



'Welcome home'

The housing of Indo-European and repatriated people from Indonesia in the Netherlands.

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Image cover: E. Van Linge, (1947-1952)

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Introduction

After the Second World War, the (Indo-)Dutch population in Indonesia found itself at a crossroads: move to the Netherlands or stay in Indonesia, with dire consequences. For some, this choice was easy, or even imposed from above, while for most, it was a matter of choosing the lesser of two evils. Although uniformly labelled by the general public as 'repatriates', the group of immigrants from the former colony was, to a high degree, heterogeneous. Not only concerning ethnicity, but also concerning the reason for migration, relations to the Netherlands, and prospects of returning to Indonesia - it was not always a question of repatriation. The word 'repatriate' stems from the Latin word *patria*, which means 'fatherland', and the prefix *re-*, which means 'back', implying a return to one's homeland. In the Netherlands, this term has been used to describe those who fled Indonesia after the war with Japan and the Indonesian nationalists. However, this label was often misleading, as many had varying relations with the Netherlands. Some expected to stay in the Netherlands temporarily, while others pledged loyalty to the Dutch state without ever having set foot there (Heijs, 1994).

But where were these immigrants, evacuees, and/or repatriates accommodated? The group of people that got estimated to a number around 280.000 and 300.000 (Willems & Lucassen, 1994: 9), all needed a place to stay. A difficult matter in a housing market that fell short of approximately the same number of houses (Blom et al., 2004: 9; Ramakers, 1994: 109, Willems, 2001: 72). This study seeks to highlight the organization of housing for repatriates from Indonesia in the Dutch post-war context. This was a unique moment in the history of Dutch housing construction because of the immense number of immigrants, the housing shortage, and the centralization of government regulation. Overall, the Dutch national government played an essential role in postwar housing construction, to ensure the quality of postwar housing, to evenly distribute residential spaces among municipalities, and to reduce construction costs (Blom et al., 2004; Heerma, 1987).

Those making the journey to the Netherlands were met with notable resistance. Firstly, the possibilities to take the ferry with an advancement of the state were highly limited and based on a considerably obscure discriminatory categorization (Gielen & Hommerson 1987: 72; Willems, 2001: 111). Once in the Netherlands, they encountered the unwillingness of municipalities to grant housing permits (Ramakers, 1994). Some were able to move in with relatives and friends, or were able to pay for a hotel or guesthouse. From 1950 onwards, the government initiated a national program to shelter repatriates who could not arrange their own accommodation directly, due to insufficient financial resources or connections in the Netherlands. This form of collective shelter in the so-called 'contract-pensions' (Kraak, 1957: 260). This communal type of housing was known to be inadequate in terms of privacy and freedom, and residents generally experienced being treated as outcasts (Ramakers, 1994: 110; Kraak, 1957: 346). These varied in location, owner, capacity, equipment, and care (Kraak, 1957: 345-349), which complicates summarizing their history. Whoever was living in one of the contract-pensions was not assisted by Stichting Pelita. Only those who could prove the war with Japan to be the cause of their inability to provide for themselves would be considered (Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997: 68). This is why, for this research, the discussion of the contract-pensions will be limited.

These circumstances gave rise to private initiatives, such as 'Nederland Helpt Indië' (NHI) and 'Stichting Pelita', which would offer material and financial support to repatriates in need. In February 1948, Stichting Pelita founded the construction branch of the association, 'Stichting Algemeen Bouwfonds der Stichting Pelita', which had set the objective to build, rebuild, or renovate real estate and to lease these to repatriates (Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997).

One of the few known architects who had worked for Stichting Pelita was Evert van Linge (1895-1964), who was involved from the very start in 1947. His work will be analyzed in this research from an architectural-historical point of view related to the socio-political background of the repatriates upon arrival in the Netherlands. This leads to the following research question to be answered:

How did the 'Pelita-houses' by architect Evert van Linge address and reflect the 'repatriation' groups from Indonesia in postwar Netherlands?

Literature review

Existing literature about the repatriation focuses mainly on the national government's immigration policies and lawmaking (Quik, 1988; Puts, 1992; Ramakers, 1994;) and on the integration (or assimilation) of the Indo-Dutch into Dutch society (Kraak, 1957; Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997; Willems, 2001; Bosma, 2012;). J.H. Kraak's study is an interesting addition to this summary since his primary research – interviews and surveys among repatriates – was conducted in 1955, during the third of four waves. The sample of people was composed in 1954, so all respondents were living in the Netherlands for at least a year (Kraak, 1957: 22). Even though not all repatriates had arrived in the Netherlands yet, the study provides a nuanced image of the repatriates and their varying attitudes in adaptation to the Netherlands as their new living environment.

In 2001, Wim Willems published an extensive history of the migration of the Indo-Dutch between 1945 and 1995. This widely cited study describes the composition of the different migration waves and how they were received in the Netherlands through interviews, passages of correspondence, and other archival excerpts. However, Willems does not provide a historical background of Stichting Pelita; instead, he refers to the 1997 publication by Tinnemans and Von Winckelmann as an ample historical account.

For this publication, released in celebration of Pelita's 50th anniversary, Von Winckelmann has researched its archives to compile a historic report of the organization's formation, funding, and activities – varying from housing allocation, assistance in application for allowances, to social support and commemoration of the collective trauma in the later stages of Pelita's existence. A big section of the book covers the procedures in housing allocation, and Von Winckelmann even provided an index with houses bought and sold by the construction department of the foundation (Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997: 102-103).

