

Moluccan Territories

*Rethinking the Cultural Heritage
of Moluccan Neighbourhoods in the
Netherlands*

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TU Delft

Colophon

Moluccan Territories

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Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Twintig jaar lang omgeven door negativiteit.
Twintig jaar lang leef ik klein.
Twintig jaar lang was ik niet.
In die jaren zag niemand mij.
In die jaren heeft niemand mij echt gezien.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Generatie op generatie op generatie.
Gebreken doorgegeven.
Mijn grootvader heeft gebeden, geleden, gestreden.
Nooit erkenning gekregen.
Het gebrek en aan doorgegeven.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Waar tijd elastisch en mensen onverschillig zijn.
Alles pelan pelan.
Alles op z'n tijd.
Niemand trekt een plan in de wijk.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Waar iedereen zegt 'als God houdt van mij', dan zal ik.
'als god houdt van mij', dan ga ik.
'Als god houdt van mij'.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Ik wilde niet wachten op een god die me zou geven.
Ik wilde het zelf pakken dus heb ik gebeden, geleden, gestreden.
Mijzelf erkennig gegeven.
Ik heb gebeden tot de godheid in mij.
Ik heb haar gezegend.
Ik hield haar nabij.
Ik heb haar geheeld.
Respectvol bejegend.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Ik maak me los van negativiteit
Ik maak me los van generatie op generatie op generatie.
Ik maak me los van de blikken vol nijd.
Ik maak me los van leegstand en lusteloosheid.
Ik maak me los van alles pelan pelan.
Ik maak me los van alles op z'n tijd.
Ik ontwijk niet langer hetgeen ik wil zijn.
Ik ontwijk.

- Gloria Lappya

Dreams die in the neighbourhood.
Twenty years surrounded by negativity.
Twenty years I lived small.
For twenty years I was not.
In those years no one saw me.
In those years no one really saw me.
I avoid.
Dreams die in the neighbourhood.
Generation upon generation upon generation.
Brokenness passed on.
My grandfather prayed, suffered, struggled.
Never got recognition.
The lack and passed on.
I avoid.
Dreams die in the neighbourhood.
Where time is elastic and people are indifferent.
Everything pelan pelan.
Everything in its time.
No one draws a plan in the neighbourhood.
I avoid.
Dreams die in the neighbourhood.
Where everyone says 'if God loves me', then I will.
'If god loves me', then I will go.
'If god loves me'.
I avoid.
Dreams die in the neighbourhood.
I didn't want to wait for a god to give me.
I wanted to take it myself so I prayed, suffered, struggled.
Gave myself recognition.
I prayed to the godness within me.
I blessed her.
I held her close.
I healed her.
Respected her.
I avoid.
Dreams die in the neighbourhood.
I detach myself from negativity
I detach from generation to generation to generation.
I detach myself from looks full of envy.
I detach myself from emptiness and listlessness.
I detach myself from everything pelan pelan.
I detach myself from everything in its time.
I no longer avoid what I want to be.
I avoid.

Content

1. Positioning		7. Conclusion, discussion and reflection	
1.1 Motivation	9	7.1 Conclusion	164
1.2 Origin and Population Moluccans in the Netherlands	11	7.3 Discussion and Recommendations	166
1.3 Segregation and Concentration of Moluccans	13	7.2 Reflection	170
1.4 Meaning of the Neighbourhoods for the Community	15		
1.5 Problem Field	17	Bibliography	172
1.6 Theoretical Underpinning	27		
2. Methodology		Appendix	178
2.1 Problem statement	35	Interviews with experts	
2.2 Conceptual Framework	37	Fieldwork interviews	
2.3 Aim of the Research	39		
2.4 Design aim	41		
2.5 Methodology Framework	43		
2.6 Research Timeline	47		
3. Contextual Analysis of Moluccan Neighbourhoods			
3.1 Layers in Time	51		
3.2 An Overview of the Moluccan Neighbourhoods	56		
3.3 Introducing the Case Study Locations	62		
4. Spatializing Moluccan Heritage Moluccan Neighbourhoods			
4.1 Evolution of Neighbourhoods Over Time	66		
4.2 Existing Moluccan network in the Municipality	68		
4.3 Expressing segregation through porosity	72		
4.4 Divergent ratio of public and private space	76		
4.5 Transitions zones and their origin	80		
4.6 Public Life Patterns	82		
4.7 The Significance of the Institutions	88		
4.8 Cultural Expression in the Public Sphere	90		
4.9 The kitchen as heart of the home	94		
5. Forming scenarios			
5.1 Generational Variations in Perspectives	100		
5.2 Framing the Progression of Moluccan Neighbourhoods	102		
6. Pattern Language Development and Design Proposal			
6.1 The Moluccan Pattern Language	108		
6.2 Renovation of the Moluccan Neighbourhood in Barneveld	118		
6.3 Creating New Heritage at the Lloydkade, Rotterdam	148		

1. Positioning

This chapter is about gaining a clear understanding of the context of the project and the problem field. Theoretical perspectives help to position the project in a research field and a view on the role of the neighbourhoods underlines the importance of this project for the Moluccan society.

1.1 Motivation

1.2 Origin and Population Moluccans in the Netherlands

1.3 Segregation and Concentration of Moluccans

1.4 Meaning of the Neighbourhoods for the Community

1.5 Problem Field

1.6 Theoretical Underpinning

1.1 Motivation

Throughout my life, I have unintentionally been exposed to a unique part of the Netherlands: the Moluccan neighbourhoods, where a single ethnic group is concentrated. My mother's side of the family immigrated from the Moluccan Islands to the Netherlands in the 1950s, along with 12,500 other Moluccans. Initially, they resided in barracks under harsh conditions before eventually settling in Barneveld. Growing up, I frequently visited the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld, as part of my family has always lived there. Additionally, due to the strong familial ties within Moluccan culture, I often found myself exploring other Moluccan neighbourhoods across the Netherlands, such as Tiel, Maastricht, and Capelle aan den IJssel. When I was little, I often didn't realise which neighbourhood we were in exactly, because the neighbourhoods all looked alike to me as a child. However, with time, I began to notice that the Moluccan neighbourhoods evoked a distinct feeling compared to other areas. Regardless of the specific location, the feeling of Moluccan neighbourhoods remained consistent. Drawing upon my urbanism background, I discovered that the concept of an ethnic enclave, where a neighbourhood predominantly consists of a single ethnic group, is a unique occurrence within the Netherlands.

The coexistence of diverse cultures has always captivated my interest. I find myself pondering the environments where different cultures thrive harmoniously and exploring the factors that contribute to conflicts. In the case of Moluccan neighbourhoods, I started questioning what truly defines a neighbourhood as "Moluccan."

From an early age, I learned through my Moluccan family about the enduring pain felt within Moluccan society due to the historical treatment by the Dutch government. My uncles would share stories of their life in the residential settlements, describing the harsh winters and mischievous adventures with their Moluccan friends among



1 | My grandparents
Josias Loupatty & Cornelia Loupatty-Lopulissa

the barracks. These stories often leave me feeling torn. I am half-Moluccan and that is also how I feel, having grown up in the Netherlands and also developing a strong connection to my Dutch heritage. Through my research, I aspire to contribute to both sides of my identity. I aim to showcase the significance of Moluccan culture to Dutch society and foster respect for Moluccans who seek to preserve their neighbourhoods. Additionally, I believe it is crucial to develop a comprehensive vision for addressing Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. Such an approach would help prevent conflicts and create a better living environment for Moluccans, Dutch citizens, and individuals from various backgrounds residing in the Netherlands.

1.2 Origin and Population Moluccans in the Netherlands

The Moluccan Islands

The Moluccans residing in the Netherlands trace their origins back to the Moluccan Islands, an archipelago located in the eastern part of Indonesia. The Moluccan Islands encompass two provinces: the Moluccas (Maluku Selatan), also known as South Moluccas, and the North Moluccas (Maluku Utara). Figure 2 illustrates the geographical location of these islands within Indonesia, providing a scale comparison to the Netherlands. Comprising more than 1,000 islands scattered across the Pacific and Indian Oceans, over half of these islands remain uninhabited. The capital city of the Moluccan provinces is Ambon. Many Moluccans in the Netherlands can trace their ancestral roots to the islands surrounding Ambon, which is why they were often referred to as 'Ambonese' in the past.

Illustrating the Moluccan community through demographics

Providing an overview of the population size of Moluccans in the Netherlands and their proportion within the Dutch population is valuable. The most recent source used for this purpose is the CBS report (2020), which focuses on the social-economic position of Moluccans in the Netherlands. However, it is important to note that estimating the exact size of the Moluccan population is challenging since they

The Moluccan migrants, their children and grandchildren grew to a group of over 71,000 people (CBS, 2020).

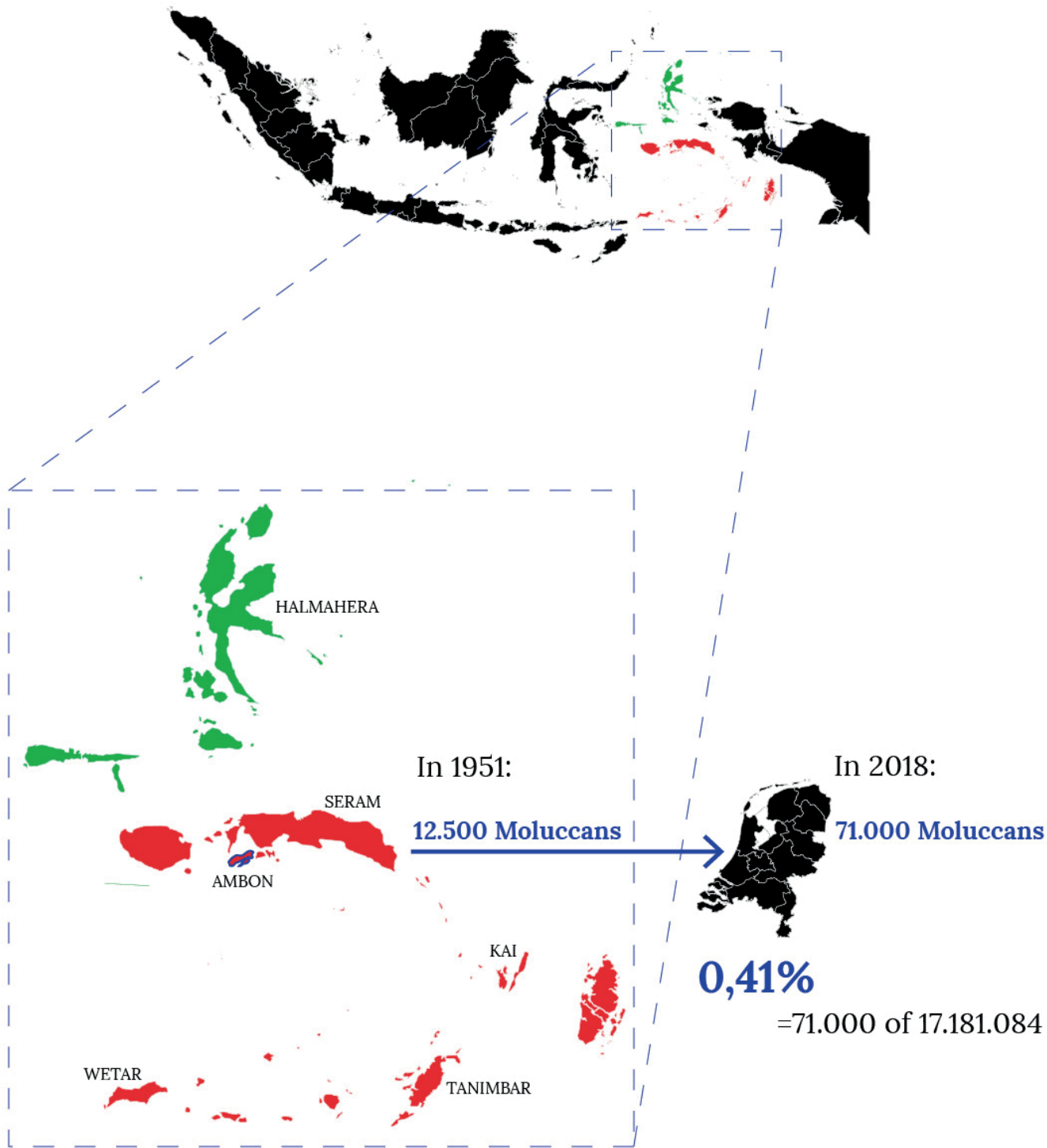
are considered “statistically untraceable.” Unlike other ethnic groups, Moluccans are not officially registered as originating from the Moluccas but rather from their country of origin, Indonesia. Privacy regulations also prevent the

inclusion of a specific note indicating someone’s Moluccan heritage (Veenman, 2010). These factors contribute to the difficulty of conducting quantitative research on Moluccan society.

In making their estimation, the CBS used the unique growth of the migrant group of Moluccans to the Netherlands. Unlike other migrant groups, Moluccans arrived in the Netherlands collectively in 1951, rapidly forming a substantial migrant group within a few years. The CBS compiled a list of Moluccan names in the Basic Registration of Persons (BRP) by using the names from the shipping lists of 1951. In that year, approximately 12,500 Moluccans, primarily KNIL-soldiers (Royal Dutch East Indies Army) and their families, arrived in the Netherlands. On 1 January 2018, CBS determined the current registered Moluccan population the Basic Registration of Persons. Over time, the Moluccan migrants, their children and grandchildren grew to a group of over 71,000 people (CBS, 2020).

2 | Provinces of Indonesia and the population of Moluccans in the Netherlands

■ North Moluccas
■ Moluccas



1.3 Segregation and Concentration of Moluccans

Moluccan neighbourhoods are a unique occurrence in the Netherlands. Being the only residential areas where only one ethnic group is concentrated. The neighbourhoods were created because the temporary stay of Moluccan society in the Netherlands, became a permanent one. Due to the segregated character of the society, the Moluccan neighbourhoods are excluded from their context. In contrast, at the neighbourhood scale, the residents and Moluccan culture are included.

Spatially emerged through segregation policy

When the first generation of Moluccans arrived in the Netherlands, there was an urgent need to provide them with housing within a short timeframe. Initially intended as a temporary stay, the Dutch government implemented a policy of segregation (Rinsampessy, 1993), resulting in minimal integration between the Moluccan community and the native population. Moluccans were placed in various locations such as barracks, concentration camps, monasteries, and DUW camps (Dienst Uitvoering Werken), which were referred to as residential settlements. The living conditions in these settlements were extremely poor. As it became evident that a return to the Moluccas was not feasible, plans were made for permanent housing solutions. Mixing the Moluccans with Dutch society remains to be avoided by the government because ‘people were afraid of adjustment problems’ (Vijfeijken, 2021). The government, guided by the CAZ (Commissariaat Ambonezenzorg) and the recommendations of the Verwey-Jonker committee, decided to establish special neighbourhoods for the Moluccan community. The committee advised that the neighbourhoods should have an optimal size of 50 dwellings to avoid large concentrations of Moluccans. Additionally, these neighbourhoods were built in proximity to employment opportunities. Although

the Moluccan neighbourhoods surpassed the temporary nature of the residential settlements and had a lesser degree of isolation, segregation remained the underlying principle in their design and accommodation.

Concentration neighbourhoods

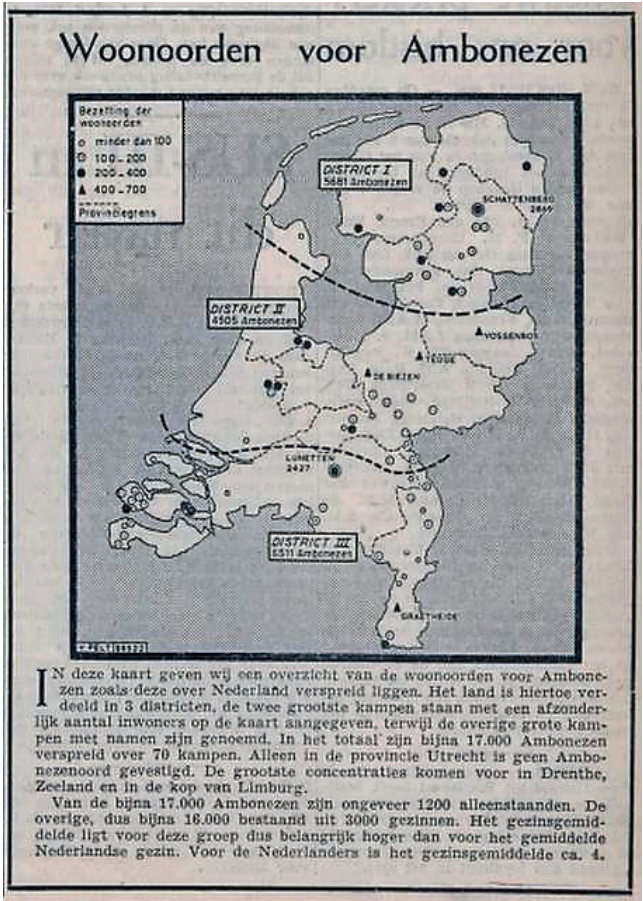
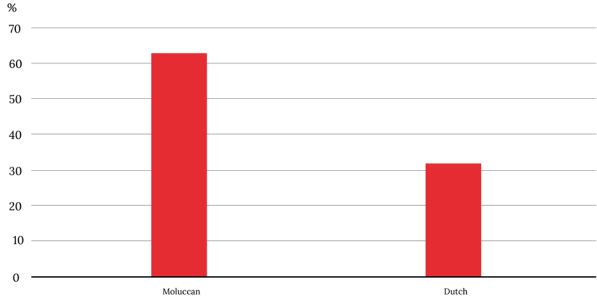
Moluccan neighbourhoods are characterized by a high concentration of Moluccan residents or a significant proportion of the neighbourhood having Moluccan background. These neighbourhoods can be referred to as concentration neighbourhoods. According to the definition provided by the Social and Cultureel

63% of Moluccan people live in municipalities with a Moluccan neighbourhood

Planbureau, concentration neighbourhoods are those where the population share of minority groups is higher than their share in the overall city population (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2010).

Exact figures regarding the number of Moluccans residing in specific Moluccan neighbourhoods

3 | Proportion living in a municipality with a Moluccan neighbourhood (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020)



are not available. However, research conducted by the Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2020), which focuses on the socio-economic position of Moluccans in the Netherlands, revealed that in 2018, approximately 62 percent of the Moluccan population resided in municipalities with Moluccan neighbourhoods. In comparison, the percentage of the general Dutch population living in municipalities with Moluccan neighbourhoods was around 32 percent. These findings indicate a spatial concentration of individuals with Moluccan backgrounds. Interestingly, there seems to be no significant difference between generations in terms of residing in municipalities with Moluccan neighbourhoods based on the 2018 data (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020). However, specific data regarding the proportion of Moluccans within individual Moluccan neighbourhoods is currently unavailable for this research.

4 | Newspaper article from 19 May 1956 showing an overview of the Moluccan residential settlements (Woonoorden Voor Ambozen, 1956)

1.4 Meaning of the neighbourhoods for the community

The impact of relocating to the neighbourhoods

The implementation of the segregation policy by the Dutch government has had a profound impact on the Moluccan community, leading to an inward focus (Rinsampessy, 1993). According to Rinsampessy (1992), the concentration of housing has played a significant role in fostering group solidarity and maintaining Moluccan identity. The relocation to Moluccan neighbourhoods has also had a profound effect on Moluccan society, as described by Steijlen (2015): “Some young Moluccans only realized at that moment that they were not on the Moluccan Islands but considered the residential settlements as their home, as the Moluccan Islands.” For many Moluccans, residing in these neighbourhoods meant living in their first brick houses. After experiencing collective living in the residential settlements, it was also the first time they had access to individual facilities like a kitchen and a shower.

The neighbourhood's position in the community

Life in the residential settlements and the villages on the Moluccan Islands share similarities in their social structures. However, with the transition to

Moluccan neighbourhoods, the communal living environment became less prevalent as individuals acquired their own homes and lived farther apart. Nevertheless, these neighbourhoods continue to serve as crucial organizing principles for the Moluccan community (Vijfeijken, 2021). They are vital gathering places, often housing the Moluccan church and community centres, which facilitate cultural activities that contribute to the preservation of Moluccan identity (Ouweneel, 2011).



6 | Pasar Malam in the Moluccan neighbourhood of Leerdam (Pasar Malam, n.d.)

According to Rinsampessy (1993), the neighbourhoods play a significant role in maintaining Moluccan identity, serving as ideal settings for cultural transmission. People in the neighbourhoods live in a similar manner, according to shared norms and values. Interviews conducted in Ouweneel's (2011) research highlight the strong social cohesion within these neighbourhoods. The close-knit community fosters familiarity and mutual care, contributing to a sense of safety. However, for some Moluccans, this strong social control can also feel restrictive (Ouweneel, 2011).



5 | Neighbours talking to each other in Maastricht's Moluccan neighbourhood (Moluccan Neighbourhood in Heer, 2017)



7 | Folding the RMS flag at the ceremony in memory of Chris Soumokil, at the Moluccan church in Elst. (Burgers, 2019)

The concept of 'Rumah Tua' and priority arrangements

The concept of “Rumah Tua” holds significant meaning for Moluccans and adds to the importance of the neighbourhoods within the community (Vijfeijken, 2021). According to this concept, when a parent passes away, their home is inherited by their children or grandchildren. Moluccans view the parents’ house as the family’s ancestral home, symbolizing their place of origin, and believe it should be passed down through generations. Currently, many neighbourhoods still have priority regulations in place specifically for Moluccans, which help uphold the tradition of “Rumah Tua” (Vijfeijken, 2021). Despite most neighbourhoods being under state responsibility, these priority arrangements grant them a special status. Additionally, the combination of these priority arrangements and the strong cohesion within the neighbourhoods acts as a safety net for those with low skills or unemployment, providing support within the community.



8 | The whole neighbourhood sympathises with the death of a local resident in Maastricht (RTV Maastricht, 2021)

1.5 Problem field

This chapter outlines the problem field in which research is conducted. It focuses on the quality of housing and public spaces, the housing stock and what opportunities this offers for growth. It also outlines current perceptions of the neighbourhoods and what trends affect their future. Finally, the mismatch between cultural heritage and the shape of the neighbourhoods is considered.

Low quality housing

Studies have indicated that households with a Moluccan background tend to have smaller and lower-quality dwellings compared to households without a migrant background (CBS, 2020). Average floor area per household data from 2017 reveals that Moluccan households residing in municipalities with a Moluccan neighbourhood have less spacious housing compared to Moluccan households in municipalities without such neighbourhoods. Although this data does not directly address the size of housing within Moluccan neighbourhoods, it suggests that Moluccan households living in concentrated areas generally have smaller dwellings.

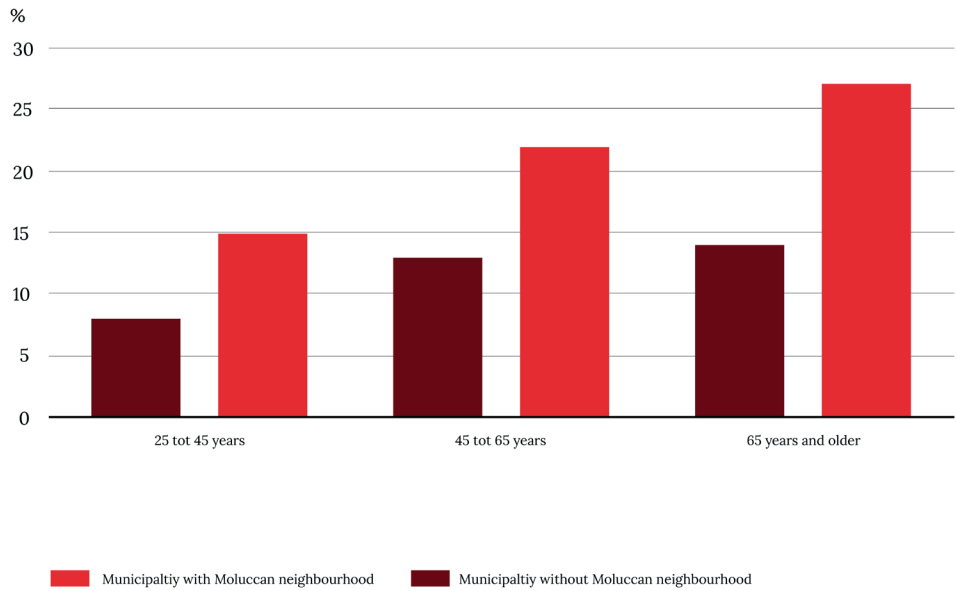
The difference in WOZ value between Moluccan households and Dutch households (figure 10) is more pronounced in municipalities with a Moluccan neighbourhood compared to those without (CBS, 2020). This suggests that in areas with a concentrated Moluccan population, there is a greater disparity in housing quality compared to individuals without a migrant background. Across all age groups, the WOZ value is lower in municipalities with a Moluccan neighbourhood, with the largest difference observed among earners aged 65 and older (CBS, 2020).

It is important to note that these figures encompass owner-occupied dwellings in

municipalities with a Moluccan neighbourhood, rather than exclusively focusing on housing within Moluccan neighbourhoods. In 2022, a survey conducted by the Landelijk Moluks Panel and MOZA organization examined satisfaction with housing quality in Moluccan neighbourhoods. The survey included 101 residents from 40 different Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands (MOZA, 2022). The results revealed that 85% of the residents expressed dissatisfaction with their housing conditions, with 47% residing in rented accommodation. The following is said about the defects presented to the housing corporation:



9 | Dwellings in Tiel to be demolished due to poor quality (Bouwhuis, 2017)



10 | Difference in property value (WOZ-value) of owner-occupied houses (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020)

“Wood rot in the window frames, kitchen blocks collapsing. Nothing is done with complaints. Energy prices are already high, poor insulation makes our energy bills even more expensive.” (Anonymous source, MOZA, 2022)

Residents expressed a need for housing improvements but were reluctant to accept higher rents. Notably, 84% mentioned that no renovations had been carried out in the past 5 years, and 50% reported no maintenance had been performed on their properties for 10 years. As a result, 57% of respondents considered renovating their homes themselves or building new houses on their plots. Additionally, only 3% of respondents lived in newly constructed houses within Moluccan neighbourhoods (MOZA, 2022). These findings indicate that, according to residents, housing quality in several Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands is subpar.

No opportunities for individual growth

According to Van Kempen and Bolt (2000), residing in a concentration neighbourhood has negative implications for the social position of its inhabitants, such as lower performance in the job market and education. Research conducted by CBS (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020) concluded that Moluccans face more unfavourable conditions in housing, education, employment,

income, youth care, crime, and health compared to individuals with a Dutch background. However, they do not attribute these differences to the concentrated living of Moluccans. It is important to note that this study focused on residing in a municipality with a Moluccan neighbourhood rather than specifically living in a Moluccan neighbourhood.

Ouweneel’s study (2011) addresses the consequences of living in a Moluccan neighbourhood. For example, it is mentioned that Moluccans living outside the Moluccan neighbourhood tend to have better-paying jobs. However, it is unclear whether leaving the neighbourhood makes it easier for individuals to advance in the job market. It is noted, though, that Moluccans living in a Moluccan neighbourhood do not always seize the opportunities presented to them by society. Even if a better job is offered, it may not prompt residents to leave the Moluccan neighbourhood. This is partly due to the low housing costs in the neighbourhood, which do not encourage individuals to strive for higher income. Housing in Moluccan neighbourhoods often falls within the affordable housing segment, so a higher salary is not necessary as long as housing needs are met (Ouweneel, 2011). The scarcity of housing in the middle and especially high-end segments means that living in a Moluccan neighbourhood does not provide prospects for advancement in the housing market



11 | Moluccans in Tiel being stared at by a Dutch family (van der Elsken, 1970)



12 | A vandalised house in the summer of 2015 in Nijmegen's Moluccan neighbourhood in Hatert (Franssen, 2017)

(Ouweneel, 2011). As a result, Moluccans with higher salaries may struggle to find suitable housing and consequently choose not to reside in a Moluccan neighbourhood.

The image presented by the media

Moluccan neighbourhoods have garnered attention in the news for two main reasons. Firstly, there have been discussions and agreements regarding priority arrangements for Moluccans. However, the most prevalent reason for media coverage is conflicts arising from the entry of non-Moluccans into these neighbourhoods. Various headlines (figure 13) highlight incidents where houses were vandalized upon the arrival of non-Moluccan families. In one instance, the Moluccan neighbourhood in Maastricht saw windows defaced with the message, “This is the Moluccan neighbourhood. Only for Moluccans.” Acts of vandalism, such as throwing eggs, flour, and smashing windows, were also reported (NOS, 2019). The housing corporation was criticized for allegedly allocating a house to non-Moluccans without the community’s knowledge. Following this incident, discussions took place between the neighbourhood and the housing corporation. As a result, an agreement was reached to prioritize not only Moluccan families but also Moluccan singles and young people in housing allocation within the Moluccan neighbourhood in Maastricht.

The media attention surrounding Moluccan neighbourhoods primarily stems from residents’ desire to maintain the neighbourhood’s exclusive Moluccan character. These neighbourhoods face the risk of transitioning from homogeneous to mixed communities (Nussy, 2017), which triggers reactions from residents and neighbourhood councils. It is evident, as exemplified in the case of Maastricht, that ongoing discussions and agreements are still being made between housing corporations and neighbourhood residents to preserve the Moluccan identity of these

communities. This highlights the enduring special status that Moluccan neighbourhoods hold in the present time.

Negative stigmatisation

News reports, particularly those highlighting the intrusion of (potential) non-Moluccan families into Moluccan neighbourhoods, not only create a negative perception of these communities but also have broader implications for how society views Moluccans in general. This can lead to questions and misunderstandings from other residents in municipalities with Moluccan neighbourhoods, who may wonder why they have to live in mixed neighbourhoods while Moluccans have their own exclusive areas.

The stigmatization of the Moluccan community occurs on multiple levels. The conflicts within individual neighbourhoods contribute to a distorted perception of Moluccan neighbourhoods at a national scale. Additionally, past events, such as the violent actions by Moluccan youth in the 1970s, have created lasting associations that link Moluccans to negative stereotypes. According to Vermeulen (1984), these events sparked feelings of rejection and discrimination within the Moluccan community in the Netherlands. Such experiences can, as described by Verkuyten (1999), result in a stronger identification with one’s ethnic group and, simultaneously, a weaker identification with the country of residence. This inward-looking nature of Moluccan society, as described by Rinsampessy (1992), may be a consequence of these factors.

Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Twintig jaar lang omgeven door negativiteit.
Twintig jaar lang leef ik klein.
Twintig jaar lang was ik niet.
In die jaren zag niemand mij.
In die jaren heeft niemand mij echt gezien.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Generatie op generatie op generatie.
Gebreken doorgegeven.
Mijn grootvader heeft gebeden, geleden, gestreden.
Nooit erkenning gekregen.
Het gebrek en aan doorgegeven.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Waar tijd elastisch en mensen onverschillig zijn.
Alles pelan pelan.
Alles op z'n tijd.
Niemand trekt een plan in de wijk.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Waar iedereen zegt 'als God houdt van mij', dan zal ik.
'als god houdt van mij', dan ga ik.
'Als god houdt van mij'.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Ik wilde niet wachten op een god die me zou geven.
Ik wilde het zelf pakken dus heb ik gebeden, geleden, gestreden.
Mijzelf erkennig gegeven.
Ik heb gebeden tot de godheid in mij.
Ik heb haar gezegend.
Ik hield haar nabij.
Ik heb haar geheeld.
Respectvol bejegend.
Ik ontwijk.
Dromen gaan dood in de wijk.
Ik maak me los van negativiteit
Ik maak me los van generatie op generatie op generatie.
Ik maak me los van de blikken vol nijd.
Ik maak me los van leegstand en lusteloosheid.
Ik maak me los van alles pelan pelan.
Ik maak me los van alles op z'n tijd.
Ik ontwijk niet langer hetgeen ik wil zijn.
Ik ontwijk.

- Gloria Lappya

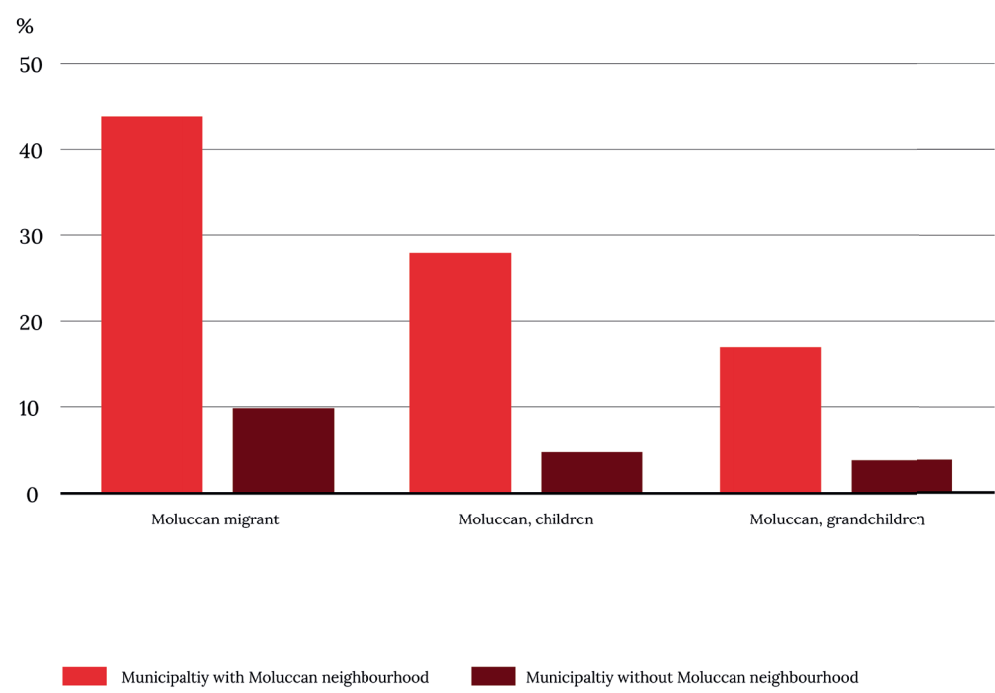
Trends and the future of Moluccan neighbourhoods

Moluccan neighbourhoods experience several socio-economic challenges that impact their vitality. Due to relatively low rents and a strong social network, residents of these neighbourhoods tend to have lower socio-economic status. However, the lack of new housing construction and the peripheral location of these neighbourhoods have led to a decline in opportunities for young people. Many choose to leave the neighbourhoods and relocate to larger cities for educational and employment prospects. This sentiment is expressed by young Moluccans who feel that these neighbourhoods limit personal growth and perpetuate a sense of stagnation (Ouweneel, 2011). This theme is echoed in Gloria Lappya's spoken word piece titled 'Ontwijk' (translated as: Avoid the Neighbourhood), which is featured in the introduction of this study. These factors contribute to an ageing population within the neighbourhoods.

Nevertheless, there are indications that the younger generation is starting to return to some Moluccan neighbourhoods, suggesting a

potential shift in this trend. However, according to CBS research (2020), there is a clear decline in marriages between individuals of Moluccan descent. This decline, shown in figure 14, is more prominent in municipalities without Moluccan neighbourhoods. It implies that if individuals do not have a partner of Moluccan background, they are less likely to choose to live in a Moluccan neighbourhood. As these interethnic marriages decrease, it raises concerns about the future viability and relevance of Moluccan neighbourhoods.

Furthermore, while many Moluccans value the preservation of these neighbourhoods, they themselves may not wish to reside in them. This further adds pressure to the future and legitimacy of these neighbourhoods. Overall, these various factors, such as the ageing population, declining home-gene marriages, and mixed sentiments within the Moluccan community, pose significant challenges to the long-term sustainability and existence of Moluccan neighbourhoods.



14 | Moluccans with a partner from Moluccan background (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020)



15 | The Moluccan neighbourhood in Moordrecht under construction, following the Dutch buildings style (De Molukse Wijk in Aanbouw Circa 1960, 2021)

The neighbourhoods as cultural heritage

For the Moluccan community, the neighbourhoods are very important, they see the neighbourhoods as cultural heritage: “The Moluccan neighbourhood is a result of a promise that was never kept. It is not for nothing that we have a Moluccan neighbourhood, a church and houses. It is a heritage left to us by the first generation. This heritage has moved, motivated and activated us.” (ter Maat, 2022). Recognizing the cultural importance of the Moluccan neighbourhoods, Kaja Sariwating and his Foundation MOZA have taken steps to protect and preserve them. MOZA has registered the Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Immaterial Heritage Network of the knowledge center Immaterial Heritage Netherlands, marking the beginning of a project aimed at safeguarding their unique character and culture (MOZA, 2023). To capture the essence of the Moluccan neighbourhoods, a survey conducted by the National Moluccan Panel was launched in 2022, gathering traditions and stories from residents. Kaja Sariwating, who extensively studied Moluccan neighbourhoods during his graduation thesis in Governance, acknowledges that there is currently insufficient support to declare the neighbourhoods as tangible heritage. Therefore, he emphasizes the importance of initially securing their intangible heritage (K. Sariwating, personal communication, January 11, 2023). This approach recognizes the cultural and social value embedded within the Moluccan neighbourhoods, paving the way for future efforts to protect their tangible aspects as well.

Unrecognisability of the heritage

The project “Moluccan neighbourhoods as intangible heritage” raises an underlying question regarding the classification of these neighbourhoods. While a neighbourhood is comprised of physical elements, it is being considered as intangible heritage rather than material heritage. This raises the question of why

it is not recognized as material heritage. The neighbourhoods were originally conceptualized, designed, and constructed by Dutch individuals, following the typical Dutch housing culture of row houses with streets, front gardens, and entrance halls. The focus during the development of these neighbourhoods did not consider the lifestyle and cultural preferences of the Moluccan community or whether they aligned with the Dutch urban design. Moreover, the architectural style of the row houses is not unique to Moluccan neighbourhoods but is common in other residential areas across the Netherlands. While the Moluccan neighbourhoods aspire to be acknowledged as material heritage, the distinct characteristics that would define them as such are not yet recognisable. Therefore, the overall spirit and essence of these neighbourhoods may remain intact, but the physical form does not fully match this spirit.



16 | The spirit of the Moluccan kampongs (Loupatty & Lankreijer, 1984)

1.6 Theoratical underpinning

This chapter defines the Moluccan neighbourhood as Territories and emphasizes the distinction from a concentration neighbourhood. It provides a deeper comprehension of the concepts under examination, including spatial segregation and cultural heritage. Furthermore, it outlines the benefits and effects of segregation. Additionally, the objective of this chapter is to extract valuable insights for the design process at a later stage.

Territories

In the Netherlands, the residential areas established for the Moluccans during the 1970s are referred to as ‘neighbourhoods.’ However, it should be noted that these neighbourhoods are not necessarily administrative neighbourhoods but can sometimes consist of single streets or building blocks. Another term that can be used to describe these Moluccan residential areas can be derived from the concept of territories. Territories are defined as “geographical areas that are personalized or marked in some way and are defended against encroachment” (Sommer & Becker, 1969). A broader definition of a territory states that it refers to an area under the governance of a ruler or state (“Territory,” n.d.). In the case of Moluccan neighbourhoods, this was the case initially when these neighbourhoods were under the control of the Dutch government and subsequently managed by housing corporations. However, it is worth noting that there are now also self-owned houses within these neighbourhoods.

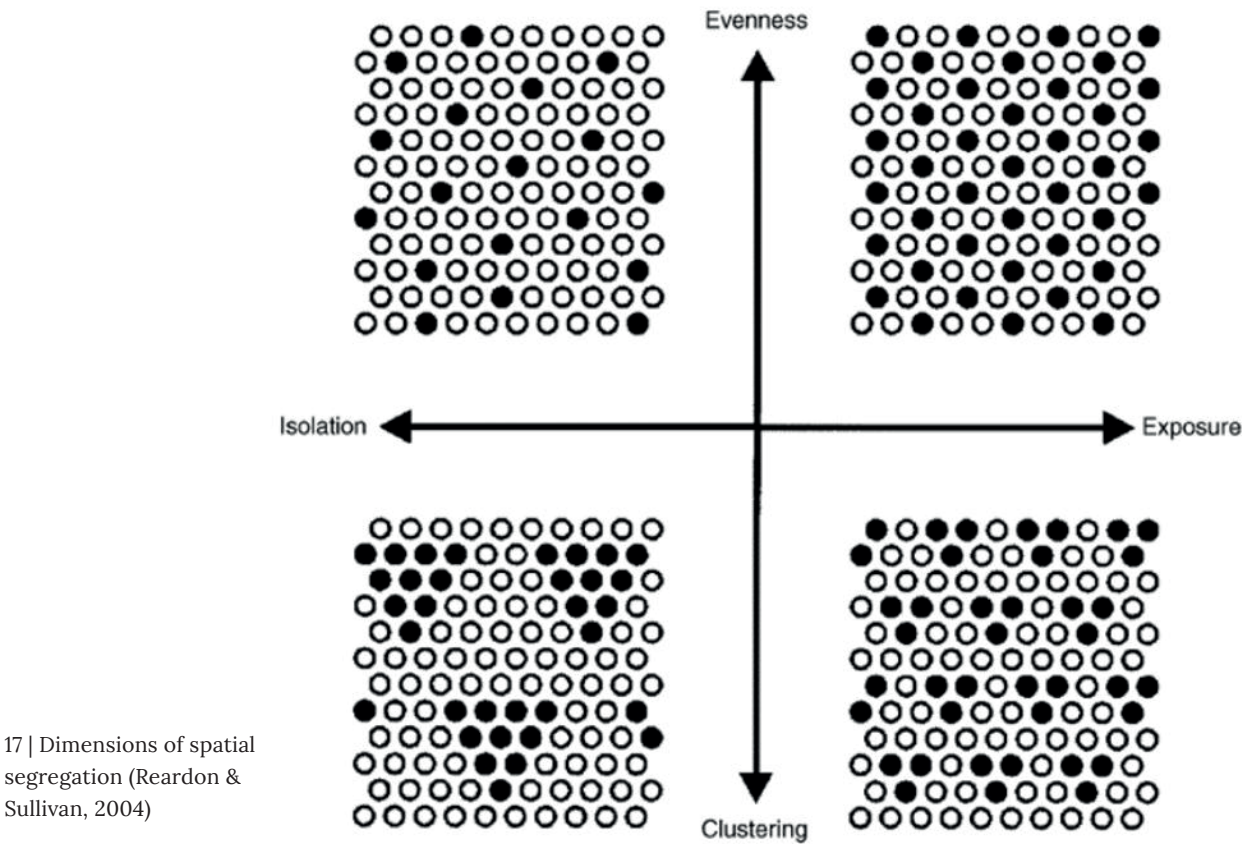
Significantly, when considering the definition of Moluccan neighbourhoods as territories, it is important to acknowledge the presence of neighbourhood councils that hold influence over the neighbourhoods, along with the special status these neighbourhoods have in relation to housing associations. As previously discussed, priority arrangements for Moluccans were mentioned, indicating that these residential areas can be defined and governed to a certain extent

by the Moluccan community. Gifford’s (1997) definition suggests that control over a territory is established through various means such as physical space, ownership, defence, exclusive use, or the presence of identity signs and spatially oriented access.

The concept of defence, as defined by this definition, corresponds to the behaviour exhibited by residents of Moluccan neighbourhoods: territorial behaviour. This behaviour manifests when individuals feel a loss of control over their lives (van Dorst, 2022). In several Moluccan neighbourhoods, this has led to instances of vandalism targeting houses belonging to families without a Moluccan background. This territorial behaviour stems from a perceived ownership of physical space and a sense of obligation to protect the territory against intrusion by outsiders (Zubaidi et al., 2014). Within a community, cultural factors undoubtedly contribute to the establishment of territorial boundaries. When individuals enter the territory, they are entering the social and cultural space of the community (Zubaidi et al., 2014).

Spatial segregation

Spatial segregation is understood as an “imposed or preferred separation of groups of people in a particular territory by lines of race, caste, ethnicity, language, religion or income status” (United Nations & Rajagopal, n.d.). When referring to groups of individuals from the same ethnic background, different terms are often



17 | Dimensions of spatial segregation (Reardon & Sullivan, 2004)

employed, such as ghetto, ethnic enclaves, gated communities, or concentration neighbourhoods. These names also sometimes incorporate references to the inhabitants’ cultural heritage, such as Little Italy or Chinatowns (Brown & Chung, 2006). The specific term chosen by a writer reflects their subjective perception, whether positive or negative, when discussing ethnic segregation. Typically, a ghetto connotes high poverty rates, extremely poor living conditions, and elevated crime levels (Ensie & Meulenberg, 2017). However, this does not apply to Moluccan neighbourhoods, where the term concentration neighbourhood will be predominantly used. Later on, there will be a further elaboration on this particular term.

Massey and Denton (1988) provide an explanation of ethnic group segregation through the lens of five dimensions. However, for simplicity, Brown and Chung (2006), as well as Reardon and O’Sullivan (2004), among others, condense these dimensions into a two-axis diagram depicted in Figure 17. The first dimension is concentration,

which represents the extreme opposite of evenness. In this context, concentration refers to the uneven distribution of an ethnic group across the entire area. The other two extremes are clustering and exposure. Clustering indicates that there is a higher degree of spatial grouping within an ethnic group, while exposure suggests a lower level of interaction between different ethnic groups. Furthermore, when a cluster becomes larger, it leads to even less exposure between ethnic groups (Brown & Chung, 2006). In modern cities characterized by polycentricity, multimodality, and urban sprawl, the fifth dimension of segregation, centrality (as defined by Massey & Denton, 1988), holds little influence according to Brown and Chung (2006). As a result, this dimension is excluded from the diagram.

To what extent are Moluccan neighbourhoods segregated based on the four dimensions mentioned above? As previously discussed in this study, there is a spatial concentration of individuals with a Moluccan background, indicating a higher degree of clustering on the



18 | Moluccan territory marked at the entrance (Bouwhuis, 2016)

vertical axis. Furthermore, the government’s segregation policy considered the size of these neighbourhoods, intentionally keeping them small to mitigate the level of segregation. According to the four dimensions, smaller clusters allow for more exposure with other groups compared to larger clusters. As a result, it can be inferred that Moluccan neighbourhoods fall within the lower right quadrant of the diagram. However, in the actual situation, other factors come into play, such as the proximity between neighbourhoods. Similarly, as described by Brown and Chung (2006), research on segregation should also consider the local spatial fabric for a more comprehensive understanding.

