

Title: *Dutch Australians at a Glance (DAAAG): Acknowledging the Past, and Sustaining the Present and Future*

Slide 1: Introduction

This paper is about the Dutch in Australia. As requested by the Embassy it presents an historical overview of the Dutch in Australia and acknowledges current issues. It is based on a transnational and generations perspective. The wide coverage requested and brevity of the paper disallows me to include extracts from interview material. I define the second generation as the Netherlands-born children of Dutch migrants who were schooled predominantly in Australia and their Australian-born siblings. Dutch immigrants to Australia originate from both the Netherlands and Netherlands East Indies. As this generation ages its interest in family history increases. It has a significant online presence.

Definitions of transnationalism vary, but generally centre on exchanges, connections and practices across borders, thus transcending the national space as the primary reference point for activities and identities. In other words, instead of focusing on just one country or the other, policies with a transnational outlook specifically address the linkages between countries arising from transnational activities and practices by migrants. For me migration is by its nature a transnational activity.

Structure of this paper:

The paper provides a thumbnail overview of the four main themes of the Dutch connection to Australia since 1606 – maritime, military, migration and mercantile and prominent researchers in the field. Emphasizes issues that are of current concern to the community and possible directions for future research. However, its main objective is to explore how migration and resettlement was experienced by the second generation, to better understand the long-term impact of migration on their lives and how to engage their interest into the future.

Historical overview of the four main themes:

There are only a few PhDs on the military and mercantile themes compared to a plethora of theses, reports and publications on Dutch maritime history. The maritime history theme also has far greater 'mainstream' currency than the other three themes, due no doubt, to the greater romanticism attached to discovery, exploration, shipwrecks and treasure compared to war, internment, Occupation, evacuation, diaspora, occupational adjustment, ethnicity, identity and belonging.

Slide 2: Mercantile

The mercantile theme stands alone and also intersects with the other three themes. The Dutch mercantile connection with Australia that began in 1606 was accidental. It was perpetrated by VOC trading ships on their way to and from the Spice Islands in the Indonesian Archipelago who had lost their bearings given the lack of knowledge about longitude.

The next major connection occurred not long after post settlement when the new colony ran out of food and sent ships to Java to import from more from the NEI. Dutch Consuls were in Australia from the mid 19th century.

The next major mercantile connection was via the Koninklijke Paketvaart-Maatschappij (KPM); a major Dutch shipping company, that maintained the sea connections between the islands of the Netherlands East Indies. In the 1930s, it had expanded its services into Australia, New Zealand and Afrika.

At the outbreak of World War II, the KPM had 140 ships in service ranging from small vessels to the famed trio of passenger vessels, Boissevain, Ruys, and Tegelberg, which operated the South Africa, Java /Japan route and the passenger ships Nieuw Holland and Nieuw Zeeland to Australia and New Zealand.

The positive occupational adjustment of first-generation Dutch migrants to Australia in the post WWII era can be associated with Australia's emigration recruitment drives for trades skilled and semi-skilled operators, it gave many Dutch access to the better-paid jobs. By the 1980, when their less well-educated children dominated the workforce, the trade skills profile of the Dutch changed to a profile of high self-employment. Most had come to this via sales jobs, night school and a commitment to the high value their parent's placed on self-employment, plus a demanding work ethic.

In 1898, chairman E. N. Wigg of Broken Hill Proprietary invited Dutch metallurgist, Guillame Delprat to Australia to become Assistant General Manager of BHP. He moved there with his wife and children. On 1 April 1899, he was promoted to General Manager, a position he held until 1921. At BHP, he pioneered the froth flotation process for refining sulphide ore. Delprat foresaw the exhaustion of BHP's mine at Broken Hill, and pushed for moving the company's smelters to Port Pirie; also construction of the Iron Knob railways. He shifted BHP from silver and lead mining to zinc and sulphur production. These moves were the basis of BHP's later success. His daughter Paquita married Sir Douglas Mawson famous Antarctic explorer. She was later awarded a Dutch decoration for helping Dutch evacuees from the NEI rehabilitated in Adelaide.

Today- Australia is home to a number of financial institutions and other companies that operate in Australia including ING Group, Fortis, Rabobank, AEGON, Shell, Unilever, Delta Lloyd, Philips, and Akzo Nobel have strong development and commercial ties with Australia in industry, business, direct investment, mining, building and construction and in the Square Kilometre Array in WA. A substantial Dutch expatriate community is employed by these companies.