Methodology

This research aims to continue the investigation into the housing of repatriates from Indonesia, by diving deeper into the realized housing projects commissioned by Pelita. Evert van Linge (1895-1964), a Dutch architect from Groningen, has carried out multiple commissions for the foundation. By examining his archive repository in the Nieuwe Instituut in Rotterdam, more information can come to light regarding the organizational structure of Stichting Pelita and the view of municipalities towards the repatriates. Very little information is published about the architects who have done commissions for Pelita. Only about Evert van Linge, the brothers Mensink, and Becker & Henrar was information available about walking routes along sites with historic tiles. These custom-made 'Pelita' tiles were incorporated in the facade of Pelita housing projects (Tegels op locatie, 2020). The reader should be aware of the limited availability of sources, but by looking at one architect in detail and viewing it alongside the existing literature, it can still be derived how the organization of housing for repatriates was handled and how it related to the circumstances of their arrival within the postwar housing market.

Structure

The first section of the report will provide an overview of the history of the repatriation in different migration waves. These waves address different groups of the former colonial society and how they are related to different socio-political stimuli. The availability of housing was different over time for each of these groups, so it is important to gain an understanding of these 'repatriate waves'. The subsequent section will provide an overview of the circumstances in the Netherlands upon the arrival of the repatriates. Then, the constitution and the procedures of Stichting Pelita will be explained to position the association among the different groups of repatriates and in the post-war housing market. Throughout, Evert van Linge's archival documents and drawings will be analyzed in light of all the discussed perspectives to evaluate the relation between the architectural work and the migrating population from Indonesia.

Waves, layers, labels

Who was in Indonesia after the war with Japan, and who came to the Netherlands after Indonesian independence? Many authors have written about the repatriation in terms of waves and about the corresponding layers of the colonial society riding them. Although the repatriates are difficult to group neatly, they came from diverse backgrounds and migrated for a range of reasons. Their varied circumstances upon arrival in the Netherlands call for careful categorization, particularly to better understand their housing arrangements and Stichting Pelita's position.

In the following section, an overview will be provided that is a summary of the reviewed literature by J.H. Kraak (1957), who was commissioned by the Ministry of Social Work (Ministerie Maatschappelijk Werk); J.E. Ellemers and R.E.F. Vaillant (1985) who were funded by Stichting Pelita; C. Gielen and M. Hommerson (1987), whose doctoral thesis exposed the reluctance of the Dutch state to assist their migration; H.G. Quik, the director of Stichting Pelita at the time (1988); and Beets e.a. (2002), who did a demographic study for CBS to determine who would be eligible for financial compensation on behalf of the Dutch government. The variety of authors and backgrounds is provided to gain a broad understanding of the repatriation through different perspectives. Some of whom have experienced the war with Japan firsthand, like Quik, while others have a more distanced relationship to the topic.

The layers of a colony

Before the Second World War, the society in Indonesia under Dutch colonial rule was characterized by a rigid hierarchy. One's racially determined social status was highly dependent on ethnicity (Europeans, Indo-Europeans and foreigners, Indonesians, but when it came to the repatriation, it was one's legal status that mattered (Heijls, 1994: 64-66). For their demographic study, Beets e.a. (2002) listed the three legally recognized population groups in Indonesia: 'Europeans', 'Foreign Easterners', and 'Inlanders'. This classification was decisive for one's education, career, and political

representation. Overall, the legal status of the husband determined that of the wife and children (Beets e.a., 2002: 5-11). Despite this hierarchical distance between the layers of society, native Indonesians and other non-Europeans could gain a 'European' legal status, becoming 'equalized' individuals.

Gielen and Hommerson (1987: 12-21) provided a comprehensive overview of who held the Dutch nationality from July 1893 onwards:

1. Europeans by blood
2. Indo-Europeans (who have a European father)
3. Equalized individuals

At the negotiations about the transfer of sovereignty, it was settled that these groups would keep the Dutch nationality, while those who were born in Indonesia or had lived there for at least six months could opt for the Indonesian nationality within the so-called 'option term' of two years. Those who did not hold Dutch nationality were categorized as follows:

1. The native population (or 'Inlanders')
2. The non-native population ('Foreign Easterners' and other non-European nationalities)

These groups would acquire Indonesian nationality after the sovereignty transfer, while the non-native population was granted the same option term of two years to apply for Dutch nationality. This is how the totality of repatriates would come to be a heterogeneous group regarding their relations to the Netherlands and prospects of living there. However, after this clear cut in who was 'Dutch' and who was 'Indonesian', the labelling did not stop. Even though the Indo-Europeans obtained Dutch nationality, the government had hoped that this group would opt to become Indonesian during the option term. When their repatriation became inevitable, the distinction was made between:

1. The Dutch-oriented repatriates, or 'western' Dutchmen
2. The rooted-in-Indonesia repatriates, or 'eastern' Dutchmen

Although these obscure terms were widely used within the government, only the first group was defined to some extent as

those 'of whom it would be objectively certain that they would feel at home in the Netherlands without many difficulties. Everyone else belonged to the second category, and active measures were taken to prevent their migration (Gielen & Hommerson, 1987: 36). For this group, housing and income in the Netherlands were a precondition to qualify for the advancement of the state for the crossing by ferry from 1950-1954 (Gielen & Hommerson, 1987: 189).