In literature, segregation, in the case of this study ethnic segregation, is often given a negative connotation as it is seen as a factor that leads to reduction of social interaction between groups and that creates distrust within a society. However, an article by Peach (1996) also describes the positive effects of segregation namely that it gives the ethnic group the opportunity to

maintain social cohesiveness. Indeed, segregation gives the opportunity to preserve cultural values, strengthen social networks and allows the passing of critical thresholds for the support of institutions and shops (Peach, 1996). In the case of Moluccan neighbourhoods, this involves easily finding one’s way to churches and foundation buildings.

Ethnical enclaves

In the context of explaining the various terms used to describe spatial segregation of ethnic groups, the term “Ethnical enclave” was previously mentioned. Formally, ethnical enclaves refer to residential areas where a particular ethnic group holds numerical dominance and has fostered corresponding religious, cultural, commercial, and linguistic services and institutions (Qadeer & Kumar, 2006). In the case of ethnical enclaves, it is not solely the geographic concentration that defines them, but rather the bonds and shared sentiments within the community are essential. Regarding Moluccan neighbourhoods, this means that not only the neighbourhoods

with community facilities can be seen as ethnical enclaves, but also those without such facilities.

The term “ethnical enclave” often carries a negative connotation. However, it is important to recognize that cities are inherently organized into spatially differentiated neighbourhoods, with areas of affluence and poverty. The key point is that spatial and functional differentiations based on factors such as class, income, ethnicity, lifestyle, or family type and activities are the organizing principles of cities (Qadeer & Kumar, 2006). As long as these differentiations are not imposed and do not result in poverty and exclusion, they should not be associated with a negative stigma. It is worth noting that one beneficial aspect of such neighbourhoods is the promotion of strong social cohesion within the community.

Concentration neighbourhoods

Previously, Moluccan neighbourhoods were defined as territories and, within the context of spatial segregation, they can also be described as ethnic enclaves. In the Dutch literature, the term “concentration neighbourhood” (concentratiewijk) is commonly used. This term refers to a neighbourhood where the proportion of minority population is higher than their representation in the overall city population (Ensie & Meulenberg, 2017). While most concentration neighbourhoods in the Netherlands consist of multiple ethnic groups, Moluccan neighbourhoods stand out as they primarily involve a single minority group (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2010). Hence, Moluccan neighbourhoods can be considered an exception within the broader category of concentration neighbourhoods.

Neighbourhood effects

The discussion surrounding concentration neighbourhoods often centres around the concept of “neighbourhood effects,” which refers to whether residing in a particular

neighbourhood acts as a barrier to opportunities and possibilities for its residents. According to a report by Verweij (2014), living in a concentration neighbourhood can account for approximately 10-15% of the differences in people’s socioeconomic positions. This implies that the remaining 85-90% of these differences are attributable to individual characteristics of the neighbourhood residents themselves. In other words, people are not unemployed because they live in a specific neighbourhood, but rather they reside in that neighbourhood because they are unemployed. Consequently, research suggests that neighbourhood effects have a minimal impact (Uitermark & Duyvendak, 2005). This raises the question of why policymakers often favour dispersal policies despite the limited evidence of neighbourhood effects.

Segregation policy versus dispersal policy

Policymakers often express concerns about concentrated neighbourhoods, citing examples such as ghettoization in America and instances of foreign fundamentalism like the September 11, 2001 attacks. In the Netherlands, politicians frequently refer to the fear of developing a “parallel community” as the primary motive for pursuing dispersal or blending policies (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2010). The idea behind these policies is to encourage greater interaction between residents from different backgrounds. While research indicates that the likelihood of encounters in a neighbourhood does influence inter-ethnic contact, the homogeneity theory presents a contrasting view. According to this theory, people tend to prefer associating with others who are similar to themselves. Thus, mixed residential patterns may not necessarily solve the issue of parallel communities. Factors such as ethnicity, education level, and socioeconomic position also influence social interactions between individuals (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2010). Additionally, Uitermark and Duyvendak



19 | Tangible Moluccan heritage: Monument Camp Vossenbosch (Vrieze, n.d.)

(2005) argue that policymakers prioritize the governability, safety, and liveability of a neighbourhood. However, this study also suggests that ethnically homogeneous neighbourhoods can function effectively as there is a greater likelihood of support for institutions and fewer communication problems. In this context, concentration neighbourhoods could potentially have a positive impact on security and liveability.

Cultural Heritage

Cultural heritage is defined as “that which was built or made by previous generations and which still exists today and has monumental or museum value today” (“De Erfgoedstem”, 2008). It plays a crucial role in shaping the identity of a society and contributes to cultural and historical self-awareness. Cultural heritage encompasses a wide range of elements, including monuments, objects, traditions, contemporary activities, and the meanings and behaviours associated with them (Demetriadou, 2022). However, it is important to recognize that the perception of heritage’s significance can vary among different individuals and groups, often leading to social conflicts and tensions (Graham et al., 2016). By understanding heritage as a dynamic concept rather than a static relic, it becomes evident that its meaning is subject to interpretation and can evoke diverse reactions within society.



20 | Intangible moluccan heritage:: Papeda (sago congee) served with yellow soup and grilled mackerel called tongkol (Kartapranata, 2011)

Cultural heritage can be categorized into two distinct types: tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage refers to physical cultural traditions or artifacts, such as buildings, landscapes, books, and artworks. These tangible elements are often protected by the state and are subject to maintenance and restoration efforts. In contrast, intangible heritage, as defined by Stregels (2016), encompasses dynamic cultural practices that connect generations within a community and can evolve over time. Intangible heritage includes social customs, performances, rituals, traditions, expressions, special knowledge, and skills (“Intangible Heritage,” 2022). Both tangible and intangible heritage establish a connection between the past, present, and future, serving as a link to previous generations while also being passed on to future generations.

21 | Preparations made for the Moluccan Confession (Drent, 2009)

22 | Moluccan dishes (Timorason, 2022)

23 | Moluccans dining together around a long table in a Moluccan neighbourhood (Aanen & Bijl, 2020)



2. Methodology

This chapter explores the methodology used to address the identified problem in the project. The methodology serves as a roadmap, guiding the research and decision-making processes to ensure a structured and effective project implementation. The chapter begins by presenting the problem statement, which captures the core issue at hand and its significance within the broader context. The research questions then guide the exploration and investigation, providing a framework for acquiring relevant information, analysing data, and generating insights.

- 2.1 Problem statement
- 2.2 Conceptual Framework
- 2.3 Aim of the Research
- 2.4 Design Aim
- 2.5 Methodology Framework
- 2.6 Research Timeline

2.1 Problem statement

Moluccan neighbourhoods have become enclaves where Moluccan society has primarily turned inward. These neighbourhoods are at the core of Moluccan society, where Moluccan culture thrives and is most prominently expressed. Therefore, many Moluccans desire the preservation of these neighbourhoods as cultural heritage. However, the tangible aspects of this heritage are not recognisable, and it remains uncertain whether the physical form of the neighbourhoods truly matches the intangible heritage and way of life within them. Many neighbourhoods are also undergoing a transformation from homogeneous Moluccan communities to mixed neighbourhoods, which triggers reactions among residents. These reactions, combined with the historical context of Moluccans in the Netherlands, contribute to the negative stigmatization of these neighbourhoods. Furthermore, there is criticism from within the Moluccan community itself, arguing that these areas foster a static environment that fails to keep pace with the passage of time. This critique stems from the presence of strong social control within the community and lack of opportunities for personal growth within the housing market. Additionally, the declining trend of homogeneous Moluccan marriages contribute to the challenges and uncertainties surrounding the preservation and development of Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands.

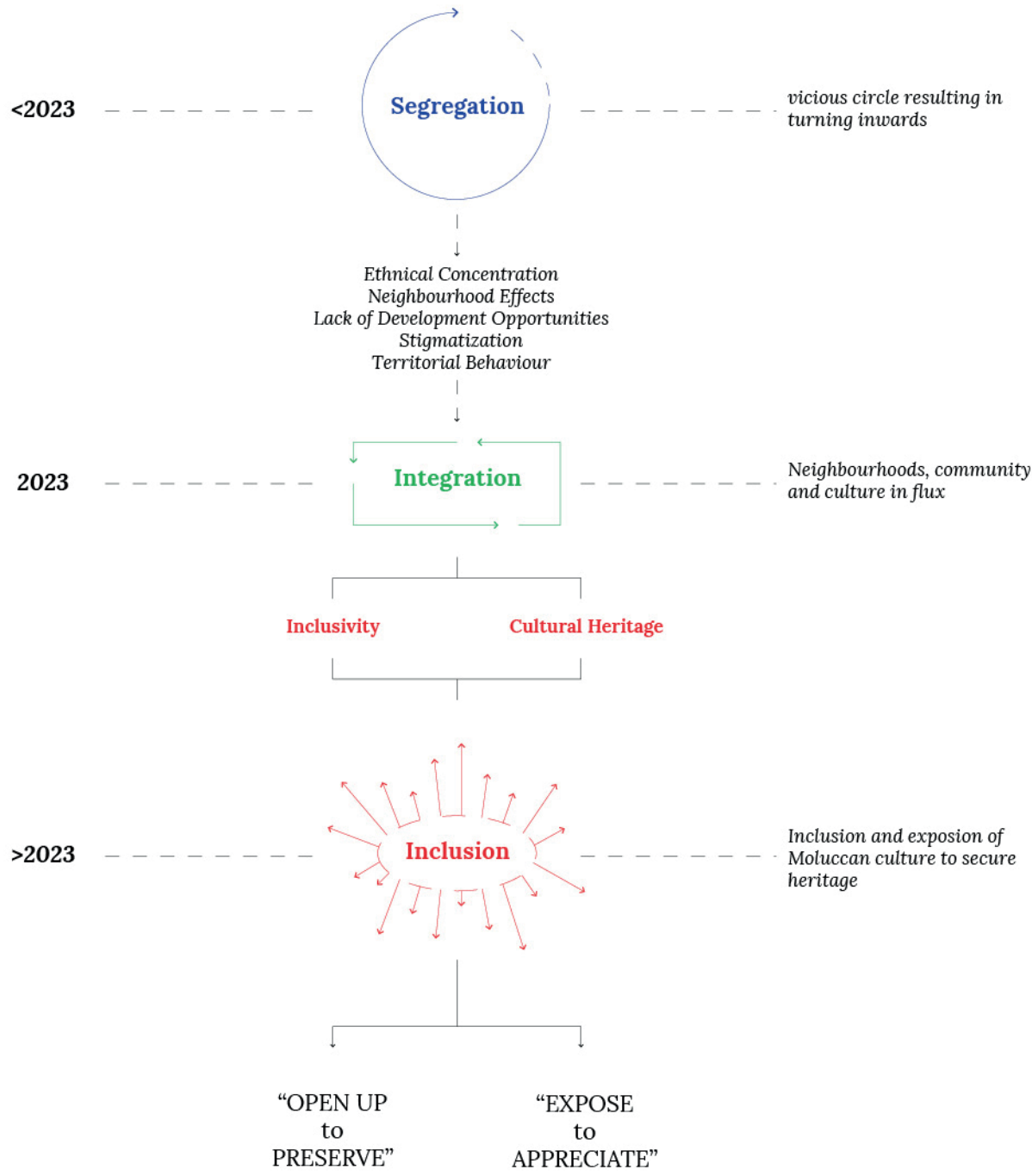


24 | The graffitied windows of a house in Tilburg's Moluccan neighbourhood (Matuleddy, 21 C.E.)

2.2 Conceptual Framework

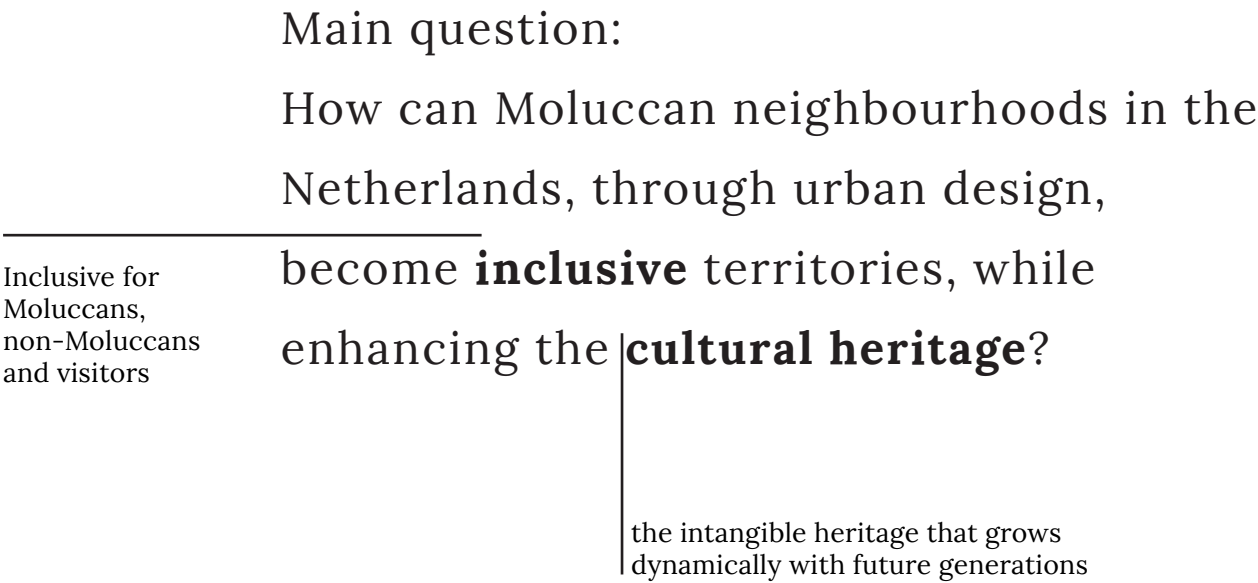
From a theoretical perspective, segregation can be understood as a vicious cycle that leads the Moluccan community in Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands to turn inward. The analysis of Moluccan identity development reveals its constant state of flux. The ongoing transformation of these neighbourhoods from homogeneous to mixed further emphasizes the need for a clearer definition of community identity within the neighbourhoods. Moreover, the future of these neighbourhoods is under pressure due to the lack of inclusiveness and unrecognizability of the cultural heritage. Preserving these neighbourhoods requires an inclusive approach that includes both Moluccans and non-Moluccans. Additionally, making cultural heritage recognizable and enhancing its visibility can provide more exposure to Moluccan culture, positively shaping the perception of these neighbourhoods.

The diagram depicted in Figure 25 illustrates the interconnectedness of the various concepts and goals in this research framework. Divided into phases, the diagram reflects the different historical phases experienced by the Moluccan society as a whole and their imminent entry into a new phase. The envisioned future emphasizes inclusivity and cultural heritage as pivotal themes for the design, ultimately aiming to preserve and enhance Moluccan heritage.



25 | Conceptual framework

2.3 Aim of the Research



- Aims**
Answering the main question seeks to achieve the following aims:
- Defining the tangible and intangible heritage of Moluccan neighbourhoods; [1]
 - Forming scenarios for the future of Moluccan neighbourhoods, in order to provide clarity to current and future generations; [2]
 - Finding the form that fits the future scenario of Moluccan neighbourhoods and in determining to what extent the cultural heritage should remain visible in it; [3]
 - Creating a community that allows the growth of the individual in addition to solidarity. [4]

Subquestions
The research is structured into three main parts, each with its own set of sub-questions. The first two parts involve conducting analyses to gather relevant information. In the third part, the findings from the analyses are used to formulate, test, and apply guiding principles for the design process.

- Part 1: Spatializing Moluccan heritage
1.How have Moluccan neighbourhoods emerged and developed over time?
- 2.What are the spatial characteristics of Moluccan neighbourhoods and what makes them unique?
- 3.What spatial patterns can be found in the use of inhabitants and visitors that showcase the identity of the Moluccan neighbourhoods?

- Part 2: Forming scenarios
4. How do perceptions of Moluccan neighbourhoods differ among different generations and from non-Moluccan society?
5. How will the Moluccan society and its culture evolve?

- Part 3: Designing the urban form
6. How can Moluccan neighbourhoods be transformed into more inclusive and porous neighbourhoods?
7. What is the urban form that fits the tangible and intangible Moluccan heritage ?

2.4 Design Aim

Moluccans in the Netherlands initially lived in segregated communities, but they have now reached a stage of increased integration. However, the neighbourhoods are currently undergoing a transformation from being homogeneous to becoming more diverse. This transformation puts pressure on the neighbourhoods. To ensure the preservation of these neighbourhoods, it is crucial to focus on the inclusion of Moluccans, non-Moluccans, and visitors. The housing stock must allow Moluccans to grow within the

neighbourhood. By creating a more open and welcoming atmosphere, the community will be less inward-looking, and visitors will feel invited to explore the neighbourhoods.

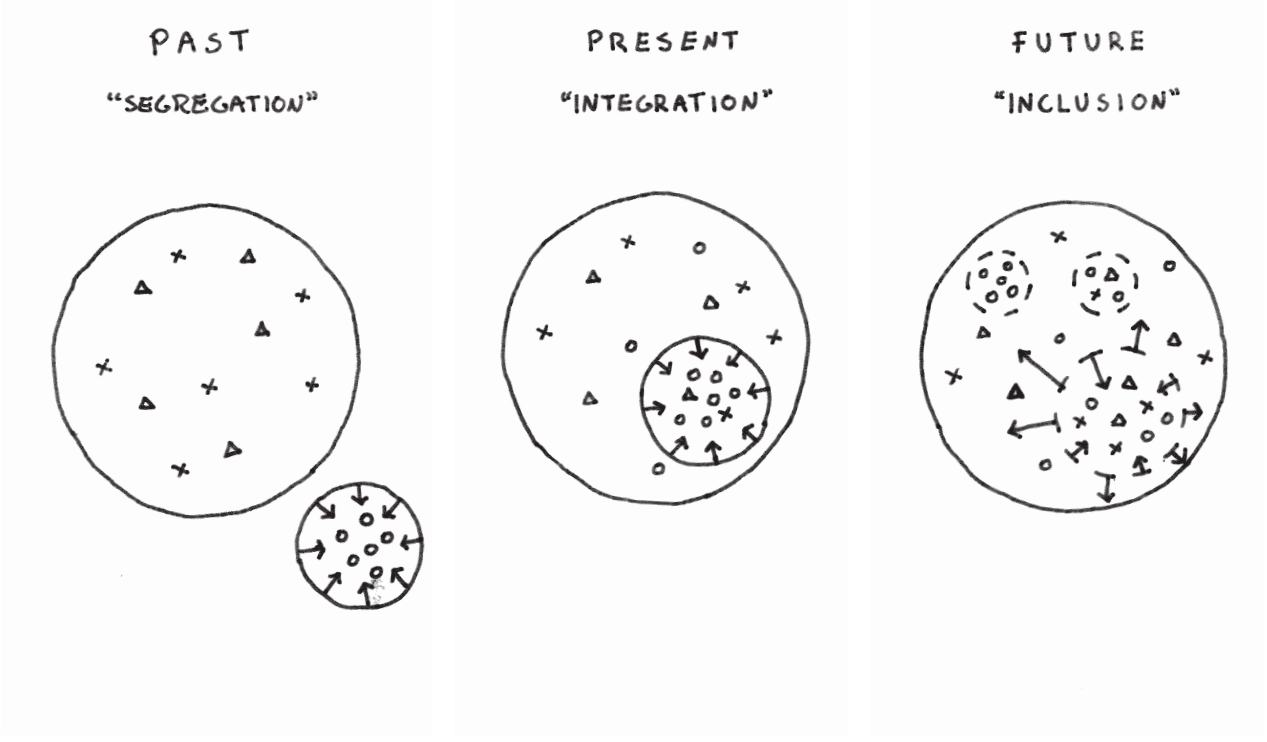
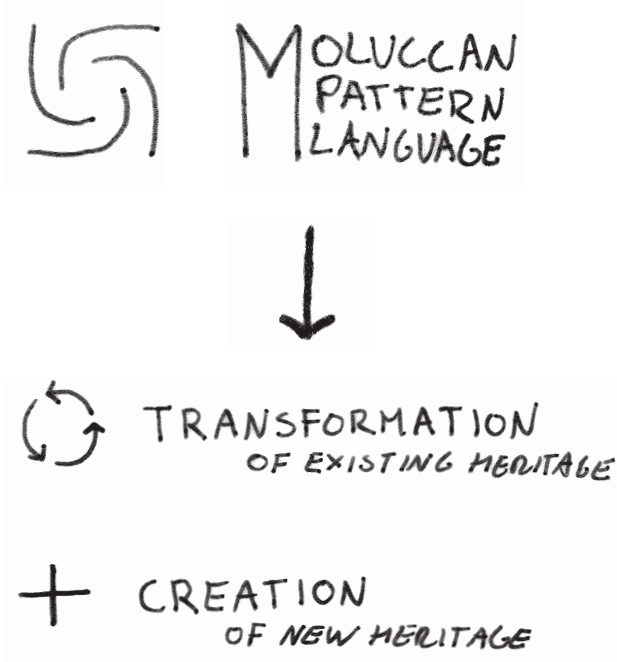
Moreover, it is important to make the tangible cultural heritage of the Moluccans recognizable. This strategy provides a sense of place for Moluccan society and fosters a greater understanding and appreciation of the culture among the wider society. Familiarity with the heritage enhances its acceptance and value.

The design brief includes two aspects. Firstly, it involves transforming the existing neighbourhoods, as they hold significant memories for the Moluccan community. However, the heritage must be dynamic and open to adaptation to fit the future identity of Moluccan culture. Therefore, the second part of the design focuses on creating new heritage at different locations, aligning with the future aspirations of Moluccan culture. By creating new spaces, there will be increased exposure to Moluccan culture, ultimately leading to greater acceptance of the entire culture.

The three intended design products:

- Pattern Language: a set of design interventions that are specific for Moluccan culture, but general for all Moluccan neighbourhoods. They are applicable for transformation and new built spaces.
- Transformation of an existing neighbourhood: enhancing the material heritage through urban design using the pattern language
- Creating new places of heritage: adding dynamic heritage in a public space design using the pattern language

26 | The three intended design products



27 | Conceptual diagram of the design aim

2.5 Methodolgy Framework

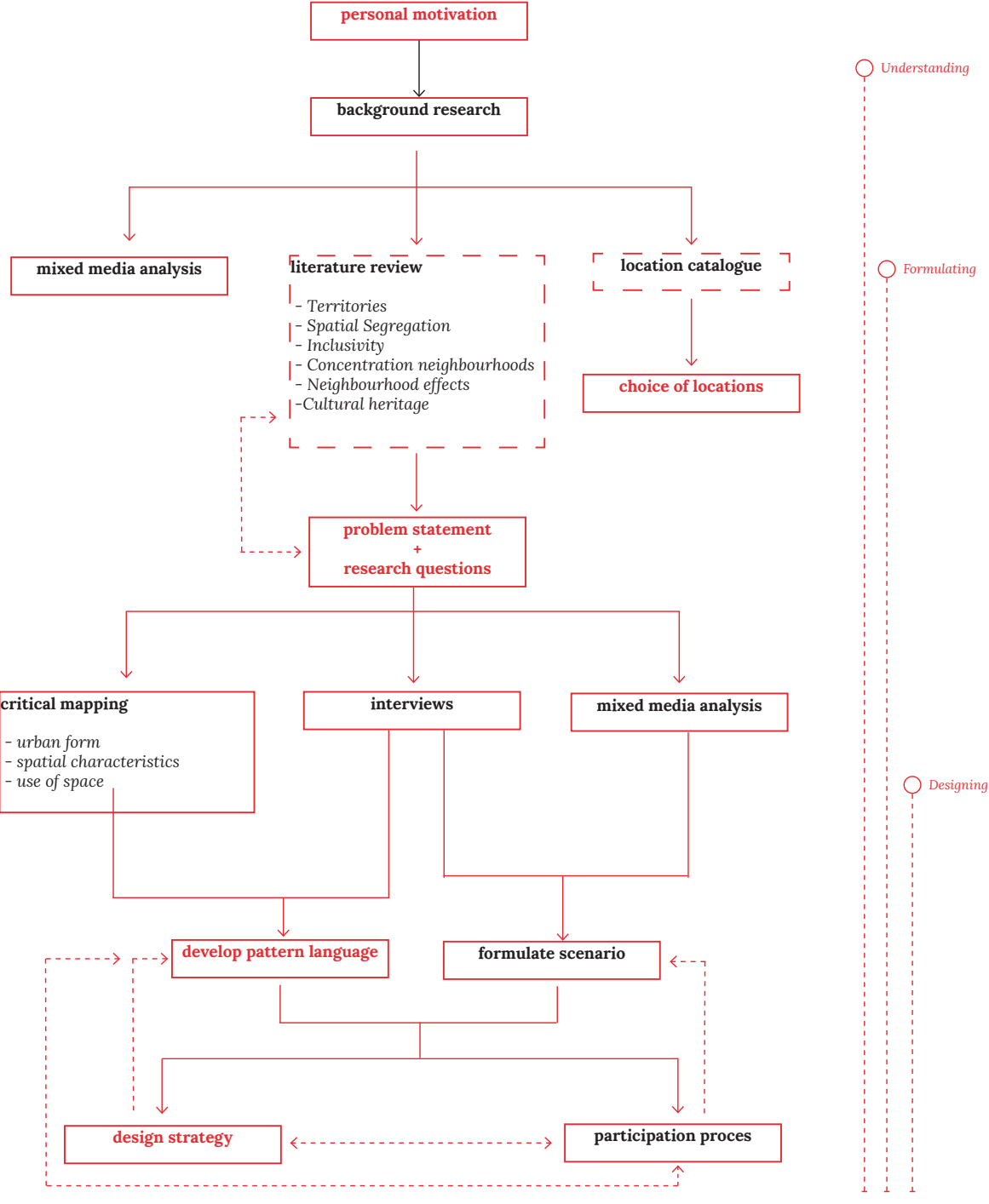
The research methodology employed in this study encompasses four key domains: understanding, formulation, design, and participation. It is important to note that this process is not strictly linear but involves continuous iteration and feedback. Reflection throughout the course of this project will facilitate improvement and refinement of earlier work in the process.

In the domain of understanding, literature research has provided insights into the definition of Moluccan neighbourhoods as ethnic enclaves and their differentiation from concentration neighbourhoods. The literature has also shed light on the advantages and effects of segregation, including the formation of inward-focused communities and the consequences for stigmatization. Additionally, a mixed media analysis, in conjunction with literature research, has contributed to a deeper comprehension of the significance and role of Moluccan neighbourhoods within the Moluccan community. The identification of conflicts through the mixed media analysis can be further explained by examining research on territorial behaviour. Furthermore, the literature review and interviews enhance the understanding of the diverse perspectives on Moluccan neighbourhoods held by different generations of Moluccans.

The second domain focuses on formulating the cultural heritage and future prospects of the neighbourhoods. This involves utilizing mapping techniques and field observations to articulate the physical characteristics of the neighbourhoods, including their unique attributes and porosity. Interviews will also be conducted to gather insights on the spatial usage by residents. Moreover, planned interviews with experts and stakeholders of Moluccan neighbourhoods will contribute to the formation of future scenarios for these areas. These interviews serve to enhance the reflective process regarding the various perspectives explored in the first domain. Once

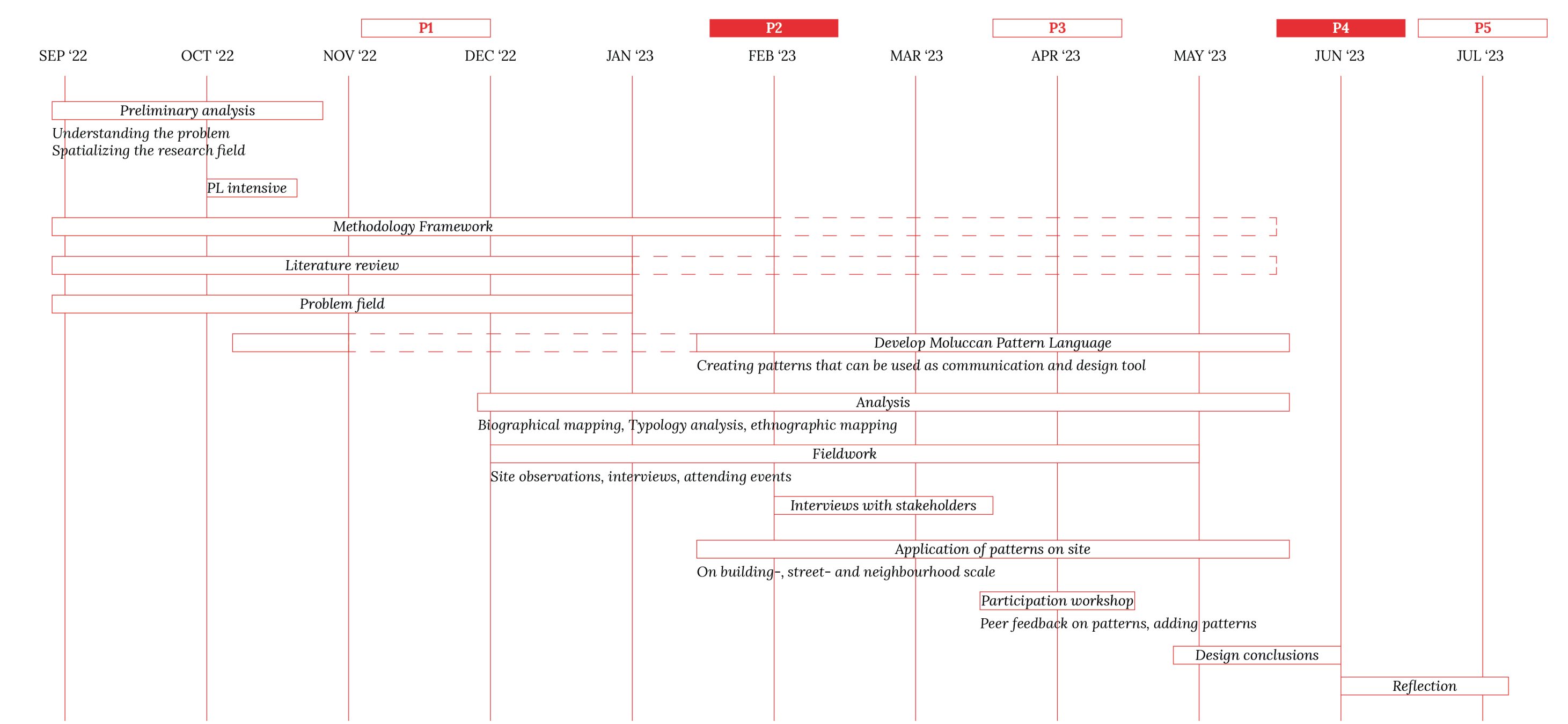
a scenario is formulated, the knowledge derived from literature research, mapping findings, fieldwork observations, and interview data will be translated into a pattern language. Each aspect will be represented as a separate pattern, with interconnected relationships established among the patterns. The pattern language methodology enables the creation of a language specific to Moluccan culture yet applicable to Moluccan neighbourhoods in general, extending beyond the scope of the immediate context.

The third domain revolves around design and participation. By the application of the patterns, the design process is facilitated, while simultaneously enabling communication within a participatory design approach. The patterns are shared with a group of participants, fostering feedback and the emergence of new patterns. This facilitates another reflective cycle to the second domain, which serves as the foundation for the patterns. Participants are also encouraged to apply the patterns to their own living environments, allowing for self-reflection on their respective on-site processes.



Research domain	Research questions	Research and design aims	Methods
	<p>Main question: How can Moluccan neigh-bourhoods in the Netherlands, through urban design, become territories that stimu-late inclusivity and embrace porosity, while enhancing the cultural heritage?</p>	<p>-Defining the tangible and intangible heritage of Moluccan neighbourhoods; -forming scenarios for the future of Moluccan neighbourhoods, in order to provide clarity to current and future generations; -finding the form that fits the future scenario of Moluccan neighbourhoods and in determining to what extent the cultural heritage should remain visible in it; -creating a community that allows the growth of the individual in addition to solidarity.</p>	
Part 1: Spatializing Moluccan heritage	<p>1. How have Moluccan neighbourhoods emerged and developed over time?</p>	Forming a perception of the level of segregation	Case study; Historical analysis through mapping
	<p>2.What are the spatial characteristics of Moluccan neighbourhoods and what makes them unique?</p>	Defining the spatial characteristics that contribute to the neighbourhood's Moluccan identity and form the heritage	Case study; Mapping, Interviews and observations
Part 2: Forming Scenarios	<p>3.What spatial patterns can be found in the use of inhabitants and visitors that showcase the identity of the Moluccan neighbourhoods?</p>	Indicate spatial patterns that contribute to the Moluccan identity of the neighbourhoods	Case study: Interviews and observations, Mapping
	<p>4. How do perceptions of Moluccan neigh-bourhoods differ among different genera-tions and from non-Moluccan society?</p>	Illustrating the different perspectives on the Moluccan neighbourhoods and its future among different generations	Interviews and observations, Mixed media analysis
	<p>5. How will the Moluccan society and its culture evolve?</p>	Illustrating the complexity of the transforming Moluccan identity and the tension between responses and trends of development in the neighbourhoods	Historical analysis, Interviews and observations, Literature review
Part 3: Designing the urban form	<p>6. How can Moluccan neighbourhoods be transformed into more inclusive and porous neighbourhoods?</p>	Decide design interventions will be used for existing neighbourhoods and define which guiding principles can be used to create new heritage places in terms of inclusivity and porosity	Pattern Language, Design, Literature review Participation workshop
	<p>7. What is the urban form that fits the tangible and intangible Moluccan heritage?</p>	Decide design interventions will be used for existing neighbourhoods and define which guiding principles can be used to create new heritage places in terms of exhibiting cultural heritage	Pattern Language, Design, Participation workshop

2.7 Research Timeline



3. Contextual Analysis of Moluccan Neighbourhoods

Through this contextual analysis, the groundwork is laid for a comprehensive exploration of Moluccan neighbourhoods. By examining the historical background, providing an overview of these neighbourhoods, and introducing the case study locations, this chapter aims to shed light on the intricate interplay between culture, identity, and urban space within the Moluccan community in the Netherlands.

- 3.1 Layers in Time
- 3.2 An Overview of the Moluccan Neighbourhoods
- 3.3 Introducing the Case Study Locations

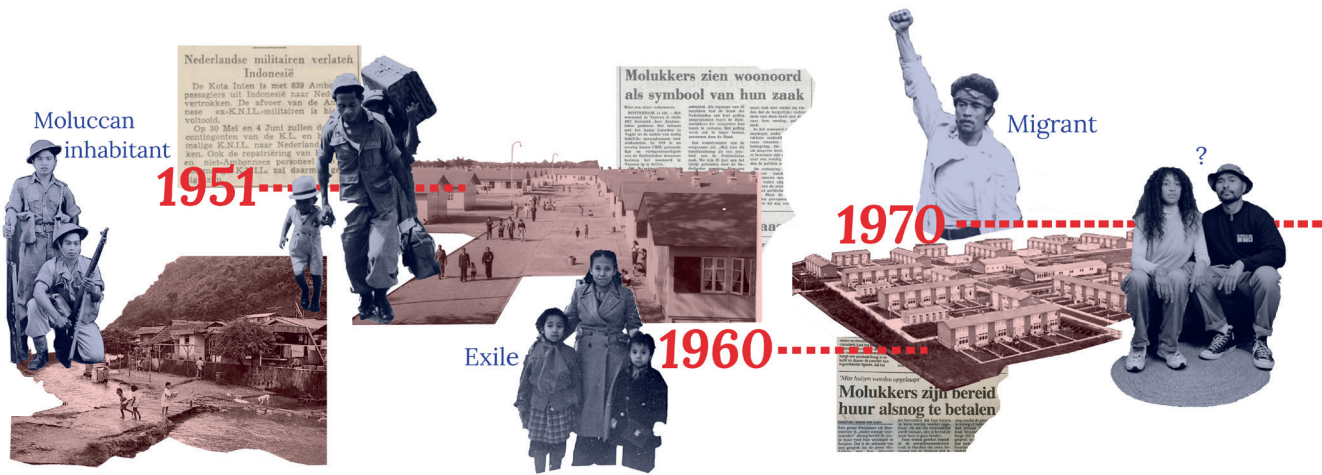
3.1 Layers in Time

The historical analysis of the Moluccans (Figure 31) reveals the reasons for their migration to the Netherlands and their settlement in Moluccan neighbourhoods. This analysis identifies three significant layers that are crucial to this project. The middle layer focuses on historical events, encompassing the events that occur and impact the course of the other two layers.

The second layer, depicted in blue in figure 30, represents the evolving identity of Moluccans. It begins with their origins as residents of the Moluccan islands. However, upon their temporary residence in the Netherlands and the loss of Indonesian citizenship, Moluccans become stateless and classified as exiles. Subsequently, as they accept that returning to the Moluccas is not feasible, their identity undergoes another transformation, and they are recognized as migrants. With more than three generations of Moluccans having settled in the Netherlands and the emergence of mixed marriages, the

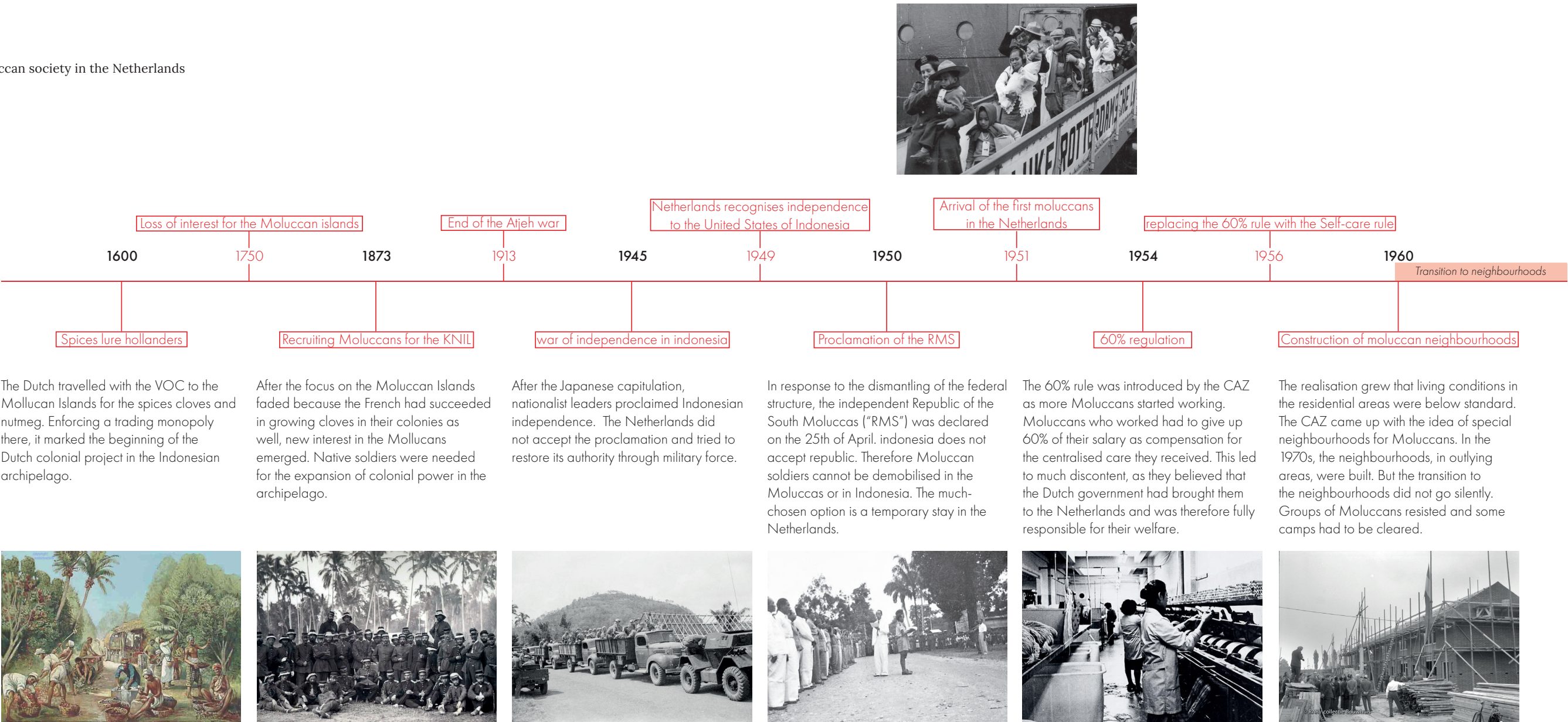
Moluccan identity is once again evolving. It is now influenced by a fusion of various cultures, as younger generations take pride in their Moluccan heritage while also feeling connected to the Netherlands due to their upbringing. This new Moluccan identity can no longer be easily defined in distinct terms.

The third layer identified focuses on the changing residential circumstances of Moluccans. Similar to the identity layer, the third layer pertaining to the residential setting of Moluccans is also subject to significant changes influenced by major events. These changes impact the living environment of the majority of Moluccans, often occurring within a relatively short period of time. Initially, Moluccans reside in “kampongs” within the Moluccan Islands, where they live in bamboo or wooden houses and have a strong connection to nature, spending much of their time outdoors. However, upon their arrival in the Netherlands, their living environment undergoes

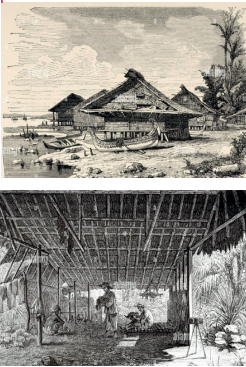


a drastic change. They are placed in temporary residential settlements where the focus is geared towards temporality. The living spaces are minimal, and the climate does not allow for the same outdoor lifestyle as in the Moluccan Islands. Nevertheless, the communal way of living in these settlements still bears similarities to life in the kampongs. As their stay in the Netherlands becomes permanent, many Moluccans relocate to specially built Moluccan neighbourhoods. While this transition was not voluntary for everyone, for many, it is their first experience living in spacious brick houses. The shift from kampong life to neighbourhood life allows for the preservation of Moluccan values. However, with a growing number of Moluccans opting to live outside of Moluccan neighbourhoods, the residential situation of the Moluccan community is no longer uniform.

30 | The three layers: historical events, identity and living environment



How did the Moluccan people live?



top: village on Seram (Wallace, 2020)
below: Kitchen of a traditional house in Dodinga (Raffray, 2022)



Street in Ambon ca. 1900 (Seleky, 2020)



Communal dining area



The Biezen barracks camp



The Biezen barracks camp



Communal dining area



Moluccan neighbourhood in Tiel



Moluccan man in his living room

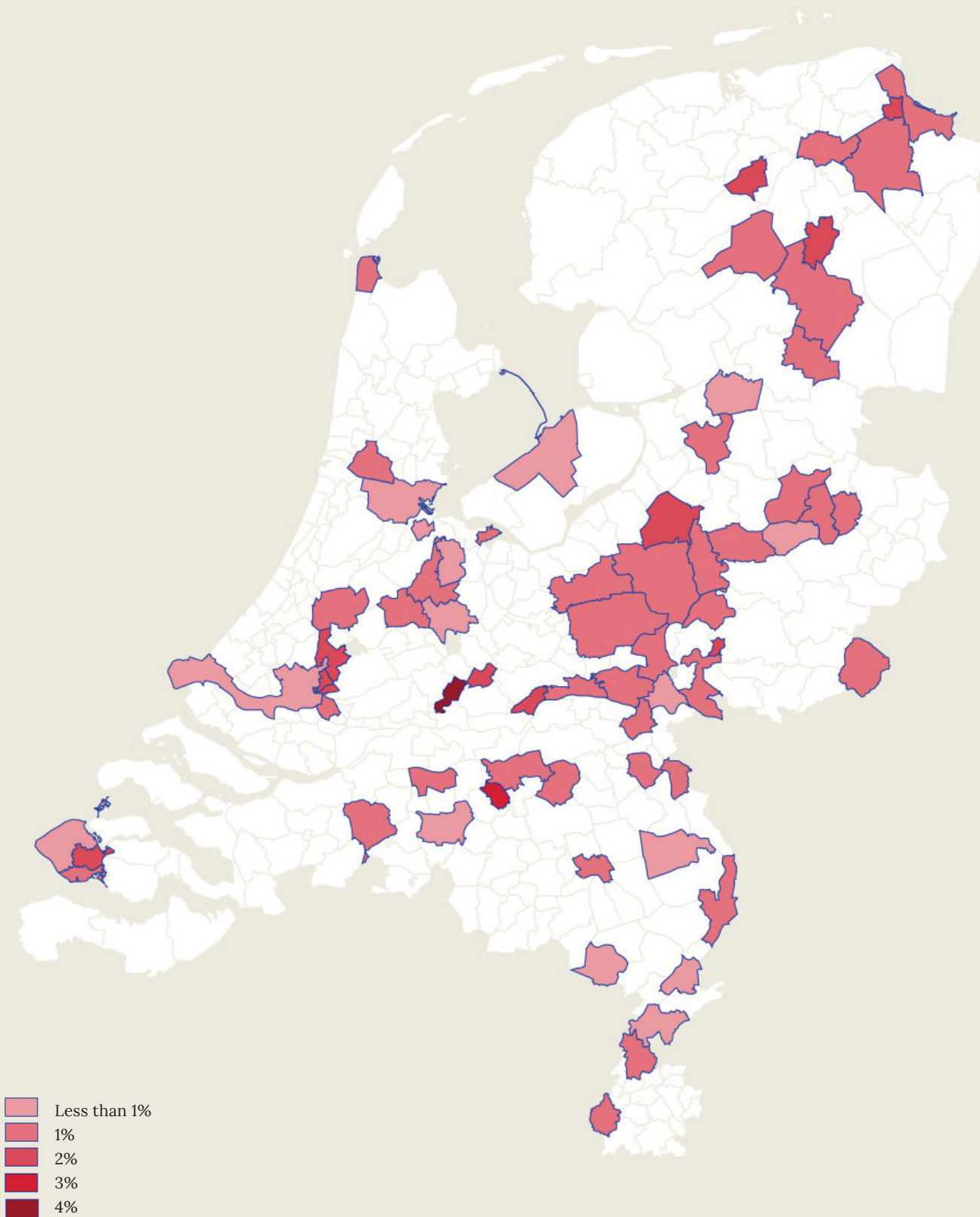
3.2 An overview of the Moluccan neighbourhoods

The Netherlands comprises 66 municipalities that currently have or have previously had a Moluccan neighbourhood. This information is based on the assumption of current municipal boundaries. According to recent parliamentary documents, as of 2017, there were still 45 municipalities in the Netherlands with a Moluccan neighbourhood (Minister of Social Affairs and Employment, 2020). It is important to note that these areas are not strictly defined administrative neighbourhoods, but can range from a few single streets or blocks of houses to larger areas with over 170 dwellings.

