Hierarchical positioning of postcolonial and post-socialist migrants.[1]
Indonesian and Hungarian immigrants in the Netherlands

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Abstract

The coloniality as a base of the capitalist world system has established hierarchical categorization of people. It emphasizes the superiority of the dominant western values and subordinates others. This colonial system of inferiorized otherness is, however, embraced not only by the mainstream of West-European society but even by the subordinated immigrants. The study presents narrative positioning of postcolonial (Indonesian) and post-socialist (Hungarian) immigrants, living in the Netherlands, on this hierarchy. How they perceive and represents their position, their relation to the host society, to their sending country, and to the immigrant communities in a multiethnic society. The used data where gained by narrative-biographical interviews conducted in the native language of the interviewees. The findings suggest that the position of the country of origin in the world system hierarchy has a big impact on immigrants, how they perceive the host society due to the encountered coloniality of power, hereby their possibilities for integration; on their perception of the sending country weather they consider themselves as part of it or they perceive it as backward and define themselves in contrast to it. The hierarchical position of origin also affects the relation between immigrant groups: how far they are from the top of the slope determines the others' attitudes toward them, which reproduces the global hierarchy in their micro environment.

Introduction

The Western core states of the European Union have faced high immigration flows of colonial/postcolonial – moving from the former colonies – and post-socialist migrants – moving from the former state socialist countries. These host countries could be approached as separate entities with regard to their colonial past, but also as a unified block concerning their economic and political activities especially after the establishment of such supranational organizations and alliances (Böröcz2009) such as the NATO and the EU or its predecessor the European Coal and Steel Community. Therefore, recent migration trends should be analyzed from the perspective of the EU as a supranational organization, but the historical roots should be approached at the state level. In this study the state level focus is on the immigrant trends in the Netherlands.

The postcolonial migration is represented by the Indonesian immigration trends in the Netherlands, which was not only the largest colony of the Netherlands but also the first who declared its independence in1945, at the beginning of the observed post-World War II period. To date, Indonesians constitute one of largest ethnic group in the Netherlands.

The post-socialist states are represented by Hungary, from which significant labor migration began in the second half of1950s which created a migration network base in the Netherlands. The migration was renewed during the last decade of state socialism, in the1980s (Melegh2013). In2004, Hungary was admitted to EU, however, the Netherlands opened its borders for the free movement of workers from A8 countries[2] only in2007 as a result of the international fear from the huge amount of immigrant workers. Therefore the inflow of Hungarian migrants into the Netherlands started grow progressively after this date similarly with other Central and East European immigration flows, except Poland (van Ostaijen et al.2014).

Historical roots

In order to understand postcolonial and post-socialist migration trends they should be put into a common comparative context and a proper interpretational framework where their divergent trends have a common ground. The macro level of neoclassical migration theory (Massey et al.1993) offers an argumentative interpretation with the pull factors of the host country such as labor demand, and the push factors of the sending country like the oversupply of labor force or a high unemployment rate. Although this is a fruitful approach, we should go beyond it. For this purpose the world-system theory offers a beneficial toolkit.

One of the main concept which refutes the neoclassical economic theory of the pure push and pull factors of migration, in macro level, is the Core-periphery Influence approach which says that "the emergence of regular labor outflows of stable size and known destination depends largely on the prior expansion of stronger nation-states into peripheral sending areas. The social, economic, and cultural institutions of the sending areas are then remolded until migration to the hegemonic center emerges as a plausible option" (Portes1995:21). Beside these historical contacts initiated migration the author recognizes the possibility of spontaneous migration as a result of increasing integration of peripheral societies into the global economy, and their

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[2] The A8 countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia) are a group of the 10 countries that joined the European Union during its2004 enlargement. They are commonly grouped together separately from the other two states that joined in2004, Cyprus and Malta, because of their relatively lower per capita income levels in comparison to the EU average.

populations' growing awareness of opportunities abroad. This spontaneous migration could be facilitated by the normative consumption expectation imported from advanced countries, and the cross national ties which make easier to seek its solution abroad.

Portes and Böröcz (1989) argue that the inchoation of migration in most of the cases requires former contact between the sending and receiving countries, a prior penetration of the host country which has had three historical forms 1) Physical coercion such as conquest or salve trade, 2) Economic inducement, and 3) Transformation of cultural patterns.

The main argument of the paper concerning the historical-structural roots of migration is that the collapse of state socialist system had similar implications on migration than the emergence of market capitalism in the newly formed postcolonial states due to the similar socio-economic transformations which decreased the importance of the previously dominant economic sectors, mainly the agricultural sector, and changed the employment structure of the country. These transformations in both cases facilitated the emigration from the given country.

In the case of postcolonial migration, the colonizer empire penetrated and destroyed the colonies' economic and social structure, which potentiated migration flows from the colonies to the centrum of the empire, not only after decolonization but also previously, during the colonial system.

