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INDONESIAN AND MOROCCAN EATING CULTURES AT THE DUTCH TABLE: A CULINARY HISTORY OF ADAPTATION AND AUTHENTICITY (1950-2000)

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Introduction

In the past decades the role played by food in shaping social practices has been measured in different ways, but in the field of food history, scholars have commonly focused on the relationship between food culture and public sphere, which mostly takes place in the everyday places such as restaurants, shops, markets and grocery stores. In food related analyses which follow an historical perspective, little importance has been given to the most intimate sphere regarding food preparation and consumption, a practice which usually occurs at the very heart of the private arena: the household. It is in fact inside the house and among the family members that the innermost aspect of food culture and eating habits are rooted, developed and, in some cases, shaped and adapted. It is at the house table that children get acquainted with certain kinds of foodstuffs and specific flavors, which most likely they will consider familiar for the rest of their lives. It is the food prepared by mothers and fathers everywhere in the world that represent the culinary foundation of the eating culture and that constitutes the diet on which the family members will add on a more or less traditional and a more or less varied range of new tastes. Departing from the lack of many in depth researches in the private sphere of food related practices, and considering that my interest revolves around the relationship between the influence of foreign cuisines on local food culture, I have decided to address my research towards the less explored private dimension of eating, namely the production and consumption of food at family table. To do so I have chosen as a case study the Netherlands, with a focus on changes and continuities of eating patterns from 1950 till 2000.

Therefore the aim of my research is to explore the private space of the Dutch eating habits and the more or less successful integration of foreign kitchens. In detail, this paper looks at how and to what extent have foreign cuisines, especially the Indonesian and Moroccan, affected the Dutch eating culture from 1950 until 2000. The decision to explore what happened in the Dutch kitchens and living rooms, for instance at 6 o'clock in the evening or during special occasions, was taken considering different factors. Firstly, for the practical reason that I live in this country and I have become familiar with the Dutch eating culture. Secondly, since I live in the Netherlands, I have better access to historical material and sources, therefore a more advantageous opportunity to conduct an accurate examination of them. Thirdly, because I believe

the Dutch case to be an interesting example of adaptation, appropriation and adoption of foreign food, processes which have been taking place at a different pace, depending on the where the foreign cuisine came from and which group of migrants brought it in in the country.

Since centuries, the Dutch gastronomy, just like the majority of the cuisines in the world, is in continuous transformation due to a broad range of factors, involving not just the movements of people but also the migration of ingredients and culinary customs. Thus, the Dutch cuisine has been unceasingly reshaped by the influence of a wide variety of Dutch national and regional dishes, of European cuisines and of flavors from all over the world. In order to narrow down my analysis and make it more related to culinary influences of specific migrant groups, I have decided to focus on the role played by two foreign cuisines, the Indonesian and the Moroccan. The rationale behind my decisions is that these eating cultures are representative of two migrant communities with very different historical background and integration processes: the former as the first post-colonial community, and the Moroccan, as the labour migrant group. In order to understand the changing historical, cultural and social context, I have decided to present the different Dutch immigrant policies that characterized the reception and the treatment of the two migrant groups from 1950s until 2000s. Furthermore, even if the focus on the analysis is particularly attentive to the development of the gastronomic interest for these two migrant foodways and to their adaptation into the Dutch food culture, I have conducted a thoughtful examination of foreign cuisines in the Netherlands, therefore taking into account not just the Indonesian and Moroccan, but also a variety of other culinary traditions and influences from different geographical and gastronomic areas. In the attempt to take into consideration all factors mentioned before, I chose to use recipes and culinary columns in a popular Dutch magazine called *Margriet* as my primary source.

Theoretical framework

Food is very much a cultural symbol, one that represents a cultural identity. Through the consumption of certain foods, or the manner in which foods are prepared, cultural and ethnic traditions are passed down through the sharing of food. The use of traditional, ceremonial and feasting foods, as well as ordinary or common foods, reinforces cultural and ethnic identity. As

Donna Gabaccia points out, "Humans cling tenaciously to familiar foods because they become associated with nearly every dimension of human social and cultural life, […] food thus entwines intimately with much that makes a culture unique, binding taste and satiety to group loyalties. Eating habits both symbolize and mark the boundaries of cultures."[1] Similarly, Anneke H. van Otterloo states that, in food studies, a widely accepted concept is that eating habits of people, foreigner or natives, are among the attitudes and behavior patterns which are retained for the longest time when the circumstances of life changes.[2] Therefore, in the case of migration, food and eating culture represents a privileged realm where people can cultivate and celebrate their own identity, heritage and traditions.

According to Isabel Hoving, Hester Dibbits and Marlou Schrover, an eating culture consists in what people eat, hence the ingredients, the products, and in how people eat, being mainly the structure of the meals.[3] In every eating culture the ingredients and the products can change much easier and much faster than the structure of the meals. Hence, I decided to address my research towards the impact of foreign cuisine's ingredients and dishes, and the culinary responses of adaptation and adoption in the Dutch eating culture.

Gabaccia introduces the concept of food as marker for boundary of cultures and she argues that "as the boundaries and barriers between ethnic groups weakened, food borrowing becomes more of the norm."[4] Although I agree with this statement, I believe that when analyzing the culinary influences of migrants on host society's eating culture, the conditions of the culinary border crossing are not as equal distributed as Gabaccia considers in her study on American culinary history. I think that the main point to take into account here is that foreigners, as well as natives, demonstrate resistance to new foodways and they would adapt to them just out of necessity, since food habits are deep aspects of cultural identity. In fact, necessity, as well as availability, more than choice dictate changes in ingredients and methods of preparation. As a

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[1] Gabaccia Donna R., *We are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge 1998) 8

[2] Otterloo Anneke H. van, 'Foreign immigrants and the Dutch at table, 1945-1985. Bridging or widening the gap?', Netherlands journal of sociology: Sociologia Neerlandica, 23 (1987) 126-143, 126.

[3] Hoving Isabel, Dibbits Hester and Schrover Marlou (eds.), 'Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', in: *Cultuur en migratie in Nederland. Veranderingen van het alledaagse 1950-2000,* (Den Haag 2005) 77-112, 78

[4] Gabaccia, *We are What We Eat,* 13

result, in the case of the native's eating culture, which represents the dominant one, change is hardly caused by necessity or availability, rather it is a matter of adaptation and adoption of foreign foodways.[5] In effect, as it has been examined by Hoving, Dibbits, and Schrover, there is a big difference between the position of the natives and the migrants regarding the adaptation of the eating culture. For the natives, the change of eating habits and of what they eat constitute mainly a conscious choice. If they want, they can decide to buy ethnic foodstuff, prepare them in an customized or authentic way and consume the meal through a more or less original approach. Instead for migrants, the decision of maintaining or modifying their eating culture depends on other factors, which are mostly involuntary. For example, the availability of ethnic products and ingredients to prepare their traditional dishes plays a pivotal role in the process of adaptation or not to the native eating culture.[6] Even more, the three scholars show that what changes and what constitutes continuity in foodways has a lot to do with the boundaries between what it is considered eatable and not eatable, with the construction and with the structure of the meal.[7]

In order to examine to what extent foreign cuisines, in general, and the Indonesian and Moroccan, in the specific, affected the Dutch eating culture, I focus on the boundary drawing capacity of food and eating practices. To do so, I consider the series of culinary border crossings to be associated with different processes of adaptation of ethnic foods to the taste of the host society, or adoption of the authentic and original aspects of the foreign cuisine. On this matter, I borrow the theoretical approach of Hoving, Dibbits, and Schrover as they conceptualize a connection between the process of adaptation and adoption of ethnic food in the Dutch cuisine with different phases of ethnicization of food. First, they link the process of adaptation or appropriation with that of food's de-ethnicization (*re-etnisering*, *gedeëtniseerd gerechten)*, in which the authentic version of a dish is customized to a more familiar version, because the original is considered dirty or unhealthy. Second, in the process of adoption and acceptance of the foreign dish, the practice of re-ethnicization (*re-etnisering*, *gereëtniseerd gerechten)* consists in emphasizing the authenticity of the dish, using not just the original ingredients but also

[5] Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover (eds.), 'Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', 78

[6] Ibid., 91

[7] Ibid.

preparing it also according to the foreign culinary tradition.[8] As the hype about ethnicity is considered to take place after a first process of culinary appropriation and modification, I employ Elizabeth Buettner's definition of culinary authenticity as she stated that authenticity which '"measures the degree to which something is more or less what it ought to be," is a criterion apt to "emerge just after its subject matter has been significantly transformed."'[9]

Another important theoretical approach regarding both authenticity and its representation in the media is the one of Meredith E. Abarca, who finds that "the search for authenticity is tinted with colonialist attitudes, manifesting themselves by the appropriation of ethnic other's cultural and personal knowledge."[10] She brings about the issue of appropriation of culinary knowledge and the politics for claiming authenticity, especially in cookbooks and in the media, where she argues that a romanticized version of traditional eating practices are portrayed. I take profit from her debate in keeping my analytical perspective on the role of cultural outsiders and insiders. The former are represented, for instance, by the writers of *Margriet'*s recipes, who have the task and the power of portraying the adaptation and adoption of ethnic dishes to the readers. Part of the latter is Beb Vuyk, the Indo-Dutch author of the *Groot Indonesisch kookboek* (Extensive Indonesian cookbook), who positions herself as the spokesperson of the Indonesian culinary traditions.

Historiography

Few studies have been conducted over the role of migrants in influencing the eating culture of the natives, and even less have been exploring the case of the Netherlands. The bulk of the researches involving the culinary encounters between migrants and the local population usually deals with how and to what extent the foreigners adapted their diets and eating habits to the mainstream foodways. Most often these studies focus on the role of food in the lives of migrants, which could be tackled analyzing the cultural and emotional sense attached to food, or

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[8] Ibid.,78, 83

[9] Buettner Elizabeth, '"Going for an Indian"': South Asian Restaurants and the Limits of Multiculturalism in Britain', *The Journal of Modern History* 80:4 (2008) 865-901, 883

[10] Abarca Meredith E., 'Authentic or not, it's original', *Food and Foodways: Explorations in the History and Culture of Human Nourishment* 12:1 (2004) 1-25, 4

the economical aspect of migrant foodways. As my research regards the changes of the Dutch cuisine due to the impact of migrants` and foreign` foodways from 1950s till 2000, the presence of this specific field of inquiry is even smaller. Nevertheless, the literature that I have found concerning this topic, even if not always specifically about the private sphere of eating, was very insightful and provided me with a comprehensive understanding of the Dutch culinary history.

The three Dutch scholars Isabel Hoving, Hester Dibbits, and Marlou Schrover, editors of the book *Cultuur en migratie in Nederland. Veranderingen van het alledaagse 1950-2000* (Culture and migration in the Netherlands, changes of the everyday 1950-2000), are respectively professor of literary studies at Leiden University, professor of cultural heritage at the Reinwardt Academy in Amsterdam and professor of migration history at Leiden University. Their field of expertise and their research interests find a common ground on the topic of migration and food, which resulted in the paper '*Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is'* (Why garlic is not dirty anymore). The latter is a pivotal study in the analysis of the changes in the Dutch eating culture due to the presence of migrants cuisines, in which they examine the case study of Italian foods. The authors analyze the introduction, appropriation and adoption of Italian products into the Dutch cuisine from the 1960s onwards, with a focus on the pasta products. They made use of very interesting primary sources: 76 cookbooks and the supermarket *Albert Heijn*'s published magazine *AllerHande*. Their findings take also into account broader variations in the Dutch cuisine, which go further than just the impact of Italian food, as their study deals as well with the role of 'mediators' in culinary changes, such as magazines, cookbooks and the role of media in general. Since the research shows very interesting conceptualizations and outcomes, which must be taken into consideration when analyzing the influences of foreign cuisines, I make use in my own magazine analysis of their theoretical framework of adaptation and adoption of foreign dishes. For instance, in the case of the Italian cuisines, they demonstrate that after a first phase of use of pasta products as desserts or instead of potatoes, from the 1970s, started the second phase in the variation of the Dutch eating culture, namely the adoption process of the Italian cuisine., in which pasta was prepared in a traditionally, hence authentic way. For instance, this actually meant that in the representation of Italian recipes it was less and less stressed the exotic nature of the dish, which eventually entailed a decreasing suitability of these dishes for festive and special

occasions. In fact, another important factor, which stands out in their recipes' analysis, is the differentiation between dishes that are meant to be consumed everyday, therefore ordinary dishes, and those for special occasions. In the 1960s, Macaroni were eaten in a customized Dutch version, not in an authentic Italian style, and in cookbooks or in magazines, the exotic aspect of the dish was emphasized. As they suggest "the exotic character of the recipes could not compensate for the breaking of the traditional meal pattern then."[11] Likewise, they demonstrate that the use of one foreign ingredient in a recipe does not make that dish part of the culinary tradition of the foreign country.[12] In fact, most of the times recipes and dishes were not adapted, but just one ingredient was substituted, as in the case of the pasta that started to be used for dinner in the 1960s and 1970s instead of potatoes and rice.

Anneke H. van Otterloo is a sociologist and historian at the University of Amsterdam, whose research fields include the sociology and history of food and lifestyles. She has been devoting the last 30 years of her career mainly to the study of relationships between autochtonous (native Dutch people) and allochtonous (foreigners, migrants) from the point of view of eating habits.[13] According to her, "Differences in eating habits constitute barriers which just like language differences can severely impede communication between groups and be associated with strong emotions. The development (in the Dutch eating habits and the culinary encounter with foreign cuisines) contribute to the leveling of such barriers, which increases the chances of closer relations."[14] Van Otterloo also studied the social and technological factors which contributed to the formation of the Dutch snack culture.[15] In the past fifteen years, she dedicated herself to the investigation of the Dutch taste for exotic food and of the phenomenon of eating out ethnic, before and after the Second World War.[16] Her definition of exotic is relevant

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[11] Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover (eds.), 'Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', 81

[12] Ibid., 80

[13] Otterloo, 'Foreign immigrants and the Dutch at table', 126

[14] Ibid., 139-140

[15] Otterloo Anneke H. van, 'Kroketten en frikadellen: Snackcultuur en verlenging van interdependentieketens', *Etnofoor* 4:1 (1991) 79-88

[16] Otterloo Anneke H. van, 'Eating out 'ethnic' in Amsterdam from the 1920s to the present', in: Nell Liza and Rath Jan (eds.), *Ethnic Amsterdam Immigrants and Urban Change in the Twentieth Century* (Amsterdam 2009) 41-60

also in the context of my research as she considers that "The adjective exotic is opposite to indigenous. Exotic is a relative concept because over time it may turn into indigenous through naturalizing people and embedding foods. Exotic, moreover, may have the connotations of strange and far away, the is lacking in foreign, which is more used as opposite to native."[17] She observes that exotic was used more for foods of Asian, Mediterranean, or South American origin, while foreign included North American, Western and Northern European origin.[18] Moreover, Van Otterloo, in these studies, pays special attention to the role of Chinese and Indonesian cuisine and the establishment of ethnic restaurants, which I have considered as a starting point in the history of the culinary exchange between Indonesians and Dutch.[19]

Catherine Salzman was an MBA student at the Rotterdam School of Management when she published, in 1986, her article 'Continuity and Change in the Culinary History of the Netherlands, 1945-75'. Her paper shows which socio-cultural factors play a role in influencing eating habits. To do so, she uses as her primary sources the culinary advice and advertisements published in *Margriet*, from 1945 until 1975, and the recipes in The Hague Cookbook. At the same time, she also monitors the technological changes that, since the post-war period, had an impact in the Dutch kitchen. What is also particularly relevant is that, in the last part of the paper, she applies a comparative approach to measure the reception of the Chinese-Indonesian food and the American one, in which she uses the concept of nostalgia to support the growth of taste for the former cuisine. She declares that 'This can be explained in part by nostalgia for the days when the Netherlands was a great colonial power, but also relevant is the fact that Chinese-Indonesian restaurants are relatively inexpensive and serve large portions.'[20] Even if her analysis dates back to almost 30 years ago, its insights result to be extremely useful for my analysis.

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[17] Otterloo Anneke H. van, 'The Changing Position of Exotic Foods in Post-War Amsterdam' in: Atkins Peter J., Lummel Peter and Oddy Derek J. (eds.), *Food and the City in Europe since 1800* (Aldershot 2007) 177-188, 177

[18] I agree with this geographical division and it will also be an outcome of my analysis of the culinary columns of *Margriet*.

[19] Otterloo Anneke H. van, 'Chinese and Indonesian restaurants and the taste for exotic food in the Netherlands', in: Cwiertka Katarzyna J., and Walraven Boudewijn C.A. (eds.), *Asian Food: The Global and the Local*, (Honolulu 2001) 153-166

[20] Salzman Catherine, 'Continuity and Change in the Culinary History of the Netherlands, 1945-75', *Journal of Contemporary History* 21:4 (1986) 605-628, 616

Notwithstanding the relevance of the approaches of these studies, my research will take a different path. Even if my focus remains on the private sphere of culinary encounters and on the recipes and culinary columns, the analysis provides a more quantitative, but still qualitative, overview. This is mainly because I systematically reformulate the data found in my main primary source in terms of numbers and statistics in the strive to provide not just a descriptive picture of the influence of foreign cuisines, but also an exhaustive outline of culinary trends in the Netherlands.

Materials and Methods

I avail myself of different sources to explore the impact of foreign cuisines on the Dutch eating culture, and to follow the processes of adaptation and adoption of foreign dishes and ingredients. In fact, I use newspaper articles, the cookbook *Groot Indonesisch Kookboek,* Wina Born's personal account on the history of Dutch restaurants (*25 Jaar Nederlandse restaurantgeschiedenis),* and as already mentioned before, the culinary columns of the weekly magazine for women *Margriet*. Making use of recipes as my primary sources in my analysis have surely a different kind of advantage and disadvantage. The main advantage is that they show which dishes and ingredients are used, how food is actually prepared and for which specific occasion. On the other hand, it is also true that the presence of a recipe in a cookbook or a magazine does not mean that it is widely used. For instance, according to Salzman, 'the vast majority of cookbooks have been written for cooks preparing food for the most wealthy social classes. Even they do not tell us very much about what elite groups eat on a day-to-day basis.'[21] Especially for purpose of avoiding drawbacks associated with the use of recipes in cookbooks, I decided to base my investigation mainly on a more 'down to earth' and less 'elitist' source than cookbooks: the popular women's magazine. Nevertheless, I also use the *Groot Indonesisch Kookboek,* because of the unique knowledge that it provides on the history of Indonesian food in the country.

[21] Ibid., 606

I have selected the Dutch weekly magazine *Margriet,* which was first published in 1938 and became the women's magazine with the highest circulation in the Netherlands.[22] What made *Margriet* the most suitable primary source for my analysis is that first of all, since its first distribution and until now, *Margriet* has published the rubric '*Culinair*', a section dedicated mainly to recipes, as well as culinary advice and all sorts of food-related stories and novelties. The recipes which appeared in the magazine, and also the magazine itself, were addressed to the Dutch housewives and women who were, especially until 1980s, considered to be in charge of preparing the meals in the family. At the beginning, in the 1940s and 1950s, recipes were quite simple and required little effort and creativity, but with the passing of the years they became more and more complicated, exotic, diversified and the rubric progressively started to promote non-Dutch ingredients and foreign meals at the Dutch table. At first, exotic dishes were portrayed as suitable for special occasions and festivities due to the complexity often required for their preparation and also because foreign ingredients were not always easily attainable. Later on, starting in the 1960s, foreign dishes, especially the ones typical of countries like France, Italy, Spain, Austria and England, started to progressively be related as part of the everyday consumption. Also Salzman identifies that it was the editors' policy to try to be '[…] in the vanguard of social change, encouraging their readers to discard traditional taboos, while at the same time making their ideas acceptable to as large a proportion of the population as possible, as well as to advertisers. The same can be said of *Margriet'*s culinary advice.'[23] Therefore, since *Margriet,* with its different kinds of articles and its recipes section, is representative of what readers' tastes and tendencies in different fields were, I consider it the most appropriate material to explore what dishes Dutch people have been eating at home, during which occasions and, even more relevant for my research, from which country the recipes have been originating.

The period I decided to put under the microscope for my investigation is the from January 1950 until December 2000. I opted for the period after the Second World War and, in the specific since when Indonesia was proclaimed independent and the migration from the ex colony to the Netherlands started, because of the focus of this study on the role played by Indonesian

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

foodstuff and eating culture in the Dutch society. Once decided the time frame, I conducted the first part of the analysis of the magazine in March 2013 at the National Library of the Netherlands (*Koninklijke Bibliotheek,* The Hague), during which I could only access the paper version of the magazine because the magazine has not been digitalized, hence I could not proceed with the more accurate method of text mining. It is important to take into account that *Margriet* has been published on a weekly basis, thus I believed at first that a good amount of samples to examine could have been four issues per every fifth year of the time frame. The samples taken under consideration where the first issues of January (no.1), April (no.14), July (no. 27), and October (no.40) of every fifth year, starting with January 1950 until October 2000. When one issue was not available in the archive, the following issue was analyzed. The number of samples analyzed was 44, which in reality did not mean that just 44 recipes were analyzed because one issue of the magazine can contain more that one recipe or even more that one article connected to food-related topics. The actual number of articles analyzed at first was 61 as the result that multiple articles have been examined per issue, depending on the number of pieces written about food, cooking and eating related practices. In detail, for the examination of each article I had set eight parameters according to what I had considered to be more relevant for the understanding of which culinary features represented a novelty due to foreign food encounters or a permanent trait of the Dutch cuisine. The eight parameters were namely occasion, type of course, geographical origin of the recipe, language used to express values associated with food, language used in describing the preparation of the dish, reference to mobility, remarks about foreign traditions connected to food consumption, and the presence of a suggested weekly menu. The first variable, the recipe by occasion was defined such as not specified, everyday life, festivity and special occasion, and national or public holiday. The second parameter, the recipes by course was divided in snack, soup, salad and sauce, main dish, dessert, drinks, whole menu, various (which gather together different kind of dishes considered in the previous categories), and no recipes at all. Third, the recipe was categorized by cuisine or, came to be called later on, by geographical origin. Among the different kitchens, I grouped recipes coming from different geographical areas: first of all the Netherlands, secondly the big group of recipes coming from European countries, together with those from the Mediterranean, and thirdly the category of

global, which in this case includes recipes from the rest of the world such as Asia, America, Oceania and the part of Africa that is not the Maghreb, which was included in the Mediterranean area. For what concerns the second group, the one of the so-called 'European countries', it is necessary to specify that a further subdivision was later made, in order to be able to identify and highlight the recipes coming from Morocco or from other Muslim countries. Thus, in the analysis a difference was made among dishes from Northern European, comprising countries like Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, England, Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark. The second group under the category of European dishes was the ones coming from the Mediterranean region, such as France, Italy, Spain, Greece, Portugal, Morocco and Turkey. Lastly, the smaller group, the one that included the cooking instructions from Eastern Europe, namely Hungary, Russia, Romania, Russia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Czech Republic, Bulgaria, and Balkans (in general).

During the research conducted in March 2013 at the National Library of the Netherlands, also the other five parameters had been scrutinized, therefore for the first 44 issues of *Margriet* analyzed, a close look was given to the language used to express the value of certain recipes or foods (traditional, real, foreign, original, exotic, classic and special), the language used to describe preparation (cheap, fast and quick, easy, simple), the reference to mobility, migration and travels (migrants in the Netherlands, author's personal travels, travels by Dutch people) or the reference to traditions from other countries. As a whole, during this first survey, I gave relevance to the innovative and traditional dishes in the Dutch eating culture in accordance with the social changes brought by primarily mobility (migration and traveling).