Moluccan neighbourhoods are distributed across the entire country, with at least one municipality hosting such a neighbourhood in each province. Gelderland has the highest number of Moluccan neighbourhoods, with a total of 15. On the other hand, Friesland and Flevoland each have only one Moluccan neighbourhood. In municipalities with the highest proportion of Moluccan residents, the population ranges from 2% to 3%. This is observed in Vught, Assen, Culemborg, Doesburg, Krimpen aan de IJssel, Eemsdelta, Tiel, Zuidplas, and Middelburg (MOZA, 2023).

The identification of specific streets or houses within Moluccan neighbourhoods is often unclear. Therefore, the objective of this sub-study was to provide an overview of these neighbourhoods. The initial data for this investigation was derived from the CBS survey conducted in 2020, which focused on municipalities with a relatively high number of Moluccan residents. However, the study did not delve into the specifics of the neighbourhoods themselves. In order to gather more information, variables such as the presence of Moluccan churches or mosques, Moluccan community buildings, and Moluccan homes for the elderly were considered. Additionally, websites and podcasts that described Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands were consulted.

The comprehensive catalogue of identified Moluccan neighbourhoods is depicted in Figure 33 and Figure 34. Overall, it is evident that these neighbourhoods share many similarities. The predominant housing typology consists of two-story single-family houses with sloping roofs, although there are a few exceptions with apartments. Consequently, these neighbourhoods may not be easily distinguishable at first glance. Even when considering the context, some neighbourhoods form distinct ensembles, while others blend in with the surrounding dwellings. Upon comparing their spatial layouts, it becomes apparent that most neighbourhoods consist of streets, although some also incorporate courtyards or alleyways. Several neighbourhoods have adopted names that pay homage to Moluccan culture. Another significant aspect reflected in the spatial design of these neighbourhoods is the presence of a church or community building, which holds a prominent position within the neighbourhood. Often, there is also a sizable public space located centrally within the neighbourhood.



32 | Municipalities with a Moluccan neighbourhood and the proportion of people with a Moluccan background (CBS, 2018)





33 | Neighbourhood catalogue in street view

3.3 Introducing the Case Study Locations

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the spatial characteristics and usage of space in Moluccan neighbourhoods, the decision was made to analyse two Moluccan neighbourhoods in Vught. These neighbourhoods were also compared with the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld, which serves as the designated site for the renovation project. This selection aimed to create a balanced mix of locations that share a strong connection with the research objective. The following conditions were taken into account:

- Mixed neighbourhood versus homogeneous (exclusively Moluccan residents)
- High population share versus low population share of Moluccans in the entire municipality
- A strong relationship with the former residential settlement versus a completely new housing development
- Renovated neighbourhood versus neighbourhood in its original state
- The presence of a church and/or community building
- The influence of the Moluccan community in the construction process.

Vught [Lunetten]

Year of construction: 1993

3% = Proportion of inhabitants with moluccan background in the Municipality Vught

108 single-family houses excl. barracks

Types: barracks

+Moluccan church in old barack

+Community building

+Memorial: barack (build in 1900 and part of National Monument Camp Vught)

This Moluccan neighbourhood, often called 'the camp', still has a strong relationship with the Lunetten camp. It has a strong relationship with the former residential settlement Lunetten. The current housing is on the same site as the old

barracks and is also built in the same style. This neighbourhood is analysed because life here is still very similar to life in the kampongs on the Moluccan islands.

Vught [Vijverhof]

Year of construction: 1987

3% = Proportion of inhabitants with moluccan background in the Municipality Vught

142 single-family houses excl. barracks

Types: single-family houses and apartments

+Moluccan church: Petrakerk

The Vijverhof neighbourhood was designed with the help of a Moluccan architect and government official. It is interesting to explore what were the principles they worked with. A large part of the Moluccan community in Vught continued to live at Lunetten camp. Therefore, this is a mixed neighbourhood where about 35 Moluccan families still live.

Barneveld [Columbusstraat]

Year of construction: 1973 (renovated in 2011)

1% = Proportion of inhabitants with moluccan background in the Municipality Barneveld

112 single-family houses

Types: single-family rowhousing

+Molukse Evangelische Kerk Ichthus

+Stichting Batu Tjapeu

+Elderly home: Rumah Maluku

+Memorial: Statue of the three generations in the city centre

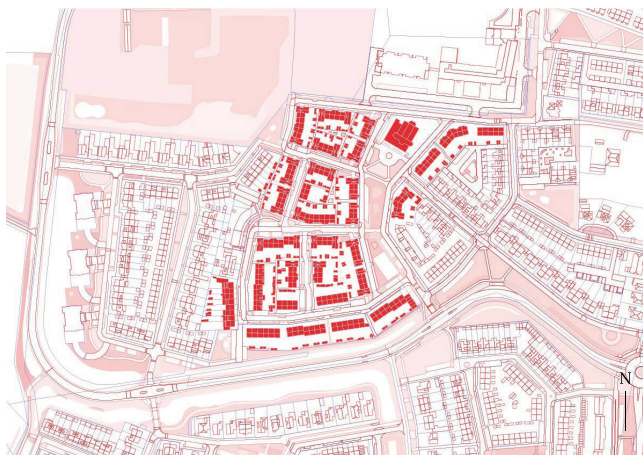
Barneveld's Moluccan neighbourhood is no longer homogenous. The Moluccan neighbourhood is no longer fully governed by priority regulations solely for Moluccans, resulting in households without a Moluccan background residing alongside them. Nevertheless, the Moluccan community in Barneveld remains a resilient and tight-knit community, partly because of the presence of the Moluccan elderly home.



34 | Vught [Lunetten]



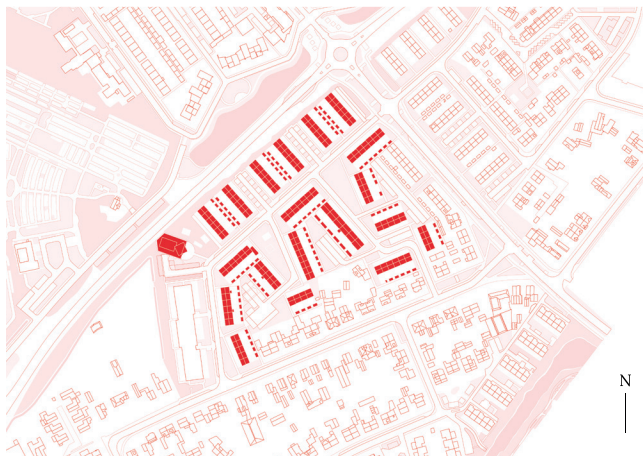
35 | Dwellings in Camp Lunetten (fieldtrip 14.12.22)



36 | Vught [Vijverhof]



37 | Dwellings in Vijverhof (fieldtrip 30.12.22)



38 | Barneveld [Columbusstraat]



39 | Dwellings at the Columbusstraat (fieldtrip 10.04.23)

4. Spatializing Moluccan Heritage

This chapter focuses on the case study locations as a means to spatialize Moluccan culture. It addresses the following research questions: How have Moluccan neighbourhoods emerged and developed over time? What are the spatial characteristics of Moluccan neighbourhoods and what makes them unique? What spatial patterns can be found in the use of inhabitants and visitors that showcase the identity of the Moluccan neighbourhoods?

- 4.1 Evolution of Neighbourhoods Over Time
- 4.2 Existing Moluccan network in the Municipality
- 4.3 Expressing segregation through porosity
- 4.4 Divergent ratio of public and private space
- 4.5 Transitions zones and their origin
- 4.6 Public Life Patterns
- 4.7 The Significance of the Institutions
- 4.8 Cultural Expression in the Public Sphere
- 4.9 The kitchen as heart of the home

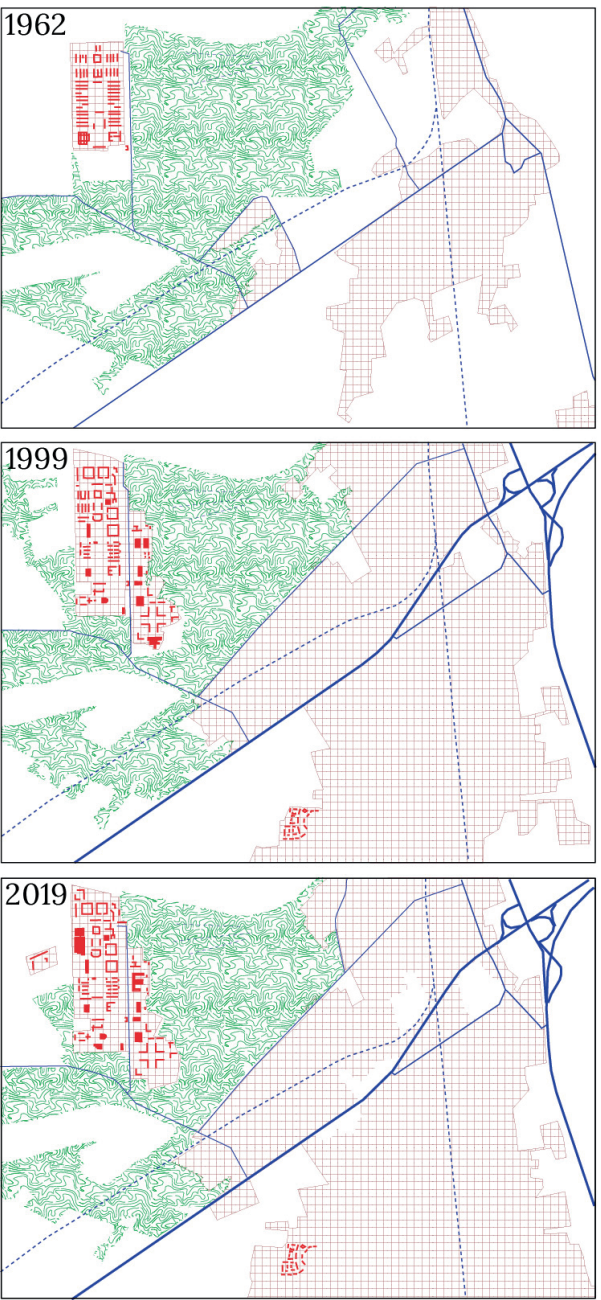
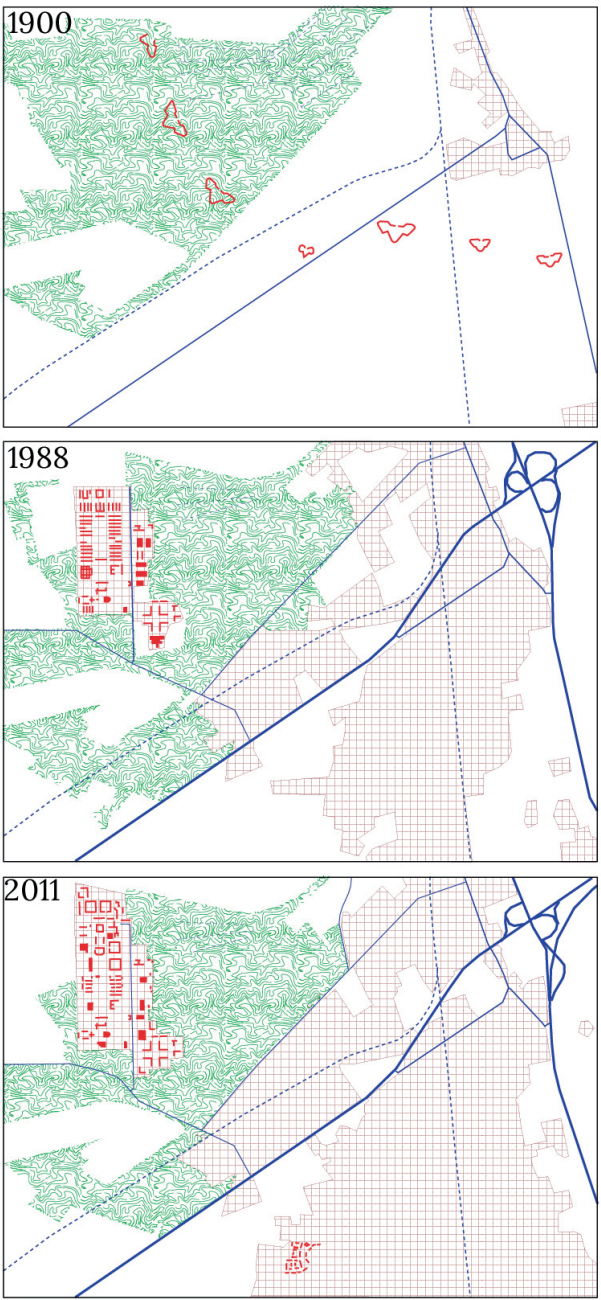
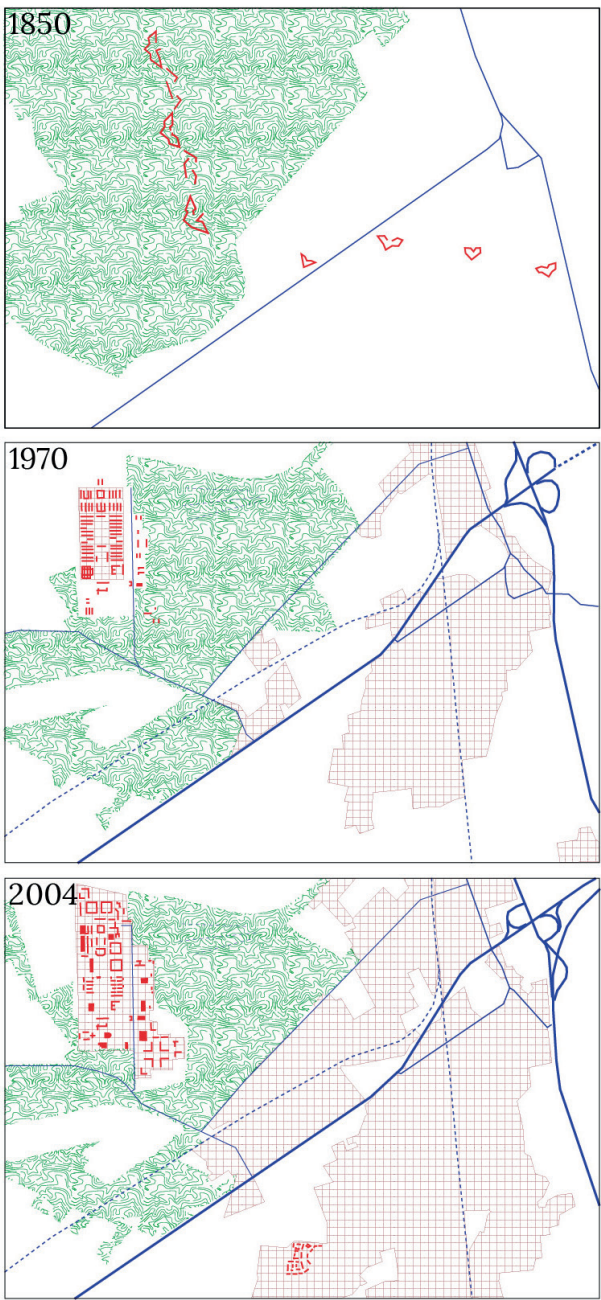
4.1 Evolution of Neighbourhoods Over Time

Moluccan neighbourhoods are strategically positioned in specific locations, carefully chosen to fulfil particular purposes. These neighbourhoods often occupy outskirts of towns and villages or reside near motorways, as can be seen in Bovensmilde and Hoogeveen. Some are intentionally placed near cemeteries, as exemplified by Nijmegen, while others are found alongside railways, like Breda and Wierden. It is also common to find Moluccan neighbourhoods in close proximity to industrial estates. In the 1960s, these neighbourhoods predominantly emerged in rural areas, but as time passed, these once-spacious regions have undergone complete development, as acknowledged by Rinsampessy (2023).

Another notable example can be found in Vught, where a Moluccan neighbourhood is situated near the site of the old residential settlement, Camp Vught. This deliberate placement acknowledges the historical significance of the area and fosters a sense of cultural continuity and connection to the past for the Moluccan community.

The military base surrounding the Moluccan neighbourhood in Vught has undergone expansion, resulting in significant changes for the area. The Moluccan camp, which was once considered a remote neighbourhood, now finds itself in closer proximity to the expanding military facilities. However, despite these physical changes, there is still a prevailing sense of segregation between the Moluccan community and mainstream society.

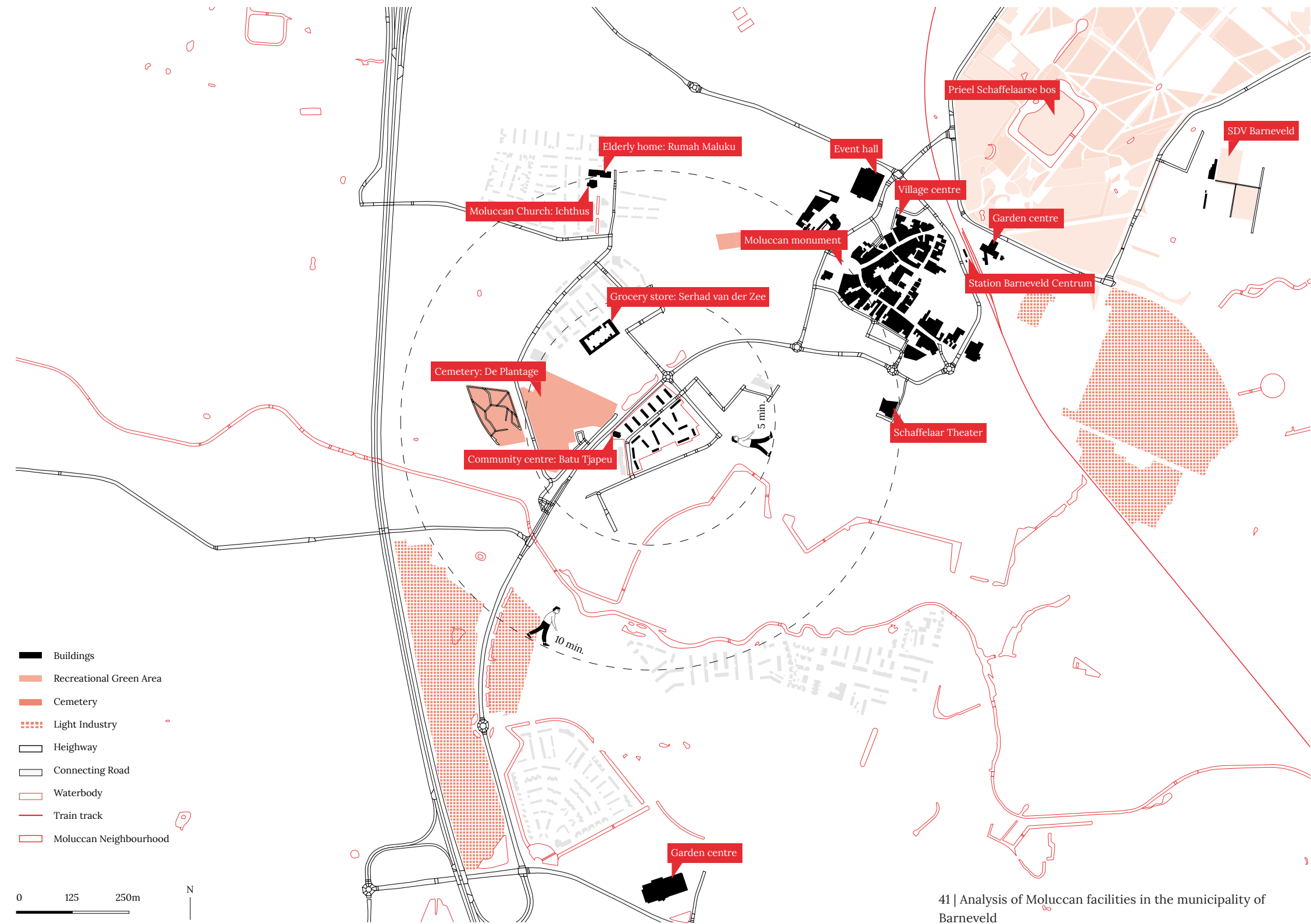
40 | Historical analysis
of the development of
neighbourhoods in Vught



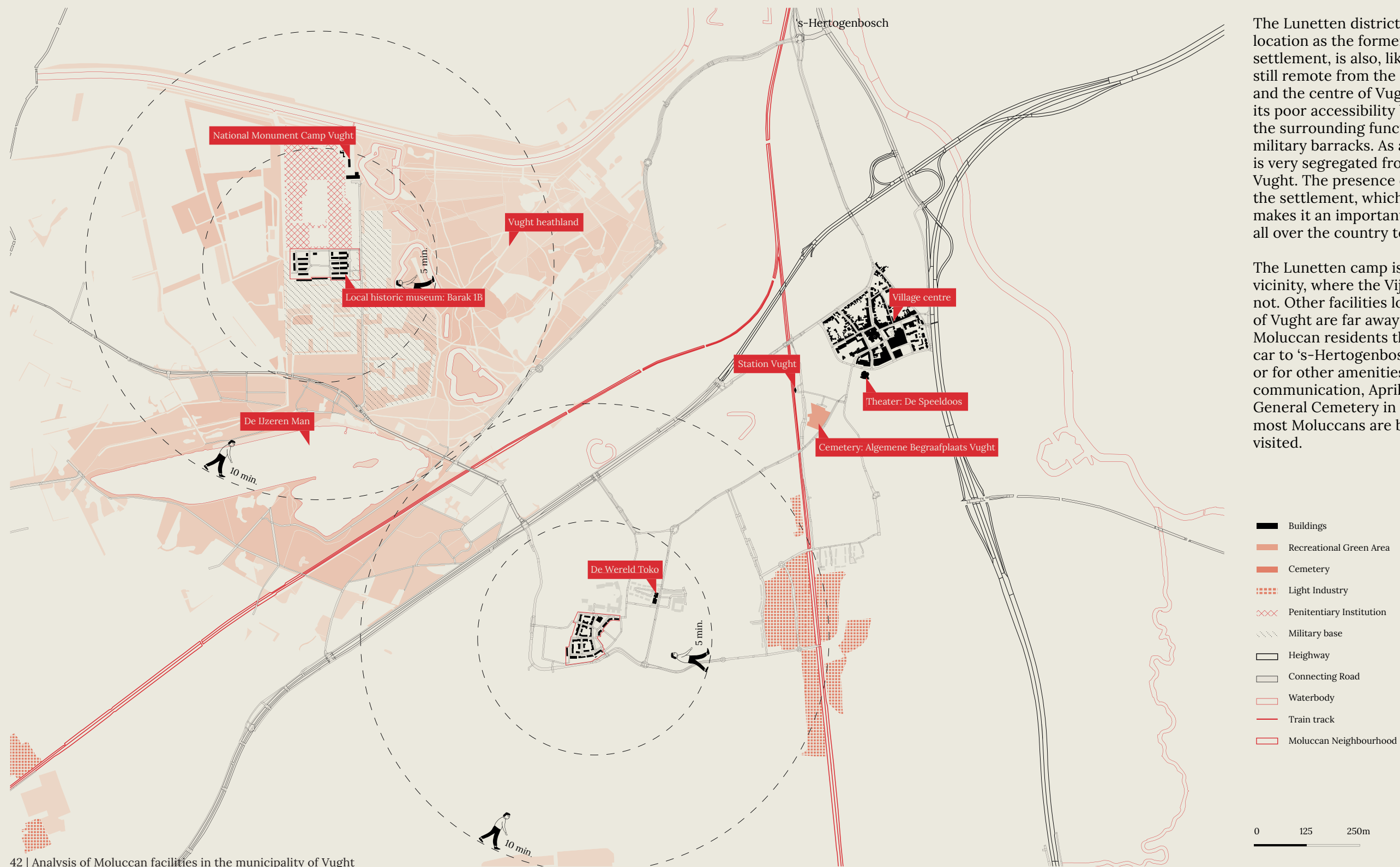
4.2 Existing Moluccan network in the Municipality

The Moluccan community has developed a network that includes facilities and services within municipalities. This network is crucial in connecting the Moluccan community to each other and to their cultural heritage.

For instance, the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld was built next to the cemetery where most Moluccans are buried and which is a much-visited place for the Moluccan community (A .Loupatty, personal communication, April 10, 2023). However, the church in this community is located further away, outside the neighbourhood, where eventually also the care home for Moluccan elderly, 'Rumah Maluku' was built. The neighbourhood in Barneveld has not only the community building, a toko, but also the other facilities of the centre nearby. In addition, it functions as a transit area from other neighbourhoods to the centre and is thus more connected to the entire Barneveld community.



41 | Analysis of Moluccan facilities in the municipality of Barneveld



The Lunetten district, which has the same location as the former Lunetten residential settlement, is also, like the residential settlement, still remote from the other residential areas and the centre of Vught. This is partly due to its poor accessibility by public transport and the surrounding functions of the prison and the military barracks. As a result, the neighbourhood is very segregated from the rest of society in Vught. The presence of the original barrack from the settlement, which now serves as a museum, makes it an important place for Moluccans from all over the country to memorialise history.

The Lunetten camp is lacking a toko in the vicinity, where the Vijverhof neighbourhood does not. Other facilities located mainly in the centre of Vught are far away from both neighbourhoods. Moluccan residents therefore more often go by car to 's-Hertogenbosch to visit a toko there or for other amenities (M. Tulaseket, personal communication, April 21, 2023). In addition, the General Cemetery in Vught is the cemetery where most Moluccans are buried, this place is regularly visited.

4.3 Expressing segregation through porosity

This chapter elaborates on the urban porosity of the neighbourhoods. The porosity refers to an enclave’s ability to accommodate public spaces, uses and movements, both for inhabitants and visitors. It examines factors such as the neighbourhood’s border conditions, its accessibility, and the ways in which it is experienced from both inside and outside.

The three case study locations differ in terms of porosity. For example, Camp Lunetten, which lies on the same location as the Lunetten residential settlement, has a very enclosed character, being surrounded by a wall on three sides of the area. On its northern side, it borders a penitentiary, which is surrounded by a wall. And the entire southern side of the neighbourhood also borders a wall. This separates the neighbourhood, from the military compound. On the western side of the neighbourhood there is also a wall, but the area behind it can be reached on foot. The east side, where the entrances to the neighbourhood are also located, has the most open character. Only a wide green strip lies between the main access road and the neighbourhood. This



44 | Main entrance to Camp Lunetten (fieldtrip 14.12.22)



43 | The entrance and exit of the residential resort (Werkgroep “50 jaar Lunetten,” 2001)

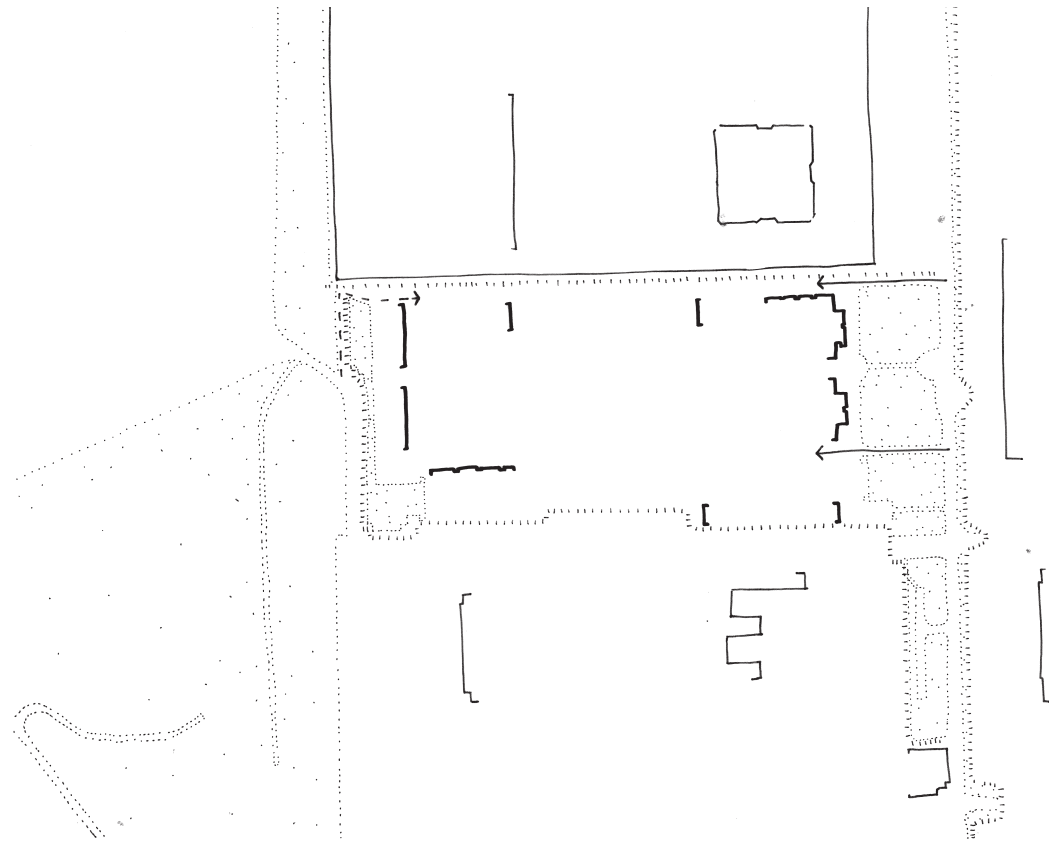
enclosed character is similar to how the situation was, when the camp was a residential settlement. Historical photos show how the residential resort was separated from the juvenile prison then.

Despite the closed nature of the enclave, a resident of Astorias street indicates that he sees about 2 to 8 runners a day walking past in front of his house (T. Parinussa, personal communication, December 14, 2022). And this is considered relatively normal. This may be so because the neighbourhood is one of the few ways, in this natural area, to go from east to west, due to the completely closed military base and penitentiary.

45 | Separation between juvenile prison “Nieuw-Vosseveld” and Lunetten (Werkgroep “50 jaar Lunetten,” 2001)



46 | The wall separating the Lunetten neighbourhood from the penitentiary (fieldtrip 14.12.22)



47 | Borders and entries, Vught, Lunetten [1:2000]

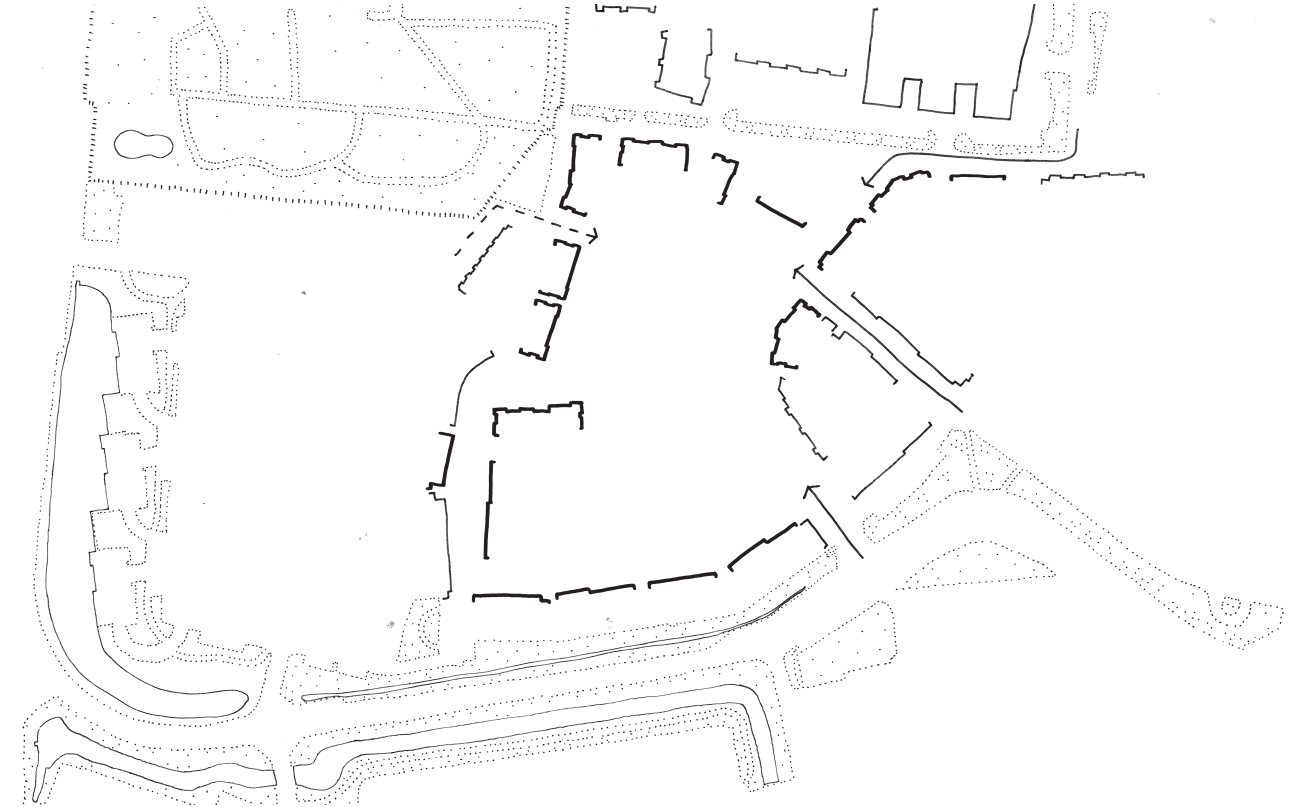
When looking at the Vijverhof neighbourhood in Vught it is easy to identify as an ensemble at building level, however, when looking at the whole neighbourhood and entering it, it is noticeable that it is very much intertwined with the surrounding buildings. For instance, there is only one direct entrance from main road, and the west side of the neighbourhood only has an entrance for foot and bicycle traffic. Additionally, the buildings located on the neighbourhood's edges tend to be inward-looking, thereby failing to engage with their surroundings.

The Moluccan neighborhood in Barneveld exhibits a similar characteristic to that of Vijverhof. Both neighborhoods are situated near a main access road that leads to several adjoining neighborhoods. Separated by a dense vegetated area, the buildings in these areas are inward-looking in orientation.

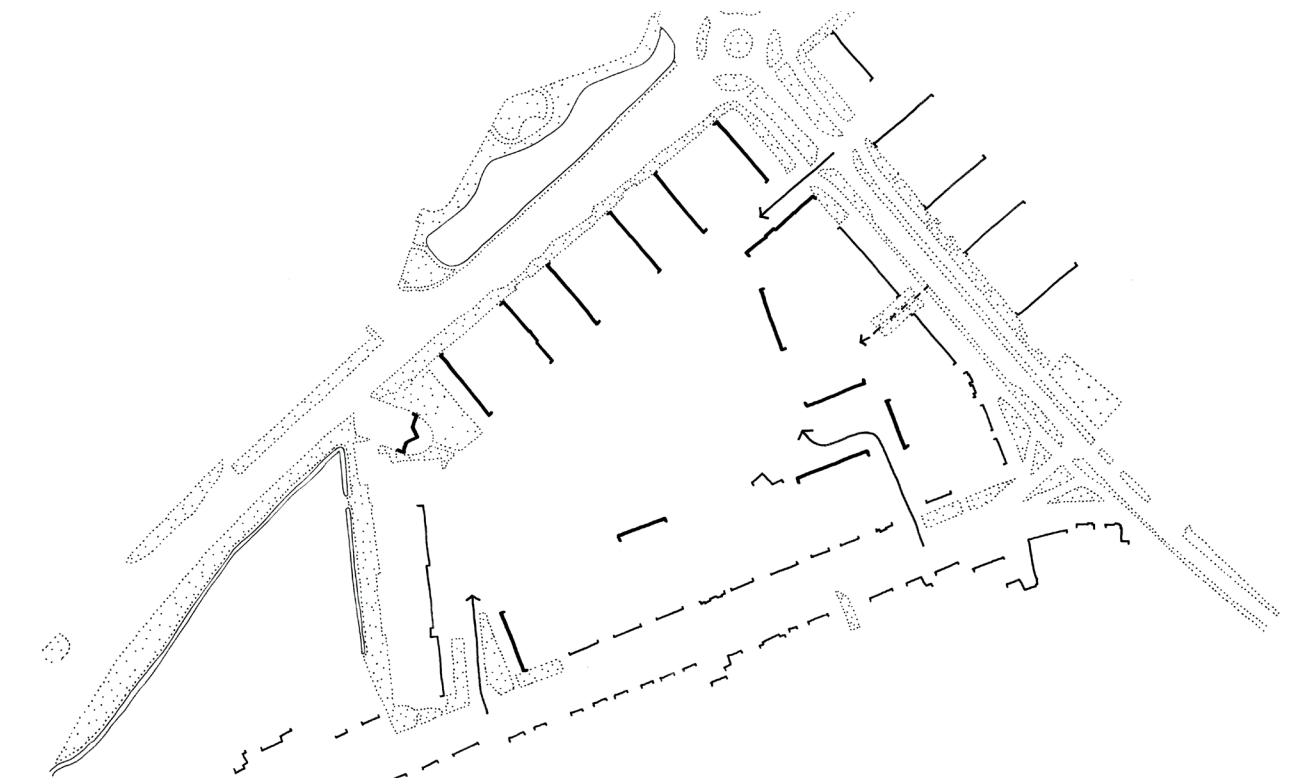
From this it is concluded that a territory was clearly demarcated in the residential settlements, especially at the entrances, but this was not carried through into the Moluccan neighbourhoods. However, one main entrance can be distinguished at all three neighbourhoods. What is visible in the neighbourhoods, however, is an inward-looking character of the buildings. Which causes the neighbourhoods to isolate themselves from their context.



48 | Main entrance, slow-traffic entrance and edge in Vught, Vijverhof (fieldtrip 30.12.22)



49 | Borders and entries, Vught, Vijverhof [1:2000]



50 | Borders and entries, Barneveld [1:2000]

4.4.Divergent ratio of public and private space



51 | Large, paved front gardens as transition zone from public to private in Barneveld (fieldtrip 10.04.2023)

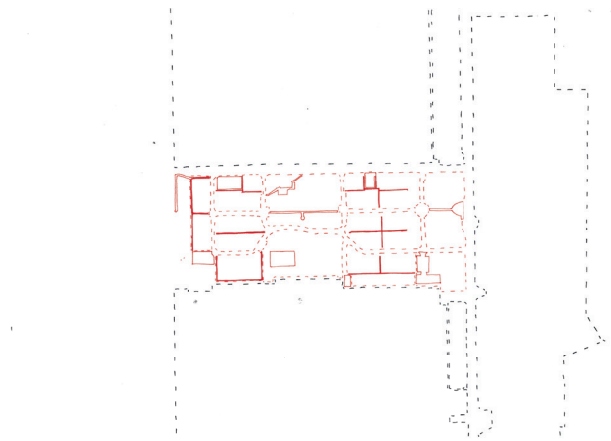


52 | An alley emerging from the Columbusstraat in Barneveld (fieldtrip 10.04.2023)

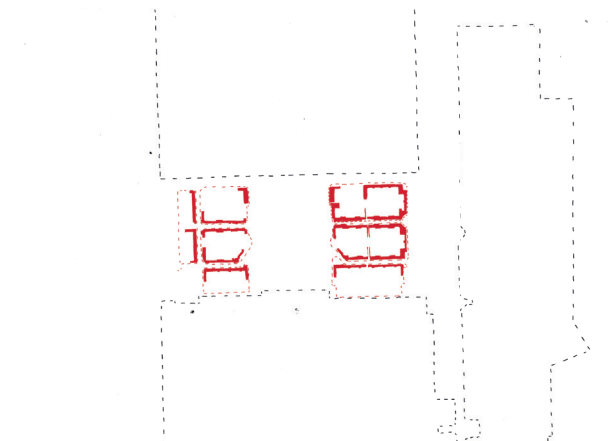
During the fieldwork, a difference was observed between the ratio of public and private space in a building block. This ratio can be an important factor for the overall character and liveability of a neighbourhood. The public spaces in neighbourhoods are the squares, streets and lawns, these provide space for social interaction. While a sense of privacy and security is sought in the private spaces of a neighbourhood. These often consist of the houses and their front and back gardens.

In the neighbourhood in Barneveld, characterised more as a standard residential area, the public spaces of the alleys and courtyards have been neglected in favour of larger, more open public spaces. However, in the Vijverhof neighbourhood, which was designed in collaboration with Moluccan architect Remy Matulessy, greater attention has been paid to the narrower and more intimate spaces within the neighborhood.

There is also a difference in the balance with front gardens and public spaces within a building block. In Barneveld, front gardens occupy a significant amount of space, but little consideration has been given to the alleys. Conversely, the Vijverhof neighbourhood in Vught displays the opposite, with more emphasis on the alleys and limited front gardens.



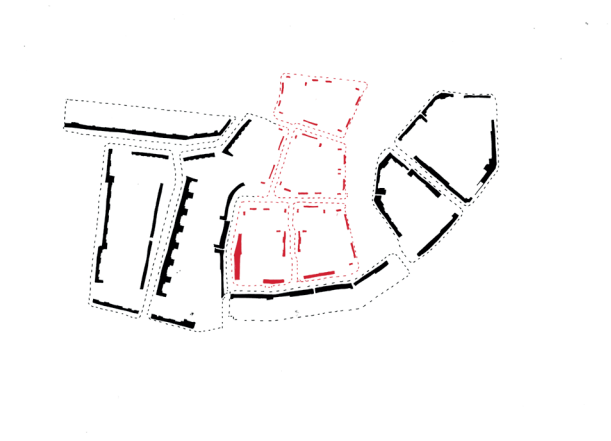
53 | Alleys and squares [Vught, Lunetten]



54 | Transition zones [Vught, Lunetten]



55 | Alleys and squares [Vught, Vijverhof]



56 | Transition zones [Vught, Vijverhof]



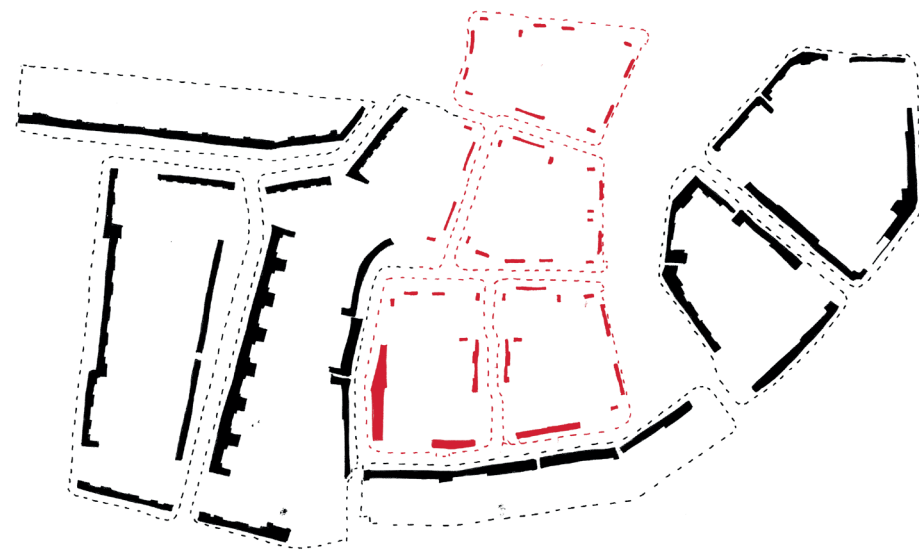
57 | Alleys and squares [Barneveld]



58 | Transition zones [Barneveld]



55 | Alleys and squares, Vught, Vijverhof [1:2000]



56 | Transition zones Vught, Vijverhof [1:2000]



59 | Alley leading to larger public area within the building block, Vijverhof, Vught (fieldtrip 30.12.22)



60 | Transition zone Vijverhof, Vught (fieldtrip 30.12.22)



61 | Alley with accesses to residential buildings, Vijverhof, Vught (fieldtrip 30.12.22)

What is striking about the Vijverhof neighbourhood is that an alley culture can be discovered. Numerous alleys lead to the inner courtyard, and entrances can be found both on the alleys and in the center of the block. Entrances are also situated on the alleys and in the middle of the block, a larger inner space can be found, with occasional greenery. So inside the building block there is a lot of space to be seen, where that space is not seen is on the streets at the outskirts of the block.

A contrast can be observed when comparing the alley culture of this neighbourhood with the surrounding areas. There, the opposite is apparent with a significant amount of space that is allocated for front gardens, while the alleys within the building blocks are noticeably narrow.

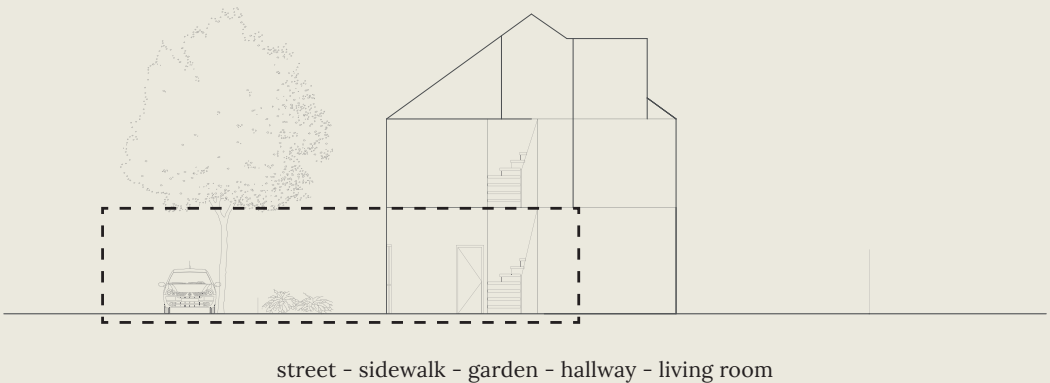
Thus, Moluccans have a greater need for private space, such as a larger backyard. And social interaction is preferably sought in the more intimate public spaces, such as by creating a network of alleys and semi-public courtyards.