First wave (1945-1948)

After the Japanese capitulation, a chaotic period of violence had broken loose, and many ex-internees from the Japanese prison camps were evacuated to recover safely in the Netherlands, while others were once again imprisoned in camps, this time by the Indonesian nationalists. This first migration wave consisted presumably mostly of those who held a higher colonial status (Kraak, 1957: 120). Most of them were expecting to return to Indonesia once it was safe. Only widows and orphans were intended to stay in the Netherlands more permanently (Ellemers & Vaillant, 1985). Kraak (1957) presumed that they were the widows and orphans of families who were expected to move to the Netherlands after the retirement of the head of the family (Kraak, 1957: 120). Quik, a Dutch man who was a young government official in the former colony and the director of Stichting Pelita in the 80s, confirmed in *Thuisgekomen in Nederland: Indische Nederlanders en gerepatrieerden in de wetten voor oorlogsgetroffenen* (1988), that the first wave of repatriates consisted mainly of people who never settled in Indonesia permanently and maintained their ties with the Netherlands. He was part of the first wave himself (Quik, 1988: 8-11). Kraak (1957: 121) specifies that the majority of this group was remarkably frustrated about their migration. Many experienced material losses due to the war and felt powerless, as most of them held important positions in the colonial society. Overall, the belief that their situation was only temporary prevailed — not just among the repatriates themselves, but also within the organizations responsible for their shelter.

Second wave (1949-1951)

On December 27th, 1949, the transfer of sovereignty to the Republic of Indonesia was definitive. Until December 27, 1951, it

was up to all Indo-Dutch people who were born in Indonesia or had lived there for at least six months to choose between Dutch and Indonesian nationality. Those who opted for the Dutch nationality and supported the Dutch government and decided to migrate, were mostly officials of the former government and military personnel. (Kraak, 1957; Ellemers & Vaillant, 1985; Gielen & Hommerson, 1987; Quik, 1988).

Unlike the first one, this wave had the understanding that their emigration from Indonesia would be permanent, as there was a general sense of hostility towards those of European descent (Ellemers & Vaillant, 1985: 39), and because their career prospects in Indonesia diminished. In the Netherlands, this realization provoked the discussion on how to shelter and care for the repatriates to and, subsequently, policies would change towards facilitating a permanent stay. As those from the second wave had observed the developments around Indonesia's independence and the violence that preceded it firsthand, there was a growing sentiment among this group that the Dutch government was to be held responsible for the consequences of the repatriation (Kraak, 1957: 122).

Third wave (1952-1957)

Tensions between Indonesia and the Netherlands kept rising because the Dutch government refused to turn over governance of New Guinea to Indonesia. This raised the hostility towards Indo-Europeans even more, motivating migration of category 3 to permanently move to the Netherlands, despite their unfamiliarity with the Netherlands. Specifically, discrimination between Indonesian-by-birth and Indonesian-by-choice led to a subgroup of the so-called 'spijtoptanten', those who regretted opting for Indonesian nationality and desired to change it to Dutch. (Ellemers & Vaillant, 1985: 40-43). Quik (1988: 14) described how this group had felt at home in Indonesia and had never expected to leave for the Netherlands.

Other reasons for people to come to the Netherlands after the option term were mainly financially motivated. They were either being retained by their employer, still gathering the means needed for the crossing, or waiting for the advancement of the government to finance their emigration (Kraak, 1957: 122). The third wave can be characterized by the middle class of colonial

society and had therefore less involvement in the debate about the responsibility of the Dutch government, and fewer expectations of their welcome in the Netherlands.

Fourth wave (1957-1967)

In 1957, the New Guinea conflict led the Indonesian government to start an active anti-Dutch campaign. On December 4, 1957, all Dutch people were obliged to leave Indonesia. KLM was not allowed to land planes in Indonesia, publications in Dutch were prohibited, Dutch companies were overtaken by Indonesian workers, and the Dutch Consulate was shut down. This anti-Dutch campaign and the violence in New Guinea announced the fourth wave of repatriates, who also applied to undo their choice of nationality (Ellemers & Vaillant, 1985: 40-43).

After 1963, the migration could no longer be described as a 'wave', as the immigrants arriving in the Netherlands were much fewer and spread out than during the preceding decades. Their motivation to migrate did not pertain to the developments after the Second World War and decolonization (Ellemers & Vaillant, 1985: 41).

These demarcations in time offer insight into the socio-political drivers of the migration, as well as the expectations of and towards the receiving parties in the Netherlands. Although the summary is far from complete – excluding, for instance, groups from the Moluccas, Minahassa, and Timor whose arrival and accommodation were a specific case for the Dutch government – the different waves and population groups still provide the necessary frame of reference in which Stichting Pelita can be positioned. The foundations for the association were laid amidst the first repatriation wave, and this would become decisive for the development of the association's building projects.

Doel.

Artikel 2.

1. De stichting stelt zich ten doel bij te dragen tot de leniging van de zedelijke, maatschappelijke en stoffelijke noden van personen, die het slachtoffer zijn geworden van de oorlog met Japan, en wel:
 - in de eerste plaats van de gezinsleden van personen, die ten gevolge van oorlogsletsel in de zin als in de Algemene Oorlogsongevallen Regeling bedoeld, zijn overleden;
 - in de tweede plaats van personen, die ten gevolge van zodanig letsel het vermogen om door passende arbeid in hun levensonderhoud en dat van hun gezin te voorzien, geheel of gedeeltelijk hebben verloren;
 - in de derde plaats van personen, die als gevolg van die oorlog geheel of grotendeels verstoken zijn van een, zij het ook op bescheiden voet, aan hun vooroorlogse vooruitzichten beantwoordend levensonderhoud;
 - in de vierde plaats van personen, die naar het oordeel van het betrokken bestuur om andere redenen als slachtoffers van de oorlog met Japan zijn aan te merken.
2. De ingevolge het eerste lid door de stichting te verstrekken hulp moet worden aangemerkt als een aanvulling der sociale voorzieningen van wege Overheid en werkgevers.
3. Door erkenning van een aanspraak op zodanige hulp vanwege de stichting ontstaat nimmer enigerlei recht jegens haar.