Despite the attempt of being as accurate and well aimed as possible, it became evident in the months following the research, that the sample examined could have portrayed just a rough estimation of the Dutch eating habits and that in all probability conclusions could not have been drawn from such a limited amount of sources. This is especially true considered the fact that very few recipes referred to Indonesian cuisine and almost none had to do with Moroccan foodstuff. As consequence, driven by the necessity of attaining a more solid foundation for my argumentation and more material to make my case, I headed back to the archive in December 2013 and January 2014, to make a second round of investigation. This time the issues analyzed

covered the same time frame as before (1950-2000), but instead of just going through four issues per year, the whole yearly publication was examined. Hence, I went through the other 48 issues, but this time keeping as defining variables just the occasion, the division by course and by geographical origin. This decisions came because this time the focus was not just on the documentation of the changing culinary fashions, but also on extracting all the culinary columns that reflected the influence of the Indonesian and Moroccan kitchens at the Dutch family table.

In an effort to maintain a precise and in depth analysis, within the categories of recipes by occasion and recipes by geographical origin a new subdivision has been created. For the 'occasion', 'everyday' has been divided between explicit and 'not specified but everyday', the former was conceptualized as in the case of the author's straightforward statement that the recipes were to be realized during a common day, and the latter when I perceived the dish as ordinary or conventionally regarded as daily food, basing myself on the ingredients used, the way of referring to the dish and the photographic representation of it. The same kind of reasoning has been applied to the notion of 'Festive/Special occasion' as explicit or 'not specified but festive'. Another addition has been the combination of both everyday and festive dishes which were explicitly described as suitable for both situations. To the category of the recipes by geographical origin, it was just added a differentiation within the Dutch group, because it has been noticed that some recipes were, also in this case, described by the author as explicitly typically Dutch, hence prepared with the intention of celebrating the Dutch food culture (such as the *stamppot, hufspot, kroket, peppernoten*) and some others were recipes with typical Dutch ingredients and dishes, but no emphasis was put on the celebration of any national or regional aspect. As a consequence the category Dutch has been split up in explicit and implicit.

In conclusion, with the last and final analysis of *Margriet,* there have been examined eleven years (1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000), mostly 52 issues every year (in some cases 53) for a total of 572 issues and 747 culinary columns. These numbers resulted, as already mentioned above, in the fact that many Magazine's issues contained more than one recipe or culinary columns, which also could present more recipes, especially

from 1985 onwards in which every issues published two, three, and sometimes four articles with recipes or food related matters.[24]

This paper is divided in three sections. The first focuses on the Dutch immigrant policies from the 1950s until 2000s, and introduces the historical and social context in which the Indonesian and labour migrants, among which the Moroccan, came to the Netherlands. This chapter also proposes a comparison between the integration of post-colonial and labour migrants. The second section focuses on the culinary history of the Netherlands, the social factors, and technological developments which influenced the change in taste for food. Every decade is analyzed through the lens of gastronomic changes in the public sphere, hence involving the unfolding of food fashions, like going out to eat ethnic, the differentiation of the restaurant sector, the attention given to cooking, healthy foods and diets, and the publishing of cookbooks. The last part of the paper is mainly dedicated to the discussion of the results of my analysis on the culinary columns of *Margriet,* the portrayal of Indonesian and Moroccan cuisines and the general interests given to foreign cooking in the magazine. I also deduce a part to exploring the most influential Indonesian cookbook, the *Groot Indonesisch kookboek.* At the beginning of the section, I also introduce how different geographical and culinary traditions differentiate the coverage in the magazine. Alongside, I also offer an account of the snacks culture in the Netherlands.

[24] For the sake of accuracy, it must be stated that the total of nineteen issues have not been included in the research because of missing from the national library archive (eight issues in 1990, from April 4th to June 22nd and one issue in 2000) or because no recipes or articles were published in that issue (five issues in 1970, four in 1975, one in 1995)

The integration of post-colonial and labor migrants within shifting Dutch immigrant policies (1945-2000s)

1.1.'Not a country of immigration' (post-World War II until mid-1970s)

Following World War II, and throughout the post-war period, the Netherlands experienced the arrival of a significant number of migrants from its largest (ex) colony: the Dutch East Indies. After a period of instability, due to the decolonization and the establishment of the new independent Republic of Indonesia, thousands of so-called 'repatriates', *Indische Nederlanders*, ethnic Chinese and Moluccans moved to the Netherlands. But in spite of this massive movement of people, the dominant sentiment in the Netherlands was that the country was not and should not become a country of immigration. As striking as this perspective might look like at first sight, it was not unfounded. As a matter of fact, all the migrants coming from the Dutch East Indies, except for the Moluccans and Chinese, were already Dutch citizens, like the repatriates, or they were entitled to the Dutch citizenship, like the I*ndische Nederlanders*.

Notwithstanding the image of 'fellow Dutchmen' that these migrants had, which is especially true for the repatriates, it is surprising that until the mid-1970s migration was minimally regulated. The fact that the Netherlands promoted its reputation of not being a country of immigration until the mid-1970s was even more remarkable considering that by the early 1960s the country started the recruitment of foreign workers to fill in the vacancies for unskilled or low-skilled jobs, which were necessary for the country's post-war reconstruction. The majority of these so-called guest workers, thus temporary labour migrants, were coming from Mediterranean countries such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Greece and Morocco. At first, during the 1960s, when these large groups of guest workers came to the Netherlands, it was thought that their presence in the country was not going to be permanent, as it was expected for the migrants from Indonesia.[25]

Despite the lack of a specific immigrant integration policy until the mid-1970s, ad-hoc measures for accommodation were the rule, and reception facilities were short-term-oriented and scarce. The only exception to this rule was the assimilation policy for repatriates and *Indische*

[25] Except for the Moluccans.

Nederlanders from the former Dutch East Indies. Accordingly, the two main policy goals until mid-1970s concerned the remigration and the accommodation of guest workers to Dutch society for as long as they would stay in the Netherlands, and the assimilationist strategy for the rapid integration of the migrants from the new independent Republic of Indonesia. In general, the Netherlands maintained the mindset that migrants' should maintain their own identity as they were expected to eventually return to their countries of origin.[26] On the contrary, the Dutch policy for post-colonial migrants from the Dutch East Indies was assimilation, which was more easily achieved given they already had some degree of similarity with Dutch society.

The decolonization and the arrival of post-colonial migrants from the Dutch East Indies

On 17 August 1945, after the Japanese capitulation, the Indonesian nationalist movement proclaimed independence. After four years of negotiations between the colony and the motherland, at the end of 1949 the transfer of sovereignty was fulfilled and the Republic of Indonesia was acknowledged as an independent country.[27] The end of the war for independence in 1949 and the following phases of the decolonization process triggered a series of migrations to the Netherlands. The first wave consisted mainly of repatriating first generation Dutch families, also called *totoks*. The successive rounds of migration involved the movement of a number of *Indische Nederlanders*, most of who had never been in the Netherlands and who represented the native born and racially mixed settlers in Indonesia. The adjective '*Indische*' denotes a belonging to the former Netherlands Indies. The words '*Indische Nederlander*' refer to Dutch citizens who were born in this colony and who were predominantly of mixed Dutch- Indonesian descent.[28] In 1951, 12.500 Moluccans joined the migration to the metropolis. Also several thousand ethnic Chinese, who were already residing in the Dutch East Indies took part in the exodus from Indonesia to the Netherlands. The movement from Indonesia to the metropolis was more or less

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[26]Bruquetas-Callejo María, Garcés-Mascareñas Blanca, Penninx Rinus and Scholten Peter, 'Policymaking related to immigration and integration. The Dutch Case.', IMISCOE Working Paper: Country Report Working Paper No. 15 (2006) on-line publication: http://dare.uva.nl/document/53748, 13

[27]Oostindie Gert, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands: Identity Politics versus the Fragmentation of Community', in Bosma Ulbe, Jan Lucassen and Gert Oostindie (eds.), *Postcolonial migrants and identity politics : Europe, Russia, Japan and the United States in comparison* (New York 2012), 95-126, 98

[28]Bosma Ulbe (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam 2012), 26

completed by the mid-1960s.[29] Additionally, it has been estimated that some twelve thousands former colonial Moluccan soldiers with their families, and about seven thousand ethnic Chinese rooted in Indonesia arrived in the Netherlands. However, the great majority of the migrants were *totoks* or Eurasian *Indische Nederlanders*.[30] Totoks and *Indische Nederlanders* represented the first expatriate community in the metropolis. The majority of these migrants were white or Eurasian, had a fair command of the Dutch language and had taken part in Dutch education, or at least they were planning to. [31] As a matter of fact, the repatriates, in contrast to the *Indische Nedelanders*, were mainly middle- and upper class, Dutch born, legal Europeans, who travelled to the Netherlands often accompanied by their own servants. The objective of their metropolitan sojourn and settlement to the Netherlands included the pursuit of higher education, military leave or simply the desire to 'repatriate' to a European country of which they heard in family stories.[32]

The overwhelming majority of Dutch post-colonial immigrants was Christian and about 90 per cent of the immigrants from Indonesia were categorized as Europeans – not as indigenous – in colonial times. Only a tiny minority of a few thousand Indonesians had Dutch citizen rights under Dutch rule. The post-colonial immigrants from Indonesia were therefore a most privileged segment of the colonial society. They were born in the Netherlands, Dutch or European descendants or were other persons who identified themselves with Dutch culture or at least with the colonial variant of it.[33] In this perspective, the mass departure from Indonesia was a matter of minority groups directly connected to the declining colonial order, who irrevocably lost their way of living because of a forced transfer of sovereignty.[34]

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[29] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands', 99. For the sake of the terminology, it is important to distinguish between *Totoks*, or more commonly referred to as repatriates, who were the first generation Dutch settled in the colony; and *Indische Nederlanders* (Indonesian Dutch people), who were born in the colony and were usually of mixed blood. During the colonial time, the latter category was also named Indo-Europeans. I believe that the change of designation for this group into Indonesian Dutchmen during the post-colonial period constituted a practice aimed at identifying them with the Dutch society, therefore fostering a more rapid assimilation.

[30] Ibid., 102

[31] Ibid., 97

[32] Ibid.

[33] Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants,* 8

[34] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands', 100-102

In chronological order, the first large group to arrive was repatriating *totoks* followed by *Indische Nederlanders*. While the repatriation of the first group had not provoked much concern, there has been an extensive apprehension that the second group, being firmly rooted in Indonesia, would not be able to integrate into Dutch society or at least would have great difficulty doing so. In order to prevent this possibility and to facilitate their integration, the Dutch government intervened in the adjustment process of the migrants. An effort was made to involve government at all levels, churches, and private institutions, which "built together a paternalist but rather effective machinery to provide temporary housing and to help them integrate in the educational system and the labour market."[35]

Whereas the migration from Indonesia was demographically insignificant to the sending country and represented a cross-section of its population, it did have a great impact on the receiving county, both in numerical terms and in the cultural and economical consequences of this large scale migration on the Netherlands.[36] When analyzing the post-colonial migration to the Netherlands, it is relevant to notice that the bulk of the migrants from Indonesia represented a movement of specific classes within the colonial society, namely the more well-off ones. Even if this was not especially true for the Moluccans, and a section of *Indische Nederlanders*, it was definitely the case of the repatriates and even of the ethnic Chinese communities, who were usually highly educated and part of an entrepreneurial class. For instance, this was in contrast to the case of the Surinamese exodus, which consisted of a fairly representative sample of the total population. Another interesting fact to know is that Dutch policy makers, when faced with the prospect of relatively massive movements of people from the former colonies to the metropolis, have doubted over the chances of the new arrivals and their willingness and ability to adjust to Dutch society. They moreover worried about possible hostile reactions in the host society, and pondered over ways to curtail free immigration from former colonies. Decolonization and post-colonial immigrations changed the Netherlands demographically in a post-colonial society. In

[35] Ibid., 106

[36] Ibid. 106-108

fact, nowadays about 6.3 per cent of the Dutch population comes from the former colonies, or has at least one parent born there.[37]

The assimilationist approach and the role of the government

As mentioned above, between 1945 and 1959 approximately 300.000 migrants left the Dutch East Indies for the Netherlands. The Dutch government had to deal with the arrival of large groups of immigrants, who migrated to the Netherlands for the first time, as in the case of the *Indische Nederlanders*, or those who were already familiar with the country, as in the case of the repatriates. Especially the latter were mostly perceived by both the government and the public opinion as fellow Dutchmen and therefore public policy was directed at rapid absorption of the mixed group of Indonesians into Dutch society. The approach to this migration, which took place in different rounds, was the one of assimilation and a great amount of resources were dedicated to finding jobs and housing.

In this context it is of great importance to mention that already in the 1950s the Netherlands had a long tradition of pillarization, which is a doctrine that emerged in the nineteenth century as a means of allowing tolerance for groups who maintained different religious beliefs, especially Catholics and Protestants, by allowing them to create their own institutions.[38] According to Ellie Vasta, "the modern version meant that various societal sub-groups could have their own state-sponsored and semi-autonomous institutions for health care, social welfare, education etc." [39] As it will be introduced later on in this chapter, this model was used as a source of inspiration especially in the 1980s, in setting up the ethnic minorities policy. In that period immigrants could use semi-autonomous institutions as a means of preserving their own culture and group integrity.

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[37] Even though this chapter focussed on the migration from the Dutch East Indies, thus when speaking of post-colonial migrants I mainly intend the ones from Indonesia, attention must be paid to the fact the the Netherlands since the post-war period started to received post-colonial migrants also from the Dutch West Indies, especially from the 1970s, namely from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles. Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants*, 8.

[38] Dutch society underwent a complete transformation. Before 1965, it was a highly pillarized society under shared Catholic, Protestant and Social- Democratic leadership, where each aspect of social life was separated by denomination. The Netherlands had its share of youth protests around 1970 and rapidly secularized in the course of the 1960s and 1970s. Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants,* 15-16

[39] Vasta Ellie, 'From ethnic minorities to ethnic majority policy: Multiculturalism and the shift to assimilationism in the Netherlands', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30:5 (September 2007), 713-740, 716

Nevertheless, during the period of immigration from Indonesia, pillarization accounted for the main ideology behind the role of Christian associations in taking care for and providing of resources to these migrants, of who 90 per cent were Christian. Thus in a climate of pillarization, and considering the fact that the majority of these migrants were Christian, responsibility for their well-being was taken by the 'appropriate denominational group'. At the same time funds for these activities were also provided by the Dutch government, that aimed at the rapid assimilation of fellow Dutchmen and colonial migrants into the mainstream society. For this purpose, the assimilationist approach was conceived as a process of dispersion, social assistance and acceptance on the part of the Dutch population. [40] Accordingly, ethnic bonding among repatriates was discouraged through, for instance, policies aimed at their spatial dispersion across the Netherlands.

A closer look at the role of government and other institutions involved in the adaptation process of the post-colonial migrants from Indonesia reveals the underlying assimilationist orientation of the community development approach enacted by the Dutch authorities. For instance, from the 1950s, Dutch government, churches and welfare workers were united in their efforts to complete the process of integration within fifteen years. A lot of attention was paid to the particular situation of the *Indische Nederlanders*, who had never been in the Netherlands before and who were supposedly not very accustomed to the Dutch culture and language. Considering the fact that they were entitled to Dutch citizenship, unlike the Moluccans, their integration into Dutch society was given priority. Of course the Dutch institutions and organizations were not so naive as to believe that a full assimilation was possible, but their aim was to make sure that the newcomers were able to cope with the demands of the labour market and all the practical exigencies of daily life. In this context, it is interesting to note that 'special attention was given to the allegedly wealthy lifestyle in the colonies, which needed to be tweaked and twined into frugal house- keeping. They had no illusions whatsoever that the newcomers would ever feel entirely Dutch; mentally, they would stay in their own milieu.'[41]

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[40]Bagley Christopher, 'Immigrant Minorities in the Netherlands: Integration and Assimilation', *International Migration Review* 5:1 (Spring 1971), 18-35, 22-23

[41] Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants*, 18

Despite the absence of a real policy for the assimilation of these migrants, for the purpose of their absorption into the mainstream society, the government actively promoted measures aimed at facilitating their entry in the labour market and housing. The model of *Indische* integration could then be illustrated as a community development approach, with its separate facilities for newcomers and its strong assimilationist features, which indeed worked very well during the *Indische* repatriation. According to Peter Scholten, who carried out an extensive analysis of the Dutch immigrant integration policies, the bridging of these repatriates to Dutch society appeared to have been relatively successful, because within a decade most of them had merged into society. As a result, it went down as a success in Dutch history to such a degree that it became commonplace to speak of a 'silent integration'.[42]

This successful assimilation helped, however, to maintain the idea that the Netherlands was anything but a country of immigration, which was perpetuated by the Dutch government since the end of the Second World War. As already mentioned above, there was a lack of an explicit immigrant integration policy, which lasted until the end of the 1970s. The main reason for not formulating any policy regarding immigrants was mainly due to the fact that the Netherlands failed to see as a country of immigration**.** Regardless of the massive arrival of migrants from the ex-colonies and of the guest workers from the Mediterranean area, who started to come at the beginning of the 1960s, Dutch politicians and opinion leaders considered integration policies unnecessary as immigrants were regarded already integrated into Dutch society, which was thought for the immigrants coming from the ex-Dutch East Indies, with the exception of the Moluccans, or they were expected to eventually return to their home countries, as in the case of the guest workers.[43]

The arrival of the guest workers

By the mid-1950s, the post-war reconstruction efforts in the Netherlands had caused labour shortages in various sectors, which led to the recruitment of foreign workers to fill these

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[42] Ibid.

[43]Scholten Peter, *Framing Immigrant Integration. Dutch research-policy dialogues in comparative perspective* (Amsterdam 2011), 70

vacancies, which mainly consisted of jobs for unskilled or low-skilled workers. For this purpose, recruitment agreements were signed with sending countries such as Italy (1960), Spain (1961), Portugal (1963), Turkey (1964), Greece (1966), Morocco (1969) and Yugoslavia (1970). These arrangements were formulated in consensual agreement among the Dutch Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, the employer's organizations and trade unions. These agreements and recruitment activities

> "came to an end, however, upon onset of the economic recession that followed the first oil crisis in 1973. This was more the result of a lack of employers' interest in new foreign workers than the consequence of an explicit immigration policy. Measures to force migrant workers to return home were never implemented in the Netherlands."[44]

Whereas following the decolonization of the Dutch East-Indies, the assimilationist approach was the leading *modus operanti,* with the arrival of the guest workers throughout the 1960s, the Dutch government had to face a new model of immigration, which subsequently led to a new policy approach in the late 1970s. Unlike the migrants from Indonesia who had moved to the Netherlands to settle down, these foreign workers from Mediterranean countries, together with postcolonial migrants such as Moluccans, and migrants from within the Dutch kingdom such as Surinam and the Dutch Antilles, were regarded as temporary migrants. Hence their presence was assumed to be short-termed and they were expected to eventually return to their home countries. The Dutch therefore called foreign workers 'guest-workers', and the term 'immigrant' was carefully avoided so as to refrain from creating the impression that they were permanent settlers. In clear terms, it was declared that "the Netherlands was not and should not be a country of immigration, especially because of its already high population density". [45] To this end, and very much in opposition to the governmental measures taken towards the post-colonial migrants from Indonesia, facilities were created for preserving the bonds within the various

[44]Bruquetas-Callejo, 'Policymaking related to immigration', 5

[45]Scholten Peter, and Holzhacker Roland, 'Bonding, bridging and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: changing discourses in a changing nation', *Nations and Nationalism* 15:1 (2009), 81-100, 87

immigrant communities in order to facilitate their return. As it will be discussed later on with the Ethnic Minority Policy of the 1980s, a multicultural approach was put in motion for allowing labour migrants to maintain the cultural and social attachment with the members of the same migrant community.

For what concerns the differences between the post-colonial migrants from Indonesia and the guest workers, it is important to point out specific issues regarding the role of the government in the field of employment and housing. As far as employment is concerned, or in a more conceptual way the social-economic status attainment, which migrants strived to achieve, conditions changed fundamentally over time. The most crucial was the changing role of the state in the economic sphere. While in the 1940s and 1950s the government intervened in the labour market on behalf of repatriates from the newly independent Indonesia, in the 1980s and 1990s, the integration of immigrants into the labour market was left to market forces, employers and the labour unions, except for the case of the Moluccans.[46] Following the same line of reasoning, whereas in the 1950s and 1960s the Dutch government had been able to disperse *Indische Nederlanders* all over the country thanks to the central coordination of housing and welfare provision which aimed to disperse the Indonesian repatriates for the sake of rapid assimilation, this was no longer the case in the 1970s and in the 1980s. A combination of factors, such as the idea that labor migrants would not settle for good, or the economic recession which started in 1973 and lasted until late 1980s, had as a consequence that labour migrants like Moroccans, Turks, as well as post-colonial ones like Surinamese and Antilleans, became concentrated in large cities, and very often in specific ethnic neighborhoods.[47]

1.2. The Dutch multicultural model (1970s)

According to Scholten, the Dutch immigrant integration policies can be described as a succession of frames rather than a case characterized by a single dominant model. Since the end of World War II until the 2000s, the scene of the immigrant integration policy has been characterized by a series of episodes of stability and change. It cannot be argued that 'one policy

[46] Bosma(eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants*, 11

[47] Ibid.

frame and orientation prevailed over the others, but instead that different integration policies have been formulated during a particular span of times.' [48] At least four policy episodes can be distinguished, each of them being representative of a particular dominant integration policy: the lack of immigrant integration policy until about 1978, followed by the ethnic minority policy until 1990s, then an integration policy until more or less 2000, and more recently, the integration policy 'new style'. Until the 1970s policies towards migrants were framed in the context of powerful values and norms establishing that the Netherlands "was not and should not be a country of immigration".[49] The migration that had taken place in the 1960s and the 1970s was seen as an inadvertent consequence of economic and political developments. This norm of not being a country of immigration also provided an argument for not developing a policy for immigrant integration, as the integration of migrants could otherwise be interpreted as a positive appraisal of the idea of being a country of immigration**.**

In the 1970s the conviction emerged that the time had come to formulate a minority policy. A turbulent decade of political violence, occupations, military counteractions, the exodus from Suriname and the permanent settlement and family reunion of many of the labor migrants from the Mediterranean made the Dutch government reflect on the migrant situation in the Dutch society.[50] The question that many researchers and leaders of the public opinion have posed is "whether Dutch politics had indeed moved to reckless multiculturalism since 1970s, allowing for mass immigration, neglecting the labor market and educational issues, pampering migrants with welfare provisions, encouraging them to cling to their own cultures, and neglecting to ensure that they would adhere to the fundamentals of an open society."[51]

The 1970s idea of helping minorities to retain their own culture and language never became a central feature of minority policies, and had been abandoned altogether by the late 1980s. From the start, multiculturalism was used in a descriptive way by politicians who were mostly reticent to openly recognize the fact that the ethnic and the cultural landscape of the country was

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[48] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration*, 68

[49] Ibid., 71-72

[50] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands, 115

[51] Ibid., 116

changing because of immigration. Nonetheless there was also a "more normative reading of the concept which, policies apart, was aimed at broadening the concept of national identity and hence rejecting the idea of assimilation or integration as a one way process."[52] According to Oostindie, there was never any serious political commitment to a radical version of multiculturalism as integration has never ceased to be the norm.

The Dutch multicultural model, which started to become the leading social theme in the 1970s, and was implemented officially in the 1980s in the minority policy, had the slogan 'Integration with retention of one's own identity'. Scholten defines differentialism as the model in which "immigrant integration is named primarily in terms of accommodating differences between groups that are, as much as possible, autonomous or sovereign within their own community."[53] He recognizes that differentialism stresses either the absence of a need to integrate (e.g. because migration is considered temporary) or the unfeasibility of integration (e.g. because of essential differences between migrants and natives).