4.5 Transitions zones and their origin

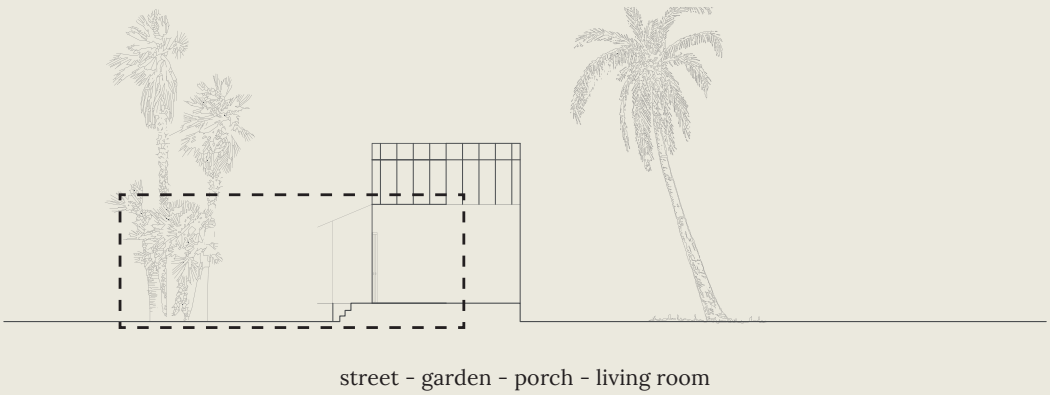
In researching the case studies, a difference was found in the way the transition zone from public to private was designed. This difference can be explained according to the origin of the residents the houses were built for. The traditional transition zone in the Dutch context consists of the street separated from the front garden with a sidewalk, then after the front door there is a hallway leading to the living room. In Moluccan island villages, a different transition zone is most commonly seen. Between the street and the house is a patch of green, which is not always demarcated as in the Netherlands, then a porch before entering the house. And on entering the house, one often steps directly into the living room.

Combinations of these two transition types are also found in the case studies. In Camp Lunetten, we do see clearly defined front gardens as in the Dutch type. What is more consistent with the Moluccan type is that mainly the door at the front garden is used to enter the house, where you directly enter the living room.

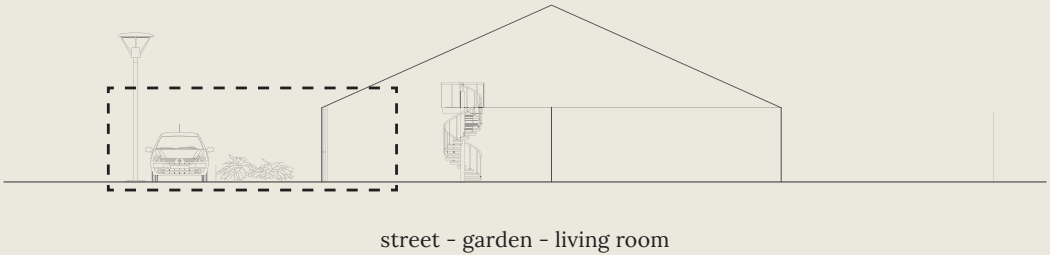
Engineer Remy Matulesy also made a combination between the two main types when designing the Vijverhof neighbourhood. Here, a veranda-like transition was applied, without a front garden, as is common in the Moluccan Islands. This variant does have a hallway after the front door, making it resemble the Dutch type again.



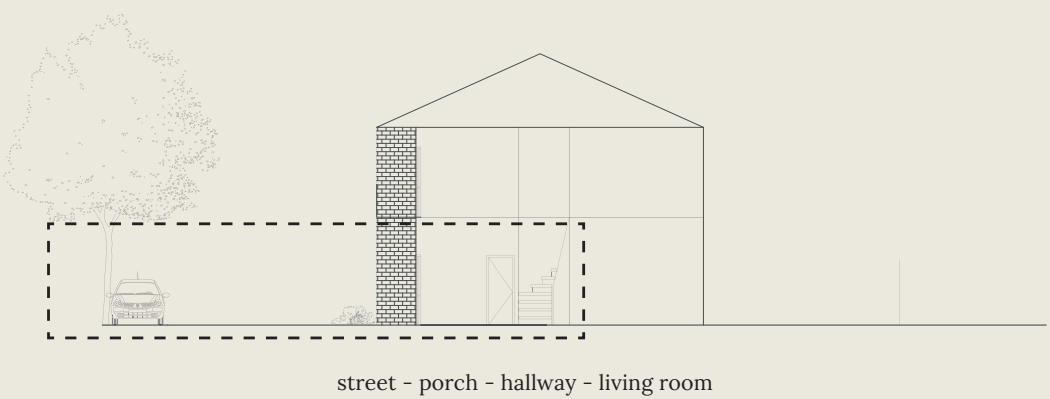
Typically Dutch
[seen in Moluccan
neighbourhood in
Barneveld]



Typically Moluccan



Lunetten transition



Vijverhof transition

4.6 Public Life Patterns

This study aimed to investigate the significance of public space for the Moluccan community. This was achieved through examining images of public life on the Moluccan islands, conducting interviews with residents, and making observations during fieldwork.

In the Moluccan islands, the larger villages have a village square that serves as a central space for activities such as markets (F. Steijlen, personal communication, February 14, 2023). In contrast, the smaller villages lack squares, and public life occurs on the streets (A. Loupatty, personal communication, April 10, 2023). However, the rule of survival dominates, resulting in limited public life.

63 | Street in the village Haria, Saparua, Moluccan Islands
(Google Maps, 2021)

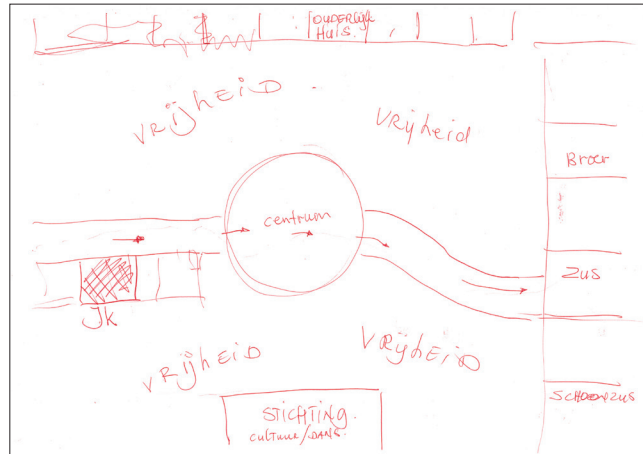


64 | Market ‘Mardika’ in the city of Ambon, Moluccan Islands
(Indonesia Kaya, 2022)

In the examined case study neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, also a limited amount of public life was observed. Most social activities and interactions take place indoors within the houses. The layout of the neighbourhoods contributes to this situation. According to Moluccan residents, the neighbourhoods are described as “Dutch, because they are so ordered. It can be a bit tropical and exciting” (T. Parinussa, personal communication, December 14, 2022). Another

“Dutch, because they are so ordered. It can be a bit tropical and exciting”

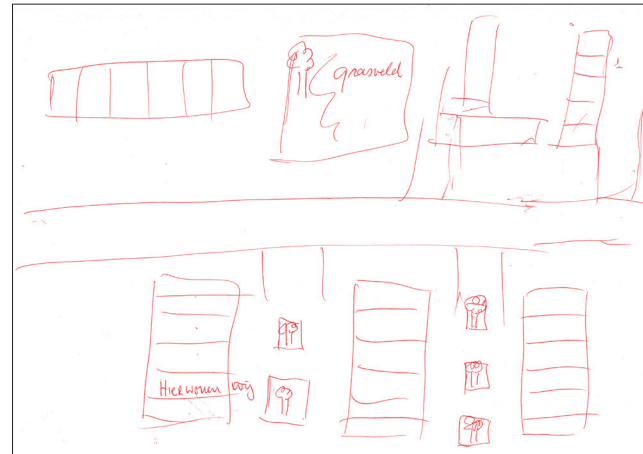
resident from the Vijverhof neighbourhood also characterizes the neighbourhoods as being ordered and structured (M. Tulaseket, personal communication, April 21, 2023). It is evident that this layout does not align with the preferred experience of Moluccans in their neighbourhoods. There is a desire for neighbourhoods that encourage more wandering and exploration.



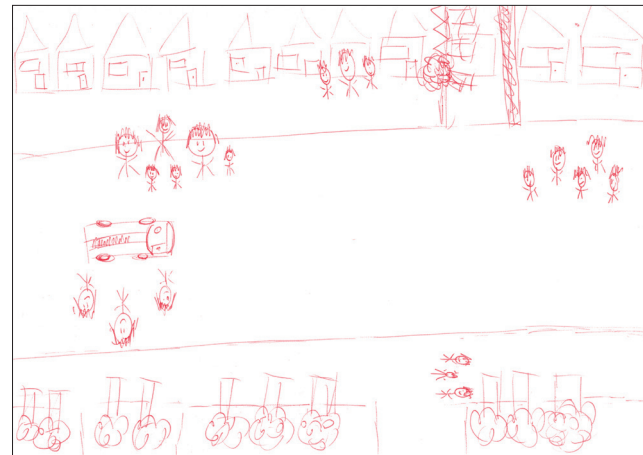
65 | Mindmap of Lunetten Camp (L. Hehanussa, personal communication, February 23, 2023)



67 | Mindmap of Lunetten Camp (T. Parinussa, personal communication, December 14, 2022)



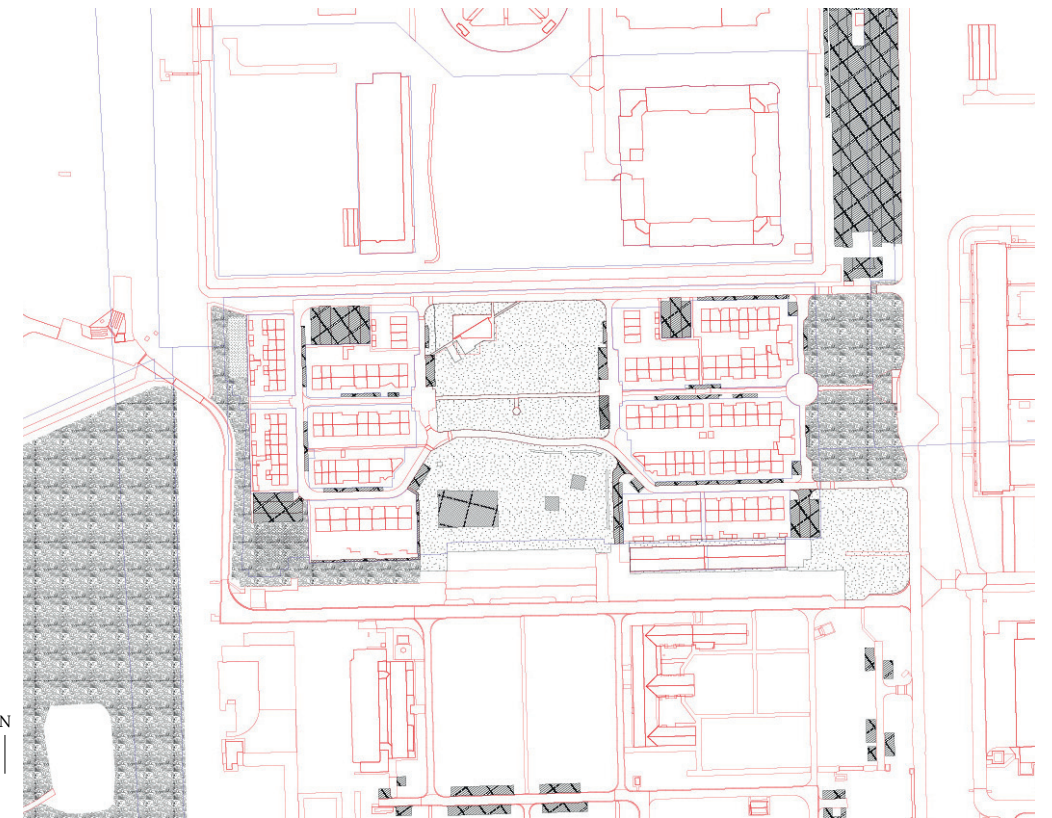
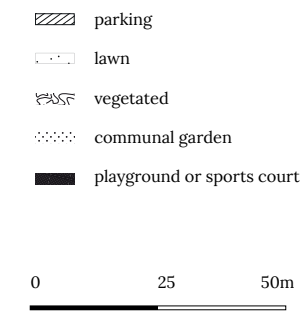
66 | Mindmap of Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld (A. Loupatty, personal communication, April 10, 2023)



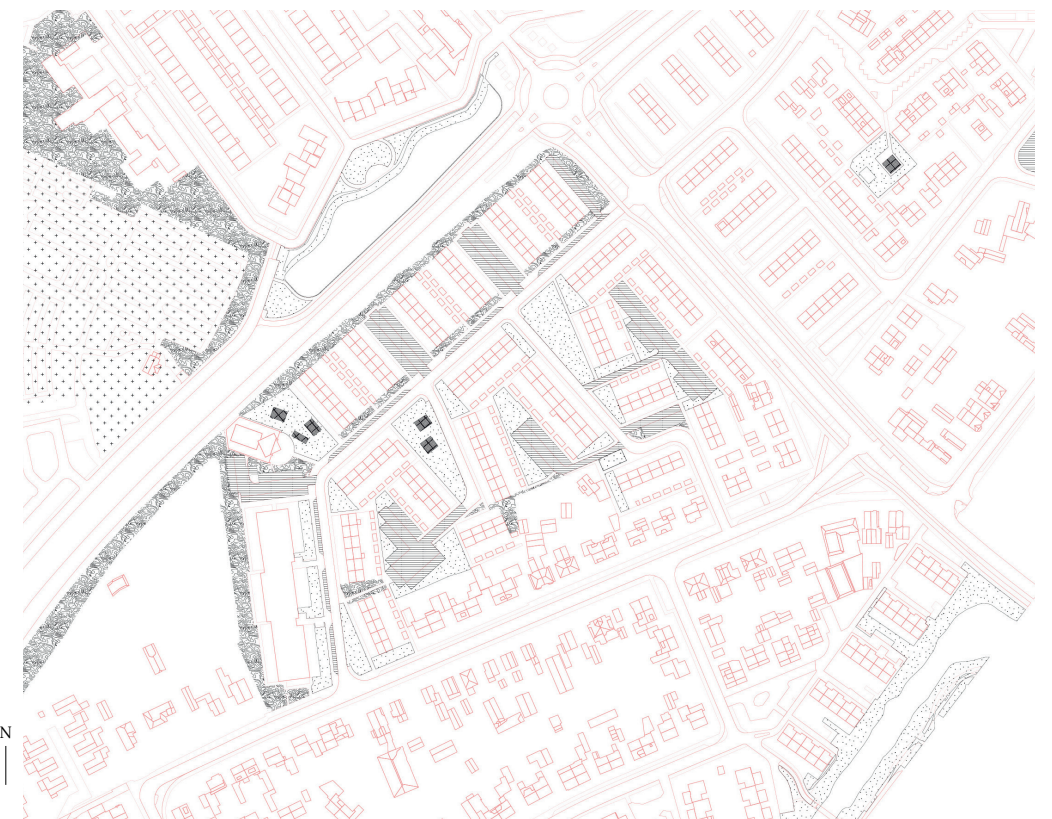
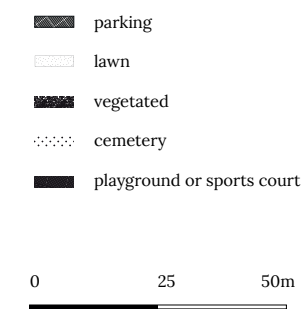
68 | Mindmap of Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld (E. Loupatty, personal communication, April 10, 2023)

From mind maps made by Moluccan neighbourhood residents, it is evident that public spaces are seen as significant places, with most of them drawn at the centre. In Lunetten, the large public space in the centre of the neighbourhood is prominent, but importantly, community building also clearly plays an important role there. On the other hand, in Barneveld, Columbus Street is mainly drawn and referred to as a gathering space for residents, similar to how streets are used on the Moluccan islands.

69 | Typologies of public spaces Lunetten, Vught

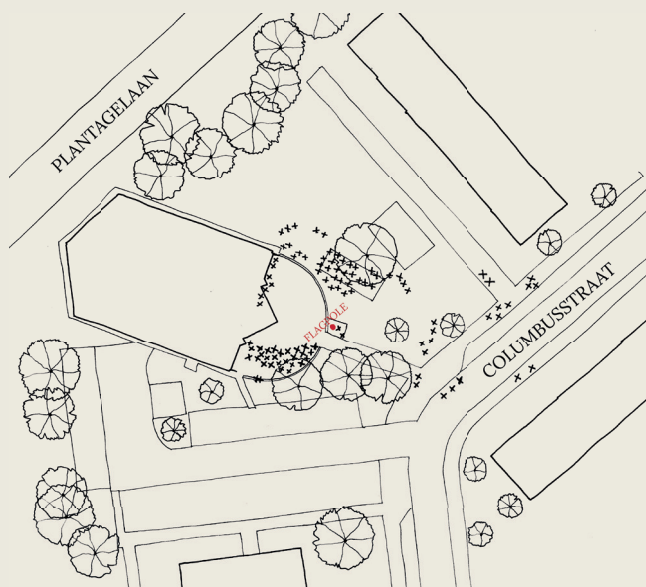


70 | Typologies of public spaces Barneveld





71 | Hoisting the flag ceremony at the community building in Barneveld (Fieldtrip 25.04.2023)



72 | Position of the people attending the ceremony on april 25

The utilization of public space varies considerably during ceremonies. For instance, on April 25th, which is RMS Independence Day, activities take place throughout the day at the community building. However, the day starts with a flag-hoisting ceremony, with about ninety Moluccans from the neighbourhood and the wider community gathered around the flagpole. It is worth noting that the paved area in front of the community building is relatively empty, and most people position themselves on the grass, playground equipment, or at a distance by the street. On this day, Moluccans also hang the RMS flag outside their homes, and the street is decorated with balloons and stickers.



4.7 The Significance of the Institutions

There is a important role for institutions in the neighbourhoods. Many of the neighbourhoods that still exist have a church or community building, as a meeting place for the Moluccans in the neighbourhood and those from the wider community. These facilities are perceived as public space for the Moluccan community.

Interviews with experts on Moluccan culture and the neighbourhoods emphasise that institutions such as churches and community buildings are very important in maintaining the neighbourhoods and social cohesion within them. According to Ichtus Rihanra, the level of



73 | Baileo, traditional house or place of ceremony (Baileo Traditional House, the Cultural Product of the Maluku People, 2022)

togetherness in the neighbourhoods depends on having such a meeting place. Symbolically, the church is more the place for meeting, however, in more and more neighbourhoods, it is occurring that the community can no longer sustain the church and the church is becoming less important in the community. Unless the church is open to other functions and less static as ‘the house of god’, churches can be spared (E. Rinsampessy, personal communication, February 17, 2023). Otherwise,

community buildings will have to become the central meeting point of the neighbourhood. The renovation of neighbourhoods should also address those institutions: “This is the place to be socially and economically connected and to ensure that residents continue to feel senang (translated as: comfortable) in the future.” (R. Sohilait, personal communication, February 14, 2023). Above all, it is about having a physical place where people can come together (E. Rinsampessy, personal communication, February 17, 2023). And for the identity of neighbourhoods, it is important that institutions are recognisable (F. Steijlen, personal communication, February 14, 2023). This is currently done in the neighbourhoods in varies ways. In Camp Lunetten, for instance, the church is still housed in the only original barracks from the settlement, and in Barneveld the community building is named after a rock in the Moluccan Islands.

A recognisable meeting place in villages in the central Moluccan Islands is the Baileo. The word Baileo is derived from balai, being the platform on a ship. It serves as a central meeting place where villagers come together for ceremonies (Building the Baileo, 2019). Both Christians and Muslims respect the baileo and therefore it brings people from different backgrounds together. The Baileo is built without walls, meaning the spirit of the ancestors can come and go freely. As a result, the building also becomes a meeting space in the public sphere. The advantage of this indoor meeting place, unlike churches and community buildings, is that it can be accessed at all times.



74 | Bahtera church (fieldtrip 14.12.22)

Church, Camp Lunetten, Vught

The church is situated in the only remaining original barracks of the Lunetten camp. In the front of the building there is a museum and the church has its place at the back. Besides the church, the neighbourhood also has a community building. This is where most events for local residents take place.



75 | Petra church (fieldtrip 30.12.22)

Church, Vijverhof, Vught

The church has a prominent location in the neighbourhood. However, it does not have an important function for most of the neighbourhood's non-Moluccan residents. Also, not many activities are organised in the church and none are organised for non-Moluccan neighbourhood residents. In the past, there used to be a community building in the neighbourhood, where activities were organised.



76 | Batu Tjapeu (fieldtrip 10.04.2023)

Community builing, Barneveld

The community building is named after the rock ‘Batu Tjapeu’, which can be found on the Moluccan Islands. Besides the church, which is located outside the neighbourhood, the community building is where most events are organised for the community.

4.8 Cultural Expression in the Public Sphere

Elements were spotted during fieldwork that refer back to residents’ cultural background. These expressions of cultural identity can strengthen the identity of the place. Whereas the symbolic value of a work of art can help foster the building of a collective connection, as well as an individual attachment to place (Feller, 2010). When these symbols strongly refer to Moluccan culture, it makes the place recognisable as a Moluccan neighbourhood.

More formal references to Moluccan culture are found in the naming of streets. For instance, in Lunetten, the names of the arrival ships of the Moluccans in 1951 are used, while in Vijverhof the Moluccan name of birds is applied.

Informally, the RMS flag is widely used to signify the identity of the place, appearing in graffiti or as stickers on street lights.

It was expected to see an expression of culture at the entrances to the neighbourhoods, as

these are places that demarcate the territory. In the neighbourhoods in Vught, the entrances were not marked, as opposed to Barneveld. A young Moluccan resident of the neighbourhood commented, “I asked myself the question the other day when I drove into the neighbourhood. If I didn’t know this was the Moluccan neighbourhood, would I know it? You do see the grey bin with the Moluccan flag. And also the streetlight with the flag taped to it. First you had graffiti on the street writing ‘The Neighbourhood’, but that has now been removed.” (G. van Looij, personal communication, April 10, 2023). To this

‘I asked myself the question the other day as I drove into the neighbourhood.

If I didn’t know this was the Moluccan neighbourhood, would I know it?’

resident, it did matter that you can see that you are entering a Moluccan neighbourhood. The Vijverhof resident finds this less important for his own neighbourhood, however, for the Lunetten camp, which is authentically Moluccan, he finds identification more important.



78 | Cultural expression in the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld (fieldtrip 10.04.2023)



77 | Cultural expression in the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld (fieldtrip 25.04.2023)



79 | Cultural expression in the Lunetten Camp, Vught (fieldtrip 14.12.22)



80 | Cultural expression in the Moluccan neighbourhood Vijverhof, Vught (fieldtrip 30.12.22)

Flags are also occurring in the Vijverhof neighbourhood, however this is mixed community, which is also reflected in the flags hanging in the street. According to a resident with a Surinamese background, these flags have been hanging there since a neighbourhood event that revolved around the different ethnic backgrounds in the neighbourhood.



4.9 The kitchen as heart of the home

The scale of the individual home also includes housing preferences that emerge from culture. For the Moluccans, Moluccan cuisine is a reflection of the culture. Togetherness and sharing food is central (Rinsampessy, 1993). The kitchen is therefore an important component in a Moluccan household. A Moluccan kitchen should have a lot of capacity, is enclosed and located as an extension of the backyard.

Of the case studies, the kitchens of the Barneveld and Lunetten neighbourhoods are found to be too small: “The kitchens are too small. Moluccans have large families and often hold parties for many people. The kitchens are often one block that is completely stuffed.” (L. Hehanussa, personal communication, February 23, 2023). Therefore there is a need for a kitchen with greater capacity and since a lot of cooking is done with oil, onion and garlic (what in colloquial language is referred to as: *tumis tumis*), an enclosed kitchen is preferred.

The desired kitchen does show up in the homes in the Vijverhof neighbourhood. Here, the architects have created a kitchen that is generally larger than in typical Western-style houses to accommodate multiple people cooking and socialising at the same time.

In addition, in renovation projects of Moluccan neighbourhoods, residents also comment on the desired location of the kitchen. This is as an extension of the garden. An open kitchen at the front of the house is perceived as not pleasant (R. Sohilait, personal communication, February 14, 2023)



81 | Spacious kitchen in homes in the Vijverhof Moluccan neighbourhood (fieldtrip 21.04.23)

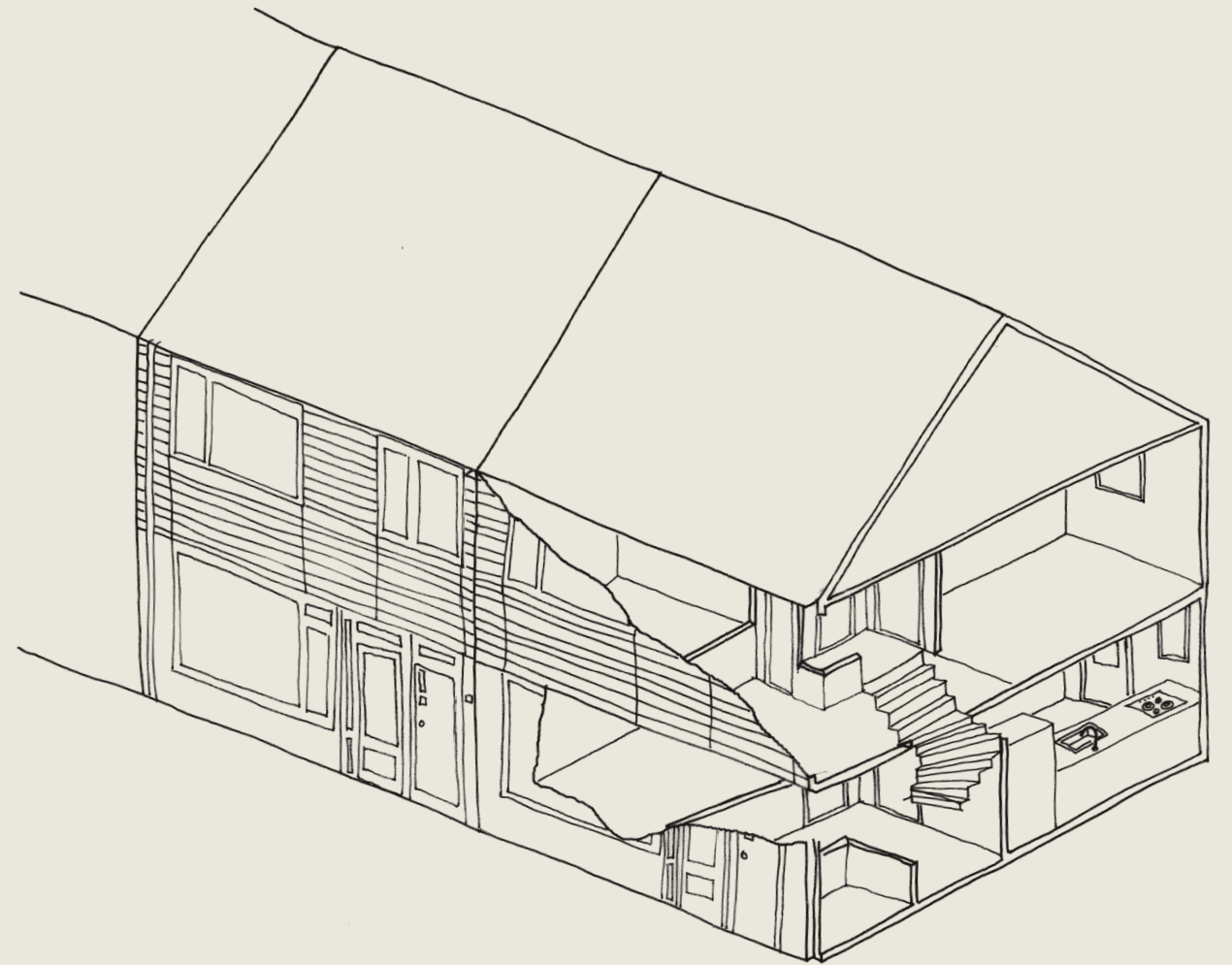


“The kitchens are too small. Moluccans have large families and often hold parties for many people. The kitchens are often one block that is completely stuffed.”



82 | Images above: Kitchen in Barack of Lunetten Camp (fieldtrip 23.02.23)

83 | Images above: Standard kitchen in dwellings at the Columbustraat in Barneveld (fieldtrip 10.04.23)



84 | Location of the kitchen in the houses on the Columbustraat in Barneveld

5. Forming scenarios

This chapter delves into the process of formulating scenarios for the future of Moluccan society and Moluccan neighbourhoods. These scenarios are based on valuable insights and perspectives gathered through interviews conducted with members of the Moluccan community. The following questions are being discussed: How do perceptions of Moluccan neighbourhoods differ among different generations and from non-Moluccan society? How will the Moluccan society and its culture evolve?

5.1 Generational Variations in Perspectives

5.2 Framing the Progression of Moluccan Neighbourhoods

5.1 Generational Variations in Perspectives

There are different perspectives on Moluccan neighbourhoods both among the Moluccan community and Dutch society. Within the Moluccan community itself, perspectives on neighbourhoods may also differ by generation.

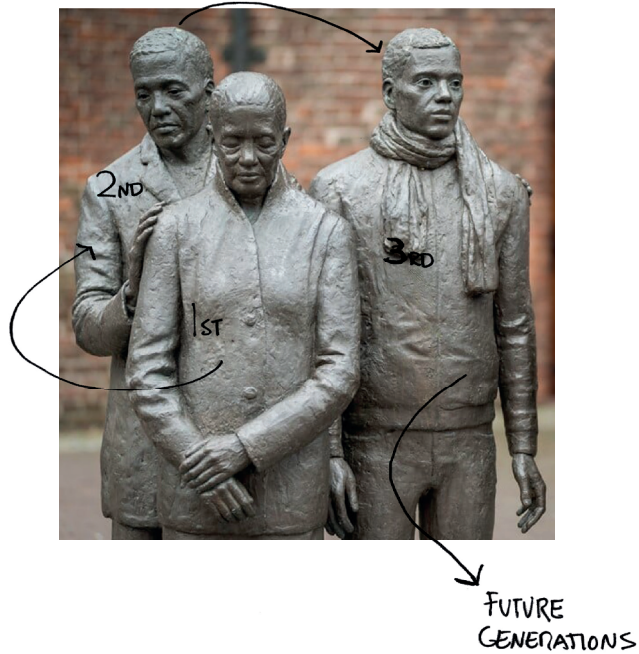
Within the Moluccan community itself, perspectives on neighbourhoods may also differ by generation. Older Moluccans may see these neighbourhoods as a source of pride and cultural identity, having lived there for most of their lives. They may view their neighbourhoods as safe places where Moluccan traditions and culture are preserved. However, younger generations of Moluccans may feel that their neighbourhoods are insular and disconnected from broader Dutch society. They may feel that Moluccan

neighbourhoods limit their opportunities and hinder their ability to integrate into Dutch society.

First Generation: The first generation of Moluccans who came to the Netherlands often have a strong attachment to their neighbourhoods. Many of them feel a sense of nostalgia for their homeland and may also have experienced discrimination and marginalization in Dutch society, which could have led to a desire to remain within their own community. This sentiment was especially prevalent in the residential settlements, and therefore they fought to preserve neighbourhoods such as Camp Lunetten (T. Parinussa, personal communication, December 14, 2022).

‘The neighbourhoods are a tribute to the first generation’

Second Generation: The second generation of Moluccans who grew up in the Netherlands has had the unprocessed war past and the traumatic experience of not being able to return to the Moluccan Islands systematically transmitted from the first generation (Rinsampessy, 2023). Many of them therefore look at the neighbourhoods as: ‘a tribute to the first generation’ (I. Rahanra, personal communication, February 11, 2023). While they may feel pride in their Moluccan heritage, and they have had more opportunities to integrate into Dutch society than their parents did, but they may still feel that their Moluccan identity sets



85 | Moluccan monument in Barneveld portraying three generations (Van Dijk, 2018)

de Volkskrant

Er is een spannende nieuwe generatie Molukse muzikanten opgestaan. Wat bindt hen?

Je kunt in de pop, hiphop en R&B niet meer om de nieuwe generatie Molukse artiesten heen. V spreekt zeven van hen over opgroeien in de Molukse wijken, over de pijn van de gemeenschap en hoe bevrijdend muziek kan zijn.

Dieuwertje Heuvelings 10 november 2022, 14:12

them apart from mainstream Dutch culture.

Third and Fourth Generation: The third generation of Moluccans who were born and raised in the Netherlands may have a more complex relationship with their neighbourhoods. With more dispersed housing and a strong increase in mixed marriages, they are much more attached to Dutch cultural norms and values. They are more likely to identify themselves as being a Moluccan Dutch or Dutch Moluccan (Rinsampessy, 2023). The third generation know their way around Dutch society and many see the neighbourhoods as outdated and disconnected from modern Dutch society, as Gloria Lappya discusses with her spoken word ‘Ontwijk’, mentioned in chapter 1.5. Nonetheless, they acknowledge the significance of conserving Moluccan culture and heritage and consider music and arts as a means to achieve this goal. In fact, something that is also being picked up by the Dutch media.

The fourth generation may even have less connection to the Moluccan neighbourhoods. For them, moving to a Moluccan neighbourhood is primarily a convenient option to find affordable housing in the Netherlands, where the housing shortage is high. It is seen more as a practical choice of the young people and they do not choose necessarily for the tight social network in the neighbourhood (I.Rahanra, personal communication, February 11, 2023). Meanwhile, there is already a fifth generation of Moluccans in the Netherlands. What their, and that of other future generations, perspective will be on Moluccan neighbourhoods will be further explained in the chapter 5.2 Predicting the Evolution of Neighbourhoods (Figure 86).

86 | Newspaper article describing the rise of 3rd generation Moluccans in the music industry: “An exciting new generation of Moluccan musicians has risen. What unites them?” (Volkskrant, 2023) (Hoogeboom-Noya. 2023)

5.2 Framing the Progression of Moluccan Neighbourhoods

The previous chapter illustrates the different perspectives on neighbourhoods across generations. With the idea that the third and fourth generations are looking for new ways to preserve culture and history, a prospect of what that means for neighbourhood development is outlined here.

Position in Dutch society

The first query is whether an ethnic enclave still has a place in a multicultural society like the Netherlands. However, the real question is why we want complete integration in the Netherlands. Throughout history, there have always been separated areas where people of a similar ethnical background or income level live together. It's similar to folk neighbourhoods or trailer camps (R. Sohilaït, personal communication, February 14, 2023), as they have such strong social cohesion that people can coexist and support one another. That should be the foundation for determining whether a neighbourhood should be maintained.



Prof. dr. Fridus Steijlen – extraordinary professor of Moluccan migration and culture

Extraordinary professor of Moluccan migration and culture, Fridus Steijlen holds a similar idea on the right of neighbourhoods to exist, stating that “It has a right to exist as long as the people involved are committed to it. As long as that is the case, we should be open to it” That Moluccans are still involved was shown earlier in this study, by the territorial behaviour observed in the neighbourhoods. As a result, one could contend that these neighbourhoods hold a significant position in Dutch society and deserve to be recognized accordingly.

‘The people in the neighbourhoods are part of the story. And therefore also part of the heritage’ (Steijlen, 2023)

The heritage value of the neighbourhoods

The neighbourhoods are seen as heritage by the Moluccan community, meanwhile there is demand for renovation in the severely impoverished neighbourhoods. When renovating the neighbourhoods, it is important to identify the cultural heritage embedded within them. Interviews show that it is mainly defined by the Moluccans themselves and their way of life: ‘The people in the neighbourhoods are part of the story. And therefore also part of the heritage’ (F. Steijlen, personal communication, February 14, 2023). In addition, according to Ichtus Rihanra, who advocates for the preservation of Moluccan neighbourhoods, the key concern is that Moluccan society wants to remain recognisable. As the culture is visible in the neighbourhoods, the coming of Moluccans to the Netherlands is memorialised (I. Rahanra, personal communication, February 11, 2023). So it is not so much about preserving the actual stones of the neighbourhood, which should therefore not get in the way of improving housing quality. Housing

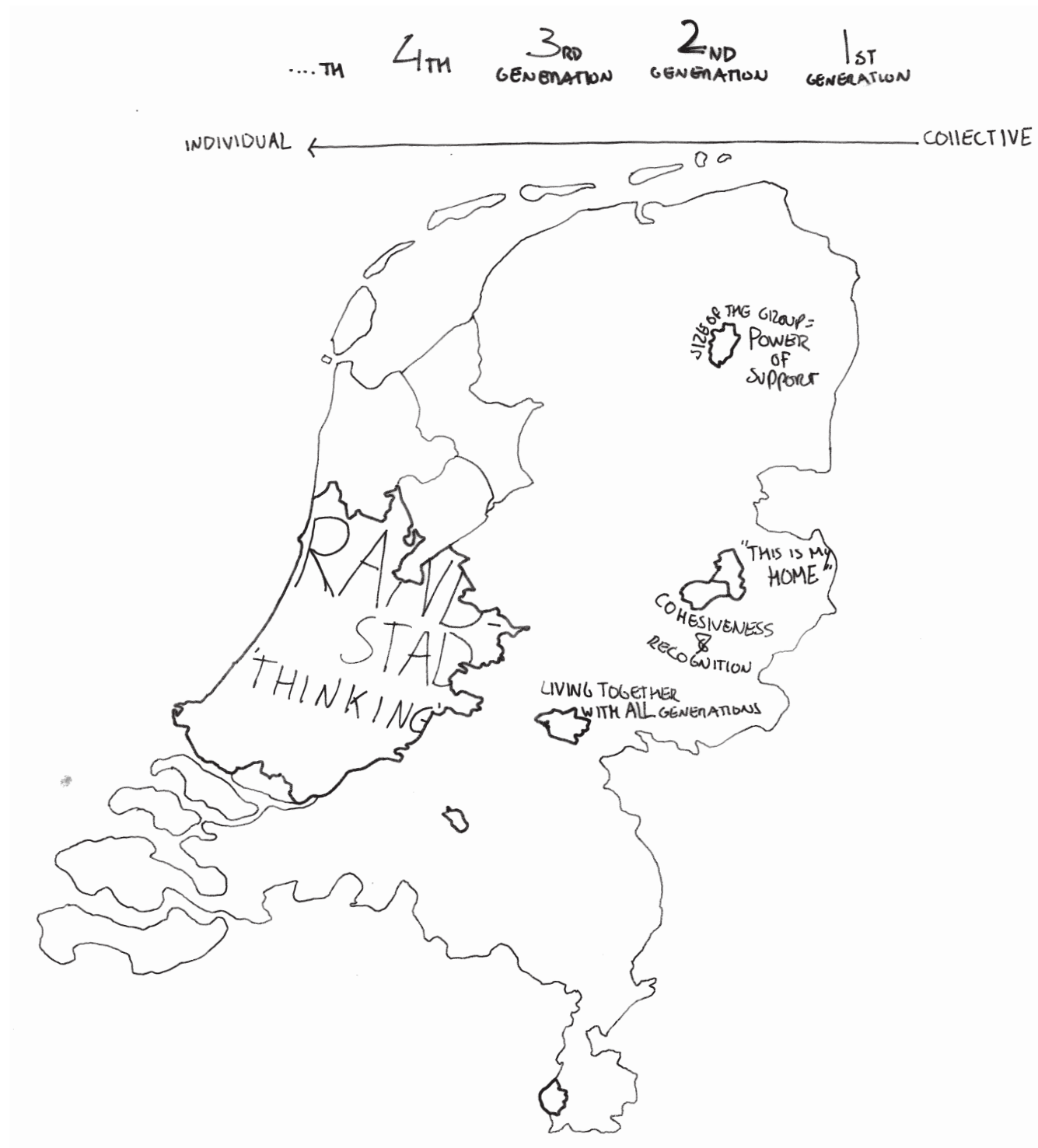


Rein Sohilaït – advisor/ process supervisor, initiator of placing a Moluccan Barrack in the open-air museum

associations for their part are also already betting more on diversity in the housing stock (R. Sohilaït, personal communication, February 14, 2023). Think of more starter homes, life-proof homes and senior housing. This is a positive change because it allows to work towards housing all generations in Moluccan neighbourhoods.

Where do future generations of Moluccans want to live?

The feasibility of preserving the Moluccan neighbourhoods rests on the younger and upcoming generations. As suggested by Chapter 5.1, the third and fourth generations have a strong focus towards Dutch society, which is characterized by an individualistic approach. This phenomenon is referred to as ‘Randstad thinking’ by Rinsampessy. Moluccans living in the Randstad region are more exposed to this culture and tend to be more individualistic compared to those in the eastern parts of the country, where the most Moluccan neighbourhoods are located, who are still more collective and community-oriented. However, younger generations find the social control imposed by the collective culture to be too restrictive (I. Rahanra, personal communication, February 11, 2023). Given the increasing individualistic tendencies of future generations, living in a Moluccan neighbourhood may not be their preferred choice. Therefore, establishing new neighbourhoods appears unfeasible, and Moluccans in the future will likely be more dispersed, and especially in urban areas.



87 | Individualisation in larger cities, community feeling in neighbourhoods in the east

‘The Moluccan neighbourhood of 2050 will be much more diverse’ (Rinsampessy, 2023)

The need for diversity in neighbourhoods

Rinsampessy mentions that through individualisation, you really do get all kinds of Moluccans and that diversity in neighbourhoods is important. (E. Rinsampessy, personal communication, February 17, 2023) and not just different types of Moluccans. To fill vacant houses in the future, people from other ethnic backgrounds will also have to be allowed into the neighbourhoods. In the Moluccan neighbourhood in Rijssen, the population is already mixed and

Ichtus Rahanra -
Financial interim.
Advocates for the
preservation of Moluccan
neighbourhoods



Dr Elias Rinsampessy
- social and cultural
anthropologist and
chairman of the board of
the Muhabbat Foundation

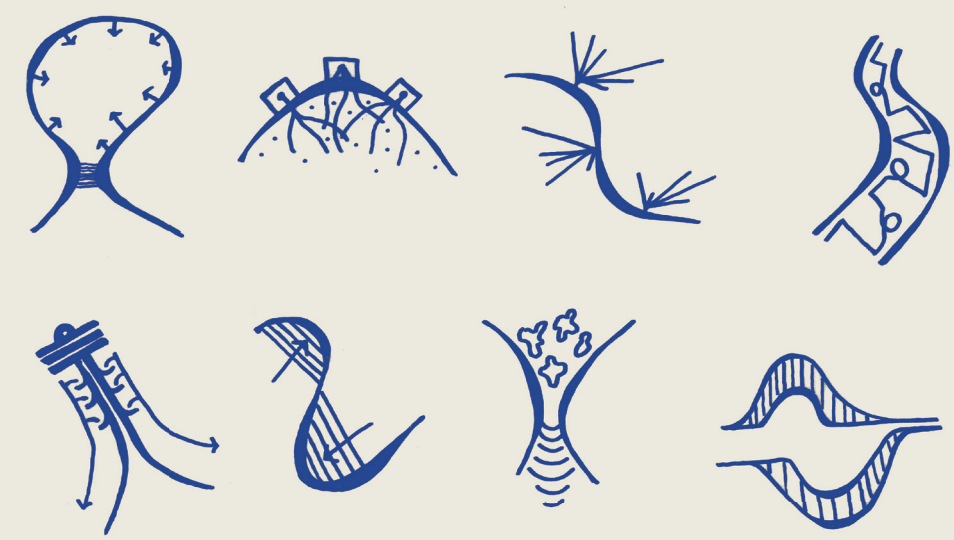
here a very conscious effort is being made to profile the Moluccan neighbourhood as open (I.Rahanra, personal communication, February 11, 2023). The community building in Rijssen serves as a social and cultural hub for everyone, and during Moluccan events, non-Moluccan locals are also invited to participate. The Moluccan community in Rijssen is outward-looking, and this approach generates appreciation for Moluccan culture among other residents. This could be one way of introducing mixing in the future while still maintaining the Moluccan identity of the neighborhoods.

6. Pattern Language Development and Design Proposals

This chapter delves into the translation of research findings into design principles and strategies that aim to transform Moluccan neighbourhoods into more inclusive and porous spaces. It addresses two key research questions: How can Moluccan neighbourhoods be transformed into more inclusive and porous neighbourhoods? What is the urban form that best accommodates the tangible and intangible Moluccan heritage?

- 6.1 The Moluccan Pattern Language
- 6.2 Renovation of the Moluccan Neighbourhood in Barneveld
- 6.3 Creating New Heritage at the Lloydkade, Rotterdam

6.1 The Moluccan Pattern Language



6.1.1 The Pattern Language Development

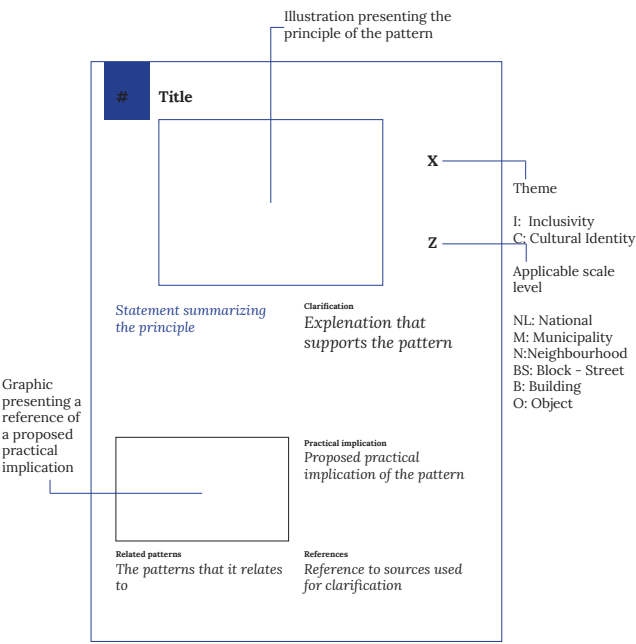
Chapter 5.1 is dedicated to the pattern language for Moluccan neighbourhoods and its cultural heritage and inclusiveness. It introduces the pattern language approach, its development and an overview of the patterns created. Furthermore, the patterns are placed in a pattern field, which decides the position of each pattern and its relationships with other patterns. Finally, it will be described how residents of a Moluccan neighbourhood were involved in shaping the pattern language.