In the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), in 1937 right before the World War II and the decolonization, the 56% of the total (1261 billion $) FDI was invested into the agriculture (19% to mining, and 12% to service) (Lindblad 1998) which resulted increase of capital-intensity in the sector. However, in the early post-independence years, Indonesia underwent a "structural retrogression" which meant that the share of labor-intensive and traditional sectors are increased from 68% to 76% (Booth 1998). By 1950, right after the declaration of sovereignty, national income in Indonesia was clearly below the level of 1940 (Lindblad 2006)

During the period 1949-1957 was little economic growth. However, in 1958-1965, growth rates decreased, largely due to political instability and inappropriate economic policy measures. This period was characterized by power struggles between the president, the army, the communist party and other political groups. Exchange rate problems and absence of foreign capital had negative effect on economic development, after the government had eliminated all foreign economic control in the private sector in 1957/58 (Touwen 2008)

In the case of state socialism in Hungary, the Dual dependency theory (e.g. Böröcz 1992) points out that even during the state socialism, the satellite countries of USSR had not only connections but dependencies from the capitalist Western countries. On the one hand, they were part of the Soviet empire which meant political and military dependency from Moscow. On the other hand, due to the not entire separation from the capitalist world-system, the new state-socialist countries remained dependent economically on the capitalist core states.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the elimination of the dual dependency of post-socialist states, new horizons were opened for the (re)integration of post-socialist countries into the capitalist world economy.

As Böröcz (2012) demonstrates that the exchange between the EU and Hungary was unequal by the highly concentrated foreign trade partnerships, the so-called "immiserizing economic growth". This means that the export and import directed to and from the EU were

much more important to Hungary[3]. This tendency started even before Hungary's EU accession which affirms that Hungary was already part of the EU's geopolitical-economic sphere of influence before its accession. Thus the external trade dependency has been strong from the Western states of EU by the high concentration of export relationships.

These above mentioned political economic transformation implied changes in the employment structure by the decline of agriculture and industry which had significant impact on the emigration (Melegh2013). (For more details on immigration trends and policies in the Netherlands see my Background study[4])

This economic (re)integration into the capitalist world economy had enormous impact not only on the migration inducements but also on the people's the perception of cognitive developmental hierarchies.

Cognitive hierarchies

As Böröcz (2001) pointed out, one of the main premises of every empire is the coloniality which is "cognitive mapping of the empire's populations, creating a fixed system inferiorized otherness", id est. categorize the population into a cognitive hierarchical system.

In this chapter the organizing principle of these hierarchies are presented in reference to the hierarchical distribution of power, control of labor (Quijano and Wallerstein1992, Quijano2000), development (Melegh2012, Thornton2012) and production of knowledge (Mignolo1998,2000), how these constitute a civilizational slope (Melegh2006).

Besides the economic prosperity resulted by geographical expansion of Europe in the 16th century, during the discoveries, the imaginary[5] map of Europe about the outside world was also expanded. Before the expansion the geographical boundaries of Europe coincided with the imaginary boundaries of humanity. By the new explorations and increasing intensity of connections with inhabitants of these new territories, their inhabitants were perceived as savages or cannibals. In the early period of colonization – the Spanish-Portuguese expansion – the base of differentiation was Christianity (Mignolo1998). Who belonged to St. Peter's empire had various rights but the others were often not even considered as human beings by some.

In the period of British and French colonization, the new boundary of the mental map became the 'civilization' brought by the Enlightenment. The new question was no longer whether the inhabitants of colonized territories are humans but how far they are from the present and civilized stage of humanity. This new distinction of border between superior and inferior meant a new construction of imaginary maps which relocated peoples and cultures on a single scale, rather in time than in space. The discourse of the civilizing mission had two sides: one for nation-building through strengthened togetherness of the 'civilized' nation, and the other for colonial expansion through the mission of spreading the 'civilization' among the 'primitives'.

Modernization theory brought a new distinction by 'development' or 'modernity'. This differentiation was born during the Cold War, which indicates one of the divisions of the system: the 'First World' which is technologically advanced and free of ideological constraints; the 'Second World' which is technologically advanced but encumbered by an ideological elite; and

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[3] Böröcz (2012) estimates that the Hungarian-EU trade is 17.8-42.0 times more important to Hungary than to the EU.

[4] http://media.wix.com/ugd/2c5f6b_7d0fd0cac4a1430d9f7a2778d3882dc3.pdf

[5] Following Mignolo (2000), 'imaginary' is meant Glissant's term which "is all the ways a culture has of perceiving and conceiving of the world"

the 'Third World' which is "traditionally, economically, and technologically underdeveloped, with a traditional mentality obscuring the possibility of utilitarian and scientific thinking" (Mignolo1998:47).

Coloniality, in this sense, is a creation of a set of states linked together within an interstate system in hierarchical layers. At the very bottom of the system were the formal colonies, but even when formal colonial status would end, coloniality would not. It is constituted in forms of socio-cultural hierarchies of Europeans and non-Europeans. This is called coloniality of power, a "social classification of the world's population around the idea of race, a mental construction that expresses the basic experience of colonial domination and pervades the more important dimensions of global power" (Quijano2000:553).

The idea of newness also became part of the construction of the multiple layers of imaginary maps. It is a derivative of the faith in science which is a pillar of modernity. Whatever was 'new' and more 'modern' was better; and everything was always defined as new. This idea brought the above mentioned developmental distinction of the world and the concept of modernity which is an exclusive category, restricted to Europe – more strictly to Western Europe – and the modernization of non-European populations is, therefore, Europeanization (Quijano2000). This exclusive modernity is embodied in the production of knowledge because, accordingly, only the 'western' knowledge is valid and useable, the subjugated –'naive'– knowledges are located down on the hierarchy (Mignolo2000), which order again preserves the European superiority.