Voor hulp komen in geen geval in aanmerking degenen, wier gedragingen naar het oordeel van het betrokken bestuur daartoe een beletsel vormen.
4. De stichting stelt zich mede ten doel de duurzame verzorging van minderjarigen in de zin van artikel 421 van het Nederlandse en artikel 365 van het Nederlands-Indische Burgerlijk Wetboek.
5. Voorts stelt de stichting zich ten doel het verrichten van al zodanige handelingen, die gewenst mochten blijken ter verwerving van middelen, nodig of bevorderlijk voor het in het eerste en het vierde lid omschreven doel.
6. De stichting is bevoegd samen te werken met- en zich financieel of op andere wijze te interesseren bij instellingen, wier werkzaamheden bevorderlijk kunnen zijn voor de behartiging van het doel der stichting.
7. De stichting zal haar doel zowel in Indonesië als in Nederland nastreven.

Figure 1: Article 2 of Stichting Pelita's statutes (Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997: 36)

Pelita: a light in the darkness

'Pelita' was the small copper oil lamp that everyone who has lived in the former colony remembered as a beacon of light along the dark roads and mountain slopes during tropical nights (Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997: 31). The association's name carries until this day this nostalgic meaning. But for whom was this beacon ignited? And by whom was its light emitted?

Justina Eckenhausen-Tetzner, the founder of Stichting Pelita, arrived in the Netherlands during the first repatriation wave. As a woman with an influential network, carefully described by Tinnemans and Von Winckelmann (1997: 29-37) in their historical biography of the association, she managed to receive funding from no less than Governor-General H.J. Van Mook, who provided 12 million guilders from the colonial government's treasuries. With these resources, Stichting Pelita was able to invest in the construction of dwellings in both the Netherlands and Indonesia. From the rental revenue of these dwellings, the foundation could offer one-off and periodic allowances to those who fell victim to the war with Japan (Van Drongelen, 1987: 79).

The founding board was largely made up of representatives of the colonial business community and senior government officials. Since the foundation's capital of 12 million guilders came from the colonial government, the Ministry of Overseas Territories insisted on having a say in how and for whom the money would be used. Tinnemans and Von Winckelmann (1997: 29-37) explained how the ministry had the final say in formulating the goal of the association: Pelita would only support those who fell victim to the war with Japan, and their – mainly European – relatives. This meant an exclusion of those who fell victim to the Indonesian National Revolution, a group that was too big to be assisted by the volunteers, according to the founding committee (Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997: 34). The ultimate definition of the target group was carefully described in Article 2 of Pelita's statutes (see Figure 1).

Friend and architect

Evert van Linge got involved in a similar way as most of the founding board members: through Mrs. Eckenhausen's personal network. In a letter of April 1947, she reached out to Van Linge about her Danish contact from British Commercial House Ltd. , a manufacturer of prefabricated timber houses. She inquired about the possibilities of building these in the Netherlands for the repatriates that belonged to Pelita's target group (Van Linge, 1947-1952, J. E. Eckenhausen-Tetzner to E. Van Linge, April 15, 1947). This Danish associate did not end up taking Pelita as their client, however. Tinnemans and Von Winckelmann (1997: 39) attributed this to the constant change of board members which left a bad impression on the firm, but also Van Linge advised against the collaboration. In his letter (Van Linge, 1947-1952, E. Van Linge to J.E. Eckenhausen-Tetzner, April 28, 1947), he expressed his fear that the government would not allow the import nor the construction of this product, as it concerned a semi-permanent rather than permanent housing type. Eventually, Van Linge took on several projects for Stichting Pelita in Santpoort, Zeist, Groningen, and Leeuwarden, and chose contractors in accordance with J.R. Bergsma, director of Pelita's semi-independent building branch 'Stichting Algemeen Bouwfonds der Stichting Pelita' (Van Linge, 1947-1951, E. Van Linge to J.R. Bergsma, May 25, 1948).

As an architect, Van Linge was a member of the artists' association *De Ploeg* in Groningen, where his practice was based. He pursued part of his education and career in Amsterdam during the early 20th century - at the height of the Amsterdam School's influence (Het Nieuwe Instituut, 1997). Van der Ploeg (2017) describes Van Linge's development of style to be a commercially motivated adaptation to the market demands. His inspirations included the Amsterdam School and the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, but during his collaboration with ir. G. Bosma their projects showed to be more traditional (Van der Ploeg, 2017: 70-77). When Pelita first contacted Van Linge about commissions, he was still in a partnership with Bosma, but correspondence between Van Linge and the Pelita Foundation revealed that they ended their partnership at the turn of the year 1947. In one of the letters, Van Linge commented that the commission was addressed to him personally by the board, so

there was no question of Bosma taking the job (Van Linge, 1947-1951, E. Van Linge to Stichting Pelita, January 13, 1948). From the studied sources, it did not appear that Van Linge had any personal connection with Indonesia, only with Mrs. Eckenhausen-Tetzner.

Bonds beyond borders

Mrs. Eckenhausen-Tetzner was not the only board member of Pelita instrumentalizing her personal contacts. Mr. J. R. Bergsma, director of the building branch, asked Van Linge to consider sourcing materials from Mr. J.G. van Ek, a Pelita-supported entrepreneur who was starting his own trade in materials for sinks and countertops (Van Linge, 1948-1951, J.R.Bergsma to E. van Linge, 15 July, 1949).

Even the acquisition of land for the construction projects seemed to be initiated through the network of people familiar with the Indies. Correspondence about one of Van Linge's projects in Santpoort, revealed that the plot was donated by the Janssen family, of whom Mr. Janssen was said to be in the Netherlands for 14 days before going back to the Indies (Van Linge, 1947-1951).

In short, Stichting Pelita's building projects relied on the social circle of those involved, and on the eagerness to help each other out where possible. Van Linge's responses remained professional, and he did not address any names of his own acquaintance.