This research focuses on all Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands on a national scale. To do this, the pattern language method of Alexander (1977) is used, as a way of encompassing all the different elements of Moluccan culture and heritage that deal with the living environment. This language will be specific to Moluccan culture and general to Moluccan neighbourhoods, so it can provide handles for development or transformation of other Moluccan neighbourhoods and heritage sites too.

Building the Pattern Language involved integrating diverse research components, including case studies, mixed media analysis, interviews, and design processes. Figure 89 depicts the specific sources from which each pattern was derived. A critical aspect of ensuring their validity is that all patterns are grounded in a minimum of two sources from the research.

Every pattern within the Pattern Language consists of a title, hypothesis, theoretical background, and practical implications. The hypothesis and accompanying symbol encapsulate the primary intention of the pattern. The other elements, combined with the graphic representation, convey its spatial implications. Additionally, the pattern indicates its relationships

with other patterns, which can be valuable during application as it enables patterns to complement or counteract one another.



88 | Pattern Template

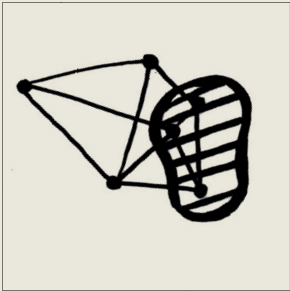
	Historical lessons	Mixed media analysis	Case study	Interviews	Life in the Moluccans	Theory	Design
01							
02							
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89 | Analysis of the sources of the created patterns for the Moluccan community and cultural heritage

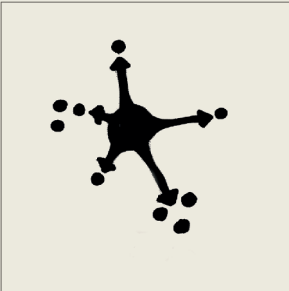
6.1.2 An Overview of Created Patterns

Through the compiling of the set of patterns, it became feasible to consolidate all the spatial qualities and possibilities of Moluccan territories into a comprehensive overview. Each pattern represents the aim of making the neighbourhoods more inclusive or enhance the cultural Moluccan heritage. These patterns encompass a wide spectrum, ranging from the national scale down to individual objects. Furthermore, the patterns not only address the present conditions but also embrace the desirable inclusive future of the Moluccan neighbourhood and its entire heritage.

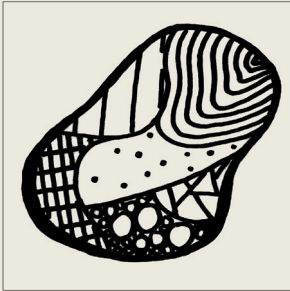
This is an overview of the created patterns. The complete patterns can be found in the ‘Moluccan Pattern Book’



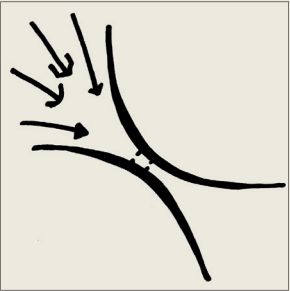
[01] That neighbourhood feeling



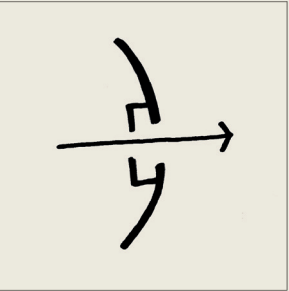
[02] Clusterd deconcentration



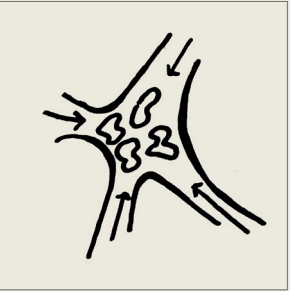
[03] Better not together



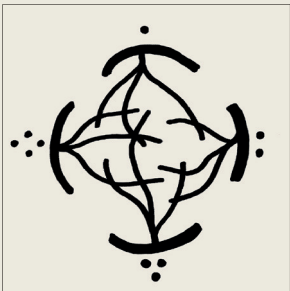
[04] Open to all



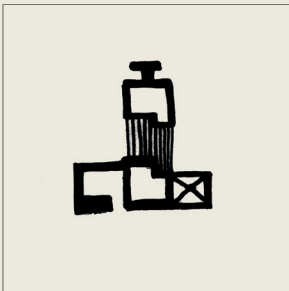
[05] Be welcome



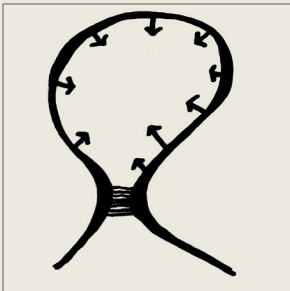
[06] Meet & greet



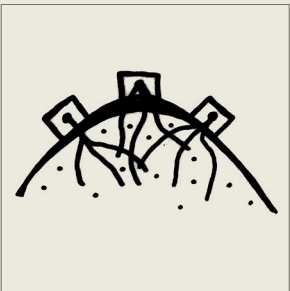
[07] All in one



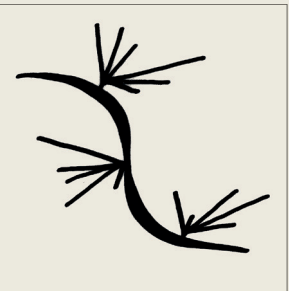
[08] Perfect fit



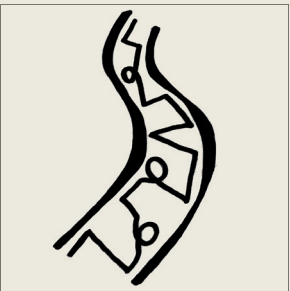
[09] Watching out for each other



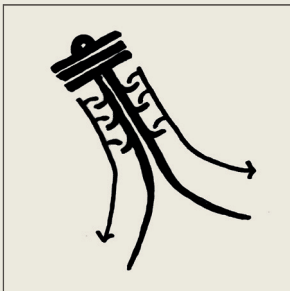
[10] The more we share



[11] Get to know actively



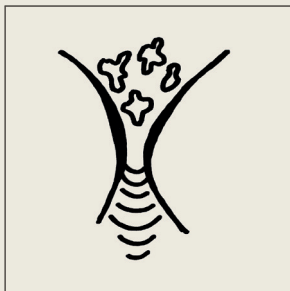
[12] Familiar streets



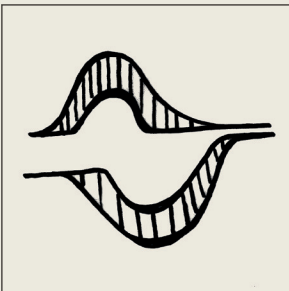
[13] Lest we forget



[14] From street to living room



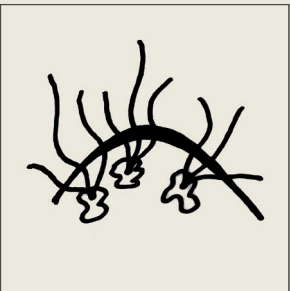
[15] Storytelling



[16] A shared value system



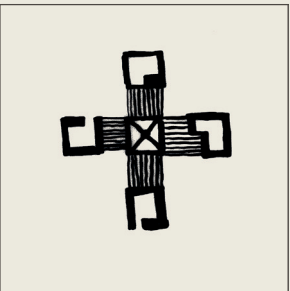
[17] Life at the back



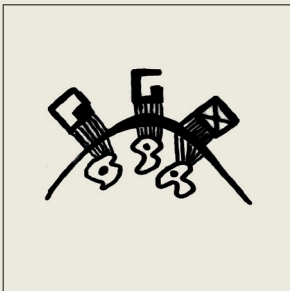
[18] In touch with water



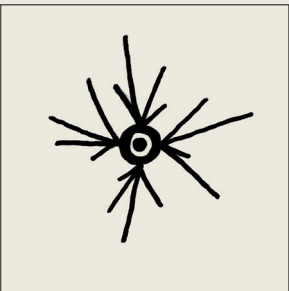
[19] Wander, explore and discover



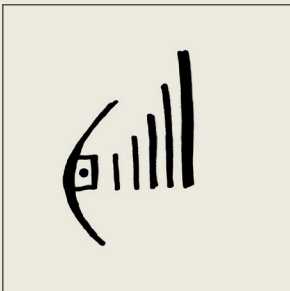
[20] Tumis Tumis



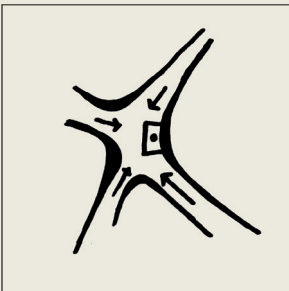
[21] Rumah Tua



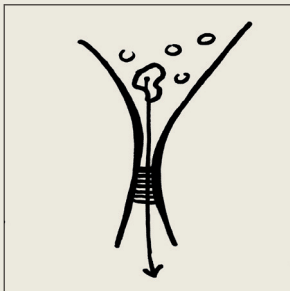
[22] Colourful living



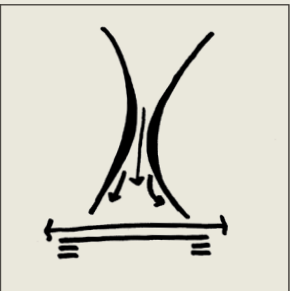
[23] Strength through community facilities



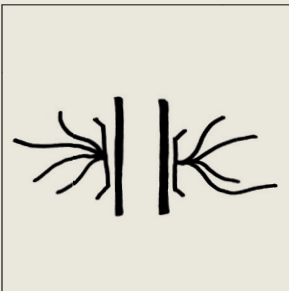
[24] That corner toko



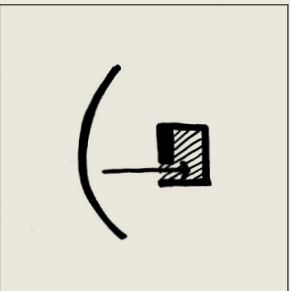
[25] Moluccans first



[26] Baileo 2.0



[27] People's street

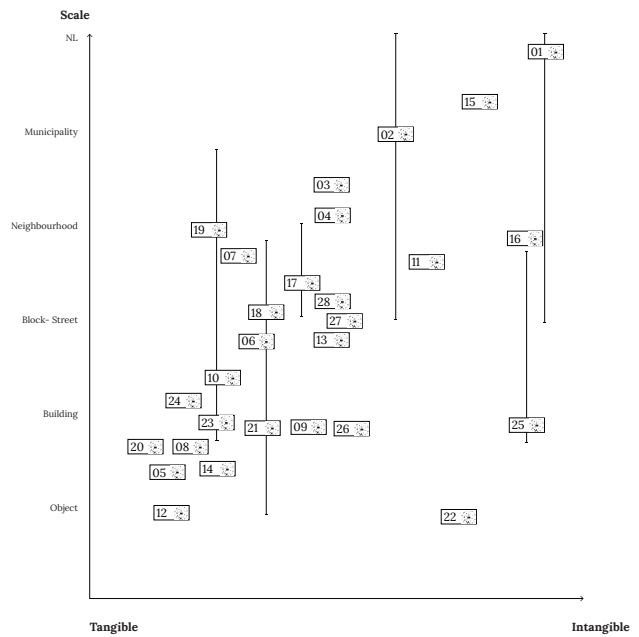


[28] Inward-oriented realm

6.1.3 Exploring Relations within the Pattern Field

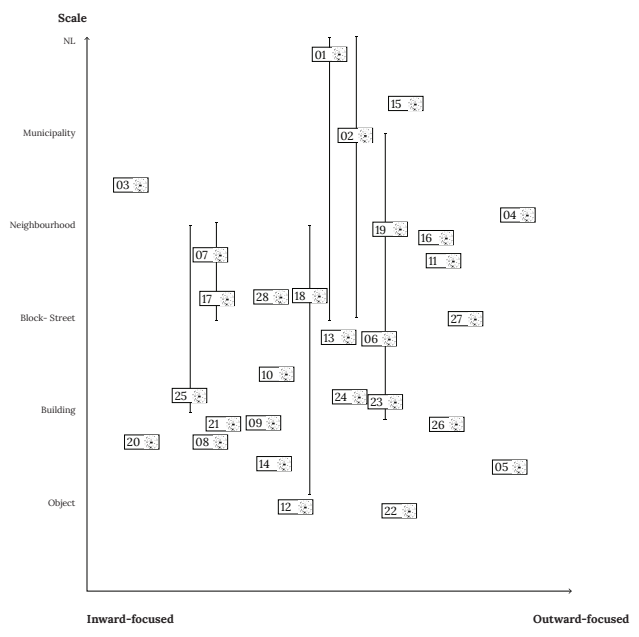
It is an important notion that patterns are interconnected, as mentioned in ‘A Pattern Language’, by Alexander (1977). Those relationships between patterns are shown in various ways in the pattern fields.

In Figure 90, the pattern field illustrates the degree of tangibility or intangibility of each pattern in relation to its scale or range of occurrence. This distinction is crucial because numerous patterns pertaining to cultural heritage may not possess physical form, yet all patterns made do influence the physical environment. For instance, the pattern “Moluccans First [25]” focuses on regulations, which impacts the living environment without involving a physical intervention. Consequently, it leans towards the side of intangibility within the pattern field.

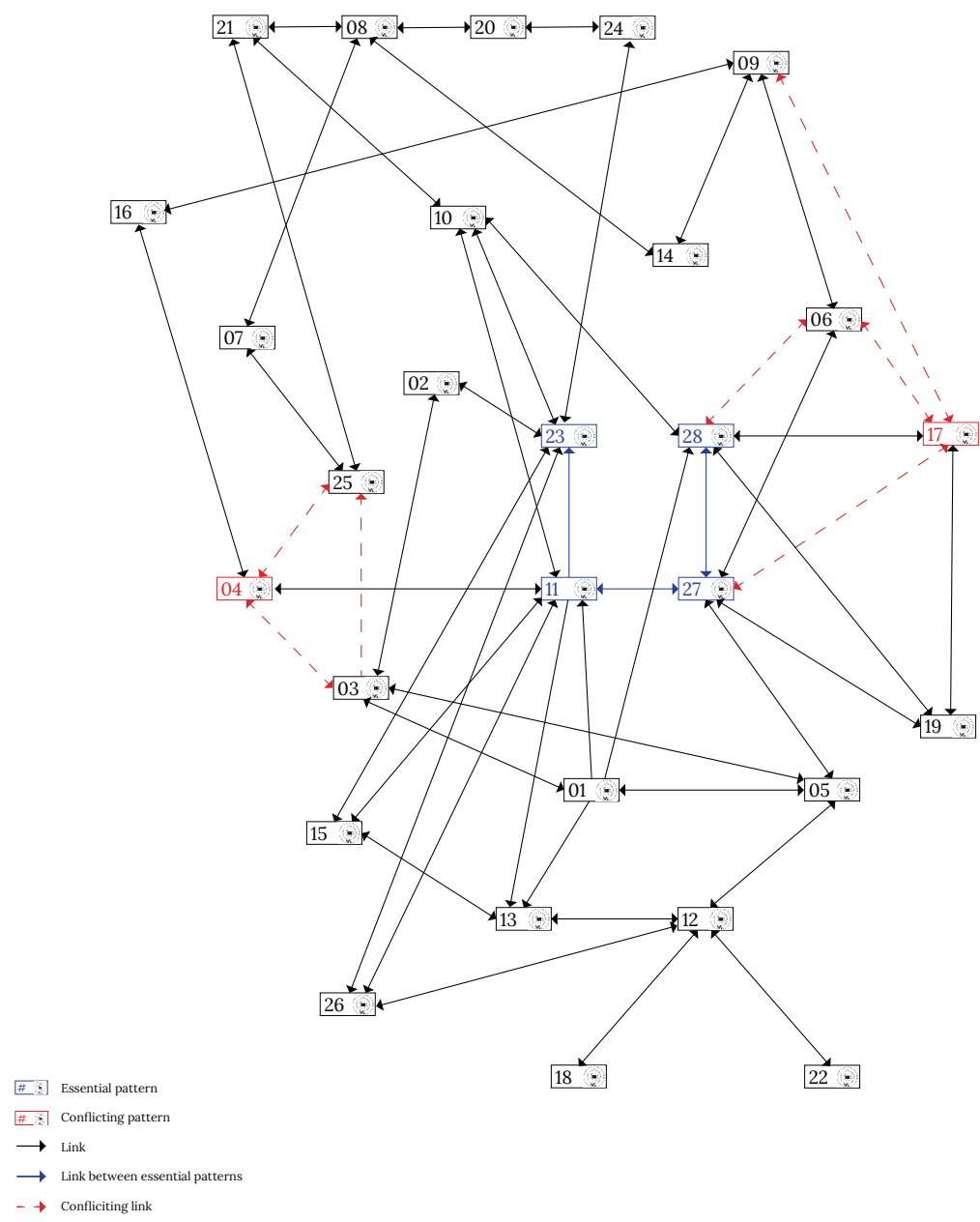


90 | Pattern field on the relationship between scale and tangibility

Figure 91 categorizes the patterns based on their inward-focused or outward-focused nature, indicating whether a pattern primarily centres around the Moluccan community itself or also extends to the broader Dutch society. Both characteristics hold significance for this research, as the objective is to foster inclusive neighbourhoods while ensuring the Moluccan community benefits from the developments. Within this pattern field, the first conflicts emerge visibly. Patterns such as “Better not together [03]” and “Open to all [04]” are positioned at opposite ends due to their contrasting intentions. The existence of conflicting patterns becomes evident in pattern field where all relations in the pattern set are shown (Figure 92) as well. Despite these conflicts, both “Open to All [04]” aligns with the research’s conclusion of promoting



91 | Pattern field on the relationship between scale and focus orientation



92 | Pattern field showing all related patterns

inclusive neighbourhoods, while “Life at the Back [17]” offers a spatial solution to mitigate excessive social control, which can be perceived as detrimental. Hence, both patterns are retained in the set of patterns. The analysis of all relationships between conflicts also reveals that there are four patterns with many relationships to other patterns. These are therefore seen as the essential patterns of the entire pattern language. In the site-specific designs, further in this study, an effort is therefore made to apply them.

6.1.4 Engaging Residents in Shaping the Pattern Language

In a workshop with residents of the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld, participants were asked to rate the patterns in the workshop. This provided a check on the validity and clarity of the patterns.

In the first part of the workshop, the participants rated the patterns, considering not only themselves, but the generation to which they belong. The generations present were the second, third and fourth generations of Moluccans in the Netherlands. The patterns were rated with a plus (agree), minus (disagree) or question mark (comment/unclear) on their relevance to Moluccan culture. Most patterns were rated positively. A notable deviation was that pattern Shared value sytem [16] is still only found in the large neighbourhoods with a strong Moluccan identity, but that it is a wish for the future that the norms and values return to the same. Furthermore, one pattern was rated negatively by all participants: Open to all [04]. This showed that there is still a strong desire for all-Moluccan neighbourhoods, where no residents of other ethnic backgrounds have their place. In light of the study's findings, it is decided to maintain the current pattern, as it highlights the significance of an inclusive neighbourhood for the preservation of the community.

In the second part of the workshop, a number of questions were asked, to which participants were then asked to select 1-3 patterns. The following questions were asked:

Which patterns are most important to you in a Moluccan neighbourhood?

There is a positive and negative side to the strong social control in Moluccan neighbourhoods. Regardless, the pattern Watching out for each other [09] is marked as very important. For the

participants, the positive side of social control outweighs the negative side. In addition, it is said of the pattern Rumah Tua [21] that it is important that this is offered at a location close to the Moluccan neighbourhoods.

Which patterns would you yourselves like to see for the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld?

The pattern From street to living room [14], as this brings back the social aspect of greeting people, people sit in front of the house more often, and the transition zone means you don't have to let people in right away, but there is room for a short conversation in front of the house.

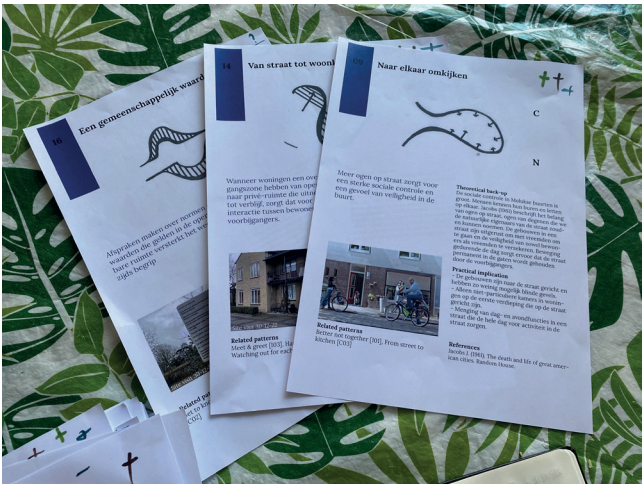
What patterns would be most essential, coming from a first-generation perspective?

This question strongly reveals that food, and therefore cooking, played an even more prominent role in the first generation. Therefore, the pattern Tumis Tumis [20] would fit accordingly.

Do you feel like there are any patterns missing?

The importance of playing fields for the youth is missed in the pattern language. This is seen more as a pattern not specific to the Moluccan youth. However, football, a major sport among the Moluccan community, could be emphasised here.

93 | Pictures of the participation workshop (fieldtrip 03.05.23)



6.2 Regenerating the Moluccan neighbourhood
in Barneveld



6.2.1 Renovation site profile [Barneveld]

The patterns from the previous chapter are applied to the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld, demonstrating how the neighbourhood can be transformed to become more inclusive in the future while preserving and showcasing its distinct Moluccan heritage.

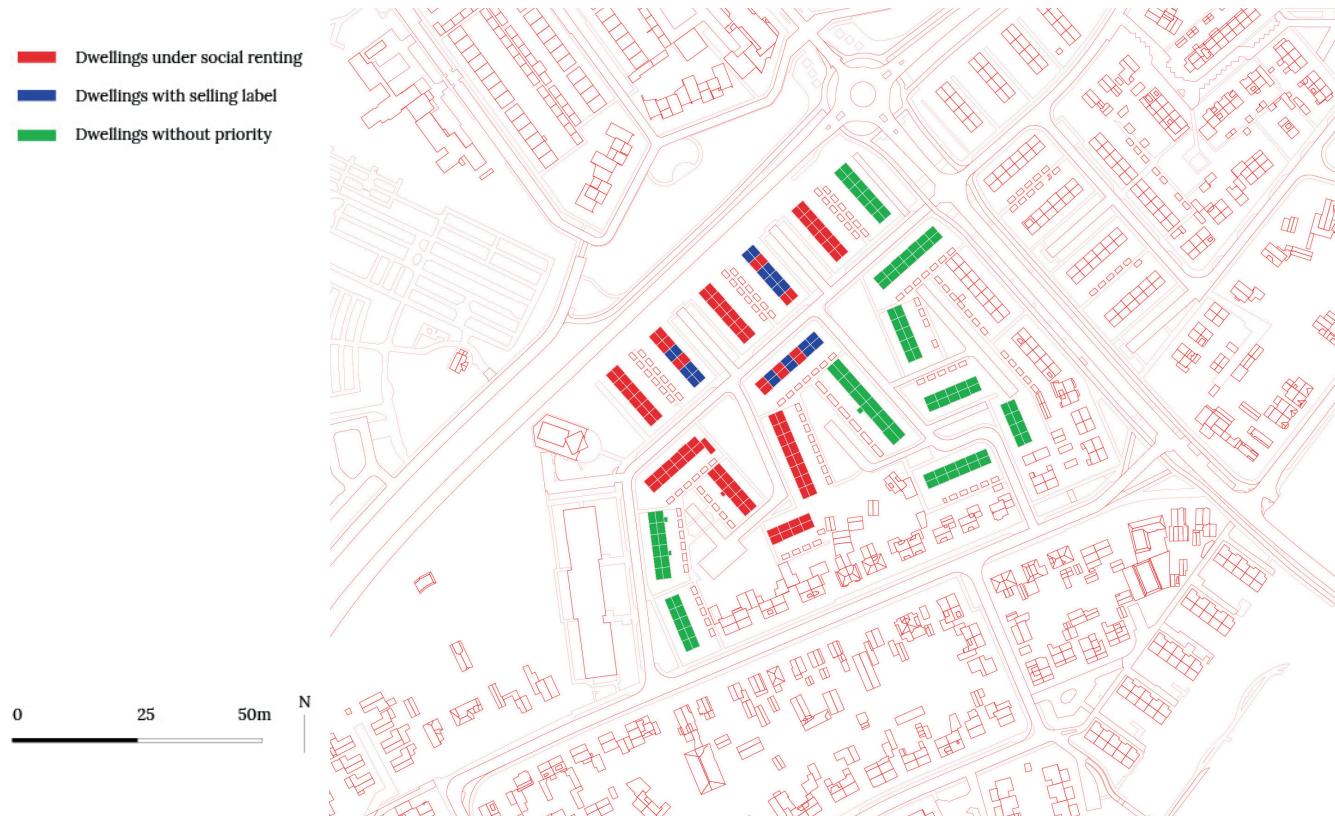
The Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld serves as a relevant case study location for analyzing the characteristics of Moluccan neighbourhoods. It was selected as a design site due to the presence of significant community facilities, such as a community centre, a Moluccan church in close proximity, and a Moluccan elderly home. However, besides having priority arrangements for Moluccans, it also accommodates households without Moluccan background in certain areas, making it a partially mixed neighbourhood. This unique combination of demographics makes the Barneveld neighbourhood particularly interesting for this research, as it allows for an assessment of its current level of inclusivity. By examining the existing dynamics and interactions within the neighbourhood, we can gain insights into the extent to which it already embraces inclusivity or identify areas where improvements can be made.



94 | Housing in the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld (Google Maps, 2022)



In establishing the site conditions, it was noticed that different stakeholders have different views on what belongs to the Moluccan neighbourhood, this is visualised on the next page. Based on a Barneveld Municipality right of way document (2018), the dwellings on Columbus Street belong to the Moluccan neighbourhood. According to residents, this includes Magalhaesstraat and the part of Columbusstraat up to the community building. However during fieldwork, it was noticed that there are also building blocks outside these two streets, which in terms of housing typology and appearance, seem to belong to the same ensemble. For this design, the entire Columbus Street and Magalhaes Street are taken as the starting point. However, residents’ opinions will be taken into account in the phasing of the design.

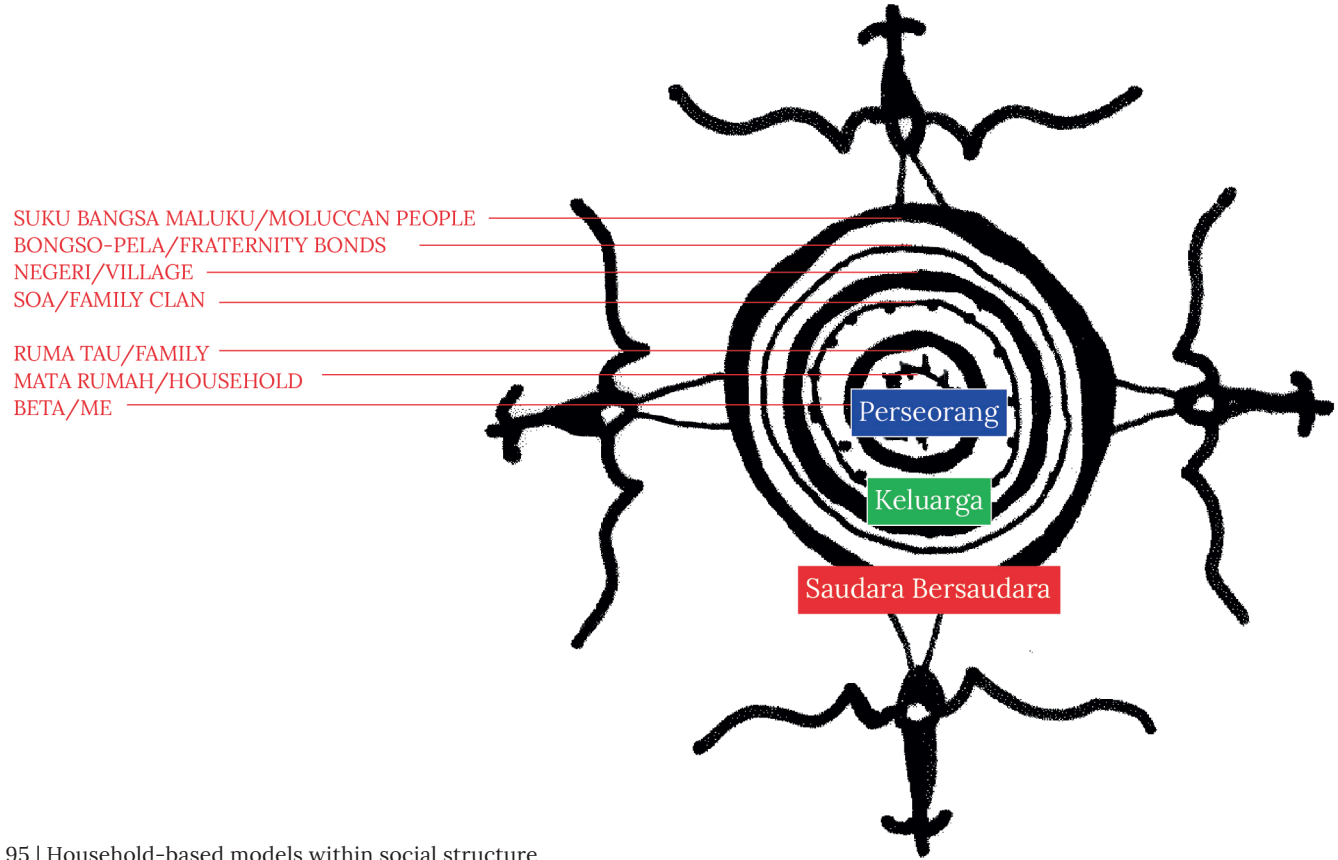


6.2.2 Household-Based Models of Housing Typologies

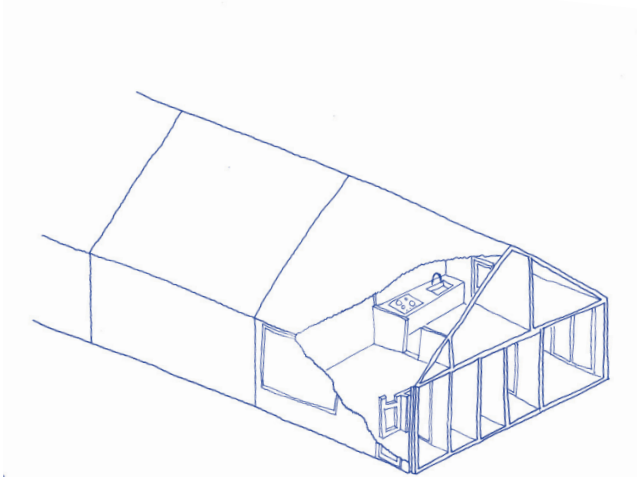
To enhance the diversity of housing stock within the neighbourhood and accommodate the housing preferences of Moluccans during renovation or new construction projects, various housing typologies have been developed. These typologies are based on the distinct household structures found within the Moluccan community. Rinsampessy (1972) outlines two family models: the ‘keluarga model,’ which assumes a family structure consisting of a father, mother, and children. The second model focuses on the broader traditional kinship system, called the ‘Saudara Bersaudara model’. However, this study has identified a new household model that has emerged within the current Dutch context,

shaped by the evolving Moluccan identity. This model is referred to as the “Perseorang Model,” representing individual Moluccans.

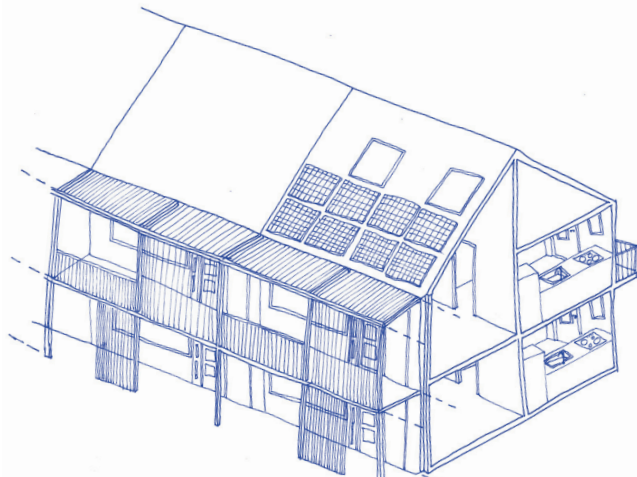
By applying these different housing types in the Moluccan neighbourhood, suitable housing is offered for different types of Moluccans. While the typologies incorporate the living preferences of Moluccans, they can also accommodate non-Moluccan households that align with one of the family models. Consequently, these dwellings are well-suited for the mixed Moluccan neighbourhood of the future, accommodating both Moluccan and non-Moluccan residents.



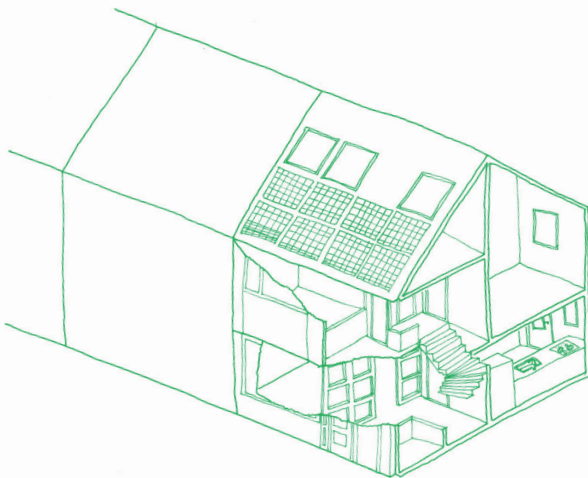
95 | Household-based models within social structure



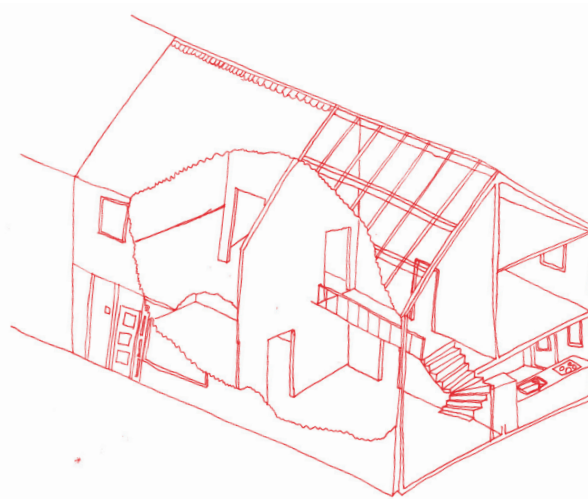
96 | Proposed housing type for 'Perseorang'-family model



97 | Proposed housing type for 'Perseorang'-family model



98 | Proposed housing type for 'Keluarga'-family model

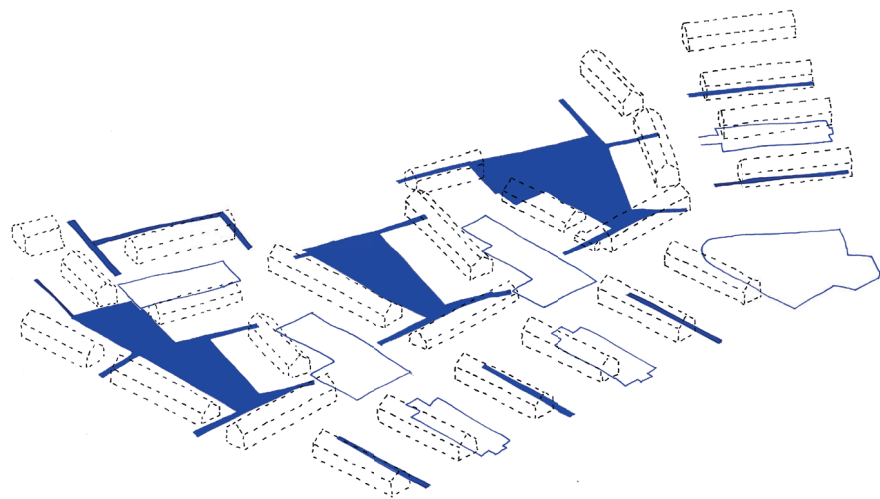


99 | Proposed housing type for 'Saudara Bersaudara'-family model

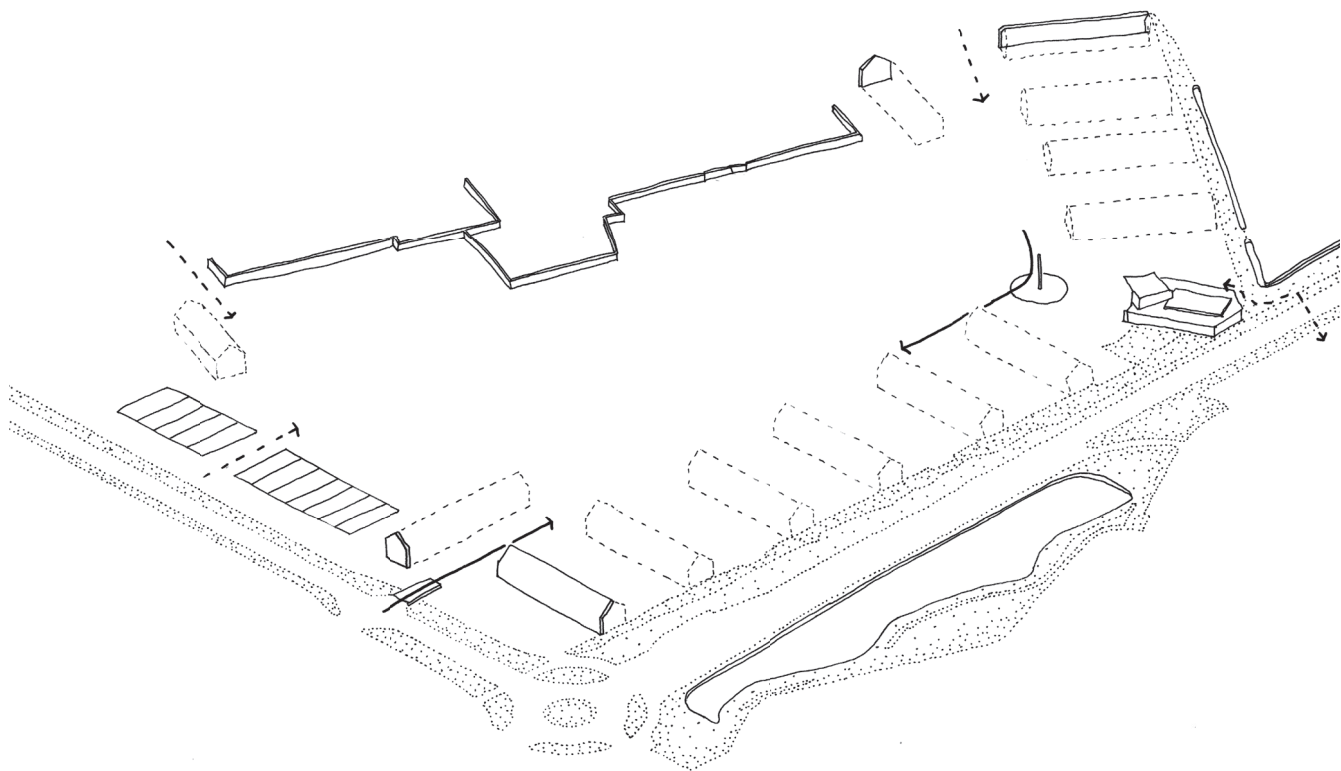
5.2.3 An intimate neighbourhood to wander through

The redesign of the neighbourhood focuses on creating more intimate public spaces and facilitating opportunities for wandering through the neighbourhoods. This is achieved by relocating the parking areas from the inner courtyards to the front public spaces. As a result, space is freed up in the inner courtyards, which will be utilized for three different functions: a wild garden, a sports court, and a community garden.

Furthermore, the act of wandering is encouraged by improving the network of alleyways. Through the incorporation of vistas and various types of inner courtyards, it stimulates their use as routes for exploration.



100 | Network of squares, courtyards and alleys



101 | Edges and Entrances



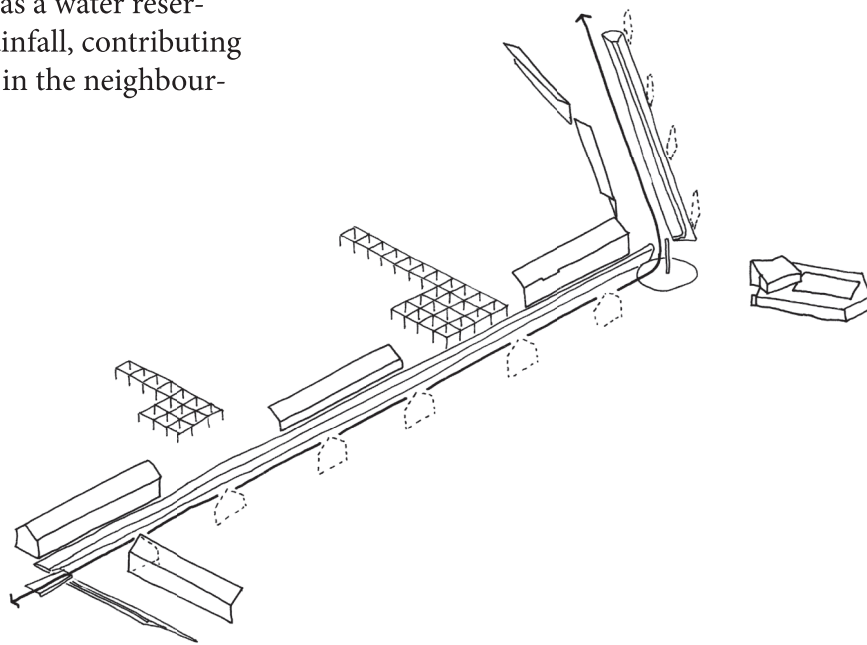
102 | Birds eye view of the proposed design

6.2.4 The Columbusstraat as shared space

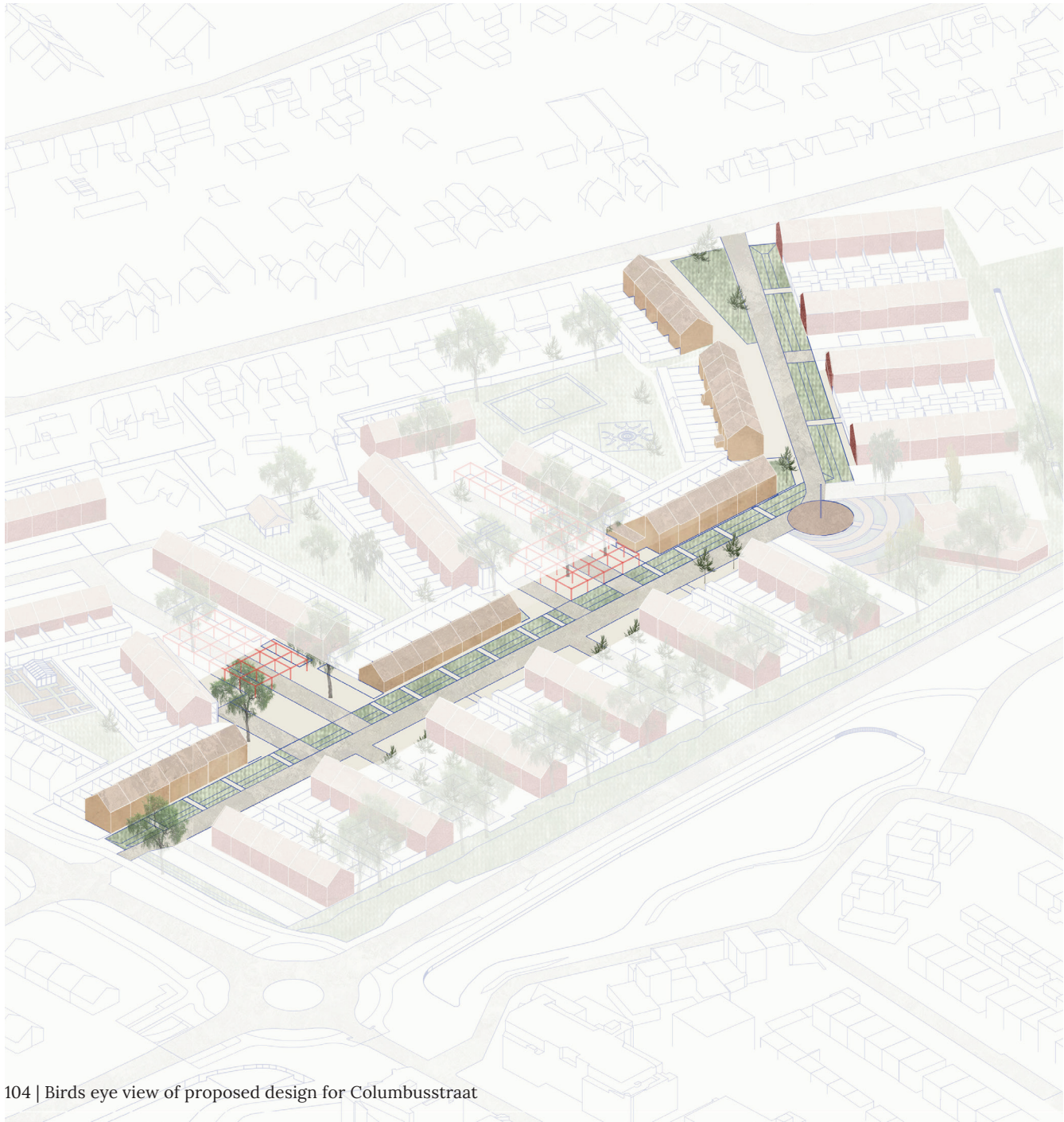
This proposal envisions Columbus Street as a focal point for establishing a stronger connection with water, enhancing the neighbourhood's resilience to climate change, and fostering a vibrant public life.

Inspired by the streets found in Moluccan island villages, Columbus Street will adopt a similar character. It will be designed as a shared space where all traffic flows are integrated, promoting slower-paced movement and discouraging its use as a mere transit route.

