
‘We were the ones that integrated’: Dutch post-war migrant children in Australia

A research on the change in transnational ties of Dutch
post-war migrant children in Australia

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This thesis is dedicated to my little sister

Margot

Foreword

Before you lies my Master's thesis about the transnational ties of the first generation Dutch migrant children who emigrated to Australia after the Second World War. I wrote this thesis to complete the Leiden-Delft-Erasmus Masters programme *Governance of Migration and Diversity* 2017-2018. From February until September 2018, I have studied several archives, conducted interviews with participants and finally wrote this thesis.

Ever since my internship at the Huygens ING during the final year of my Bachelor's Degree, I have been extremely passionate and interested about Dutch emigration to Australia. During this internship, I conducted my first interview with returned emigrant Joke Rutjes and I was introduced with archival material about Dutch clubs in Australia. This research, led by Marijke van Faassen and Rik Hoekstra, really shaped my future plans. A semester at Monash University in Melbourne and a visit to an actual Dutch club made me even more excited about the subject. Therefore, my thesis subject was an easy choice. After several talks with my supervisor Marlou Schrover and Dutch-Australian researcher Nonja Peters, I formulated a research question and started working from there.

The interviews with the participants were extremely interesting and were by far the most exciting part of my research. All the participants were eager to answer all my questions and some of them even reached out to me multiple times to help me brainstorm on the theoretical framework. I would like to thank all the participants for joining me in this research and for sharing their personal stories with me. A special thanks to Martien and Nonja for their help, literature tips, brainstorm sessions and good talks.

I also would like to thank Marlou Schrover for her encouraging feedback, endless questions (and answers) and her enthusiasm throughout the entire process. I wrote this thesis in the middle of a very difficult time for me personally and I want to thank my family, boyfriend and friends for keeping up with me and providing me the help and support I needed. In particular, I would like to thank my little sister Margot, for inspiring me to work hard and never give up. Without you, I doubt if I ever would have been able to write this thesis and complete my studies. This one is for you.

I hope you enjoy your reading.

Anne Brehler

The Hague, August 21, 2018

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Preface

I was really unhappy, I didn't want to go. [...] I went to a lovely school, I had lots of friends and I couldn't see the point of going all that way, I thought it was ridiculous.'

- Janine (migrated to Australia in 1951 when she was 11 years old.)¹

Introduction

'Most of them do indeed come to find a job and a more prosperous future in general', according to anthropologist Martin Zillinger.² In an interview in 2016 with the Dutch newspaper *De Volkskrant*, Zillinger discusses migrants coming from Morocco to Europe to have a better life. In the media, North-African migrants are often portrayed as fortune seekers, a term which is used for people looking for a better (economic) future in another country.³ This labelling is not necessarily positive and these asylum seekers are often unwanted. Current asylum seekers differ from the labour migrants who entered Europe in the 1960s in many ways, such as their background and ways of entering Europe, but they share the same economic motives for their migration. The current negative labelling contrasts sharply with the 1960s, when Dutch firms, with the help of the Dutch government, recruited economic migrants from Morocco, Turkey, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy for work in the Netherlands. A decade before that, and also with the help of the Dutch government, half a million Dutch people emigrated because economic prospects in the Netherlands looked bleak. Therefore, these post-war migrants moved for the same reasons as current asylum seekers from North Africa; the prospects of a better future.

The post-war emigrants went to countries such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia.⁴ Of these half a million people, 138,000 went to Australia.⁵ The emigrants were often part of large families, such as Janine quoted above, who was the eldest of five children. This large-scale emigration was mainly caused by the Second World War and its aftermath. The post-war shortages in coal, food and clothing, the fear of another economic depression, another war and Soviet occupation, the housing shortages, the shortages of work in

¹ Interview Janine, conducted on 8th of May 2018. Upon request of the participant, her name has been changed.

² Free translation of: 'De meeste komen inderdaad omdat ze werk zoeken, en een welvarender bestaan in het algemeen'. See: 'Wie zijn die Noord-Afrikaanse gelukszoekers?' in: *De Volkskrant* 27th of January 2016 <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/wie-zijn-die-noord-afrikaanse-gelukszoekers-~bb9a7a22/> (visited on 30th of May 2018).

³ 'Wie zijn die Noord-Afrikaanse gelukszoekers?' in: *De Volkskrant* 27th of January 2016 <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/wie-zijn-die-noord-afrikaanse-gelukszoekers-~bb9a7a22/> (visited on 30th of May 2018).

⁴ Paragraph based on: N. Peters, *A touch of Dutch. Maritime, military, migration and mercantile. Connections on the Western third 1616-2016* (Subiaco 2016) 211-215.

⁵ M. van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie. Het Nederlandse emigratiebestel in internationaal perspectief 1946-1967* (Den Haag 2014) 163; E. Zierke, M. Smid, P. Snelleman and W. Walker-Birckhead (eds.), *Old ties, new beginnings. Dutch women in Australia* (Melbourne 1997) viii.

some sectors and the scars from the war increased the number of emigrants.⁶ Moreover, the Dutch government was unable to reconstruct the country quickly enough and emigration of the ‘unwanted’ population was stimulated. People without the skills needed for the reconstruction were encouraged to leave.⁷ Additionally, the collective fear for overpopulation was used to promote emigration even further.⁸ On top of the post-war chaos and anxiety, the Netherlands experienced another setback. The Netherlands East Indies (NEI) became independent Indonesia and as a result more than 100,000 *Indisch* Dutch came to the Netherlands between 1945-1949.⁹ About 10,000 of these *Indisch* Dutch travelled via the Netherlands to Australia as migrants.

Besides these push factors from the Netherlands, there were also pull factors: the Australian government was in need of people. After the Second World War, Australia tried to attract white European immigrants as a part of their planned immigration programme.¹⁰ According to Australian historian James Jupp, this programme constituted of three aspects: ‘maintaining a white (preferably British) domination in the country, the strengthening of the economy and the state control’.¹¹ British immigrants were considered ideal immigrants by the Australian government. However, due to the reconstruction in Britain and the shortage of shipping capacity, not enough British were willing or able to migrate to the other side of the world. Dutch migrants were considered as ‘surrogate British’, because they were white and European and were believed to assimilate quickly.¹² This corresponded with Australia’s post-war migration policy, which focused on immigrants becoming Australian as fast as possible.

According to the Dutch-Australian historian Nonja Peters this policy influenced the Dutch migrants in many ways, mainly in the private sphere of their homes.¹³ The household often remained very Dutch, as mothers did not have paid employment and were responsible for cleaning and taking care of the children.¹⁴ Almost half of all Dutch migrants were ‘dependent children’, which was significantly more than in any other migrant group.¹⁵ These children were

⁶ See also: H. Obdeijn and M. Schrover, *Komen en gaan. Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam 2008) 196; B.P. Hofstede, *Thwarted exodus: post-war overseas migration from the Netherlands* (Den Haag 1964) 19-24.

⁷ M. van Faassen, ‘Min of meer misbaar. Naoorlogse emigratie vanuit Nederland: achtergronden en organisatie, particuliere motieven en overheidsprykkels, 1946-1967’ in: S. Poldervaart, W. Schilt and H. Willems (eds.), *Van hot naar her. Nederlandse migratie vroeger, nu en morgen* (Amsterdam 2001) 50-67, 61.

⁸ Hofstede, *Thwarted exodus*, 23; Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 214-215.

⁹ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 213; W. Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië 1945-1995* (Amsterdam 2001) 19; J. Coté, ‘The *Indisch* Dutch in post-war Australia’, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7:2 (2010) 103-125.

¹⁰ J. Jupp, *From white Australia to Woomera second edition* (Cambridge 2007) 12.

¹¹ Jupp, *From white Australia to Woomera*, 7.

¹² Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 216; S. Horne, *The invisible immigrants: Dutch migrants in South Australia* (Adelaide 2011) 6; J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian people* (Cambridge 2001) 261.

¹³ N. Peters, ‘Just a piece of paper’ Dutch women in Australia’, *Studies in Western Australian History* 21 (2000) 53-74.

¹⁴ Peters, ‘Just a piece of paper’, 59.

¹⁵ Zierke et.al., *Old ties, new beginnings*, viii. Precise numbers are missing in the literature. I combined the total of 138.000 (Van Faassen) with the statement that almost half of this amount were children (Zierke et.al). This means that the number of Dutch migrant children is 69.000.

not targeted in migration policies by the government and were merely considered as ‘luggage’ of their parents, as happens often in general migration studies.¹⁶ However, an important reason for the parents’ emigration was to provide better opportunities and a better future for their children. The children were influenced by the differences between the private and the public sphere. At home, their mother ran a Dutch household, they were supposed to speak Dutch and eat Dutch food. At school, they had to become Australian as fast as possible, only speak English and forget where they came from. The children lived in two different worlds. In the literature, this friction is described as ‘between two cultures’ and will lead to the invention of a new culture by the children.¹⁷ The children from this ‘in-between generation’, who were forced (in a way) to move to the other side of the world and leave their family and friends behind, are an interesting group to study, as they were affected the most by the migration.¹⁸ The experience of migrating children was very different from the experience of their parents, because children did not decide to migrate.¹⁹ The adult’s reason for emigration, such as fear and unemployment, were not present in the children’s minds and this influenced both memories of the homeland.²⁰

Current migration research often focuses on the integration and assimilation on the one hand, and the migrants remaining connected to their homeland on the other hand.²¹ Research focusing on the migrants’ home country is relatively new and causes new insights in migration studies. Migrants are considered ‘transnational’, meaning living and moving in two worlds, while staying connected to the home country through cross-border ties. Full assimilation is not taking place, as many migrants selectively handle transnational activities and assimilation in their host society.²² Historian Nadia Bouras researched transnationalism in relation to Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands, of which the majority originally migrated as economic migrants for low skilled jobs, recruited by Dutch firms with the help of the Dutch government in the 1960s.²³ She

¹⁶ M.F. Orellana, B. Thorne, A. Chee and W.S.E. Lam, ‘Transnational childhoods: the participation of children in processes of family migration’, *Social Problems* 48:4 (2001) 572-591, 578.

¹⁷ K. Gardner, ‘Transnational migration and the study of children: an introduction’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 38:6 (2012) 889-912, 891.

¹⁸ M. Goulding and M. Jansen in de Wal, *Memories. Memories of a childhood in the Netherlands and in Australia 1944-1956* (Tweed Heads 2016) IX; R. Huijsmans, ‘Transnational childhoods’ in: H. Montgomery and M. Robb (eds.), *Children and young people’s worlds* (forthcoming) 121-137, 129.

¹⁹ ‘Women sharing their migration stories to shine light on overlooked part of Australia’s history’ on: ABC Radio Melbourne 10th of June 2018 <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-06-10/women-share-their-migration-stories-overlooked-by-history/9807288> (visited on 20th of June 2018). Marietta Elliot-Kleerkoper emigrated to Australia at age 11: ‘If you decide to go and you go as an adult, that’s a very different thing to if you’ve been dragged there as a child.’

²⁰ K. Paulusse, *Vertrek* (Bloomington 2015) 45.

²¹ Paragraph based on: N. Bouras, *Het land van herkomst. Perspectieven op verbondenheid met Marokko, 1960-2010* (Hilversum 2012) 12.

²² P. Levitt, J. Dewind and S. Vertovec, ‘International perspectives on transnational migration: an introduction’, *International Migration Review* 34:3 (2003) 565-575, 570.

²³ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 41.

emphasizes the negative connotation of transnational ties in the public debate.²⁴ Politicians argue that ties with the home country would stand in the way of integration.

This negative connection between transnationalism and integration was made in Australia in the 1950s. Maintaining a connection with the home country would stand in the way of integration and would jeopardise Australia's ideal of assimilation. Children were discouraged to remain connected to their homeland. However, through their Dutch homes, the children remained connected to the Netherlands to some extent, which provides researchers with an interesting transnational context. Following Bouras' definition of transnationalism, namely the political, economic, social, cultural and symbolic ties between the migrants and their home country, this research focuses on Dutch children in Australia and their ties to the Netherlands.²⁵ In the early 1970s, Australia's policy of assimilation changed to a more multicultural approach.²⁶ This policy was more open to immigrants' background and people were allowed to show where they came from, which influenced transnational ties.

This thesis will answer the question: how, why and when did the transnational ties of Dutch post-war migrant children in Australia change? The research starts at the migrants' childhood and ends in their later life. To answer the research question, different factors which influenced the ties need to be studied. Bouras argues that transnationalism should be studied on three interacting levels, which she calls the triple approach.²⁷ First, the role that governments of both the sending and receiving country play in the connection between the migrant and the home country is important. Secondly, migrant institutions and organizations are relevant in the maintenance of ties. Lastly, we should study the individual ties the migrants have with their home country. In this thesis, I will follow this new and innovative model of Bouras in three different chapters. Within the triple approach, two types of ties can be distinguished: ties aimed at the country of origin and ties aimed at the country of arrival.²⁸ The first type is relatively real, such as visiting family. The second type is more symbolic and indirect, such as participating in certain organizations. In the theory section below, the different types of transnational ties are further elaborated on. The researched time frame of the migrants' childhood is the 1950s and 1960s, because during this period most Dutch people migrated to Australia and most clubs and organizations were established.²⁹

²⁴ Ibid., 11.

²⁵ Ibid., 13.

²⁶ Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië*, 264.

²⁷ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 26-27, 259.

²⁸ Ibid., 13.

²⁹ C. Young, 'The demography of the Dutch in Australia' in: N. Peters (ed.), *The Dutch Down-Under 1606-2006* (Crawley 2006) 276-299, 277; J.H. Elich, *Aan de ene kant, aan de andere kant. De emigratie van Nederlanders naar Australië 1946-1986* (Leiden 1987) 145.

This introduction is divided into four paragraphs. First, the theoretical framework, including the concept transnationalism, will be explained in the theory section below. Secondly, a historiographic section will follow the theory, which discusses studies regarding this subject. Thirdly, the material and method will be presented, followed by a brief section on the structure of the thesis.

Theory

Part of migration studies is the large integration literature. Scholars have researched the integration of almost all migrations and have come up with a variety of terms.³⁰ It is tempting to follow this path and elaborate extensively on assimilation theory, which does play an important role in this thesis. However, that has been done before and there is no need to explore familiar ground. This thesis will shortly touch upon integration studies, but it is not the main theoretical focus. The theoretical framework used in this thesis is unexplored territory and provides a point of view which is new and innovative, at least in the way the theories are combined and used. The terms are not new, in fact, some, such as transnationalism, date back to the early twentieth century. To answer the research question, one should look beyond just transnationalism and include other theories, such as symbolic ethnicity and pan-ethnicity. This theoretical section touches upon different theoretical concepts, introducing four hypotheses, based on the theoretical literature. These hypotheses illustrate how the different concepts are used in this thesis and provide a framework in which the research question can be answered. Concepts such as transnationalism are often used by sociologists. Historians are sceptical about applying sociological terms to historical research.³¹ However, through the theoretical hypotheses I will show that sociological terms can be beneficial to understand the change of ties of Dutch migrant children in Australia in the 1950s and 1960s.

The term transnationalism was first introduced in 1916 by essayist Randolph Bourne, when he critically discussed the ‘strength of cultural allegiance to the homeland’ of immigrants in

³⁰ Some publications on integration theory: R. Brubaker, ‘The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany, and the United States’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24:4 (2001) 531-548; H. Entzinger and P. Scholten, ‘Between national and local integration policies’ in: M. Martiniello and J. Rath ed., *An introduction to immigrant incorporation studies. European perspectives* (Amsterdam 2014) 371-390; S. Vertovec and S. Wessendorf, ‘Introduction: assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe’ in: S. Vertovec and S. Wessendorf (eds.), *The multiculturalism backlash. European discourses, policies and practices* (London/New York 2010) 1-31; R. Alba and N. Foner, *Strangers no more. Immigration and the challenges of integration in North America and Western Europe* (Princeton/Oxford 2015) 47-67; R. Alba and V. Nee, ‘Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration’, *The International Migration Review* 31:4 (1997) 826-874; A. Geddes and P. Scholten, *The politics of migration and immigration in Europe* (London 2016); A. Portes and M. Zhou, ‘The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 530 (1993) 74-96.

³¹ J. De Bock, ‘Not the same after all? Superdiversity as a lens for the study of past migrations’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 38:4 (2015) 583-595, 583.

the United States.³² The link between transnationalism and failed integration was made and would come back frequently in the assimilation literature in the years that followed. In the 1970s, transnationalism was used by economists to describe the international connections of multinationals.³³ In the 1980s, the term was reintroduced in migration studies, for migrants in Europe and in the United States who maintained close ties with their home countries. In the 1990s, American researchers Nina Glick-Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton-Blanc argued that migrants were living their lives across national borders and labelled this transnationalism.³⁴ This supposedly ‘new’ term was very similar to a term introduced in the 1920s by sociologist Robert Park, namely ‘the marginal man’. Park used this term to describe Jews in the United States, which, according to him, could not integrate because they were living in two worlds. The introduction of the transnational man, instead of the marginal man, was supposed to be a more neutral term. However, the debate did not change.³⁵ The relationship between integration and transnationalism still causes debate in the public and political arena, as was shown by Bouras.³⁶ However, current academic research does not show that transnational ties cause integration failure.³⁷

In current literature about transnationalism, three aspects are emphasized.³⁸ First, the novelty of the term. Since the term was introduced in 1916, it has experienced some changes, mostly because of the new technological opportunities and relatively cheap and easy ways of transportation. Remaining connected to the homeland is easier now than it was seventy years ago, when Dutch people migrated to Australia. Secondly, the continuity of transnationalism in relation to integration and second generations is questioned. According to Bouras, there is little attention for the role of children in transnationalism, which makes this research important. However, in the field of anthropology, researchers have studied transnational children. Anthropologist Katy Gardner argues that researchers should focus on children in studying migration, as that will lead

³² R.S. Bourne, ‘Trans-national America (1916)’ in: W. Sollors (ed.), *Theories of ethnicity* (New York 1996) 93-108, 95.

³³ Paragraph based on: Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 28-39.

³⁴ N. Glick-Schiller, L. Basch and C. Szanton-Blanc, *Towards a transnational perspective on migration: race, class, ethnicity and nationalism reconsidered* (New York 1992); see also: P. Levitt and N. Glick Schiller, ‘Conceptualizing simultaneity. A transnational social field perspective on society’ in: A. Portes and J. DeWind (eds.), *Rethinking migration. New theoretical and empirical perspectives* (New York 2007) 181-218.

³⁵ The creation of terms to present issues as new is sometimes a policy strategy. See: M. Schrover and W. Schinkel, ‘Introduction: the language of inclusion and exclusion in the context of immigration and integration’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36:7 (2013) 1123-1141, 1126-1127.

³⁶ N. Bouras, ‘Shifting perspectives on transnationalism: analysing Dutch political discourse on Moroccan migrants’ transnational ties, 1960-2010’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 36:7 (2013) 1219-1231; Schrover and Schinkel, ‘Introduction: the language of inclusion and exclusion’, 1137.

³⁷ G. Engbersen, A. Leerkes, I. Grabowska-Lusinska, E. Snel and J. Burgers ‘On the differential attachments of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe: A typology of labour migration’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39:6 (2013) 959-981, 978; E. Snel, G. Engbersen and A. Leerkes, ‘Voorbij landsgrenzen. Transnationale betrokkenheid als belemmering voor integratie?’, *Sociologische Gids* 4:51 (2004) 75-100.