> "On the whole, the policies that were developed for these migrant groups appear to correspond to the differentialist model. In fact, the so-called 'two-tracks' policies developed in this period implied that, though migrants were to be activated in the social-economic sphere, in other respects they were differentiated from Dutch society."[54]

Initially the slogan and the framing referred to the social and economic integration of migrants during their stay, with the extra objective of enhancing their economic participation. The Dutch model of multiculturalism, apart from promoting integration as such, was directed at providing a group with the chance to retain part of its identity. This means that the group was stimulated to experience its own cultural habits and to develop its own activities. A group-focused approach was in fact essential to this aim. Ironically this policy continued previous policies that aimed at returning, but now with a different argument. Even more, the Dutch

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[52] Ibid., 116-117

[53]Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 40-41, 70

[54]Ibid.

government had assessed that the practice of the retention of identity would have been less problematic for foreign workers, who were supposed to remain in the country for only a short time, to reintegrate after returning to the home country.[55]

It is interesting to note that already in those years, there was a categorization of migrant groups which also reflected differentialism. In fact, migrant groups were not named and framed as one category, namely migrants, but they were defined according to their foreign origins, for example Surinamese, Antillean, Moluccan, foreign workers, taking care to emphasize the fact that they were not from the Netherlands. In this perspective, this categorization of migrant groups was also revealed in the fragmentation of policy responsibilities across various governmental departments. Furthermore, this division in categories of migrant groups being strictly connected to the country of origin underlined their different migration paths and histories, such as colonial migration, labor migration, family migration or asylum migration.[56]

This approach to migrant groups can be assumed to have lead to a difficult framing of the migration process to the Netherlands per se, and it has prevented the development of a common framework for formulating a general immigrant integration policy. One of the underlying motives behind the reasons why the Dutch government did not take action in articulating a common integration policy can be found in the idea that "policies aimed at permanent integration could hamper return to the home countries". This was an increasingly alarming issue among the government and opinion leaders. Although by the 1970s it became evident that a large amount of guest workers were not going to head back to their own countries once there was no longer a demand for supplementary labor in the Dutch economy, it was still thought that foreign workers would not become permanent minorities.

There are several factors which support the assumption that the articulation of a multicultural model, which found its continuity in the Ethnic Minority Policy of the 1980s, was a strategy to maintain the 'temporary' migrants away from the actual process of integrating and

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[55]Ibid., 70

[56]Speaking about the perception of temporary migration, together with the guest workers from the Mediterranean, two other major immigrant groups from former Dutch colonies, the Surinamese and the Antilleans, were not considered permanent immigrants either, because they were seen as fellow citizens of the Dutch Kingdom who could enter and leave the Netherlands as they pleased. Ibid.

settling down for good in the Netherlands. For that matter, the presence of temporary migrants was framed as a product of post-war economic reconstruction and decolonization. To facilitate return migration, migrants would have to be able to preserve, as best as possible, their cultural identities and internal group structures. Whereas integration was pursued in social-economic domains such as labour and income, or in the social- cultural domain, like religion and language, migrant groups were encouraged to keep themselves apart from Dutch society. For instance, differentiated housing facilities were created and education was promoted through immigrant minority language and culture classes.[57]

1.3. The Ethnic Minority Policy (1980s)

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the Dutch started to realize, or even more began to accept that immigrants had come to stay and that the country had become *de facto* a country of immigration. The fact that for the first time the presence of specific migrant groups were recognized as being permanent triggered the formulation of an official minority memorandum, which was released in 1983. This was called the Ethnic Minorities Policy, and it was based "on the assumption that ethnic minorities will remain permanently in the Netherlands [...] thereby distancing itself from the idea that their presence would have been of a temporary order. Migrants were also named and framed as permanent settlers."[58]

In contrast to the previous period during which the migrants were differentiated according to their country of origin, or by being postcolonial, colonial or labor migrants, the new policy categorized them as permanent 'cultural minorities' or 'ethnic minorities'. However, it is interesting to mention that the government did not provide any definition of 'ethnic minorities'. Rather it singled out a number of 'minorities' who represented the target groups of the policy. These minorities were Moluccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, foreign workers, gypsies, refugees and lastly caravan dwellers, who were not migrants but shared ethnic group formation and a socio-economic status. Some migrants were left out of this list, for example the Chinese and

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[57] Ibid., 71

[58]However, immigration as such was still not seen as a permanent phenomenon, and the Netherlands was still not considered a country of immigration, since the immigration of these specific target groups was framed as a historically unique event. Ibid., 72

Pakistanis, on the grounds that they were not seen as minorities. A possible explanation is to be found in the two conditions that characterized the principal groups that were included in the list which were namely the ethnicity and group formation and the social and economic problems associated with the 'ethnic minorities'. According to Scholten "the selection was legitimized by the argument that the government was responsible for these minorities because 'their arrival and settlement in the Netherlands has been so entwined with the history and economic functioning of Dutch society'." [59] The major focus of all policy documents since 1979 was on the social category of 'ethnic minorities', which supposedly indicated the more multiculturalist aspect of the minorities policy. In fact, in the new policy assimilationism and differentialism were explicitly rejected. First of all because assimilationist was against the granted freedom given to the minorities to explore their own cultures, and secondly because differentialism "had served too long as an excuse for the government not to create a policy on integration."[60]

Besides, the fundamental idea on which the minority policy was built was multiculturalism. As a matter of fact, on the one hand, the policy discourse emphasized the mutual adaptation of migrants and Dutch in the context of a multiethnic and multicultural society. On the other hand, "this mutual adaptation involved not only the social-cultural emancipation of minorities and combating discrimination, but it also enhanced the social-economic participation of members of minorities."[61] By the same token, the aim of the official policy was to "achieve a society in which the members of minority groups that reside in the Netherlands could, individually as well as group-wise, enjoy an equal position and full opportunities for development."[62]

Even if the main goal was to achieve an equal position for all the members of minorities, looking at the details in which the policy worked, it becomes clear that the policy was conceived as a welfare plan for certain segregated social groups. It can be seen as a continuation of some aspects of pillarization, which "generously funded new ethnic and religious minority communities for their own places of worship and media, and certain types of educational

[59] Ibid., 73

[60] Ibid., 72

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., 72-73

provision on the same basis as preexisting parallel institutional arrangements."[63] During the 1980s, while the multicultural model was still dominant, an actual period of controlled integration through this minority policy was implemented. In fact, the policy measures were devoted to tackle three domains: the legal-political, socio-economic, and cultural domains. Firstly, in the legal-political area, for example, anti-discrimination legislation was reinforced; naturalization became more accessible; a consultation structure was established in order to give target minorities a voice regarding their position in society. Secondly, in the socio-economic sphere there were three key areas: labour market and unemployment, education, and housing. Labour market programmes, special training courses as well as education programmes for ethnic minorities were established. Voluntary agreements and laws were established to help open up more jobs for immigrants. Thirdly, in the realm of culture, language and religion, migrants were left to themselves to thrive and experience their own cultural, religious and linguistic institutions.[64]

All in all, it was felt that immigrant organizations should become more involved in policymaking, but that separate welfare organizations for minorities, the so-called 'categorical facilities' that were also a product of pillarization, were hindering this process rather than encouraging integration. At the same time, there was broad political consensus that national welfare policies should be decentralized, a process that had already been set in motion in the 1970s, but began seriously to take shape from 1983 onwards. [65]

For the sake of this thesis's topic, which focusses on migrants from Indonesia and Morocco, it is of great relevance to observe that among the list of minorities presented in the minority policy, the migrant groups from Indonesia were lacking. This can be explained by the fact that they were considered already integrated, or not being part of a cultural minority. This theory is also supported by Vasta, who claimed that in the early 1980s, the *Indische*

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[63] Vasta, 'From ethnic minorities', 716

[64]According to Vasta, these measures were later seen to create a type of separatism. 'Mother-tongue teaching was also available but it was soon discovered there were problems because the courses were amateurish and students were losing time from core classes. There was also a resistance to Islamic based schools for fear of isolation and segregation. The establishing of mosques proved an extremely difficult process for Muslims with protests from neighbors and problems with municipal zoning and urban renewal policies.' Ibid., 717

[65] Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants*, 19

Nederlanders were not a subject of the newly formulated minorities policy, precisely because they were considered already integrated.[66] In fact, the mere explanation of considering migrants from Indonesia being Dutch citizens or post-colonial migrants could not be plausible because in this list of minorities there were Surinamese and Antilleans, who were entitled to the Dutch citizenship and, together with the Moluccans, were postcolonial migrants. Secondly, relations between the Netherlands and Indonesia had drastically improved during the 1970s and, for example, airfares went down rapidly from 1980 onwards. Within existing structures, such as magazines, museums and Pasars (i.e. ethnic markets), there was a growing interest in colonial history and in Indonesian culture overall and finally *Indische* became increasingly associated with history and identity.[67] Surprisingly it is worth mentioning that notwithstanding the effectiveness of the assimilation approach towards this community, in the 1980s, in the climate of multiculturalism, it was noted that groups of *Indische Nederlanders* developed the project of advocating the value and universality of Creole culture, which was also a clear sign of resistance to mainstream assimilation. One possible explanation could be that in the 1980s and 1990s, when the identity formation of the younger generations of the *Indische Nederlanders* took place, it was in the context of a multicultural society.[68]

1.4. The Integration Policy (1990s)

By the end of the 1980s, the government started to raise doubts about whether the current approach of the minorities policy should be continued, especially in material domains, such as housing, education and labour, since the results proved disappointing.[69] Moreover, by the early 1990s, it became evident to policy-makers that the goals of the ethnic minorities policy had not been achieved. Migrants had not integrated into the labour market, educational achievement of immigrant children was low and housing segregation was also emerging as a problematic issue.[70]

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[66] Ibid., 22

[67] Ibid., 21

[68] Vasta, 'From ethnic minorities', 717

[69] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 74

[70] Vasta, 'From ethnic minorities', 717

In general, the belief in the foundation of the minorities policy stayed relatively stable throughout the 1980s, but the economic depression and rising unemployment levels among minorities forced a priority shift in the direction of social-economic participation.[71]

A new integration policy was introduced in 1994 based on the "idea of 'mainstreaming' i.e. improving the inclusion of immigrants in mainstream services in order to move away from the ethno-specific provision popularly associated with a policy of multiculturalism."[72] This new policy outlined integration as a process leading to the full and equal participation of individuals and groups in society, for which mutual respect for identity was seen as a necessary condition. The findings illustrated by Scholten revealed as well that "although there does not seem to have been a radical break in many concrete policy programmes, the early 1990s saw a significant change in the discourse, categories, causal stories and values concerning immigrant integration."[73] The actual important shift was the recognition that immigration would form a permanent phenomenon in Dutch society, and this reframing of the nature of immigration triggered a significant amount of consequences. For example, it raised the question of how policy could accommodate a constant influx of new migrants, beyond those minority groups that were considered the targets of policy.

Moreover, rising doubts about the effectiveness of the policy in material areas led to a shift in prioritization from the social-cultural to the social-economic domain of integration. This last aspect played a significant role with regard to the switch from the minorities policy to integration policy. In fact this new conceptual turn and the emphasis on the more economic integration of migrants represented the major change in the new policy, therefore in the perception of the migrants. At the same time, the other foremost change in discourse involved the emergence of the 'citizenship' concept, which appeared as the new social categorization of migrants. The mere fact of portraying migrants as citizens represented a more individualist way of structuring the path towards integration. As a result, the government started to speak about integration policy for minorities and no longer spoke of a minority policy.

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[71] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 74

[72] Vasta, 'From ethnic minorities', 717-718

[73] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 74

The focus on integration instead of emancipation located immigrant integration more from the perspective of participation in central societal institutions, such as education, labour, and politics. Instead of group emancipation, individual immigrants would now have to become the unit of integration into Dutch society.[74] This frame's primary goal was formulated as 'realizing active citizenship of persons from ethnic minorities' and, as reported by Scholten, the 1998 memorandum consistently referred to citizenship as 'active citizenship'. Now reframed as citizens, minority members saw their rights, as well as duties, becoming more central.[75] Among the new obligations of the members of the ethnic minorities that were to stay permanently in the Netherlands, it was stressed their 'individual' duty to participate in education and labor market, as well as the commitment to learn the Dutch language and become familiar with the customs of the Dutch society.

For this new policy, a new slogan was also created: 'Providing opportunities, seizing opportunities'. As mentioned above, with the integration policy a major shift towards individual rights and duties for a successful integration were highlighted, in contrast with a more ethnic groups' emancipation. Along this line of thinking, it appeared to gain an increasing importance the aspect of socio-economic success rather than the socio-cultural aspect. Therefore, integration problems were no longer conceived in terms of accessibility of societal institutions but mainly in terms of individual success in the integration process. Secondly, the theory on which the minority policy was based, namely that social-cultural emancipation would eventually also stimulate social-economic participation was reversed. Thus the integration policy insisted on promoting the social-economic participation of the migrants-citizens which was believed to be a prerequisite for the following social-cultural emancipation. [76] Thirdly, it must be said that the integration policy of the 1990s showed a breaking point in the role of the government in fostering the value of the Netherlands as a multicultural society. Although the government still recognized the *de facto* multicultural status of the Dutch society, in the climate of the formulation of the new policy, it became obvious that priority was given to other aspects. As a matter of fact

[74] Ibid., 75

[75] Ibid., 75-76

[76] Ibid., 76

the economic crisis, the permanent immigration of new immigrants, and the weight of the welfare system constituted the prime concern of the government. For this reason, the new approach of the government was not to take anymore an active role in the promotion of a multicultural society, rather to leave this task to other institutions and parties.[77]

Later on, in 1998, the Civic Integration of Newcomers Act was introduced in the attempt to offer mandatory programmes for newcomers, consisting for example in Dutch language classes, social orientation courses, information about how to find a job, social tutoring and a final test to measure their progress. Fines were also to be imposed if attendance norms were not met. In comparison with the previous two decades and the former policy approach, the new concern and the measures taken to implement the duties for the new citizens, namely to impose to immigrants the study of Dutch language, culture and society, would have been almost unthinkable.[78] In the end, it became evident that immigrants had to meet the requirement imposed by the policy and other acts in order to show their individual responsibility to integration.

1.5. The Integration Policy 'New Style' (2000s)

With the turn of the millennium a new political climate arose in the Netherlands. The events that characterized the beginning of the 2000s had a tremendous impact on the way politicians and public opinion perceived immigration and migrants. The 9/11 terrorist attacks, a new political majority in power in the Netherlands with the rise, and subsequent assassination of Pim Fortuyn, and other populist politicians, such as Geert Wilders, contributed to immigrant integration becoming highly politicized and problematized.[79]

The integration policy 'new style', formulated in 2003 very much followed the paradigm of the integration policy of the 1990s, as it was based on the leading concepts of 'citizenship' and 'self-responsibility', but its focus was much more on the cultural adaptation of immigrants to Dutch society.[80] In contrast to the integration policy of the 1990s which was focused primarily on

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[77] Ibid., 76-77

[78] Vasta, 'From ethnic minorities', 718

[79] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 77

[80] Bruquetas-Callejo, 'Policymaking related to immigration', 20

social-economic participation, the emphasis in the 2000s shifted towards social and cultural distance between migrants and Dutch society. In this sense, for the sake of the 'continuity of society', priority was given to bridging the differences between migrants and Dutch rather than allowing the former to experience their own cultural identities. In fact, immigration would have to be adjusted as far as the extent to which immigrants would be effectively integrated in Dutch society, with civic integration courses acting as a crucial link between immigration and integration. It is interesting to note that the categorization of a limited number of minorities was abandoned, as it was already the case during the integration policy, and that all newcomers as well as the long term resident migrants, without regard to ethnic or cultural origin, were the target groups of the new policy. One of the striking novelty of the new policy had to do with the social construction of migrants to whom the policy refers with an increasingly negative tone. One of the reasons may be linked to the fact that the underlying principle of the new policy asserted that the social and cultural differences could constitute an obstacle to social-economic participation of migrants. Obviously, this illustrated a completely new approach to immigrant integration policy, which was in opposition to the concept of social-cultural emancipation being a condition for social-economic participation, as it had been assumed by the minorities policy, or that social-economic participation accounted for a condition for social-cultural emancipation, as supposed by the integration policy. It was probable therefore that the policy makers of the integration policy 'new style' conceived the diminishing social and cultural distances between migrants and natives as a practice which would support the participation of migrants in society and that would reduce problems such as criminality and rising social tensions in neighborhoods with high concentrations of immigrants.

Moreover, it must be added that just as with the previous decade's integration policy, the individual migrant remained the main unit of analysis. Therefore the idea that a lot would depend on the efforts made by the immigrants still constituted a fundamental belief, which was highlighted in order to prevent migrants from becoming a 'welfare category'. [81]

Finally, the results of the study conducted by Scholten demonstrated that the new integration policy instead of considering the growing cultural diversity of the Netherlands as a

[81] Scholten, *Framing Immigrant Integration,* 79

sign of multicultural society, cultural differences were framed as somehow dangerous. Hence no mention was made about the Netherlands being a multicultural country, whereas emphasis was focused on the concerns for national social cohesion and national identity, which were to become a primary issue for citizens as well as for the newcomers.[82]

One last factor that it is important to mention in order to provide a broader picture of the current situation in the field of migration is that the present political debates on migration have a strong cultural dimension. But 'culture' has become often a code word for Islam, which is perceived by many as a unassimilable culture. This radical rejection is not mainstream, but has certainly achieved wide popularity and respectability in the public domain. Talk about Maroccans as the problem category and Wilders. In this context post-colonial migrant communities seemed to have become something of a shining example. In spite of the ethnic otherness and initial socio-economic differences, the majority of post-colonial migrants were able to achieve successful integration, and some researchers, for instance Gert Oostindie, have considered this process as being fostered by their pre-migration colonial cultural capital, also called 'post-colonial bonus'. [83]

1.6. A brief comparison between the integration of post-colonial and labour migrants

From the analysis and the comparison of the integration pattern between post-colonial and labor migrants, it became increasingly explicit that some post-colonial groups, especially the Indonesians, have undergone a successful path of assimilation into Dutch society, whilst others, such as the Surinamese, Moluccans, and Antilleans, have experienced a much more difficult trajectory towards integration. As it turned out, in the last decades, the labour migrants have also had their difficulties in finding their place in the Dutch society, and this is especially true for the Moroccans, and Turks.–Within this contest, in the last decades, a heated debate has arisen regarding the successfulness of the assimilationist policies used for post-colonial migrants, and if what has been defined by Oostindie as the 'post-colonial bonus' had actually boosted their way into the mainstream society. The question at stake is whether this bonus, conceptualized as pre-

[82] Ibid.

[83] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands', 117

migration social and cultural capital has been the reason why they had integrated quite easily, or whether it was a matter of post-migration stamina developed by the migrants themselves.[84]

First of all, it must be stated that post-colonial immigrants vary widely in terms of their education, employment opportunities, religion and affinity with Dutch society. However, in general they were more familiar with metropolitan society than were the labour immigrants from Turkey, Morocco and other migrants coming from the Southern Mediterranean. The great majority were already at the time of the migration Dutch citizens, and a smaller majority have had at least a couple of years of Dutch education and have attended Protestant or Catholic churches. Apparently this 'positive social capital' gave the post-colonial immigrants an advantage over other immigrant groups. [85]

An examination of the pre-migration socioeconomic and cultural characteristics shows that social mobility and integration had evident ethnic correlations. Taking the case study of the migrants from the Dutch East Indies, it can be argued that generally speaking, the *totoks* had been part of the higher strata of the colonial society and had been quite effective in maintaining a continuity with the Dutch ways of life in the colony.[86] The bulk of them were drastically affected by the shock of being secluded in detention camps and deployed as forced laborers during the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies from 1942 until 1945, and by the tumultuous years between the Indonesian declaration of independence and the acknowledgement by the motherland in 1949. After the independence, they returned to the Netherlands where they also have suffered a status decline. Nevertheless, this first round of migrants was certainly the group of post-colonial migrants in the best condition to start off a new life in the metropolis. This is due to their high levels of education, social and cultural capital, white skins, and also because of the favorable economic situation they found in the Netherlands when they migrated.[87] The second round of migration from Indonesia was composed mainly of Eurasian *Indische Nederlanders*, who formed a less uniform community. In fact "from the early days of Dutch colonization up to

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[84] Ibid., 106

[85] Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants*, 13

[86] As this thesis regards mainly the groups of migrants coming from the ex Dutch East Indies, as well as the migrants from Morocco, the brief comparison here reported centers mainly on these two groups.

[87] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands', 103

the mid-nineteenth century, this Eurasian groups had developed its own creolized culture". As a consequence, their socioeconomic profile was greatly differentiated, with only a minority being prosperous and well educated.[88] This group who was composed of native born and racially mixed settlers was keen on remaining in Indonesia, if it was not for the new republic's increasing impatience with this community, which was always perceived as colonial. For this reason and for the growing sense of anxiety, status insecurity and resentment, that many in this group opted to move to the Netherlands. In the end, over 90 per cent of those with Dutch citizenship left Indonesia, most of them settling in the Netherlands, United States or other predominantly 'white' non-European destinations.[89] The pre-migration profile of the *Indische Nederlanders* community settling in the metropolis in the Netherlands was mixed. "While they had shared an in-between colonial status, mixed racial descent and Christianity, there were wide disparities in socioeconomic position and educational careers, affinity with the Dutch culture, and command of the Dutch language."[90] In comparison with the repatriates, the *Indische Nederlanders* occupied a less favorable position in the social strata in the white metropolis.[91]

Among the different minorities migrating from Indonesia, the ethnic Chinese gained the qualification of 'invisible migrants' because of their socioeconomic performance rather than racial features. In Indonesia, before and during the colonial period, it lived a Chinese population of several millions. They were called *Peranakan* Chinese, meaning domestic and descendants, and they were part of the middle and upper socioeconomic layers of the colonial state. The bulk of them remained to live in the newly formed republic, while a minority of them decided to migrate to the Netherlands. The members of this minority was well equipped to settle in the metropolis in view of the fact that they were middle class, well educated, Christian, and they could even master the Dutch language. [92]

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[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., 104

[90] Ibid., 103

[91] The post-colonial immigrants who were direct descendants of the metropolitan population, or were even born in the metropolis, were comparatively well-educated, often arrived during periods of economic expansion and benefitted fully from a cultural and linguistic affinity with metropolitan culture. This applied particularly to the *Indische Netherlanders*.