In 2012 the Netherlands was Australia's fourth largest source of foreign direct investment (A\$32.3 billion) after the US, UK and Japan. The Netherlands was the eighth largest destination for total Australian investment abroad (A\$27.79 billion).

IN 200, I (N. Peters) was awarded a PhD thesis on Greek, Italian, Dutch and Vietnamese entrepreneurs in Australia.

Future Research: The mercantile themes is untapped more PhDs in this area are needed.

Slide 2 -4: Maritime Theme

Between 1606 and 1795, Dutch mariners of VOC vessels including Jansen, Hartog, de Vlamingh and Tasman played a stellar role in the discovery and mapping of 'Terra Australia Incognita'. Displays in Australian Maritime Museum attest to this.

Prominent researchers in this area, include J.E Heeres 1899¹, Gunter Schilder, Sigmond, J. & L.H. Zuiderhaan (1979); Femme Gaastra, Robert Heijer, Frank Broeze, Bruce Donaldson, Jeremy Green, Myra Stanbury, Mack McCarthy, Wendy Diuvenvoorde, Daniel Franklin and Jan Trent (Dutch naming).

Bilateral policy relationships research and a business plan on

The Agreement between the Netherlands and Australia Concerning Old Dutch Shipwrecks (ANCODS) found off the Western Australian coast was signed on 6 November 1972 an additional schedule was added to the Commonwealth *Historic Shipwrecks Act* in 1976. The Act protects all shipwrecks in Australian waters older than 75 years. Under the ANCODS agreement 2012, all shipwreck artifacts were returned to Australia with the proviso that NL GLAMs can borrowed them for exhibitions as required.

Future Relationships and Future Work

- VOC Archives in Indonesia – multilateral collaboration the Dutch expert is Professor Charles Jeurgens, Leiden University, partners include, Nationaal Archief, Huygens Institute, Volkenkunde Museum, Lelystad, Maritime Museum Amsterdam (Joost Schokkeneg) & Rotterdam, WA Museum Alec Coles, Australian National Maritime Museum (ANMM) Kevin Sumption and Benno van Tilburg, Head Department Ship Archaeology RCE (Netherlands Cultural Heritage Agency).
- In 2016, WA will host the International Maritime History Conference.

Future historical research: possible cohabitation Aboriginal Australians with mariner shipwrecked from VOC ships 17 & 18th centuries.

Slides 5-7: Military Theme

- The Pacific War in 1941, initiated a three and a half year alliance between the American, British, Dutch and Australian (ABDA) military in defence of the region.
- February 1942, saw the loss of a great part of the Dutch air force in the unavailing defence of Malaya; subsequent fall of Singapore; countless losses of men and equipment in the Java Sea battle 27 Feb; the bombardment of Darwin and Broome and Japanese Occupation of the NEI, when ABDA reinforcements failed to show.
- Estimates claim 8-10,000 Dutch servicemen, civilians including many women and children and some members of the NEI Government, were evacuated to Australia on merchant and military transport ships and aircraft.

¹ J.E Heeres, *The Part Borne by the Dutch in the Discovery of Australia 1606-1765*, London, Luzac & Co., 1899.

- During the war the NEI government-in-exile was established in Melbourne, then Camp Columbia at Wacol, Qld; the Netherlands Chancellery in Canberra; an airbase at Batchelor NT, submarine base in Fremantle.
- Koninlijke Packvaart Maatschapij (KPM) merchant ships and seamen maintained supply lines to and from Australia. All told, the KPM lost a total of 98 ships in 'Defence' of Australia and the region.
- The Netherlands Military Hospital Ship, Oranje carried more than 32,000 sick and wounded Allied patients on over 40 voyages.
- The 5000 Indonesians amongst the NEI exiles included administrators, merchant seaman, and 500 nationalist prisoners from Tanah Merah prison in NG. Freed in Australia they garnered union support for Indonesian Independence. From 1945 - 47 these unions boycotted Dutch ships en-route to the NEI. At close of war in the Pacific, 15 August 1945, 6,000 NEI Dutch ex-internees were evacuated here for rehabilitation from Japanese interment camps and the Indonesian Independence Revolution.
- Australian newspapers carry a plethora of articles about aspects all of the war internment, revolution and the boycott of Dutch ships. Van Mook and van der Plas' views on what was happening. They also replicate the stories of gruesome killings of Dutch by *Pemuda* described as extremist youth freedom fighters trained in heavy duty combat skills by the Japanese.
- The 1945 documentary 'Indonesia Calling' by communist Dutch filmmaker Joris Ivens' provided the public with a commentary on the boycott from a unions and communist perspective.