As Mignolo highlights "the old ideas and prejudices did not vanish: they survive in the present, recast a new vocabulary" (Mignolo1998:37) Which means that these various classifications of imaginary maps coexist simultaneously in the mind of people, independent of the position of the world system they are in, as well as, of other dominant distinctions (such as religion, 'civilization', race, 'development' or 'modernity').

These cognitive formations could be interpreted in the discourse of East-West civilizational slope (Melegh2006) which represents a hierarchical categorization – rooted in the colonial Eurocentric tradition – where the "western" pole represents civilization, democracy, rationality, and even "true Europe". While the "eastern" pole of the slope symbolizes irrationality, "barbarism", lower quality, and consequently is the negative pole. This dichotomy could be considered as the cognitive hierarchy of economic world system which is embedded in the ideological framework of the universalist idea of a single "civilization". This universalist binary counter concept appears in the public discourse, but also in individuals' self-designation and self-identification as a collective identity. The non-dominant – i.e. non-western European – societies locate themselves somewhere in the middle, or even below, of the slope which means that they verify the hegemony of "western" states in the field of economy as well as in cultural and civilizational sense. This civilizational slope also means the "colonization of consciousness" which is supported not only from the hegemonic western pole, but also by the local elites who hereby receive a higher status and even their legitimation by a missionary role that their duty should be to revive their societies.

As a competitive (self-)identification, the East-West civilizational slope means that people on the middle range of the slope – i.e. semi-periphery – categorize themselves as lower quality than the hegemonic western, "civilized" people, but as part of the hierarchy the same people consider themselves in a higher position than the inhabitants of the periphery of the world system.

These mental maps are going to be analyzed concerning a) the host society, b) the sending society, c) the other immigrant groups, and d) their own immigrant community.

Method

The narrative-biographic interview method offers a toolkit to receive information about the interviewee's life history (i.e. the chronological biography) and life story (i.e. the presented biographical experience). As Rosenthal highlights it the „narratives of experienced events refer both to the current life and to the past experience. Just as the past is constituted out of the present and the anticipated future, so the present arises out of the past and the future. In this way biographical narratives provide information on the narrator's present as well as about his/her past and perspectives for the future" (Rosenthal2004:50).

On the basis of reconstruction of individual cases the researcher is able to construct development types which indicate the rules of the genetic process and explanation by generalization and contrastive comparison between life history and life story (Rosenthal2004). This allows to extend the findings from individual cases into more general and more theoretical.

This method provides data which cannot be produced in other forms of interviewing for three reasons: First, the narrative takes on some independence during its recounting. Second, people are able to present much more of their lives than what they have integrated in their theories of themselves. Third, "in the retrospective narrative of experiences, events in the life history (whether actions or natural phenomena) are reported on principle in the way they were experienced by the narrator as actor" (Flick2009:180). Therefore, „narrative expression" uncover the conscious and unconscious cultural, societal and individual assumptions and processes, from both psychodinamic and socio-biographic approaches (Wengraf2004).

Therefore, one of the main benefit of narrative-biographic interpretive method that it gives the interviewee maximum freedom to construct his/her story and to express his/her perceptions independently from the expectation of the researcher (Melegh2006).

The generative narrative question was the following:

The interview has two parts:
First, I would like that you tell me your life story. I will not interrupt you, only write some notes
*   into my notebook.*
Then, I would ask questions about topics which were interesting or missing.
I would like to record the interview, if you allow me. Howsoever, I guarantee full anonymity and
*   discretion.*
This research is about the Indonesian/Hungarian migration to the Netherlands.
I am interested about all of your experience, remembrance and memory, everything what you
*   find important or meaningful.*
Please, tell me your life story.

Limitation of the method

The limits of the method based on the issue of the interview in each case, as Hermanns point out, "It is always only 'the story of that can be narrated, not a state or an always recurring routine" (Hermanns1995 cited by Flick2009:184). Accordingly, before applying the method the question should be arisen, "whether narratives are appropriate as the only approach to the

research question and the potential interviewees, and whether and with which other sorts of data they should be combined". (Flick2009)

The main limitation of the analysis is the possible inference from narrative to factual events in life histories. However, it is usually overestimated. The other problem is the degree to which analyses stick to individual cases. The time and effort spent analyzing individual cases restricts studies from going beyond the reconstruction and comparison of a few cases. (Flick2009)

Sample

Twenty-one biographical-interpretative interview were conducted by the author[6], thirteen (9 female, 4 male) with Hungarian immigrants (Hu), and eight (2 female, 6 male) with Indonesian persons (Ind) living in the Netherlands. The interviewees were from various socio-economic background in reference to the demographic characteristics of the given group, by occupation among the interviewees were unemployed (Hu001, Hu006), skilled (Hu004, Ind003, Ind005, Ind007, Ind008) and unskilled workers (Hu003, Hu007, Hu011, Hu12), managers (Hu002, Hu005, Hu009), housewives (Hu010, Hu013) university (Hu008, Ind001, Ind004) and PhD students (Ind002), and intellectuals (Ind006).

Both the Indonesian and Hungarian interviews were conducted in the native language of the interviewees[7] to let them use their own terms and categories.