[92] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands', 103-104

In contrast with the other three minority groups, the least qualified in terms of socioeconomic and cultural capital were the Moluccans, who started to arrive in the Netherlands in the early 1950s. This community was mainly composed by male soldiers of the colonial army, whose previous commitment to the colonial power and especially their ongoing support for the Moluccan separatism, made them undesirable to the eye of the new Indonesian regime. They had migrated under military orders bringing along their families, but once in the Netherlands they had lost their military status and many of them had refused to apply for Dutch citizenship during what they had perceived as their exile in the Netherlands. In fact about 80 per cent of Moluccans did not hold a Dutch passport in the 1970s.[93] For what regards the pre-migration condition which characterized the ethnic groups of the Moluccans, they shared a tradition of commitment to the colonial rule, a history of modest socioeconomic status and Christian faith. Even so, they had in overall low pre-migration educational levels, little command of Dutch language and an undefined legal status were poor qualifications for successful integration.[94]

For what regards the educational achievements, it has been reported by Oostindie, that long-term figures for educational achievements showed that there was a gradual improvement for all migrant communities. This was particularly evident for Moroccans and Turks, whose second generations, not surprisingly, have been doing much better than the poorly educated first generations.[95]

On the scale of interethnic relations, post-colonial migrants have been definitely more integrated. “No matter what ‘racial’ or political differences there may be, there were pre-migration affinities in education, culture, and for most groups, religion.” [96] By the same token, generally, intermarriage with the native Dutch population occurs much more frequently among post-colonial migrants than among labour migrants from Morocco and Turkey, who started to settle in the Netherlands from the late 1970s onwards.[97] The contrast of the Moroccans and Turks

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[93] Bosma(eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants,* 12

[94] Oostindie, ‘Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands’, 104

[95] Ibid., 109

[96] Ibid., 110

[97] Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrant*s, 12

with all other major migrant communities have been significant due to the fact that a great majority Muslim are Muslim and adhere to an interpretation of the Koran in which interracial marriage may be good, but inter religious marriage is unacceptable. Most the time the choice of marriage partners tends to be along national lines. Moreover, data shows that both Moroccans and Turks have strong national orientation and are reinforced in this by 'home' authorities. Average command of the Dutch language is less accomplished than among post-colonial migrants and its usage in private is more limited. These factors combined are not favorable to a interethnic mixing. [98] In general, according to Oostindie, in spite of the overall improvement, Moroccan and Turkish integration so far lags behind the averages for the majority of post-colonial migrants.[99]

Another important aspect has to do with the citizenship of the postcolonial migrants, or at least of the majority of them, which implied full access to all state provisions, from education to housing through health services to unemployment and seniority allowances. This was particularly true until the 1980s. In this way, contrary to the labor migrants, the citizens were able to receive the main support from the Dutch government with finding temporary housing, followed by guidance about coping with Dutch ways, to facilitate integration.[100]

Broadly speaking, between 1945 and today, toleration of immigrants has oscillated strongly over time, but it does not seem to have significantly affected the integration trajectories of post-colonial migrant communities, but more of the labor migrants, because somehow they lack the colonial background that combines the bulk of post-colonial migrants. Nevertheless, it has been already demonstrated by other studies that sharing a pre-migration social and cultural capital could have been an advantage for the successful integration into the Dutch society, but that it cannot be regarded as the main reason why.[101] In fact, the post-colonial bonus can only constitute a major resource in times of economic boom and bust, as the one during which the migrants from

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[98] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands', 110

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., 112-113

[101] Ibid.

Indonesia came.[102] The Surinamese case makes a food example. The Surinamese did not benefit from the post-colonial bonus because when they started to migrate to the Netherlands in the late 1970s, the economic conditions were precarious and the labor market was already overcrowded. In fact, if the 1950s and 1960s witnessed two decades of high rates of economic growth, in the 1980s most migrants to the West had to find their way in a society going through a process of deindustrialisation and transformation into a service economy.[103] Moreover, "history has also taught us that in good times, post-colonial immigrants are not the only ones who benefit from rising economic opportunities; other migrant groups profit as well. The post-colonial bonus is often just a temporary and precarious advantage."[104]

Either way in the debate, it has become undeniable that the first round of assimilation of the immigrant Dutch citizens was remarkable by any standard. An example of this achievement was the fact that by the late 1970s, when the Dutch government and researches began to demonstrate an explicit interest in the ethnic minorities and to analyzed them, "not only the *totoks* but also the *Indische Nederlanders* were considered successfully integrated ad therefore no longer of interest for policy purposes. Not surprisingly the same applies to the Chinese with Indonesian roots."[105]

What has been portrayed in this chapter is anything but a small part of the long history of the contemporary movements which transformed the Netherlands in the multi-ethnic country that it is today. As the data shows, today, amongst a population of 16.4 million, there are over 1 million with roots in the colonies, nearly 1 mullion from Muslim countries, mainly from North Africa and Turkey, and another 750.000 Western migrants. The total population of first- and second-generation immigrants is just below 20 per cent. Of the total immigrant population, 45 per cent is classified as Western and 55 per cent as non-Western.[106] As it has been shown, in immigrant integration policy, the framing changed about once every decade following not just

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[102] Dutch economy entered into a crisis with staggering rates of unemployment in the early 1980s. Only the new round of economic growth in the 1990s enabled the Surinamese community to attain significant socioeconomic progress. For example, the Surinamese did not benefit from the post-colonial bonus. Ibid., 113-114

[103] Bosma (eds.), *Post-colonial Immigrants*, 15

[104] Ibid.

[105] Oostindie, 'Postcolonial Migrants in the Netherlands', 107

[106] Ibid., 111

the national history of decolonization, economic interaction and immigration, but also the effects of a increasingly globalized world.

Change and continuity in the Dutch eating culture (1950s-1990s)

2.1. The post-war Dutch culinary panorama (and the structure of the Dutch meal)

In the post-war decade, following the arrival of more than 200.000 Dutch people from Indonesia, who reached approximately 300.000 in 1959, the Dutch started to be surrounded by an increasing presence of exotic and ethnic food. The majority of these migrants were Into-Dutch and they brought with them eating habits that were typical of their oversea eating culture.[107] The contrast at the table between the native Dutch and the migrants was sharp. The main characteristics of the Dutch eating habits at that time were frugality, cheapness, and austerity, also due to the post-war scarcities. Nevertheless, the main reason for such repetitive and simple way of eating has to be attributed to the widespread collective perspective in which the ritual of eating represented more a necessity than an actual act of pleasure.[108] At the end of the 1940s and in the 1950s, Dutch "[…] housewives were still thrifty, possessed little culinary imagination, and preferred to put their time into cleaning rather than cooking."[109]

Since the 1950s, many aspects of the Dutch eating culture and habits have changed. According to Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover, an eating culture consists in what people eat, namely the ingredients, the products, and in how people eat, being mainly the structure of the meals. Of course, in every eating culture the ingredients and the products can change much easier and much faster than the structure of the meals.[110] As a matter of fact, the Dutch eating pattern has changed very little since the war. Since then, Dutch daily meals have consisted of one hot meal, generally with meat, vegetables and potatoes, and two cold dishes, consisting mainly in bread dishes, such as sandwiches. Moreover, it has always been common for the Dutch to have pauses for coffee or tea.[111] According to Salzman, it is the time of the day when the majority of the Dutch people consume their hot meal that is the most important change in the Dutch national

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[107] Otterloo, 'Foreign immigrants and the Dutch at table', 127-128

[108] Otterloo, 'Chinese and Indonesian restaurants', 157

[109] Otterloo, 'Foreign immigrants', 128

[110] Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover (eds.), 'Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', 78

[111] Salzman, 'Continuity and Change', 608-609

eating habits. It is interesting to note that out of three meals, lunch was the first meal that Dutch people started to eat out under the influence of the city life. Already in the 1920s, savory snacks, rolls, croquettes and salads were available to take away or to eat on the spot at early automats, sandwich bars, bakers and butchers. However, people living in urban areas could purchase food not only by the local Dutch vendors who owned shops, but also also from the immigrant vendors on the streets, selling Italian ice cream or Chinese peanut cookies, because in times of economic crisis street food required little capital investment. Moreover, this kind of food, being it snacks bought from Dutch people or purchased from immigrants, had the advantage of providing a meal without being too costly. In fact, eating out for hot meals was too expensive for most citizens and visitors. As result, cold foodstuffs such as lunch meal started to characterize the diet of the urban people, in contrast to the people living in the countryside, where the only hot meal of the day, which consisted in meat with vegetables, especially potatoes, was consumed at midday. As I will discuss later in the chapter, the change in the time of the day when most people ate their hot meal represents the most important change in the Dutch eating habits.[112] Before this variation in the meal structure, the hot meal was served as a custom at midday, for lunch, but "by 1980, 71 per cent of all Dutch households always took their hot meal on weekdays in the evening. On Saturdays and Sundays this was only 38 per cent and 47 per cent respectively."[113]

2.2. Social factors and technological developments

Even if this thesis focuses on the impact of migrant foodways and foreign cuisines on Dutch eating habits, it is important to examine the wider social landscape of the different decades under scrutiny and consider all the factors which influenced the reshaping of the Dutch taste for foreign cuisine. In fact, generally speaking, it is thanks to technological and social aspects that the way people have been eating has radically changed, such as post-war prosperity, technological changes and transportation revolution, which allowed for a longer and more global availability of ingredients. Furthermore, globalization, media channels like television programs, cookbooks and recipe columns in newspapers, magazines, as well as eating out in restaurants, or

[112] Otterloo, 'Eating out 'ethnic' in Amsterdam', 43

[113] Salzman,'Continuity and Change', 608-609

on the street, and rising trends in traveling out the national borders, all increased the desire and willingness for more and diverse culinary encounters. Last, but not least, is the increasing movement, hence migration, of not just people, but of traditions, knowledge and the establishment of migrant networks all around the world, which served many purposes, among which was the provision of ethnic food for the migrant communities. In addition, there has been the establishment of a highly developed, modern food industry with advanced methods in the processing and conserving foodstuffs, together with all the progress that has been made also in academic research field, where new complex ingredients, seasonings, and other additives which have been created for the production of snacks, as well as food in general. On top of all these social and technological advancements, new fashions in taste have been developed. For instance, new combinations of flavors in snacks have been tested such as salty and sweet, or with a base of fruit and yogurt, instead of the usual potatoes, wheat and corn.[114] This meant an overlapping not just among different sectors in the food industry, but also a sort of blurring among boundaries between traditional and unconventional foodstuff, a subject which I will expound later, as part of the Dutch taste and consumption of snacks.

2.3. 1960s-1990s: the decades of gastronomic diversity and eating out ethnic

Until the 1950s

Wina Born, the famous 'mother of the Dutch gastronomy', published in 1992 a history of Dutch restaurants, which comprised events regarding not just the establishment and development of restaurants, but also accounted for the transformation in eating habits from the 1950s until 1990s. Born had the honor and the merit of being the bridge between the restaurant business and the potential host. Due to her numerous publications and reviews in magazines, among which included *Margriet*, she made the restaurant a place for curiosity. Thus, stimulating the Dutch to visit restaurants, so that a new and important form of leisure found its beginning. In my opinion, in order to understand the way and the reasons why of the progressive variations at the Dutch family table, it is important to consider first of all the multi-ethnic culinary landscape that was taking shape in the country, of which the restaurant sector represents a significant proxy.

[114] Otterloo, 'Kroketten en frikadellen', 85

The years after the Second World War marked a period of stasis for the realm of gastronomy and the restaurant industry. The ritual of eating represented something more of a necessity rather than a time for pleasure or social interaction. Thus preparing and consuming meals consisted of something repetitive, frugal and austere, which was not commonly shared with people outside the family circle. Moreover, even if eating out was becoming more popular, in the late 1940s and 1950s, the practice of leaving the house to go outside to eat with family or friend was something uncommon, disregarded, and too expensive for the majority of people.[115] But little by little, the Dutch kitchen resurrected, after the poor and sober war years during which one's diet consisted of mainly beans and surrogates. In fact, by the 1950s, the butter, along with eggs, cream, chicken and steaks were back. These years were also the years of canned products, which back then symbolized good food, to the point that cans were considered indispensable for a festive meal, as it was common for foods like salmon and sardines, pineapple and peaches, green peas and asparagus. There was never reference to fresh products because it was believed that goof food, even in restaurants, came packaged in cans. Yet, eating in a restaurant was for most people a big exception. People at home were eating according to the fixed, traditional pattern of soup-potato-vegetable-and-meat-pudding. On Sundays, the menu included a big roasted beef and on festive occasions chicken or rabbit. And as an exotic exception to the norm, a dish of macaroni or, for the most daring eaters, *nasi goreng*.[116]

Despite a slow start due to meager years and the typical Dutch frugality in eating, since the late 1950s and 1960s, the Dutch restaurant business developed at a fast pace.. There was not just an increase in the total number of food-related companies, but also a diversity in catering services, which comprised restaurants, bistros, eating houses and cafes. These businesses were also differentiated among the kind of clientele they were addressing, from very luxurious to extremely informal and cheap. Another important element which distinguished them was the ethnicity associated with the cuisine offered. As it will be discussed later on in this chapter, from the 1950s onwards a multi-ethnic gastronomic panorama took shape in the whole country, with the rise of many foreign restaurants and eating houses. According to Born, the growth of wealth

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[115] Otterloo, 'Chinese and Indonesian restaurants', 157

[116] Born Wina, *25 Jaar Nederlandse restaurantgeschiedenis* (Asjoburo 1992), 9

was the most important reason why the Dutch started to go out to eat, thus the flourishing of the local and ethnic restaurant business.[117] In the 1950s, restaurants in the Netherlands were roughly divided into three groups: first the chic and elegant 'white tables' restaurants, which were attended by wealthy men and gastronomers; second the Dutch '*burgerrestaurant'* (middle class restaurant), whose main clientele was businessmen who travelled frequently, as well as families who gathered to celebrate family dinners, weddings and anniversaries; third, there were the Chinese-Indonesian restaurants.

The establishment of the these ethnic eating houses was a consequence of the presence of Chinese migrants in the Netherlands, which in reality dates back already to 1911, when they were hired as stokers for Dutch shipping companies. Some of them settled in harbor cities in Europe, such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London and Liverpool, where some ran restaurants in boarding houses that served Chinese sailors. The Chinese, who were living in urban agglomerations dedicated themselves to the restaurant business because they saw a good opportunity in serving large portions at a low prices. Some of them, who saved enough money selling peanut cookies, started to open up eating houses which attracted not just Chinese clientele, such as students from the Dutch East Indies, but also Dutch students, artists, bohemians, and especially Dutch repatriates and the military who had served in the (ex) colony and were familiar with Chinese and Indonesian foodstuff.[118] Therefore, the decision to advertise the food not just as Chinese, but also Indonesian, was intended as a way to attract more clientele, due to the colonial connection that the Dutch East Indies represented among the Dutch population.

At the beginning, the majority of people eating out were living in the major urban areas of the Netherlands. In fact, the first ethnic restaurants in the country were located in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, mainly because these cities provided economic opportunities for Chinese entrepreneurs. Even during the economic crisis of the 1930s, the diverse clientele of the cities was more open and curious to try a new eating experience.[119] In the university cities, these

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[117] Born , *25 Jaar,* 7

[118] Otterloo, 'Eating out 'ethnic' in Amsterdam', 44

[119] Ibid., 45

restaurants were the refuge for students that could eat something other than the usual cafeteria food. Families with children could go there without fear of disapproving looks, which was something common some years before. As a consequence, eating Chinese-Indonesian dishes became hugely popular, and Chinese restaurants initiated the first big push, given their large numbers, to attract the Dutch patrons inside their restaurant, just to have fun going out and without spending too much money.[120]

The 1960s

Since 1960 there has been a clear increase in the public's interest for cooking in general, and for foreign cooking in particular. As I will discuss later, an increasing number of cookbooks on exotic cuisine have appeared and foreign recipes have been published more often in magazines and papers.[121] It seems like that thanks to the 1960s, in which the rise in prosperity and wealth benefitted many, more people were able to satisfy their new needs, such as going on holiday abroad instead of traveling within the Netherlands. In fact, in the 1960s, people who had three weeks holiday crossed the Dutch borders to go on vacation and once abroad they tried new cuisines and explored different eating cultures, which did not entail the typical Dutch food combination of potatoes, meat and vegetables.[122] The Dutch taste for exotic food became more differentiated and more open to the influences of other international cuisines, since people who travelled abroad or who were starting to be interested in cooking, began to try new ingredients and new dishes to experience unfamiliar foodways and to become more interested in eating different at home, and outside. Furthermore in the 1960s, the Dutch were not just richer, but they had also more free time to cook at home.

In July 1970, *Margriet* published an article over the country's eating culture written by Born, who began working as culinary journalist for the magazine's recipes rubric in the late 1960s. The article, entitled 'The national pot is out of time' (D*e vaderlandse pot is uit de tijd)*, represents a portrayal of the Dutch eating culture until 1970 or, as Born defined it, 'the country's

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[120] Born, *25 jaar*, 9-12

[121] Otterloo, 'Foreign immigrants', 131

[122] Born, *25 jaar*, 13

lack of a eating culture, and the lack of true good taste in the field of eating and drinking'.[123] Born wrote this piece with the intention of promoting an healthier, more balanced and nutritious diet for Dutch people, who, in her opinion, had an unrefined and unhealthy taste for food, which was based on flour, fat and salt. In fact, among the national culinary specialties there were: bacon pancakes with syrup, stew with fat beef, pea soup with knuckle bone and bacon and sausages, stews with large chunks of butter or margarine in it, and an endless series of biscuits and sweets like Groningen, Friesland, gingerbread, butterscotch, waffles, cakes, snacks, and so on.[124] Moreover, there were also other common foods like fries with mayonnaise, sweet or salty porridge, creamy soups, and croquettes. Apparently, one of the things that Dutch people have always been used to, has been to give priority to food quantity to the detriment of food quality, whose attitude I believe to be in line with the aspects of frugality, stinginess and necessity over pleasure that had characterized the Dutch eating culture. It is interesting to note how Born denounced the lack of criticism towards food in a country where everybody seemed to be critical about almost everything. Apparently a national preference for what was cheap and easy was the norm in food-related decisions: "Nowadays there are protests everywhere, but nobody ever protests against the superficiality, the numbness and the degenerated taste of our food. We prefer to buy three bottles of dubious - because cheaper - sherry than one bottle of a good one."[125] Born's criticism is also dictated by the 1970s' culinary fashion and attention towards body shape, pr desire to achieve a slim silhouette, hence the interest in eating more consciously, less fat and healthier.

With regard to a healthier way of eating, I think it is interesting to find reference to *bami* in Born's article. She introduced the bami as a common dish in the diet of the Dutch and she suggested to have it a little less fat and less corny and with more fresh vegetables than it could be

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[123] Born Wina, "De vaderlandse pot is uit de tijd, door Wina Born". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisje* (04 July 1970), 46-48. '[…] *het gebrek aan eetcultuur en het gebrek aan werkelijk goede smaak op het gebied van eten en drinken in Nederland*', 46

[124]*Spekpannekoeken met stroop, hutspot met vet klapstuk, erwtensoep met kluif en spek en worst, stampotten met grote kluiten boter of margarine erin, en een eindeloze reeks koekjes en zoetigheid: Groninger, Friese, Deventer koek, boterbabbelaars, moppen, balletjes, knijpertjes, wafels, poffertjes, versnaperingen, enzovoort*.' Ibid., 46

[125]*Er wordt tegenwoordig overal tegen geprotesteerd, maar niemand protesteert ooit tegen de smaakvervlakking en het ontaarden van ons voedsel. Wij kopen liever drie flessen twijfelachtige - want te goedkope - sherry dan één fles goede*.' Ibid., 47

eating outside, thus promoting the preparation of the Indonesian at home.[126] The mere fact that Born suggested to the reader a new way of consuming bami is evidence enough to demonstrate how this Indonesian dish was already part of the basic Dutch cuisine by 1970. Moreover, in the article, French and Italian cooking styles were praised by Born, since they were considered light, tasteful and equilibrated diets. Of course, before 1970 a high recognition in the Netherlands, because of the well known status of the French Haute cuisine, and the cultural influences that France had on the country. As a proof of the importance of the French cuisine in the Netherlands, between 1960 and 1965 a fourth type of restaurant was created: the bistro, which was basically a small cafe, where one could eat something simple, based on the famous Parisian model. This new restaurant was created to meet the demands of young generations that wanted to eat something else other than Dutch food, and who were no longer satisfied with nasi and bami. Eating out was taken more seriously than ever. In fact, the new fashion of going out to have lunch or dinner became in these years a common free time activity, which involved a wider audience than before. Nevertheless, to be original was often difficult in the dining sector because the Netherlands was considered a conservative country in this field.[127]

A pinch of creativity and variety were encouraged in those years by the setting up of a wider range of ethnic restaurants and shops, which appeared with the arrival of more and more foreign workers, the so-called 'guest workers'. These migrants started to set up eateries where they could go and socialize over a home-filling meal, which fulfilled their nostalgia for the home countries and the family who still lived there. As a matter of fact, the majority of these eating houses were not so much intended for the Dutch, but for its own ethnic community, and initially just few adventurous native Dutch went to try out their ethnic food. For instance, there were many eateries for the Turks, where hardly any Dutch set foot in, but 'some very enterprising Turks had understood what the Dutchman liked and they tried to attract them creating a full sultry harem romance, belly dancer and serving sjisj kebab'. In any case, despite the variety in foreign restaurants, the Dutchman seemed to be limited in his choice, since in Italian restaurant

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[126] '*En de bami eens wat minder vet en minder melig, maar met meer verse groenten*.' Ibid., 47

[127] Born, *25 jaar,* 14

he would order lasagna and pizza, in the Spanish one paella, in the Indonesian eateries sate and in the Turkish sjisj kebab.[128]

The 1970s

On the last day of the year 1979 in the newspaper *Het Vrije Volk* appeared an article entitled 'The Years of the Feeding and Eating' (*De jaren van het vreten en eten*) in which the author, Philip van Tijn, posed the question: how will the 1970s be remembered in the history books? [129] According to the author, the 1970s could be remembered as the years of eating and drinking. The years of exotic eating, from drinks to food. The years of the changes in the use of drinks, which expanded from the usual genever and lager beer to foreign drinks such as whisky, vodka and tequila. The years in which people started to regularly buy foodstuffs that were more exotic, more expensive and more delicious. "The floury potatoes became the Italian pasta, the fat gravy became green pepper sauce, and the endive became broccoli." [130]

In bookstores cooking books became very popular, and some shops became even specialized in selling cooking books. According to Phillip van Tijn, in the 1970s, the Netherlands discovered the French, Italian, Chinese and Surinamese cuisines, both in the form of eating out and at home. Hence, among the most popular cookbooks, French cuisine had a central role, but also the Italian, Spanish, Japanese, Indonesian, Scandinavian, South American and North African cuisines have many fans. As per Indonesian cuisine, the *Groot Indonesisch kookboek* by Beb Vuyk, whose first edition was published in 1973, was considered a secular bible and not just by former colonials.[131] Since the popularity of cookbooks has been so substantial, they have been published even for children, with the intent of explaining not just the basic rules of cooking and measuring, but also educating readers about vitamins, nutrients, different kinds of food and shopping tips. One of the consequences of the publishing of so many books about different cooking and eating ways was of course the attraction that the new foodways had on the readers

[128] Ibid., 28

[129] Tijn Philip van, "De jaren van het vreten en eten'. In: *Het Vrije Volk* (31 December 1979), 19

[130] '*De kruimige aardappels werden Italiaanse pasta's, de vette jus een met cognac afgebluste groene pepersaus, de andijvie werd broccoli.*', Ibid., 19

[131] Since this cookbook had such a high reputation and had a deep impact, it will be discussed on its own later on.

and everyone else who became 'infected' by them. If after the Second World War, and mainly from the 1960s onwards, just a small group of Dutch people, known as trendsetters, started to experiment with new ingredients and recipes, by the end of the 1970s a growing number of Dutch, mainly from the middle and high classes, became acquainted with ethnic food and eating practices. As a matter of fact, it is important to underline that these trendsetters are described to be young people, with good financial means and with a professional job such as "an advertiser, a young and dynamic businessman, a specialist in medicine, or an academic employee."[132] These characteristics must be connected to the fact that to prepare and consume new dishes it was necessary to have the financial resources to do so, as well as an open-minded attitude and willingness to taste new foods. In the 1970s, in fact, it was still not affordable for everyone to eat out or to buy exotic ingredients to make new dishes. Nevertheless, in general, eating out as a phenomenon passed from being associated purely with festivities and special occasions, to becoming more habitual, especially because it was also possible to opt for cheaper restaurants such as Chinese-Indonesian establishments.[133]

Alongside the expansion of the cookbooks' publishing sector, culinary specialists started to be highly regarded and the 'culinary review' in newspapers acquired a high recognition. Of the same opinion is Born, who also described the beginning of the 1970s as the years when newspapers and magazines began to reserve more space for recipes and food-related matters; previously publishers had never shown any particular interest. As I discussed earlier, *Margriet* was an exception because because just after the Second World War, the editors proposed a culinary section.