³⁸ Paragraph based on: Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 31.

to new perspectives.³⁹ Especially the ‘transnational child’, is an under-researched object of study.⁴⁰ She argues that ‘a focus on children is vital to understanding how transnational links are made and transformed’.⁴¹ Her research is mostly aimed at migrant children currently, and not at children from past migrations, such as the Dutch-Australian case. Thirdly, the influence of the country of origin and the country of arrival on the development of transnational ties is discussed and is often related to the influence of transnationalism on integration. Both countries have reasons to interfere in the transnational ties of the migrants, as will be further explored in chapter one. However, according to the triple approach, governments are just one factor, besides organizations and the migrants themselves, which influenced ties.⁴² The triple approach relates to theories on governance. Governance theory is very complex and does not have one set definition or explanation.⁴³ The term is widely used in various disciplines, and scholars identify six to nine different meanings of the term.⁴⁴ In general, governance theorists argue that the practise of governing is changing, and that governments have to collaborate with other (non-governmental) actors in order to achieve certain policies and its implementation.⁴⁵ This counts for migration studies as well, the government is not the only factor which influences migration and integration. Historian Marijke van Faassen, for example, emphasizes that there was not one Dutch government which was in charge of emigration after the war.⁴⁶ Different actors and departments within the government were participating in emigration policy. National governments had to deal with international organizations, bilateral agreements and local governments to implement a certain policy. Because of the presence of multiple actors, the migrants’ ties were influenced in different ways and by different actors, as the triple approach also shows. For example, the assimilation policy was initiated by the Australian government, but heavily influenced by the Dutch government and Dutch local organizations, *aanpassen* [adapting] was considered the main goal for both governments.⁴⁷ This policy drastically changed the ties of Dutch migrant children.

³⁹ Gardner, ‘Transnational migration’, 891.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 892.

⁴¹ Ibid., 891.

⁴² Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 26-27.

⁴³ H.K. Colebatch, ‘Governance as a conceptual development in the analysis of policy’, *Critical Policy Studies* 3:1 (2009) 58-69.

⁴⁴ R.A.W. Rhodes, *Understanding governance* (Maidenhead 1997); K. van Kersbergen and F. van Waarden, ‘Governance’ as a bridge between disciplines: cross-disciplinary inspiration regarding shifts in governance and problems of governability, accountability and legitimacy’, *European Journal of Political Research* 43:2 (2004) 143-171.

⁴⁵ Colebatch, ‘Governance’.

⁴⁶ Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 10.

⁴⁷ N. Peters, ‘*Aanpassen* and invisibility. Being Dutch in post-war Australia’, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7:2 (2010) 82-102. See for more multi-level governance theory: Entzinger and Scholten, ‘Between national and local integration policies’; P. Scholten and R. Penninx, ‘The multi-level governance of migration and integration’ in: B. Garcés-Masareñas and R. Penninx eds., *Integration processes and policies in Europe* (Dordrecht 2016); I. Bache and M. Flinders, *Multi-level governance* (New York 2004).

Based on the triple approach and governance literature, I hypothesize that governance theory could help identify and explain the different influential factors of transnational ties.

Transnationalism is closely related to the concept of diaspora. The term diaspora was already used before transnationalism, and the two terms have a degree of overlap.⁴⁸ Both terms include the idea of living in two worlds and the maintenance of ties with the home country. However, as Bouras argues, diaspora is more politically orientated than transnationalism, which is more economic and social-cultural.⁴⁹ Within the field of diaspora studies, the definition is slightly more complex than this. Diaspora was first mostly used in the Jewish context and for forced migrations.⁵⁰ Moreover, researchers emphasize three important aspects of the term; a population or community with a shared political ideal in the homeland, which is dispersed over several countries and whose members consider themselves exiles who were forced to leave.⁵¹ These aspects do not apply to the Dutch in Australia. Therefore, diaspora in its traditional meaning is not emphasized in this thesis. However, sociologist and anthropologist Eliezer Ben-Rafael emphasizes the difference between an ethnic diaspora and a transnational diaspora, which terms are important in the understanding of the theoretical framework of this thesis, as I will illustrate below.⁵² In the first case, ethnicity is considered smaller than the nation state, in the sense that it represents a 'collective of its own'.⁵³ A transnational diaspora highlights the broader, more symbolic and collective aspect. It refers to different groups of people who are scattered across the globe, but still have a shared homeland, or multiple homelands (such as the notion of the 'Dark Continent' as a shared background).⁵⁴ Ben-Rafael mentions the presence of pan-diasporic attitudes here, for example Latin Americans in the United States who are referred to (or refer to themselves) as Hispanics, or Arab migrants from various countries in Europe who become part of a more general aspect of society, namely the Arab community.⁵⁵ These migrants value their national background, but also identify with other Arabs or Hispanics from other countries in a more indirect and symbolic way.

Ben-Rafael's pan-diasporic attitude closely relates to pan-ethnicity, which is introduced in research about immigrants in the United States by sociologists Alejandro Portes and Rubén

⁴⁸ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 30.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ E. Ben-Rafael, 'Diaspora', *Current Sociology Review* 61:5-6 (2013) 842-861.

⁵¹ H. van Amersfoort, 'The waxing and waning of a diaspora: Moluccans in the Netherlands, 1950-2002', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 30:1 (2004) 151-174, 152-153.

⁵² Ben-Rafael, 'Diaspora', 843.

⁵³ Ibid., 843.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 844.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Rumbaut.⁵⁶ Pan-ethnicity means that people from, for example Colombia, Mexico and Panama, all are identified (and identify themselves) as Hispanics, such as in the pan-diasporic attitudes mentioned above. However, pan-diaspora is more related to the migrants' (shared) background, whereas pan-ethnicity expresses the current (self)-identification of migrants in the host society, without a strong orientation towards one's background and a wish to return. Portes and Rumbaut argue that migrant children in later life self-identify with the ethnicity of their parents and their migrant background, instead of adapting to the host society.⁵⁷ This implies that their transnational ties become stronger once the migrant children become older. The sociologists also argue that first generation migrant children often self-identify with a broader area than the home country (Europe for example).⁵⁸ Although pan-ethnicity is not used in the European context, the pattern of Portes and Rumbaut to a certain extent becomes visible in this thesis, in both identification by others as self-identification. Historian Wendy Walker-Birckhead argues that the Dutch were considered as surrogate British and thus as the ideal migrant, but once they arrived at Australian migrant camps such as Bonegilla, no difference was made by officials between Dutch, Polish or German migrants; they were all considered European migrants.⁵⁹ Peters adds that also at school, no difference was made among migrant children and all were discouraged to stay connected to their homeland.⁶⁰ When using the triple approach, the personal level provides information about the self-identification of the children in later life, which would lean more towards their Dutchness and transnational ties, according to Portes and Rumbaut. Based on the personal level and on Portes and Rumbaut's model, I hypothesize that (self)-identification as European migrant in the public sphere during childhood, influenced the transnational ties of Dutch children in their entire life.

The (self)-identification as European migrant, caused that the Dutch children did not identify with their Dutch background, which resulted in the lack of strong transnational ties as children. According to Peters, the policy shift in the 1970s created a more welcoming environment for people with a mixed background, which resulted in many Dutch child migrants embracing their Dutchness in later life.⁶¹ The way the connection with the Netherlands was filled in, was mainly symbolic; it was the personal feeling of being Dutch.⁶² In 1979, sociologist Herbert

⁵⁶ R.G. Rumbaut, and A. Portes, 'Introduction-Ethnogenesis: Coming of age in immigrant America' in: R.G. Rumbaut and A. Portes (eds.), *Ethnicities. Children of immigrants in America* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 2001) 1-19, 7.

⁵⁷ A. Portes and R.G. Rumbaut, 'Conclusion. The forging of a new America: lessons for theory and policy' in: R.G. Rumbaut and A. Portes (eds.), *Ethnicities. Children of immigrants in America* (Berkeley/Los Angeles 2001) 301-317, 309.

⁵⁸ Portes and Rumbaut, 'Conclusion', 309.

⁵⁹ W. Walker-Birckhead, 'Paying our way: private and public meanings of migration', *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 9:1 (1998) 89-100, 96.

⁶⁰ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 273.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 282.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Gans introduced a term closely related to this vague and personal feeling, namely symbolic ethnicity.⁶³ Gans argued that third generation migrants in the United States were less interested in participating in ethnic organizations and instead maintained a more personal relationship to their homeland which was not bound to an ethnic collective group of people.⁶⁴ The feeling of being Dutch, for example, and expressing that Dutchness, is the most important aspect of this symbolic ethnicity. The symbolism is 'a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of [...] [the] home country; a love and a pride in a tradition that can be felt without having to be incorporated in everyday behaviour'.⁶⁵ Symbols include food, media, traditions, artefacts and politics. Gans argued that symbolic ethnicity is characteristic for third generation migrants. Because of slow assimilation, which takes a couple generations, this group is moving away from their ethnic ancestors, who still are considered as 'ethnic primary groups'.⁶⁶ However in Australia, assimilation did not happen slowly and first generation children were forced to become Australian as soon as possible. Therefore, I hypothesize that symbolic ethnicity is not only characteristic for third generation migrants in the United States, but could also be used to understand the transnational ties in later life of first generation child migrants in Australia.

Bouras also explains the change of transnational ties in different generations.⁶⁷ She argues that ties Moroccans had with their home country changed with time and age. In the first years and for the first generation, the ties were mainly real, but at the end of the twentieth century, the ties became more symbolic and emotional, especially for the second and third generations, who connected with Morocco through television and stories of their parents.⁶⁸ Later generations also have less family in the home country that they physically connect with than their parents, who often still had their parents and siblings living in the home country. Thus, in later generations, transnational ties become more symbolic. When combining this theoretical statement with the theory of symbolic ethnicity, we can assume that, because of fast assimilation in Australia, such change in ties could happen in one generation.

The sections above illustrated that within one generation, the nature and meaning of transnational ties of Dutch children could change in a way which normally would take multiple generations. The change in transnational ties moves relatively fast and can have different reasons. Peters already highlighted the importance of the policy shift in the 1970s, but also the fact that

⁶³ H.J. Gans, 'Symbolic ethnicity: the future of ethnic groups and cultures in America', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2:1 (1979) 1-20; H.J. Gans, 'Another look at symbolic ethnicity', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40:9 (2017) 1410-1417; J. Stone and K. Harris, 'Symbolic ethnicity and Herbert Gans: race, religion, and politics in the twenty-first century', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40:9 (2017) 1397-1409.

⁶⁴ Gans, 'Symbolic ethnicity', 7-8.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁶⁷ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 255.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 238, 255.

people simply become older and more interested in their background could have influenced the change. It often happens that elderly people with more time on their hands start researching their family history.⁶⁹ Similar to the model of Portes and Rumbaut, the children in later life became more interested in their ethnic background. It is interesting to note that this change in ties happened after a period in which transnational ties were almost completely absent. During childhood, Dutch children were confronted with the fast assimilation, which resulted in not many children keeping close contact with the Netherlands outside their home sphere. This ‘break’ in transnational ties can be explained as a ‘transnational time gap’. It illustrates the discontinuity in transnational ties for one generation, which provides a new and innovative perspective. In the sections above, multiple authors, such as Bouras, Portes and Rumbaut, argued that transnational ties change in one or multiple generations, but none of them have discussed a time gap in transnational ties. Transnationalism theories are often regarded with a certain continuity in time: the ties are always present in the migrants’ lives, but can change throughout their lives. The transnational time gap offers a new perspective which emphasizes the absence of ties during the majority of the migrant’s life until a moment of change happens and the migrant becomes interested in his or her background again. In the final hypothesis, I presume that if the transnational ties of Dutch children are studied throughout their lives, including the transnational time gap, different moments of change can become visible. The different moments of change are important in order to answer the research question.

In this thesis, transnationalism is presented as the main theoretical framework, which is influenced by other theories. These theories mainly serve to illustrate the uniqueness of the first generation Dutch migrant children in relation to general migrant generations. Within the generation, the change of transnational ties is studied. In general, transnational ties can be interdisciplinary, individual or generational, they are different for each migrant and dependent on their migration; forced political migrants have other ties with their home country than labour

⁶⁹ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 283; free translation of interview Anton, conducted on 24th of May 2018: ‘My brother is doing a lot of research in the family tree [...] He became more Dutch, same for my middle brother, for a while my middle brother was a bit wild and he got involved with the wrong friends and everything, but now he is really good and he is very interested in Holland and all the history, he’s doing family trees, where my grandmother and mother came from.’. Original quote: ‘Mijn broer is doing a lot of research in de stamboom [...] Hij is meer Nederlands geworden. En mijn middel broer hetzelfde, for a while mijn middel broer was a bit wild, and he got involved the wrong friends and everything, but now he is really good en hij is erg geïnteresseerd in Holland en alle history, hij gaat stambomen doen, waar mijn oma en moeder vandaan komen.’. Upon request of the participant, his name has been changed; interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018: ‘She’s [Martien’s younger sister] not Dutch at all, she’s an Ozzie. Married to an Englishman mind you. The other sister went married an Italian and she went back to the Netherlands quite a lot actually before she died, so she made a big effort to connect with the family and you know, found everybody back again in the Netherlands, made contact with them and kept up contact with them until she died. No, she made a big effort. Before I did. And I probably started to do the same thing more or less as a result of her doing it, you know what I mean.’.

migrants, because they left for different reasons.⁷⁰ Bourne distinguished several aspects of transnationalism: culture, politics, press, literature, education, religion, tradition, music, poetry, philosophy, citizenship and economy.⁷¹ Based on these aspects, this thesis studies different kinds of ties, namely economic (remittances, helping people out financially), political (being involved in Dutch politics), social (friends, family, visits), cultural (traditions, ‘typical Dutch’, clubs, language), religious (Dutch church) and symbolic (Dutch decorations inside the house, ‘spulletjes’, ‘gezellig’, Dutch food), of which the last four will be emphasized the most. The first two ties are important in modern transnationalism, but not as much for the Dutch in Australia as most migrants were very poor upon arrival.⁷² Moreover, the Netherlands was just too far away to be politically involved with without the modern ways of communication. The reason I still chose to incorporate the two is because ties formed in later life are also studied in this thesis. The connection some child migrants still have with the Netherlands in their lives today now that they are adults, is sometimes economically or politically orientated. Therefore, economic and political ties will be discussed, but they are not emphasized. The transnational ties are used to measure and map the expression of one’s Dutchness, one’s symbolic ethnicity.

This raises the question of how Dutchness can be measured through these transnational ties. Various ways of measurement are used in this thesis. The interviews I personally conducted with six Dutch child migrants are a valuable source. In the analysis of these interviews, various aspects were highlighted to measure and map the ties the participants still had with the Netherlands. Attachment 1 shows these different aspects. For example, language of the interview, the degree of which one still identifies as Dutch and one’s cultural traditions all say something about the participants’ personal relationship with the Netherlands. Therefore, exact measurement or establishing a degree of Dutchness on a scale is not possible. This measurement is based on the assumption of transnational ties, the way people talk about them and how they identify towards them. The different categories of ties listed above prove useful to distinguish in what way an immigrant is expressing their Dutchness, which is their personal relationship with their home country.

I am aware that the way transnationalism is used in this thesis is different from the classical approaches by for example Park, Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc. Research on recent migration often includes references to transnationalism but it is important to note that

⁷⁰ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 30.

⁷¹ Bourne, ‘Trans-national America’, 97-105.

⁷² See for example: S. Vertovec, ‘Migrant transnationalism and modes of transformation’ in: A. Portes and J. DeWind (eds.), *Rethinking migration. New theoretical and empirical perspectives* (New York 2007) 149-180, 150.

Dutch post-war migration to Australia is different from recent migration.⁷³ The Dutch came from a well-developed country (which was damaged by war) with a rich culture and history and arrived in a fairly primitive, under-developed society with little culture. The participants interviewed for this thesis, highlighted this contradiction as well, as will be illustrated in the final chapter. Most Dutch people had to downgrade their expectations when they arrived in Australia, whereas in most current South-North migration, it is the other way around.

Historiography

Literature about transnational children is limited and children have long been neglected in research on transnationalism and in migration studies in general. This thesis aims to add to the literature, by combining transnational children with past migrations, which has never been done before explicitly. In the political debates about immigrants and the failure of their integration, transnational ties to their home country are often mentioned as the reason. This research will shed a different light to that, by combining Dutch migrants with transnationalism and integration, to create a different perspective for current debates.

To start with, there is a discussion regarding the terminology of the first generation child migrants.⁷⁴ Some authors refer to children, who are born in their parents' country and migrated at a young age, as second generation migrants.⁷⁵ Sometimes, they are referred to as the 'half-generation'.⁷⁶ Other authors choose to divide the children's generation in different generations, making it even more complex.⁷⁷ The core subject of this thesis is not whether or not the participant belongs to a certain generational group. Their experiences are central. Therefore, to make this thesis not more complex, it will refer to the Dutch children in Australia as first generation migrants, as their birth in the Netherlands is the most important qualification of being part of this research. The term 'in-between generation' is also used, but this is to highlight the difficulty the children had with living between two cultures. Therefore, the in-between generation covers the same as the first generation Dutch child migrants and is not limited to certain age boundaries.

⁷³ Bouras emphasizes that transnational ties of non-western migrants are often problematized. See: Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 14.

⁷⁴ R.G. Rumbaut, 'Ages, life stages, and generational cohorts. Decomposing the immigrant first and second generations in the United States' in: A. Portes and J. DeWind (eds.), *Rethinking migration. New theoretical and empirical perspectives* (New York 2007) 342-387, 343, 348-349.

⁷⁵ See for example: Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 272.

⁷⁶ W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, *The Polish peasant in Europe and America* (New York [1918-1920] 1958).

⁷⁷ W.L. Warner and L. Srole, *The social systems of American ethnic groups* (New Haven 1945); Rumbaut, 'Ages, life stages, and generational cohorts', 348.

Dutch emigration to Australia is not widely studied. From the 1960s onwards, sociologists such as Barend Hofstede, Joed Elich and Rob Wenthold studied Dutch emigration to Australia.⁷⁸ These studies were leading for several years, until the two main researchers on Dutch emigration to Australia, Van Faassen and Peters, criticized the sociological work. Van Faassen argued that the sociological studies were too pillarized (*verzuild*).⁷⁹ She contributed to the literature about Dutch emigration with her study from the government's perspective.⁸⁰ Peters, being a Dutch migrant living in Australia herself, added, in contradiction to what the sociologists concluded, that the Dutch did not emigrate because of their national character, but because they were searching for a better life.⁸¹ Besides Peters, only a handful of other Australian researchers and writers are specialized in the subject.⁸² My research will provide a new perspective within this small range of studies; first, transnationalism has never been studied in the Dutch-Australian case. I argue that transnationalism is a valuable approach, especially for the 'in-between' and second generations, who still struggle with their identity.⁸³ Second, this generation of migrant children has never been studied explicitly. Transnational ties are even more complex for the children with an *Indisch* Dutch background, because they could relate to two homelands. *Indisch* Dutch children were officially Dutch, but the Australian authorities often selected their immigrants based on (white) skin colour, which proved problematic for some of the *Indisch* Dutch.⁸⁴ At the same time, they were not fully part of the Dutch migrant community in Australia, because the relationship to the Netherlands was so different, some felt like they had two fatherlands before moving to Australia.⁸⁵ My study includes one respondent with *Indisch* Dutch heritage and therefore, will contribute to this specific field of study.

⁷⁸ Elich, *Aan de ene kant, aan de andere kant*; Hofstede, *Thwarted exodus*; R. Wenthold, *Kenmerken van de Nederlandse emigrant* (Utrecht 1961); G.Th.J. Delfgaauw, 'Emigratie als bijdrage tot vermindering van den bevolkingsdruk in Nederland', *The Economist* 101:1 (1953) 337-359; N.H. Frijda, 'Emigrants – non-emigrants', in: G. Beijer, N.H. Frijda, B.P. Hofstede and R. Wenthold, *Characteristics of overseas migrants* (Den Haag 1961) 53-106; N.H. Frijda, 'Emigrants overseas', in: G. Beijer, N.H. Frijda, B.P. Hofstede and R. Wenthold, *Characteristics of overseas migrants* (Den Haag 1961) 281-308; W. van der Mast, *Praktijk en patroon van recente Nederlandse groeps migraties* (Groningen 1963) 72-99; H.P. Linthorst Homan, *Rapport over de integratie van emigranten in de samenleving van het ontvangende land* (Den Haag 1957); J.E. Ellemers, 'The determinants of emigration: an analysis of Dutch studies on migration', *Sociologica Neerlandica* 2:1 (1964) 41-58; J.H. Elich and P.W. Blauw, *...en toch terug. Een onderzoek naar retourmigratie van Nederlanders uit Australië, Nieuw-Zeeland en Canada* (Rotterdam 1981).

