number rises to 914 articles (in the Nederlands Dagblad, het Vrije Volk, de Waarheid and de Telegraaf in total). Just these numbers can give us an example of the changes in public agenda. Newspapers were becoming less interested in the Surinamese and much more interested in Turks and Moroccans.

232 De Volkskrant 13.11.1996
In 2001 de Volkskrant published an article about Moroccan integration. It said that in the Netherlands the main minority problem was Moroccan and Turkish integration. The article was quite positive about the current situation. The author encouraged the readers not to lose hope; he compared the situation to the seventies in the Netherlands in relation to the Surinamese minority: "…there was also a lot of unemployment and crime. And now you see them flourish as never before. I am not saying that Moroccans are on the same track, but integration takes time". From this article it can be concluded that Surinamese integration was basically over and was not a problem anymore. In the newspapers from 1975 to 2000 one thing remained the same: the attitude of the indigenous Dutch population towards the Surinamese minority, especially towards Afro-Surinamese, could be characterised as quite discriminatory. Van Amersfoort wrote that in the opinion of many Dutch people the Surinamese migration flow consisted of "lazy unemployed drug dealers and other criminals", whereas those Surinamese who did not conform to the common stereotypes were thought not even to be Surinamese, but to be originally from Indonesia\textsuperscript{233}.

In my opinion, the idea stressed by Dutch government, that the Netherlands must not be a country of immigrants, created the phenomenon of a general fear of migrants. Dutch people were very scared that the migrants would undermine the Dutch economy. The continuing idea that the immigrants would return to their homelands strengthened the fear and accelerated discontent among Dutch people. The idea of them being different, the idea of “otherness” that they could not fit into Dutch society also straightened that fear. This brings us to the concept of culturalism that has been discussed earlier. The reader could notice that more Surinamese migrants were adapting Dutch culture the more positive articles could be found in newspapers. Culturalism states that an alien can be recognised as members of the society when they adapted same values and the same mindset. One can notice how many positive articles there were about the emancipation of Surinamese women in Dutch newspapers. Equality between men and women is one of the most important “contemporary” values in the Netherlands. Nowadays, the negative attitude towards Surinamese immigrants is slowly disappearing, also because of the emergence of a new problem of Moroccan and Turkish minorities. This could also be an argument for the concept of culturalism: there is a misunderstanding between the Dutch and Moroccans and Turks, sometimes they do not even speak Dutch, they do not share the same ideas about women, family and sexuality – therefore, they do not fit into Dutch society.

In my thesis I was trying to answer the question: "how has the public image of Surinamese migrants changed from 1975 to 2000 according to Dutch newspapers?" I have seen how, in

1975, the public image of Surinamese immigrants in different newspapers as "lazy" and "irresponsible" changed in 1980 to "violent", "drug users", and at the same time adapted the image of "victims". Thereafter, it changed into a more common "interesting", “new” and "hardworking". I have already mentioned the differences in presenting the image of Surinamese migrants in the Dutch media. This all means that it is difficult to speak about one common public image in newspapers in all years examined: newspaper news are a mixture of facts and opinions. When there are less negative facts about Surinamese migrants (unemployment, drug addiction), there are less negative opinions. After 1990, newspapers wrote positive reviews about Surinamese migrants and were comparing them to Turks and Moroccans; this could determine a successful integration of the Surinamese minority into the Dutch society. Regardless of the pace of the development of the image of Surinamese migrants in different newspapers, all these newspapers were expressing a positive attitude towards Surinamese migration and Surinamese migrants after 1990. Reading the newspapers from the last year of my research, one can conclude that Surinamese migrants started to be perceived as a part of Dutch society.
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