Prominent research includes

- M. George, thesis Australia and the Indonesian Revolution, PhD 1974; published Melbourne Press, 1980.
- The 'Black Armada' by journalist Rupert Lockwood in 1982, is a pro communist pro union perspective picked up by Dutch war historian Louis De Jong and that gives the impression that in 1945, all Australians were strong allies of Indonesian Independence.
- Jack Forde, 1993, *Allies in a Bind : Australia and the Netherlands East Indies in the Second World War*.
- Robert Cribb, *Gangsters and Revolutionaries: The Jakarta People's Militia and the Indonesian Revolution 1945-1949* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 1991).
- F.C. Bennett *Return of the Exiles*, 2003
- Lingard, *Refugees and Rebels: Indonesian Exiles in Wartime Australia*, Australian Scholarly Publishing 2008.
- Doug Hurst 'The Fourth Ally' the context based on Jack Forde's research plus interviews with veterans 2006;
- Fenton Hui's *The Forgotten Ones* is based on the stories of Dutch women's experiences in interment camps where AWM claim 13,000 died.
- Chapters by L. Westerbeek & N. Peters, on Indo Europeans, the Bersiap period, and Dutch evacuees in *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006*.
- Côté, Joost (2005) Memory and history, community and nation: telling the story of the Indisch Dutch in Australia, in Cote, Joost and Westerbeek, Loes (eds), *Recalling the Indies: colonial culture and postcolonial identities*, pp. 9-27, Aksant, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
- Edith van Loo's indepth interviews with veterans are located in the NLA.

Outside Australia

- William Frederick, The killing of Dutch and Eurasians in Indonesia's Revolution (1945-1949): A 'brief genocide' reconsidered, in the *Journal of Genocide Research* 14 (3-4), September-November, 2012, 359-380; Benedict Anderson, Ricklieds, and Richard McMillan 2005, British perspective. Many Many more resources are available on Indonesia but not as it relates to Australia.

Important observation: Jan Lingard 2008 notes that Australian support for Indonesian Independence is greatly overstated also in Dutch histories, principally because wartime historian, L. de Jong relied exclusively on Lockwood's book to describe the situation in Australia. Newspaper reports from the era tell a different story.²³

Future Research

- A huge omission is the human rights abuses perpetrated on Dutch ex POW's, Internees and 'buitenkampers' during the Bersiap period 1945-46. These experiences are relevant to many Dutch Australians from the NEI. In 2005 we received 1000 expressions of interest for an interview to tell their story of the trauma of Occupation, internment and revolution.
- The extent of the role played by NL Allies during the Pacific War.

Slides 8-11: Migration

This section gives snapshots as overview on the extensive archival research in NL & AU, I carried out and oral histories I undertook, questionnaires I administered for my PhD (2000), Book *Milk and Honey But No Gold* (2001) and the 2005-2010 Post Doctoral Research Fellowship I was awarded entitled - Footsteps of the Dutch in Australia from 1606 (around 400 oral histories, focus groups and life stories gathered since 1990).

The Dutch Diaspora from 1629 - some Facts:

- The Dutch diaspora to Australia began pre-settlement. VOC archives record 68 Dutch from the Gilt Dragon, 2 Batavia, 5 Sardam, 10 Geode Hoep, 12 Waeckende Bouy and 2 Zeewijk and an estimated 30-150 off the Zuytdorp were marooned forever off the WA coast between 1629-1712.
- Edward Duyker's seminal text records Dutch Pioneers on the first Fleet 1877. 19th century - Dutch missionaries, socialist group settlements consuls, farmers, merchant seamen, military personnel, and a few professionals - Delprat, Siebenhaar, Ferdinand Domela Nieuwen-huysen 1891. These Dutch married into the local gentry such as Lefroy/Mawson.
- The first transport carrying Dutch emigrant left Rotterdam on the MS Volendam on 11 December 1948 with Dutch farmers, Allied ex-Servicemen and DPs.