⁷⁹ Van Faassen, 'Min of meer misbaar, 52; Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 12-13.

⁸⁰ Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*.

⁸¹ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 217.

⁸² Walker-Birckhead, 'Paying our way'; K. Velthuis, *The Dutch in NSW. A thematic history* (Albury 2005); E. Duyker, *The Dutch in Australia* (Melbourne 1987); E. Duyker and M. Duyker, *Beyond the dunes. A Dutch-Australian story* (Sylvania 1987); F. Bouman, *Omgekeerde wereld. Wanordelijke kroniek van een architect* (Assen 2016); Paulusse, *Vertrek*.

⁸³ Peters, 'Just a piece of paper', 62-63.

⁸⁴ Willems, *De nittocht uit Indië*, 265.

⁸⁵ W. Willems, 'Breaking down the white walls: the Dutch from Indonesia', in: N. Peters (ed.), *The Dutch Down-Under 1606-2006* (Crawley 2006) 132-147, 146; E. ten Brummelaar, *The other Dutch. A short history of those Dutch-Australians, who spent their youth in the Dutch East Indies* (Sydney 1995) 66.

When researching migration and transnationalism, identity is an important factor. Especially for children, who are seen as migrants, but who often do not fully consider themselves migrants, as they adapt to the host society in different ways than their parents.⁸⁶ The place of birth does not necessarily match one's ethnic identity, as is the case for many migrant children.⁸⁷ Children's identities are influenced by their home culture and by the culture of the host society, as mentioned above. This mix results in complicated and transnational migrant identities. Migrant children can become uncertain about their 'personal and cultural identity'.⁸⁸ Research about children in relation to transnationalism is very limited. The previously mentioned work by Gardner is leading on this subject. As mentioned above, children are treated as unimportant factors in the migration.⁸⁹ However, in a lot of cases children are the reason for migration, as parents want them to have a better future.⁹⁰ This research adds to this literature by arguing that, in the Dutch-Australian case, seeking a better future for the children was one of the most important reasons for families to migrate and move to the other side of the world.⁹¹ The housing shortage in the Netherlands and the government's policy encouraged families to emigrate as a whole. This then resulted in housing shortages in Australia and that is why so many migrant families built their own houses.

This is relevant when studying belonging and the feeling of home. The question of belonging and the feeling of home are important aspects of immigrant childhoods. Anthropologist Kanwal Mand, who is leading in research on home and belonging, studies the experience and feeling of home for Bangladeshi children in London and argues that the children associated home with both places.⁹² However, the experience of 'home' in each place was different. It is interesting to study whether children who do not go back 'home' to the Netherlands, still associate the Netherlands with 'home'. The feeling of belonging somewhere is closely related to the feeling of home. Migrant houses, can serve as a site of belonging in a strange country and are important in the maintenance of symbolic ties with the home country, for example by decoration and food.⁹³ In the Dutch case, houses were often kept fairly Dutch, by furnishing and food, such as strong coffee with biscuits for people visiting.⁹⁴ These aspects are

⁸⁶ A. Rastas, 'Ethnic identities and transnational subjectivities', in: P.R. Spickard (ed.), *Multiple identities. Migrants, ethnicity and membership* (Bloomington, 2013) 41-60, 41, 54.

⁸⁷ Jupp, *The Australian people*, 268.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.

⁸⁹ Orellana et.al., 'Transnational childhoods', 578.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 587-588.

⁹¹ Zierke et. al., *Old ties*, ix; B.P. Hofstede, 'An enquiry into the reasons for the decision to emigrate', in: G. Beijer, N.H. Frijda, B.P. Hofstede and R. Wenthold, *Characteristics of overseas migrants* (The Hague 1961) 3-52, 17-18.

⁹² K. Mand, 'I've got two houses. One in Bangladesh and one in London...everybody has': home, locality and belonging(s)', *Childhood* 17:2 (2010) 273-287, 274.

⁹³ Mand, 'I've got two houses', 276.

⁹⁴ W. Walker-Birkhead, *Dutch identity and assimilation in Australia: an interpretative approach* (Canberra 1988) 203-205.

important in studying the symbolic ties. This research adds to the literature on home and belonging, by studying home and belonging in combination with transnationalism and symbolic ethnicity.

Material and method

This research is based on interviews and primary sources from the *Nationaal Archief* (NA) in The Hague. In the archive's inventories, I searched keywords in the NA-database, such as 'Australia', 'clubs', 'integration' and 'emigration'. Inventories from the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, namely the *Directie voor de Emigratie* and *Nederlandse Emigratie Dienst* proved to include pertinent data.⁹⁵ These inventories contain communication between Dutch government officials in the Netherlands, such as the Director of Emigration, and Dutch officials in Australia. The topics discussed vary widely, from cultural issues to financial issues regarding Dutch nationals in Australia. For this research I have limited myself to inventories which contain information about integration, Dutch cultural life abroad, Dutch organizations in Australia and organizations concerning religious issues. Children were not often specifically mentioned in these governmental archives. Policies were directed at the migrating adults and children were simply not discussed. Still these archives are important to this study, because the absence of the migrant children shows how these children were considered and explains why they are forgotten in migration studies. It also shows the difference between the adults and the children and it helps us understand why adult migrants remained Dutch abroad in opposition to their children. The archival material proved mainly helpful for chapter two, which discusses the top-down government influence on the Dutch migrant children.

I have also selected 57 issues of the Dutch Australian Weekly (DAW) from 1951 – when the first issue was published – until 1969.⁹⁶ The DAW is a weekly newspaper covering Dutch news for Dutch migrants in Australia. I investigated the different issues on the way children were targeted in relation to Dutch cultural activities or traditions. The DAW database, alongside the NA-inventories, will be used for chapter three on the organizations perspective. For the last chapter, which covers the individual level, mainly interviews will be used.

⁹⁵ National Archives, The Hague, Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment: *Directie voor de Emigratie*, admission number 2.15.68, inventory numbers 839, 864, 866, 867, 871, 1334, 1351 and 1395; National Archives, The Hague, Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment: *Nederlandse Emigratie Dienst*, admission number 2.15.72, inventory numbers 171, 173, 176, 198 and 199; National Archives, The Hague, Embassy and Consulates in Australia; South Pacific Commission, admission number 2.05.145, inventory number 661.

⁹⁶ Dutch Australia Weekly, selection of 57 issues from 1951 to 1969 via www.trove.nla.gov.au (visited on 11th of July 2018) issues: 5-10-1951, 2-11-1951, 23-11-1951, 15-2-1952, 18-4-1952, 15-8-1952, 20-3-1953, 24-4-1953, 4-12-1953, 7-5-1954, 30-7-1954, 3-12-1954, 4-3-1955, 3-6-1955, 7-10-1955, 6-1-1956, 29-6-1956, 14-9-1956, 8-2-1957, 14-6-1957, 13-12-1957, 14-3-1958, 1-8-1958, 17-10-1958, 2-1-1959, 4-9-1959, 11-12-1959, 1-1-1960, 11-3-1960, 17-6-1960, 13-1-1961, 30-3-1961, 24-11-1961, 13-4-1962, 13-7-1962, 7-9-1962, 31-5-1963, 26-7-1963, 4-10-1963, 13-3-1964, 7-8-1964, 4-12-1964, 4-6-1965, 6-8-1965, 26-11-1965, 28-1-1966, 18-3-1966, 30-9-1966, 28-4-1967, 2-6-1967, 1-12-1967, 23-2-1968, 11-4-1968, 13-9-1968, 30-5-1969, 24-10-1969 and 19-12-1969.

For the selection of the interview participants, I used my personal network. Through my supervisor Marlou Schrover, I met Nonja Peters, who then introduced me to some of her former students. Through these students, who are migrant children themselves, I met my other interviewees. One participant I contacted through my personal family network in Australia. In the selection of my participants, I created a gender balance: three men and three women (see table 1). All the participants, except one, emigrated with their parents between the age of 5 and 14, and between 1949 and 1961. One participant emigrated twice, first in 1956 when he was 6 and again in 1967 when he was 17. Nonja and Anton, who were 5 and 6 when they (first) migrated to Australia, would have less memories to the Netherlands than the participants who migrated at a later age. However, their young age has not been a limitation for this research, as Anton migrated twice (the second time at age 17) and Nonja has been back to the Netherlands quite often. When migrating at a young age, there are fewer friends to miss and less memories of the Netherlands at the time of departure. For a more comprehensive research, age boundaries might be useful to create a homogenous group of participants.

The participants ended up in different parts of Australia and in different fields of work, as table 1 shows. In the majority of the interviews, Dutch migration was characterized as a migration of the working-class. However, some of the participants argue that their family was probably a bit different from the traditional working-class Dutch family, in a way that they were highly educated or not as strictly religious. Four out of six participants kept speaking Dutch at home in Australia, and two out of six participants wanted to speak Dutch during the interview. I am aware that six people is not representative for the Dutch-Australian population. However, I think that these six people will give the reader an idea of their history. They all provide a slightly different story and show that Dutch migration is actually more complex than described in the literature. This research could be used as a first step in conducting more interviews over a longer time span to address this complexity in more detail.

All interviews, except for one personal meeting, were conducted through Skype or Facetime. I recorded and transcribed all interviews. To analyse and research my primary sources, I created an interview guide (see attachment 1). This interview guide helped me to analyse the conducted interviews and connect them to this research. The last chapter, which will contain the individual level, will be based on material from the interviews. Instead of the top-down analysis from the first chapters, this chapter will be more personal and individual. The participants get the opportunity to tell their stories.

Table 1: Key information about the participants

Name	Martien	Keith	Anton*	Janine*	Nonja	Frances
Gender	Man	Man	Man	Woman	Woman	Woman
Age	80	69	68	77	74	81
Age at migration	13	12	6 & 17	11	5	14
Year of migration	1951	1961	1956 & 1967	1951	1949	1950
Went back to NL during childhood	No	Yes (6 months at 17)	Yes (8 years)	No	Yes (2 years at 16)	No
Language interview	English	Dutch	Dutch	English	English	English
Assisted migrants	Partly	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
State	NSW	VIC	VIC	VIC	WA	QLD
Language at home as kids	English	Dutch	Dutch	English	Dutch	Dutch
Profession	Teacher & librarian	Author & social psychologist	Engineer	Librarian & researcher	Academic	Nurse & artist

*these names have been changed upon request of the participants.

In the theory section, the measurement of transnational ties is discussed. In my analysis, I study the assumptions made by the participants regarding their relationship and ties with the Netherlands. This can be in various forms and this is the main reason I developed the interview guide (attachment 1). The categories mentioned in the guide all imply certain ties with the Netherlands, but all in different forms. It is interesting to note that the migrants compare themselves with the other Dutch people in Australia, which they consider as ‘the typical Dutch’. This aspect is clearly visible when studying class, which will be elaborated further below. The image Dutch have of their home country is partly shaped by the other Dutch migrants in Australia.

It is important to note that the majority of the participants are actively involved in the Dutch community in Australia. I think that this is inevitable as these people are particularly interested in participating in this kind of research. However, we must be aware that these people have probably thought more about their Dutch heritage than other Dutch migrants who never set foot in the Netherlands again after their migration and have not been active in the Dutch community.

Lastly, when using oral history, there are some points of critique to note. Oral history is criticized for relying solely on personal knowledge of the interviewee.⁹⁷ Oral history is said to be less reliable than written documents, because it relies on memories of mostly older people, who may have the tendency to be emotional and unclear. Also, people can lie in interviews. However, in the stories the speakers are telling is a truth, their truth, at a specific moment in time.⁹⁸ Anthropologist Elizabeth Tonkin argues that oral histories are representations of the past.⁹⁹ The memories of the speaker are shaped by his or her past and are told differently each time to various audiences, and can be interpreted differently by each audience.¹⁰⁰ From the things people do and do not say, information could be gathered. The participants may have emphasized some aspects because they knew the direction of my research and for another research with a different focus, answers might have been formulated in a different way. But I think this is also the beauty of oral history, it provides an individual's truth at a very specific point in time. In my research, I use interviews as an important source on the past of Dutch children in Australia, while keeping in mind that the interviews do not provide the absolute truth of how history has happened. In my attempt to provide a bottom-up perspective in the last chapter, oral history is vital as it gives 'the normal people' a platform.¹⁰¹ However, I am aware of the fact that my participants might not remember events correctly and have shaped them a certain way over time. As Martien, who emigrated at age 13, says:

*I know we went on a, I think we left from Amsterdam, I remember going, I think I remember. You gotta be careful here because you see so many pictures of people leaving, that you start to think that was you. But, I'm not really all that sure. I think I remember the ship sailing out.*¹⁰²

Structure

This extensive introductory chapter is followed by a brief background chapter, which provides the reader with all the necessary information to understand the analysis. The political environment in both Australia and the Netherlands will be explained, which is followed by an emphasis on Dutch society in the 1950s in the Netherlands. This sub-chapter studies the environment out of which the children left the Netherlands and focuses on religion, culture and politics in order to establish why some ties developed and remained strong in later life. The first analytical chapter covers the influence from governments on the development and maintenance

⁹⁷ Paragraph based on: A. Hajek and A. Davis, 'Oral history', *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* 2:17 (2015) 284-290, 285.

⁹⁸ S. Terkel, *Hard times: an oral history of the Great Depression* (New York 1970) 3.

⁹⁹ E. Tonkin, *Narrating our pasts. The social construction of oral history* (Cambridge 1992) 2.

¹⁰⁰ Tonkin, *Narrating our pasts*, 4.

¹⁰¹ Hajek and Davis, 'Oral history', 285.

¹⁰² Interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018.

of ties. Archival sources and interviews will be central here. The second analytical chapter discusses the influence of organizations on the ties. Organizations on national, local and international level will be studied. Archival sources, interviews and the online DAW database are the main sources for this chapter. The last analytical chapter is about the migrants themselves and their ties to the Netherlands. The interviews prove to be an excellent source to analyse in what way Dutch migrant children shaped their connection with the Netherlands in later life and how they look back on their Dutch-Australian lives in the 1950s and 1960s. The final chapter is a concluding chapter.

Chapter 1: Background

*'None are so popular or so esteemed as those who have come from the Netherlands'*¹⁰³

Since the arrival of the British in 1788, Australia has been an immigration country.¹⁰⁴ The first peak in Australia's history as migrant country was the gold rush in the 1850s and 1860s, when migrants from Britain, continental Europe, China and the United States came to Australia to make a fortune on the gold fields. The initial plan was to get rich and return home with a profit. However, many gold rush migrants ended up settling in Australia. Between all the white migrants entering Australia, the Chinese migrants stood out as non-whites.¹⁰⁵ China's population of 300 million people and the fact that they looked different from the white Australian society, caused white Australians to feel threatened.¹⁰⁶ Chinese migrants became the target of racial violence, although, in contrast with the United States, not many deaths occurred. The fear for the Chinese was based upon the idea that there was a certain hierarchy in 'races', namely Caucasian, Negroid, Mongoloid and Australoid (Indigenous Australians).¹⁰⁷ This theory was backed up by Social Darwinism: contact between the 'races' was best to avoid to keep the white population white.

This is the underlying idea of the White Australia Policy, which originated in the 1880s and was passed into law in 1901 as 'Immigration Restriction Law' when the Commonwealth was founded.¹⁰⁸ The lack of violent deaths as a result of racism shows that Australians discriminated by law, not necessarily by acts, as in the United States.¹⁰⁹ The idea behind the White Australia Policy was initially to limit the number of Chinese migrants and to create a population which was 'unmixed with any lower caste'.¹¹⁰ The Australian continent needed to be 'whitened'.¹¹¹ At the beginning of the twentieth century, Australians were suspicious towards every non-British person, especially people from Asia, Southern and Eastern Europe. In the 1930s and 1940s, migration from Britain decreased and as a result the Australian administration needed to look further into Europe for population potential, which still needed to be white.¹¹² Agreements were

¹⁰³ 'Australië: integreren met hindernissen' on: Andere Tijden (VPRO) 2nd of April 2006 [https://anderetijden.nl/programma/1/Andere-Tijden/aflevering/394/Australie-integreren-met-hindernissen-](https://anderetijden.nl/programma/1/Andere-Tijden/aflevering/394/Australie-integreren-met-hindernissen) (visited on 24th of July 2018), from 22.13min.

¹⁰⁴ Paragraph based on: Jupp, *From white Australia to Woomera*, 6-9; Jupp, *The Australian people*, 35.

¹⁰⁵ Jupp, *The Australian people*, 37.

¹⁰⁶ Anti-Chinese sentiments were also present in the United States, where Chinese were excluded by law. See for example: E.C. Sandmeyer, *The anti-Chinese movement in California* (Urbana 1973).

¹⁰⁷ I deliberately place 'race' between quotation marks, as there is an academic discussion whether 'race' exists or that it is socially constructed. However, this discussion goes beyond this thesis. For additional information, see for example: J. Hartigan Jr., 'Is race still socially constructed? The recent controversy over race and medical genetics', *Science as Culture* 17:2 (2008) 163-193; M.O. Hardimon, *Rethinking race. The case for deflationary realism* (Cambridge 2017).

¹⁰⁸ Jupp, *From white Australia to Woomera*, 9, 14; Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 162.

¹⁰⁹ Jupp, *From white Australia to Woomera*, 9.

¹¹⁰ Jupp, *The Australian people*, 45.

¹¹¹ Willems, 'Breaking down the white walls', 133.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 134.

made with the Dutch authorities, among others, because the Dutch were known to assimilate easily and had the ‘right’ appearance and background. Entry restrictions targeted everyone who was believed to be unable to adjust to the Australian society and who was not white. However, the distinction between white and not-white, proved not to be easy, for example in the case of people with a mixed background. The *Indisch* Dutch coming from the NEI during and after the Second World War experienced difficulties when they tried to settle in Australia, because they were perceived as non-whites.¹¹³ After the war, many *Indisch* Dutch, including former KNIL (Royal Netherlands Indies Army) soldiers, settled in Australia under the Allied Ex-Servicemen’s Scheme, but only if they had the right percentage of European blood and if they looked white enough.¹¹⁴ This percentage needed to be determined administratively through a test and by examining family photographs. If more than one grandparent looked too dark, the applicant would be rejected.¹¹⁵ I will further elaborate on the *Indisch* Dutch case below. The White Australia policy was abolished in 1973.¹¹⁶ However, it is to some extent still present today. Even though the top three countries of origin are now India, China and the UK, discrimination and targeting specific groups is still happening.¹¹⁷

After the Second World War, Australians wanted to populate their continent by attracting people from Europe, preferably from Britain. Newly appointed Minister of Immigration, Arthur Calwell, argued that Australia’s population was supposed to grow 2% each year, which meant 70,000 – British – immigrants per year. However, as mentioned above, post-war Britain proved unable to stimulate migration to Australia; not enough ships were available for the migration and the British government was unwilling to support an immigration programme for Australia, as there was a high demand for labour in Britain.¹¹⁸ In fact, Britain experienced an influx of European migrants and the government did not want to see its population leave. When the desired number of migrants could not be reached from Britain, Calwell had to find other suitable immigrants, for example the Dutch who were considered to be racially second in the hierarchy. Alick Downer, who was appointed Minister of Immigration in 1958, confirmed that the Dutch were valued very highly:

¹¹³ Ibid., 135.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 136; Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 220-221.

¹¹⁵ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 221.

¹¹⁶ Jupp, *The Australian people*, 48.