Of course, culinary fashion and business expanded tremendously during the 1960s due to the increased tourism, and more free time available. Exactly with the increase of free time people started to spend more time cooking. In this context, the media played a very important role because cooking programmes and classes were delivered via television programs. At first, there were just few the curious viewers who attempted to cook something new, but little by little an

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[132] Tijn, "De jaren van het vreten en eten', 19

[133] Born, *25 jaar,* 35

increasing number of people started to experiment with new ingredients and dishes.[134] At the same time, thanks to the waves of Dutch tourists visiting countries abroad for holiday, much attention began to be focused on different foodways and how to improve ways of eating. The most popular holiday sites became also the source for new recipes and dishes, which in the 1970s were from France, Spain and Italy.[135] In fact, the 1970s also marked the first decade in which a lot of attention was given to eating better and healthier as a result of the increasing interest in being slim or losing weight.[136] For example, this intensification in the attention to weight control "seems to have peaked in 1971, when eleven issues of *Margriet* contained some information on dieting. There has also been a marked increase in the use of herbs and spices."[137] Consequently, new rules were created by and for those who cared about eating well, and who could also afford it; they focused on less fat, less calories, always fresh, many vegetables, a good valuable piece of meat or fish, and most of all a lot of creativity and desire to experiment.[138] Actually, by 1975, *Margriet* was carrying on a sustained dialogue with readers, answering their questions and publishing recipes they had submitted. This had been happening in the previous years, but at a much lower rate. As a results, cookbooks started to appear in Dutch kitchens, sometimes providing housewives with local and traditional recipes, and other times suggesting that they experiment with foreign and exotic adaptations. It was also in these years that the Dutch national supermarket chain Albert Heijn brought the highly successful series of *Volkomen*, in which recipes and food-related issues were brought to readers.

Lastly, it is important to consider the impact of migrants' cuisines in the Netherlands, especially in view of the statement made by Tijn, who argues that there was never a real Dutch cuisine. He maintains that next to the culinary influence fulfilled by the desire of Dutch people for exotic food connected to holiday experiences and memories, half a million foreigners (allochtonen), who were living in the Netherlands at the time, were major actors in changing

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[134] Tijn, "De jaren van het vreten en eten', 19

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Salzman,'Continuity and Change', 611

[138] Tijn, "De jaren van het vreten en eten', 19

Dutch cuisine. Together with their cultural differences, they brought also their own eating culture. Their influence became visible even in the smallest towns where next to the already well established Chinese and Indonesian, Greek, Turkish, and Spanish eating houses began to flourish. Along with eating houses, one could also find ethnic shops where ingredients for the exotic dishes could be purchased. In the beginning of this trend, as it was mentioned before, these ethnic shops were mainly catering to migrant communities; however overview, curious Dutch began to buy goods there. Next to the pizza and bami, started to appear the couscous and the curry dishes, and of course this meant that the Dutch could experience a culinary trip of discovery, in their own country.[139]

The 1980s

In September 1989, in the newspaper *Het Vrije Volk* appeared the article "Eating: the Sex of the 1980s" (*Eten: Seks van de jaren tachtig*), in which journalist,Ellen Scholtens portrayed the 1980s as the decade marking the social phenomenon when interest in food culminated in a new culinary wave. This attraction towards anything food-related was what characterized the changing tastes of the Dutch people in the 1980s, together with the influx of foreign cuisines. It seems like the reshaping of the Dutch eating culture was at its highest, especially when the author compared the new culinary trend with the 1950s Dutch attitude towards food.

> "The fact that food was 'on fashion' was underpinned with the description that in the fifties eating was something like brushing your teeth and wiping your feet. Food was something you prepared and eat without even thinking about it and without enjoying it. You ate everything that was in your plate and if the tablecloth had become dirty during the week, you just flipped it. All Dutch people ate minced meat on Wednesday and have a good look at the back of the embroidery."[140]

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[139] Ibid.

[140] Ellen Scholtens, "Eten is seks van de jaren tachtig". In: *Het Vrije Volk* (20 September 1989) "*Dat eten 'in de mode' is, wordt onderbouwd met: "In de jaren vijftig was eten net zoiets als tanden poetsen en voeten vegen. Eten was iets dat je deed zonder er bij na te denken en ook zonder ervan te genieten. Je at je bord leeg en als het tafelkleed vies was geworden werd het halverwege de week gewoon omgedraaid. Nederland at op woensdag gehakt en bestudeerde de achterkant van het borduurwerk*", 15

In order to identify the growing influence of the media in gastronomic matters, it is interesting to point out a change in fashion. In the previous decades, people could read interviews from magazines and newspapers about what a celebrity or a public official thought about a book or a movie, but from the 1980s journalists started to call into question issues regarding culinary preferences. Many magazines and newspapers devoted attention to the combination of 'famous' and 'food'.[141] In addition, around 1980, it became a popular leisure activity to follow cooking courses, in which the degree of authenticity of recipes and preparation methods were highlighted.[142] It is exactly in the 1980s that the notion of authenticity started to become part of the vocabulary associated with culinary columns, and food in general. To illustrate the newly developed value of culinary authenticity, in the last years of the 1980s, some Indonesian restaurants liberated themselves from the old colonial savoring image proposing more authentic dishes and atmosphere, striving for a higher recognition and higher standards. Even though there were still many '*Indische'* restaurants with a nostalgic colonial atmosphere and an excessive and heavy *rijsttafel*, a new kind of Indonesian cuisine appeared, one which was lighter, more subtle and refined. This type of exotic cuisine was found in more sophisticated restaurants, where good wine was suggested, instead of large glasses of beer.[143]

Around the same time, Chinese restaurants began to offer more refined kind of specialties because many of the owners wanted to bring the great culinary traditions of the Far East and to distinguish themselves from the Sino-Indonesian restaurants, in which a mix of low budget and low quality Chinese and Indonesian cuisine were being served. As of 1980, "some 55 per cent of all Dutch households ate at least occasionally in a Chinese-Indonesian restaurant, whereas only 21 per cent ate in other foreign restaurant."[144] Of course, there was a variation in terms of income as people in the top income bracket ate out more than those in the lowest income group. On the other side, the part of the country where people lived made little difference in terms of frequency

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[141] Ibid.

[142] Otterloo, 'Foreign immigrants', 135

[143] Born, *25 jaar*, 87

[144] Salzman,'Continuity and Change', 616

with which Dutch households ate in Chinese-Indonesia restaurants, but represented a big difference to the frequency with which they ate in other foreign restaurants.[145] This is mainly because Chinese-Indonesian restaurants could be found all over the Netherlands, whereas other foreign restaurants were concentrated in the area called the Randstad, where the most populated cities in the western part of the country are located.[146] Another Asian cuisine that established itself selling the image of authenticity and, even more, taking advantage of the fashion of eating healthy, was the Japanese. In 1982, macrobiotic and vegetarian restaurants started to appear and were especially busy with a young clientele. Since the Japanese cuisine was per excellence associated with long living precepts, it became the big hit of those years.[147]

In these years, the phenomenon of the international traveling kitchen which started in the 1960s and 1970s, became more consistent and all the foreign influences contributed to a higher extent to the revival of the art of cooking and represented a source of inspiration for the formation of creative cooks. Nevertheless, for every action there is a reaction and thus with the internationalization of the Dutch culinary panorama came a response: the return to national and regional cuisines, to Dutch regional specialties.

The 1990s

In the last period analyzed, the 1990s, a colorful set of foreign eateries were beginning to be established, especially in the Randstad, the area between Amsterdam, Utrecht, Den Haag and Rotterdam. Some of these restaurants were viewed as fashionable and trendy, often thanks to the their location in urban agglomeration. Among these popular restaurants were some of the famous gastronomic powers that had taken over the Dutch culinary landscape over the years: namely Spanish, Turkish, Greek, Mexican, Argentinian, doner affairs and Italian eateries. As it happens very often with establishments providing foodstuff in tourist-heavy areas, these restaurants were hardly a good example of authentic ethnic food or refined cuisine. But this did not mean that the integration of the foreign cuisine was jeopardized. In actuality, I argue that this phenomenon

[145] Born, *25 jaar*, 60

[146] Ibid.

[147] Born, *25 jaar,* 63

could be interpreted as a way for the Dutch people to truly adopt the version that was most suitable to their palate.[148]

[148] Ibid., 95

Margriet's culinary columns: the influence of foreign cuisines at the Dutch table (1950-2000)

3.1. General trends: Dutch Kitchen, European Turn and Global Shift

For what regards the analysis of my main primary source, the culinary columns of *Margriet*, once the collection and the analysis of the articles was finished, it became obvious that in the span of 50 years many developments occurred in the kitchen of the Dutch household. *Magriet* and the different authors of its culinary columns both promoted and reflected the changes that were happening in the intimate realm of the family. These transformations were indeed a consequence of outer factors, which were changing the eating habits of people in many Western countries. As a matter of fact it is important to take cognizance of the fact that besides the role played by *Margriet*, cookbooks and other media, there were many other factors which influenced the change in the Dutch eating habits. As mentioned before, they included post-war prosperity, technological changes, transportation revolution, migration, globalization, increasing possibility of traveling abroad, and eating out.

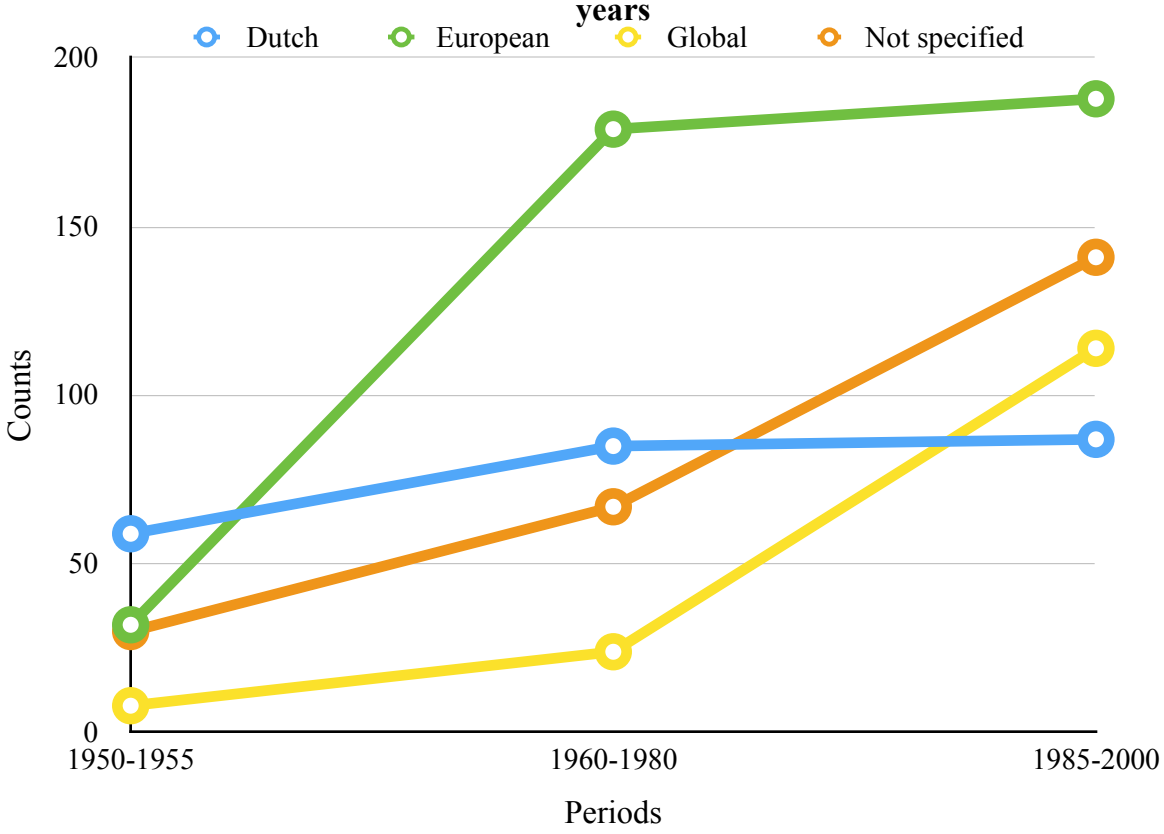
Generally speaking, the most obvious change that resulted from the analysis has to with the formation of three different fashions concerning the origin of the recipes reported by *Magriet*. These three dynamic culinary trends portray, on one hand, the evolution of the eating culture in the Dutch families, and on the other, the adaptation, appropriation and adoption of different foreign cuisines to the Dutch kitchen and eating habits. In the first decade, the 1950s, as Table 1 illustrates, the culinary column of *Margriet* sketched a quite expected situation, namely that the majority of the recipes were actually Dutch dishes, with Dutch ingredients, for example croquettes, cheese, puddings, buttery desserts, local fish and sausage. Many of the recipes regarded desserts and snacks and one of the most common feature of these recipes was that they did not require a lot of time to be prepared, therefore they were frugal and simple, and often made use of leftovers and they were cheap, all characteristic of the Dutch cuisine of that period, and to some extent persistent feature of the Dutch eating culture also nowadays. For this reason, in my research the years of 1950 and 1955 have been labelled as the 'Dutch Kitchen'.

Table 1 - Statistics of the recipes sorted by geographical origins and years

	Dutch	European	Global	Not specified / no recipes
1950	**23**	21	4	18
1955	**36**	11	4	12
1960	**26**	**31**	5	9
1965	17	**38**	6	14
1970	13	**43**	5	13
1975	15	**37**	4	12
1980	14	**30**	4	19
1985	27	**55**	**29**	32
1990	31	**48**	**17**	35
1995	18	**63**	**34**	14
2000	11	22	**34**	**60**
Total	231	399	146	238

Table 1 also shows that even in 1960 a high number of recipes still pertained to the traditional Dutch cuisine, but an increase in the number of recipes making reference to the culinary tradition of other European countries defined the start of the 'European Turn'. The latter was the tendency predominant until 1985 when the 'Global Shift' took over due to a striking increase in the number of recipes reported in the *Margriet* articles, which passed from and average of 4 per year to 29 in 1985. This marked the begging of the era of culinary extravaganza and experimentation, which as visible in the table, lasts until the end of the time frame analyzed.

Chart 1: Statistics of the recipes sorted by geographical origins and years



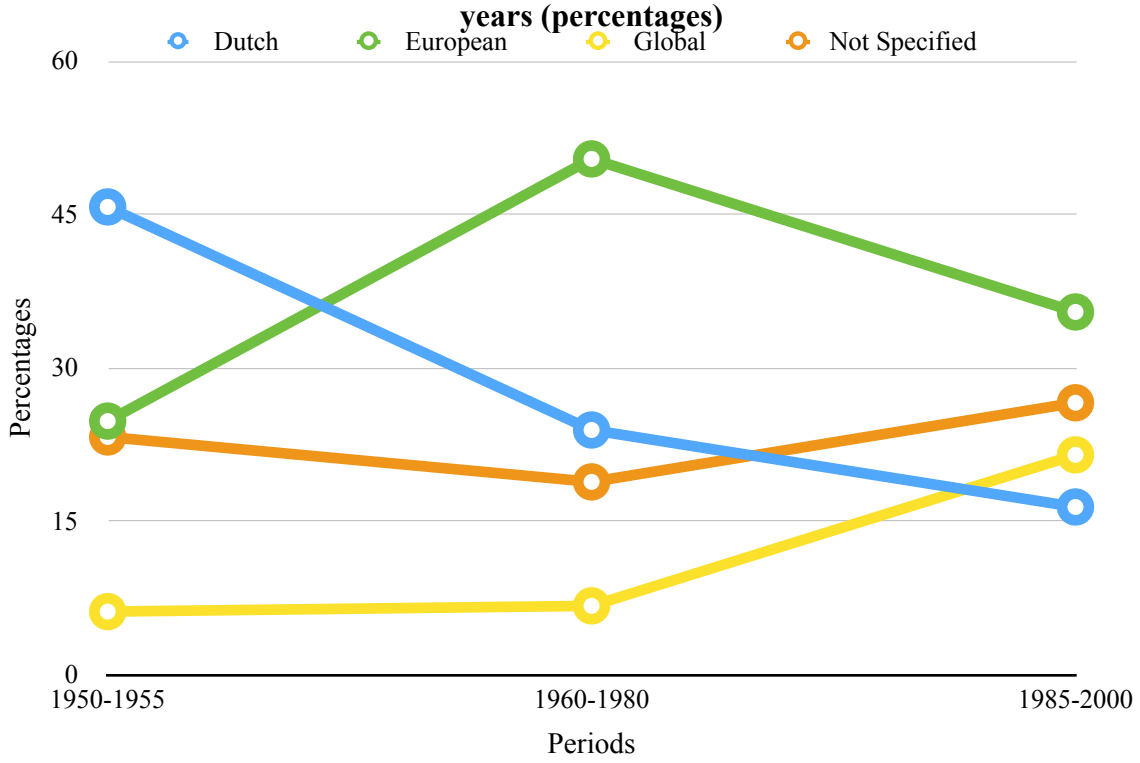
As it is apparent from both Table 1 and Chart 1, these three general trends are not static, nor do they define a situation in absolute terms, but there are overlapping and dynamic fashions that illustrate how the culinary columns and food related issues in the magazine followed certain patterns, both dictated by what has been above mentioned as outer factors, as well as more domestic factors liked with the presence of migrant communities, whose food cultures had an impact at the Dutch table. It is interesting to compare the trends also from what appears in Chart 1. Table 1 and Chart 1 demonstrate the broad trends, while underlying how the three different phases, Dutch, European and Global, come to differentiate themselves if the proportion of articles per origin and per period is put in relation to the others as a whole. In Chart 1 the data inserted makes reference to the numbers of articles for each trend as outlines in Table 1, and it shows how in reality Dutch and European recipes maintained, throughout the fifty years analyzed, a very stable appearance in the culinary columns, despite the different number of actual occurrence. Regarding the two other variables under examination, the 'Global Shift'

articles and the food-related articles without recipes or with no specification in origin, they both had a striking increase in the same decades, from 1985 till 2000. On one hand, it is quite obvious how recipes from different countries all over the world, such as United States, Indonesia, Mexico, India, China, Canada, Argentina, Panama, Suriname and Asia in general, can be found at the later stage of the period analyzed, when a more global influence started to penetrate the public and private spaces. On the other hand the fact that so many articles in *Margriet* were, as a matter of fact, about food but they did not illustrate recipes might be a bit more difficult to imagine. The reality behind this trend has to do with the fact that starting from 1980, and with the highest number of appearances in 2000, many articles were rubrics about miscellaneous food related topics, for instance, novelties in kitchenware designs, new foreign foodstuff, culinary tourism and what was new in grocery stores, book stores and even in the fields of art or science. Surely, this is a very important development in the investigation of culinary trends, and this is why it is an integral part of this research, but it tells little or nothing about the influence of foreign kitchens in the Netherlands.

Table 2 - Statistics of the recipes sorted by geographical origins and years (percentages)

Periods/ Origin of recipes	Dutch	European	Global	Not specified, No recipe	Total articles per period
1950-1955	**59 (45,73%)**	32 (24,81%)	8 (6,20%)	30 (23,26%)	129
1960-1980	85 (23,94%)	**179 (50,42%)**	24 (6,76%)	67 (18,87%)	355
1985-2000	87 (16,42%)	188 (35,47%)	**114 (21,51%)**	**141 (26,60%)**	530
Total articles per origin	231	399	146	238	1014

Chart 2 - Statistics of the recipes sorted by geographical origins and years (percentages)



Although tables and charts with the exact number of columns offer an attentive image of the developments under analysis, a better tool for the understanding of continuities and changes at the Dutch table is provided by looking at the variations in percentages. It becomes then remarkable to notice that between 1960 and 1980 the 50,42 per cent of the total coverage of food related articles was about European gastronomy. Whereas in the 1980s until 2000, despite a still very high percentage of European culinary tradition, for the first time in the whole period analyzed the recipes coming from countries outside Europe and the Mediterranean area grew from less than 7 per cent (6,20 per cent) to 21,51 per cent, receiving more coverage than the Dutch traditional dishes. Instead, some data provide less unexpected results, such as the case of Dutch dishes which represent just 45,73 per cent of whole recipes in the 1950s and the fact that articles with no recipes or whose origin is unspecified, constitute the 23,26 and 26,60 per cent, in the first and in the last period of the analysis. For what concerns this phenomenon in the 1950s, they were definitely recipes, but I believe that the lack of indication of the origin of the recipe or of any reference to a culinary tradition, not even the Dutch, was a consequence of the post-war frugality and lack of inventiveness in the kitchen. Hence, the columnist provided herself also a

quick, simple and cheap recipe, which provided very often the readers with a creative way of reusing leftovers (*Van dat restje vlees…maak ik croquetten*),[149] (*Wat doen wij met dat restje vlees*?),[150] to prepare a fast snack or dessert for unexpected guests (*Over een uurtje bek ik thuis! En ik breng een vriend mee'*),[151] or just because the ingredients were so basic and simple, that they could not be connected with any particular kitchen. On the other hand, in the Global Shift frame, the trend was clearly caused by the increasing miscellaneous attention to foodstuff and eating culture, without having to actually provide specific cooking instructions or culinary advice. Therefore the majority of these articles were not recipes per se, but the introduction to gastronomic vogues. Apparently *Margriet* wanted to be progressively as culinary diverse and cutting edge as its readers.

In the following section of the chapter, I will present the results of my examination of *Margriet*'s culinary rubrics. For the sake of the analysis and in order to determine the extent to which foreign cuisines had an impact on the magazine's coverage, I will not take into consideration in my statistics the amount of columns in which there was no indication of the geographical origin of the culinary tradition, nor for the articles without recipes. Nevertheless, I will make an exception to this rule when discussing the findings regarding the Global Shift period since the amount of this kind of articles represents a solid 26,60 per cent of the coverage.

3.2. The role of the authors of *Margriet*'s culinary columns

Before entering into the core of the investigation, it is important to draw some attention to the value of the people behind *Margriet*'s culinary columns, whose gastronomic knowledge, curiosity and creativity inspired the articles surveyed. Thanks to a systematic analysis of all the numbers issued every five years, it has been possible to follow the careers of the authors and in a certain why, also to understand their preferences and field of expertise that became more

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[149] Marianne. "Van dat restje vlees…maak ik croquetten". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (23 September 1950)

[150] Marianne. "Wat doen wij met dat restje vlees?". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (12 March 1955)

[151] Marianne. "Over een uurtje bek ik thuis! En ik breng een vriend mee". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (14 October 1950)

specialized with the passing of time. The first author encountered in the magazine was Marianne, whose style could be considered quite conservative, since it became evident, through the examination, a sort of repetitive pattern in the dishes and also in terms of ingredients. She signed almost all the recipes of 1950, 1955, 1960, and 1965. Her successor was the famous Wina Born, who was in change of the culinary rubric for the years 1970, 1975, 1980 and part of 1985. Her approach was definitely more innovative and she really pushed the readers to challenge themselves in the kitchens, with new foreign ingredients, dishes and she was especially responsible for introducing the use of alcohol in the cooking process. In the 1980s, the data collected showed that she collaborated on the column with Peter Groeneveld, who then became the main editor of the rubric until 1995, while also starting his own culinary rubric, in which food-related stories and news were the main ingredient and occupied more space than the recipes per se. In 1990 another writer called Berna started her own food column. In 1990 and 1995, a series of other names appeared as author of different articles about food, just to identify few: Natasha Koning, Immy Timmerman, Marijke Sterk and Anneke Ammerlaan. This tendency stopped in 2000, when the varied and quite numerous food-related articles were in the hands of Colette Beyne, with the exception of those growing amount of articles in which famous people were interviewed about their favorite dishes and recipes, and whose author remained unknown.

If at the beginning in the 1950s, the authors of the culinary rubric like Marianne, did not report any personal experience connected with the dishes they introduced, in the 1960s and especially in the 1970s with Born, the authors began to refer to personal travels during which they had the chance of trying out new dishes. Anyway, it must be said that the authors always tried, especially in the first decades, to give a sense of familiarity to the reader not just on how to prepare new dishes, but also for which occasions. In this regard, the role of the photos in the magazine is of great significance.