² Lingard also claims that the level of support Australia extended the Republic has over the years become greatly 'exaggerated,' to the point where it is now an 'integrated part of the formulaic niceties that prelude diplomatic and political speeches on certain occasions'.²

³ Jan Lingard attribute the shipping bans, their international public reach and the momentous change to Australia's foreign policy they engendered, to the actions and presence of the Indonesians in Australia.³ Margaret George claimed the Australian Labour Government, had to decide whether continued Dutch Colonial authority or Indonesian republican Government - best met their long-term security interests.³ However, none mention the 'human rights abuses' and war crimes taking place in the NEI while they are thus deliberating.

- Between 1951- 1970, approximately 170,000 Dutch had emigrated here. 10 per cent originated in the NEI. Around 40% would eventually return. In contrast to Canada, more Catholics than Protestants settled in Australia.
- Dutch Clubs flourished in the 1940-1980s, declined and picked up later for reasons of age care. However, membership was never more than 10% of the Dutch population. Dutch met mainly in region of origin or interest groups.
- The proportion of Netherlands-born with Australian citizenship shows a strong positive correlation to their period of residence with pre-1976 arrivals recording an 84 per cent naturalisation rate against only 34 per cent who came after 1976 after the change to multiculturalism (ABS 1991). Today, 320,000+ Australians claim Dutch ancestry.
- The Dutch are the least spatially congregated of all the ethnic groups and usually preferring to live in foothills or outer suburbs.
- Lack of language maintenance in second generation Dutch, the result of assimilation imperatives from both governments, severely inhibited their interaction with family in the homeland. It has also caused problems for their ageing parents when they lose second language capacity during ageing or ill health.
- With the rise of English as a dominant language, in retirement many second-generation Dutch visit NL to get back in touch with their roots and for family history purposes. They also utilise Google translate.
- Younger Dutch are more inclined to use social media as a networking tool.

Understanding the Second Generation – Snapshots of Research & Analysis

Given the paper's length and the requested content I am only able to give you an overview of the most significant theoretical aspects of my PhD and postdoctoral research on the Dutch in Australia:

Within a decade of their arrival in Australia, the success of Dutch Australian migration policies were being documented by home and host-land researchers such as the role of denominational agencies in the emigration process, in 1953 they assisted some 35 per cent of Dutch emigrants to Australia, this had grown to 70 per cent in 1960. Other emigrants received assistance from the State Labour Office to submit an application for emigration.

Appleyard (1956) and (Beltz 1961) both noted how Dutch were a preferred group of migrants because they were considered able to assimilate easily; and employers placed great value on them because they were 'industrious, ambitious, hard workers keen to do overtime, to save enough money to buy or build a home, or to become self-employed.

Wentholt & Beijer, 1961) concluded that 51 per cent of (male) emigrant respondents were 'energetic, active, enterprising, independent', 16 per cent were 'gentle, easy going, domestic' and 5 per cent were 'hard, very individualistic, 'self-assured". Characteristics, which seem to be less helpful for emigrants, were less often found. Only 10 per cent were described as 'full of unsolved personality conflicts or difficulties', 5 per cent as 'dependent,

rather weak' and 3 per cent as 'indolent, lazy'. They also recorded a better future for their children as the most cited reason for leaving.⁴

Hofstede 1964 noted that Dutch parliamentarians addressed the widespread structural unemployment in the Netherlands in the 1950s by engineering an 'over-population psychosis' with emigration and industrialization the solution. Moreover their response to emigrants was to say it was a personal choice and that the government [was good enough was implied] to help them leave.

Also of research interest were the demographic characteristics and geographic distribution of the Dutch in Australia, their occupational adjustment⁵, level of inter-marriage, religious distribution, the percentage and nature of return migration, the demographic shift in intakes over time from working class to the petite bourgeoisie, and the attendant occupational shift from trades to sales.⁶ Their reception on arrival, migrant camps, first housing and school, their contact with home; international business links and community development.