¹¹⁷ ‘The changing shape of Australia’s immigration policy’ in: The Guardian 23rd of March 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/mar/24/australias-fierce-immigration-debate-is-about-to-get-louder> (visited on 15th of June 2018); ‘Australia’s immigration policy is meant to be blind to race, but is it?’ in: The Guardian 5th of April 2018 <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/apr/05/australia-says-its-immigration-policy-is-blind-to-race-what-do-the-facts-show> (visited on 26th of August 2018); A. Markus, *Mapping social cohesion 2017: the Scanlon Foundation surveys report* (Caulfield East 2017) 57, 60.

¹¹⁸ Paragraph based on: Jupp, *From white Australia to Woomera*, 13; Jupp, *The Australian people*, 62-63.

*I think without any exaggeration of language, I can truthfully say that of all the peoples who have come to Australia from Europe since the War, none are so popular or so esteemed as those who have come from the Netherlands. We value them very very highly indeed.*¹¹⁹

Between 1945 and 1967, behind the British (48.8%) and the Italians (13.4%), most immigrants in Australia came from the Netherlands (5.5%).¹²⁰

Besides pull factors from Australia, push factors from the Netherlands played a considerable role in the large migration. As mentioned above, there were significant financial shortages, a population increase caused by the post-war baby boom, an economy which was hurt by German occupation and there was unemployment in some sectors.¹²¹ Emigration was considered an ideal solution for unemployment and the growing population. The Dutch government started an active emigration policy, which resulted in several outcomes.¹²² First, the government financially supported individual emigrants, which created a ‘cheap’ way of migrating and encouraged more people to consider emigration. Secondly, the government provided information about the destination countries through specially made promotion films which portrayed the conditions in Australia favourably, and according to some more favourable than they were in reality.¹²³ Thirdly, Dutch people who decided to leave were offered language and educational programmes to facilitate the emigration and assimilation process. Also, bilateral agreements were made between the Netherlands and destination countries such as Australia to realize and finance emigration.¹²⁴ An active emigration policy corresponded with the population-wide desire to emigrate. People’s motivations were mainly based on the challenging conditions in the Netherlands and the wish for a better future for the children.¹²⁵ A 1954 research on 1,000 Dutch emigrants, commissioned by the Dutch government, shows that more than half of all the participants (which were all men) brought at least one child with them and that most emigrating children were under 15.¹²⁶ The reason to choose Australia as a destination often relates to the wish for a better future for the children; one of the most mentioned reasons to go to Australia

¹¹⁹ ‘Australië: integreren met hindernissen’ on: Andere Tijden (VPRO) 2nd of April 2006 <https://anderetijden.nl/programma/1/Andere-Tijden/aflevering/394/Australie-integreren-met-hindernissen-> (visited on 24th of July 2018), from 22.13min.

¹²⁰ Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 163.

¹²¹ Paragraph based on: *Ibid.*, 51-55.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 104

¹²³ M. Prenger, *In een sfeer van chronische blijmoedigheid* (Amsterdam 1987); Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië*, 283-284.

¹²⁴ Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 109.

¹²⁵ P.W. Blauw, ‘Explanations of post-war Dutch emigration to Australia’, in: N. Peters (ed.), *The Dutch Down-Under 1606-2006* (Crawley 2006) 168-183, 175.

¹²⁶ *De gaande man. Gronden van de emigratiebeslissing. Rapport naar aanleiding van een onderzoek verricht in opdracht van de regeringscommissaris voor de emigratie met een inleiding door prof. dr. S.J. Groenman* (Den Haag 1958) 169-170.

was the prospect of better possibilities, besides the warm climate and family and friends already present in Australia.¹²⁷

The government's active policy was not directed at the entire population, only the people who were 'useless' for the reconstruction of the country were encouraged to emigrate. These people were mostly young and part of large families, especially in the first years of this stimulation programme.¹²⁸ Between 1948 and 1962, 17% of the emigrants were people from the agricultural sector, who were strongly encouraged to emigrate by the government.¹²⁹ The government informed and financially assisted Dutch emigrants through certain agreements; the previously mentioned Allied Ex-Servicemen's Scheme and the in 1951 established Netherlands-Australian Migration Agreement (NAMA).¹³⁰ People who were not specifically targeted by the Dutch government to emigrate, could still move, but as unassisted migrants. This meant they had to pay for the entire trip. In the 1960s, this unassisted emigration increased, while the subsidies decreased.¹³¹

As mentioned above, a separate group within the Dutch immigrant community were the *Indisch* Dutch. It is impossible to give a precise number of *Indisch* Dutch who emigrated (via the Netherlands) to Australia, because it is not listed anywhere.¹³² Estimations vary between 7,000 and 30,000 and it is unclear who exactly is included in those numbers. I will follow Wim Willems' estimate of 10,000, because he refers to Dutch governmental archives.¹³³ The term '*Indisch* Dutch' includes people with different backgrounds, from people who were born in the NEI and have lived there for generations, to 'white' Dutch.¹³⁴ It is difficult to establish who is included in the numbers mentioned above, because these numbers provided by Censuses and government statistics were often incomplete. Historian Coté mentions several reasons for why some *Indisch* Dutch went to Australia. He emphasizes that they were 'escaping the patronizing looks', the weather, the formal culture, the lack of exotic food and the fact that the Dutch society did not see them as fully Dutch, they were considered as the 'other' Dutch.¹³⁵ Peters adds to this that many returning Dutch soldiers who, during the war in the NEI, were based in Australia, chose to apply for emigration because they could not get used to the Dutch way of life and often had a girlfriend waiting in Australia.¹³⁶ It is interesting to compare the conditions *Indisch* Dutch faced in

¹²⁷ *De gaande man*, 28, 55.

¹²⁸ Blauw, 'Explanations of post-war Dutch emigration to Australia', 173-175.

¹²⁹ Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 106.

¹³⁰ Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 165.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 456.

¹³² Willems, 'Breaking down the white walls', 145; Coté, 'The *Indisch* Dutch', 104; Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 185.

¹³³ Willems, 'Breaking down the white walls', 146.

¹³⁴ Coté, 'The *Indisch* Dutch', 104.

¹³⁵ Coté, 'The *Indisch* Dutch', 111.

¹³⁶ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 214.

the Netherlands upon arrival, with those that were faced by Dutch migrants arriving in Australia. In both cases, the governments played an important role, camps were set up to house the newcomers, churches helped their members integrating and there were special officials who could help the newcomers find a job.¹³⁷ Also, in both cases the host society wished that the newcomers assimilated to their values and habits. However, in the Netherlands there were already many *Indisch* Dutch concentrated in (mainly) the big cities and historically there was a connection between the NEI and the Netherlands. This concentration of *Indisch* Dutch people in Australia and the historical connection did not exist in Australia.¹³⁸ The absence of familiarity and connection caused the *Indisch* Dutch to feel even more like the ‘other’ Dutch and excluded from the Dutch community.¹³⁹

The *Indisch* Dutch were confronted with an extra difficulty upon arrival in Australia. The White Australia Policy was still in place and several *Indisch* Dutch people were targeted as non-Dutch and were frowned upon. Assimilation was already very difficult for people who had lived in the Netherlands their entire lives and did not look different from the Australians. For some *Indisch* Dutch who were not blond and blue-eyed, *aanpassen* proved more difficult. Moreover, their identity was very complex, because some of them never lived in the Netherlands or only shortly. Therefore, the feeling of home and belonging becomes more complex. Child migrants from the NEI did not know the Netherlands like child migrants who had lived in the Netherlands. The connection to home was different and the clubs which were established were not specifically set up for *Indisch* Dutch. Migrant organizations were set up based on a collective memory, and when this memory is different amongst the entire Dutch population in Australia, communal connection proves more difficult. This partly explains why the *Indisch* Dutch were seen as the ‘other’ Dutch, they did not share the same memory. Only in the 1990s, *Indisch* Dutch clubs were established, compared to Dutch clubs which were already established from the 1950s onwards.¹⁴⁰

Dutch society in the 1950s

Before researching the ties Dutch migrant children had with the Netherlands, I first expand on Dutch society around the time the children left. By picturing Dutch society in the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, we can understand where the ties originated and why some ties have remained that strong in later life. In this sub-chapter we analyse the importance of religion, culture and politics in Dutch society in the 1950s.

¹³⁷ Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië*, 277.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 277.

¹³⁹ The term ‘other Dutch’ was introduced by: E. ten Brummelaar, *The other Dutch*. The term has been used since by: Willems, ‘Breaking down the white walls’, 132; Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 330.

¹⁴⁰ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 330.

Religion was an important aspect of life in the 1950s. The majority of Dutch emigrants was religious; only 16% was not religious.¹⁴¹ Elich argued that this religiousness indicated a strong sense of pillarization: the division between religious pillars including separate organizations.¹⁴² Four pillars stood out: Catholic, Protestant, socialist and liberal.¹⁴³ In this part I will focus on the two religious pillars. In 1971, the percentage of non-religious people had increased to 25%, according to the CBS (Central Bureau for Statistics).¹⁴⁴ In the 1970s and 1980s, the process of de-pillarization had started in the Netherlands, meaning people were not as strictly divided along religiously lines as they were before. Various scholars, such as Elich, have argued that pillarization continued among Dutch migrants in Australia and that de-pillarization did not happen as it did in the Netherlands.¹⁴⁵ Religion was an important factor for potential migrants in their decision where to emigrate, for example Catholics preferred Australia over Canada because of the religious environment, see table 2 and 3.¹⁴⁶

Table 2: Dutch emigration 1946-1969¹⁴⁷

	Canada	Australia	USA	South Africa	New Zealand	Other	Total
1946-1956	137,005	104,111	53,726	29,591	18,549	9,936	352,918
1960-1969	28,107	31,833	30,788	9,362	7,468	3,424	110,989
Total	165,112	135,944	84,514	38,953	26,017	13,360	463,907

Table 3: Religious background of Dutch emigrants 1948-1962 (in percentages)¹⁴⁸

	Canada	Australia	USA	South Africa	New Zealand	Other	Total
Catholic	29	45	27	21	47	36	34
Reformed (Hervormd)	26	26	30	35	25	20	27
Calvinist (Gereformeerd)	32	8	12	16	8	9	18
Other/none	13	21	31	28	20	35	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹⁴¹ *De gaande man*, 170.

¹⁴² Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 166.

¹⁴³ P. de Rooy, 'Zes studies over verzuiling', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 110:3 (1995) 380-392, 381.

¹⁴⁴ CBS, *Religie aan het begin van de 21^{ste} eeuw* (Den Haag/Heerlen 2009) 14.

¹⁴⁵ Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 166; M. Smits, *Met kompas emigreren. Katholieken en het vraagstuk van de emigratie in Nederland (1946-1972)* (Nijmegen 1989) 134-135.

¹⁴⁶ Zierke et al., *Old ties*, x; Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 166-167.

¹⁴⁷ Based on: M. Schrover and M. van Faassen, 'Invisibility and selectivity. Introduction to the special issue on Dutch overseas migration in the nineteenth and twentieth century', *Tijdschrift van Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* 7:2 (2010) 3-31, 19; J.H. Elich and P.W. Blauw, *Emigreren* (Utrecht/Amsterdam 1983) 22.

¹⁴⁸ Schrover and Van Faassen, 'Invisibility and selectivity', 19; Smits, *Met kompas*, 23; see for *Hervormde Kerk*: N.J. Prinsen, *De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk en de emigratie naar Canada en Australië na de Tweede Wereldoorlog* (Leiden 2005) 31.

Contradicting this widespread assumption of pillarization, Van Faassen states that the Dutch emigration environment was not as pillarized as is argued in the literatures.¹⁴⁹ This becomes apparent when looking more closely into the different application organizations. The application for emigration could be done through public and private application organizations (*openbare en niet-openbare aanmeldingsorganen*).¹⁵⁰ The public application organization was the *Rijksarbeidsbureau* (RAB), people who did not find it important whether their migration was organized by a particular organization, could apply there. However, these people could still be religious but they were just not strongly pillarized. Besides the public RAB, there were five private application organizations, of which three were pillarized. However, most applications were handled by public offices and un-pillarized private offices.¹⁵¹

Therefore, we could say that the Dutch emigration environment was not as strongly pillarized as Dutch society was. Two implications rise from this statement. First, potential emigrants might not have been as pillarized as the rest of the Dutch population. Or second, the entire population was not as pillarized as is previously argued in the literature. This would be a research in itself. The most important implication for this thesis is that we should look beyond the pillars and not solely focus on the religious part of Dutch emigrants, as Elich tends to do in his research.¹⁵² It is important to note that the figures Van Faassen provides are for the entire emigration from the Netherlands, and Elich's claims are solely for emigration to Australia. The broad administration of potential emigrants and the involvement of so many actors show that the Dutch national government was not the only organization taking care of emigration. The governance aspect is clearly visible here.

Besides religion, Dutch society had more characteristics, such as specific gender roles. When Dutch families emigrated, women had to follow their husband.¹⁵³ In a lot of cases, they did not choose to emigrate and did not want to leave the Netherlands. This is characteristic for the patriarchal Dutch society of the 1950s. Men were considered the breadwinners and women ran the households. This male-focused society is clearly visible in the previously mentioned research of 1954; all participants were men and only two questions related to their wives, who were not able to answer the question (whether they wanted to emigrate) themselves.¹⁵⁴ Women were stereotyped as being homesick, afraid of a new start in a new country and 'less emigration minded', in comparison to men who would be easily convinced to give up everything and move

¹⁴⁹ Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 28.

¹⁵⁰ Paragraph based on: *Ibid.*, 113-118, 454.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 454-455.

¹⁵² Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 167.

¹⁵³ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 265.

¹⁵⁴ *De gaande man*, 181. The title itself also highlights the emphasis on just the 'man'.

to the other side of the world.¹⁵⁵ These stereotypes do not make any sense, as men could easily be homesick as well, but this is never mentioned. A lot of Dutch men were patriarchal and argued that their wives should not be working, but instead they should focus on the household and making the home a comfortable place for the family. This role was not new for Dutch women in the 1950s. Before migration, the majority of Dutch women did not have paid jobs and this did not change after the emigration.¹⁵⁶ In Australia, this was not typically Dutch. Most women were bound to household tasks and did not work outside the house.¹⁵⁷ Women, similar to children, were not considered as the main actors in the emigration to Australia, they accompanied their families to the other side of the world, without often having a say in the matter. They were urged by their husbands to create a *gezellig* home, wherever that home may be, in a migrant camp for example.¹⁵⁸ This certainly did not always happen against their will, they would ‘proudly declare that their husband did not want them to work outside of the house’.¹⁵⁹ Dutch women had a different role than their husbands, they were considered as dependents in the family.¹⁶⁰ Many Dutch women had quite an isolated life outside their homes, they did not work and their English was often not as good as their husband’s or children’s. This isolated and limited role for mothers influenced their children, as Nonja, who emigrated when she was 5, describes:

...but my mother hated it, my mother was homesick always and unhappy. Suddenly you feel like you’re the mother and she is the kid, because you’re doing all the stuff. [...] when she got out to work it would have been better, because she would have learnt the language, she would have made friendships. But she preferred to stay isolated, in a sense.¹⁶¹

For a lot of Dutch children, the ‘traditional’ Dutch household created by their mother caused large differences between the private sphere of the home and the public sphere of Australian society. This left Dutch children confused and torn between two worlds. On the one hand, they should assimilate and become Australian and on the other hand, their homes remained Dutch because of their mothers.¹⁶² Women were torn between countries, which had effect on the children as well.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 25, 30-32; Zierke et.al., *Old ties*, xi.

¹⁵⁶ CBS, *Terugblikken een eeuw in statistieken* (Den Haag/Heerlen 2010) 32.

¹⁵⁷ G. Strachan, ‘Still working for the man? Women’s employment experiences in Australia since 1950’, *Australian Journal of Social Issues* 45:1 (2010) 117-130, 119.

¹⁵⁸ Zierke et.al., *Old ties*, xi; Walker-Birckhead, *Dutch identity and assimilation in Australia*, 200; S.M. Sinke, *Dutch immigrant women in the United States, 1880-1920* (Urbana 2002) 86.

¹⁵⁹ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 265.

¹⁶⁰ Zierke et.al., *Old ties*, ix.

¹⁶¹ Interview Nonja, conducted on 1st of June 2018.

¹⁶² Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 275; Walker-Birckhead, *Dutch identity and assimilation in Australia*, 209.

The Dutch post-war political environment was dominated by reconstructing the country. One of the most well-known post-war politicians was Willem Drees, leader of PvdA (Labour Party).¹⁶³ He was prime minister from 1948 until 1958. Drees was an advocate for the active emigration policy. He argued that the country's employment opportunities and food supply would benefit from people emigrating overseas. However, the emigrants who left in the first half of the 1950s were not really politically engaged. The vast majority had no interest in politics whatsoever (72%). Of the people voting, the majority voted for Drees and his PvdA (30%). Religious parties such as the catholic K.V.P and the *hervormd* C.H.U respectively got 15% and 12% of the votes.

Politics did not necessarily play a large role in the emigrants' lives in the 1950s. This could have a couple of reasons. First, emigrants might not be interested in Dutch politics because they are emigrating anyway, so there is no need. Second, the assisted emigrants were often people without higher education, which could also explain different interests than politics. Thirdly, the emigrants who were interested in politics, had a hard time maintaining that interest while being in Australia. Without current media it is difficult to stay up to date on the Dutch political situation. Lastly, Dutch political parties promoted emigration and did not actively try to involve Dutch people overseas in Dutch politics. We can expect that the little political interest of the parents caused that the children did not feel politically connected to the Netherlands, opposed to current cases about transnational ties, where political ties are considered very important and immigrants remain politically active in their homeland, such as Turkish people in Europe.¹⁶⁴

When analysing the Dutch background, we can expect to find ties related to religion, culture (ties based on gender differences) and social contacts.

¹⁶³ Paragraph based on: Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 7, 45; *De gaande man*, 178.

¹⁶⁴ 'Erdogan roept Turken in Europa op massaal op hem te stemmen bij vervroegde verkiezingen volgende maand', in: De Volkskrant 20th of May 2018 <https://www.volkskrant.nl/nieuws-achtergrond/erdogan-roept-turken-in-europa-op-massaal-op-hem-te-stemmen-bij-vervroegde-verkiezingen-volgende-maand~b5a571a3/> (visited on 21st of June 2018).

Chapter 2: Government

*'We were supposed to become Australians and no one had a bloody clue of what that meant'*¹⁶⁵

The ties Dutch migrant children had (and still have as adults) with the Netherlands were influenced by several factors. One of the most important factors is the government, both the Dutch and the Australian government. Both governments influenced and determined the integration and 'life choices' of the Dutch in Australia.¹⁶⁶ In this chapter the influence of both governments on the development and maintenance of ties is studied, using archives and personal experiences of the participants. Governments' influence can be direct and indirect, as this chapter will explain.

Influence of Australian government policies

Australia's policy of assimilation directly influenced the ties migrant children had with their homeland. The mentality of *aanpassen* was key for every Dutch family in Australia.¹⁶⁷ *Aanpassen* meant to adapt to Australian society and to forget your background and heritage. In general, fathers were keen and willing to adapt and learned to speak English quickly through their jobs.¹⁶⁸ Mothers, in general, had a more difficult time, because the majority of the Dutch women did not work outside the house, thus did not socialize a lot with English-speaking people and did not learn to speak English quickly. Of course for some families this was not the case and both parents interacted well with Australians.¹⁶⁹ For children, *aanpassen* was a motto which was promoted by their parents, who often did not know exactly what that meant.¹⁷⁰ The children went to school and were forced to speak English and to adapt and behave like the Australian children, as Nonja and Janine remember:

And then we had all the stuff at lunch time, where lunch determined who you sat with. And I was just saying that the Italians and the Poles brought these salamis and mozzarella, and the Australians had never seen and went 'ugh' which made us feel awful, because the assimilation policy meant that we weren't supposed to speak our language, we weren't supposed to talk about our backgrounds, we were supposed to

¹⁶⁵ Interview Nonja, conducted on 1st of June 2018.

¹⁶⁶ Peters, 'Aanpassen and invisibility', 101.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 90.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 88.