3.3. Recipes: what is the occasion, the course and the geographical origin?

Occasion

The findings of the examination of the aspect of the occasion, hence for which moment the recipes were intended for, shows that in the years of the Dutch Kitchen, 1950 and 1955, a very similar purpose was given to the recipes: a total of 44 articles (22 in each year) for the everyday life and a sum of 47 for special occasions (24 and 23 respectively). This data shows a balance of purposes in the intent of the recipes, since they were intended for 45,19 per cent for festivities, and 42,31 per cent for ordinary situations.

Table 3 - Statistics of the culinary columns by occasion (Dutch Kitchen)

	1950	1955	Total Dutch Kitchen
Everyday (explicit)	15	12	27
Not specified but everyday	7	10	17
EVERYDAY	**22**	**22**	**44 (42,31%)**
Festive/Special occasion (explicit)	13	12	25
Public holidays (National/religious)	6	5	11
Not specified but festive	5	6	11
FESTIVE	**24**	**23**	**47 (45,19%)**
Both (everyday + festive, explicit)	/	1	1 (0,96%)
No reference to any occasion (Not specified)	6	6	12 (11,54%)
No recipes	/	/	/
Total	52	52	104

On the other hand, the second trend, the one of the European Turn, shows a more diverse portrait. The amount of recipes and culinary columns for festive occasions was the 47,37 per cent (126 out of 266), while the ones for everyday situations amounted to 31,20 per cent (83 out of 266). Therefore, in this period special occasions seems to create more a circumstance for cooking and preparing something special. Moreover, a number of 32 columns (12,03 per cent)

had no reference to any occasion, and another 5,64 per cent (15 our of 266) columns had no recipes, but were just about food related-topics.

Table 4 - Statistics of the culinary columns by occasion (European Turn)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	Total European Turn
Everyday (explicit)	6	7	9	5	13	40
Not specified but everyday	9	13	4	12	5	43
EVERYDAY	**15**	**20**	**13**	**17**	**18**	**83 (31,20%)**
Festive/Special occasion (explicit)	19	12	11	11	13	66
Public holidays (National/ religious)	10	7	4	5	5	31
Not specified but festive	6	7	4	11	1	29
FESTIVE	**15**	**20**	**13**	**17**	**18**	**126 (47,37%)**
Both (everyday + festive, explicit)	3	/	1	/	6	10 (3,76%)
No reference to any occasion (Not specified)	/	6	11	4	11	32 (12,03%)
No recipes	/	/	9 (6 are issues without culinary column)	4 (4 are issues without culinary column)	2 (1 missing in archive)	15 (of which 11 no culinary column) (5,64%)
Total	53	52	53 (1extra)	52	56 (4 extra culinary sections)	266

In the third trend, the Global shift, there was steep increase in the number of culinary columns, which has been progressively increasing throughout the period analyzed and this period reached a total of 377 food-related columns. At the beginning, in the Dutch Kitchen phase the total number of columns was 104, which corresponded to the 52 columns per the two years, 1950 and 1955. Hence, every week *Margriet* published just one culinary article. In the European turn, the situation was quite similar because also for these years a number of 52 or 53 pieces per year were found, depending on the number of weeks in the year, except for the 1980 in which there were four extra culinary sections, for a total of 56. Consequently in the European Turn, there have been 266 culinary issues. What is surprising is that the last phase of the analysis reported a number of 377 columns. From 1985 onwards, the columns in every year examined exceeded the weekly numbers of issues. Thus, in 1985 there have been counted 100 columns, in 1990 93, in 1995 82 and in 2000 102. This phenomenon can be explained by the very leading characteristic of this phase, which consisted in a broad and diverse interest in all sorts of food-related topics, from recipes, kitchenware products and new designs, innovative and creative local and foreign production and consumption of foodstuff. All these factors contributed in this Global Shift, to the creating of a food mania and fashions, which continue today. For these reasons, also that among 377 columns, 55, the 14,59 per cent, did not include any recipes. Similarly to the previous two periods, even if with a closer gap, the occasion which predominated was the festive occasion with 28,38 per cent of the columns (107 out of 377), whereas the everyday recipes accounted for the 24,40 per cent of the cases (92 out of 377).

The other strikingly high number is the one referring to the articles in which there are recipes but none of them are portrayed to be suited for any specific situation. These articles accounted for the 23,87 per cent of the whole Global Shift period (90 out of 377). The majority of them are columns by Groeneveld, Berna, Anneke Ammerlaan or Colette Beyne, who were the main culinary column editors from 1985 till 2000, and that had their own rubric in which different food-related topics were discussed and recipes were given. Another reasons for having recipes without any clear reference or suggestion as to when to prepare such dishes can also be found in the fact that, apart from national and religious holidays, it was at the discretion of the cook to decide when to put a dish on the family table.

Table 5 - Statistics of the culinary columns by occasion (Global Shift)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	Total Global shift
Everyday (explicit)	33	13	9	7	62
Not specified but everyday	2	16	3	9	30
EVERYDAY	**35**	**29**	**12**	**16**	**92 (24,40%)**
Festive/Special occasion (explicit)	17	22	12	12	63
Public holidays (National/religious)	5	6	9	4	24
Not specified but festive	7	4	2	7	20
FESTIVE	**29**	**32**	**23**	**23**	**107 (28,38%)**
Both (everyday + festive, explicit)	19	4	4	6	33 (8,75%)
No reference to any occasion (Not specified)	16	24	41	9	90 (23,87%)
No recipes	1 (the one missing at KB)	4	2 (1 missing at KB, 1 no culinary column)	48 (1 missing at KB, 1 no culinary column)	55 (14,59%)
Total	100 (right no. of columns)	93	82	102	377

Course

The data about the type of course indicates a recurring preference on the culinary columns of *Margriet*. As a matter of fact in all the three periods under analysis, the two most published articles, except in the 1950s, are the ones portraying recipes for difference courses and the ones with main dishes.

Table 6 - Statistics of the culinary columns by course (Dutch Kitchen)

	1950	1955	Total Dutch period
Snack	7	6	**13 (12,50%)**
Soup	1	-	1
Salad/Sauce	1	2	3
Main dish(es)	9	14	**23 (22,12%)**
Dessert	13	12	**25 (24,04%)**
Drinks	2	-	2
Whole menu(s)	4	5	9
Various (different courses)	15 (5 were combo of snack, dessert, drink)	13 (5 were combo of snack, dessert, drink)	**28 (26,92%)**
No recipes	-	-	-
Total	52	52	104

As it is visible in the Tables 6, 7 and 8, for the Dutch Kitchen the 26,92 per cent were in fact articles with various courses (28 out of 104), whilst in the following period they were the 27,44 per cent (73 out of 266), and in the Global Shift amounted to 27,85 per cent (105 out of 377). The issues in which the main dishes were the protagonist of the recipe stood for the 22,12 per cent in the 1950s (23 out of 104), 24,81 per cent in the European Turn (66 out of 266) and they were the 20,42 per cent in the last phase (77 out of 377). These results indicate that during the 50 years analyzed almost half of the columns were dedicated to promote recipes for substantial meals, like main courses or a combination of dishes, which most of the times included a main dish, with a snack, a dessert and/or a drink. Just during specific years, namely from the 1975 till 1990, in which the attention was drawn to a healthier and lighter diet, very often in order to lose weight, to be in a good shape for the summer months or just to be healthier, there are examples of a combination of dishes which also included fruit, salads and soups.

Table 7 - Statistics of the culinary columns by course (European Turn)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	Total European turn
Snack	5	10	2	4	6	**27 (10,15%)**
Soup	1	2	4	1	1	9
Salad/Sauce	/	1	/	1	1	3
Main dish(es)	13	15	16	12	10	**66 (24,81%)**
Dessert	8	8	8	6	7	**37 (13,91%)**
Drinks	/	2	1	3	1	7
Whole menu(s)	8	1	5	5	10	**29 (10,90%)**
Various (different courses)	18 (7 were combo of snacks, dessert, fruit)	13 (3 were a combo of dessert, snack, fruit, drink)	8 (2 were a combo of dessert and snack)	16 (3 were a combo of main dish, snack, fruit, dessert)	18 (3 were a combo of main dish, snack, fruit, dessert)	**73 (27,44%)**
No recipes	/	/	9 (6 are issues without culinary column)	4 (4 are issues without culinary column)	2 (1 missing in archive)	15 (of which 11 no culinary column)
Total	53	52	53 (1extra)	52	56 (4 extra culinary sections)	266

The analysis of the type of meal portrayed in the magazine reveals a preeminent characteristic of the eating structure of the Netherlands, as at a quantitative analysis it becomes visible the importance of the dessert, as object in many recipes, and of the snack culture. For what concerns the dessert, the data collected showed that the recipes for this kind of meal are actually representative of the 24,04 per cent in the 1950s (25 out of 104), which puts them in the second position of importance for the Dutch Kitchen, just before the main dishes, which accounted for the 22,12 per cent. In the 1960s, 1970s and in 1980, the recipes for dessert occupy

the third position with a total of 13,91 per cent (37 our of 266). Instead, in the later phase, they represented the 11,14 per cent (42 out of 277). Such steady appearance, especially the first half of the period under examination has to do with the importance of dessert recipes in the magazine, which could be explained by the fact that more than half of the occasions for which the recipes in *Margriet* are aimed, regard festivities and special occasion. In fact, it was not just common, but even taken for granted, to find recipes of puddings, pies, cakes, pasties and other sorts of sweet for recurrent religious or national like Easter in March or April, Queen's Day in April, Mother's Day in May, *Sinterklaas* in November and December, Christmas and New Year's Eve. Moreover, there was always some issues dedicated to sweets to be prepared for the birthday party of a kid, or a special spring or summer day with friends. Later on in the 1970s and 1980s, it became even more common to prepare special dishes in order to create a festive atmosphere, without really needing to have anything special to celebrate.[152] As a consequence, it became less necessary to prepare something sweet as a celebratory symbol, but also other sort of courses could add a hint of cheerfulness to the day. The second structural recurring element in *Margriet* recipes is represented by the snacks. The recipes which share instructions for the preparation of savory snacks accounted for the 12,50 per cent in the 1950s (13 out of 104), which in this post-war decade were already not always intended for a special occasion but were also to be consumed in a ordinary situation. In contrast with the symbolic value of the dessert as a course, which most of the time were to be prepared and consumed in conduction with a festivity, the snack represented right away a less extravagant food.

[152] 'A similar change has occurred with regard to what constitutes a festive occasion, which changed through the decades. You can also decide that something must be celebrated without it being a holiday', Salzman, 'Continuity and Change', 613

Table 8 - Statistics of the culinary columns by course (Global Shift)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	Total Global shift
Snack	6	10	7	7	**30 (7,96%)**
Soup	/	6	1	2	9
Salad/Sauce	1	1	3	1	6
Main dish(es)	23	27	13	14	**77 (20,42%)**
Dessert	9	20	7	6	**42 (11,14%)**
Drinks	1	/	/	3	4
Whole menu(s)	36	6	3	6	**51 (13,53%)**
Various (different courses)	23 (9 are a combo of snack, whole menu, dessert, main dish, salads, soup)	20 (2 are a combo of fruit, dessert, snack)	46	16 (1 is a combo Various snack and drink)	**105 (27,85%)**
No recipes	1 (the one missing at KB)	4	2 (1 missing at KB, 1 no culinary column)	47	**53 (14,06%)**
Total	100 (right no. of columns)	93	82	102	377

The snacks culture in the Netherlands

During the period of the Dutch Kitchen, the highest value is represented by the 28 columns which combined different courses, the second highest number is the one of the recipes dedicated to dessert (25), and the third is the for the recipes about main dishes (*hoofdgerechten*) such as meals involving the preparation of different sorts of meat, fish, pasta, rice, vegetables, cheese or whatever typology of food which has been prepared with the intention of being consumed as the principal course, and mainly for dinner time. It is somehow surprising to estimate that such a prominent number of recipes have been dedicated to desserts, which in fact represents respectively 13 and 12 columns in 1950 and 1955, against numbers like 9 and 14 for

main dishes, which in theory should play a bigger role in the construction of a meal, especially for the mere fact of being the main dish. Another element of surprise is that the forth highest number of course appearance in the columns happens to be the recipes of snacks and appetizers (especially for *borrels,* festive occasions etc) with a total of 13, hence 12,50 per cent. Combining the data of recipes for dessert together with the ones of snacks (38), it seems that recipes were either mainly meant for festive occasions, during which there was a high consumption of desserts and snacks, or that even on a daily basis Dutch people consumed these sorts of dishes. Of course this assumption is based on the fact that in the decades after the Second World War in the Netherlands the was a boom in the mass consumption of snacks and fast food in many different forms.[153]

The development of the so-called 'snack-culture' is a consequence of different (external and internal) factors in the Dutch society. First of all, on an international level, it must be taken into account the increasing industrialization which was taking place in the country already since 1870 and that increased even more after the world conflicts. The growth of demand and supply of an increasingly diverse fast food assortment sector, out as well as at home, took place on an international scale. This trend indicated a fundamental change in the way of life of people in modern industrial societies.[154] What this meant for the workers was an higher number of working hours and tighter schedules, both for those working in factories and in offices. The changes in working times had an important consequence on the eating timetable of the Dutch working population, who did not have anymore time to go back home to have a warm meal as it was common before the late 19th century. Besides, most of the time people had to move to work in cities and industrialized areas, which also made it impractical to go home for the lunch break. As a result, bringing along a bag of bread and a hot-water bottle of coffee became the everyday habit for workers, at least until the 1940s. After the Second World War, is when the development of the 'eating out' trend thanks to the establishment of company canteens, snack bars and vending machines, which were offering cheap and fast eating solutions to laborers arose. Although, already in the 1940s and 1950s eating out was becoming a real option for the Dutch, the

[153] Otterloo, 'Kroketten en frikadellen', 84

[154] Ibid., 83

popularity of '*het eten buitenshuis*' increased substantially only from the 1960s and 1970s, when growth in prosperity and interest in trying out new food turned into a phenomenon.[155] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the pioneers in the establishment of the first eating house were the Chinese and Indonesian migrant entrepreneurs. In any case, vending machines, snack bars, and also fries stands represented the early manifestations of the phenomenon of the 'snack-culture'. In an initial phase, savory snacks were initially only given as a snack with drinks in the form of peanuts, salty pretzels and chips. On the other hand, the sweet ones were served with tea and coffee and were in the shape of cookies or biscuits.

Later on, in the 1960s and 1970s, the meaning of snack and the concept of what constituted a snack expanded. In fact, the term snack became in that period associated with '*tussendoortje*', which literally means between things or between times and that does not last long, therefore it could also be associates with something fast and between meals, exactly like a snack.[156] In addition, the function of the snack was to be a kind of ready made food, to be eaten fast and with hands (finger food), usually between meals. The last phase, which started from the 1980s, involved a deep change in what constituted a snack, as well as in which role it plays within the eating pattern. There is an increasing consumption of snack, not anymore as between meals appetizer, but the snack was converted into a full meal per se, or at least parts of it. It is also true that increasingly, since 1950s and 1960s, people in all the Western countries started to consume more snacks. This trend was also due to a change in the eating patterns because people did not eat anymore three meals a day, but much more often.

Despite the high consumption in snacks, in the European turn phase, the number of columns giving recipes for snacks dropped sensitively and occupied the fifth position with 10,15 per cent of the whole 25 years representation (27 out 266 columns). The same happened during the Global shift, during which snacks had a coverage of 7,96 per cent (30 out of 377). The fact that the actually consumption of savory and sweet snacks among the population increased de facto, but in *Margriet* did not find its proper representation has to do exactly with the fact that the

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[155] Ibid., 80

[156] Van Dale Dictionary online: *tussendoortje*
http://www.vandale.nl/opzoeken?pattern=tussendoortje&lang=netussen doortje (Accessed on 28 May 2014)

availability of already made snacks was already so high that it was not necessary to provide recipes for these treats, and assumably did not even attract much interest among the readers. Moreover, there could also have been a prestige component in the decision making regarding publishing recipes of snacks, because, despite its popularity, such food could have been also associated with a less sophisticated, easier and definitely faster way of approaching food. In fact, among the snack category, in the last decades of the analysis appeared mainly different kind of sandwiches, hot-dogs, finger food, *hapjes*, picnic and barbecue foodstuff, etc.

Geographical origin

As mentioned before, the main goal of this thesis is to monitor the representations of the foreign cuisines and the changes the brought to the Dutch eating habits. Although many factors have had an impact on the taste for food of the Dutch, the principal aspect under analysis here regards the influences of foreign cuisines, with a special attention given to the presence of Indonesian and Moroccan recipes. Throughout the period analyzed, I have realized that many recipes described Indonesian and Chinese food as Oriental (*Oosterse),* therefore in my analysis I have taken into account also the recipes with this label. In order to be able to produce a data analysis, which is both quantitative and qualitative, there has been an in depth screening of all the culinary columns and recipes of the magazine's issues. This sort of examination required an attentive search in the columns for information regarding the country of origin of the recipes, the reference to foreign cooking and eating traditions, or to cultural practices connected to the production of dishes outside the Netherlands. In some columns, especially in the Global Shift period, which were not offering recipes but consisted more on presenting facts about cuisines or food-related matters, I defined the field of origin if a specific culinary tradition was described, hence constituted a relevant case of representation of Dutch of foreign cuisine.

Moreover, in the analysis of the recipes, I have realized that the mere addition of a foreign ingredient gave enough legitimation to the writer to underline the foreign origin of the recipe. For instance, in the 1960s and 1970s, a recipe with pasta was enough to name the recipe *op zijn Napolitaans, van Capri, Siciliaans*. As also pointed out by Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover, with a deeper look at the recipes, it becomes obvious that the exotic has to be found more in the

name of the recipe than in the dish itself. As a matter of fact, the instructions for the preparation of dishes, hence the methodology of cooking the ingredients or putting them together in a dish, had very little to do with the way they were prepared in the home country. Therefore the aim of the recipe was to provide the readers and prospective cooks with a sense of extravagancy and novelty, rather than really offering the recipe of an authentic dish. [157] It is actually just from the 1980s that the culinary authenticity of a dish started to be valued. In this context, as mentioned before, authenticity "measures the degree to which something is more or less what it ought to be," is a criterion apt to "emerge just after its subject matter has been significantly transformed."[158] This theory finds its practical representation, as it will be shown, in the case of the Indonesian food in the Netherlands, which passes from a phase of adaptation and appropriation, to its adoption in a version of authentic food in the 1980s and 1990s.

For the analysis if the geographical origin of the recipes, the data acquired involves a wide array of countries, which progressively increases with the passing of time. In the Netherlands, from the 1950s, few foreign cuisines have occupied a very special place at the eating table. The most successful cases of foreign cooking have been the French, the Italian and Chinese-Indonesian cuisines. The reasons for these palatable developments had to do, respectively, with longstanding cultural supremacy in Europe, foreign travels and colonial history. According to van Otterloo, the presence of the Chinese-Indonesian cuisine 'out and 'at home' is especially Dutch, therefore particularly relevant for this analysis. As mentioned above, the restaurants were cheap from the beginning and they offered large portions, which attracted public interest, 'also giving exotic entrepreneurs a chance to establish themselves'.

[157] Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover (eds.), 'Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', 82

[158]Buettner, '"Going for an Indian"', 883

Table 9 - Statistics of the recipes sorted by geographical origins (Dutch Kitchen)

	1950	1955	Total	Per cent
Dutch (explicit)	13	15	28	
Dutch (implicit)	10	21	31	
TOTAL Dutch recipes	**23**	**36**	**59**	**59,60%**
Germany	4	1	5	
England	2	1	3	
Austria	2	2	4	
Norway	-	1	1	
Denmark	1	1	2	
TOTAL Northern Europe			15	15,15%
France	7	4	11	
Italy	2	1	3	
TOTAL Southern Europe			14	14,14%
Hungary	2	-	2	
Russia	1	-	1	
TOTAL Eastern Europe			3	3,03%
TOTAL Europe			**32**	**32,32%**
Indonesia	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2.02%**
Oosterse	**1**	**-**	**1**	**1,01%**
USA	2	3	5	
TOTAL Global			**8**	**8,08%**
TOTAL	48	51	99	

As it is visible from Table 9, in this first period just few countries are mentioned in the columns. In the 1950s, the data shows that 59,60 per cent of the recipes are devoted to the Dutch national cuisine (59 out of 99). In reality, the fact that more than half of recipes are about Dutch food is not that surprising, considering that culinary advice also had to reflect the socio-economical and cultural context of that time, in which foreign elements were much less than in the following globalized years. In this decade, elements of austerity and frugality were still

characterizing what people ate at home. For this reason, it was common to find recipes with local simple ingredients such as chanterelle mushrooms [159], apples [160], eggs,[161] asparagus. Back then as nowadays, a typical Dutch main dish consists of three different parts, cooked and served separately: potatoes, vegetables and meat or fish. Potatoes have been always combined with all sorts of meat and fish. They come in different preparation methods (fried, mashed, or boiled) depending on the nature of the main dish. Even so, they are almost never mentioned in the name of a recipe and that suggests that potatoes are to a certain extent taken for granted whereas other exceptional products are indicated as the main constituent. Also common was to give instructions on how to reuse leftovers or commonly used food which was going bad, such as bread, potatoes, meat, which was a very core feature of the cooking attitude of those post-war years, during which it was important to limit all kinds of waste, especially in the kitchen. In this line of thinking, Marianne published recipes like: 'Of that leftover meat ... I make croquettes' (*Van dat restje vlees…maak ik croquetten*), 'What we do with that leftover meat?' (*Wat doen wij met dat restje vlees?*), 'Bad potatoes. See here recipes that bring results' (*Slechte aardappelen. zie hier recepten die uitkomst brengen).*[162] Of course, the element of frugality and cheapness pervaded the whole decade with recipes like 'We eat cheap today!' (*Wij eten goedkoop vandaag!*).[163] Moreover, it was obviously also very common for the author to suggest that readers cook traditional Dutch dishes, such as peas soup ('Wat doet u in de erwteensoep?')[164], semolina ('En

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[159] Marianne. "Cantharellen, boden van de Herfst'. In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisje* (1 October 1949), 33

[160] Marianne. "Appelen nog steeds favoriet". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisje* (8 October 1949), 29; Marianne. "Wij bakken een Wiener Apfelstrudel". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisje* (1 October 1955), 54-55; Marianne. "Appel lekkernijen". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (15 January 1955)

[161] Marianne. "Het ei en wij". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (26 March 1955); Marianne. "De omelette, een welkome aanvulling". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (25 February

[162] Marianne. "Van dat restje vlees…maak ik croquetten". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (23 September 1950); Marianne. "Slechte aardappelen. zie hier recepten die uitkomst brengen". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (11 March 1950); Marianne. "Wat doen wij met dat restje vlees?". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (12 March 1955)

[163] Marianne. "Wij eten goedkoop vandaag!". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (05 November 1955)

[164] Marianne. "Wat doet u in de erwteensoep?". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (18 November 1950)

dat can griesmeel!)'[165]; pudding, butter cake ('Bak ook eens zo'n heerlijke boterkoek!')[166], stamppot ('Stamppot, heerlijk ook in het voorjaar!')[167], and different kinds of meat.