Architect B.M.A.
W.A. Seb. 1947 t 1
Gv

Pelita
Amsterdam, 15 April 1947.

Beste Liefde,

Ik heb niet een dergelijke officiële brief,
maar ik moet de gegevens met een
vastleggen van mijn medebestuurder. Voorzigtig
ik wil het bevestigen van al de te nemen maatregelen,
hoor, dat snap je niet. De bijlage I staat het ik
meer, een exemplaar, dus wil je er een bijvoegen. Het
proberen er nog, een te krijgen.

Leuke dagen hebben we gehad, lie. Ik kan denk
ik over 14 dagen weer in Groningen, ja ik dan kom
me helpen bij jullie? Dag hoor, veel liefde van
Dien en Dodo en van jezelf. Je
Tina.

Figure 2: Personal letter from Mrs. Eckenhausen-Tetzner (Tina) to Van Linge, which was added to an official letter from Pelita, 15 April 1947 (Van Linge, 1947-1951)

The widowed and the wealthy

In an official letter (Van Linge, 1947-1952, J. E. Eckenhausen-Tetzner to E. Van Linge, April 15, 1947), Eckenhausen-Tetzner wrote elaborately what her vision was for the timber frame houses. They were to be built in a 'flat system', with which she meant 60 dwellings in blocks of 3 levels with an attic for storage. In line with the urbanistic tendency of Dutch post-war reconstruction (Blom et. Al, 2004), she proposed to have shops in the corners of the blocks, where the two sides of two blocks are built close together to have a square of four shops. She adds:

"We must be careful, however, that the whole does not degenerate into an Indo colony."

Her disapproval of a non-Dutch living style unmistakably displays her position in the colonial society. The houses were ultimately meant for the wealthier among the repatriates. Tinnemans and Von Winckelmann (1997: 73) noted that the building branch had no intention of giving away the entire building stock to Pelita's welfare recipients. In 1951, only one fourth of 316 tenants received Pelita's financial support. The authors paraphrase the conclusion of a board meeting, that, after all, the housing blocks would be more difficult to sell in the future if all or most residents were welfare recipients. In a letter to Van Linge, the association did formulate specifications, but these were not directed towards the specific target group from the former colony in terms of an architectural expression. The comments were mostly regarding practicalities and cleanliness of the dwellings, such as a toilet on the ground floor or storage space underneath the staircase (Van Linge, 1950-1952, Stichting Pelita to E. van Linge, June 21, 1950). The prevailing fear of the repatriates grouping together (the enemy of assimilation) left its trace in the comment that the backyards ought to be separated instead of shared, because these 'often turn very messy without employing someone for maintenance and supervision'.

In one of the designs, Van Linge had drawn the logo of Pelita in the steelwork balustrades of the balconies (See figure), but on advice of the contractor these were never executed (Van Linge, 1947-1952).



Figure 3: Facade design with Pelita's logo in the balustrade (Van Linge, 1947-1952)

The housing allocation was based on the ratio of the applicant's income and the amount of allowance they would receive. The allowance was called the 'Pelita-basis', which was paid to match the income of families with the expenses. The expenses were an addition of variable costs (clothing, food, etc.) and fixed costs (rent, energy costs, health insurance), of which the variable costs were estimated by Pelita depending on family composition, size, and wealth class (of which Pelita determined four). The applicant would be eligible for housing if the allowance-income ratio was at least 1:1,5. Exceptions were made for widowed and disabled people; those who were less well-off were still eligible for Pelita's housing (Tinnemans & Von Winckelmann, 1997: 71-73).

So it happened that it was mainly the upper class of the former colony that qualified for the Pelita-houses, and the designs by Van Linge were accordingly generous (see Figure 2-5). The houses were equipped with spacious gardens and varying typologies within one block. The association even provided personalized plates including name and house number for the project in Groningen (Van Linge, 1948-1951, Stichting Pelita Groningen to E. Van Linge, November 4, 1950).

The ultimate testimony of Pelita's target group lies in the building permits, where the section 'working class' was left empty and the 'middle class' was indicated as the future residents of the building in question.

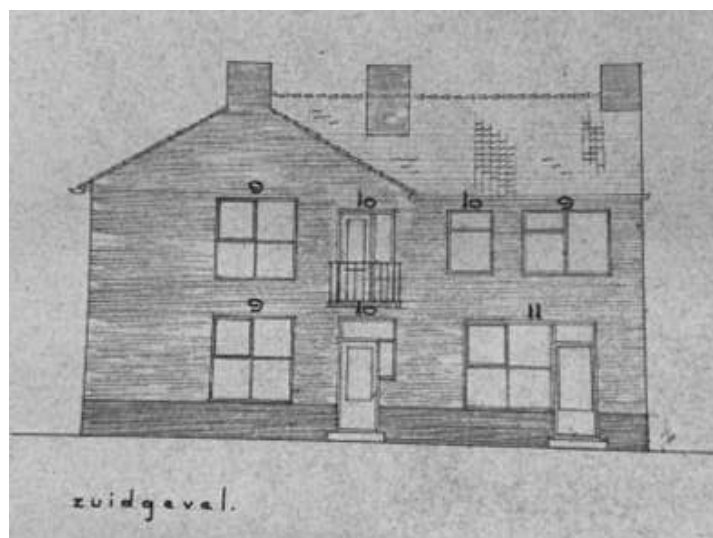
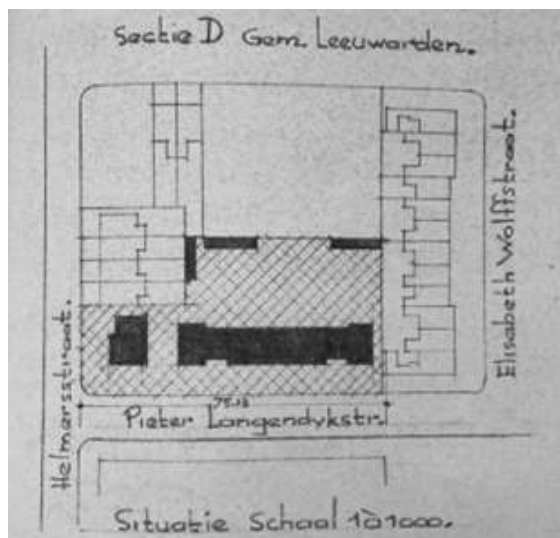