¹⁶⁹ Such as Keith's parents: free translation of interview Keith, conducted on 10th of May 2018: 'I was a boyscout, my mother went to the Country Women Association and met a lot of Australian women there, the Australians received us friendly. My father joined the RSL, the Return Soldiers League, that is for the soldiers who were in the Second World War, they helped us right away. We did not have any problems.'. Original quote: 'Ik was in de padvinderij, m'n moeder ging naar de Country Women Association toe en daar ontmoette ze veel Australische vrouwen en we werden direct overal goed opgevangen bij de Australiërs. En mijn vader gingen bij de RSL, de Return Soldiers League, dat is van alle soldaten van de Tweede Wereldoorlog en die helpten ons direct. Dus we hadden helemaal geen problemen.'.

¹⁷⁰ Peters, 'Aanpassen and invisibility', 102.

become Australians and no one had a bloody clue of what that meant, you know! What's an Australian? So a little kid looks at them, 'ok, I wanna wear those clothes, I wanna eat that food, because then I gonna be like them'. They come home to these mothers, Polish, Dutch, Ukrainian, Estonian, you name it, Hungarian, who didn't had a clue about that lunch for a start, didn't have a clue what that meant and just did their best.¹⁷¹

...we were discouraged in speaking our own language [...] if you would speak your language, they would come up to you and say to speak English. That happened to my mother when she was walking with my sister and she said something to her in Dutch and a complete stranger came up and told her not to speak her own language. [...] back then they were really xenophobic and you know people who had not an English appearance and speak English, who were second class migrants and we did our best to be as Australian as possible, that's what I did.¹⁷²

All these different experiences, caused by government policy, had an effect on the household and in particular, on the Dutchness of the household. The children behaved more and more 'Australian' at school, while their mothers ran a Dutch household, because they did not know any better.¹⁷³ This caused a disconnect between the two generations.¹⁷⁴ The difference between these private and public spheres caused difficulties and confusion for the children, especially regarding their relationship to the Netherlands. On the one hand, they were not allowed to speak Dutch at school, they were surrounded by all nationalities (or sometimes even just Australians) and made Australian friends. On the other hand, when they came home from school, they had to speak Dutch again, or at least their parents answered in Dutch, ate Dutch food, read Dutch books and lived in *gezellige* Dutch houses.

The assimilation policy denied any ties with the home country and it contributed to the fact that the children became alienated from their background. It was discouraged to speak Dutch and remain Dutch in Australia, which caused the children to also deny their Dutchness in the public sphere. They tried to fit in by acting Australian (bringing Australian food for lunch), but most of all by saying they were Australian and not Dutch.¹⁷⁵ The policy not only caused that the children tried to forget about their background, they also started to think about their background in a certain way. When the government so strongly emphasizes that being Australian

¹⁷¹ Interview Nonja, conducted on 1st of June 2018.

¹⁷² Interview Janine, conducted on 8th of May 2018.

¹⁷³ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 274.

¹⁷⁴ Peters, 'Aanpassen and invisibility', 102.

¹⁷⁵ For example: interview Janine, conducted on 8th of May 2018: 'I suppressed my Dutchness as much as possible at school, I didn't hang out with the Dutch kids necessarily. [...] Oh I just wanted to fit in, I felt different and strange.'; interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018: 'I didn't want to be known as Dutch [...] I felt that it was all in the past and you know, forget about it.'

is the number one priority and that all the other nationalities should be forgotten, it is implied that those other nationalities were considered second class nationalities, as Nonja argues:

In the end, the ones that started like I was at school, little ones, didn't want to marry your own unity because that was a negative factor. So you wanted to marry English or Australian, whereas the older ones, who came here older to Australia, they felt more comfortable with their own. But we were in the between, we didn't know where we really felt comfortable, so in a way we were going for a status, a better status than our own.¹⁷⁶

Because of the assimilation policy, migrant children felt like they should become Australian and forget their background. This strong focus on becoming Australian shaped the way children thought about their heritage, it became something negative, as Nonja argues above. The Australian nationality was placed above all other nationalities, which caused Dutch migrant children, but also other migrant children in Australia, to develop a fairly negative image about being Dutch. This directly influenced their ties with the Netherlands in a negative way. This closely relates to the de-formation of Dutch identity. When one starts denying their Dutch identity, this has a direct influence on one's ties with the Netherlands. The denial pushed the transnational ties to the background and created a transnational time gap, which is characteristic for the childhoods of Dutch migrant children. This complete denial changed in later life, as we will see below.

Besides Australia's assimilation policy, the White Australian Policy also influenced the development of ties of mostly *Indisch* Dutch migrant children. The term 'White Australia' was not present in any official documents, however, migrants were selected based on origin and skin colour. The interpretation of this policy changed with the years. From the 1960s, it became easier for people who were not of 100% European descent to enter Australia. However, there were still people who did not agree with these subtle policy changes. In the *Sunday Mail*, a Queensland local paper, an article is published on the 13th of May 1956 written by an Australian Major, who argues that the 'Dutch endanger White Australia Policy'.¹⁷⁷ The Major, who was stationed in Malaysia and Indonesia before returning to Australia, targets the *Indisch* Dutch people and argues that especially their children would 'revert to full colour, creating a serious social problem'. The Dutch government asked the Australian Ministry of Immigration to release a statement on this article. After a few refusals, they eventually say that they do not agree with the Major and that the Dutch government should not listen to such local nonsense. In a correspondence between the

¹⁷⁶ Interview Nonja, conducted on 1st of June 2018.

¹⁷⁷ Paragraph based on: NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1334.

Emigration Attaché and the Commissioner of Emigration following this article, the Attaché adds that the White Australia Policy's meaning is changing, people are not getting rejected upon skin colour any more, but only on their 'level', which meant their capability to integrate. This shows that integration and assimilation were still considered the most important aspects of migration. The *Indisch* Dutch children were confronted with an additional level of difficulty, for example the xenophobic remarks made by some Australians, such as the Major. The *Indisch* Dutch even felt more like an outsider than the Dutch, also because no one knew anything about them and where they came from. Frances, who emigrated from the NEI at age 14, remembers the feeling well:

I felt they resented the migrants and the people coming from other countries, it was a resentment because they felt threatened they would lose their jobs you know [...] I think also part of the discrimination was not knowing. Because they didn't know anything about us. [...] ...particularly people from the East Indies, they didn't know anything about them and even to this day.¹⁷⁸

Because the *Indisch* Dutch felt more like an outsider, they had to try twice as hard to fit in and become Australian. That meant the denial of their homelands. The *Indisch* Dutch migrants already had a very complicated relationship with their homelands, because they did not have one homeland, but two. Also, the relationship with the Netherlands was very different, especially for the children, who often had not even lived in the Netherlands. In their assimilation they were confronted with the same issues as the other Dutch migrants, such as the contradiction between becoming Australian in the public sphere and remaining Dutch in the private sphere.¹⁷⁹ However, *Indisch* Dutch homes were different than Dutch homes, because of the different relationship to the Netherlands. This created an extra layer of being different for the *Indisch* Dutch children; they were migrants and because of that different from the Australians, but they were also different from the Dutch migrants, which resulted in the lack of fitting in.

From the end of the 1960s, the assimilation policy slowly started to disappear and became a more multicultural orientated policy.¹⁸⁰ Instead of forcing every migrant to become Australian, the government started to support diverse ethnic organizations and groups. The idea behind this policy was that ethnic organizations were more capable than the Australian government to help their community members integrate. This policy shift influenced the transnational ties of Dutch migrant children. In this new environment, it was now accepted that one was Australian and Dutch at the same time. The children were now adults and for some of them this policy shift

¹⁷⁸ Interview Frances, conducted on 17th of May 2018.

¹⁷⁹ Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië*, 306-307.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 264.

came too late.¹⁸¹ The *aanpassen* mantra was so strong in the years after arrival, that many of them had accepted that and became Australian in their way of thinking. The policy shift caused more confusion, because now a part of their identity was accepted, which they were forced to forget in the years before. The participants argued that later in life, when they were older, they became more accepting of their two ethnicities. This later life will be discussed in a later chapter.

Influence of Dutch government policies

The integration of Dutch emigrants in their destination country was an important point of interest for the Dutch government. For example, they were interested in the development of churches in Australia, because that was a good indicator of how Dutch integration was going.¹⁸² Integration was defined by: ‘a harmonic process of fitting in in the country of destination, while staying true to positive values and culture from the home country, which could benefit the host country.’¹⁸³ This definition is very contradicting, as the migrants were supposed to fit in the new society, while staying loyal and true to their background. The Dutch and Australian government both had different ideas of what integration exactly meant. In Australia’s environment of assimilation, those two elements clashed, as Janine describes:

I think the emphasis was to fit in and to become Australian, it really was really, really strong emphasized. And keeping up your old traditions sort of clashed with that. [...] it was very confusing, can you imagine how confusing it was for us?¹⁸⁴

Another contradicting issue was that the Dutch government had promoted and financed a lot of the emigration, and then became involved in the integration aspect as well. The Dutch Council for Emigration created a special Commission of Integration which was supposed to map Dutch integration overseas and study how that could be improved and how much that would cost. Emigration Attachés, in for example Canberra, were supposed to fill in a questionnaire on the process of integration in their country. Based on these answers, the Commission would conclude how integration should be improved. The Commission argued that full assimilation in Australia was impossible for Dutch adults, implying that Dutch children however could fully assimilate. The participants all state that their parents indeed never became Australian in their thinking and

¹⁸¹ Interview Janine, conducted on 8th of May 2018: ‘I tried to pass myself off as Australian, knowing all the while that at heart I was still Dutch. In the 1970s it suddenly became acceptable to acknowledge one’s ethnicity when the government instituted immigration reforms that eased back from the assimilation policies of the past. It was too late for many of us Dutchies who had swallowed the *aanpassen* mantra hook line and sinker.’

¹⁸² NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 839.

¹⁸³ Paragraph based on: NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 864.

¹⁸⁴ Interview Janine, conducted on 8th of May 2018.

that they did integrate and fitted in themselves, however, in the last chapter we will see that the vast majority of the participants considers themselves still partly Dutch. Martien illustrates this:

*You can't take Holland out of the Hollander. You can take the Hollander out of Holland, but you can't take Holland out of the Hollander. They [his parents] said their vows [to become naturalized as Australian] everything for us, basically, because we were the ones that integrated, we were the ones that fitted in.*¹⁸⁵

Full assimilation was contradicting the Dutch government's definition of integration, which implied that Dutch culture should be maintained overseas. The Commission also argued that integration and assimilation were different for each generation and should be mapped more clearly, but that would take time (and several generations). The Commission advised that the Dutch government should solely support their citizens in the transition of becoming an Australian, and that in practice this support should be done by organizations and churches.

It is interesting that the Commission advised this already in 1956, and that the Dutch government kept interfering with Dutch culture overseas. For example, in the 1950s and 1960s, the Dutch government was involved in many operations to promote and finance the celebration of *Sinterklaas* in Australia.¹⁸⁶ Dutch clubs could order *Sinterklaas* suits at the RIB (*Rijksinkoopbureau*), which took care of purchases of the government. These celebrations were mainly aimed at children, as *Sinterklaas* is a children's holiday. In fact, *Sinterklaas* celebrations are the only time that children are specifically mentioned in the archives. However, the organizational aspect of the holiday had nothing to do with children. The fact that the RIB interfered with celebrations at the other side of the world shows that there was a lot more to it than just a celebration for children. T.H. Bakkers, who was an Emigration Attaché in Canberra, stated that *Sinterklaas* was a very important part of Dutch cultural life – for all generations – and that it should not be underestimated.¹⁸⁷ Therefore, the government tried to influence the development of these cultural ties for children. The celebrations were not only organized by the government, a lot of other (private) actors volunteered to help as well, such as radio stations, pillarized organizations, airlines and shipping companies.¹⁸⁸ The extensive collaboration between various Ministries (Foreign Affairs; Education, Culture and Science; Economic Affairs; Finance and Agriculture) and the different actors shows the importance and relevance of the governance theory. However, despite all these efforts, the majority of the migrant children only celebrated

¹⁸⁵ Interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018.

¹⁸⁶ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 867; NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie Dienst, 2.15.72, inv.nr. 171.

¹⁸⁷ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie Dienst, 2.15.72, inv.nr. 171.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

Sinterklaas in the first couple of years after arrival, unless they and their parents were members of a Dutch club, which we will explore below. Only one of the participants, Anton, still celebrates *Sinterklaas* at home, but this is also influenced by his wife who also has a Dutch background.¹⁸⁹ The nationality of a partner influences the transnational ties and in the final chapter this will be addressed in more detail.

Not only *Sinterklaas* was promoted by the government, also Dutch movie screenings, tours by Dutch artists and Queen's Day celebrations were mentioned in the archives. These activities however were mainly organized by clubs, sometimes with financial support from the Dutch government.¹⁹⁰ Except *Sinterklaas*, the activities that were financially supported by the government were directed at the adults, not at the children. A reason for this could be that the adults had more difficulties fitting in than the children and thus needed more Dutch comforts in their lives to feel at home in Australia.

As mentioned above, Dutch Emigration officers in the Netherlands received most of their information about Dutch integration through the Attachés, and through migrant newspapers and magazines. The government requested copies from the migrant media, for example the DAW, so that the government knew what was going on in the Dutch community in Australia.¹⁹¹ The government also supported the newspapers because they were very valuable for migrant integration. For example, the DAW had a compulsory 25% of the articles written in English and it aimed to help the Dutch integrate and to improve the ties between the Australians and the Dutch.¹⁹²

The research findings of the archives raises the question why the Dutch government would put so much effort into the integration and the maintenance of Dutch culture overseas, while they had stimulated the migrants to leave? In general, governments mostly care about their emigrants for political reasons and for remittances, which are both not relevant in the Dutch case.¹⁹³ The main reason the Dutch government cared about the emigrants' relationship with the Netherlands, was to encourage more people to emigrate. By maintaining a connection with the emigrants, future emigrants could be informed and emigration could be advertised. Also, the reputation of the Dutch migrants was important for the government, because they needed to maintain a certain degree of goodwill with Australia for any future emigrants.¹⁹⁴ Dutch migrants

¹⁸⁹ Free translation of interview Anton, conducted on 9th of May 2018: '*Sinterklaas*, always yes. We did and still do *Sinterklaas*. [...] My wife makes *oliebollen*, *pepernoten*, *speculaas*, *appelflappen* [traditional Dutch treats]'. Original quote: 'Sinterklaas altijd ja. Dat hebben wij, dat doen we nog steeds, nog steeds hebben we Sinterklaas. [...] Mijn vrouw maakt oliebolle, pepernoten, speculaas, appelflappen.'

¹⁹⁰ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie Dienst, 2.15.72, inv.nr. 171; NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395.

¹⁹¹ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 864.

¹⁹² NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395.

¹⁹³ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 32, 39.

¹⁹⁴ Willems, *De uittocht uit Indië*, 280.

needed to provide the Dutch government with a positive image about Australia, which they could use for promotional purposes. At the same time, the government wanted to make sure that the Australians thought positively about the Dutch, and would not mind more Dutch migrants to come.¹⁹⁵ Lastly, nationalism and national identity can influence the level of government intervention in regards to emigrants.¹⁹⁶ This nationalistic aspect only comes to light when some participants mention that their parents, and especially their mothers, were *koningsgezind* (royalist). But the migrant children were not.

As mentioned before, Dutch emigration was largely sponsored by the government and for a lot of people this was an important reason to decide to make the move, especially for families with children who would otherwise have paid a large sum of money for the journey. Besides assisted migrants, there were also families who did pay for the trip themselves. Government schemes and subsidies indirectly influenced the social ties Dutch children had with their homeland. This difference between assisted and un-assisted migrants shaped the way migrant children thought about other Dutch emigrants in Australia. As Frances explains:

*...but these Dutch people were migrants [...] we paid our own fare. [...] Well, they were different because they were mainly people that, not with a higher education. And they were workers, so that made it different.*¹⁹⁷

The way of thinking about other Dutch emigrants was often shaped by whether one was an assisted migrant or not, and therefore, the government indirectly influenced this thinking. Not only the way of thinking about other people was shaped, but also the way of thinking about one's own identity and background. Because the children had such a limited amount of vivid memories of their homeland and its people, they constructed their Dutch identity and their connection to the Netherlands upon the Dutch people present in Australia. Elich also emphasizes that social background and differences which existed in the Netherlands remained the same in Australia, at least in the emigrants' way of thinking.¹⁹⁸ People were judged by the social status they had in the Netherlands, for example whether or not they had finished high school or whether or not they were financially assisted. Two of the participants were not financially assisted and they both mention the differences, such as Keith, who emigrated at age 12:

¹⁹⁵ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 839.

¹⁹⁶ M. Schrover and F. Vermeulen, 'Immigrant organisations', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31:5 (2005) 823-832, 827.

¹⁹⁷ Interview Frances, conducted on 17th of May 2018.

¹⁹⁸ Elich, *Aan de ene kant*, 179.

But we were very different from other Dutch people, because a lot of other Dutch people were just poor people who came from Brabant or Limburg, with very big families. [...] We never ever accepted money from the government. But, I must say this, the poor Dutch migrants, I mean. This would sound terrible, I won't say it. But the poorer Dutch migrants they really relied on handouts from the governments, even coming to Australia, they had to be sponsored. You know, very you know, we were not like that, it gave us a lot of strength, it gave us a lot of pride.¹⁹⁹

Martien, who was partly assisted by the Dutch government, recalls the relationship his father had with other Dutch migrants:

He was an intellectual, he had nothing in common with the Dutch, you know most Dutch were trades people, they were carpenters, cleaners and stuff like that. I don't think he had anything in common with them.²⁰⁰

The three participants who were assisted recall the poverty and struggle to find jobs, houses and money. Interestingly, they do not mention the class differences within the Dutch community. This could be because they were surrounded by other assisted emigrants with the same background, or because they just did not see a difference between the Dutch emigrants; everybody was struggling financially, also the people who paid their own transport. They do mention the letters sent home in which things were pretended to be very good. This is a common theme in studies on migrant letters; migrants often play a certain role in their family through their letters, pretending everything is going great financially.²⁰¹ Nonja remembers:

And you could write back 'we hebben ons eigen bedrijf' [we have our own company], it looked good, even though we were as poor as church mice.²⁰²

Janine also recalls her mother pretending everything was positive, when things were not:

¹⁹⁹ Free translation of interview Keith, conducted on 10th of May 2018: 'Maar wij waren wel veel verschillend dan andere Nederlanders, want heel veel andere Nederlanders die waren gewoon arme mensen die van Brabant kwamen of van Limburg, met hele grote families. [...] We never ever accepted money from the government. But, I must say this, the poor Dutch migrants, I mean. This would sound terrible, I won't say it. But the poorer Dutch migrants they really relied on handouts from the governments, even coming to Australia, they had to be sponsored. You know, very you know, we were not like that, it gave us a lot of strength, it gave us a lot of pride.'

²⁰⁰ Interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018.

²⁰¹ M.J. Borges and S. Cancian, 'Reconsidering the migrant letter: from the experience of migrants to the language of migrants', *The History of Family* 21:3 (2016) 281-290, 286.

²⁰² Interview Nonja, conducted on 1st of June 2018.

*She [Janine's mother] wrote much letters to everybody, to her sisters, to her friends, to my cousins and she, they were just newsy letters, but she never led on that we had any difficulties, everything was always rosy and everything was always wonderful. Which it wasn't.*²⁰³

These letters could have had different intentions, it was either to make sure the family back home would not worry about their relatives at the other side of the world. Or it was to create jealousy in the Netherlands by pretending everything was so good in Australia, you could even start your own business. It certainly fulfilled the government's wishes to provide a positive image about Australia. In both cases, a connection with family and friends in the Netherlands is central. Another reason is more personal, as the migrants often gave up everything to emigrate and therefore, were very eager to make the migration successful. The parents are the ones writing these letters, so the parents were the ones maintaining social ties with the Netherlands. None of the participants mentioned that they personally wrote letters to the Netherlands. Through their parents, the children might have heard news from their family back home, but this would not have had a great influence on their development and maintaining of social ties.