Duyker's historical text on the Dutch in Australia spearheaded late 80s research; Joed Elich's PhD, offered a critical in-depth analysis of Dutch migration's organizational structure, and the strong impact of religious organizations on emigration. He emphasized the importance of studying migrants in both their place of origin and in the area of destination, and noted how the Dutch government's 1950s and 1960s emigration policy

⁴ The emigrants were relatively more often single - 32 per cent compared to 25 per cent of the general Dutch population. But in other respects (social-economic class, region of origin, religious affiliation) emigrants were similar to their fellow countrymen. Nonetheless, it must be said that the emigrant population in the first years after the World War II was somewhat unique. The regularly published pictures in the Protestant Christian weekly magazine *De Spiegel*, showing large farmers families waiting to be embarked on one of the monumental emigrant ships, were a bit misleading. In the first years such families were over-represented among emigrants. In 1948 and 1949 the majority of the male emigrants were farmers (55 per cent compared to 20 per cent of farmers in the general Dutch population) but from then their proportion decreased rather quickly: In 1950 farmers constituted 34 per cent of emigrants, in 1951 24 per cent and in 1960 only 6 per cent (Hofstede, 1964: 44) Among them were many farmers with a Calvinist background. The proportion of the Calvinists (mainly members of the Christian Reformed Church, the *Gereformeerden*) was high in this first period of 1948-1952. Twenty five percent of emigrants during this period were Calvinists compared to 9 per cent of the general Dutch population. Canada, the United States and South Africa were particularly attractive for these Calvinists. During this period 41 per cent of Dutch emigrants to Canada, 20 per cent of Dutch emigrants to the United States and 15 per cent of Dutch emigrants to South Africa were Calvinist. However, by 1955-6 the distribution of church membership among emigrants was more comparable to that of the general Dutch population at that time. As the Calvinists emigrants often formed their own communities in the emigration countries it can be supposed that they have strongly contributed to the image of the Dutch emigrant as sober and hard working.

⁵ Appleyard (1956:48) noted that 40 per cent of male arrivals and 43 per cent female arrivals 49-55 were assisted either by the Allied Ex- Servicemen's Scheme or the Dutch Agreement Schemes (NAMA or NGAS) and that in line with immigration recruitment procedures, 42.42 per cent Dutch males selected to come to Western Australia, were classified craftsmen in contrast to only 17.9 per cent of the local workforce. A low 13.2 per cent were tertiary workers (in contrast to 31.27 per cent of the local workforce). The rest were semi-skilled workers; that employers placed great value on them as employees because they were 'ambitious, hard workers keen to do overtime, to save enough money to buy or build a home, or to become **self-employed**'. As a consequence the Dutch in Australia most often found the employment they wanted. This was additionally confirmed by the high percentage (74 per cent) of Dutch migrants who reported having had no employment problems after arriving (Appleyard 1956; Hempel 1960:23).

⁶ The Gaande Man 1958, Hofstede, P.B., Frijda, N.H., Bureau onderzoekingen v/h regeringscommissariaat voor de emigratie * Den Haag noted the demographic characteristics of the emigrants who left, their motives for leaving, the trip over and their expectations on arrival. Follow-up among emigrants / disappointments / housing conditions / work experiences / social integration / adjustment / control of language / contacts with homeland. Background variables: basic characteristics/ place of birth/ housing situation/ occupation/employment/ religion/ readership, mass media, and 'cultural' exposure. In a study of Dutch emigration patterns *Characteristics of Overseas Migrants*, Beijer, Frijda, Hofstede & Wentholt (1961:191) observed that in contrast to the earlier group, the migrants who came after 1956 were predominantly from a lower middle class style of life (66.5 per cent of their sample) who shared the values and behaviour patterns of the *petite bourgeoisie*. At this time, fewer farmers, tradesmen and professionals came to Australia but there was an increase in farm labourers, clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled workers (Hempel 1960:38; Beijer et al 1961:190-5; see also Table 5, Appendix Four). Indoor and outdoor sales became a popular avenue of employment for Dutch unable to procure a job by in their professions or trade. Hempel (1960:31) noted, there were many more individuals located in sales in Australia than had been in sales in the Netherlands. Charles Beltz (1964) supported this observation and also noted that the majority of Dutch in 'commerce' were most often selling insurance or real estate. Appleyard and Beltz 1961 looked at Dutch occupational adjustment.

had hardly been criticised; leading an American researcher, Caplow to call Dutch sociologists in those years “obedient servants of the government”.⁷ He also notes: Contrary to popular belief in the Netherlands, emigrants to Australia were not always lower class, less educated people although up to the present day in the Netherlands the emigrants from the 1950s and 1960s are still believed to be mainly farmers with low education. Overberg’s 1981 focussed on the influence of *verzuilingen* on community formation. Hempel studied the Dutch in QLD. In more recent times Velthuis NSW, Sandy Horne SA, Julien and Weiringa Tasmania⁸, Overberg Victoria, and Peters WA & Australia. Linguists, Kleyne, Pauwels and Aamerlaan emphasized the lack of language maintenance and the emergence of a sort of ‘Double Dutch’.