Narrative positioning

The following part investigates immigrants' perception of the hierarchic civilization slope where three major positions are distinguished – toward the host country, the sending country, and in-between, the immigrant ethnic groups.

The logic of narrative patterns, how they define themselves to formulate social identity is that one should distinguish the "Others" who are different. The construction of narrative biographies is not linear in time, however, it starts from the personal roots. In this specific case when the narrative biography focuses on migration, these roots could vary from the immediate pre-migration events that had a direct effect on the migration inducement, till the family background that had had a rather indirect impact on migration. Howsoever, it starts in the country of origin; hence the initial opposition is between the sending and the target country in a macro structure deepened into the level of personal experiences (Table 1). Then the interviewees define their own ethnic groups in contrast with other immigrant groups living in the host country (Table 2). Finally, the self is differentiated from the others of the own immigrant community who „seem like him/her" in the eye of the main society – from the perspective of the West.

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[6] In biographical-interpretative interviews the interviewer has a big impact on the narrator and the narration. The interviews of this study were conducted by the author who is a white, male, Hungarian. However, which may helped the Indonesian interviewees is that they had the possibility to use their native language and the author know well the country, he lived there for two years, therefore the interviewees did not have to introduce the places, their culture, they could remark those aspects only which were important for them, for their migration story.

[7] Except those cases when the interviewee changed the language of the interview wholly or partly.

Table 1	Host Society						Country of origin			
	Positive			Negative			Positive		Negative	
Interviewees*	Better political and economic condition	Dutch people are better quality	Dutch people like us	Cultural differences	Unsatisfying relation with the main society	Being stigmatized due to the origin	More opportunity	Larger Social Networks - Emotional linkages	Political, economic devaluation	Backwardness in mentality, culture, and qualification
Hu001					x				x	x
Hu002	x	x								
Hu003	x									
Hu004		x								x
Hu005	x				x	x				
Hu006				x	x	x		x		
Hu007									x	
Hu008	x	x								
Hu009									x	
Hu010					x		x	x		
Hu011					x	x		x		x
Hu012	x				x			x	x	
Hu013					x				x	
Ind001		x		x			x	x		x
Ind002		x	x	x						x
Ind003					x	x			x	
Ind004	x							x		
Ind005				x	x		x	x		
Ind006										x
Ind007	x								x	x
Ind008	x		x	x	x	x			x	

*Hu: Hungarian interviewee; Ind: Indonesian interviewee

Perception of the host country

The narratives about the host country in most cases also refer to the other pole, to the country of origin which represents its opposite; even in case it is not included directly in the narrative, because it is always in a comparative perspective.

The positive aspects of the host country are, first of all, its economic prosperity and political structure. These values, on the one hand, represent the legitimacy of the migrational decision on the cognitive, individual level. However, these are the dominant values of western modernity and the civilizational discourse, such as democracy, human rights and freedom of choice – tolerance, coupled with the economic base of the hierarchy of capitalist world system, such as market economic prosperity. This correspondence of personal legitimacy and western values show that these persons are not only aware of the discourse but also embraced it as part of their self-representation.

> (1) "I'm glad that I have come to the Netherlands, because it is a developed country with a high GDP and a high standard of living. So it is not so bad being here. Here is cleanness, calmness, the life is predictable" (Hu005 *Original language: Hungarian*)
>
> (2) "Everything is working better, for instance democracy, everyday life, bureaucracy, the people are more open minded, more nice, ***they speak languages, **no suspicious people on the street." (Hu12 *Original language: Hungarian*)
>
> (3) "People can express -like- whatever they want to do, without really afraid of being punished or judged by other people, even a strange habit or strange like* how you dressed or something like that. *** There are many things that people can just simply do without being afraid of being judged or commented by other people." (Ind03 *Original language: English*)

The second type of positive narratives about the host society is that its members are of a better quality. Here is a big difference between the post-socialist and postcolonial narratives, since the Hungarian immigrants appreciate the Dutch people's mentality and behavior, and they contrast it with the society of origin, but represent themselves as closer in these values to the host society. Meanwhile, the Indonesian migrants present these contrasts not only with the sending country but even with themselves, who still belong to their country of origin. This is the process of hidden self-inferiorization, i.e. they consider themselves as less valuable and the white westerners as superior, which has effect on their perceived inferiorization by the main society.

> (4) "I think the Dutch people - do you know mandiri [*Indonesian: self-sufficient*]? Mandiri is, you can do anything by yourself. I think that is Dutch typically […] they can do it by themselves. Indonesian people usually want to ask somebody to help them. **** Dutch people can do anything." (In001 *Original language: Indonesian and English*)

The same hidden self-inferiorization is presented in the narrative that the members of host society like them because of their origin. This narrative appears only in postcolonial interviews and all the times is referring to the colonial past.

> (5) "Many Dutch like Indonesians because *maybe, we had [common] history in the past. Thus we have stories* like* before work we can chat like, "Oh where are you from?" "From Indonesia" We can easily talk. "My grandfather had been in Indonesia" * So, like this." (Ind008 *Original language: Indonesian*)

The negative perception of host society is concerned with three overlapping narratives about cultural differences, unsatisfying relationship with the Dutch people, and the feeling of being stigmatized.