For the children, the contradictory attitude of the Dutch government caused confusion and incomprehension.²⁰⁴ The Australian government contributed to this confusion with the strong emphasis on assimilation and influencing the children's parents who advocated that their children should *aanpassen*. Therefore, I argue that the Australian government influenced the children's transnational ties in a negative way, at least in the first couple of years after arrival. However, the Dutch government did influence the transnational ties of their parents in a more positive way, because they were more open to staying Dutch and interact with Dutch people, they did not have the pressure to assimilate the children had at school. In later life, the children did develop an appreciation for their background and came to terms with the idea of dual ethnicity, as we will see in the sections below.

²⁰³ Interview Janine, conducted on 8th of May 2018.

²⁰⁴ Free translation of interview Keith, conducted on 10th of May 2018: 'We had to pay for everything ourselves, my parents had to pay six thousand guilders to get on that ship, which was very luxurious. [...] We did not get that [subsidy] because it was already 1961. We did thought it was a bit weird that the government said: 'The Netherlands is full, the best thing is for you all to emigrate.' And at the same time all the Turks, Italians and all the guest workers came in and we, together with all the other Dutch were send away. I did not understand that.'. Original quote: 'Wij moesten alles zelf betalen, mijn ouders hadden zes duizend gulden moeten betalen voor op dat schip te gaan en dat was superluxe. [...] Wij kregen dat niet [subsidie] want dat was ook al in 1961. En we vonden het wel raar dat de overheid zei 'Nederland is vol, het beste dat jullie allemaal emigreren' en op hetzelfde moment kwamen al de Turken binnen, en de Italianen kwamen binnen en al die gastarbeiders kwamen binnen en wij met al die andere Nederlanders werden weggestuurd. Nou dat begreep ik ook al niet.'

Chapter 3: Organizations

*I love Holland, but to go to the Abel Tasman Club with old people and to sing old songs, no, it was a different generation*²⁰⁵

During Australia's policy of assimilation, ethnic organizations were established all over the country. This may seem contradictory, but many organizations were set up to help immigrants integrate and for this reason they fitted into the political *opportunity structure* of the Australian government.²⁰⁶ This meant that the formation of organizations depended on the structure of political institutions. Because the Australian government wanted the immigrants to assimilate, they allowed clubs and organizations which were aimed at improving integration. However, besides integration, the organizations and clubs also influenced the migrant ties with their home country. In this chapter, the role of (Dutch) migrant organizations in the development and maintenance of ties of Dutch migrant children is studied. This level of influence is also important in relation to the governance theory, because it shows the presence and importance of multiple non-governmental actors.

National level

At a national level, the Australian government established different councils on voluntary basis to help immigrants integrate and adjust.²⁰⁷ These councils were named Good Neighbour Councils and were spread across the states and had over a hundred organizations under their wings per state.²⁰⁸ Their purpose was to have individual contact to help the integration process. The councils were financially supported by the Australian government, because it matched their wishes for assimilation and integration. It is important to note that these councils were aimed at all immigrants, not necessarily the Dutch. Therefore, they did not directly contribute to the maintenance of transnational ties of the Dutch migrants, because the only point of focus was integration. In the studied archives this assumption is confirmed, because there is little mention of the Good Neighbour Councils in relationship with organizations specifically for Dutch migrants. Dutch governmental officials were not interested in the Good Neighbour Councils, because they had not much to do with the maintenance of Dutchness overseas. Therefore, it is likely that the Good Neighbour Councils did not have a very important role for the ties of Dutch migrants.

²⁰⁵ Free translation of interview Anton, conducted on 9th of May 2018: 'I love Holland, maar om naar de Abel Tasman Club te gaan met mensen die ouder zijn en oudere liedjes zingen en nee, het was een different generation?.'

²⁰⁶ Schrover and Vermeulen, 'Immigrant organisations', 824; R. Pennix and M. Schrover, *Bastion of bindmiddel? Organisaties van immigranten in historisch perspectief* (Amsterdam 2001) 3.

²⁰⁷ Van Faassen, *Polder en emigratie*, 164-165.

²⁰⁸ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395.

Local level

Besides the nationally constructed (and locally implemented) Good Neighbour Councils, there were many local Dutch organizations which were not connected to a government. The Australian government allowed these organizations, because they could be beneficial for the assimilation, although they were only allowed, as long as they could be monitored.²⁰⁹ Because of that, immigrants could not strive for any form of independence through these organizations and the formation of ‘colonies’ could be prevented, while integration and mutual contact could be promoted. Dutch clubs and organizations were established with the main goal to help each other integrate and feel at home in the new environment.²¹⁰ The assistance provided was mainly directed at the parents, for example financial or language help, help with finding a job or building a house and providing information about customs in Australia. Besides this support system, the clubs were also aimed at the maintenance of a connection with the Netherlands, often stimulated by the Dutch government, that wanted to create a welcoming environment for other Dutch migrants to stimulate emigration even further. The clubs provided leisure activities such as movie nights, game nights (bridge and *klaverjassen* for example) and performances by Dutch artists, sometimes financially supported or arranged by the Dutch government. These activities were also directed at the parents, the children were excluded. In the archives of the DAW, I found two articles about the inclusion of children in Dutch clubs. The first article presented a dance night for children between 14 and 20, organized by the Dutch Club Fairfield Younger Set.²¹¹ Unfortunately, this club does not come back in any of the other studied archives. The second article is about the establishment of a girls’ judo club in Ballarat, but the article does not specify whether or not only Dutch girls are allowed.²¹² Only in articles about the celebration of *Sinterklaas*, children are regularly mentioned.

The archives explicitly show that the majority of the Dutch clubs were aimed at adults.²¹³ Clubs provided a social life for the, sometimes, isolated parents, in opposition to the children, who had their own social life at school. Children were not interested in joining a Dutch club and there were no activities organized specially aimed at them. Only at dance nights, some teenagers would show up, often bringing their Australian boy- or girlfriend. This last part is explicitly mentioned in the archives, which shows that the children of the first generation were not considered fully Dutch, because they interacted more with Australian people. Anton, who

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Dutch Australian Weekly issue 5th of October 1951 and 4th of March 1955 via www.trove.nla.gov.au (visited on 11th of July 2018); NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395.

²¹¹ Dutch Australian Weekly issue 17th of June 1960 via www.trove.gov.au (visited on 11th of July 2018).

²¹² Dutch Australian Weekly issue 13th of March 1964 via www.trove.gov.au (visited on 11th of July 2018).

²¹³ Paragraph based on: NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395; NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie Dienst, 2.15.72, inv.nr. 176.

emigrated twice, at 6 and 17, mentions the difference between the parents' generation and the children's generation:

My mother eventually joined a club called the Abel Tasman Club, full of Dutch people, who played cards, ate kroketten and oliebollen, for her that was really good. [...] Young people don't go there, they have a different culture. Even for us, I love Holland, but to go to the Abel Tasman Club with old people and to sing old songs, no, it was a different generation.²¹⁴

Children did not want to be part of Dutch club-life, because they had such a different life and did not need the Dutch social connection. Also, children were not included in club-life, it was solely for their parents, as Nonja illustrates:

You know, you didn't get a good structure in the Dutch clubs at all. And they didn't invite kids in, quite frankly. Well, they did a few things at the beginning, but the Dutch clubs didn't really get their kids to come in the system at all.²¹⁵

However, later in life, some of the in-between generation starts going to Dutch clubs, because that is where they can meet other people their age. All the people from their parents' generation have passed away, and now the Dutch club is the only place where they can go to if they want to speak Dutch, eat Dutch food and play Dutch games. However, not many of the in-between generation are interested in joining. According to Martien, only ten percent of Dutch born people is interested in joining a club, based on the members of his club.²¹⁶

The exclusion of children in club-life did not entirely apply to religious clubs. The only club specifically aimed at children mentioned in the archives is 'The Federation of Calvinist Youth Clubs of Australia'.²¹⁷ This implies the presence of more youth clubs, but there is no mention of any of them in any archive. Historian Prinsen mentions the organization of a Protestant youth camp in Sydney at the end of the 1950s.²¹⁸ Youth camps were not mentioned in the archives which were studied for this thesis. Furthermore, different churches emphasize the

²¹⁴ Free translation of interview Anton, conducted on 9th of May 2018: 'En mijn moeder eventually joined a club called the Abel Tasman Club, vol met Nederlandse mensen, en die kaarten spelen en kroketten, oliebollen, dus voor haar was het heel voornaam [...] I love Holland, maar om naar de Abel Tasman Club te gaan met mensen die ouder zijn en oudere liedjes zingen en nee, het was een different generation.'

²¹⁵ Interview Nonja, conducted on 1st of June 2018.

²¹⁶ Interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018: 'And of those 330 [amount of Dutch born people in his area] I am struggling to get about more than 20 people to be interested in a Dutch club. And that's the general figure throughout Australia. Ten percent of the Dutch born people would be interested in joining a Dutch club.'

²¹⁷ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 864.

²¹⁸ Prinsen, *De Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk*, 43.

importance of family as a whole in the emigration process.²¹⁹ Children were not specifically targeted, but considered as an important part of family life. Religion played an important role in bringing people together in their new country, especially in the first years after arrival. Dutch churches brought Dutch people together, although the number of actual Dutch churches was limited, it was mostly Dutch services in Australian churches. In the last years of the analysis (1968 and 1969), only three (Protestant) churches connected to the Dutch community remained in Australia. This is a very small number, compared to Canada, where there were twenty-three at that time. The studied archives show that often there was a Dutch contact person in an Australian church to provide assistance to Dutch migrants, rather than the presence of an entire Dutch church.²²⁰ Besides the actual church itself, religious clubs, such as choirs, were popular among Dutch migrants. It is interesting to note that choirs were for adults and children, and thus is the only occasion where children were actually included. These religiously shaped ties were one of the few ties maintained in the childhood of the children, however this was very personal and different for each migrant.

None of the participants went to an exclusively Dutch church. Janine mentions that, on the ship, they did meet a Dutch Protestant minister who was going to Australia for congregation, but they never interacted with him once they were settled in Australia.²²¹ The participants mention that churches were locally situated and attracted people from all backgrounds. Anton remembers going to church with Dutch, Ukrainian and Polish people, and everyone became friends and helped each other.²²² This is interesting in relation to the previously discussed pan-ethnicity. The feeling of being Dutch did not matter that much in church; all (migrant) people went to church and interacted. Due to the presence of many migrants, fitting in with the local religious community did not necessarily happen because of being Dutch, but because of being a migrant. Therefore, the religious ties are not that strongly connected to the Netherlands as a country, but more to the faith one had in the Netherlands. Religion is not something strictly nationally bounded, it can connect people at the other side of the world as well. In the light of this research, religious ties were certainly present, but did not play a large role in the connection of the children with the Netherlands.

²¹⁹ Paragraph based on: NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 839 and 864.

²²⁰ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 864.

²²¹ Interview Janine, conducted on 8th of May 2018: ‘...there was also a Dutch minister, who we’d met on board the ship, they sent out hervormd ministers for congregation here in Australia. So that was a great big bond.’

²²² Free translation of interview Anton, conducted on 24th of May 2018: ‘Yes, straight away we went to a Catholic church in the local village. There were other Dutch people, a lot of them, and Ukrainian and Polish people, we became friends.’. Original quote: ‘Ja, wij waren, we gingen meteen naar de katholieke kerk toe en in hetzelfde village waren mensen, andere Nederlandse mensen, er waren heel veel Nederlandse mensen, en Ukrainian en Polish mensen en die konden we, we became friends.’

Children were not included in the social aspect of the Dutch (non-religious) clubs, and neither in the integration aspect. As mentioned shortly before, children are only included during *Sinterklaas* festivities.²²³ In the years shortly after arrival, the participants did celebrate *Sinterklaas* at one of the Dutch clubs nearby. However, this only lasted a couple of years, when most families stopped celebrating *Sinterklaas* altogether or limited it to the private sphere. The connection between *Sinterklaas* and children is often made, but, as mentioned above, adults were the ones highlighting its importance. In current media, adults are also getting involved around the celebration of *Sinterklaas*, as *Zwarte Piet* is criticized by various groups because of his skin colour and the historical background.²²⁴ The holiday is meant for children, who do not think about this discussion, all they want is to get presents and have fun. The Dutch clubs did organize a large number of varied activities, from sports and choirs, to theatre and playing cards. It is important to note that children might were allowed to participate in these activities, however, there is no specific mention of that in any of the archives I have studied. Therefore, it is likely that the only occasion children were included was *Sinterklaas* and dance nights (if they wanted).

Dutch clubs and organizations were not only aimed at integration, helping fellow migrants and social life. It was also about maintaining a connection with the Netherlands. This was mainly the perspective of the Dutch government; integration was important, but maintaining the Dutch culture overseas as well. The DAW was very important in the maintenance of Dutch culture overseas and in the maintenance of ties with the home country, according to the Commissioner of Emigration Haveman.²²⁵ He highlighted the importance of the DAW in a correspondence with a member of the Board of the *Prins Bernhard Fonds*, Jonker, and advised him to give the DAW a subsidy. This shows that the Dutch government promoted the presence of a Dutch culture overseas and the notion that Dutch people overseas should stay connected to their home country. In this regard, organizations influenced the transnational ties of the Dutch adults. But the children were not present at these clubs, so it is questionable whether the clubs influenced the ties of the children.

In the first years after arrival, the clubs did influence the ties of the children with the Netherlands to some extent, because of the celebration of *Sinterklaas*. But when the children assimilated through school, clubs did not play a role in the transnational ties of the children.

²²³ Dutch Australian Weekly issue 11th of December 1959 via www.trove.nla.gov.au (visited on 11th of July 2018); NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395; NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie Dienst, 2.15.72, inv.nr. 176.

²²⁴ Dutch Australian Weekly issue 26th of November 1965 via www.trove.nla.gov.au (visited on 11th of July 2018); ‘Zwarte Piet weg uit meeste scholen in drie grote steden’ in: Het Parool 4th of December 2017

<https://www.parool.nl/amsterdam/-zwarte-piet-weg-uit-meeste-scholen-in-drie-grote-steden~a4543171/> (visited on 18th of June 2018).

²²⁵ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395.

Sometimes, the children, such as Martien, organized things themselves, without the help of organizations:

*Well, I organized the first Dutch festival in Frankston, at the end of 1955. So I was 17. Yeah, I was on the committee [...] I organized it all, and I got some pictures from the Embassy and my mother made some Dutch cakes and stuff. And my father helped obviously, because I was a little bit on the young side, but I organized everything.*²²⁶

However, in later life, clubs and organizations became more important, as more in-betweeners started to think about their background and became interested in socializing with other members of their generation.²²⁷

Another explanation for why no children participated in Dutch social and cultural life is because the in-between generation was too busy working from a very young age and went to evening school, or did their schooling through correspondence. None of the participants was older than 20 when they started working, the youngest was only 13. This was because their parents were struggling financially and needed the income of their children to make ends meet. Peters argues that this situation was different for Australian families, who often had more income.²²⁸ Besides working, the children finished their education in the after-hours or later in life. These busy lives did not give them much time to visit clubs and have some free time on their hands. Without the club-life, the children did maintain ties with the Netherlands through books. In all the households of the participants were Dutch books, some obviously read more than others, but all of them read, mainly to keep up their Dutch language skills. Frances received Dutch books from her grandmother every year for her birthday, making sure that she would not forget the Dutch language.²²⁹ Reading Dutch books was also promoted in public life, there were a couple of libraries throughout Australia which had Dutch books. Even migrant camp Bonegilla had 150 Dutch children's books on their shelves in 1956.²³⁰ Parents also brought Dutch books with them, to maintain a connection with the Netherlands at the other side of the world.

International level

Not only local Dutch clubs and national organizations were involved in the maintenance of ties to the home country. International organizations also were involved in the development and

²²⁶ Interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018.

²²⁷ Interview Frances, conducted on 17th of May 2018: 'Not as a child, it was years, it's only in the last, I would say, 15 years that I became a committee member for the DACC, which is the Dutch Australian Cultural Centre. [...] That was my first interaction with the Dutch really. In the last 20 years maybe.'

²²⁸ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 278.

²²⁹ Interview Frances, conducted on 17th of May 2018.

²³⁰ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 864 and 1395.

maintenance of ties.²³¹ However, these ties were not nationally orientated, but European. In 1955, the European Cultural Centre established a programme called 'Links with Europe', its purpose: 'to provide the newcomers with the information, contacts, help and practical advice which they need to develop cultural activities in their new country, remaining in connection with European civilization, common to all our western countries'.²³² The Centre argued that both the receiving nation and the migrant will benefit from the success of this programme, because it helped giving a cultural contribution to each party. This cultural contribution came from Europe as a whole, not from separate nations. The notion of pan-ethnicity is visible here, one is not nationally defined, but as Hispanic or European.²³³ In this theory, generations are considered important in the development of pan-ethnicity. 'Links with Europe' shows the need for a different programme to support migrants, not just a national programme. It also shows that people can identify as Europeans, not necessarily as Dutch, German or British. This European identification is particular visible for the Dutch in-between generation, who needed to become Australian and identified with other European migrant children, like Nonja:

*There is a complete disconnect, they [the parents] don't know, they don't got a clue what's happening at school, because they went to school in the Netherlands, or the Netherlands East-Indies, or Hungary or somewhere. None of the parents of the children had, but the children had a similar experience. So in the end you had friends from all the migrant countries, because that's what you did, because you understood each other. At home they didn't understand you.*²³⁴

The children did not necessarily identify as Europeans, but merely as European migrants. This could be another reason for why they were not interested in joining a Dutch club, because they did not identify with the image of the Dutch portrayed there. Because of their quick assimilation at school and in the public sphere, they could identify more with other migrant children, who had the same experiences. Also, at school they were told to forget their Dutch background and become Australian. This did not foster the sentiment of being Dutch any further. The disconnect with their Dutch parents, who wanted their children to assimilate but had no idea what that meant, caused that the children became less orientated towards their Dutchness.²³⁵

Dutch organizations and clubs had a limited influence on the development and maintenance of ties of the Dutch migrant children. Several reasons are mentioned, such as the

²³¹ See for more information about different levels of governance: Scholten and Penninx, 'The multi-level governance of migration and integration'.

²³² NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 866.

²³³ Rumbaut and Portes, 'Introduction-Ethnogenesis', 1-3, 7.

²³⁴ Interview Nonja, conducted on 1st of June 2018.

²³⁵ Peters, 'Aanpassen and invisibility', 102.

children's lack of interest, the lack of activities especially aimed at children, the lack of time for children and the lack of identification with their Dutch background. These reasons are characteristic for the in-between generation, but not for their parents, whose ties were indeed influenced by Dutch organizations. It is important to note that this statement is not final for all Dutch parents in Australia. Depending on where they lived, how well they spoke English and whether they worked with Australians all influenced the role of Dutch organizations. Mapping the role of organizations is useful as it clearly shows the broadness of governance. Not only the two governments influenced the integration and maintenance of ties of the migrants, but also local, national and international organizations played a role.

Chapter 4: Migrants

*'The generation of the child migrants are totally lost to the Dutch things'*²³⁶

In Bouras' chapters on the individual ties of the Moroccan migrants to their home country, she notices that the majority of the Moroccans between 1973 and 1985 still wanted to return to Morocco one day. Therefore, the orientation on Morocco – as a country – was maintained.²³⁷ When comparing the Moroccan idea of going back home one day with the ideas Dutch children had in Australia, it appears it was the exact opposite for the children: they thought they would never, ever, go back to the Netherlands again. The mantra of forgetting the Netherlands and embracing Australia was so strong, as was emphasized in the previous chapters, that going back was not an option. Besides that, going back in those days was an exhausting and very expensive undertaking. Therefore, one could argue that the children were not orientated to the Netherlands and did not have strong ties with the Netherlands as children. Evidence presented in the previous chapters supports this. However, their parents did have a connection to the Netherlands, while they also knew that they were never going back. This connection was both symbolic and real; especially the women kept writing their families in the Netherlands, they socialized with other Dutch-speaking people, some parents even sent money overseas for their family to join them in Australia.²³⁸ Moreover, the household in Australia remained Dutch in many ways, as this chapter will illustrate. The focus of the parents was not on the home country itself, as it was for the Moroccans, but on its culture, traditions, language and symbols; aspects which could be incorporated in daily life in Australia, without the wish of returning to the home country. The children were influenced by this mind set of their parents, and not by governments and organizations. The individual ties of the interviewed migrant children will be central in this final chapter, starting with childhood and finishing with the connection with the Netherlands in later life.