Figure 4: Situation and elevation of small block of Pelita-houses in Leeuwarden (Van Linge, 1950-1952)

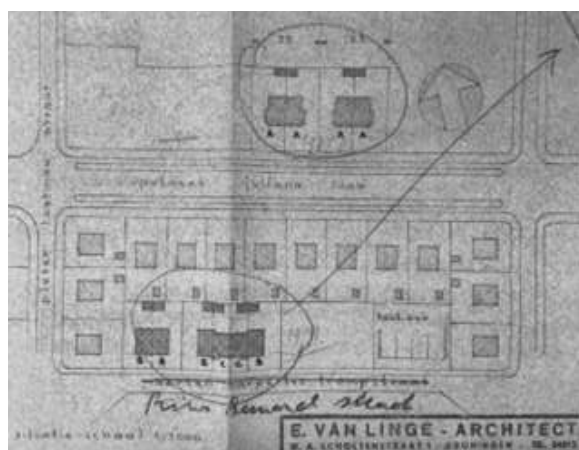


Figure 5: Situation and elevation of type A of Pelita-houses in Leeuwarden (Van Linge, 1950-1952)

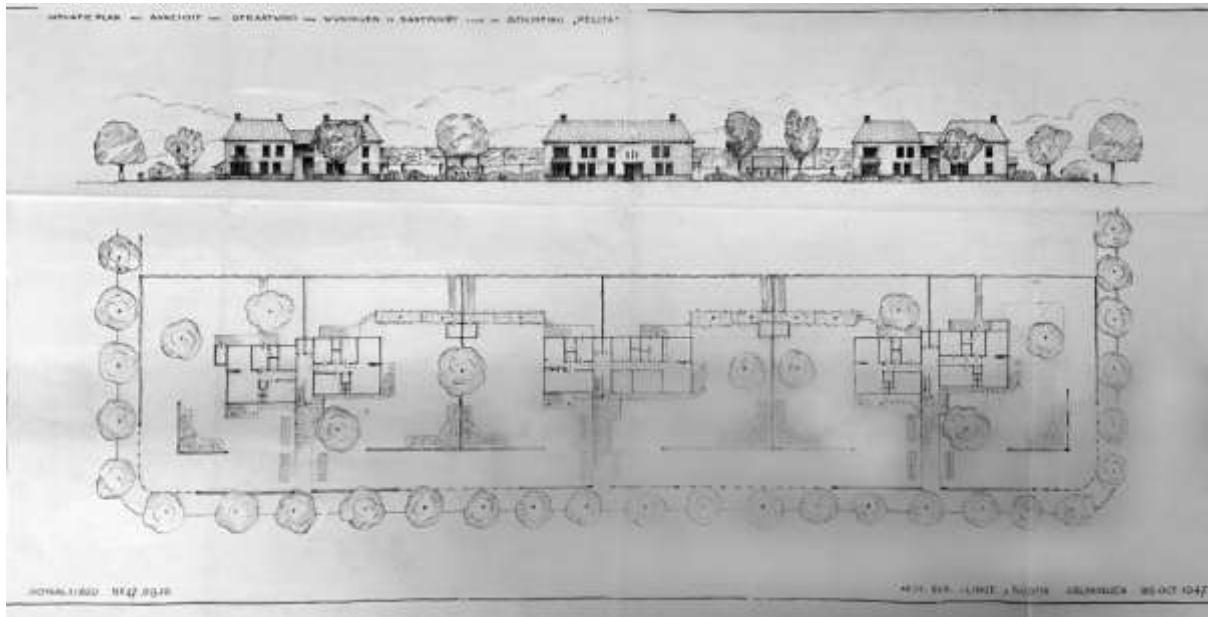


Figure 7: Situation and elevation of Pelita-houses in Santpoort (Van Linge, 1947-1951)

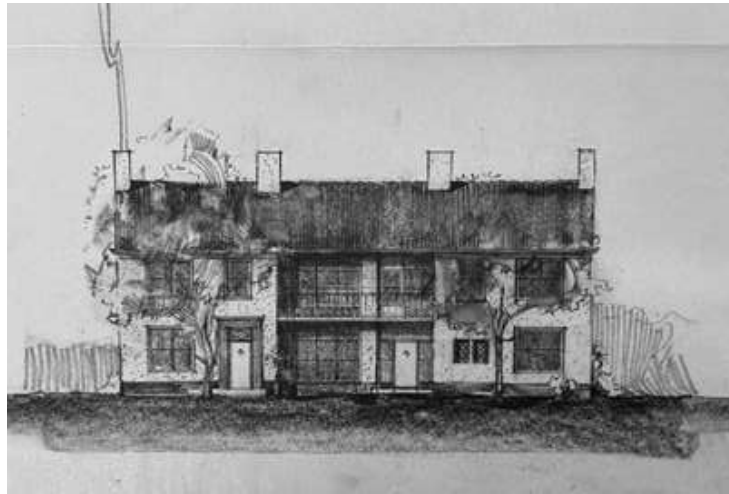


Figure 6: Situation and elevation (western blocks) of Pelita-houses in Santpoort (Van Linge, 1947-1952)