The problem of cultural differences is rather related to the issue of immigrant's integration (Berry1997, Berry at al.1987), however as it is perceived by the immigrants, it presents the base of inferiorization in a colonial manner (Quijano2000). The cultural differences make perceptible one's position on the civilizational slope. The farther persons are from the western top, the more visibly different is their culture, and this distance appears not only in their customs but also in their value system, therefore they are less likely to accomplish the "civilizational requirements" of the West. From this hierarchical perspective it is not surprising that these narratives appear only in the postcolonial interviews (except one Hungarian-Roma person whose case special even in the sending country where this ethnic minority is the most discriminated). The experienced cultural differences are concerned with the different daily routine, cuisine, transportation, but particularly for Muslim Indonesians, with the dress code of women, and the difficulties of praying five times in a workday.

Nevertheless, in an indirect and hidden way, this cultural difference is also manifested in the post-socialist narratives. The narratives of non-satisfactory relationship with the local Dutch people refer to some barrier between the immigrants and the main society in a comparative perspective with the country of origin, which contains certain emotional aspects such as homesickness and/or loneliness. The interpretation of this varies from the general cultural differences to the very specific, for instance, link with the "protestant coldness" of Dutch people (see 7th quotation).

(6) Dutch are very close-, I mean, not closed but private. So sometimes the neighbors don't know each other. Maybe this is the life in Europe, whereas if you are in Indonesia, you know your neighbors, like this, right? You know neighbors like friends. From many kilometers we know each other. But here not that, neighbors living close don't even know each other (Ind008 *Original language: Indonesian*)

(7) He [ex-boyfriend] was from a Calvinist family. So he-* his parents were quite old, he was the sixth, the last child. * And somehow this * this protestant coldness * so I felt in his family. And when I came here and * for me, obviously, the first relation was with his family, and some-* somehow I felt it so cold and impersonal. (Hu013 *Original language: Hungarian*)

The weather and loneliness have a specific interpretation in Indonesian narratives, because during the 'cold season' they cannot leave the house where they feel lonely, while in Indonesia they can go out whenever they wish. These narratives show that the climatic adaptation plays an important role because it was mentioned even by people who live in the Netherlands for more than twenty years (Ind008). Howsoever, this could be also an unconscious response to the cognitive dissonance (Festinger1962) that they had lived highly embedded in traditionally collectivist society, where one of the main values was the community itself, than, after the migration, these people could not integrate into a rather individualistic society. By this, these narratives contain a level of homesickness and desire for return.

(8) "I don't have friends, the life here is monotone, very monotone. Everybody is living inside the house. Like that. Different from Indonesia. Lonely* There every time you can go out, every time if I want to meet I can hang out wherever, like that. Here cannot. Everything is by appointment […] cold weather starts and all of the Dutch people spend every day 15-20 hours in the house. We spend all the time in the house* different from the place where I'm from. There everybody can hang out 24 hours. Yes. Even don't go home every day." (Ind005 *Original language: Indonesian*)

Nevertheless, in some cases, more system-critical narratives could be found concerning the western knowledge production that excludes other inputs outside of the system. The talent could not stand alone, it should be proved by certificates in this highly hierarchic and bureaucratic system.

(9) "Although in Indonesia diploma is not required for job, but you might buy one, might buy for cheap, if somebody doesn't have skill. But if we have skill, we have nominal [skill], it's not risky. Here if we have skills, but without diploma, it has no result. All of us know that the Netherland is "Paper Land". Yes, yes, because first and foremost the paper [certificates] and people acknowledge that. Without that we don't have anything. (Ind005 *Original language: Indonesian*)

This perception contradicts with the narrative of a Hungarian man who finished even his high school studies in the Netherlands and is recently doing his MA in the University of Amsterdam. He said:

(10) "Doesn't matter what kind of certificates you have, and for what kind of regulations you correspond, and the like, but what you want. And if you want something and work for it, than you can do it. * This is what I like here." (Hu008 *Original language: Hungarian*)

However, this is only seemingly a contradiction. If their positions on the East-West slope are taken into consideration, the different perception of the system is already comprehensible from the perspective of the coloniality of power which appears even in the policy level. A white, EU citizen could more easily overcome the official matters, they have more opportunity especially if they are well-integrated and embedded, such as this Hungarian interviewee is. Meanwhile, for a non-white, third country citizen the system seems to be more impenetrable, they have to prove their skills with diplomas or certificates because they and their knowledge are perceived as less trustable which could be interpreted as the result of imaginary hierarchy of the world system, i.e. they are coming from a developing country where the educational system has lower quality, therefore they should verify their abilities.

The colonial point of view is also directly presented in the narratives about the perception of local people on the immigrants who are distinguished by their origin. The post-socialist immigrants are stigmatized as Eastern-Europeans who are less educated, backward, and even dangerous. They are frequently associated with low prestigious jobs. Meanwhile the postcolonial immigrants, whose difference is more visible by their physical appearance, are stigmatized in an even more dehumanized way, even referring to them as "dark colored animals".