Childhood

The family structure is important in researching the home sphere of the participants. As discussed in chapter one, men and women had different roles in the 1950s. Women were not often the initiators of the migration, but had to follow their husbands.²³⁹ Even in governmental

²³⁶ Interview Martien, conducted 18th of May 2018.

²³⁷ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 202.

²³⁸ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 238, 265-267; Duyker and Duyker, *Beyond the dunes*, 37; Duyker, *The Dutch in Australia*, 127; E. Koops, *De dynamiek van een emigratiecultuur* (Hilversum 2010) 326.

²³⁹ Peters, *'Aanpassen and invisibility'*, 88. Of all the participants' mothers, only Keith's mother wanted to emigrate. Free translation of interview Keith, conducted on 10th of May 2018: 'My dad met a lot of Australian soldiers during the Second World War, which he liked very much, so I think he just wanted an adventure. My mom also liked that idea, she also loves adventures.'. Original quote: 'M'n vader was dus in dienst geweest gedurende de laatste fase of de

archives, the emphasis was on the father, not on the mother or the children.²⁴⁰ For example, during a local census for immigrants in Queensland in 1964, only the men were counted, their wives and children were not.²⁴¹ This patriarchal structure was also visible in Dutch migrants' households in Australia. However, the parental roles were different in each family, which makes it impossible to draw conclusions for the entire generation of Dutch child migrants. The interviews will show in which ways the parents influenced the ties of their children during their childhood, but it is important to keep in mind that these ties are very personal and can differ for each participant.

Almost all participants mention that it took a long time for their mothers to learn to speak English, because they stayed at home and did not work. This influenced the children, because they often continued speaking Dutch at home, while having to speak English and adapt at school. Hence, school-aged children became a bridge between the home sphere and Australian society, connecting their parents (often mothers) to the outside world.²⁴² Mothers learned from their children, who learned to speak English in school. Martien remembers that his father, who was quite conservative, urged his family to speak English at home from the beginning onwards. However, his mother only learned to speak English very slowly. Everybody else spoke English and his mother would answer in Dutch.²⁴³ Anton also remembers his parents' different approach regarding language:

Our parents told us that we began to speak Dutch, mixed with all these English words. My mother found that very difficult. She found it difficult that the Dutch language was already disappearing. [...] My father was very keen to become Australian, very, very keen. My brothers as well, I was the exact opposite, I was very keen to remain Dutch.²⁴⁴

Apart from Martien, Janine is the only other participant who did not speak Dutch at home:

Tweede Wereldoorlog en toen had hij veel Australische soldaten ontmoet en hij vond tie ontzettend aardig, dus ik denk dat hij gewoon een avontuur wou aanvaren en mijn moeder was d'r ook wel voor, zij houdt ook van avontuur.?'

²⁴⁰ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 839.

²⁴¹ NL-HaNA, Vertegenwoordiging Australia, 2.05.145, inv.nr. 661.

²⁴² M. Jamarani, *Identity, language and culture in diaspora: a study of Iranian female migrants to Australia* (Clayton, 2012) 98.

²⁴³ Interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018.

²⁴⁴ Free translation of interview Anton, conducted on 9th of May 2018: 'Onze ouders zeiden dat wij heel gauw begonnen Nederlands te spreken met allerlei Engelse woorden, en dat vond mijn moeder heel moeilijk. Ze vond het heel moeilijk dat de Nederlandse taal alreedy aan het verdwijnen was [...] Mijn vader was heel keen om Australisch te worden, heel, heel keen. En mijn broers hebben hetzelfde en ik was de exact opposite, ik was heel keen om Nederlands te blijven.'

*But we kids, we spoke English at home, in fact I spoke, I didn't want to speak Dutch until I was confident in English and that took a couple of years. [...] By the end of that time, I totally lost my Dutch accent. [...] I spoke English at home all the time, and that taught my mother of course.*²⁴⁵

When the families met up with other Dutch families, everybody spoke Dutch, but once one non-Dutch speaker was present, everybody had to switch to English, as Keith explains:

*Well, like I said, we always spoke Dutch at home, never English, but if I brought any friends home from school, Australian friends, we had to speak English according to our parents. Then it wasn't allowed to speak Dutch. And my sister's boyfriends, if they came in, we needed to be polite and speak English, not Dutch. That was the rule. With English people, we were not allowed to speak Dutch, that was rude.*²⁴⁶

All the participants learned to speak English very quickly, often already in the migrant camps. It is not uncommon that migrant children learn a new language faster than adults, which sometimes results in the children guiding their parents in the country of arrival.²⁴⁷ Children frequently continued speaking Dutch for their parents, while speaking English among themselves and with friends. Staying Dutch and maintaining a connection to their background was thus via speaking Dutch to their parents. As mentioned above, family members in the Netherlands also made sure that the children did not forget their Dutch, by sending them Dutch books for their birthday.

At school, the children were forced to speak English and to act as Australian as possible. In most cases, the participants did not encounter any problems with this, although in the beginning some were bullied for not being able to speak English or for being different. But overall, the adjustment went quite well. However, three of the participants recall arguments with their teachers. These arguments were not about language issues, but about the teacher telling the wrong 'facts', according to them. Janine recalls having a few arguments with her teacher:

He was teaching us about the Boerenwar in South Africa, and he said that the English had attacked the Boers, because the Boers had treated the natives so badly and of course I knew that this was not true, so I

²⁴⁵ Interview Janine, conducted 8th of May 2018.

²⁴⁶ Free translation of interview Keith, conducted on 10th of May 2018: 'Well, like I said, we always spoke Dutch at home, never English, maar toen ik m'n vrienden mee naar huis nam, dat waren dus Australische vrienden, dan moest je wel Engels praten van m'n ouders. Dan mocht je geen Nederlands spreken. En m'n zus die had haar boyfriend en als die jongens binnenkwamen, dan moesten we netjes en fatsoenlijk Engels spreken, geen Nederlands. Dat was wel de regel. Bij Engelse mensen mochten we geen Nederlands spreken, want dat was onfatsoenlijk, dat was niet netjes.'

²⁴⁷ A. Portes and R.G. Rumbaut, 'Conclusion', 308; D. Zhang, 'Language maintenance and language shift among Chinese immigrant parents and their second-generation children in the U.S.', *Bilingual Research Journal* 33:1 (2010) 42-60, 42.

*stood up in my seat and said 'that is not true!' I said 'it was the gold and the diamonds!' and the teacher totally ignored me, but he did stare at me as if he liked me to disappear.*²⁴⁸

Martien also remembers his teacher's English point of view and telling all sorts of lies.²⁴⁹ Keith recalls his teacher telling lies in class, and he highlights the ignorance of his Australian classmates:

*And the Australians, it was very bad, it was such a backwards country, they were not civilized. [...] They were just, they didn't know anything. They only knew about Anglo-Saxon countries and thought that James Cook had discovered Australia, which of course is not true. So I had to tell everyone at school that James Cook had not discovered Australia, that is was Willem Janszoon in 1606 at Cape Carpentaria. He landed there and negotiated with the Australian Aborigines. We told them everything. [...] The Australian had no clue at all! They only read English and English history. They did not know anything about their own country.*²⁵⁰

These incidents show a different perspective between the Dutch and the English way of educating. The children were confronted with this different perspective in class, which caused them to notice that their new country was different than the Netherlands. 'Different' was seen as backward, primitive and ignorant in this case. The children, coming from a culturally-rich country, created a certain image about Australia, based on the differences they encountered in the class-room. The differences between the Netherlands and Australia became clear, which could have influenced the ties the children had with the Netherlands. The feeling of knowing better than the teacher and having to tell everyone the right facts influenced the way of thinking about one's background: an appreciation for what is learned in the Netherlands at school, in opposition to the – in their eyes – unknowing Australian school.

In the hours after school, the Dutch children interacted with children from various backgrounds. The previous chapters discussed that the Dutch children did not necessarily feel Dutch regarding their social contacts, as all migrant children shared the same experience. None

²⁴⁸ Interview Janine, conducted 8th of May 2018.

²⁴⁹ Interview Martien, conducted on 18th of May 2018: 'Because the teacher would tell us all sorts of lies, about Dutch history you know, they were teaching British history. And because the British, no lot of love between the British and the Dutch, so he'd teach us history but he teaches from the British point of view. Because I knew that it wasn't right [...] And he [the teacher] said 'oh no, that didn't happen', but I knew it did happen. So we had a few arguments. And I'm not the only one who went through that experience.'

²⁵⁰ Free translation of interview Keith, conducted on 10th of May 2018: 'En wat die Australiërs, die waren natuurlijk wel erg, het was erg een achterlijk land, ze waren niet beschaafd. [...] Ze waren gewoon, ze wisten van niks. Ze wisten enkel maar over Anglo-Saksische landen en ze dachten dat James Cook Australië ontdekt had, dat is natuurlijk helemaal niet waar. Dus daar moest ik allemaal over spreken op school, dat James Cook die had Australië niet ontdekt, dat was Willem Janszoon in 1606 bij Cape Carpentaria, die toen geland was en negotiated with the Australian Aborigines. Dus dat vertelden wij wel allemaal. [...] Maar die Australiërs die hadden daar geen besef van, natuurlijk niet! Die lezen enkel maar Engels en Engelse history. Ze wisten niks over hun eigen land.'

of the participants solely interacted with Dutch children. In fact, the majority of the participants did not even have Dutch friends. They were too occupied with assimilating and fitting in, that making Dutch friends was not a priority to feel at home. Also, in the environment of assimilation, being Dutch was something one could be ashamed of.²⁵¹ The children figured that their Dutchness was a disadvantage.²⁵² Therefore, they tried to fit in and that did not include having Dutch friends. Some of the participants' parents did have Dutch friends, who they played cards with and shared Dutch food with. All the participants mention that there were some Dutch families around the neighbourhood, but they did not necessarily interact with them, because they were too busy integrating. Overall, if Dutch migrant children interacted with other Dutch people, it was at home with their parents' friends. Therefore, Dutch social contacts did not influence the children's ties with the Netherlands.

The home sphere was where the Dutch migrant children connected with the Netherlands. Their parents played an important role in this connection, they influenced what kind of ties the children had with their home country. The ties that developed in the home sphere were predominantly symbolic and cultural. Firstly, food was an important aspect of connecting to the Netherlands. For all migrants, around the world, food is important for feeling at home in a new country and for maintaining a part of your identity.²⁵³ Food is also connected to memory; eating a certain dish from one's home country can evoke pre-migration memories.²⁵⁴ All participants mention the presence of Dutch food in their Australian homes. Eating Dutch food would make migrants feel better.²⁵⁵ Mothers sometimes did not even learn to cook Australian food, but always made *rijsttafel*, potatoes, gravy and for New Year's *oliebollen*. Occasionally, creativity was needed to re-create Dutch food in Australia, as Nonja recalls:

*We were trying to re-create, my mother would let the milk go sour, and then opkloppen met suiker [whisk with sugar] and that was like yoghurt [...] And so vlokken, or hagelslag [chocolate sprinkles] what we didn't have, but we would get a reep chocolade [chocolate bar] and we would rasp it you know and that would go on the bread.*²⁵⁶

²⁵¹ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 274.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ M. Naidu and N. Nzuza, 'Food and maintaining identity for migrants: Sierra Leone migrant in Durban', *The Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology* 4:3 (2013) 193-200; M. Naidu and N. Nzuza, 'Transnationalised memories among migrants: how 'indigenous' food can bring home closer', *Anthropologist* 17:2 (2014) 333-340.

²⁵⁴ J.D. Holtzman, 'Food and memory', *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006) 361-378.

²⁵⁵ Interview Nonja, conducted 1st of June 2018: 'Cause people wanna eat their own food to feel well, because I know studies that I have done on migrant camps that, if you were eating the food they were putting up, which no one ever came across, all that terrible mutton and stuff, people were sick. And as soon as they'll eat their own food, they were feeling better.'

²⁵⁶ Interview Nonja, conducted 1st of June 2018.

The children remember their parents being the ones who always wanted Dutch food, the same happened in Canada where Dutch migrants also ate predominantly Dutch food.²⁵⁷ Martien remembers the food his mother cooked very well and even refers to ‘bloody awful Dutch food’.²⁵⁸ However, they all remember Dutch food being an important part of the household and their childhood. Because parents had spent more years in the Netherlands, they needed the food to remember where they came from and to feel at home in Australia. However, the children had more limited memories of the Netherlands and did not need the Dutch food as much as their parents. As a result of their parents preparing typical Dutch food, it became part of their memory of the Dutch home in Australia. This shows that the ties children had with the Netherlands were more symbolic than real. Also, the ties the children have are not with the country itself, it is much more to the idea of the Netherlands, to the memory of the Netherlands and their childhood. Children’s ties were imaginary, based on the memories of their parents, and symbolic. This will become more evident in the section on their adult life discussed below.

Secondly, Dutch migrants also brought various items with them to make them feel at home in Australia. For example, Keith remembers his parents brought a *wafelijzer* [waffle iron]. Janine remembers the brush and dustpan, a carpet beater, an apple sieve (‘because no Dutch dinner is complete without appelmoes [apple sauce]’²⁵⁹) and a plush tablecloth. These classic Dutch tablecloths were mentioned by most of the participants, they were part of the Dutch *gezelligheid* at home.²⁶⁰ *Gezellig* is a typical Dutch word which does not have an English translation, it is used to describe an atmosphere which is nice, cosy and warm, as Keith describes perfectly:

*It was very gezellig, very gezellig and the Australians loved it because the Australian houses inside weren’t as nice as the Dutch houses were [...] They just put a couch to the wall, there were no coffee tables in the middle of the room, or a dining table, everything went to the wall. There were no frames on the walls, paintings or photographs. It was really empty! An empty ongezellig house! With us, this was not the case. There were curtains for the windows, there were flowers, there were plants inside the house, there were plush tablecloths, yes it was really Dutch.*²⁶¹

²⁵⁷ B. Biemond-Boer, *‘Die Hollanders zijn gek?’ Identiteit en integratie van bevindelijk gereformeerden in Canada* (Amsterdam 2008) 99.

²⁵⁸ Interview Martien, conducted 18th of May 2018.

²⁵⁹ Interview Janine, conducted 8th of May 2018.

²⁶⁰ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 265; Sinke, *Dutch immigrant women*, 86.

²⁶¹ Free translation of interview Keith, conducted 10th of May 2018: ‘Het was zeer gezellig, zeer gezellig en die Australians loved it because the Australian houses inside weren’t as nice as the Dutch houses were [...] werd het bankstel gewoon aan de muur gezet en d’r stonden geen koffietafels in het midden van de vloer, of een eettafel, dat ging allemaal aan de muur en d’r waren ook niet veel lijstjes aan de muur, schilderijtjes of fotootjes. Het was echt kaal! Het was een kale boel! Een kale ongezellige boel kon je wel zeggen. En bij ons was dat niet zo, er waren gordijnen voor de ramen netjes gedaan, d’r stonden bloemen voor de ramen, d’r waren planten binnen, d’r waren mooie pluche tafelkleden, het was echt Nederlands op dat gebied wel.’

The participants describe their childhood homes as Dutch, because of the decorations, artwork and artefacts their parents brought with them.²⁶² These Dutch homes created a symbolic tie with the Netherlands for the children, because the decorations were just symbols for the home country. The Dutch culture was maintained overseas through these symbolic artefacts displayed in the Dutch households. As a result, a variation of Dutch culture was created by the children, because they had limited memories of the Netherlands: a culture created through and based on symbols.²⁶³

Thirdly, books were also important in maintaining ties with the Netherlands. In the previous chapters, books were mentioned several times as ways to keep the Dutch language alive. Besides that, books also functioned as a connection between the child migrant and the home country.²⁶⁴ Books (and newspapers) provide the possibility to get to know the country, of which they had so little memories. The Commission for Emigration argued that children who only spent a short period in the Netherlands before moving to Australia, only got to know the Netherlands through books, movies and newspapers.²⁶⁵ They had lost part of their physical connection with the Netherlands, especially when assimilation was stimulated upon arrival. Books were then a suitable way of maintaining a connection to the home country, although this connection was also relatively symbolic.

Fourthly, cultural traditions and habits also influenced the transnational ties of children. *Sinterklaas* is discussed in the previous chapters. Therefore, there is no need to elaborate much further on that. Interestingly, Dutch migrants in Canada did not continue to celebrate *Sinterklaas* after migration.²⁶⁶ According to historian Biemond-Boer, the celebration of *Sinterklaas* would be too Catholic for some of the strict Protestants in Canada.²⁶⁷ In the United States, the holiday was more accepted and celebrated.²⁶⁸ Besides *Sinterklaas*, the yearly Queen's Day (current King's Day) is an important Dutch holiday. However, it was not celebrated in Dutch homes. Nonetheless, Dutch emigrants were often royalists to a certain extent, which was expressed in photo's or calendars on walls.²⁶⁹ Some participants remembered their parents being royalists, which meant that there was a picture of the Queen on the wall. This did not strongly influence the children's ties, because the royalist attitude was just expressed in a picture. Other, more subtle, Dutch habits did influence the children. For example, eating together as a family at the table at a set time, for

²⁶² Dutch migrants in Canada also created Dutch homes: Biemond-Boer, *Die Hollanders*, 93-96.

²⁶³ A.P. Cohen, 'Culture as identity: an anthropologist's view', *New Literary History* 24:1 (1993) 195-209, 196.

²⁶⁴ Paulusse, *Vertrek*, 71.

²⁶⁵ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 1395.

²⁶⁶ Biemond-Boer, *Die Hollanders*, 105.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ Koops, *De dynamiek*, 328-329.

²⁶⁹ NL-HaNA, SZW/Emigratie, 2.15.68, inv.nr. 867.

breakfast, lunch and dinner, was considered typical Dutch.²⁷⁰ Habits like this influenced children in a certain way, they compared their habits to their friends' and concluded that dinner at six p.m. was considered typical Dutch.

Thus, the connection children had in their childhood with the Netherlands was shaped by their parents and their home sphere. The children themselves were too occupied assimilating, that they did not actively maintained ties with the Netherlands. However, looking back at their childhoods, the participants still memorize certain aspects, such as food, decorations and habits, that they classify as typical Dutch. The transnational ties the children had were based on memories and mainly symbolic. When comparing this to Bouras' research on Moroccan migrants, where she introduced the triple approach, we see that in the first generations, the ties were mainly real and became symbolic in later generations.²⁷¹ Whereas the first generation Dutch children did not have many real ties with the Netherlands.

Later life

The participants argued that their relationship with the Netherlands changed once they became older. As children, assimilation was more important than staying connected to the Netherlands. Once they became older, they realized that a vital part of their identity had been suppressed for a long time and they became interested in knowing where they came from. Several aspects have influenced the ties the participants have with the Netherlands nowadays.