My housing shortage is your housing shortage

Lack of finance, lack of materials, lack of workforce, and a stagnant construction industry. After the Second World War, the Dutch construction industry had to recover from a standstill; however, a National Plan for reconstruction was already in the making from 1941 onwards (Blom et al., 2004: 7). Post-war housing construction in the Netherlands was characterized by this centralized planning approach. To reduce construction costs, an annual housing program was introduced in 1947 with the Woonruimtetwet, where the provinces were restricted in building volume – initially based on each municipality's needs (Blom et al., 2004: 10). It was prohibited by law to rent or occupy any residential space – no matter the category or price – unless a permit was granted by municipal authorities. Permits were divided into contingents per municipality to promote a fair distribution of the desperately needed residential spaces (Heerma, 1987: 9). Instead, the focus lies on how the 'Pelita-houses' by Evert van Linge were set in this tight and strictly regulated housing market?

Aard der eerste huisvesting geënquêteerden per jaar van aankomst										
	1945/46 abs. rel.	1947 abs. rel.	1948 abs. rel.	1949 abs. rel.	1950 abs. rel.	1951 abs. rel.	1952 abs. rel.	1953 en later abs. rel.	geen antw. abs. rel.	Totaal abs. rel.
opvangcentra en contract- pensions	19 6,7	6 11,8	5 11,6	6 7,8	139 40,3	74 51,0	39 54,2	55 55,0	1	344
bij familie/ vrienden	160 73,8	25 49,0	17 39,5	32 41,0	99 28,7	34 23,5	12 16,8	21 21,0	1	401
commerciële inwoning	28 12,5	19 37,2	18 41,9	36 46,2	98 28,4	33 22,7	16 22,2	18 18,0	—	266
anderszins	10 4,6	— —	2 4,7	3 3,8	8 2,3	4 2,8	4 5,5	5 5,0	—	36
onbekend	— —	1 2,0	1 2,3	1 1,2	1 0,3	— —	1 1,3	1 1,0	—	6
	217 100	51 100	43 100	78 100	345 100	145 100	72 100	100 100	2	1053

Figure 9: Type of housing per year of arrival in NL (Kraak, 1957: 260)

Kraak's survey amongst repatriates in 1955 shows that the first repatriates arriving in the Netherlands could stay with relatives or friends, as the first wave consisted mainly of Dutch people

whose stay in Indonesia would be temporary in the first place (Puts, 1992: 88). The initial idea was to house the repatriates for six months, and if they were to prolong their stay (the assumption that their stay was temporary still prevailed at this time), they would have to arrange their accommodation independently (Willems, 2001: 68). Next to this, the Dutch government relied on the following three arrangements, according to Willems (2001: 69):

- Municipalities voluntarily making properties available would get compensation for renovation costs.
- Individuals renovating their homes to house multiple families could also get compensation for the interventions. If people moved out to make their home available, the government would reimburse half of the rent price of the cleared building.
- Woonruimtetwet 1947: The national government could claim properties from unwilling municipalities, for compensation.

Despite these arrangements, the repatriates became an easy target for opportunistic landlords, who would let poorly maintained rooms for unproportionally high rents. Besides, municipalities showed little inclination to accommodate repatriates, and due to the special circumstances of the Woonruimtetwet, they were able to refuse to give residential permits. Because of this, NIBEG (East Indies Union for ex-prisoners of war, ex-internees and repatriates), pressured the government to tighten its grip on landlords and municipalities (Willems, 2001: 72).

And so, the government's interference with the housing of repatriates intensified. Upon the arrival of the second wave, the public debate about their housing really commenced, for multiple reasons. Firstly, it was now very clear that their stay would be permanent, because of the transfer of sovereignty. Secondly, many of the Indo-Europeans moving to the Netherlands were seen as 'rooted-in-Indonesia', and the fear of them being unable to adapt to the Dutch society was prevalent (Willems, 2001: 115; Ramakers, 1994: 110). Lastly, the colonial government's funds were no longer accessible after the transfer of sovereignty, which made the Dutch government more

cautious with any funding (Willems, 2001: 115). Only those behaving well-integrated would qualify for permanent housing.

However, when municipalities showed little inclination to accommodate repatriates, F.G.C.J.M. Teulings, Minister of Internal Affairs, drafted in 1950 a highly controversial law to facilitate repatriates in finding accommodation: *Wet Huisvesting Gerepatrieerden*. Municipalities were not allowed to refuse permits to repatriates who arrived after December 31, 1949, and a provincial inspector was even authorized to claim residential spaces in favour of repatriates, overriding the predicate of the municipal authorities (Ramakers, 1994: 111; Willems, 2001: 116). So, despite the initial unwillingness of the Dutch government to assist immigration to the Netherlands, it conducted coercive policies to get municipalities to accommodate repatriates (Ramakers, 1994; Puts, 1992). Stichting Pelita had to realize their building projects through collaboration with the uneager municipalities, discussing the portion of the building volume to be assigned, acquisition of land, and even construction of roads and sewage (Van Linge, 1950-1952; Van Linge, 1947-1951).

As private initiative, Stichting Pelita had similar possibilities to housing associations. They choose the residents after the municipality's approval of the building permit (Van Linge, 1947-1951, the municipal council of Velsen to Stichting Pelita, February 18, 1948). The state incidentally subsidised 'authorised institutions': these are private or municipal housing associations (mostly housing corporations) engaged in non-profit housing (Bervoets et al., 2004: 19). Furthermore, rent prices were kept artificially low until 1950 (Bervoets et al., 2004: 219), so the rental income for the association was limited. The association could choose the residents after the municipality's approval of the building permit (Van Linge, 1947-1951, Municipal council of Velsen to Stichting Pelita, February 18, 1948).