(11) "Many times I feel that the Dutch **I don't know how to explain,* are suspicious towards the East-European nations. I feel this often. Well* let's say that I met boys […] so when I tell them I'm East-European, or well I'm Hungarian, than I can see that* there is prejudice against us. For them we're a little backward, dangerous people* how I experienced." (Hu005 *Original language: Hungarian*)

(12) "They [Dutch] want to be on the top, many of them rich - like this. Yes, because they are bule [Indonesian: term for white-skinned foreign] *like this. So, whatever, they definitely on the top. They want* many of them want to be on the top. They* they think that we should be below, we already used to it as a tradition. You also know how is bule in Indonesia ** praised like* like Raja [Indo: king] Here is the same as regards work* different level. […] We are like black duck. Do you know black duck?** It's a barrier" (Ind008 *Original language: Indonesian*)

Moreover, a clear picture of this hierarchic positioning evolves in the 12th quotation which presents the inferiorization of immigrants, and also the pursuit of superiority of the members of host society. This is coupled with self-colonizational (Kiossev1995) tendency coming from the country of origin which is not only a positive discrimination of white-skinned foreign but even the recognition of their 'better quality'. This could be one of the reasons why postcolonial immigrants perceive themselves as different from the 'valuable' member of host society and rather similar to the citizens of their inferior country of origin.

However, only two Indonesian interviewees mentioned that faced stigmatization which might have several interpretations. On the one hand, it could be the result of the origin of the interviewer (white, male, European), because that could bias their narratives – they do not want to complain about their current situation – which would be different if it is conducted by a fellow ethnic interviewer. On the other hand, it may mean that they accept this stigmatization because they have embraced the dominant civilizational discourse, thus they do not consider it as a stigma. Or, as a third possibility, like a few postcolonial migrants mentioned, the Dutch indeed

have a positive attitude toward Indonesians as a part of their 'Colonial responsibility' (Oostindie2008) and they really do not faced stigmatization.

Sending country

The other side of the coin is the sending country where they are not stigmatized as inferior, where they are not lonely, and even the weather is better. One of the positive narratives about the sending country is the wider horizon of opportunities. This pattern appears in only one post-socialist narrative, in a special case of a housewife who migrated to the Netherlands when her first child was born from a Dutch father. Previously she had a good career in Hungary, and is still working part-time for her Hungarian employer. From this perspective, her horizon of labor market opportunities is restricted to the sending country and she is satisfied with this. However, in postcolonial interviews this narrative has a different reading. For them it is more in comparative perspective with the experienced disadvantages of the host society, where they faced the stigmatization of coloniality of power, a highly bureaucratized state apparatus, and the like. In contrast, in Indonesia they can use their informal networks to gain certain goals and where still exists the "system of trust" (contrary with the "Dutch Paper Land"), i.e. where the social capital has a bigger impact on the labor market position than qualification. This could be due to the fact that they rarely have the same complex social network in the new destination than in the country of origin, therefore its utility is limited. However, these informal networks are interpreted sometimes from the perspective of the western values such as transparency and equality of right, forasmuch these activates and behavior are mentioned as bad, mischievous or corrupt.

> (13) "There is still a system of trust in Indonesia which* how to say* which allow people to do the same like me. There is system like this. One of my friends in TV who is supervisor of lighting, he finished only SMP [junior high school] but he is a supervisor. Why? Because of experience, he did a lot of work, it is enough for that" (Ind005 *Original language: Indonesian*)
>
> (14) "But in Indonesia, sometimes you can be nakal [Indo: mischievous, bad, naughty] ** you can be rich in Indonesia because law* law is not so strict there" (Ind001 *Original language: Indonesian and English*)

The other positive element of the narratives of sending country is the larger social network including not only the instrumental social capital that helps people to reach certain goals but also the emotional supportive ties that links these narratives with the perceived loneliness or unsatisfactory relationships with the host society as their contrary. Evidently, this is in decline by time since one is living in the new destination, if one spent more time in the host country his/her social ties are weakening in the sending country, thus who lives in the Netherlands for more than 10 years, in the sample (Hu001, Hu013, Ind003 and Ind008), have not mentioned these networks although they alluded to unsatisfactory relationships with local Dutch people.

The negative narratives about the country of origin are parallel with positive narratives of the host country. These perceptions of the origin concerned also with the political and economic evaluation of the sending country which refer to a more objective and rational criteria. However, when the backwardness of the sending society is mentioned, that is rather emotive category, and in many cases that is considered the cause of low position on the hierarchical slope. Because the members of the sending country are lazy, they do not want to do better, because they have

traditional mentality and/or they are not educated, not secularized, not emancipated and the like, which hinders the development of the country.

(15) "In Indonesia still a lot of lazy people, less educated, still inferior" (Ind001 *Original language: Indonesian*)

(16) "Recently in big cities many women wear jilbab [headscarf for Muslim women]. Some of my friends told me that I should wear that also, if not I will be considered as outsider" (Ind006 *Original language: Indonesian*)

(17) "I haven't had other choice than die beside a trash-can [in Hungary] or try find something else [emigrate]" (Hu001 *Original language: Hungarian*)

(18) "Hungarian people have a lot of complexes **We are pessimistic, and besides those, talented* but these talents… I fed up, when we come up with those inventors, and other stupidities, which are great and nice, but comes from such complexes that we insist to ourselves that we are good enough" (Hu004 *Original language: Hungarian*)

However, the postcolonial and post-socialist perceptions of the sending society could have different interpretations. The Indonesian narratives present the self-colonialization that the western host society is better, according to the dominant modernity and civilizational discourse, thereby its members are superior, meanwhile "we", who are coming from a less "developed" country, are economically and culturally inferior.