Assimilation:

Researchers claimed ‘as indicative of a greater degree of assimilation than other non-British groups’ the lack of Dutch language maintenance among post-war migrants; the modest membership of community organisations, and the evidence of their children’s assimilation.⁹

Media Images

By the 1970s ‘Dutch invisibility’ was generally the accepted way to view Dutch resettlement. On 2 February 1978 The Adelaide Advertiser noted:

The typical Dutchman who came to Australia and assimilated for all his individualistic reasons, is a man without and out of history. He is 'strong willed, fast thinking, often stubborn and possessed with a fanaticism to succeed'. (1)...i

Although the assimilated Dutch was a persuasive stereotype not all members of the Dutch community agreed with it. Many preferred like the Dutchman quoted by The Canberra Times on 13 May 1978 – to believe that the Dutch were the best [of all migrants] at playing the ‘assimilation’ game’.¹⁰

Walker-Birckhead described Dutch assimilation ideology and practices, as distinctive because, throughout the assimilation period, whether they considered them agreeable or not, the majority of Dutch appeared willing to conform to them - at least in the public sphere. Generally in public settings the Dutch appeared to want to get rid of or at least cover-up any social characteristics defined as ‘ethnic’ by Australians. In this climate Anglo-conformity became the hallmark of ‘Dutch identity’ in Australia and as a consequence, the Dutch resettlement patterns that had them heralded as most ‘assimilated model migrants’ also had them labelled ‘invisible’!

I term the peculiar mode of Dutch Australians’ adaptation *aanpassen*. Moreover I assert that the ideology of *aanpassen* was instilled via socialization practices based on the Dutch norm of civility, which positively evaluates a resolute commitment to hierarchy and self possession - particularly the Calvinist and Stoical values of discipline, frugality, industry, responsibility, obedience and indefatigable allegiance to leaders regardless of circumstances.

⁷ Noted academics such as van Heek, Groenman, Steigenga and Hofstede agreed that the Netherlands was an over-populated country. Petersen argued in 1955, that Dutch emigration policy was not based on rational grounds and did not solve the population problem. The Dutch government all but ignored Hofstede when he criticised Dutch emigration policy in his 1964 thesis.

⁸ Roberta Julien’s 1989 PhD explored the *Ethnicity and Immigrant Adaptation of the Dutch in Tasmania*.

⁹ (Appleyard, 1956, Beltz 1964; Gough 1961; Hempel 1960; Lodewyckx 1956; Price 1960; Taft 1961, 1965; Zubrzycki 1964) (de Jonge, personal communication; Harvey 1970; Wiseman 1974).

¹⁰ Walker-Birckhead, W. (1988) *Dutch Identity and Assimilation in Australia: An Interpretative Approach*. PhD thesis, The Australian National University.

Walker-Birckhead argues that the first generation Dutch dealt with *aanpassen* by developing a distinct public and private persona as a stratagem for maintaining their cultural integrity.¹¹ First generation Dutch stayed very Dutch in their homes, consequently their children were brought up in characteristically Dutch homes in everything but language maintenance.

Outward conformity to assimilationist mandates became the hallmark of 'Dutch identity' in Australia.¹² In the public sphere, de Longh maintains the Dutch in Australia, without exception, tried to be more Australian than the Australians.¹³ This peculiar way of maintaining their culture led some social scientists to speak of Dutch culture as a 'closet culture'.¹⁴

Cahill (2006) describes first generation Dutch as 'accommodationist' and the second generation as 'amalgamationists' - undoubtedly because success came from being able to navigate two cultural spheres. In his opinion, the first generation have been as much Dutch as they wanted to be. The second, though proud of their *Dutchness* not overwhelmingly passionate as to its salience!