Van Linge provided the calculations and paperwork for the subsidy applications (Van Linge, 1947-1951). Because of the subsidies, his designs were under strict supervision of the local authorities. Before the construction could begin, all technical specifications had to be reviewed by the municipal council of

public works (Van Linge, 1947-1951, Municipal council of Velsen to Stichting Pelita, February 18, 1948).

The Rijksbijdrage would only apply to 'sober' building projects. However, the Ministry of Reconstruction and Public Housing (Wederopbouw en Volkshuisvesting) acknowledged the higher costs of 'exceptional facilities' in middle-class housing, and compensated the applicants for subsidies by allowing an increased rent price on these projects despite the rent freeze (see Figure 9).

For all the studied project specifications, Van Linge added a section with these 'exceptional facilities', which entailed extra wardrobes, baths, electricity outputs, wallpaper, and floor finishes (Van Linge, 1947-1951, E. van Linge to J.R. Bergsma, November 26, 1949).

Tinnemans and Von Winckelmann (1997) addressed the associations struggle to gather sufficient income apart from the starting capital. This could have played part in making the decision to only build middle-class housing with 'exceptional facilities', to maximize the rental income.

Ministerie van Wederopbouw en Volkshuisvesting
Centrale Directie van de Wederopbouw en de Volkshuisvesting.

Afdeling Exploitatie

De Gemeentebesturen.

Ons kenmerk
84003 - MH

's Gravenhage
Datum 15 Juli 1949.

Onderwerp:
Huurverhoging in verband met
bijzondere voorzieningen in
woningen, gebouwd met steun
uit 's Rijks kas ingevolge de
Financieringsregeling Woning-
bouw 1947 of 1948.

In verband met de huurvaststelling van woningen, gebouwd met steun in-
gevolge een der bovenstaande regelingen, merk ik op, dat de huurwaarde,
welke wordt vermeld in de beschikking tot toekenning van een bijdrage
op grond van deze regelingen, slechts betrekking heeft op een woning, ge-
bouwd volgens de sobere afwerking, zoals deze is omschreven in het rond-
schrijven van 17 April 1948, no. 39259/W.W.A., Afdeling Uitvoering, als
bijlage II gevoegd bij de Financieringsregeling Woningbouw 1948.

Voornamelijk bij de bouw van middenstandswoningen zal van deze sobere
afwerking in vele gevallen worden afgeweken, met als gevolg hogere bouw-
kosten. Vorenbedoelde huurwaarde en de bijdrage tezamen zijn dan niet
toereikend om de uit de daardere bouw voortvloeiende hogere lasten van
rente en afschrijving te dekken.

In verband hiermede dient voor belanghebbenden de mogelijkheid te be-
staan door huurverhoging op basis van de kostprijs, compensatie te ver-
krijgen.

Teneinde meer eenheid te verkrijgen in de beoordeling van de huurbe-
dragen welke voor verhoging in aanmerking komen, bepaal ik, dat elke
verhoging van de bouwkosten, welke het gevolg is van afwijkingen van de
sobere uitvoering, welke afwijkingen de woning blijvend beter maken,
voor huurverhoging in aanmerking kan worden genomen, mits deze afwij-
kingen in het bestek zijn opgenomen en op het aanvraagformulier voor steun
ingevolge de Financieringsregeling Woningbouw 1948 in het vak "bijzondere
voorzieningen" zijn vermeld.

Op dit formulier dient tevens voor te komen een opgave van de
geraamde kosten, eventueel verminderd met de kosten van een uitvoering,
welke overeenkomt met de omschrijving van "sobere uitvoering" in voren-
genoemde circulaire. Op de afwijkingen blijft van toepassing in de eer-
der bekend gemaakte maatregel, dat geen materialen en arbeidskrachten kun-
nen worden beschikbaar gesteld voor woningen, welke bouwkosten meer
bedragen dan 120% van het bedrag der bouwkosten, dat bij sobere uitvoering

Figure 10: Letter from the Ministry of Reconstruction to local authorities regarding increasing the rents for housing with 'exceptional facilities' (Van Linge, 1947-1951)

Conclusion

Through the lens of Evert van Linge's architectural projects for Stichting Pelita, it becomes clear that the built environment played a nuanced role in mediating between the needs of a complex migrant population and the expectations of Dutch society. The poor handling of the Dutch government is often cited, especially in relation to the transfer of sovereignty. Also, the pursuit of complete assimilation has been heavily criticized by the Indo-community. However, when it came to housing, the national government has played an active role to ensure accommodation for repatriates, despite discriminatory attitudes of municipalities.

Stichting Pelita's efforts to house this population, funded initially by colonial treasures and influenced by (elitist) social networks, demonstrate a particular prioritization. However, this prioritization cannot simply be attributed to the fact that the board consisted of the white upper layer of the former colony. The Dutch government played a clear role in determining the statutes by the association's constitution, and the regulations of the housing market limited the association's possibilities of benevolence towards less well-off groups. Yet, this excluded many repatriates who did not meet the income thresholds of the organization.

Evert van Linge's designs were constrained by postwar reconstruction regulations, but they stood out for their refinement, in line with the objective of assimilated Dutch middle-class life.

In conclusion, to answer the question:

How did the 'Pelita-houses' by architect Evert van Linge address and reflect the 'repatriation' groups from Indonesia in postwar Netherlands?

Evert van Linge's houses were intended for repatriates arriving mostly during the first wave, namely the ones who still had a big part of their lives in the Netherlands. Although this appears as a bias, Stichting Pelita as project developer was highly restricted in financial means and regulations, which to this day determines the major part of public housing.

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