In the post-war period, in addition to Dutch cuisine, the first relevant foreign gastronomic influence was the one of the French cuisine. Table 9 indicates this trend, since the French recipes accounted for the 11,11 per cent (11 out of 99), followed by Germans and American with both 5,05 per cent. The presence of the culinary traditions of these countries should be associated, for the French case, with a well-established, sophisticated and renewed gastronomic ability. Instead, the attachment to the German food had to do with the particular way of preparing ingredients similar to both countries, such as meat and fish and for the different way of creating dessert. On the other hand, the reception given to American dishes in the Netherlands has been very different from the French and German, since in the 1950s and early 1960s, there was a special feeling in the Netherlands about anything originating from the United States. American products were assumed to be quality products and Americans were envied for their prosperity and admired for the role they had played in liberating the country from the nazis.[168] All of this was reflected in the attitude towards American food displayed in the culinary columns of *Margriet.* I believe that this is the main reason why the magazine devoted far more attention to American than to Chinese-Indonesian and Oriental dishes, which combines represented just the 3,03 per cent in the 1950 and 1955 (3 out of 99 recipes). This result is remarkable, especially considering that unlike Chinese-Indonesian food, American food has not become part of the Dutch cuisine.

In the following two phases, more and more gastronomic traditions of foreign countries have been the source of inspiration for the staff working for the food rubrics at *Margriet*. In the European Turn period, the number of countries portrayed in the articles increased to 32 (the

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[165] Marianne. "En dat can griesmeel!". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (12 February 1955)

[166] Marianne. "Bak ook eens zo'n heerlijke boterkoek!". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (26 February 1955)

[167] Marianne. "Stamppot, heerlijk ook in het voorjaar!". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (19 February 1955)

[168] Salzman, "Change and Continuity", 617

Netherlands excluded), in contrast to eleven in the 1950s. From 1985 till 2000, the countries represented arrived to 37.[169]

As introduced at the beginning of the chapter, the years from 1960 till 1980 have been labelled as the European Turn period, because of the rapid increment and consistent presence of culinary influences coming from different European countries. For a more in depth examination and also for a matter of curiosity, the European countries have been divided in Northern, Southern and Eastern. In order to have a complete view of the European culinary landscape, Table 10 provides a detailed overview of the period. For instance, it illustrates that from 1960 till 1980, in comparison to the 1950s, the articles about Dutch cuisine passed from a rough 60 per cent to its half: 29,51 per cent was the coverage of national cuisine. This loss of dominance actually continued in the Global Shift, where it reached 22,37 per cent. I think that it seems then reasonable to presume that due to the cultural and social encounters with foreign people and practices, as well as because of the role played by the media and by technological advances, curiosity for foreign and exotic dishes took over the culinary interests of Dutch people. At the same time of the decreasing representation of Dutch food, which was cut in half, the magazine portrayed an attraction towards European food, which almost doubled, going from 32,32 (32 out of 99) per cent in the 1950s to 62,15 per cent (179 columns out of 288). Table 10 shows the actual geographical origin of the recipes, which find its mean roots in the Southern European cuisine, especially in France, Italy and Spain. These three countries would keep on playing an important pole of attraction for the different writers of *Margriet* because of their renewed and appreciated culinary traditions that have been portrayed as a mixture of sophistication, especially for the French cuisine and, from the 1960s and 1970s, of balance and health in reference to the Italian foodstuff.

[169] A detailed list of the countries, whose reference have been made in the articles analyzed, can be found in Table 10 and Table 11.

Table 10 - Statistics of the recipes sorted by geographical origins (European Turn)

	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	Total
Dutch (explicit)	20	6	9	12	13	60
Dutch (implicit)	6	11	4	3	1	25
TOTAL The Netherlands	**26**	17	13	15	14	**85 (29,51%)**
Germany	2	1	3	1	1	8
England	3	2	3	-	1	9
Belgium	1	-	2	-	-	3
Austria	1	1	-	1	1	4
Norway	1	1	-	-	-	2
Denmark	1	1	1	-	-	3
Sweden	-	1	2	3	-	6
Finland	-	-	-	1	-	1
Scandinavia	-	1	-	-	1	2
Switzerland	1	-	a	2	-	6
Scotland	-	1	1	1	-	3
Ireland	-	1	-	-	1	2
TOTAL Northern Europe						**49 (17,01%)**
France	7	11	9	10	10	47
Italy	6	6	6	4	8	30
Spain	4	4	6	2	1	17
Greece	-	-	1	2		3
Portugal	1	2	-	-		3
Turkey	-	1	2	2	1	6
Morocco	-	**1**	-	-		**1 (0,35%)**
TOTAL Southern Europe						**107 (37,15%)**
Hungary	-	2	1	2	2	7
Russia	1	-	1	2	-	4
Romania	1	-	-	1	1	3
Poland	1	-	1	1	-	3
Czech	-	-	1	1	-	2
Balkan	-	1	-	1	-	2
Yugoslavia	-	-	-	-	2	2
TOTAL Eastern Europe						**23 (7,99%)**
TOTAL Europe						**179 (62,15%)**
Indonesia (exp)	**1**	**1**	-	-	**2**	**4 (1,39%)**
Oosterse	-	**2**	-	**1**	-	**3 (1,04%)**
China	-	-	1	1	-	2
USA	3	1	2	1	2	9
Canada	-	-	1	-	-	1
India	1	1	1	-	-	3
Mexico	-	1	-	1	-	2
TOTAL Global						**24 (8,33%)**
TOTAL	**62**	**61**	**61**	**56**	**48**	**288**

Another factor worth discussing concerns the rise in the treatment of Eastern food that passed from a 3,03 per cent in the 1950s to 8 per cent in the European Turn. This increase is noteworthy because it was mainly a consequence of the personal fascination and interest of the writer Born, who travelled a lot for work in Eastern European countries, especially in Hungary. In fact, once she left the magazine after 1985, the representation of Eastern Europe recipes dropped to a 2,06 per cent. Consequently, it must be also kept in mind that the figure of the columnist has always had a degree of relevance and that not everything is just the trustworthy representation of reality.

After the booming years of the European phase, the articles about the recipes of the old continent kept on having the highest coverage in the magazine. Apparently, European cookeries still had a strong appeal on the Dutch. Although the percentage of their presence dropped from 62,15 per cent to 48,33 per cent (188 out of 389), they still held a sort of supremacy. But the real significant numbers are the one regarding the articles involving meals and food culture of the all the countries in the world. As Table 11 shows, the columns about the 'Global' food cultures moved from a steady and interesting recurrence of the 8 per cent from the 1950s till 1980, to then hit the peak with 29,31% (114 out of 389) in the Global Shift period, named of course in view of this fact.

Table 11 - Statistics of the recipes sorted by geographical origins (Global Shift)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	Total
Dutch (explicit)	17	25	16	6	64
Dutch (implicit)	10	6	2	5	23
TOTAL The Netherlands	**27**	**31**	**18**	**11**	**87 (22,37%)**
Germany	2	1	1	1	5
England	4	9	-	-	13
Belgium	2	2	1	-	5
Austria	2	-	-	-	2
Finland	-	-	1	-	1
Scandinavia	1	-	-	-	1
Switzerland	1	-	-	1	2
Scotland	-	1	1	-	2
Ireland	1	1	-	-	2
TOTAL Northern Europe					33 (8,48%)
France	12	8	11	2	33
Italy	13	13	27	12	65
Spain	8	6	7	4	25
Greece	2	2	3	1	8
Portugal	-	1	-	-	1
Turkey	3	3	5	-	11
Morocco	**-**	**-**	**3**	**1**	**4 (1.03%)**
TOTAL Southern Europe					147 (37,79%)
Hungary	2	-	1	-	3
Russia	-	-	1	-	1
Bulgaria	-	1	-	-	1
Yugoslavia	2	-	-	-	2
Eastern Europe	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL Eastern Europe					8 (2,06%)
TOTAL Europe					**188 (48,33%)**
Indonesia (exp)	**12**	**4**	**9**	**6**	**31 (7,97%)**
Oosterse	**6**	**2**	**9**	**3**	**20 (5,14%)**
China	6	5	3	1	15
India	1	-	2	5	8
Japan	-	1	-	4	5
Thailand	-	-	2	2	4
Vietnam	-	-	-	1	1
Asia	1	-	-	2	3
USA	1	1	2	1	5
Mexico	1	2	3	2	8
Panama	1	-	1	-	2
Antilles	-	1	1	1	3
Caribbean	-	-	1	-	1
Suriname	-	1	-	3	4
Brazil	-	-	1	-	1
Argentina	-	-	-	1	1
Africa	-	-	-	1	1
Egypt	-	-	-	1	1
TOTAL Global					**114 (29,31%)**
TOTAL	**111**	**96**	**115**	**67**	**389**

In the qualitative analysis of the provenance of the articles, it has been noticed that in every of the three periods a certain number of culinary columns were not intended to portray any particular cooking or eating culture, but depending on their nature, they could have just wanted to communicate to the reader some food-related information or stories (the same that has happened for the parameter of the occasion). As mentioned at the beginning of this section, these columns have not been considered in the statistics and in the calculation of the percentages above mentioned. The specifics of this element can be traced in Table 2, together with the complete recalculation of the proportions. The decision of leaving out these factors has been driven by the desire for a clearer picture in which just the element of gastronomic tradition could be highlighted, without providing misleading data which could have produced ineffective ratios.

In spite of this, the category of 'no recipe or origin not specified' comes necessarily in the picture in the Global shift phase, since the amount of this kind of articles occupies the second place, as visible in Table 2. In the inclusive calculation of new proposition for this phase, the recipes with any culinary tradition are 26,60 per cent (141 out of 530), just after the Europeans with 35,47 per cent (188 our of 530), and right before the intercontinental one with 21,51 per cent (114 out of 530). As introduced in the global trends part of this chapter, the presence of so many columns with no recipes has to do with the worldwide attention towards food, cooking, health issues, which become a fashion in the media, in the design and, consequently in the very private house of the Dutch family.

3.4. Indonesian and Moroccan foodways at the Dutch table

The polemics of culinary authenticity and appropriation also blossom in the production and advertisement of cookbooks and ethnic restaurants. It is difficult to have an unbiased idea of ethnic people if the only point of reference is the image constructed by the media and advertising practices, which usually happen to give either a very romanticized image of traditional food practices. It is true that advertisements use the concept of authenticity to sell a product, therefore not having anything to do with the actual ethnic people. Yet, it is important to keep in mind that what people eat, how and where they do it "create political, social and symbolic messages

regarding attitudes toward ourselves and toward the ethnic other."[170] In this perspective, I believe that, for instance, the production of ethnic cookbooks reveal significant insight, both in the case when these are written by cultural outsiders, who take the task of making the exotic familiar, as well as by the cultural insiders, who position themselves as the spokespersons of their culinary traditions. When cultural outsiders engage in the production of writing cookbooks, colonialist attitudes enter their vision, hence in their works. On the other hand, when authenticity of foods and recipes is in the hands of a cultural insider, it can represent an act of cultural resistance against mainstream hegemonization.[171] The former case could be associated with the culinary perspective of the writers of magazines' culinary columns, who in general are Dutch journalists, and this applies perfectly to the case of *Margriet*. In fact, all *Margriet*'s culinary writers and almost all the members of the production cast have been native Dutch throughout half a century, making it a perfect example of what is conceptualized as cultural outsiders. The case for cultural insiders is instead very well represented by Beb Vuyk, a Dutch writer with Indonesian origins, and author of the *Groot Indonesisch kookboek* (namely the Extensive Indonesian cookbook). In this view, for the case of the Indonesian cuisine, I believe that before entering in the discussion of how Indonesian food is portrayed in *Margriet*'s recipes, hence adapted and later adopted in the Dutch eating culture, it is important to take into account that culinary history of Indonesian food in the Netherlands, through the analysis of the first, and most likely the most influential Indonesian cookbooks: the *Groot Indonesisch kookboek.*

The *Groot Indonesisch kookboek*

In the introduction of its first edition in 1973, the author Beb Vuyk, made an account of the history of the *culinarie infiltratie* (culinary infiltration) of the Indonesian ingredients and dishes into the Dutch eating culture.[172] She reveals that precisely thanks to these culinary exchanges, which started at the beginning of the 1950s, an amount of foreign and exotic dishes

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[170] Abarca, 'Authentic or not, it's original', 4-6

[171] Ibid., 5

[172] The writer Beb Vuyk was born in 1905 in the Netherlands but her father was an Indo and she travelled in Indonesia for some years since the age of 24. She got married to a Dutch man and lived in Rotterdam.

became well known in the Netherlands. In fact, already back in the 1973 everyone knew how a *kroepoek* and a *saté* tasted like, s*ambal* and *atjar* were sold in every big super market and even in the smallest town shop, or they could be found by the butcher, at the vegetable stall, and by the farmer. Ultimately, she declared that *bami* and *nasi goreng* have become almost national dishes (*Bami en nasi goreng zijn bijne national gerechten geworden*).[173] I believe that such important statement in 1973, must take into consideration the previous twenty years of adaptation of the Indonesian cuisine to the taste of the Dutch people. Moreover, Vuyk openly stated that the cookbook is written for the Netherlands, keeping in mind the Dutch environment and local conditions. Therefore she explicitly asserted that in the recipes she indicates ingredients which are available in the country, and that for many species she advices for the powered version accessible in *tokos*, or shops, instead of the original fresh product.[174] In my opinion, since she mentioned that she commonly uses both Dutch and Indonesian ingredients for the preparation of different dishes, it becomes evident the actual adaptation of the Indonesian cuisine to the Dutch eating culture through the use of non-authentic ingredients. Therefore I believe that this represents exactly what Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover considered as de-ethnicization of foreign foodstuff and foodways.[175]

For the analytical purpose of this thesis, three versions of the *Groot Indonesisch kookboek* have been taken under scrutiny: the first edition of 1973, and the ones of 1989 and 2011. This cookbook represented the first extensive collection of Indonesian recipes and still nowadays it is one of the most important references for Dutch people who want to get acquainted and practice the art of cooking Indonesian at home. The comparative analysis of the three versions of the cookbook shows that basically any change has been done to the book. Although it can be understandable that the recipes could remain somehow the same throughout the years, it remains still quite surprising that the introduction continued to be almost identical, except for the fact that to the later two versions a paragraph was added about 'cooking Indonesian in the

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[173] Vuyk Beb, *Groot Indonesisch Kookboek, afgewisseld met Chinese recepten* (Utrecht 1973) 9; *Nasi* is an Indonesian word and it means 'common dried white rice', 23

[174] Ibid., 24

[175]Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover (eds.), 'Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', 78

microwave', which I consider per se an act of culinary appropriation in pursue of adapting the dishes not just to the Dutch eating culture, but also to a fast-paced contemporary lifestyle. The other rather minimal difference that has been traced in the three books, consists in changing the reference to the beginning of the Indonesian-Dutch culinary interaction in the 1950s, which in both 1973 and 1989 was referred to as '25 years ago', while in the later edition of 2011 it is strikingly reported as just 'the culinary infiltration of the past years', which sounded definitely reductive and simplistic.

According to Vuyk, the idea that some people have regarding Indonesian cuisine was that it is constituted by a wide variety of complicated dishes, but this is only true in the case of festivities and special occasions. She considers the daily meals sober, even if they are always prepared with a lot of care and ability, and they are very diversified. In the cookbook, as well as in some columns of *Margriet*, the element of hospitality and of sharing a meal as social habit, has also been highlighted. In fact, in the Indonesian cuisine there have always been a high number of dishes which can be stored in jars and preserved, which could also mean that whenever an unexpected guest comes over there is always enough food to widen the menu. Moreover, the use of rice and of many side dishes are elements that favors an easy and fast adaptation of the menu.[176]

All in all, in the *Groot Indonesisch kookboek (*1973), Vuyk described a change that, since some years before, had been put in motion in the culinary approach of the Dutch people, namely the fact that it had become popular to go out to eat Chinese or Indonesian, or a combination of both. Back at that time products like *bakmie*, *nasi goreng*, *saté* and *saté sauce* could be bought in all the groceries. *Nasiballen* could be found in every automat, next to the *worstje* and the *gehaktbal*. The *kroepeok* was served as snack during *borrels* which was appreciated by people that dislike rice.[177]

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[176] Vuyk, *Groot Indonesisch Kookboek,* 10

[177] Ibid., 16

The image of Indonesian and Moroccan cuisines in *Margriet* 's culinary columns: culinary adaptation and adoption[178]

At this point of the research, the focus of my investigation will be devoted to the discussion of the coverage of the Indonesian and Moroccan eating cultures, and the image of culinary appropriation or authenticity portrayed in the articles. For the Indonesian case, Oriental (*Oosterse*) recipes have also been taken into consideration. The ones regarding the Chinese cuisines have been scrutinized and inserted in the analysis as well, when I was explicitly illustrating the connection with the Indonesian kitchen. As I have portrayed before, many different eating cultures have had an impact on the taste for food of the Dutch people. However, in the following section I focus exclusively on the subject of this thesis, which concerns in the specific the culinary influences of the Indonesian (oriental) and Moroccan migrant communities at the Dutch table.

After I surveyed the quantitative data emerged from the analysis of the columns, I now focus more on the qualitative data deriving from the columns. I consider this information essential to acquire a closer insight of the magazine's perception towards these migrant communities, exactly through their recipes and their way of eating. As a matter of fact, the image portrayed of these migrants and their foodstuff, the particular use of foreign ingredients and thus the occasion when they are consumed, reveal important cultural and social implications. Due to the temporal dimension, which spans from 1950s to 2000, it is possible to monitor the historical development of the influences of Indonesian and Moroccan foodways and their portrayal in the magazine. In addition to that, the analysis focuses on the process of de-ethnicization and re-ethnicization of Indonesian and Moroccan cuisine.

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[178] In the Dutch kitchen period, three issues out of 104 covered Indonesian and Oriental cuisine, accounting for the 3,03 per cent. The data in detail is the following: 1950: 1 Indonesian, 1 *Oostere* recipes out of 48; 1955: 1 Indonesian recipes out of 51. In the European turn period there is a total of 4 Indonesian, 3 *Oosterse* and 1 Moroccan recipes, which respectively represent the 1,39 and 1,04 per cent (2,43 per cent combined) and 0,35 per cent. In derail: 1960: 1 Indonesian recipe out of 62; 1965: 1 Indonesian, 2 *Oosterse*, 1 Moroccan recipes out of 61; 1970: none; 1975: 1 *Oosterse* recipe out of 56; 1980: 2 Indonesian recipes out of 48. In the Global shift period there is a total of 31 Indonesian, 20 *Oosterse* and 4 Moroccan recipes, which respectively represent the 7,97 and 5,14 per cent (13,11 per cent combined) and 1,03 per cent. In detail: 1985: 12 Indonesian, 6 *Oosterse* out of 111; 1990: 4 Indonesian, 2 *Oosterse* out of 96; 1995: 9 Indonesian, 9 *Oosterse*, 3 Moroccan out of 115; 2000: 6 Indonesian, 3 *Oosterse*, 1 Moroccan out of 67

In 1950 *Margriet* published the first recipes for Chinese-Indonesian dishes, while advertisements for canned nasi and bami appeared some years later.[179] As a matter of fact, in the analysis of the recipe columns of *Margriet* in the first decade after the Second World War, as has been illustrated above, just three issues out of 104 covered Indonesian and Oriental cuisine. This consisted of a mere 3,03 per cent. It is interesting to note, for instance, that in the article of 1955, Indonesian food was associated with the Chinese kitchen, and thus it was labelled as the Oriental cuisine (*Oosterse Keuken*). Consequently, it is not surprising that '*Uit de Oosterse keuken*'(from the Oriental cuisine), the title of the first article regarding the Oriental kitchen that appeared in March 1950, introduced recipes of Indonesian and Chinese origin. The article comprised six recipes: *rijst stomen, sajoer kerrie, dendeng ati of gabakken lever, sambal van granulen, bahmi royal* and *loempiah's*, all of them, except for the rice, specifically dosed for four people. The author of the article was Marianne, who was the writer in charge of the culinary section of *Margriet* since before 1950 and until the end of the 1960s, when Born took over the column.[180] Despite the presence of six recipes, the article was just one page long and contained three pictures. This format was typical in the 1950s as the culinary section used to occupy mostly one, or few more pages, with a relatively high number of recipes and pictures for the actual space provided to the column.

In the introductory section of the article, Marianne specified that when the magazine publishes recipes about the Oriental cuisine, these are to be taken in consideration as a sort of indication of the way Indonesian and Chinese dishes can be prepared. From this statement a series of assumptions can be made. First of all it proves that '*Uit de Oosterse keuken'* is not the first culinary column published in the magazine, as Marianne used the adverb when (*wanneer)* meaning that it must have happened other times in the past. This suggests that the Oriental cuisine have been already introduced at the Dutch family table before 1950. Second, I believe that Marianne explicitly takes distance from the authenticity of the recipes, since she highlights that they are mere instructors to prepare the dishes (*wil dit slechts 'n enkele aanwijzing zijn)* and

[179] Otterloo, 'Foreign immigrants and the Dutch at table', 131

[180] Marianne. "Uit de Oosterse keuken". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (18 March 1950), 33. In the period under investigation in this study, Marianne is the author of the majority of recipes from 1950 until 1965.

thus, she does not give any further instruction on how the dishes should be consumed. Besides, the usage of some ingredients that for religious matters would not be part of the recipe in the country of origin, confirms the lack of authenticity as it is not so convincing that *loempias* contain '*5 eetlepels fijn gehakte vleesresten* (ham, varkenvlees)'. Being *loempias* introduced as a typical Indonesian snack, I consider its authenticity questionable, both for the fact that pork is used in the original recipe, and due to the typical Dutch trait of using meat leftovers to prepare new dishes. Third, in line with what mentioned before, Indonesian and Chinese appeared to constitute just one category: the Oriental cuisine, in which no distraction is drawn (*Indonesische of Chinese schotel*). Moreover, Marianne revealed that the six recipes were not chosen by her, but requested by readers: "A complete rice table, after all, is so extensive that its preparation would take too much, this why we have made all the honors for our (female) readers, who have asked for these recipes, and we have made some choices […]".[181] Hence, it is likely to imagine that already in 1950 an amount of Dutch housewives and *Margriet* readers were indeed interested in Indonesian and Chinese cuisine, so much that they presumably have written letters to the magazine requesting for recipes. The column comprised six different recipes, but just the pictures of three dishes were presented. First, was the famous Loempia's, described as 'a loved delicacy' (*een geliefde lekkernij)*, which could be served either as side dish or as a lunch appetizer. Second, the soon-to-be-renowned *Bami*, which looked like if it was introduced to the readers as a novelty. I argue this because Marianne felt the necessity of explaining what sort of dish *Bami* was. She defined it as 'a dish of the Chinese cuisine' (*een schotel uit de Chinese keuken*), which goes perfectly along with *gebakken kroepoek* and a glass of beer. Third, the less popular '*sajoer kerrie*' made with steamed rice.

For what regards the portrayal of other foreign eating cultures, it is significant to report here that in 1950, one of the other few articles that mentioned foreign cuisines was issued in November with the title 'What one takes away is delicious' ('*Wat men ver haalt…is lekker*'). This culinary column reported recipes from many different counties such as Denmark with the *Deens smörrebröd,* from Austria with the *Wiener Apfelstrudel*, from England with the *Engelse*

[181] ''*n Volledige rijsttafel immers, is zó uitgebreid, dat de behandeling hiervan ons tè ver zou voeren, waarom wij voor onze lezeressen, die om bovengenoemde recepten vroegen, dan ook een keuze hebben gemaakt waarmee zij zeker alle eer zullen inleggen*.' bid., 33

biefstukjes, from Hungary with the *Hongaarse Goulasch* and from Germany with the *Duitse gemberkoek*. Despite the inviting title, she explained in the introduction that "while this is not always true for all foreign cuisines, we certainly have some special dishes from different countries, whose difficulty of preparation is really worthy." [182]

For what concerns the sense of familiarity suggested by Marianne, while she used the pronous 'we', to refer to her female readers (*lezeressen*), I argue that this is a typical strategy to establish a sense of community with the intent of creating a space for culinary exchange. As a matter of fact:

> "It must be said that he authors always tried, especially in the first decades, to give a sense of familiarity to the reader not just on how to prepare new dishes, but also in which occasions. In this regard, the role of the photos in the magazine is of great significance."[183]

In 1955 the Indonesian cuisine did not have a special place in the recipes of *Margriet*. In fact the only issue referring to anything Indonesian was published in April and it was an article about shrimps and the different ways in which they could be cooked. Marianne described seven ways of preparing shrimps for snack or appetizers and one of them included using them as a side to *nasi-goreng.* The situation described, even if not explicitly festive, implied the consumption of the snacks during a special occasion. The article was entirely about shrimps, and the main message delivered was that shrimp were cheap: "Among the seafood is shrimp, the wealthy citizen, not as common and inexpensive as the popular mussel, but does much less respectable than the aristocratic and expensive oyster."[184] The recipe title was 'fried shrimp with *nasi-goreng*' (*gebakken garnalen bij nasi-goreng*).