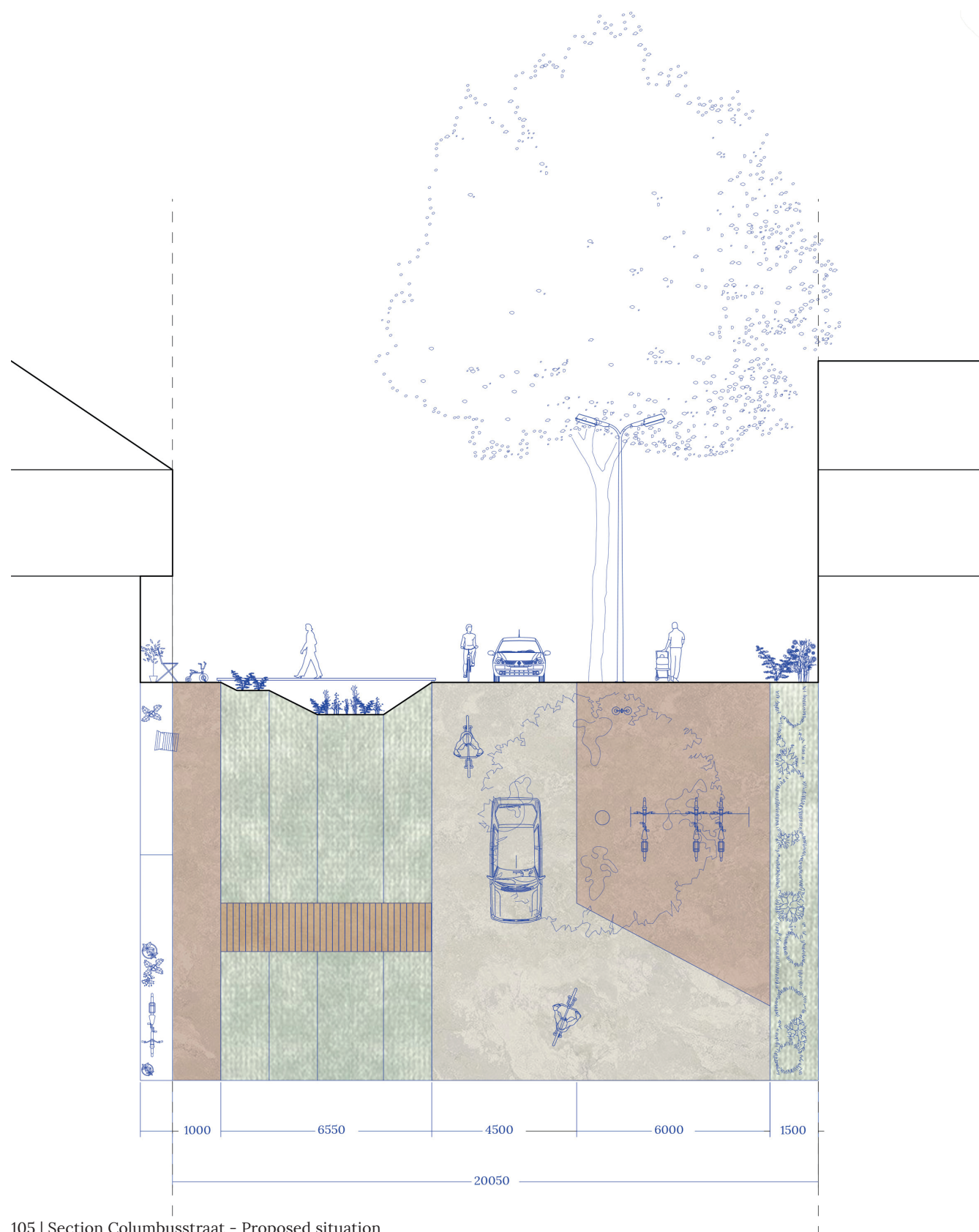
In addition to the shared space concept, a wadi will be introduced. This serves a dual purpose: creating a buffer zone between the street and the houses, while also functioning as a water reservoir during periods of heavy rainfall, contributing to effective water management in the neighbourhood.



103 | Diagram of the structural elements of the Columbusstraat



104 | Birds eye view of proposed design for Columbusstraat



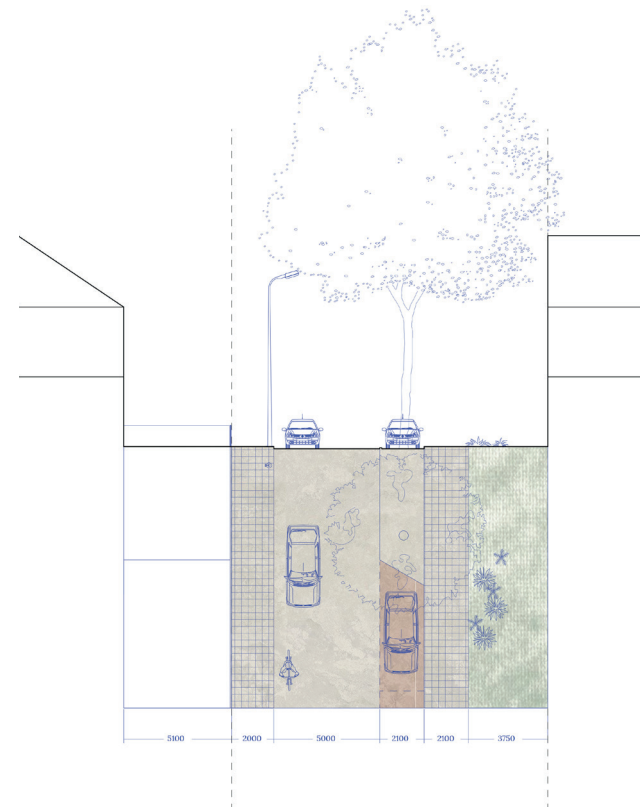
105 | Section Columbusstraat - Proposed situation



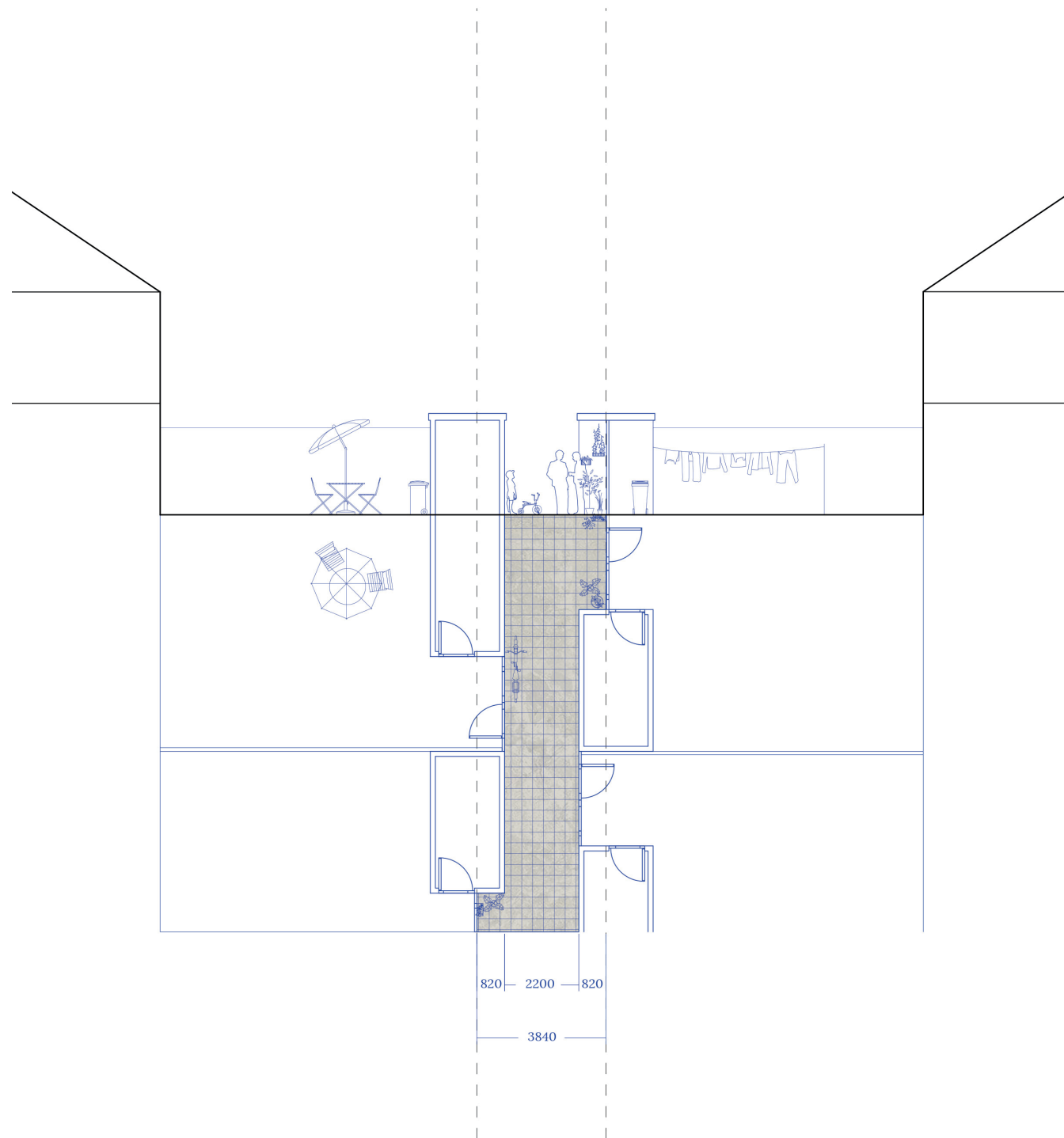
107 | water depth during heavy rain. 70mm - 2 hours
(Klimaaffectatlas, 2023)



108 | Wadi system found in Hannover (Atelier Dreiseitl, 2006)



106 | Section Columbusstraat - Current situation



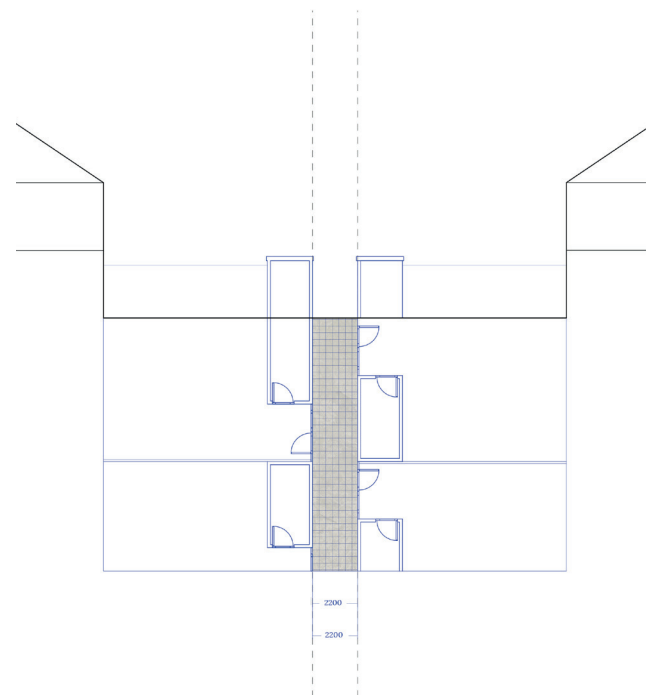
109 | Section Alley - Proposed situation



111 | Unused and paved alley in Barneveld (fieldtrip 10.04.23)



112 | alley with glimpse into courtyard (fieldtrip 10.04.23)

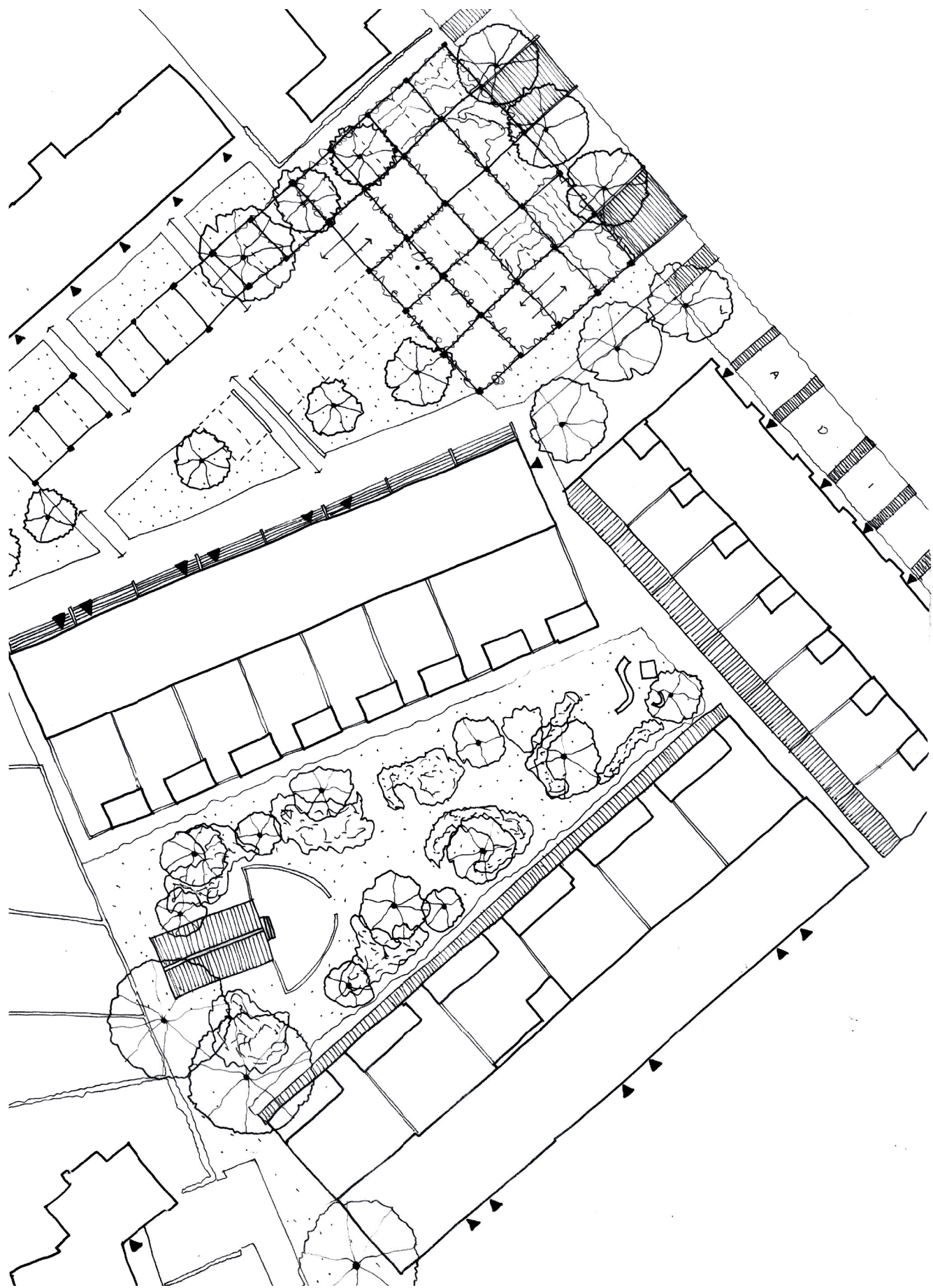


110 | Section Alley- Current situation

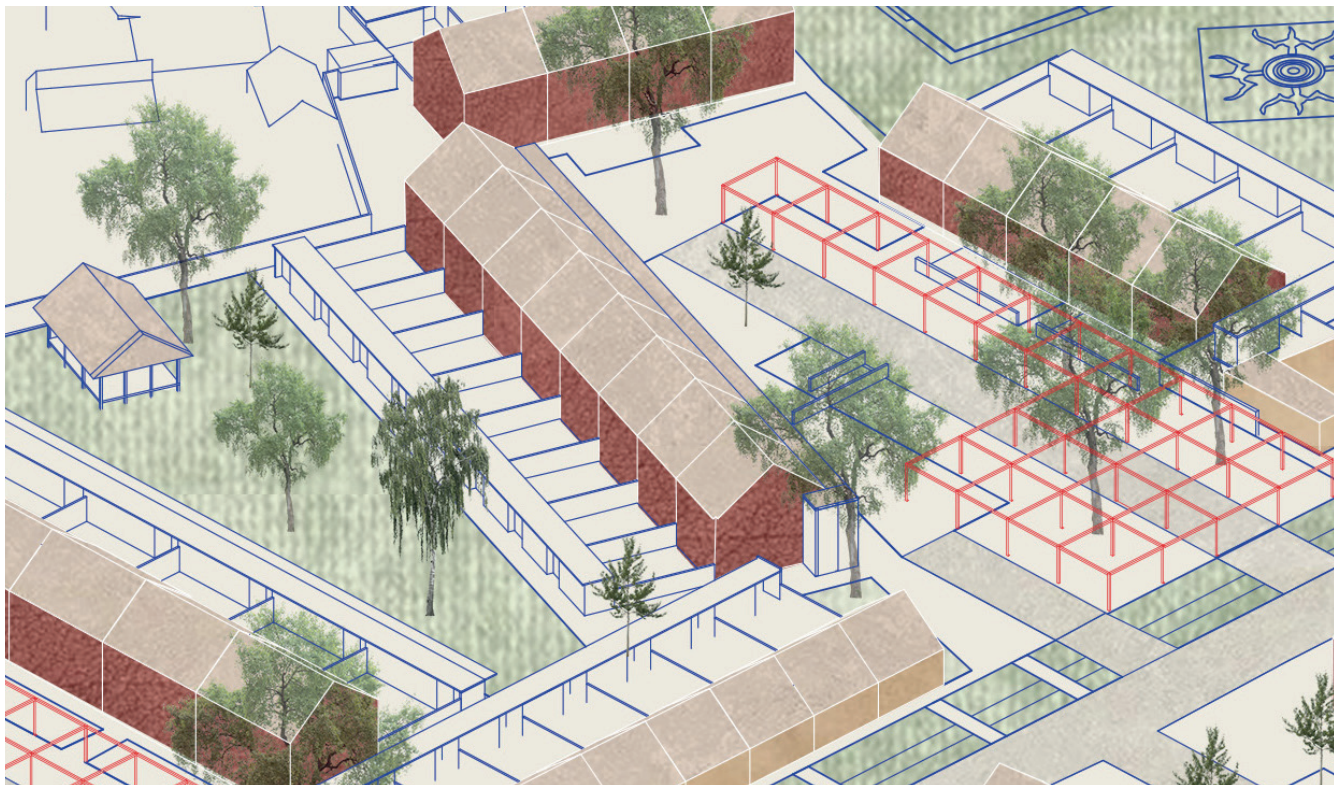
6.2.5 The intimacy of the courtyard versus the public front

With the reversal of parking from the courtyards, to the spaces at the front of the houses. A more intimate, semi-public public space is created at the backside. This design decision aligns with the preference of Moluccans for such spaces, allowing the existing garden fences to remain in place. Within the courtyard, a wild garden is proposed, providing ample room for wandering and exploration. In addition, a Baileo lands in the garden, which, in contrast to the community building, provides a covered public space that is accessible at all times.

To enhance the aesthetics and functionality of the front area, a pergola partially covers the parking space. This serves two purposes: creating a green ambiance within the parking zone and, more importantly, obstructing the direct view from the houses onto the public space. This intentional obstruction helps reduce the perceived sense of social control.



113 | Proposed design intimate courtyard and public front



114 | Birds eye view intimate courtyard and public front



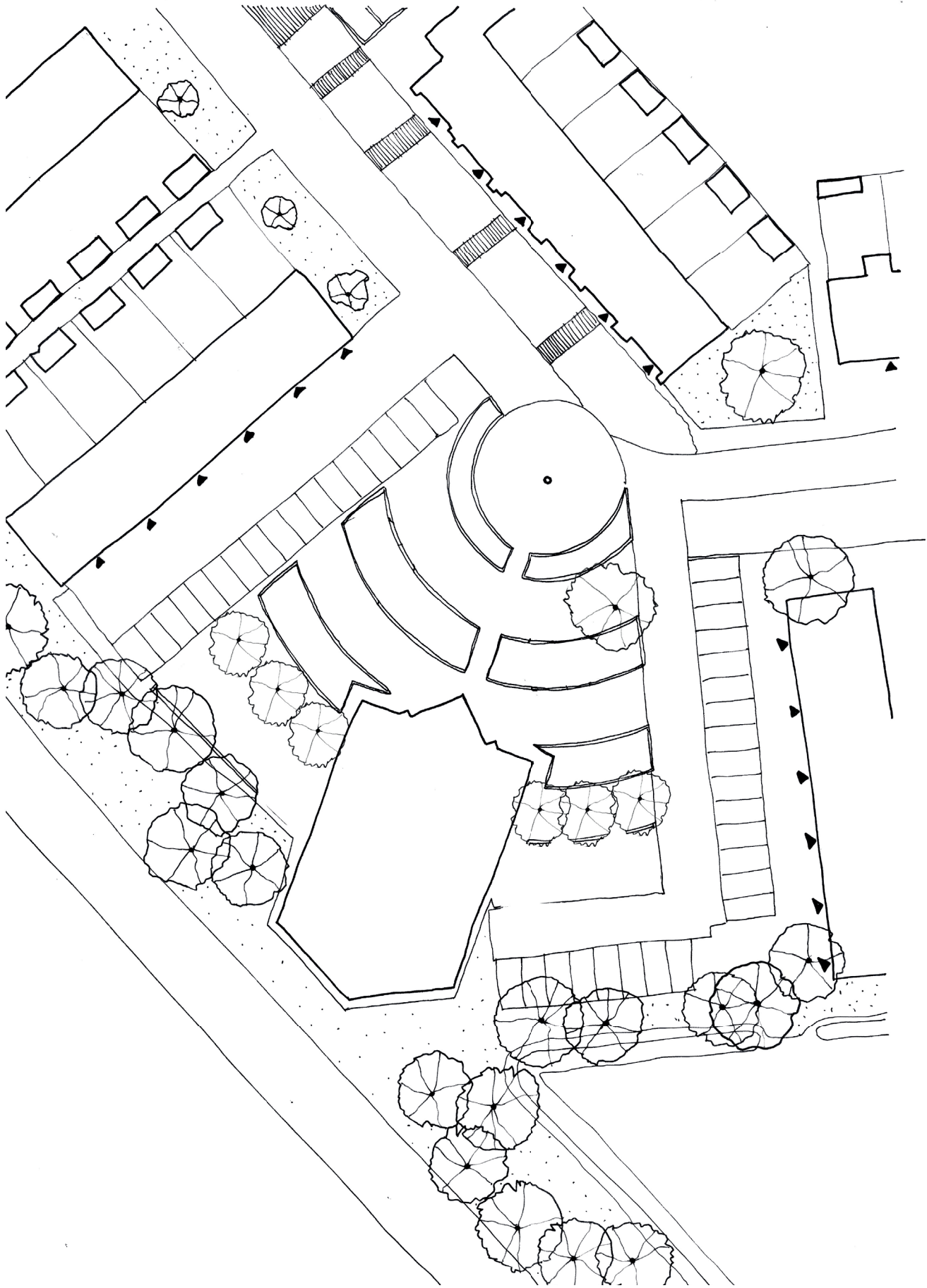
115 | Visualisation of the public front



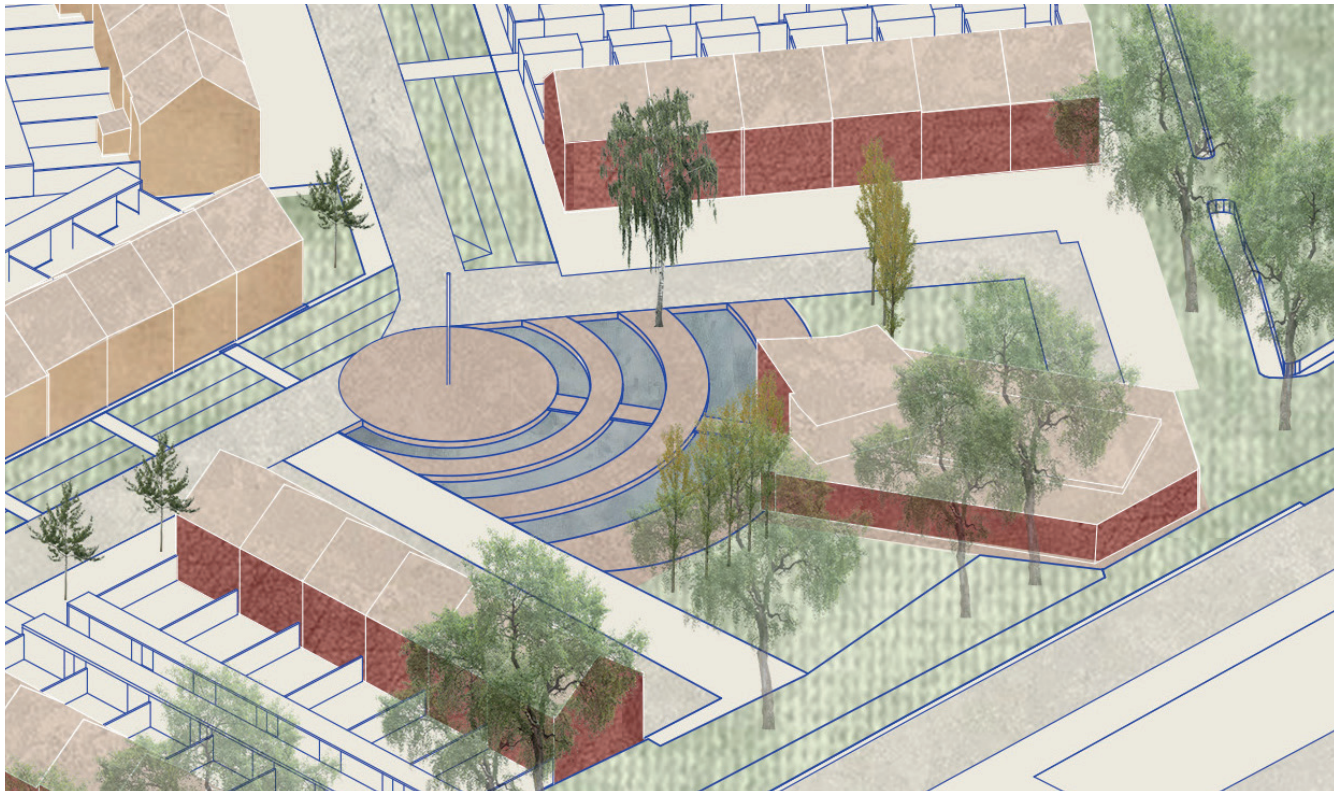
116 | Visualisation of the intimate courtyard

6.2.6 The community building as a worthy memorial site

Based on the fieldwork findings, it was revealed that the public space near the community building was underutilized. However, recognizing its significance for ceremonies, this design prioritizes its commemorative function. The composition focuses on key elements, including the water features, the community building, the flagpole, and the street. Notably, the flagpole is now prominently visible from Columbus Street, and a dedicated gathering space has been created around it. The emphasis on the connection with water in this context serves a symbolic purpose, rather than having a practical function within the water system of the neighbourhood, unlike the wadi.



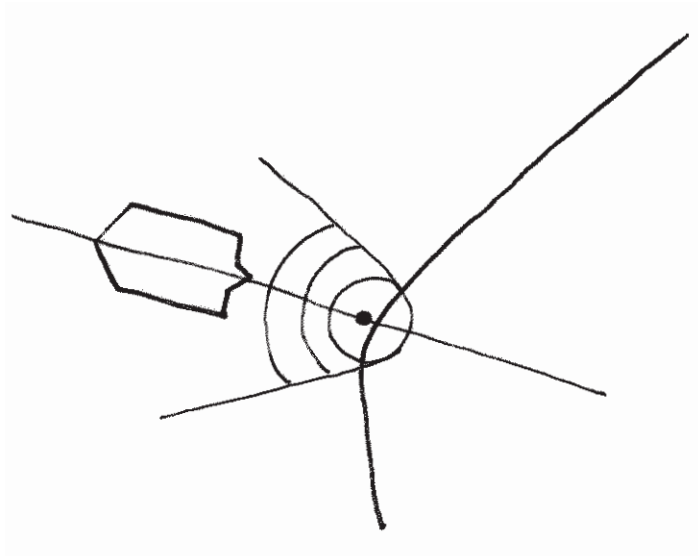
117 | Proposed design
community square



118 | Birds eye view community square

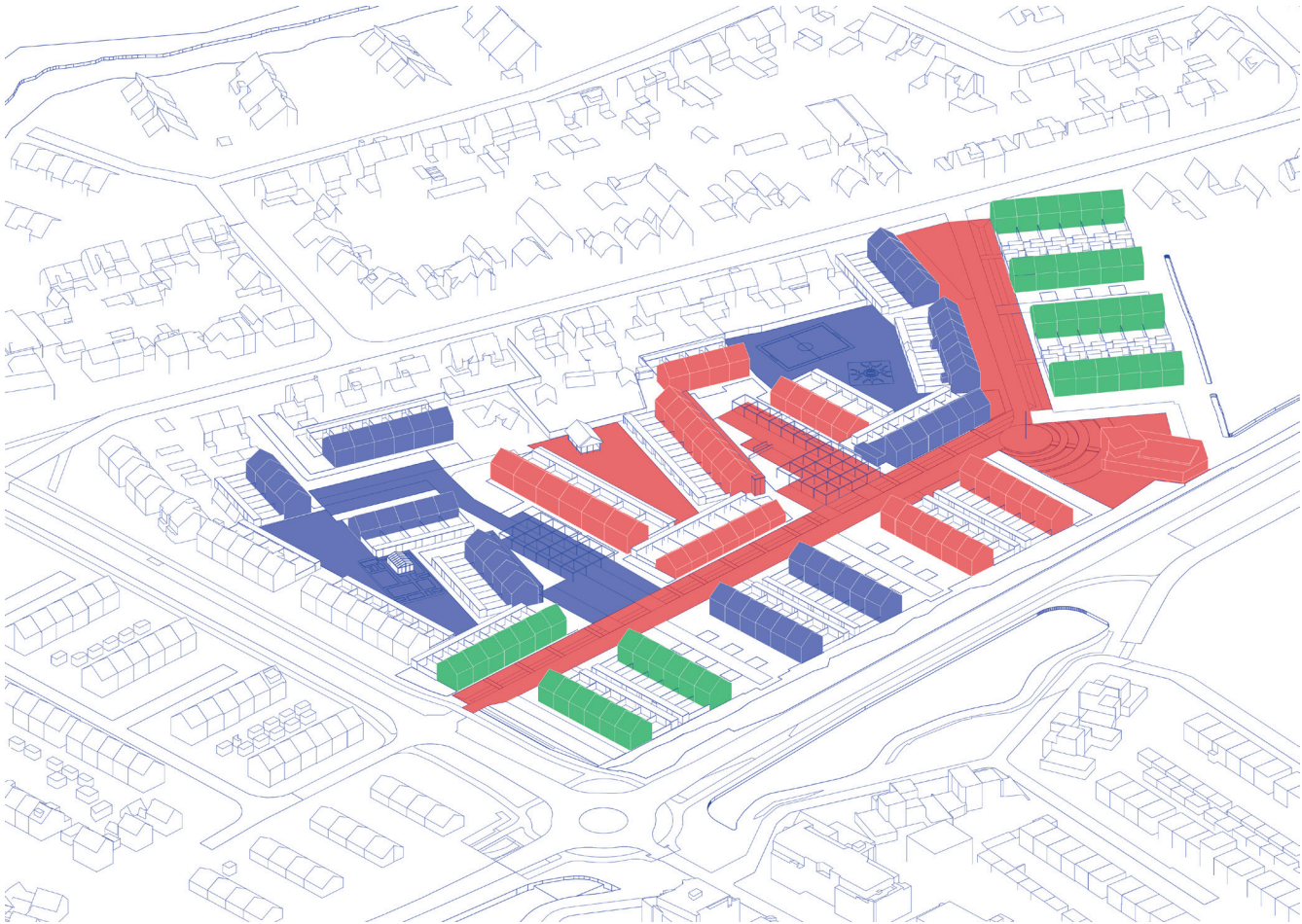


120 | View from the Columbusstraat towards the flagpole



119 | Composition of the key elements

6.2.7 Phasing plan



121 | Phasing plan

- FASE 1: Strengthen
- FASE 2: Connecting
- FASE 3: Expanding

The plan is structured into three distinct phases to ensure a systematic implementation of the individual components, taking into account their role in the overall design. Each phase aligns with specific objectives and contributes to the transformation of the Moluccan neighbourhood.

PHASE 1 focuses on the fundamental elements of the neighbourhood, starting with the redesign of Columbus Street, which serves as the backbone of the entire area. Additionally, this phase includes the enhancement of the public space surrounding the foundation building, a significant gathering place within the neighbourhood. The implementation of the courtyard with the Baileo, a cultural center, and the front parking areas for the houses will exemplify the creation of a smaller community group at the heart of the neighbourhood.

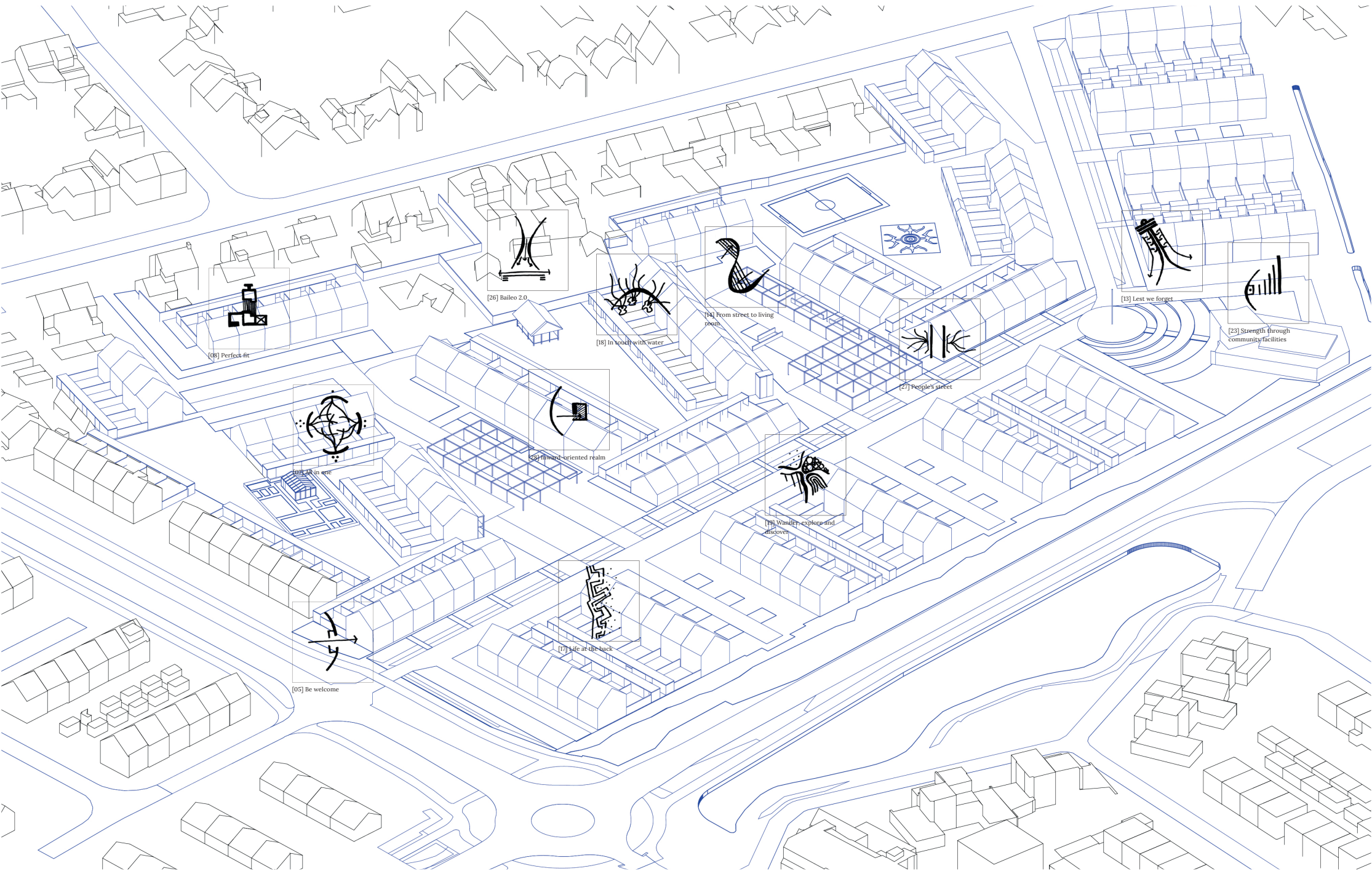
In PHASE 2, attention turns to the remaining courtyards within the neighbourhood. These courtyards will be developed to align with the principles of the Moluccan Pattern Language, fostering community cohesion and cultural expression. These subsequent phases assume that the number of residents within the neighbourhood remains constant.

In the event of population growth, PHASE 3 offers an opportunity to expand the neighbourhood by constructing an additional set of building blocks on the adjacent plot. This expansion would allow for the replacement of the current elderly houses with new residences that adhere to the principles of the Moluccan Pattern Language, ensuring continuity and consistency in the neighbourhood's design. By following this phased approach, the implementation process can proceed smoothly, addressing key design aspects and accommodating potential future developments.

6.2.8 Applied patterns

Figure 123 provides an overview of the patterns implemented to enhance inclusivity and reinforce the cultural heritage of the Moluccan neighborhood in Barneveld. It serves as an illustrative example of how these patterns can be effectively utilized. However, it is important to note that the application of other patterns is not precluded in the neighborhood.

For a comprehensive understanding of the meaning behind these patterns, please refer to the 'Moluccan Territories: Pattern Book'.



123 | Overview of the applied patterns in Barneveld

6.2 Creating New Heritage at the Lloydkade,
Rotterdam



6.3.1 Contemporary heritage site profile [Rotterdam, Lloydkade]

In the third part of the design, the focus lies on applying the pattern language to generate new cultural heritage for the Moluccan community. The chosen site for this is the Lloydkade in Rotterdam, a location of great historical significance for Moluccans in the Netherlands. Within this chapter, a compelling proposal is presented on how to develop a space that resonates with the younger generation of Moluccans, offering them a platform to express their cultural identity in a manner that is meaningful and relevant to them.

On March 21 1951, the first ship carrying Moluccans arrived and docked at the Lloydkade in Rotterdam. This marked the beginning of a series of Moluccan arrivals at this very location. And to this day, this quay is therefore a place where Moluccans come to remember the arrivals. It holds deep cultural and emotional significance for many Moluccans, who often make a visit to this site at least once in their lifetime. Moreover, the Lloydkade has also served as a venue for various travelling exhibitions, further enriching its importance as a hub of cultural heritage and collective memory. The historical value of the Lloydkade to the community combined with the location of



124 | Sign in public space indicating arrival point (Landelijk Moluks Monument, 2021)

the site in a larger city in the Netherlands, led to its selection as a design site. This is because earlier research showed that younger generations of Moluccans tend to move more to the larger cities in the Netherlands. However, here, as in Rotterdam, there are no Moluccan



125 | Exhibition at Lloydkade (Gerdajh, 2021)

neighbourhoods. The Lloydkade can play a role in creating gathering places for these younger generations. The Lloydkade has already attention through the competition of the 'Landelijk Molukse Monument' organization. Their advocacy for a monument on the Lloydkade reflects a deep respect for the first



126 | Location of the Moluccan monument (Pattipeilohy & Landelijk Moluks Monument, 2022) and the slavery monument (Dereta, 2013) in Rotterdam

generation of Moluccans and a desire to honor their shared past (Pattipeilohy & Landelijk Moluks Monument, 2022). The selected design, known as 'Ulu Kora' by Jair Pattipeilohy, encompasses a monument resembling a ship, surrounded by a physical space that accommodates dance and gatherings. While Pattipeilohy's design primarily focuses on historical commemoration, this proposal at hand aims to strike a balance between honoring the past and embracing the future. By creating a space that can foster remembrance and where the younger generations can expose themselves to each other, in the form of a community centre. In addition to the upcoming Moluccan monument, the Lloydkade already houses another significant

memorial in its public space is the 'Clave' slavery monument. The shape of the monument is also based on a ship and on top of it are figures dancing towards their freedom (Van Capelleveen, n.d.). Every year on 30 June, a ceremony is held at this site to remember the abolishment of slavery, as it was the departure point for Rotterdam's slave trading ships heading to Africa. On regular days, the public space serves as a gathering spot where people engage in various activities such as relaxing on the lawn, use it for sports or spend time working in the communal neighbourhood garden. The design incorporates the importance of the place to other communities.

6.3.2 Designing the Lloydkade as pedestal for Moluccan community

The design for the Lloydkade as a new heritage site serves multiple functions, including exhibiting Moluccan culture, fostering meaningful interactions within and around a community building, hosting memorial ceremonies in the public space, and providing a space for intimacy and shelter when visiting the site. The design consists of four key elements: the community building, the path, a flagpole, and a strong relationship with the water.

“the community building, the path, a flagpole, and a strong relationship with the water.”

To create a cohesive and interconnected public space, the design sought to integrate these elements harmoniously. This was achieved by utilizing a prominent path as a unifying element, linking all the components together. Furthermore, a circular shape was integrated into the design to create an intimate space, with one section of the circle housing the community building and the other section comprising a public area.

The design intentionally seeks a visual connection with the preexisting slavery monument situated within the area by incorporating a colonnade. A pathway and sightline are thoughtfully integrated through the colonnade within the layout of the garden. This pathway serves the purpose of physically linking the community building to the monument, establishing a tangible connection between the two spaces. By integrating this element, the design creates a meaningful environment that honours both the Moluccan heritage and the historical significance of the slavery monument.