All the participants have been back to the Netherlands as adults, some multiple times, some only once. Again, all the participants say that they feel at home in the Netherlands, although none of them confidently said that they would live there again. They feel at home, but their lives and families are in Australia, which is also home. The Netherlands has changed a lot since the participants left and as a result they do not really recognize the Netherlands anymore. Their connection, which is influenced by many aspects, is to an imaginary country, which is made up out of memories, stories and habits.²⁷² Therefore, none of the participants would leave Australia for the Netherlands. Besides having a connection to the Netherlands, one participant mentioned his connection to Europe. Every two years, Anton and his wife go to Europe to get, as they call it, their 'Europe fix'. Going back to Europe so often is their way of accepting being in Australia.²⁷³ This relates to the previously mentioned pan-ethnicity. Until now, pan-ethnicity was mainly present in the childhood of the Dutch migrant children. However, Anton illustrates that a

²⁷⁰ Interview Keith, conducted 10th of May 2018.

²⁷¹ Bouras, *Het land van herkomst*, 222, 244.

²⁷² S. Rushdie, *Imaginary homelands. Essays and criticism 1981-1991* (London 1991) 10-12.

²⁷³ Free translation of interview Anton, conducted 9th of May 2018: 'We call it a Europe fix and Dutch fix. We call it a Europe fix [...] Every two years we go back to Europe and that is our way of accepting being here.' Original quote: 'We call it a Europe and Dutch fix. We call it a Europe fix. [...] Dus elke twee jaar gaan we terug naar Europa en dat is our way of accepting being here.'

connection to his European background is still present in his current life and helps him accepting that he is a Dutchman living in Australia now.

When looking back on their lives, the participants all say that in the end their parents never became Australian. Interestingly, almost all participants argue that presently they are neither fully Australian nor fully Dutch. This feeling is more common among the generation of Dutch migrant children in Australia, not just for the participants.²⁷⁴ They still consider themselves as in-betweeners, such as Nonja:

I'm not Dutch in my thinking, I'm an in-betweener, I don't fit either side. I don't fit here completely and I don't fit there completely. So if I'm down in Tilburg, which I don't do often, I've got cousins and one auntie still [...] We'll talk about things we're doing or about what's happening and they'll say: 'how do you do it in your country?' sort of business, and I'm thinking: 'but I'm one of you guys!' and they are not treating me like that. This is how we do it, it's like you, them and us, you know, you're the other all the time and over there, you're the other too, because you're not born there.'²⁷⁵

The participants qualify themselves as partly Dutch and partly Australian. They are proud of being both now. However, this has not always been the case. Keith and Martien changed their names when they came to Australia, to fit in. Martien even altered his last name to make sure nobody thought he was not Australian:

I think I'm an Ozzyie, yeah, I think I'm an Ozzyie. I'm also Dutch, but I'm an Ozzyie. I'm both. Fifty years I didn't speak a word of Dutch, fifty years I didn't read Dutch, if anyone asked me I was Dutch, I said 'no'. I even got my master's degree under my half name. [...] I didn't want to be known as Dutch.'²⁷⁶

When he started doing research on his background, which was after he retired, he changed his name from Martin back to Martien. For him, the change in thinking about his background thus came with age. Name changing is common among Dutch migrants around the world, in Canada people changed their names to more English names to fit in.²⁷⁷ Janine also says that only now, she has become more settled on the idea of being both, not one or the other. Dutch migrant children began working at a very young age, as is mentioned above. Some of the in-between

²⁷⁴ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 281.

²⁷⁵ Interview Nonja, conducted 1st of June 2018.

²⁷⁶ Interview Martien, conducted 18th of May 2018.

²⁷⁷ Biemond-Boer, *Die Hollanders*, 97-98.

generation finished their education in later life, which helped them to obtain a sense of belonging in Australia with a Dutch background.²⁷⁸

In general, the idea is that the generation of child migrants is not interested in their background, at least that is what some of the participants say. Only people with a certain interest in history look into their background and investigate where they came from. The assimilation policy in which the children grew up influenced this lack of interest. The Dutch part of their identities have been forgotten and not everyone is willing to re-discover it when they are older. However, the grandchildren of the in-between generation are interested in knowing where their grandparents came from, this generation is the third-generation Dutch-Australians, but is more often classified as fourth-generation. Martien explains:

The only people who are interested now are my grandchildren. Yes, they are interested. Interested in learning a little bit of, you know, why we left. They ask the same questions like you're asking now. [...] I think we'll rely on the great-grandchildren trying to get some of the Dutch back. And I'm not the only one that says so. I just had an e-mail earlier today that they're thinking the same thing. He says 'the generation of the child migrants', like me, the ones that came out as children, 'are totally lost to the Dutch things'. Except sometimes like me personally, they might go back a bit, you know, that they would probably be more academic people, you know, people with an interest. But the children of those children are interested, and that's because we've got this multicultural feeling in the country, you know, that helps. So, but the Dutch are not very good at keeping their heritage.'²⁷⁹

Later generations grew up in a more multicultural environment where it was accepted to talk about one's background.²⁸⁰ The in-between generation might not all be as interested in their background as the participants are, but generally once they become older they start thinking about where they came from, and tell their children.²⁸¹

The interviews showed that one's partner and family has influence on one's transnational ties. When one has a Dutch partner, the household remains more Dutch and their children learn Dutch words. Anton, for example, married a woman whose parents were Dutch, but she was born in Australia. Their children do know some Dutch words, because they heard Anton speak

²⁷⁸ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 278; Nonja also went to university later in life, which made her feel better: interview Nonja, conducted 1st of June 2018: 'So I really got a sense that there was something wrong with me, for feeling the feelings I was feeling. And I didn't feel like I was any differently than that, I felt really embarrassed about that, until I went to university. Many many years later and I thought 'Huh, everyone feels like me here, that's pretty cool', so then I thought 'well here at least' I felt like the ugly duckling had found the swan you know, the swan group. So, that I thought was, that really made me feel better.'.

²⁷⁹ Interview Martien, conducted 18th of May 2018.

²⁸⁰ Peters, *A touch of Dutch*, 282-283.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 283.

Dutch with his mother and his parents-in-law. However, Frances married an Australian man, who told her that she was an Australian and that she should not speak Dutch. Therefore, their children never learned any Dutch words or nurseries. Again, this is very personal and can be different for every migrant. The current family situation does have influence on the strength of the child migrant's connection to the Netherlands.

The symbolic value of items in childhood homes are still present today. Some participants inherited items from their parents, and some houses still look like little Dutch museums. The same goes for current Dutch clubs. Five out of the six participants are currently active in organizing festivities and activities for the Dutch community in Australia. The clubs, where some in-betweeners go to, are a fictional representation of the Netherlands in the 1950s, they are dated and build from memories of the first generation adults.²⁸² The memories of their parents still shape the transnational ties of the child migrants in later life, which are imaginary and symbolic. For the participants, items present in their homes or in Dutch clubs, go back to their childhood, not necessarily to their childhood in the Netherlands. Dutch food and Dutch traditions are not clearly present in the participants' current lives. Their connection is mainly expressed through Dutch items. This is where symbolic ethnicity can help explain the situation. The current connection of the participants to the Netherlands is highly personal and highly symbolic. This connection, or tie, does not have to be incorporated in their daily lives, but it is always there in their minds. The tie is not to the Netherlands as a country, but more to the idea of an imaginary country, as presented during their childhood.

Not all ties child migrants have with the Netherlands are fully symbolic. During the interviews, some participants mention that they are still keeping up to date with current Dutch news, politics and sport. Furthermore, social contact with family members and Dutch friends (either in Australia or the Netherlands) is another important tie, which is a lot easier now than it was in the 1950s. Regular visits to the Netherlands and Europe, such as Anton does every two years, also influence the relationship migrants have with the home country.

In this chapter the personal ties of the participants were highlighted. These ties can be different for every Dutch migrant and only six participants were included here. Hence, this part should be regarded as pioneering research on individual ties with the home country. During childhood, these ties are influenced by parents, who run the household and are responsible for how much children are exposed to Dutch items, food, books and artwork. This resulted in

²⁸² I have visited Dutch Club Abel Tasman in Carnegie (near Melbourne), Victoria at 6th of May 2018. I had the opportunity to talk to Michael Gijsberts, the curator of the Dutch Australian Heritage Centre (DAHC), a small museum inside the club. Mr. Gijsberts was talking about the disappearance of Dutch culture in Australia because of the decreasing of the first generation. It is for this reason mr. Gijsberts opened the DAHC. For more information see: <http://www.dutchclubabeltasman.com.au/> (visited 27th of August 2018).

mainly symbolic ties which are present in the children's lives, but only hidden in the background. In later life, these ties are being pushed to the front, because the children are getting more interested in knowing where they came from and accepting their two identities. Still, the majority of the ties remain symbolic. However, because of modern media and technology, such as Skype and online media, non-symbolic ties also raise to the surface.

Conclusion

In this thesis I explored the transnational ties of Dutch migrant children in Australia and tried to answer the research question: how, why and when did the transnational ties of Dutch post-war migrant children in Australia change? To answer this question, different levels should be studied, based on the triple approach by Bouras, and various theories should be incorporated. This conclusion will provide an answer to the research question by first distinguishing the different transnational ties. Secondly, the research question will be divided in three sub-questions and will be answered based on the chapters and theoretical hypotheses. Thirdly, brief suggestions for further research will be presented.

During my research, various ties became apparent, which were not always easy to distinguish from one another. Based on Bouras, I determined that the two most important categories of ties were symbolic or real. These categories were shaped on the basis of the nature of the ties, not on the content. This categorization has not been made explicitly by other authors besides Bouras. Symbolic ties proved to be the most important for the Dutch migrant children. These ties included Dutch artefacts, food, books and traditions. Real ties with the Netherlands were mainly important for the children's parents, who connected with the Netherlands through letters, clubs and social contacts with Dutch people who lived nearby. It is interesting to note differences between transnational ties in current migrations and the transnational ties as presented in this thesis. In current migrations, the ties are often highly political and economic. Remittances and voting are important aspects of current transnationalism, as opposed to the more personal and symbolic ties presented in this research.

The research question can be divided into three sub-questions: how, why and when. The different levels researched in this thesis can help to answer these questions. For the how and why questions, the development of governmental policies, as presented in the second chapter, is important. The policies of both the sending and receiving country shaped the ties in different ways. The organizational level can also help explain why the ties of the children changed, by emphasizing the different roles of organizations for parents and children. The when question can be answered by the migrants' personal stories which clearly illustrate the differences in ties between their childhood and later life. These personal stories are again influenced by governmental policies.

First, how did the transnational ties change? After arrival in Australia, the children (and their parents) were immediately confronted with the strong assimilation policy, which forced the children to abandon their Dutchness in the public sphere. At school, children had to act Australian and were only allowed to speak English. The Australian nationality was considered to

be the first in the hierarchy, which made the children feel embarrassed or ashamed of their Dutch background. Especially *Indisch* Dutch children felt like an outsider, because they did not fit in the Dutch community either. *Indisch* Dutch children tried to become as Australian as possible, which weakened their ties with the NEI or the Netherlands. In fact, because of the strong assimilation policy, all Dutch children tried to adjust to the Australian way of life. This weakened their connection and ties with the Netherlands. However, in the private sphere of their homes, this *aanpassen* was not as strong. The homes remained Dutch and families often continued speaking Dutch, ate Dutch food and had Dutch furniture. The children were only confronted with their Dutch background at home. The reason for this indoor-Dutchness was that migrant mothers often did not work outside the house, which slowed their integration and assimilation process. They struggled with becoming Australian and speaking English, but at the same time wanted their children to assimilate, although they had no idea what that meant. This caused children and their parents to disconnect and children to feel confused about their integration and identity. The confusion also contributed to a negative connection with the Netherlands, because the children did not see the point of speaking and remaining Dutch in the private sphere, while they had to improve their English and become Australian publically. The transnational ties of the children became weaker, but more symbolic. This symbolic aspect was influenced by the parents' household, which was built upon the parents' memories of the Netherlands. The children often did not have many memories from the first couple of years of their lives, especially the children who emigrated at a young age. Therefore, they were influenced by the memories and stories of their parents. An imaginary homeland was created, including items, food and traditions which were present at the migrant homes.

Interestingly, in the public sphere, the children felt connected to other European migrants, who shared the same experience. They self-identified as European migrants and could relate to children from for example Hungary, Ukraine, Italy and Greece. This identification was also done by others. At school, all the migrant children were primarily considered non-Australian, all the different nationalities did not really matter. This collective identification had started in the migrant camps, where no distinction in treatment was made between European migrants. The identification as European migrant and the fact that the children felt disconnected from their Dutch parents, also resulted in the weakening of transnational ties.

Once the children became older and were settling with a partner, their Dutchness disappeared to the background even more. Some in-betweeners did not even want to marry a Dutch partner, because that was considered inferior in the nationality hierarchy. Assimilation had influenced this generation to such an extent, that they were looking to marry an Australian or

British partner. Eventually, at least for the participants, the transnational ties returned after a life of disconnection with the Netherlands. Once the participants became older and retired (in most cases), they became interested in their background again. The returning ties are even more symbolic and imaginary than they were during their childhood. The participants also have a very personal connection with the Netherlands, which is explained by the theory of symbolic ethnicity. However, according to this theory, this change in the nature of ties happens in the third generation. This research has shown that ties can become more symbolic and personal within one generation. Reasons for this fast change are the political and social environment, which will be further explained in the why and when questions below.

The weakening and decrease of ties as children and the return of the ties in later life, can be explained by the theory of a transnational time gap, as introduced in the theory section. Between childhood and later life, there had been a complete disconnect with the Dutch background and a lack of transnational ties. The question of how transnational ties changed, can only be answered when transnationalism is not regarded as a continuity in time, but as a connection which is not always present, but can come back at any time in life.

Secondly, why did the transnational ties change? During childhood the transnational ties changed from symbolic to basically non-existent, because of the influences of the assimilation policy. The children were told for many years to become Australian and forget their Dutchness, which eventually happened once they moved out of their parents' house and became more independent. Assimilation was considered key to fit in and feel respected in Australia.

Another reason for the first change in transnational ties was that the Dutch government was interfering with Dutch cultural life in Australia. The Dutch government stimulated and promoted Dutch culture overseas, by supporting Dutch clubs and keeping up to date with Dutch migrant media in Australia. The reason for this strong interference was to promote emigration from the Netherlands even further by creating a welcoming environment in Australia. By showing future emigrants that previous emigration was successful and that there were Dutch people waiting for them at the other side of the world, the government tried to stimulate emigration. The idea was that when Dutch emigrants in Australia were doing and feeling well, they could help promote emigration by for example writing positive letters. By helping the Dutch feel at home in Australia and encouraging them to behave well, according to Australian accepted customs and behaviour, the Dutch government created a degree of goodwill in Australia to take in more migrants. The goal of the supported Dutch clubs was to help Dutch migrants in many ways, such as integration, financial help, language lessons and social contacts. However, this (financial) support for Dutch cultural club life was predominantly aimed at the parents and not at

the children. In fact, this research showed that the government did not target children specifically at all. The government wanted the children to adjust to the Australian society, to create a positive image of the Dutch in Australia, in order to promote further migration. Children were not stimulated to remain Dutch by any government or their parents, which resulted in the weakening of transnational ties. Additionally, the children were not interested in joining Dutch clubs, because they were focused on assimilating. Only in December, when *Sinterklaas* was celebrated, children were mentioned in the archives. However, the correspondences regarding the holiday studied in the archives were about the technical issues around the holiday, such as how many suits should be ordered, which has nothing to do with the involvement of children. The interviewed participants confirmed that in the first couple of years the holiday was celebrated, but after a while it lost its importance. It seems like the celebration of *Sinterklaas* overseas is getting a lot of attention in the archives, where officials claim that the holiday is a very important aspect of Dutch culture. However, in real life its impact was limited as not many children celebrated it. *Sinterklaas* is considered as an important aspect of Dutch culture by Dutch government officials. The fact that not many children celebrated the holiday implicates that they were not interested in keeping up with Dutch cultural traditions and it shows that they did not have strong transnational ties.

However, indirectly the children were influenced by Dutch emigration policies. The differences between assisted and unassisted migrants shaped the image Dutch children had of other Dutch people in Australia, which influenced their transnational ties. Families who paid the entire journey themselves often regarded people who had received money from the government in a negative way. Their children shared these ideas, which resulted in differences in ideas about class between the assisted and unassisted migrants. Children who did not spend many years in the Netherlands, created an image of 'Dutch people' in their heads based on the Dutch people who lived in Australia. Especially children, whose parents paid for the journey themselves, thought that they were different than the rest of the Dutch people, they did not see themselves as migrants. Children with fairly negative thoughts about Dutch people in Australia, tried to move away from that Dutchness and focused on assimilating even more. This also caused the symbolic ties to weaken.

The Australian government changed the previously mentioned assimilation policy to a more multicultural policy in the 1970s, which caused attitudes towards double ethnicity to change in a more positive way. This was the start of the slow process of change from non-existing or weak ties to stronger, more symbolic and personal ties. This change did not happen overnight. Once the policy was changed, the environment did not change immediately, but gradually.

However, for a lot of the Dutch children it was too late at the time. They already had distanced themselves from their background, in order to become Australian, which sometimes even included name changes. The multicultural environment is still present today and has turned into an environment in which more people are interested in their background, because it is socially accepted now, which it was not in the first couple of years after the policy changed.

Governance theory, as explained in the theory section, is clearly visible in this thesis and especially in this part of the research question. The interaction and sometimes collaboration between different levels of governments, organizations and migrants showed the different influential factors of the change of the ties. The Australian and Dutch governments, both in their own way, influenced the change, while interacting with local organizations and individuals, such as school teachers who forced the migrant children to assimilate.

Finally, when did the transnational ties change? An exact moment of change is hard to establish. However, there are several key moments at which the change started. The change from symbolic to weak ties happened at the end of childhood, when, in most cases, the children lost the strong connection to their parents' home and became independent and settled down. This change was followed by a transnational time gap without strong transnational ties. By acknowledging the presence of such a transnational time gap, different moments of change become visible. This theory is innovative in studies about migration and transnationalism and it provides a new angle for further research.

The multicultural policy discussed above is one of the key moments which initiated change, a statement which is also mentioned in the literature. The change which followed happened slowly and was accompanied by the fact that the children grew up. The interviews have shown that when people grew up and gained extra time on their hands, they became more interested in their own history. Also, their grandchildren, who grow up in the multicultural world, which started in the 1970s, show interest in their background. It becomes more accepted to talk about the background and ask questions. The environment of staying silent about one's background has changed. This research showed that, in most cases, the participants' children were not interested in their heritage. This is because they grew up while their parents still were ignoring their background. Only when the participants became older and got grandchildren, their mind-set changed and they started to accept and embrace their dual ethnicity. Of the participants, all except for one now identify as both Dutch and Australian, they still feel like an in-betweeners, they do not entirely fit either side. They all feel a connection to the Netherlands, although none of them would want to live there anymore. They all have their lives in Australia, but still feel

connected, in their own way, to the Netherlands. The ties they have are highly personal and symbolic, as was concluded above based on the theory of symbolic ethnicity.

With the modern ways of travelling and communication, keeping in touch with the Netherlands has become easier than in the 1950s. These comforts have influenced the moments of change as well. Connecting with other in-betweeners in Australia through social media and clubs became easier and almost all participants are currently active in the Dutch community in Australia. Once the participants became older and their children became independent, they also gained time and money to travel and go back to the Netherlands and Europe. Some participants still feel a strong connection to Europe, which could be considered as a result from the identification as European migrants as children. During childhood, identification as European migrant lead to not identifying as Dutch. However, once the participants become older, these two identities do not exclude each other anymore.

Further research is not only limited to the theoretical framework of this thesis. A more extensive research on first generation Dutch migrant children is necessary to provide a complete image of this generation. Instead of six interviews, a more substantial number must be done to make final statements for this group of participants. It might also be interesting to include the second (and third) generation in research, to make the study even more comprehensive, especially because the current participants mention that their grandchildren are interested in their background. The transnational ties could vary throughout generations. This research also shed a different light on the relation between integration and transnational ties. It proved that ties can be personal and do not have to obstruct integration. In fact, people can still have ties to their home country, without speaking their original language or having the wish to live there again one day. They can be completely integrated while still having transnational ties, which creates a new perspective for current political debates.

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