The post-socialist Hungarians do not perceive that strictly the distinction between themselves as immigrants or 'expats' and the host society as postcolonial Indonesians, but the perception of the sending country and society is similar with the postcolonial, it is defined as backward and their lower hierarchical position is their fault.

Other immigrant communities

The next level of the analysis is the narratives about the other immigrant communities which are varied in wide range. The postcolonial migrants have not mentioned any narratives about post-socialist immigrants even they were asked directly about them. This fact refers that people with post-socialist origin are not distinguished from the main society by other immigrant groups, perhaps due to the fact that their physical appearances does not differ visibly. This implies that the differentiation, based on physical appearances, has a considerable impact on categorization. For people from lower on the slope the uppers are similar. It is true from the other side also, that from the perspective of post-socialist migrants other, non-European ethnic groups were presented in the same context, all in all in the same stereotypical narratives, in a simple enumeration like 'Surinamese, Turkish and Moroccan'. The Hungarians' perception of these immigrants was negative in all cases. They are considered as dirty, uneducated, lazy and the like, very similarly how the post-socialist migrants are stigmatized by the main society. This instance presents well the process of moving on the hierarchy of civilizational discourse by using the same "measuring rod" (Melegh 2006) to devaluate others lower on the slope.

Table 2	Other immigrant ethnic groups*		Own ethnic group		
			Negative		
Interviewees	Postsocialist	Non-European immigrants	Not trustable	They are backward (less qualified, lazy, not motivated)	Be ashamed of them
Hu001	(-)	(-)	x	x	
Hu002		(-)		x	x
Hu003			x		
Hu004					
Hu005					
Hu006	(+)				
Hu007					
Hu008		(-)			x
Hu009				x	x
Hu010					
Hu011	(-)	(-)		x	x
Hu012	(+)	(-)			
Hu013		(-)		x	x
Ind001		(-)			
Ind002		(+)			
Ind003			x	x	
Ind004					
Ind005			x		
Ind006					
Ind007		(-)			
Ind008		(-)			

* Attitudes toward other ethnic groups are distinguished by its orientation: Positve attitudes are signed by (+); Negative attitudes are signed by (-)

(19) "Because they are lazy. What do you think why are here the Surinamese? Surinam is almost empty. Because here they don't have to work. Here they get the- [grant]* because the Dutch have a will of redemption* or how to say. The Surinamese are the most dirtiest here. That is the dirtiest because they get everything but despite all these they are never satisfied with anything" (Hu001 *Original language: Hungarian*)

The post-socialist perception of immigrants from other post-socialist countries are more divergent. The positive narratives emphasize that due to the similar historical and socio-economic background they have similar mentality, way of thinking, and they are the ones who really understand them.

(20) "I went to a coach who* who is a Polish girl, and** during one and a half year the man learns that I can be howsoever cosmopolite and opened, but after all I can communicate well only with East-Europeans" (Hu006 *Original language: Hungarian*)

(21) "We like very much Polish people and we hang out with them ((laugh)) ** Slovenian * we do like the Romanian, so here it really doesn't matter* Even he is the one who understand us better, the little East-European neighbor" (Hu012 *Original language: Hungarian*)

However, in the last quotation the term of "little East-European neighbor" contains a degree of inferiorization, the interviewee speaks with love and empathy about him but he is not equal with her. It could be due to their personal relationship, nevertheless, as the negative narratives reveal, there could be a competition between collective identities originated from the same level of the civilizational slope by using the same terminology of inferiorization as it is in the main discourse about Eastern-Europeans or even rougher.

(22) "That's why they love the Polish labor, because it's like animal, everything can be done with that. It works for coins, day and night" (Hu001 *Original language: Hungarian*)

The postcolonial positive narratives about non-European migrants have the same logic that they are closer to them in mentality, in experiences, and the like, opposed with the white-Europeans, upper on the slope, whose norms and customs are strange, independently that these are more valuable or not.

(23) "But my non-Dutch friends, like my friends from Surinamese or from Moroccan, they do really like to go to this kind of place, and I enjoy more when I go with my non-Dutch friends, […] to go with my Dutch friends will make me have to be *like* mannered, I have to be polite with things I do. But with my non-Dutch friends I can just be like really myself." (Ind002 *Original language: English*)

The negative narratives are varied from personal wound, through discrimination, till using the same western "measuring rod" of inferiorization by declaring that they are backward. This shows that competition of collective identities evolves on this position of the slope also, because the discursive suppression of other non-European immigrants emphasizes that "we" are better than "them" even if we are not on the top of the hierarchy.

(24) I don't know why, but much more criminals are among Moroccan people *children, youth Moroccans, Turkish * they are not blending with Dutch. Thus they are only with themselves, so from this they become criminal. Because they are not work and need money for buy beer and others like that (Ind007 *Original language: Indonesian*)

Own community
The narratives of backwardness about the own community show parallels with the negative perception of sending country, by drawing the line between the interviewees themselves and others from the same country of origin. They identify themselves in contrast of them. Especially the post-socialist immigrants consider the fellow Hungarian migrants as backward who are less educated, not motivated to work or even lazy. The main characteristics which are emphasized are

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the lack of language skills, the absent motivation for social mobility which is a result of their laziness that they are satisfied with low prestigious jobs just because their salary is higher than in the sending country. This is the narrative of the high skilled elite, even if not all of them, who mentioned this, are tertiary educated.