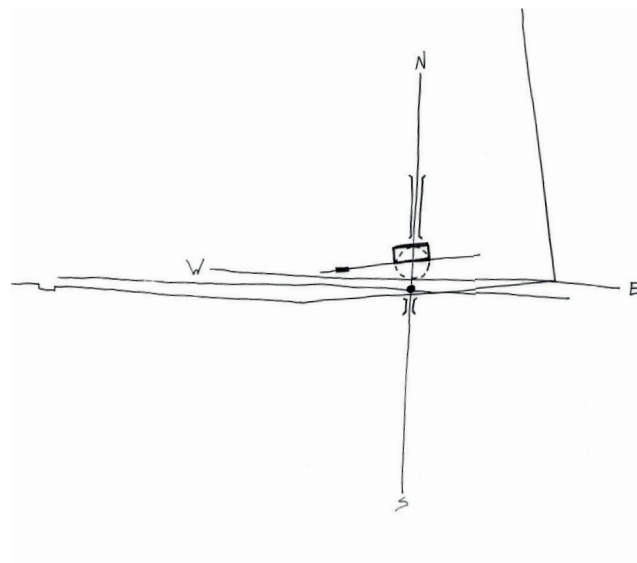
127 | Composition of the key elements



128 | Birds eye view of the proposed design

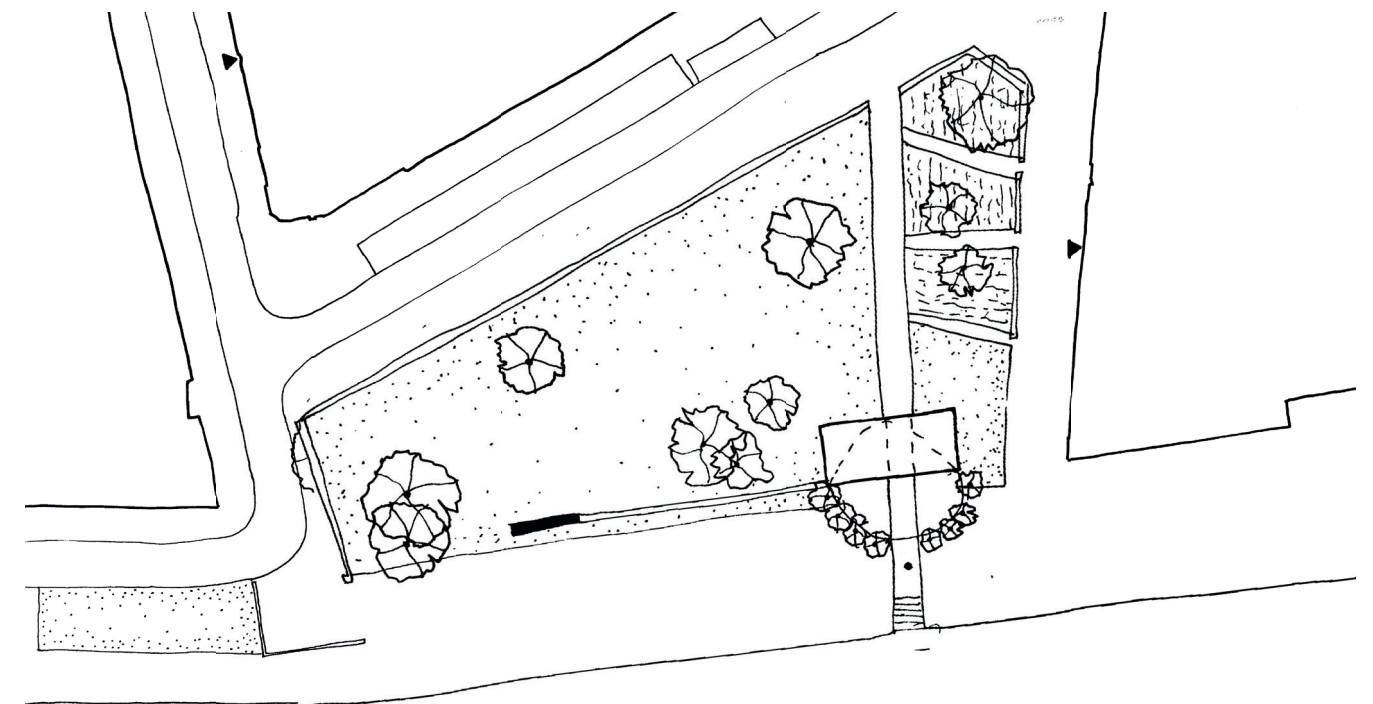


130 | Section from the Lloydstraat to the Nieuwe Maas



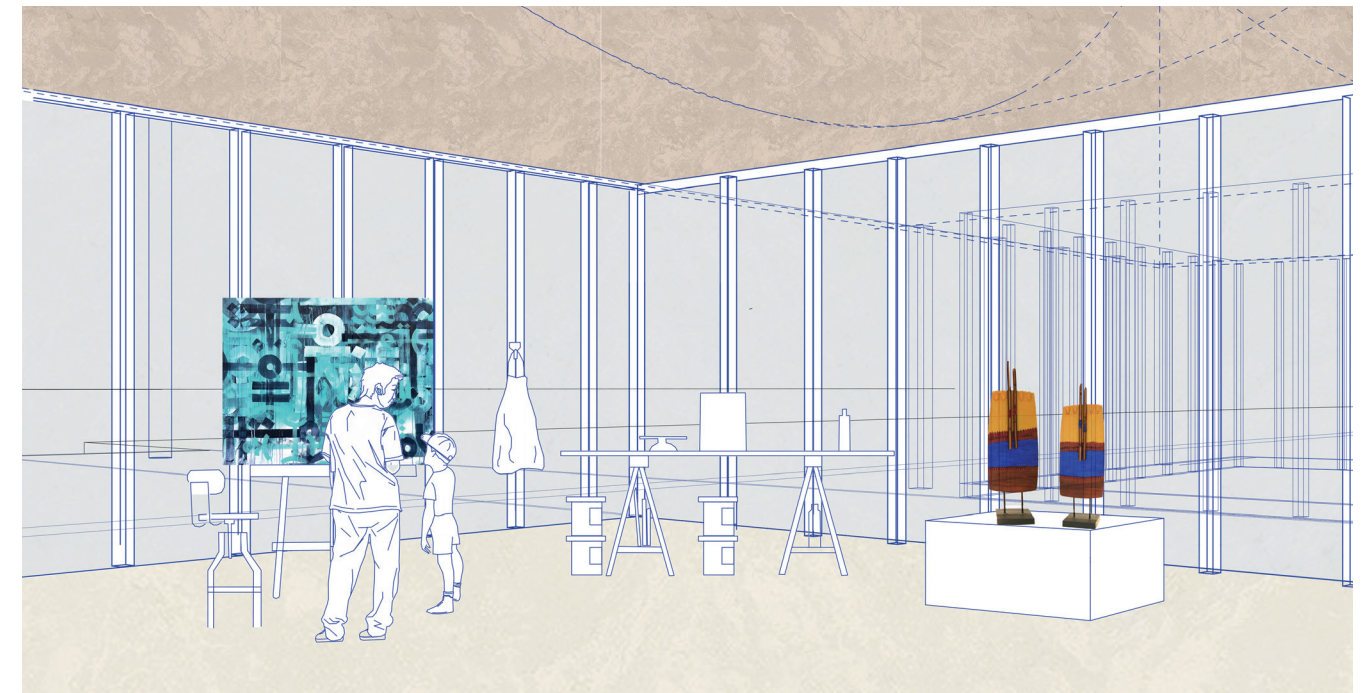
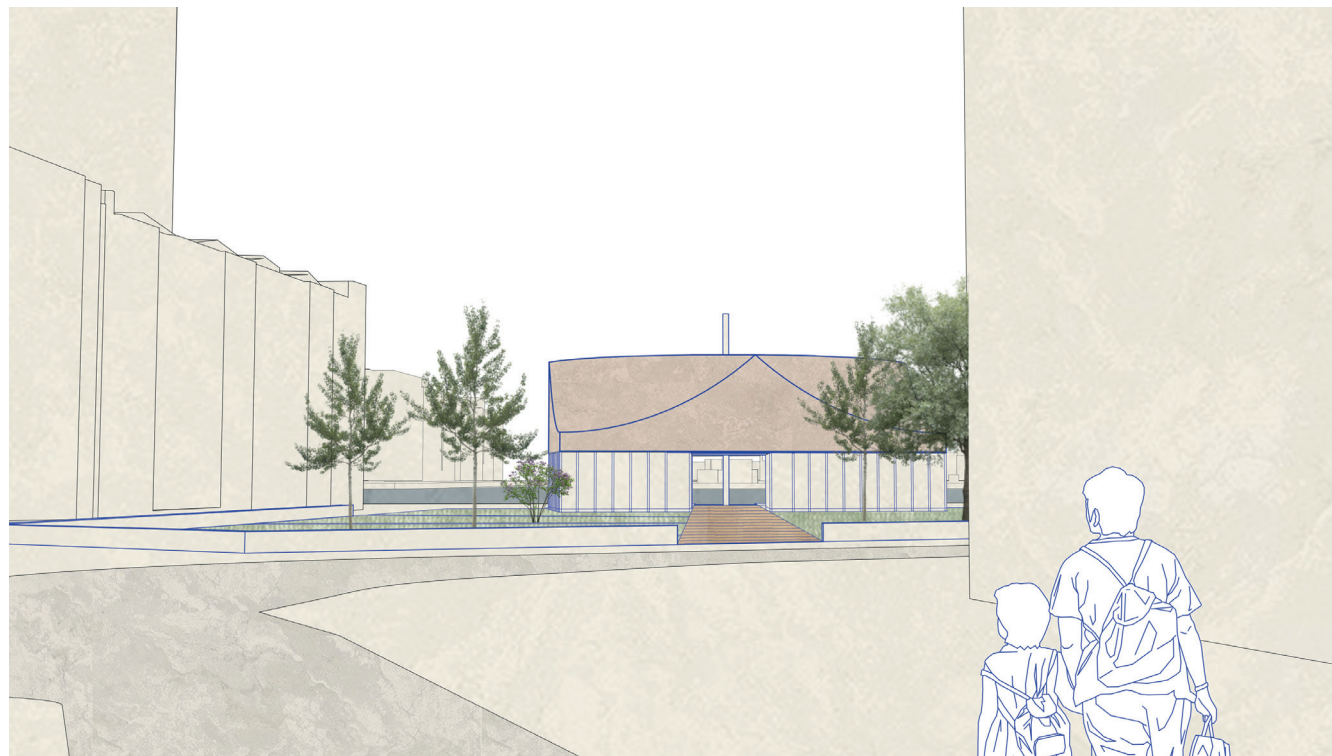
From the Lloydstraat, the path leads in a north-south direction, leading to the flagpole and the waterfront. Within the composition, this path cuts through the circular layout, effectively dividing the park side, which has a more public ambiance, from the waterside, which offers an intimate public space. Interestingly, the shape of the building's roof integrates it seamlessly into the circular motif, making it an integral part of the whole composition. The design of the roof takes inspiration from the Helgeland Museum, a creation of the architectural office Vardehaugen. The shape of the roof has been adjusted in terms of ratio and size, while the ground floor has been modified by incorporating a pathway that cuts through it.

129 | Design diagram spatial relationships and perspectives



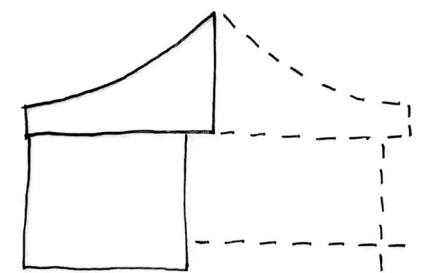
131 | Proposed public space design for the Lloydkade

132 | View from the Lloydstraat to the path, community building and flagpole



133 | Visualisation of the interior atelier space of the community building

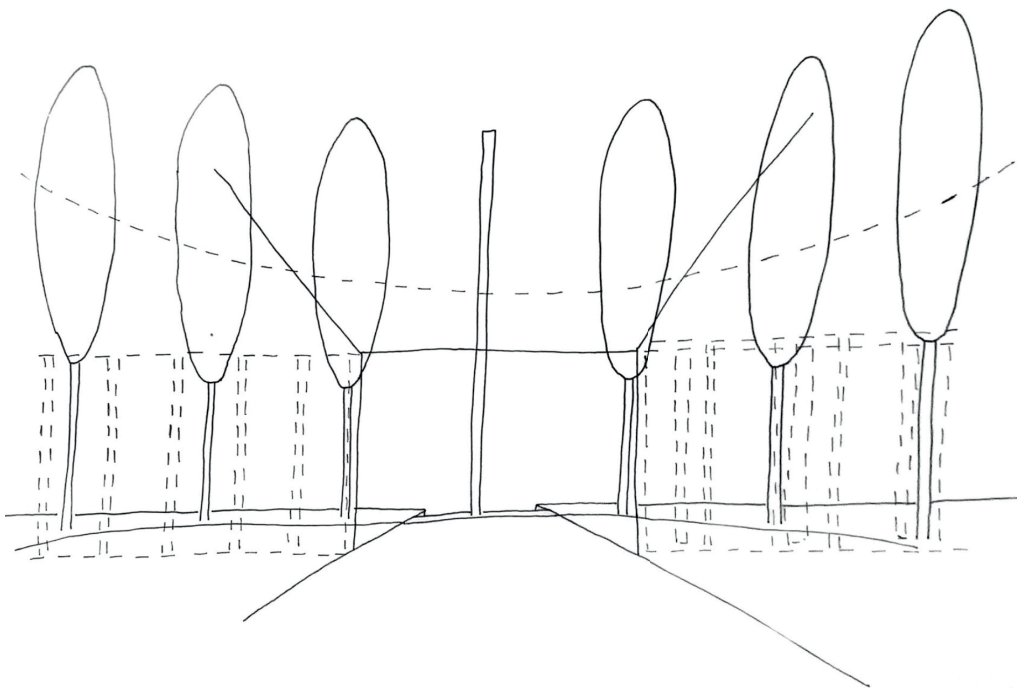
In the context of Moluccan culture, this study showed that community buildings hold significant importance as vital elements in their living environment, serving as spaces for cultural preservation. Traditionally, these buildings, known as Baileos, are open structures without walls, allowing the free flow of ancestral spirits. In this design, a community building reminiscent of a Baileo is incorporated, featuring a roof that echoes half of a standard Baileo roof at its entrance. Additionally, the building's interior space is should feel like a continuity of the surrounding public realm, accomplished through the extensive use of glass in the facade. This architectural approach creates a sense of continuity, ensuring that the building feels like an extension of the public space. The building provides ample room for exhibitions, performances, and social gatherings, such as networking receptions among Moluccans.



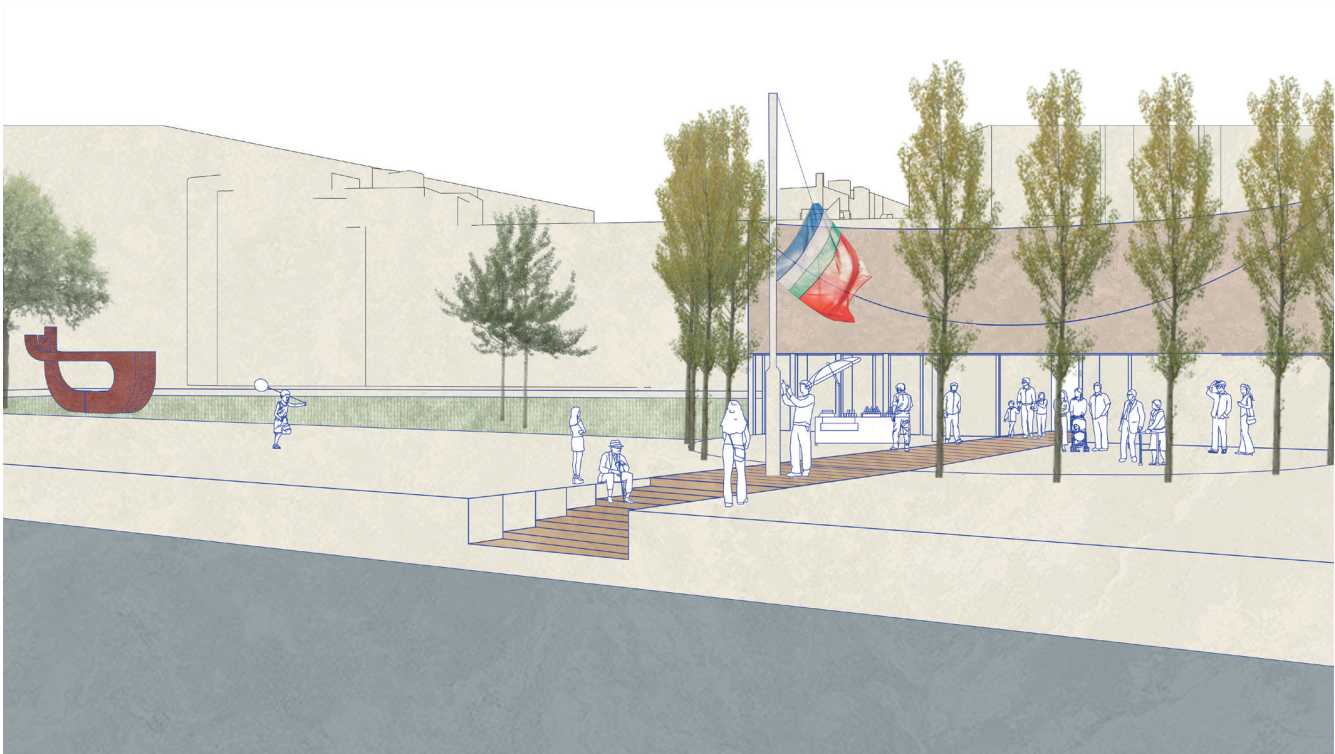
134 | Diagram echo of the standard Baileo roof

The flagpole's towering height ensures that the site remains visible and prominent from all directions: from the entrance, the Moluccan monument, and even from the water. Its visibility from the water evokes the presence of flagpoles commonly found in harbours. When the flag is raised, it serves as a reminder not only to those on land but also to those on passing ships, symbolizing the enduring history of the Moluccan community.

Upon approaching via the pathway, the prominence of the flagpole is heightened. The arrangement of poplar trees in a circular path redirects the gaze upwards, drawing attention towards the pinnacle of the flagpole. Simultaneously, these trees contribute to a



135 | Design diagram of the effect of circular poplars in relation to the flagpole



136 | View from the water to the new heritage space

greater sense of intimacy within the space, all while preserving an unobstructed view of the water.

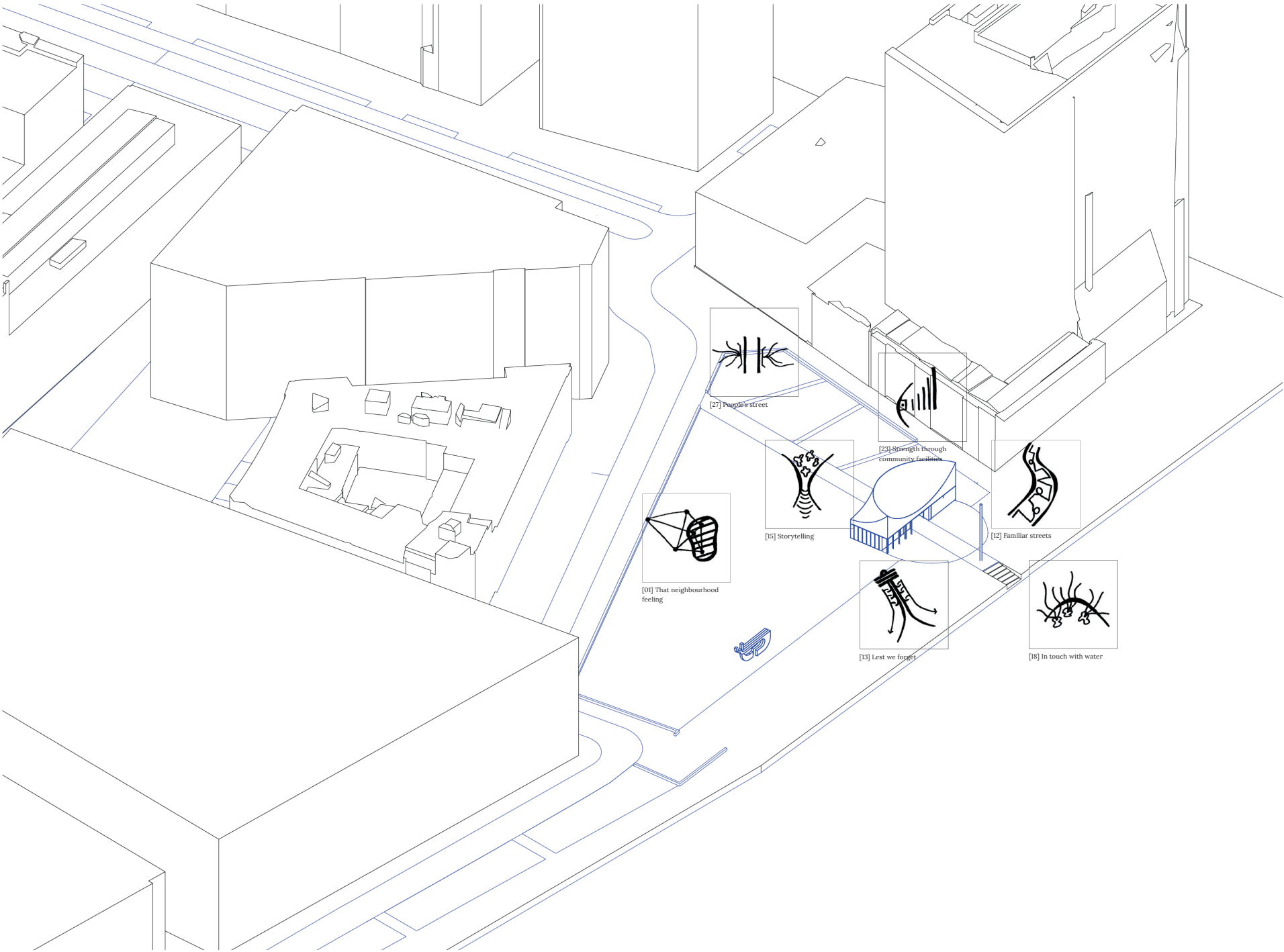
This public spaces holds a significant role in providing opportunities for communities in Rotterdam to collectively commemorate shared historical hardships. For instance, the space can accommodate the annual remembrance on June 30th, dedicated to the abolishment of slavery. Similarly, on significant dates like April 25th, which marks RMS independence day, a ceremonial

procession can commence at the path, continue towards the water, and ends at the flagpole. Although the available space at the flagpole is more limited compared to the slavery monument, it is anticipated that the Moluccan community's turnout might be smaller, as many individuals typically gather in Moluccan neighbourhoods for such ceremonies. However, this design offers an opportunity for Moluccans residing in larger cities, who may not have access to neighbourhood events, to participate in the ceremony held at the Lloydkade.

6.3.3 Applied patterns

Figure 137 provides a comprehensive overview of the patterns implemented to create a new cultural heritage site on the Lloykade in Rotterdam. It serves as an exemplary demonstration of the successful application of these patterns. However, it is essential to recognize that other patterns can also be employed in this location, as the selection presented is not exclusive.

For a comprehensive understanding of the meaning behind these patterns, please refer to the 'Moluccan Territories: Pattern Book'.



137 | Overview of the applied patterns at the Lloykade

7. Conclusions, Discussion and Reflection

This chapter presents the conclusions derived from the study, addressing the main question: How can Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands become inclusive territories while enhancing their cultural heritage through urban design? In this concluding chapter, it is drawn upon the findings and insights from the study to provide a comprehensive discussion on the possibilities and recommendations for achieving this goal. It also includes a reflection on the individual process and positions the project within a wider context.

- 7.1 Conclusion
- 7.3 Discussion and Recommendations
- 7.2 Reflection

7.1 Conclusions

The main question explored in this study:

How can Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands become inclusive areas through urban design while enhancing cultural heritage?

Part 1: Spatializing Moluccan Heritage

How have Moluccan neighbourhoods emerged and developed over time? What are the spatial characteristics of Moluccan neighbourhoods and what makes them unique? What spatial patterns can be found in the use of inhabitants and visitors that showcase the identity of the Moluccan neighbourhoods?

The analysis of the case studies has revealed significant aspects that constitute the Moluccan heritage. Firstly, the network of community facilities, both within the neighbourhood and throughout the municipality, emerged as a crucial factor in maintaining the unity of the Moluccan community, especially as the religious focus diminishes. Secondly, there are similarities in the desired spatial layout of neighbourhoods and villages on the Moluccan islands, with an emphasis on a network of alleys and an organic layout that fosters a sense of wandering and less rigid structure. Furthermore, public spaces are primarily viewed as space for ceremonies and brief interactions in front of houses, while most social activities occur within the private realm. Another essential component of the heritage is the kitchen, which, with its size and location at the back of the house, plays an important role in transmitting Moluccan culture. Finally, making the heritage recognizable through elements

such as street names or entrance indications contributes to identifying a place as a Moluccan neighbourhood, with the RMS flag commonly used for this purpose.

Part 2: Forming scenarios

How do perceptions of Moluccan neighbourhoods differ among different generations and from non-Moluccan society? How will the Moluccan society and its culture evolve?

The exploration of scenarios has brought to light an interesting dynamic regarding the attachment to Moluccan neighbourhoods among different generations. It has become apparent that the younger generations exhibit less attachment to these neighbourhoods, while the older generations perceive them as a means to maintain a connection with the Moluccan Islands. Despite this disparity, the majority of generations express a desire to preserve the Moluccan neighbourhoods. Interviews with experts have further highlighted that the younger generations are increasingly integrated into Dutch culture, resulting in a more individualistic approach. As a consequence, traditional Moluccan neighbourhoods do not align with their present aspirations, and they are more drawn to larger cities. In order to ensure the preservation of Moluccan neighbourhoods, it is crucial for these neighbourhoods to evolve and become more diverse, accommodating the changing needs and preferences of the younger generations while still maintaining their cultural heritage.

Part 3: Designing the urban form

How can Moluccan neighbourhoods be transformed into more inclusive and porous neighbourhoods? What is the urban form that fits the tangible and intangible Moluccan heritage?

By strengthening the network of alleys and creating intimate public spaces, it is possible to address the desire for informality and reduce the pressures of social control in the neighbourhoods. Additionally, neighborhoods can become more inclusive by introducing greater diversity in the housing stock, developing housing types that cater to the housing preferences of the Moluccan community, thus attracting younger generations of Moluccans.

The tangible heritage lies not only in the neighbourhoods but extends to the creation of spaces where younger generations can recognize their own culture. Key elements to facilitate intangible heritage include a community building, flagpole, paths and alleys, and the relationship with water. Bringing these elements together provides an opportunity for both commemorating the past and showcasing Moluccan culture to the community itself and the wider Dutch society.

In conclusion, this study has shed light on the importance of urban design in transforming Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands into inclusive territories while enhancing their cultural heritage. It was discovered that it is vital not only to preserve and celebrate the existing cultural heritage within these neighbourhoods but also to create new places for cultural expression and engagement, particularly for the younger generations.

7.2 Discussion and Recommendations

In this discussion, it is important to acknowledge the limitations of the research, as it helps to contextualize the findings and provide insights into potential areas for further research and improvement in spatial projects on Moluccan neighbourhoods.

Time limitations and geographic scope

The project was subject to certain constraints, including a specific timeline, which impacted the depth of research, community engagement, and design iterations. Consequently, the focus was narrowed down to three case study locations, which may limit the generalizability of the findings and recommendations to other Moluccan communities in different areas. The unique characteristics and challenges specific to each neighbourhood may not have been fully captured due to the restricted geographic scope of the study. To gain a more comprehensive understanding, future research could encompass neighbourhoods in larger cities, such as the Maastricht neighbourhood, to explore the potential impact of a different demographic context where the Moluccan population within the municipality is considerably smaller.

Perspectives of other subgroups

Another aspect worth discussing is the cultural heterogeneity within the Moluccan community observed throughout this project. The Moluccan community comprises individuals with diverse backgrounds, experiences, and preferences, including religious differences. While the project primarily focuses on Christian Moluccan

neighbourhoods, it is important to acknowledge that there are also Muslim communities, such as the one in Ridderkerk. The project's scope may not have fully encompassed the nuances and variations in preferences regarding the use and design of spaces among different Moluccan subgroups.

The essence of a Moluccan neighbourhood

The question of when a neighbourhood can be considered a Moluccan neighbourhood raises important considerations regarding the inclusion of other cultures. While it is crucial to preserve the cultural identity and heritage of Moluccan communities, it is also essential to foster inclusivity and embrace diversity within neighbourhoods. From the perspective of the Moluccan community, future research should focus on understanding the specific criteria and demands for a neighbourhood to be recognized as a Moluccan neighbourhood. This exploration should involve engaging with community members to ascertain their perspectives on what defines a Moluccan neighbourhood and the significance of preserving its cultural character. Additionally, it is important to consider the size and concentration of the Moluccan population within a neighbourhood. Research could explore

how the presence and number of Moluccan residents impact the identity and recognition of a neighbourhood as Moluccan. Understanding the demographics and the significance of the Moluccan population within the neighbourhood will provide valuable insights into the dynamics of cultural preservation and integration.

Pattern Language as communication tool

In conclusion, a recommendation for the development of Moluccan neighbourhoods is to adopt the pattern language approach as a means to enhance communication and collaboration among stakeholders. Pattern language, being a structured and accessible framework that captures design interventions, provides a common language for stakeholders to effectively express their insights and perspectives. By utilizing this approach, a collaborative and inclusive decision-making process can be fostered, leading to a shared understanding and appreciation of the distinctive characteristics and aspirations of Moluccan neighbourhoods. Ultimately, this will result in the creation of more culturally sensitive urban design interventions.

7.3 Reflection

Part 1: Personal process

Understanding of why and how of the project

Early on in the project, I ran into a main challenge of this project, which for me was, how to make culture spatial. I started the project with an interest in my own culture, and the idea that Moluccan neighbourhoods is a spatial phenomenon, so the idea that culture ought to have a spatial component. However, through extensive conversations with experts and residents, I discovered that culture primarily thrives through the people who uphold it. This realization shifted my focus away from analyzing physical elements in space and toward delving deeply into the cultural identity of the community. While this shift in focus allowed me to gain a better understanding of the community, it also posed difficulties in selecting appropriate locations. I became acutely aware of the diverse perspectives and variations among Moluccans and their neighbourhoods. Later on in the project, I focused on the locations and getting information from interviews to find out the preferences and usage patterns of the Moluccans and then spatialising this. By doing spatialisation, I still found out many patterns in the use of the neighbourhoods, even though it seemed difficult to discover similarities beforehand.

Many of these similarities I came across during the project were already familiar to me, either consciously or unconsciously, as they involved places I had been visiting since childhood. However, I was also mindful from the outset of the potential pitfalls of bias in my work. Instead, I harnessed my personal biases as a driving force to deepen my understanding of the Moluccan community and culture. My goal was to effectively convey this knowledge to others and foster greater familiarity with the culture.

Furthermore, I remained acutely aware of the need to maintain a critical perspective on

Moluccan neighbourhoods, even when it felt challenging given the strong support I received from the community. Pleasing the entire community was never the objective of this project. It was essential to strike a balance by showcasing the positive aspects to the outside world while also presenting a critical lens to the community itself. By offering a comprehensive perspective, I aimed to engage in meaningful dialogue and promote a deeper appreciation and understanding of Moluccan culture.

Handling feedback

After Presentation 1, I encountered the challenge of striking a balance between spatializing the problem and avoiding excessive comparisons. I had to decide whether to focus on ethnic groups in general or narrow down my focus to Moluccan culture specifically. This realization prompted me to bring a sharper focus to the project by concentrating on Moluccan culture and the site-specific conditions, rather than relying heavily on existing literature for explanations.

At the Presentation 2, it became evident that I had become overly fixated on the neighbourhood scale and needed to consider both larger and smaller scales. Fortunately, the Pattern Language method provided a valuable framework, allowing me to describe various elements across different scales. This feedback was instrumental in broadening my perspective, as I discovered that many aspects were relevant across multiple scales. Subsequently, I delved deeper into developing the pattern language and exploring how it could be effectively applied in the design process.

However, during the Presentation 3, the feedback highlighted the need for clearer explanation of how the pattern language is employed in design and how the design, in turn, influences the pattern language. The narrative detailing the transition from research to design also required more clarity. Additionally, there was a suggestion

to strengthen the relationships between the three design elements: the pattern language, neighbourhood renovation, and the creation of new heritage. In response, I established stronger connections between the pattern language and the two design locations, resulting in the extraction of essential patterns and the emergence of overarching themes that hold greater significance in both designs. As a result, the designs now exhibit greater coherency and integration.

Part 2: required components

Relation between the graduation topic, the studio topic, the master track, and your master programme

For me, the topic of this years graduation studio concerns how people live with each other in a society with many people with different histories and cultures. The theme of this year's Design of the Urban Fabric studio is 'Embracing plurality, growing porosity'. This connects seamlessly with the topic of this graduation project. The diversity that the Moluccan society brings with it, which was initially not embraced by the Netherlands, but is now more accepted and appreciated. Moluccans being mentioned as the school image of integration, but in reality, Moluccan society is still focused inwards. Although many neighbourhoods are already more mixed, this study looks at making them more porous. To ensure by opening up the neighbourhoods, the preservation of the neighbourhoods.

It relates to the master track Urbanism by focusing on the living environment of the society, which goes beyond the physical living environment, but also involves larger systems, such as the segregation policy that led to the construction of the Moluccan neighbourhoods. But also other processes such as the development of the cultural identity of the Moluccans as a group plays a role. All in all, the master's

programme is about how these aspects come together in the built environment and to provide solutions using a multi-disciplinary approach.

Societal Relevance

The Netherlands is an immigration country and will continue to face immigration flows in the future. The current migration debate is centred around people fleeing the war in Ukraine and the rise of climate migrants. For dealing with the growing migration flows in the Netherlands, a lesson can be drawn from the way the government regulated the care and housing of Moluccans in the past. Whereas today the focus is on dispersal and integration, at the time of the arrival of Moluccans in the Netherlands, there was a strong segregation policy. According to Steijlen (2017), this isolation of Moluse society in the early years hindered integration with the rest of Dutch society. As a result, the Moluccan community has turned inward and reactions are fierce when the neighbourhood threatens to go through a transition from a homogeneous to mixed neighbourhood. Especially in these times, when it is often mentioned that living environments should be inclusive and diverse, it is therefore important is to explore ways to open up this type of neighbourhoods more without making current residents feel they are losing part of their identity and culture.

Scientific Relevance

Moluccan neighbourhoods are the only concentration neighbourhoods in the Netherlands where one ethnic group is segregated. The neighbourhoods are therefore a unique situation. However, there is a knowledge gap on the spatial impact of the neighbourhoods. The research that has been done on the Moluccan neighbourhoods is all covered by the social sciences (sociology, social geography and planning, cultural anthropology, spatial sciences, governance). The basis for all these studies often goes back to the work of E. Rinsampey (1992) who researched

Moluccan identity in processes of cultural change. In these and other studies, the emphasis is often on how culture is passed on to generations, with the neighbourhoods playing an important factor in the process of culture handover. The research that looks at the role of physical place on people's behaviour is about residents' Sense of place. It does not, however, make explicit which spatial features lead to it here either. This research attempts to investigate the spatial characteristics of Moluccan culture and how culture affects the use of space and vice versa.

Moreover, now, reactions from society to the transition of neighbourhoods are triggers for municipalities to adjust their policies. Policy research on the Moluccan neighbourhoods showed that policies also differ for most neighbourhoods. There is no general policy on a national scale on how to deal with neighbourhoods. Different things are at play in each neighbourhood but still, a statement could also be made by the government on neighbourhoods that were also their initiative. Moreover, the studies thus mainly look at the current situation and those of the past. A study on the right to exist of Moluccan neighbourhoods and design strategies for the future would complement the current field of knowledge.

The influence of the research on the design and the other way around

One of the most significant ways in which research influenced design was through the use of Christopher Alexander's Pattern Language. In this study of Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, research was done to identify patterns that were unique to Moluccan communities. For example, the importance of communal spaces was identified. These findings influenced the renovation assignment of the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld because the patterns were incorporated into the design on different scales. For example, communal spaces

where ceremonies can take place will be included. Fieldwork was an essential aspect of the research, as it involved observing and experiencing the Moluccan neighbourhoods first hand. This allowed to gain a deeper understanding of the patterns and behaviours that are taken into account while designing.

On the other hand, design also influenced research in this study. While designing Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands, it became apparent that more research through multiple scales was needed. One example of this was the design of the public spaces within the community. At a smaller scale, the design of individual homes needed to be considered to ensure that they were functional and met the needs of the community. At a larger scale, the design of the public spaces, such as green spaces and community centers, need to be considered to ensure that they were accessible and provided opportunities for social interaction and cultural expression. This realization highlighted the need for more research on the relationship between the design of individual homes and public spaces within the community. This research could include surveys and interviews with community members to understand their needs and preferences for public spaces, as well as observations of how people interact with these spaces.

By conducting research at multiple scales, the design could be a more holistic and responsive design that takes into account the needs and preferences of the community at various levels. This highlights the importance of interdisciplinary link between design and research to ensure that the design of the built environment is effective and responsive to people's needs.

Assessment of the value of the approach and used methods

The value of methods like the pattern language of Christopher Alexander and fieldwork can be assessed this project on Moluccan

neighbourhoods through several means:

- Effectiveness in capturing the community's needs and values: The success of the project depends on how effectively the methods capture the community's needs and values. This is done by interviews with experts on the Moluccan community, its history, culture, and aspirations.

- Validity of the identified patterns in the pattern language: The identified patterns should be valid and applicable to the specific Moluccan neighbourhoods in the Netherlands. They should not be too general or too specific, and they should be grounded in the community's reality. To make this happen it is tried to combine fieldwork research with theoretical background in each pattern.

- Applicability of the patterns: The identified patterns should be applicable to urban environments. The patterns are used to guide the re-design of the Moluccan neighbourhood in Barneveld to test the application of patterns.

- Feasibility of the project: The project should be realistic and achievable. This is translated into integrated design solutions that enhance the Moluccan heritage of the Moluccan neighbourhoods and also contribute to making the neighbourhood more sustainable and resilient in the long term.

- Community engagement: The community should feel involved and empowered in the decision-making process, and their feedback should be integrated into the project's design and implementation. In the context of the Pattern Language method of Christopher Alexander, a participation workshop can be seen as a way to validate and refine the patterns identified through fieldwork research. This process can help identify the strengths and weaknesses of the project and ensure that it aligns with the community's needs

and values.

The transferability value of the project results

When developing the methodology for this project, a crucial factor was its potential to contribute in redeveloping the remaining Moluccan neighbourhoods throughout the Netherlands. To ensure the transferability of the findings, the pattern language methodology was selected. This method breaks down the intricacies of Moluccan culture into distinct components, serving as a means of communication among designers, residents, community organizations, local governments, and housing corporations. By implementing the pattern language approach in the Barneveld case study, the project demonstrates how it can be applied and replicated in other Moluccan neighborhoods. Additionally, these outcomes could inform research on other ethnic enclaves, particularly with regards to public space usage, relationship with nature, communal needs, and intergenerational relationships.

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Appendix

Interviews overview

Experts on Moluccan culture or Moluccan neighbourhoods

Prof Fridus Steijlen - extraordinary professor of Moluccan migration and culture

Moluccan culture and history, importance of neighbourhoods, current state of Moluccan foundations and organisations, links between Moluccans here and on the Moluccan Islands.

Rein Sohilaït - advisor/process supervisor, initiator of placing a Moluccan Barrack in the open-air museum

Projects for housing corporations in Moluccan neighbourhoods, experience in resident participation, living in a Moluccan neighbourhood

Dr Elias Rinsampessy - social and cultural anthropologist and chairman of the board of the Muhabbat Foundation

Moluccan culture, importance of neighbourhoods in the field of social sciences, living in a Moluccan neighbourhood,

Ichthus Rahanra - Financial interim. Advocates for the preservation of Moluccan neighbourhoods

The importance of the neighbourhoods, life in the neighbourhoods, current state of Moluccan foundations and organisations

Residents and neighbouring residents

Tonny Parinussa - resident 2nd generation

Vught, Lunetten

Lily Hehanussa - resident 2nd generation

Vught, Lunetten

August Loupatty - resident 2nd generation

Barneveld

Eliënne Loupatty - resident 3rd generation

Barneveld

Gianiva van Looij - resident 4th generation

Barneveld

Mozes Tulaseket - resident 2nd generation

Vught, Vijverhof

The interviews carried out for this project were conducted in the Dutch language. To obtain the comprehensive English version, kindly reach out to the author.

Interviews with experts



11 february 2023_via ZOOM

Ichtus Rahanra

-Ichtus is actief als bestuurslid van Stichting Teripang, een organisatie die zich inzetten voor het behoud van de Molukse wijken. Voornamelijk voor de Molukse wijk in Rijssen.

-Ichtus is zelf opgegroeid in de Molukse wijk in Zwolle. Hij woont nu om de hoek bij de Molukse wijk in Rijssen en komt vaak in de wijk.

-De Molukse wijk in Rijssen bestaat uit 22 woningen. Voorheen waren dit sociale huurwoningen. Nu bepaald Stichting Teripang wie er in de woningen gehuisvest wordt, hierbij geldt niet meer de inkomensregel zoals die voor sociale huurwoningen geldt.

-Over behoud van de wijken: De samenleving wil herkenbaar blijven. Door het zichtbaar laten zijn van de cultuur, wordt de komst van Molukkers naar Nederland herdacht.

-Over de monumentale waarde: Immaterieel gaat dit om de manier van leven maar ook het bij elkaar wonen. Vorig jaar (2022) vroeg de Burgemeester aan Ichtus Rahanra: "Waarom willen jullie eigenlijk nog bij elkaar wonen? Waarop Ichtus antwoorde: "Het is een eerbetoon aan de eerste generatie. Als u naar de nederlandse enclaves in Zuid-Afrika gaat en daar dezelfde vraag stelt krijg je over hetzelfde antwoord. Ze zijn op zoek naar verbondenheid, een stukje herkenning, dezelfde cultuur. Het is een principiële kwestie. De overheid heeft zelf de woonwijken in stand gehouden. We gingen van barakken naar woonwijken. Als je (de Nederlandse overheid) ervan af wilt dan moet je duidelijk zijn, maar dat durven ze niet te zeggen, want daar zit veel emotie en schaamte.

-Stelling: De Molukse wijk is niet meer van deze tijd. Ook al zouden de wijken niet meer van deze tijd zijn, zou hij dat principieel nooit zeggen. Door de overheid is beloofd om de wijken Moluks te houden dus dan moet dat ook zo blijven.

-Stelling: Het is goed mogelijk om voor de jongere generatie een nieuwe Molukse wijk te stichten. Ichtus is het hier niet mee eens omdat hij denkt dat voor de jongeren de sociale controle in de wijken te groot is.

-Ichtus ziet verschillen die gepaard gaan met de grootte van een wijk. "Grottere wijken, grotere problemen. Bij de kleinere wijken is de verbondenheid dichterbij te zoeken. Ook het type wijk is een factor. Zo zijn er de Maluku Tenggara wijken (Zwolle zevenaar, nistelrode, cuijck, rijssen, komen van bepaalde streek). Hier komen de inwoners niet van verschillende eilanden en is de verbondenheid dus groter.

-Het Stichtingsgebouw is ook belangrijk bij de mate van verbondenheid. Wanneer deze er niet meer is, is er geen ontmoetingsplek meer en is de mate van verbondenheid minder. De waarde van cultuur kan bij het ontbreken van een stichtingsgebouw verloren gaan.

-Over de overeenkomsten in de wijken met het leven in de woonoordsituatie en leven op de Molukken: "De cultuur is meer verwaterd. Het individualistischer geworden en minder hecht. Vroeger kon je bij iedereen naar binnen lopen, dan hing er een touwtje aan de deur. Hoe in de Nederlandse samenleving gaat, zo gaat dat nu ook in de Molukse samenleving. Dat komt doordat er meer menging is met de Nederlandse cultuur."

-Over de trend dat jongeren weer in de wijk willen wonen: "Er is sprake van huisvestingsproblematiek. Huizen komen niet snel voorradig. Als er een huis vrijkomt staat er zeven jongere Molukse gezinnen klaar die erin willen. De woningen zijn goedkoop en geeft mooi de kans om te sparen. De woningnood in Nederland is groot. Voor hen is dat makkelijk want je bent een Molukker, er is geen wachtlijst en het is een vertrouwde omgeving. Het is vooral een praktische keuze en ze kiezen niet per se voor het hechte sociale netwerk van de buurt."

-Wat is de ideale Molukse wijk? Elke wijk is ideaal. Het is aan de mensen zelf om het ideaal te maken.

-Op dit moment is Djehosusa Sahetapy bezig met het opzetten van een organisatie die zich landelijk bezig houdt met het behoud van de wijken.

-“Vroeger waren de wijken echt op zichzelf gekeerd. Nu heeft de wijk in Rijssen contacten met de gemeente en overleggen met woningcorporaties. Bij buurtactiviteiten worden alle bewoners uitgenodigd, ook de niet-Molukkers. Het stichtingsgebouw is een sociaal cultureel punt voor iedereen, een ook naar buiten toe gericht. Zo willen de mensen uit de wijk zich profileren en verwachten zo de goodwill te hebben van medebewoners zonder Molukse achtergrond. Er werd een bingo georganiseerd, op de flyers stond ook ‘iedereen is welkom’. Ook worden er culturele



14 february 2023_Universiteit Leiden

Prof Fridus Steijlen

-Het is belangrijk om het verschil tussen een monument en Lieux de mémoire te benoemen. Het laatste is een plek waar geschiedenis verteld wordt.

-Naar aanleiding van een overeenkomst uit 1986 werden in de jaren 90 veel wijken gerenoveerd. Onder andere de naam van ir. Remy Matulesy werd vaak gekoppeld aan deze renovatie/nieuwbouw projecten. Henk Smeets weet veel over de wijk in Vught.

-Over de monumentale waarde: Beleidsmatig is het verbonden met de huisvesting van Molukkers in Nederland. "Het (de wijken) heeft bestaansrecht zolang de belanghebbenden zich ervoor willen inzetten. Zolang dat het geval is moeten we ervoor open staan." Er zetten beperkingen aan welke wijk in aanmerkingen kan komen om erfgoed te worden. Tip om hiervoor ook naar Leerdam en Wierden te kijken.

-De mensen in de wijken zijn onderdeel van het verhaal. En dus ook onderdeel van het erfgoed.

-Het is belangrijk voor de identiteit van de wijken dat de instituties (kerk, stichtingsgebouw) herkenbaar zijn.

-Er is veel onduidelijkheid wat betreft de toekomstvisie van de wijken. Dit

komt ook doordat er in het verleden geen afspraken zijn gemaakt over de status van de wijken op lange termijn.

-Ziet u in de wijken van deze tijd nog steeds veel overeenkomsten met het leven in de woonoordsituatie of kampungs? Het valt niet te vergelijken met een kampung, omdat het leven daar sterk afhangt van de locatie en de grond.

-Amsterdam Paradiso, Moluccan moods – Dorpsplein van Molukse Nederland. Vormen de wijken nu dat dorpsplein? Is er behoefte aan een nieuw dorpsplein? Er zijn tegenwoordig veel Molukse evenementen die ongeveer hetzelfde doen. Met jonge Molukse artiesten en Moluks eten en waarbij iedereen welkom is.

-Over de openbare ruimte op de Molukken: Elk dorp heeft wel een dorpsplein. Er zijn veel kleine achterstraatjes. Dit komt ook doordat het bergachtiger is. Bijvoorbeeld in het dorpje Booi, Saparua waar er veel trappen te vinden zijn.

-Om moluks erfgoed zichtbaar te maken kan gewerkt worden met vegetatie. Zoals het toepassen van de Waringin boom. Of denk aan de Fragatvogel (van Seram). In de stad Ambon worden nu symbolen op de straat toegepast die verwijzen naar de cultuur. Hier is niet iedereen blij mee want de symbolen worden ook als Heilig gezien en nu loopt iedereen daar overheen. Kijk ook naar welke symbolen er worden gebruikt voor de monumenten in Nederland. Zoals de hutkoffer, nootmuskaat en kruidnagel, de schepen. "Welke symbolen worden gebruikt op de monumenten, zegt iets over hoe zij de geschiedenis willen vertellen."

-Nederland is multiculturele samenleving – moeten we daarom alles mengen? Kan er plek zijn voor dit soort etnische enclaves?



14 februari 2023_via ZOOM

Rein Sohilait

Rein heeft een achtergrond van Bestuurskunde en Organisatiekunde aan de Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam – veranderingsmanagement culturen en structureren van overheidsorganisaties. Nu commercieel adviesbureau wijk leerdam, wel of niet renoveren. Slopen of nieuwbouw. Bemmelse kleine wijk, 32 wordt nieuwbouw.

-Ziet u in de wijken van deze tijd nog steeds veel overeenkomsten met het leven in de woonoordsituatie? De ene wijk is de andere niet. Je moet uitkijken dat je niet gaat algemeniseren. Wel heeft hij het idee dat in Molukse wijk de tijd stilstaat. In de zin van moeizame discussies en beleidsvormingsprocessen, corporaties gedwongen kwaliteitsverbetering en dan bewonersgroepen die teruggrijpen van nee gaan we niet doen op basis van historische uitspraken.

-Over de toekomstvisie: ziet u draagvlak voor een nationale visie voor Molukse wijken? Het moet lokaal, per gemeente bekeken worden hoe er met de wijken omgegaan moet worden. "Lokaal staat het verhaal dichtbij de mensen." Landelijk zou er wel behoefte kunnen zijn aan organisatie voor de verschillende lokale bewonersorganisaties.

-Trend van jongeren in de wijk: "Jongeren willen na het studeren nog wel

terugkeren. De meeste mensen in onze samenleving zijn afhankelijk van betaalbare sociale huurwoningen. De 3e generatie met een goede baan die terugwillen lopen tegen de grens van de sociale huur aan." Boven bepaald inkomen verdienen = scheefwoning. Of komen niet in aanmerking.

-De kern van het verhaal is ook bij de 3e generatie nog te zien, de politieke invalshoek dat de Nederlandse overheid schuldig blijft.

-Wat is de monumentale waarde van de wijken? materieel en immaterieel. En en, jarenlang bestuurslid Nederlandse woonbond, vakbond mensen afhankelijk betaalbare sociale huurwoningen.