In the European turn period there is a total of four Indonesian, three Oosterse and one Moroccan recipes, which respectively represent the 1,39 and 1,04 per cent (2,43 per cent

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[182] Marianne. "Wat men ver haalt….". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (04 November 1950), 36-37

[183] Sheridan Susan, 'Eating the Other: Food and cultural difference in the Australian Women's Weekly in the 1960s', Journal of Intercultural Studies, 21:3 (2000) 319-329, 323-324

[184] Marianne. "Garnalen garnalen!". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisje* (16 April 1955), 48-49

combined) and 0,35 per cent. Among these recipes there are some interesting examples of how the Indonesian-Chinese, in this context also described as *Indische Keuken,* has been adapted to the Dutch taste and eating culture. The adoption of the new term *Indische Keuken* or Indo-cuisine refers to the kitchen that developed in the Netherlands after the arrival of the migrants from the former Dutch East Indies. I provide here a deeper look at this new terminology when analyzing one recipes published in 2000, which clearly presents a brief history of this cuisine. I consider the *Indische Keuken* and the *Oosterse keuken* as both describing Indonesian cuisine, the former with a specific post-colonial trait, while the latter as a general term for Chinese and Indonesian cuisine. In June 1960, within the special thematic rubric of 'the tastier from each country' (*het lekkerste van ieder land*), the topic is Indonesian food, here described as *Indisch eten,* is introduces. In this special number, the author declares:

> "Actually, our country has two kitchens: the Dutch and Indonesian. Because, in which family it has not been eaten '*Indisch*' every once in a while? Exactly in summer, these flavors, born in the tropics, are excellent, and MARGRIET makes it very easy for you to prepare a spicy, exotic meal."[185]

This statement shows the recognition of the cuisine, originated from the ex-colon and then established in the Netherlands, to be an integral component in the Netherlands as part of the local kitchen. I believe that such assertion made in 1960, just ten years after the end of the Dutch colonial control, strongly demonstrate not just the cultural bond between the countries, but also the deep impact that the Indo-Dutch migrants had in the Netherlands also in terms of culinary encounters. Since these migrants arrived in such a massive number as the first 'foreign with a citizenship' community, the influences on many cultural aspects of the Dutch society has been enormous. In my opinion, among these elements in transformation, food and eating culture represent a main indicator of structural social change.

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[185] Unknown author. "Het lekkerste van ieder land". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (25 June 1960), '*Eigenlijk heeft ons land twee keuken: de Nederlandse en de Indische. Want in welk gezin wordt er niet eens in de zoveel tijd 'Indisch' gegeten? Juist 's zomers smaken deze, in de tropen geboren gerechten uitsteken en MARGRIET maakt het U al heel gemakkelijk om een pikante, exotische maaltijd te bereiden*'. 52-53

In the case of the Indonesian food, and also of the Moroccan later on, I found that the process of adaptation and assimilation of the foreign recipes started with the modification of the traits linked to Islamic eating rules. Hence in the recipes of the 1950s and 1960s, it was common for the columnist to suggest the replacement or the adding of pork meat. For instance, a recipe about kebab was published, in 1960, introducing this food as something typical from Arab and Muslim countries, with the generalized expression "from Morocco, through the Balkans and Persia, to Indonesia."[186] In the description of what Kebab consists of, it is in fact apparent the adaptation of the dish to the local taste, since the author, Marianne, suggests throwing in a combination of bacon and pork, to make the dish much tastier. She also explains that pork is definitely not an authentic ingredient in the preparation of kebab, since 'off course, those (the variations with pork) are not of Arabic origin: an Arab would rather starve, then eat a bite of pork.'[187] Likewise, in the recipe of *Sateh*, which is introduces as "*Sateh*, grilled pieces of meat on pins, is probably the most useful, and in any case the tastiest gift that the Arabs have given to the world…", the use of pork is encouraged in substitution of lamb, which is referred to as the most common meat used in Arabic and Muslim countries. In the same recipe, I deduce what I consider to be an example of Orientalist approach "In reality, *sateh* should be roasted over a charcoal fire, but where do we find in our civilized world charcoal fire?"[188] Such comment reveals the desire of portraying a stereotypical image of the Indonesian cooking tradition as belonging to backward and crude eating culture. I suppose that the image that the author wants to transmit has the function of legitimizing the changes to the original cooking instructions and ingredients, as they are made in order to prepare *Sateh* in a more 'civilized' way and with tastier Dutch ingredients.

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[186] Marianne. "Lekker is een stokje lang". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (16 January 1960) '*… vanaf Marokko, via de Balkan en Perzië, tot in Indonesië…*', 48-49

[187] '*In oosterse landen vindt men al talloze verschillende combinaties van vlees en groenten, en de westerse keuken heeft daar nog een en ander aan toegevoegd, zoals bijvoorbeeld de combinaties met spek en varkensvlees. Natuurlijk zijn die niet van Arabische oorsprong: een Arabier zou liever van de honger omkomen, dan een hapje varkensvlees eten*.' Ibid. 48

[188] Unknown author. "Het lekkerste van ieder land". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (25 June 1960) p.52-54 *'Sateh, stukjes vlees ann pennetjes geroosterd, is waarschijnlijk wel het nuttigste, en in ieder geval het smakelijkste geschenk, dat de Arabieren aan de wereld hebben gegeven. Overal waar de groene vlag met de Koran-spreuk heeft gewaaid, vanaf Noord-Afrika tot in Indonesië, kent men die sappige pikante, vleesblokjes-aan-pennetjes. Eigenlijk hóórt sateh te worden geroosterd boven een houtskoolvuur, maar waar vinden we in onze geciviliseerde wereld houtskoolvuur*?', 52

In chronological order, the following article in my research material was published in 1980 by Born, with the title 'Fifteen delicious dishes (without meat) for an extensive *rijsttafel*'.[189] Born introduces the recipes as a variation of the traditional *rijsttafel*, since the latter comprises meat based dishes. Regardless of this, she claims to be giving cooking instructions for an authentic vegetarian *rijsttafel,* since the recipes come from an Indonesian-Chinese woman, whose mother taught her this vegetarian version. The style of the article is different in comparison with the previous ones. The style is more didactic in the way the author guides the reader in the discovery of different ingredients which constitute a *rijsttafel*, such as *tofu, tempeh, santen, gado-gado* sauce*, emping, seroendeng, attar, laos, assem,* and *djinten*. In this way, the recipes are illustrated with their original name and the image of authenticity is preserved.

I claim that this represents the first important step in the adoption, instead of adaptation, of the Indonesian cuisine. This is due to the fact that the recipe *rijsttafel* is not merely displayed as Indonesian dish, but its preparations is portrayed in the true spirit of the Indonesian cooking tradition, with genuine ingredients.

In the Global shift period there is a total of 31 Indonesian, twenty Oosterse and four Moroccan recipes, which respectively represent the 7,97 and 5,14 per cent (13,11 per cent combined) and 1,03 per cent. In this phase, I have noted a sort of repetition in the dishes proposed for the Indonesian cuisine, which are namely *nasi goreng, saté speciaal, oosterse schotel, tjap tjoi, bami, bami goreng speciaal* and *Oosterse salade.* The recurrent feature of these recipes is that they can be prepared very quickly, for instance within a 12-minutes *(kant en klaar, snelklaar, 12 minuten recept*), which are features that are definitely part of the Dutch eating culture and have little to do with the authenticity of the *Indisch* kitchen.

An article of 1985 reflects interesting enough what I consider an attempt of bridging from the adaptation of one foreign dish through a process of 'Dutchification', to the adoption of the authentic version. The case comes from an advertisement made for Conimex, the leading brand of Asian food in the Netherlands, since 1930s, specialized in the sale of packed Indonesian

[189] Born Wina. "Vegetarische risttafel". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (11 Apri 1980). "*Vijftien heerlijke gerechtjes (zonder vlees) voor een uitgebreide rijsttafel*". 82-86, 83 Otterloo defines *rijsttafel* as a variety of dishes with meat and vegetables served with rice and which is a typical dish of the Indo-Dutch groups. In Otterloo,'Chinese and Indonesian restaurants', 158

products. In actuality, the brand's slogan is 'Conimex brings Oriental cuisine at home' (*Conimex brengt de Oosterse keuken bij u thuis*) and in the advertisement it is stated that:

> "*Nasi Goreng* is so popular in our country, that there is clear evidence of 'Dutchification' of the dish. Of course there is nothing wrong with that. But for the same amount of money and with certain conveniences, your *nasi* will have the genuine Oriental flavor. With the right recipe and the right products the simple and usual *Nasi* will become something special."[190]

Here I argue that this advertisement attempts to sell the authentic taste of Indonesia, and thus reveals the intention of playing with the nostalgic feeling of the colonial times that have gone by. This is apparent by the way Conimex designed its products, using a map of Indonesia on them, and having images of palm trees, tigers, old ships and spices.[191] Despite the commercial purposes of the notice, I consider the message within it of strong relevance as it indicates an initiative of willing to go beyond the 'Dutchification' of the food towards the acceptance of ethnic cooking.

For what concerns the recipes, in the Global Shift period, the culinary columns' authors portray, on one hand, what looks exactly like a very 'Dutchified' version of Indonesian dishes. On the other hand, they start, especially since 1990, to associate the adjective exotic, as well as authentic, to those *Indisch* recipes that have gone more in depth in the cuisine. At the same time, cooking instructions bear the original Indonesian names of the ingredients, first with the Dutch translations or explanations in brackets, and since 1995 even without the translation, as if they were really just become part of the common culinary dictionary. In 2000, in concomitance with the latest trend in the magazine, which consisted in publishing recipes and interviews of famous people, four Indonesian recipes were given by people with Indonesian background. What struck

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[190] Unknown author. "Conimex advertisement: Met deze produkten en een paar slimmigheidjes wordt uw Nasi Goreng heel speciaal". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (11 October 1985), 91 '*Met deze produkten en een paar slimmigheidjes wordt uw Nasi Goreng heel speciaal' , 'Nasi Goreng is in ons land zo populair, dat er duidelijk sprake is van enige 'verhollandsing' van het gerecht. Daar is natuurlijk niets op tegen. Maar voor hetzelfde geld en met een paar slimmigheidjes krijgt uw nasi de echte Oosterse smaak. Met het juiste recept en de juiste produkten wordt een gewone Nasi Goreng iets bijzonders.',* 91

[191] Hoving, Dibbits and Schrover (eds.), 'Waarom knoflook niet meer vies is', 107

me in this column was the brief note at the bottom entitled: *Indonesisch of Indisch*? The mere fact that such information was made clear demonstrates the desire of spreading a detailed knowledge of these variations in the cuisine. Apparently, Indonesian dishes are prepared according to traditional recipes from Indonesia, with original ingredients. Whereas, *Indisch* cuisine or Indonesian cuisine developed after the war in the Netherlands and has its origins largely in Java, since the majority of Indonesians, in the Dutch colonial times, were working on Java. Also, most Indonesians, who went to the Netherlands immediately before and after the departure of the Dutch came from Java.

Javanese dishes were adapted, because the typical spices and ingredients in the Netherlands were (almost) not for sale. There they sought alternatives and created then 'new' dishes. The *Indisch* cuisine is therefore a full kitchen, which is closely connected with the history of the Netherlands and Indonesia.[192]

For what concerns the case of the Moroccan cuisine in *Margriet*, my analysis has unfortunately revealed a very limited coverage of these dishes. As mentioned before, I have found a total of four columns and among them just two reserve special attention to this kitchen. In 1995, Peter Groeneveld in his column '*Peters kookschrift ...uit Marokko*' he makes an eager account of his recent holidays in Morocco, where he discovered new ingredients and dishes. In this piece, he focuses his attention on the recipes of Moroccan specialties like *Tajine, couscous, kefta,* herbs salads and mint thee. Despite Peter's enthusiastic introduction to Moroccan cuisine and his attempt in describing it, the recipes are obviously adapted to the Dutch taste, eating culture and availability of both ingredients and cooking utensils. For instance, in referring to the essential ingredients and how Moroccan cuisine owes its flavor especially to specific spices like coriander, mint, cumin, ginger and saffron, he adds that 'these are available in any well-stocked supermarket, as well as the quick-cooking couscous and canned chickpeas. Also, Chinese green tea can be purchased in most Asian supermarkets.[193] Another example is the way to prepare

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[192] Unknown author. "Gerechten met ingebakken heimwee". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (11 February 2000), 30-34, 34

[193] Peter Groeneveld. "Peters kookschrift… uit Marokko Gerechten". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (4 August 1995), '*Deze zijn bij elke ruim gesorteerde supermarkt verkrijgbaar, evenals de snelkook-couscous en kikkererwten in blik. Groene Chinese thee is te koop bij de meeste toko's*.' 51-53, 52

Tajine, which authentically and traditionally should be cooked in a ceramic bowl, "but you can also make it into a casserole dish!"[194]

The second important article about Moroccan cuisine has as a theme: recipes quick to prepare. Among one Italian and one Greek dish, there is the "*op z'n Marokkaans*: with orange, almonds, honey and dried grapes."[195] At the end of the recipe, the author introduces the concept of hospitality, which he states to be very important in Morocco. Therefore, he comments that there is always a lot of food that needs to be prepared and thus, can be found at the Moroccan table; a table that is portrayed as very colorful, with the different types of fruits and vegetables. He points out that stewing is one of the most common methods of food preparation. In Peters' account, the ingredients should be fresh, tasty and they should always look good. Couscous, lamb, dried fruit, nuts, honey, chickpeas, spices and vegetables play an important role in this kitchen.[196] The other two recipes, published in 1995, are the so-called exotic 'Moroccan meat dish pies (*Marokkanse gehaktschotel met fillodeeg*), in which instant couscous (*snelklaar couscous*) is used as main staple ingredient, and 'Stuffed apples with kebab' (*Gevulde appels met shoarma*), described as a very easy dish to be prepared in the microwave.

Nevertheless, the results of the *Margriet'*s culinary columns for the Moroccan case shows an extremely limited amount of recipes published, as they represent an almost irrelevant presence: five out of 747 columns taken under scrutiny. I believe that the outcomes of my analysis demonstrate the appropriation and adaptation of Moroccan recipes towards the Dutch taste for food, and surely they do not suggest an adoption of the dishes, conceptualized as acceptance of the Moroccan culinary authenticity and tradition. In spite of the insignificant number of recipes, this data demonstrates an extremely significant trend: the Moroccan cuisine is excluded from the culinary exchanged platform, which is the magazine. As I have argued, *Margriet* and the other media analyzed, represent here the mean thought which monitoring the changing food fashions and to what extent some eating cultures have been more successfully

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[194]'[…] *maar u kunt het ook in een braandpan maken*'. Ibid., 51

[195] Ibid.

[196] Colette Beyne. "Klaar in 3,4,5,6,7,8,9…". In: *Margriet: weekblad voor vrouwen en meisjes* (10 March 2000), 64-66, 66

adapted and adopted than others. As a result, the two case studies show the different way in which migrant foodways make their way into the mainstream cuisine.

In the case of the Indonesian food, the successful adaptation, and subsequent adoption of authentic dishes, illustrate a case of gastronomic acceptance that can represent the integration of the migrant community into mainstream culture. In this case, the cause for this development can be linked to different factors. First of all, the feeling of nostalgia associated to Chinese and Indonesian food due to the colonial past. Even if, I do not consider this a consistent rule which can be applied to all the cuisines of post-colonial communities, as for instance the Surinamese is not as popular as Indonesian. Therefore, I view the popularity of the Indonesian food as a consequence of the fact that it was the first exotic cuisine in the Netherlands and also because Chinese and Indonesian eating houses were among the first places where Dutch people started to eat out. In this way, the intensity and the duration of the gastronomic contact has been longer than, for example, the Moroccans. Moreover, I think that the fact that the first migrants who arrived to the Netherlands came with the goal of settling down and this assimilation was facilitated by the country's institutions, contributed to the portrayal of a migrant community whose culture, hence eating habits too, was easier to integrate. As a result, the Indonesian food in the Netherlands embodies a low boundary drawing capacity since it found a privileged position in the Dutch cuisine, becoming actually a constituent part of it, for which also the *Groot Indonesisch Kookboek* gives evidence.

On the other hand, I believe the case of Moroccan eating culture shows the high level of boundary drawing capacity of food and problematization in both the appropriation and adoption of their foodways. The factor that I consider most crucial here has to do with the religious practices connected to food and Islam, as eating patterns of Moroccans are heavily influences by specific religious and cultural rules that regulate the intake of food.[197] In fact, it has been proved that the Dutch showed resistance to the ritual treatment of slaughter animals and to the place of slaughter, which I believe have consequences on the perception of these migrants and

[197] Bijman Carina. And Peeters Sjerty, *De voeding van Turken and Marokkanen in Nederlands: de voedingsgewoonten van Turken en Marokkanen, de bereidingswijze van gerechten en adviezen voor het geven van voedingsvoorlichting*, Bureau Voorlichting Gezondheid Buitenlanders, Voorlichtingsbureau voor de Voeding (Den Haag 1990), 5

contributed to the moral panic around Islam and Moroccans in the Netherlands.[198] Moreover, the fact that 'Moroccans experience a bigger influence of Islam on their way of eating, if compared to Turks' had an influence on the image that the Dutch have of them.[199] The validity of this statement can also be proved by the steady presence of Turkish cuisine in *Margriet*, in contrast with the lack of Moroccan recipes. I found that from the 1965 until 1995 between one and five Turkish recipes a year were published, for a total of seventeen culinary columns (see Table 10 and 11 for details). Moreover, for the Turkish case, as Born's asserted, already at the end of 1960s, some very enterprising Turks had understood what the Dutchman liked and they tried to provide them with restaurants and food which could suit their taste.[200] Furthermore, I believe that not even the temporary character of the arrival of the first Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands plays a decisive aspect in the problematization of their foodways, since the exemplary case of Italian food, as well as Spanish and Greek, would actually suggest the contrary.

In conclusion, I argue that my analysis of *Margriet* serves as a litmus test for the acceptance or not of a migrant community through food. For I believe that there is a correlation between the degree of representation of a specific migrant eating culture and the degree of the identification integration of the Dutch towards that migrant community. By the same token, I regard the lack of coverage of a migrant cuisine as a reflection of the social and cultural exclusion of the community. At the same time, I recognize that it could also be misleading to judge the integration of one ethnic group in the native culture just according to their appetite. Nevertheless, I believe that food and eating habits are a good indicators of wider social changes and that the appetite for multi-ethnic eating is one step forward to accepting and understanding the meaning of diversity.[201] In fact, I agree with what van Otterloo argued, as "perhaps the acceptance of foreign foods means a step towards more social equality between formerly hierarchically ordered collectivities."[202]

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[198] Otterloo, 'Foreign immigrants', 135

[199] Bijman, and Sjerty, *De voeding van Turken and Marokkanen in Nederlands,* 7

[200] Born, *25 jaar,* 28

[201] Abarca, 'Authentic or not, it's original', 6-7

[202] Otterloo, 'Chinese and Indonesian restaurants', 154

Conclusion

This paper combines issues of integration and cultural difference together in examining representations of food in the popular Dutch women's magazine *Margriet,* during a period when the dominant culture's eating habits changed rapidly, namely since the 1950s. As in the case of magazines, appropriation and adaptation of foreign dishes are the main theme of representations. These representations rarely illustrate anything about the food practices of ethnic communities themselves, if not just a small mention of how the dishes are prepared and consumed in the country of origin. The bulk of recipes analyzed in fact reproduce stereotypes of those communities. Nevertheless, it is also true that most of the time they tell what members of the host culture actually do in response to changing food fashions due to foreign influences, which can vary from adaptation to local Dutch taste, to adoption of the ethnic dish highlighting its culinary authenticity. Clearly, an examination of recipes and food related articles brings into focus the domestic rather than the restaurant kitchen as a site of the turn to ethnic foods. As a study of representations and changes in the Dutch eating habits, the relationship between food and cultural identity is a particularly dense site of inquiry, for "it can well be argued that a nation's diet maps colonialism and migration, trade and exploration, cultural exchange and boundary marking[…]".[203]

The outcomes of my investigation confirm that studies regarding the eating culture of migrants in a host society show that the eating habits of people, being them foreigners or nationals, are among the attitudes and behavior patterns which are retained for the longest time when there is a change in life circumstances. The main reason is due to the fact that food habits are connected with strong feelings of identity and they shape social group dynamics. As a matter of fact, common methods of food selection, preparation and consumption allow the inclusion of some people, and as consequence the exclusion of others. Nevertheless, over a long period, changes in eating habits occur, in some case more rapidly then in others.[204]

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[203] Sheridan, 'Eating the Other', 319

[204] Ibid.

Since the 1950s, with the widening of the social use of food, specific aspects of the Dutch eating culture and lifestyle have gone through a change in function. Industrialization, growth of prosperity, eating out, commercialization, rise in ethnic cooking styles, cookbooks, media attention, international market supply, and nostalgic vacation memories, all played a role in the change of Dutch taste for food. In the Netherlands, the popularizing of ethnic foods began with selling those foods outside in public sphere, in ethnic shops, *tokos*, market, supermarkets and at the the same time with the establishment of eating houses and restaurants. As in the case of Indonesian foodways, over time, the commercial spaces for the exchange and consumption of ethnic food have to some extent both standardized and normalized ethnic foods into the everyday norm. As a result, people start to eat the Indonesian cuisine also at home with the rest of the family.

The case of the Moroccan foodways demonstrates instead that not all cuisines are easily and successfully adapted and integrated into the native eating culture. In fact, according to the result of my analysis, Moroccan eating culture from the 1960s until now has not been able yet to occupy a special place at the Dutch table. Apparently, Moroccan food and its association with the religious practices of Islam constitute a powerful deterrent for its portrayal in the magazine at least. I claim that this trend is a consequence of the last decades` anti-Islam climate and populist approach of the Dutch government, which started to take shape in the 1990s and reached its climax with the assassination of Pim Fortuyn and the rise of the figure of Geert Wilders.

In answering my research questions, I argue that the impact of foreign cuisine on the Dutch eating culture has been remarkable and meaningful, with a historical, social and cultural progress that has a lot to do with societal changes. Besides, I claim that the growing presence and developments of foreign eating cultures contribute in fact to the blurring of ethnic boundaries not only at the kitchen table, but also in the everyday encounters among communities. This is why I consider extremely positive the increasing willingness of Dutch people to try new ethnic foods, which has the potential of creating acceptance of ethnic minorities into mainstream society, as well as the creation of economic enclaves for immigrants who establish and work in ethnic restaurants. The transformation from exotic to familiar, and from customized to authentic, offers

a deeper, more integrated level of experiencing the foreign, because it brings different cultures together using sensory faculties.

In conclusion, I believe that my analysis provides new insights in the field of study of the the relationship between migrants and food practices from a socio-historical perspective, for it provides a detailed and thorough quantitative and qualitative research of trends of appropriation of culinary knowledge and adoption of culinary authenticity. Albeit, there is still much space for investigation in this field and I suggest that culinary historians should take advantage of the case of the Netherlands since it provides food for thought for different aspects of culinary multiculturalism.

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