> (25) "What I see here, and maybe it's not nice to say, that here are two possibilities. One is who found a good job and lives good from it like a Dutch. Others who come here to try their fortune and doesn't matter what kind of jobs they do. You know. […] And I see that many Hungarians come for cleaning or wash up, or whatever [jobs]* which is fine for me till they are young or they only want some money, but if this is their life goal, than it's not such a big deal. So it's not my world. That's all. […] If you get on a plane, there is a lot of like workman, guest worker, or I don't know what. There is a few women who is even, perhaps, prostitute, and there are the students. So these three groups what I see, which would be better or would- ** I don't know** Sometimes it is bad to see." (Hu002 *Original language: Hungarian*)

> (26) "Nowadays many of them like 'Oh, I come, then let's see what happen' And then these people are that kind who says 'I can speak English in intermediate level' and they ask me, if I go to the Burger King to find a job, what should I say? 'I want job'? *** and the problem is when bulk of them is coming and I go to Burger King and they say 'I want job' * and he says I can speak English in intermediate level, then this does not really eventuate a good judgment about Hungarians" (Hu13 *Original language: Hungarian and English*)

These perceived backwardness of the members of own migrant community results in feelings to be ashamed of them, because in the face of the main society they are judged as part of that community, and this prejudice hinders their integration and results in the above mentioned stigmatization, on the one hand. On the other hand, due to low market economic position of these people, the fellow migrants in higher position try to reduce the cost of community solidarity, especially the bounded solidarity (Portes and Sensenbrenner1993), by avoid to be embedded in their own ethnic community because they perceive that these fellow migrants exploit them and their better position. They perceive that other Hungarians are not trustable, meanwhile they also ignore this kind of social capital by presenting that they do not belong to them.

> (27) "I have not met with Hungarians here ever. I have heard one or two times on the street that they speak in Hungarian, but that's all." (Hu008 *Original language: Hungarian*)

> (28) "Just because somebody is a Hungarian, we should not be best friends, and with a person with whom I would not keep contact at home neither, just because he is Hungarian I would not [be a friend]" (Hu013 *Original language: Hungarian*)

> (29) "To be honest, when I fly home, I don't like to speak in Hungarian, because I meet such a people on the airport that** I don't want to speak with them. Many of them is doing such a job** and they are satisfied with that. I mean, it pays well in regard to Hungarian perspectives** but they don't want more. And I think it's quite sad that they don't want more** but at least they are not competitors for me. But, to be honest, I don't really would like to be friends with Hungarians" (Hu011 *Original language: Hungarian*)

Among postcolonial immigrants these narratives are not significant, probably because they have a closer social structure (Granovetter1985) where they are better embedded, which could be explained by their lower position on the hierarchical slope, i.e. they face with higher discrimination and prejudice. Other interpretation could be the bias of interviewer's position on the slope as it was mentioned above.

The more negative narratives of own immigrant groups among postsocialst immigrant, compared with postcolonial migrants, suggests that their community is less cohesive and its social structure are not closed. It could be due to their better opportunities for integration into the host society or into a western-multiethnic expat community, which is supported by many narratives:

> (30) For me there is no language barrier to be friend with others, so my English is fluent, and my Dutch is also getting fluent, so in fact I don't really plan to get in touch with Hungarians (Hu011 *Original language: Hungarian*)

Conclusion

The narratives of postcolonial and post-socialist immigrants show many parallels concerning the perception of the host society, both negative and positive, and the negative opinion toward the society of origin. These facts verify that migrants from both origins embraced the western values and categorization of global hierarchy, and they not only endure its stigmatization but they even apply the same terminology referring the people below of them in the hierarchy. The post-socialist immigrants, who are higher up on the slope, perceive their position in-between the host and sending society. This position results in that they perceive the cause of their stigmatization is the backwardness of the members of their sending country and of their own immigrant group in the host country. However, the interviewees present themselves as not being part of these communities, they do not share the inferior attributes but they already belong to the community of dominant values.

Meanwhile the postcolonial migrants rather perceive their position as belonging to their country of origin due to the coloniality of power with which they faced in their everyday life because their hierarchical position is 'written on their face' by their physical appearances. This inferior position in the host society results in higher in-group solidarity because of the limited opportunity of bridging social capital (Putnam2000) with the main society, i.e. involvement with the local community (Ager and Strang2008). This difference of strengths of bounded solidarity (Porets and Sensenbrenner1993), between Hungarian and Indonesian immigrants, appears in their perception of their own migrant groups also.

Accordingly, the position of the country of origin in the world system hierarchy has a big impact on immigrants even in a multiethnic society such as the Dutch. It effects differently on how they perceive the host society due to the encountered coloniality of power, hereby their possibilities for integration. It has impacts on their perception of the sending country weather they consider themselves as part of it or they perceive it as backward and define themselves in contrast to it, which might have effect on the willingness of return, the remittances, and the supportive networks for newcomers. Therefore it determines the relation with the own immigrant community or diaspora. The hierarchical position of origin also affects the relation between immigrant groups. How far they are from the top of the slope determines the others' attitudes toward them, which reproduces the global hierarchy in their micro environment.

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