-Over het behoud: Zolang de wijken er zijn, niet de discussie het behoud, maar de discussie is de kwaliteit van de woningen." De meeste woningen zijn in de jaren 60 gebouwd en nu sterk verouderd. De corporaties kijken ook naar de waarde, nog een keer renoveren is het niet meer waard zeggen corporaties, dus wordt vaker voor nieuwbouw gekozen. Ook zetten zij in op meer diversiteit in de woningvoorraad. Denk aan meer starterswoningen, levensloopbestendige woningen, seniorenwoningen met een ontmoetingstuin. Bewonersorganisaties staan positief tegenover de hogere diversiteit. Ze hechten waarde aan dat ze altijd met alle generaties samenwonen in de wijk. Andere bewoners zijn wel nog sterk gehecht aan het ouderlijk huis en zijn dus niet voor nieuwbouw.

-Spreekt telkens over 'Verouderde stenen'.

-Gemeenschapsgevoel/het collectief vs. individuele wensen. Bij nieuwbouw pleit hij voor het meenemen van individuele woonwensen van Molukkers. Echter is er vaak een standaard beukmaat waar rekening mee gehouden moet worden. Woonwensen van Molukkers zijn onder andere: gesloten keukens als verlengde van de tuin. Geen open keuken aan de voorzijde van de woning. Individuele wensen worden wel besproken maar niet altijd meegenomen. In Bemmelse is dit niet gelukt.

-Ook bij het ontwerp voor de openbare ruimte wordt rekening gehouden met de woonwensen van de bewoners. In Bemmelse was er de wens voor een gemeenschappelijke tuin.

-Bij regeneratie van de wijken gaat het ook over voorzieningen: de kerken en stichtingsgebouwen. Hier moet je sociaal en economisch verbinden. "Voor het versterken van het gemeenschapsgevoel, moet je ook werken aan de waarde van de stenen. Mensen betalen ook voor de wijkvoorzieningen dus moet daar een verbinding mee gezocht worden. Om ervoor te zorgen dat bewoners zich in de toekomst ook senang blijven voelen."

-In Lunteren hebben de bewoners het stichtingsgebouw zelf opgekocht. Het beheer ligt nu in hun eigen handen, zo bepalen ze zelf ook wat voor evenementen daar plaatsvinden.

-Er is nog te weinig onderzocht over de woonwensen van Molukkers per generatie en in de verschillende wijken.

-Over de rol van etnische enclaves in de multiculturele samenleving in Nederland: Andere dynamieken en de kwaliteit van voorzieningen is belangrijk. Het kan vergeleken worden met andere kleine gemeenschappen/enclaves in Nederland



17 february 2023_Nijmegen

Dr Elias Rinsampessy

Molukkers willen alles geheimhouden. “We zijn echt een eilandengroep. Mensen houden zich aan die eilandjes vast. Ook qua denken. Waardoor je dus bekrompen wordt, terwijl je bruggen moet bouwen.”

Q: Sommige mensen hebben het gevoel dat in de wijken de tijd stil staat. Waardoor komt dat?

A: Voor een deel staat de tijd stil, voor een deel ook niet omdat ze wel onderwijs volgen, werk hebben, Nederlandse vrienden hebben. Zelfs in de wijk zijn mensen gemengd gehuwd. De invloed van de Nederlandse cultuur is vrij groot. Alleen men wil het niet altijd als groep van elkaar weten.” Als individu nemen ze aan alles deel. Maar omdat het een collectief is durft men niet altijd in het openbaar alles te zeggen.”... Grootste deel van de groep durft zijn mening niet uit te spreken door de groepscultuur, die dus ook negatief is. (benoemd voorbeeld van de reizende tentoonstelling, waar niet alle molukkers het mee eens zijn) Er is nog steeds een bepaalde houding groep – individu. Het individu komt steeds meer tot zijn recht. Als collectief hou je nog rekening met elkaar. Ze vertonen dan vermijdingsgedrag in plaats van dat ze een confronterende mening naar voren brengen. In Nederlandse context is dat ook. Het lijkt of je wat zegt maar eigenlijk hou je dingen achter.

Q: Trend van meer gemengde huwelijken. Denkt u dat het groepsgevoel minder gaat worden?

A: De gekleurde Molukker wordt minder. De verkleuring is duidelijk aan de gang. “De dominante cultuur heeft steeds meer invloed. Het pleidooi is, kijkend naar Amerika met zeven generaties japanners die nog steeds hun symbolen gebruiken.” Nieuwste boek van E. Rinsampessy gaat daarover: ‘Echte Molukkers slurpen papeda.’

Nee het groepsgevoel wordt niet minder. Maar door het proces van individualisering, de verspreiding van Molukkers over heel Nederland. Twee derde van de Molukkers woont al verspreid, waardoor ze veel individualistischer worden. De jongere generaties hebben handvatten nodig, om iets van het Molukse zijn te hebben. Je kunt bepaalde symbolen concreet maken in deze maatschappij. Bijvoorbeeld een stukje respect, voor ouderen en elkaar (Kehormatan’), wat je meekrijgt in de opvoeding. Dat is wat anders dan elkaar de ruimte geven in termen van discussie. De saamhorigheid, het collectief in de cultuur is niet slecht, want je helpt en ondersteunt elkaar in moeilijke tijden. Je bent niet echt eenzaam. Dat is een belangrijk gegeven voor deze maatschappij. Want hoe vaak is eenzaamheid niet een onderwerp, omdat alles nu te individualistisch geregeld is in de maatschappij. Onze (Molukse) symbolen kunnen daarbij helpen.

Meegegeven aan eigen kinderen in de opvoeding: Er is altijd eten, Je kookt altijd veel te veel. Nederlandse opvatting: “je gooit veel eten weg”. Molukse opvatting: “het kan zijn dat er een gast komt eten”. Als iedereen komt dan nemen ze alles weer mee. Delen is één van de basis dingen van onze cultuur. Door te delen krijg je veel gemeenschapszin. De wijk op zich is geen garantie voor collectiviteit. Op een bepaald moment kan de invloed van de dominante cultuur zo zijn, dat iedereen op zichzelf leeft. Door die eengezinswoningen worden ook dingen bepaald, wanneer kom je nu nog bij je burens. Terwijl vroeger in het kamp (de woonoord) liepen we allemaal door een corridor,

gang, waar je elkaar ontmoet. Symbolen kun je transformeren naar deze maatschappij, als je dat kan doen, dan leeft die cultuur. Je bent Molukker, Nederlander, expert op het terrein van huisvesting. Een mens heeft verschillende identiteiten. Als je een Molukse oorsprong hebt, kun je daar de goede dingen van gebruiken.

De wijk zelf, ik weet niet of dat nog lang bestaat. Al die mensen gaan weg en je moet een wijk opbouwen. Wat voor visie en welke ontwikkeling (sociaal, economisch, fysiek) ga je daaraan geven.

Q: Wat is voor u de monumentale waarde van de wijken?

A: De monumentale waarde ligt in de mens zelf. De sociaal en culturele kant. Als je dat weet te vertalen in een wijk, in een stenen huis maar sociaal en cultureel gezien, heb je er veel aan. De eerste generatie is militair en denkt op één manier. De tweede generatie is daarmee opgegroeid. De derde generatie denkt heel divers. Met die diversiteit moet je rekeninghouden. Waar vindt je aanknopingspunten om te verbinden.

Over de sociale ongelijkheid: De woningen hebben een sociale huur grens die bepaald is door de overheid. Het risico daarvan is dat je qua inkomens een lagere groep krijgt in de wijk. Als het niet divers is, is dat nadelig voor de groep. Omdat je niet de kracht hebt van die inkomens. Aan de andere kant, moet je het dan vooral hebben van de sociale kant. Dat zie je bijvoorbeeld in Nederlandse arbeidersbuurten. Als de sociale cohesie heel sterk is, zie je dat die wijk leefbaar is. Mensen helpen en ondersteunen elkaar om die wijk goed te ontwikkelen. En daar moet je het eigenlijk van hebben. Als de overheid bereidt is om dat toe te staan, scheefwonen (rijke mensen die in een goedkoop huis wonen), zou dat voor de Molukse gemeenschap goed zijn. Sommige mensen geven niets om een dure villa, maar om het hebben van een sterke sociale cohesie.

Per definitie waren onze ouders niet rijk, ze waren een gemiddelde arbeider. Dat je dan zover komt heeft deels te maken met een strenge opvoeding, dat ze zeggen ‘je moet beter zijn dan een Nederlander, je moet 2 keer beter zijn’ en je moet geluk hebben dat je kan doorstromen door mensen of vrienden die je helpen.

Q: Ziet u nog wel ruimte voor etnische enclaves in zo’n multiculturele samenleving in Nederland?

A: Segregatie is er altijd geweest. Of je nou als groep, of als inkomensgroep bij elkaar zit. Die Nederlandse samenleving zijn ook gesegregeerde gebieden, je hebt hele rijke en arme wijken. Het gaat erom dat de mensen leefbaar leven. Dat ze een zodanige sociale cohesie ontwikkelen, dat ze leefbaar op deze aarde kunnen leven. Dat is mijn opvatting. Het gaat er niet om of een wijk behouden moet blijven of niet. Het gaat erom of mensen met elkaar kunnen omgaan. En of ze elkaar kunnen steunen en ondersteunen. En dan moet je wel wat aan die renovatie doen. Dat mensen leefbaar wonen en niet zoals nu met die energiecrisis, en dan zien hoe weinig de woningcorporaties doen voor de mens zelf. Met al die tochtige huizen en schimmels in de huizen. Dan is dat niet leefbaar wonen. Maar zoals ik het nu zie, hebben de wijken meer kans dan zo’n Nederlandse buurt. Omdat de mensen al individueel leven en weinig voor elkaar over hebben. In algemene zin dan.

Q: Fridus over de monumentale waarde: Het (de wijken) heeft bestaansrecht zolang de belanghebbenden zich ervoor willen inzetten. Er zetten beperkingen aan welke wijk in aanmerkingen kan komen om erfgoed te worden.

A: Je ziet nu al wijken verdwijnen. Dat heeft deels te maken omdat er te weinig Molukkers bij elkaar wonen, of omdat Nederlanders naast Molukkers wonen. Bepaalde wijken zijn maar twee straten met 5 Molukse gezinnen, dat werkt niet. Maar een wijk als Assen, Moordrecht, Bovensmilde (straat met Polen). Bij laatstgenoemde is er de laatste jaren weinig gedaan aan de gemeenschapszin. In het algemeen vind ik bij Molukkers dat ze veel te laks zijn. Om echt concreet na te denken, misschien is dat een intellectueel kwaaltje van ons. Je ziet van een afstand wat moet gebeuren maar er moet meer gedaan voor vanuit de gemeenschap. Voorbeeld van Barneveld als één van de wijken die wel wat aan de gemeenschapszin doen. Het eigen stichtingsgebouw met veel activiteiten. Zo wordt het cultureel erfgoed ontwikkeld, maar dat moet veel scherper.

Als je praat over het bestaansrecht van de Molukse wijken. Zolang je het inhoudelijk handen en voeten kan geven dan heeft het bestaansrecht. Maar je moet het wel doen en dat moet vanuit de mensen zelf komen.

Q: Ichtus: “Grotere wijken, grotere problemen. Bij de kleinere wijken is de verbondenheid dichterbij te zoeken.

A: Als ze goed geconcentreerd zijn en goed georganiseerd zijn qua activiteiten dan wel. Grotere wijken hebben dat ook, en die zijn veel krachtiger. Zoals in Assen kunnen ze (de gemeente) niet zomaar dingen doen, daar hebben ze echt de wijken voor nodig anders krijg je problemen met de Molukse wijk. Dat is de kracht van het draagvlak, van de grootte van de groep. In Assen krijg je meer gedaan dan bijvoorbeeld in Hatert.

Q: In uw proefschrift beschrijft u het vooroordeel dat Molukkers die buiten de woonwijken wonen een minder sterk collectief gevoel hebben. Hoe ziet u het belang van de Molukse wijk als Molukkers buiten de wijk net zo’n sterk collectief gevoel kunnen behouden? Waarom hebben we de wijken nodig om het saamhorigheidsgevoel vast te houden?

A: Deels omdat ze geconcentreerd wonen en zo is de groep herkenbaarder voor de buitenwereld, de Nederlandse omgeving. De Molukse wijk is herkenbaar. Hoe ze handen en voeten geven aan bepaalde dingen is afhankelijk van de inhoud van de wijk. Maar per definitie is een wijk al een concentratie van collectief, dus hoeft je niet meer naar een collectief te zoeken. Maar ze moeten er wel aan werken. Als ze niks doen, worden het puur individuen. Die de buurvrouw niet kent en niet over de vloer komt bij de burens. Dat is niet goed voor het collectief. Kijkend naar de derde generatie, dat zijn allemaal individuen, maar als ze bij de familie komen, is het één groep. Voorbeeld van één keer per jaar met de hele familie, iedereen kookt wat en neemt dat mee. Dan is dat groepsgevoel duidelijk aanwezig en hoeft je niet te vertellen dat je een collectief bent. Je bent een collectief omdat je elkaar helpt. Er moeten verbindingen gemaakt worden. Eiland hebben bruggen nodig en zo hebben wij onze familie nodig. Familie is één van de belangrijkste banden die er is. Communicatie is één van de belangrijkste dingen bij collectiviteit, maar dat moet je wel meegeven.

Q: Hoe behoudt je de collectiviteit in een gemengde wijk? Speelt het stichtingsgebouw hier een belangrijke rol in?

A: Het is maar wat mensen ervan maken. Maar symbolisch gezien is dat meer de kerk. Er moet een fysieke ruimte zijn waar mensen bij elkaar kunnen komen. In de Nederlandse wijken heb je soms ook een clubhuis. Molukkers komen niet bij algemene activiteiten voor migrantengroepen, maar gaan naar hun eigen kerk.

Q: Dorsplein. Hoe gebruiken Molukkers de openbare ruimte, het netwerk van straten en pleinen?

A: De eerste generatie is heel geconcentreerd op zichzelf. De tweede generatie is dat ook nog wel, maar is door het onderwijs en de arbeidsmarkt gedwongen om in de openbare ruimte te komen. De derde generatie is heel sterk op de Nederlandse samenleving gericht. Als je kijkt naar muziek, kunst en cultuur zijn ze veel meer daar geïntegreerd. Maar het is wel het randstad denken, in de zin van, het zijn vooral de Amsterdammers die zo denken. Die meer gecultiveerd zijn en vaak al meer individuele Molukkers zijn. Terwijl de wijken, die meer in het oosten en het zuiden van de het land liggen, die zijn nog heel sterk op die Molukse wijk gericht. Maar daarnaast, krijg je door de individualisering, echt alle soorten Molukkers. In term van beroepen, maar ook qua opvattingen en visies. Dus de openbare ruimte voor het collectief, bestaat nauwelijks meer echt concreet vanuit de Molukse wijken. Dat gebeurt nu in groepen.

Sam Pormes – Grijpen naar een schaduw. Ontkracht de mythe van de RMS. Gaat in tegen het collectief nadat hij eerst voor de RMS was.

Bij de derde en vierde generatie, dat zijn eigenlijk Nederlanders. Waardoor je in principe alles kan zeggen. Denk aan de toonzetting, heb een helikopterview en beschrijf beschouwend. Zodat mensen zelf een conclusie kunnen trekken. Maar geef wel een sterke eigen visie. Dat doe je op basis van wetenschappelijk onderzoek.

Q: Hoe kijkt u naar het negatieve imago dat de Molukse wijken hebben?

A: De meeste Nederlanders hebben nog nooit een wijk van binnen gezien, dus ze kunnen er eigenlijk niet over oordelen. Maar het is natuurlijk de mening van een buitenstaander die naar de wijk kijkt, fysiek gezien is het een geconcentreerdheid van een collectief, dat zie je ook in arbeiderswijken. Daar zijn mensen nooit binnen geweest maar hebben er toch een mening over. Dat is de normaalste zaak van de wereld. Alleen als je als kenner van de Molukse wijk, daar gewoond of opgegroeid of familie daar wonen, dan weet je een beetje hoe die wijk in elkaar zit. Dan kijk je er wat genuanceerder naar. Er zijn dingen die niet goed zijn en beter kunnen, maar ook dingen die goed zijn. Zo hebben de meeste wijken nog steeds een Molukse kerk. Tegenwoordig moet je de vraag durven stellen: gaan mensen nog wel naar de kerk? En welke mensen gaan naar de kerk? Kan de kerk zichzelf wel bedrijven? Dat wordt niet gevraagd en dat is slecht beleid. Verder heb ik niks tegen de wijk. Als mensen daar gelukkig zijn, plezier in hebben en cohesie is goed. Waarom dan niet?

Q: Denkt u dat het openen van de wijken voor buitenstaanders, kan zorgen voor een verbetering van het imago?

A: Ik krijg kritiek omdat ik zeg: Er moeten ook Nederlanders in de wijk kunnen wonen. Nu wonen er alleen Nederlanders die met Molukkers getrouwd zijn. Op een bepaald moment moet dat wel gebeuren want die diversiteit is belangrijk. Dat is afhankelijk van percentages. Hoe minder Molukkers er in de wijk wonen, hoe slechter het met de Molukse gemeenschap in die wijk gaat. Want je moet in die wijk, je Molukker zijn, kunnen uitdragen.

Q: Omdat de kerk minder belangrijk wordt in de gemeenschap, moet het centrale punt dan het stichtingsgebouw worden.

A: Dat kan, tenzij de kerk open staat voor andere functies. Dat de kerk niet meer zo statisch is als ‘het huis van god’. Want dan zouden de kerken eraan gaan. De gemeenschap moet de kerk kunnen dragen. Dat kan alleen als er diverse inkomens in de wijk zitten. In Barneveld is de stichting al progressief en ruimdenkend. In Lunteren is dit nog meer.

Pattimuri Academy: onderzoek en onderwijs toegepast op Molukse

gemeenschappen.

Q: Ik kijk naar de wijk Lunetten in Vught omdat dit het meest overeenkomt met hoe met in de woonoorden leefden.

A: Het is wel anders want het zijn stenen woningen. En wel gewoon eengezinswoningen. Ze wonen daar mooi, want ze wonen in het bos.

Remy Matulessy had creatieve ideeën, maar over zijn visie is weinig op papier gezet.

Van Molukse socioloog die echt over het individu geschreven heeft. Die laat met wetenschappelijke literatuur zien, dat als je bij elkaar bent, ook al woon je overal verspreid, dat je toch dat familie, groepsgevoel hebt. En daardoor neem je toch elementen van die cultuur mee. □ vragen!!

De gemeenschap is tegenwoordig steeds meer gedifferentieerd. Dat had ik in '92 al voorspeld maar toen wilde niemand mij geloven. Culturen komen met elkaar in aanraking. Als het twee cirkels zijn, dan is het gearceerde grens is, daar komen mensen het meest bij elkaar. Ze ontmoeten elkaar daar. Dat betekent dat je je identiteit vaak moet verdedigen, ofwel verduidelijken. Zonder dat je het weet wordt je dan ook beïnvloed, door het denken.

Stelling 1: De Molukse wijk van 2050 lijkt niet op die van vandaag: Klopt wel. De wijk zal veel diverser zijn. Daarnaast is het belangrijk dat je in staat bent geweest de Molukse cultuur in die wijk, zodanig te transformeren, dat het functioneel is in je communicatie naar de Nederlanders. Dat is heel belangrijk want dan blijf je gewaardeerd met je identiteit als Molukker. Anders moet je die identiteit elke keer verbergen, ofwel verdedigen. En dat is lastig. Ze moeten het vanzelfsprekend vinden dat jij Molukker bent. En dat je Nederlander en antropoloog bent. Alles wat in jouw zijn belangrijk kan zijn, dat dat geaccepteerd wordt. En niet zo etnisch profileren zoals dat tegenwoordig gedaan wordt.

Stelling 2: Het is goed mogelijk om voor de jongere generatie een nieuwe wijk te stichten: Dat is afhankelijk van de wil van de jongeren generatie. Ik zie nu niet gebeuren dat dit gerealiseerd wordt. De huidige maatschappij werkt doormiddel van selectie, je kiest je eigen weg. In Nederland mag je gelukkig zelf kiezen waar je woont. Voor Molukkers willen dat anders, die willen alleen in de Molukse wijk, maar in principe is dat tegen de Nederlandse wet. Het grondbeginsel van de Nederlandse wet: Iedereen moet zijn/haar eigen woning kunnen kiezen. Daar ga je nu wel steeds meer naartoe en ik denk niet dat je dat kan tegenhouden. Zeker naarmate mensen weggaan, zullen we gaan moeten reflecteren op de wijk. Wat wil je met die wijk? Dan ben je min of meer gedwongen om 'het wat diverser te maken'. Het zou mooi zijn als rijkere mensen daar ook kunnen wonen.

Interviews during fieldwork



14 december 2022_Vught_Lunetten

Tour guide of Barrack 1B (Local History Museum)

- Mr lives in Vught and volunteers for the Vught National Camp. He walked through the neighbourhood once himself to have a look at what it looks like. Describes the neighbourhood: ‘Looks neat and good. With lots of palm trees’
- The old barracks were demolished and then, at the request of the Moluccans, new houses were built in the old style of the barracks, because they were used to it. ‘And they didn’t want to climb stairs.’
- On Moluccan society in Vught: ‘You don’t notice much of that, except that you see Moluccan faces on the street. But not much else, I’m used to that’.
- Sir doesn’t have much connection with moluccan society. Except through music. He sings in a choir and has occasionally performed with a Moluccan choir from the Lunetten neighbourhood. They also often share the same rehearsal rooms.
- On routing the neighbourhood: A new road is being built at the back of the neighbourhood so that the prisoner transport will be separated from the road to the museum and the neighbourhood. He explained how the prisoner transport is done now: ‘Then all the people in the museum and all the Moluccans in the neighbourhood have to stay inside. They are then sent in by the police. At high speed, the prisoner transport then drives by.’



14 december 2022_Vught_Lunetten

Tonny Parinussa - Resident of Astorias 14

- Like his wife, Lili Hehanussa, has lived in the Moluccan neighbourhood all his life.
- Doesn’t talk about ‘the Moluccan neighbourhood’, or ‘residential Lunetten’ but about ‘the camp’.
- the Parinussa family originated from the island of Nusa Laut.
- He is a musician and together with his family formed the Moluccan band Lady Soul.
- A civil engineer by profession, he helped design the new barracks. Here, the houses were designed not lengthways but widthways.

- On living in the Moluccan neighbourhood:
- Believes that living in a kampung on the Moluccan Islands and living in ‘the camp’ are the same.
 - Sees traditions of Moluccan culture fading with the 3rd generation. For example, he notices that he is no longer always greeted by the young people. According to him, this fading is because the 3rd generation does not realise that living in the camp is not a given. There has been a fight for the preservation of the camp by the first and second generation.
 - Has less contact with the other neighbourhood residents than before. People are more autonomous and westernised now. Does feel like a community when there are special occasions.
 - According to him, Dutch and Moluccan culture do not go together easily. Dutch people are calculative. Moluccans have the attitude: ‘we’ll see’. Dutch culture does not go as easily towards Moluccan culture. The other way round is easier but that means letting go of part of the Moluccan side.
 - He does not go to the church in the camp but to another church. Because he “doesn’t understand the language”. A lot of old Dutch is spoken, words like ‘Thou’.
 - Sees young people coming back to the neighbourhood, but thinks the reason is that it is cheap to live at the camp
 - Does not own the property but rents it. Has two houses on the Moluccan Islands for when he visits there and thinks it is a waste to buy a house in the Netherlands for that amount of money.
 - The neighbourhood council is self-appointed. Someone from the neighbourhood council has the key to the community building but the council is not aware who has the key. The resident does not agree with how the foundation building is managed now.

Meanwhile that conversation is going on- his wife Lili Hehanussa talks other local residents who pass by, while making a fence in the front garden.

- Experiences no fear of living next to a prison.
- Didn’t want to leave the camp because doesn’t feel like a gypsy who is moving all the time
- If you got into the camp, you didn’t get out - that was the image the neighbourhood had in the past
- About 2 to 8 runners pass by every day. He thinks it is normal for other unknown people to walk by from time to time.



30 december 2022_Vught_Vijverhof

Resident of Seriwangstraat 18

- Outside to the house hangs the surname flag after an event in summer 2022. Part of the neighbourhood event was to hang a flag of your origin at your house. Since then, several flags still hang in the neighbourhood. “It will hang until it falls off”



23 february 2023_Vught_Lunetten

Tonny Parinussa & Lily Hehanussa - Residents of Astorias 14 & 16

Over de woning:

- Het ontwerp van de nieuwe barak wordt als onhandig ervaren om schoon te maken.
- “Hier kunnen we lawaai maken (doelt op de muziek van oom Toni). In een andere omgeving (dan het kamp) zouden mensen gaan klagen.”
- Niet alle barakken hebben dezelfde indeling. Bij de barak aan de overkant zijn de slaapkamers en de keuken aan de straatkant gesitueerd. De woonkamer grenst hier aan de tuin. Bij zo’n opzet gebruikt men veel de keukendeur. Er is vaak verwarring bij postbodes over welke deur ze dan moeten gebruiken.
- De indeling van de natte ruimtes wordt ook als onhandig ervaren. Zo is het toilet bij de privéruimtes.
- “De keukens zijn te klein. Molukkers hebben grote gezinnen en houden vaak feesten voor veel mensen. De keukens zijn vaak één blok dat helemaal vol staat.”
- Het huis ligt aan de woonstraat. Ze zitten niet vaak in de voortuin: “Dan moet je de hele tijd groeten”

Over de openbare ruimte:

- “In de zomer is het hier het een vakantieoord. Dan spelen alle kinderen buiten. Je hoeft niet bang te zijn dat je kind ontvoert wordt.”
- Het Stichtingsgebouw wordt ook gezien als ‘openbare ruimte’. Er zijn veel evenementen voor persionadas, vergaderingen of culturele activiteiten. Maar vroeger waren dit er veel meer.
- Vrijgezelle (oudere) mannen uit de wijk zitten in de zomer altijd op de bankjes bij het middenplein. Lily en Toni zitten nooit op de bankjes. Als ze nog kleine kinderen zouden hebben zouden ze daar wel gaan zitten.
- De ruimte in het groen bij de bushalte wordt gezien als een hangplek voor de jongeren uit de buurt. Ze spreken daar af met hun vrienden van buiten de wijk. Vroeger waren dit jongeren van 18 jaar, nu zijn dat jongeren rond de 15. Ze draaien daar muziek en er wordt gerookt. Alleen in de coronatijd werd dit gezien als overlast, nu niet.
- De kleinere kinderen spelen bij de speeltuin op het middenplein.
- Het basketbalveld wordt niet gebruikt. Niet veel mensen kunnen basketballen. Er was geld ingezameld om een kooi om het veld heen te bouwen. Dit is echter nooit gebeurd. Mensen waren negatief omdat: ‘ze niet het gevoel willen hebben dat ze in een gevangenis wonen’.
- Op de plek van het huidige speelveld was het idee voor ouderenwoningen. De Molukse ouderen willen graag met elkaar in contact komen en meer contact hebben. ‘In een Kampong kan je in een ruimte voor je huis zitten en zo mensen zien. Zo heb je contact met wat beweegt. De jongeren.’
- Over de layout van de wijk: Het is Nederlands, want het is zo geordend. Het mag best een beetje tropisch en spannend zijn (maakt een golvende beweging met zijn armen).
- Vroeger zijn de voortuinen gebouwd op respect voor de ruimte van een ander, zonder hekken.

Over de sociale structuur:

- “Het is veilig wonen in het kamp. Er is nog nooit een inbraak geweest”
- De achterdeuren staan wel altijd open. Voordeuren niet meer omdat er vaak vreemden in de wijk zijn. Alleen oom Toni moet goed uitkijken met de deur op slot doen omdat hij veel muziek apparatuur binnen heeft staan.
- Voor de kinderen worden er buurt evenementen georganiseerd zoals een inzamelingsactie van plastic flessen voor de Molukken en Halloween.
- Vroeger was er een basisschool in de wijk. “Daardoor werd men bekrompen”
- Vroeger werd er niet voor stroom betaald in de wijk
- De Molukse wijk is niet van deze tijd. In andere wijken heb je meer contact met andere culturen, dat is goed. Maar voor hun dochter (die buiten de wijk woont) geldt nog steeds dat ze in het kamp het gevoel heeft van thuiskomen.
- Het verschil in muziek dat je hoort in een Molukse wijk en een gemengde wijk: ‘Lagu Lagu vs. Tralala’
- De toekomst van de Molukse wijk is afhankelijk van de locatie. ‘In Assen minder toekomst want daar is niks te beleven.’
- Het is goed mogelijk om een nieuwe Molukse wijk te stichten voor de jongere generatie. Ja dit is mogelijk want ook die generatie willen zich verbinden.
- Voor Lily is het ouderenhuis idee goed. Ze willen graag met hun eigen mensen (molukkers) wonen. Ook willen zij hun kinderen niet opzadelen met de zorg voor hun, ook al is dit in de Molukse cultuur gebruikelijk.

Over de openbare ruimte op de Molukken

- In de kampongs heeft de kerk ook altijd een centrale locatie.
- De Baileo is een plek met een dak, waar de belangrijke culturele activiteiten plaatsvinden. Het is soort stichtingsgebouw waar vergaderd en gedanst wordt. Hier worden de belangrijke beslissingen voor de kampong genomen.
- De kruispunten zijn verzamelplekken (vooral voor jongeren)
- Molukkers picknicken niet. Op de Molukken wordt soms wel aan ‘makan petita’ gedaan. Iedereen die komt kookt iets en neemt dat mee. Het eten wordt dan op straat op een groot wit kleed gegeten.



10 April 2023_Vught_Lunetten

August Loupatty - Residents of Columbusstraat 22

Eliënne Loupatty (not in picture) and Gianiva van Looij - Residents of Columbusstraat 39

I: Wat is voor jullie typisch Moluks in de wijk?

E: De voortuinen en dan vooral de afscheiding daarvan, dat ziet er niet uit, tegen het asociale aan.

A: Wat mensen in huis hebben staan, wij niet maar anderen wel. Zoals een Cengkeh bootje of poppen voor het raam. Maar in de wijk hier zijn

de voortuinen nog netjes, je ziet niet dat het een Molukse wijk is. Als je in andere Molukse wijken komt is dat erger.

I: Ook zijn de meeste voortuinen verhard, waarom heeft u daarvoor gekozen?

A: Het is vooral gemakzucht. Eerst had ik wel gras maar dat heb ik nu vervangen voor tegels.

I: Heeft het kleurengebruik in de wijk iets te maken met de Molukse cultuur?

A: Er is gebruik gemaakt van de kleuren van de RMS-vlag in de gevels. Maar alleen rood, blauw en wit. Een deel van de mensen wilde ook groen hebben in de wijk. Met de renovatie werd er toen over gepraat omdat de gevels toen zijn vervangen. Zelfs niet-Molukkers in de wijk zeiden dat ze ook groen wilde. Waarom weet ik niet. Een groot deel maakt het niks uit welke kleuren worden gebruikt.

I: Het hebben van een hal is typisch Nederlands. In woningen op de Molukken zie je dit niet terug. Wat vinden jullie van een hal?

E: Ik vind het wel praktisch. Handig van de jassen en schoenen.

I: Zien jullie een trend dat jongeren meer terugkomen in de wijk?

A: Alleen omdat ze hier meer kans hebben op een eengezinswoning. Daarnaast wonen er nu ook Molukse jongeren in Rumah Maluku, om de kamers te vullen.

I: Rumah Maluku is tegenover de kerk gebouw en niet in de Molukse wijk. Waarom is de kerk op de huidige locatie, buiten de wijk, gebouwd?

A: De eerste Molukkers die vanuit de Biezen (woonoord) kwamen, gingen in die wijk wonen. Dus toen is daar de kerk gebouwd. Sommige Molukkers gingen daarna weer terug in de Biezen wonen, omdat ze dan kans hadden op een woning in de wijk.

I: Wanneer vond de renovatie in de wijk plaats?

A: Dat was in 2011. Toen zijn de gevels vervangen, om de tocht op te lossen. Ook is de stroom gedaan in het huis. Alle leidingen werden geaard.

E: Ook zijn toen de badkamer en de keuken vervangen.

I: Zijn er andere objecten in de wijken die terugverwijzen naar de Molukken?

A: De vorm van het Stichtingsgebouw is gebaseerd op de rots Batu Tjapeu.

I: Is er een wijkraad?

E: Er is wel een wijkaanspreekpunt: Milco. Hij is nu wat vroeger de wijkoudste of wijkraad was. Als je denkt daar zou ik graag een bankje willen, of je een klacht hebt over bijvoorbeeld kinderen die vervelend zijn, dan kan je hem whatsappen. Ook is er een wijkwhatsappgroep.

I: Zitten hier ook niet-Molukse bewoners in.

E: Nee, alleen Molukkers.

I: Speelt natuur een belangrijk rol in de Molukse cultuur?

A: Nee, dat speelt geen belangrijke rol. Maar als je dit aan oma (1e generatie) had gevraagd, was haar antwoord misschien anders geweest.

- De parkeerplaatsen voor op het hof zijn nodig. Molukkers gaan liever met de auto ergens naartoe, ook naar de supermarkt die net buiten de wijk ligt. Maar ook naar de kerk.

I: U heeft beide een overkapping achterin de tuin. Is dit iets moluks?

U: Dat weet ik niet maar wel veel mensen in de wijk hebben een overkapping achterin de tuin. Wij hebben het voor de gezelligheid en om spullen op te bergen. Verder zetten mensen ook spullen achter op het looppad, zoals tegels of een kruiwagen. De laatste jaren zie je meer zwerfafval, vooral bij de hangplekken.

I: Er zijn wel veel bankjes in de openbare ruimte voor de woningen. Maakt u hier zelf weleens gebruik van?

A: Nee, nooit.

E: Nee, maar stel ik ben daar de hond aan het uitlaten en ik kom een vriendin tegen, zou ik wel zeggen ik haal even een kopje koffie en we gaan even zitten.

A: Andere Molukkers zitten ook weleens voor, in de voortuin.

I: Is de Columbusstraat ook een weg die veel door mensen van buiten de wijk wordt gebruikt als route?

E: Ja het is echt een doorgangsweg. Dat is jammer want de kinderen schieten nu door de steegjes heen. Als die de straat op lopen kan er veel ergs gebeuren.

I: Staan in de wijken de deuren altijd open?

A: Nee, nu heeft iedereen gewoon alles op slot. Vroeger waren ze wel open of hing er een touwtje door de brievenbus, zodat je altijd naar binnen kon. Tegenwoordig is dat niet meer, nadat er vroeger veel werd ingebroken.



- Tegenwoordig zijn er niet veel jongeren van Gianiva's leeftijd in de wijk.

G: "Vroeger was het levendiger in de wijk".

- Toen werd er met veel kinderen gevoetbald op het veldje bij de Stichting of op het grasveld voor het huis. Het pannaveldje voor het huis wordt nu ook gebruikt door kinderen van buiten de wijk.

- Gianiva mocht vroeger niet in de zandbak bij de parkeerplaats achter het huis spelen, daar lag altijd veel kattenpoep in.

I: Zou je als je op jezelf gaat wonen er ook voor kiezen om in de wijk te blijven wonen?

G: Nee zou niet zelf in de wijk willen blijven wonen. Zij wil haar kinderen hier niet laten opgroeien. "De jongeren van nu, die in de wijk wonen, halen niks uit het leven. Ze gaan niet omhoog. Ze houden elkaar allemaal in de wijk."

I: Zou u er opnieuw voor kiezen om in de wijk te blijven wonen? (Vraag aan Eliënne Loupatty, 3e generatie)

E: Nee, want het is niet meer zoals vroeger. Het respect is weg. Het heeft niks te maken met de grootte van de huizen, want dat is prima. Haar andere kind, zoon van 26, kiest er ook niet voor om zelf in de wijk te gaan wonen, want hij wil niet die sociale controle van de wijk.

I: Worden er activiteiten georganiseerd in de wijk/stichting?

A: Door voetbal kwamen mensen bij elkaar. Nu gebeurt dat niet meer. Iedereen is meer op zichzelf. Wel is er biljarten op maandag in de Stichting. Voor jongeren is er nu de menari groep. Ik denk dat ze op die manier proberen de jongeren bij elkaar te houden.

G: Als er een pesta is dan ga ik wel.

I: Wat voor ruimtelijke elementen vind je herkenbaar voor de Molukse wijk?

G: Ik vroeg mezelf laatst de vraag toen ik de wijk binnen kwam rijden. Als ik niet wist dat dit de wijk was, zou ik het dan weten? Je ziet wel de grijze bak met de Molukse vlag. En ook de lantaarnpaal met de vlag erop getaped. Eerst had je met graffiti op de straat geschreven: 'De Wijk', maar dat is nu weggehaald.

I: Zou je het belangrijk vinden dat het herkenbaar is als Molukse wijk?

G: Ik zou het wel belangrijk vinden. Nu komen er veel kinderen uit andere

wijken. Vroeger waren er alleen wijk-kindjes en ontweken niet-Molukkers de wijk. Ik zou het belangrijk vinden dat je ziet dat je de Molukse wijk ingaat.

- De randen van de wijk waren ook altijd de grens voor kinderen om te komen. Dit liep voor hen vanaf het kruispunt met de Churchillstraat tot aan het punt bij de Stichting.

- Vroeger werd er ook veel geskeelerd op de straat.

E: Iedereen lette op elkaars kinderen maar tegenwoordig kan de sociale controle niet meer gehandhaafd worden omdat ze het verschil niet meer zien tussen kinderen uit de wijk en kinderen van buiten de wijk.

I: Voor jullie gevoel ligt het Stichtingsgebouw dus aan de rand van de wijk?

A: In andere wijken is de kerk vaak in het midden van de wijk. Hier de kerk en het Stichtingsgebouw niet, het voelt alsof het aan de rand is. Dat komt ook doordat er in het blok na de stichting niet alleen Molukkers wonen.

Voordat het huidige pand van de stichting er was, zat dit in een noodgebouw op het gazon aan de Magalhaesstraat.

I: Zouden jullie vaker bij de Stichting komen als deze een meer centrale locatie in de wijk had?

A: Ik denk het niet. De Stichting wordt nu ook niet echt beheerd door iemand. Daarom komt er minder publiek.

I: Hebben jullie objecten in huis die terugverwijzen naar jullie Molukse achtergrond?

A: Wij hebben geen Molukse aankleding in huis, de Molukse cultuur zat meer in de opvoeding van de kinderen. Wel hebben we veel oude fotoboeken in huis.

I: Waar speelt het openbare leven op de Molukken zich af?

A: Op de Molukken heb je niet echt pleintjes, dat gebeurt daar gewoon op straat, op de weg. Je hebt wel pleintjes in de grote dorpen, zoals een dorpsplein. Maar het leven is meer op straat. Niet veel openbaar leven want mensen zijn vooral bezig met overleven.

I: Wat is denken jullie de reden dat bijna alle bewoners hun gordijnen dicht hebben?

A: Nu zit alles dicht, vroeger had je meer open gordijnen. Nu zie je dat alleen de woningen waar ouderen wonen, hun gordijnen open hebben. Waarom dat precies is weet ik niet.

I: Ervaart u overlast van de Plantagelaan, de grote weg langs het huis?

A: Nee ik merk er eigenlijk niks van.

I: En waar gaat u wandelen als u de hond uitlaat?

E: Hiernaast, langs de Plantagelaan.

I: Is daar een pad?

E: Een zelfgemaakt pad.

A: Net als het paadje naar de begraafplaats om de grote weg over te steken. Dit loopt achter de stichting langs, door de bosjes. Als mensen lopend naar de begraafplaats gaan nemen ze dat paadje.



21 April 2023_Vught_Lunetten

Mozes Tulaseket - Residents of Salahutuplein 45

Hoelang woont u al in deze wijk? Sinds 1989.

Heeft u ook in het kamp Lunetten gewoond? Is geboren in Den Bosch en is opgegroeid in het 'kamp' Daar had elk gezin twee kamers in de barak. Zij woonden daar met 11 mensen.

Hoeveel Molukkers wonen er in de wijk Vijverhof? In het begin ongeveer een derde was Molukkers. Nu nog circa 10 huishoudens. Dit zijn vooral vrijgezelle ouderen, er woont geen jong moluks gezin meer in de wijk. Veel bewoners zijn weg uit de wijk omdat ze de huizen niet mooi en te klein vonden.

Oom Mozes is zelf mantelzorger geweest voor beide ouders. Ook verteld hij dat er wel één tante van de eerste generatie nu in het nabijgelegen Woonzorgcentrum Theresia woont. Jaren terug heeft hij een plan gemaakt om twee huizen in de wijk Vijverhof te vorderen en deze te transformeren naar een huis voor ouderen vrijgezellen. Dit is echter niet doorgegaan omdat een aantal van die ouderen niet samen wilde wonen. Zelf zou oom Mozes daar ook niet daar willen wonen, omdat hij als hij ouder is niet meer in Nederland wil wonen, maar een half jaar in Indonesië. Niet per se op de Molukken of Ambon, waar zijn familie vandaan komt.

Ziet u overeenkomsten tussen leven in de wijk Vijverhof en in kamp Lunetten? Het leven in het kamp was iets eenmaligs. Het was een gezamenlijk bestaan dat bestond uit een groot sociaal, cultureel en kerkelijk leven. Het was eigenlijk één Moluks dorp. Hier in de wijk heb je dat leven niet. Tegenwoordig is het leven in het kamp ook niet meer zo omdat mensen meer geld zijn gaan verdienen en mensen andere waarden hebben gekregen daardoor. Vroeger vielen de kampen echt buiten de Nederlandse wet, daar kon je doen wat je wilde.

Wat zijn belangrijke plekken in de buurt? Vroeger was het Stichtingsgebouw wat toen in de wijk stond de belangrijkste plek voor samenkomst. Nu gebeurt dat veel meer binnenshuis. Vroeger speelden Molukse jongeren ook nog meer op het grasveld voor het huis.

Eerst was er ook nog een plan om alle Molukse wijken te ontruimen.

Wat is de rol van het kerkgebouw in de wijk? Oom mozes gaat zelf naar een andere Molukse kerk buiten de wijk. Die kerk is onderdeel van een bond: Botexknil. Wel ziet oom Mozes dat er steeds minder mensen naar de kerk in de wijk gaan. De kerk organiseert geen activiteiten voor de buurt. Vroeger, in het kamp, gebeurde dit wel.

Wat is de monumentale waarde van Molukse wijken? Voor oom Mozes heeft het geen prioriteit om de Molukse wijken te behouden. Het maakt hem weinig uit of hij in een Molukse wijk woont of dat een wijk Moluks aanvoelt. Voor hem is het belangrijk dat de rechten gehaald worden, zoals het recht op een terugkeer naar een onafhankelijke staat op de Molukken.

Wat is volgens u de trend onder Molukse jongeren als het gaat om wonen in een Molukse wijk? Molukse jongeren van nu hebben vaak een betere opleiding, betere baan, een hoger salaris en meer geld dan Molukse jongeren van vroeger, hierdoor kunnen zij zich meer veroorloven en gaan ze niet snel in Molukse wijken wonen. Dat er geen Molukse jongeren wonen in de Vijverhof komt niet door de sociale controle in Molukse wijken, door het lage aandeel Molukkers in de wijk was deze sociale controle namelijk altijd

minder dan in andere Molukse wijken.

Vind u het belangrijk dat de wijk herkenbaar is als een Molukse wijk?

De straatnamen verwijzen naar de Molukken. Verder vindt oom Mozes

herkenning niet nodig. Hij ziet dit liever in het kamp wel dan in de wijk.

Het hebben van een Stichtingsgebouw is volgens hem noodzakelijk in een Molukse wijk. Dat is een plek waar je wel kan 'buurten'.

Wat zijn voor u andere belangrijke plekken in de omgeving, in relatie tot de Molukse cultuur? Oom Mozes kookt veel Moluks eten en gaat daarom vaak naar de toko aan het Moleneindplein en een toko in Den Bosch. Daarnaast bezoekt hij af en toe het graf van zijn ouders op de Algemene Begraafplaats in Vught.

Voor oom Mozes speelt muziek ook een belangrijke rol in zijn leven. Hij zingt in een band en ook schrijft hij boeken.

Wat is de rol van natuur in de Molukse cultuur? Op de Molukken zijn ze afhankelijk van de natuur, zoals de verkoop van cengkeh (kruidnagel), daarom zijn ze daarop gericht. Ook zijn er veel feesten rondom de natuur, zoals het oogstfeest. Alle Molukkers zijn van origine ook eigenlijk boeren en vissers. Daarom had de eerste generatie in het kamp nog een moestuin en werden er ook kippen en kalkoenen gehouden. Oom mozes heeft zelf nu een kersenboom, appelbomen, tomatenplanten, knoflook geplant in zijn achtertuin. Dit met oog op de nood om meer zelfvoorzienend te moeten leven. Het kamp van vroeger was echt een dorp waar je ook een eigen toko had en een kapper. In Barak 7 was een toko, de eigenaar deed dit voor de bewoners, zodat ze niet met de bus naar Den Bosch hoefde voor een toko. Het was namelijk slecht bereikbaar met het openbaar vervoer.

Oom Mozes benoemt dat alles in de wijk is zo geordend en gestructureerd is. In het kamp had je veel meer ruimte. Dat was een soort van het Wilde Westen, waar je over kampvuurtjes kon maken.

Welke elementen heeft u in huis die typisch moluks zijn? Niet veel, alleen een foto van de kerk in het dorp waar zijn familie vandaan komt. Er zijn wel mensen in de wijk die bijvoorbeeld met 25 april de RMS-vlag buiten hangen, maar dit doet oom Mozes zelf niet. Verder is de keuken groter gemaakt speciaal omdat er Molukkers zouden gaan wonen, hierdoor is de zitkamer wel veel kleiner.

Wat vindt u, naast de grootte, van de positie van de keuken in het huis?

Prima, normaal zit een keuken wel aan de achterkant. Verder maakt het voor oom Mozes niet uit of het een open of gesloten keuken is.

Oom Mozes heeft het huis aangehouden omdat het het huis is van de opa en oma van alle kleinkinderen van de familie. Zij hebben allemaal een sleutel zodat als ze naar het 'familiehuis' kunnen, dat dat mogelijk is.

Wat vindt u van de verandazone voor het huis? De broer van oom Mozes heeft hier allemaal planten bakken neergezet. Oom Mozes gebruikt het zelf niet. Zijn broer heeft zelf ook een volkstuintje.