My research shows that the Dutch migrant children who grew up in Australia during the 1950s and 1960s, when assimilation ideology reigned supreme, experienced more difficulties settling in at school, than both the authorities and their parent's appreciated. The sink or swim education policy that prevailed at the time ensured that once they were enrolled in school they were, considered Australian children'. This attitude enabled education authorities to totally ignore specific disadvantages and special needs such as teaching English as a second language, and refrain from collecting overseas-born statistics. Under this system, if a migrant child presented with learning difficulties, the authorities could maintain that the fault lay with the child or the migrant household rather than the school system! The lack of language specific help and skewed IQ tests also diminished these Dutch children's chances of procuring a higher education scholarship and few parents could afford the education fees to send them independently.

Moreover, in reality, even the enthusiastic application of the euphemism 'New Australian' and the Anglicising of children's names did not change the fundamental fact, 'that in the schoolyard these migrants were really thought of as reffos, wogs, spags, kikes, Yids, and Poms - clog wogs!

At school the ultimate symbol of success was to be seen to be accepted by the revered Australian crowd because anything 'New Australian' was labelled 'inferior'. Learning to speak English like their Australian peers became the preferred option. Even children from the UK would over-emphasise the 'ocker' to avoid being ragged remorselessly whenever they spoke with a 'Pommy' accent.

Lacking a sense of pride in their own heritage and having to make vital decisions about their 'identity', while caught between these conflicting power sources - home, Australian

¹¹ . Walker-Birckhead, 1996.

¹² . Eidheim, pp. 41-2, notes that in Norway the Lapp identity is treated as illegitimate, and that these Lapps also refrain from acting it out in institutional inter-ethnic situations.

¹³ . De Longh is cited in 'It's the Dutchness of the Dutch', *The Bulletin*, Sydney, 1976.

¹⁴ . Walker-Birckhead, 1996.

school and peers - challenged many migrant children's sense of belonging, at home and in the wider community.

Not all migrant children suffered these consequences. Each child had to find ways of dealing with being different. Some children left school and started work young while others focused on attaining top grades, some refused to leave the migrant enclave; others tried balancing the demands of two cultures; still others rejected their backgrounds altogether in the bid to be accepted in the Australian community.

To confront and accommodate these obstacles and develop and maintain an independent identity required ingenuity and determination. Some children later turned the drive, ingenuity and creativity required to survive the school years into innovation in the market place or academia. Their accomplishments helped ease the upheaval and dislocation the family had endured during the resettlement phase. Their success ratified the migration undertaking – 'to give their children a better life'.

The 'Other Dutch'

In 1995, Eve ten Brummelaar introduced the term 'Other Dutch' to define those Dutch-Australians, who spent their youth in the Dutch East Indies. Many are mixed blood of Dutch with Indonesian or Chinese background. Willems, Wim, *De Uittocht uit Indië* notes the difficulties the special importance Australian migration agents placed on someone's outward appearance, the colour of the skin and external features. Consequently in respect of meeting the selection criteria the Dutch from Indonesia made up a complicated category.

Joost Coté's notes: In Australia the Indisch Dutch are now recognised within the wider community as having a distinct identity and history. Although the great majority of Indisch Dutch migrated to Australia via the Netherlands to come to resettle a mere hours flying from their former pre-war locations, their past and present lives are in fact separated by a dramatic history that includes colonialism and imperialism. Westerbeek's PhD focussed on second generation NEI Dutch Australians. Most hardly knew the story behind their parent's diaspora out of the NEI into the Netherlands and then again to Australia.

Dutch Ageing

Demographer Donald Rowland notes how language loss had come home to roost as the Dutch entered the peak years of Dutch ageing and some elderly started losing second language capacity.¹⁵ According to his projections, the number of Dutch Australians aged (60 years and over) will peak at over 50,000 in the first half of the 2010s.¹⁶ The proportion aged 75 years plus will remain around one third in the present decade, rising to 45 per cent in 2021 and 73 per cent in 2031. However, by 2021 the vast majority of Dutch will be aged 60 years and over".

Some Outcomes of my Research on the Dutch in Australia

After locating Dutch Australians' adaptive strategies in historic, socio-cultural, psychological, economic and political context, it documents the additional impact on the immigration experience of religion, gender, ageing and generation. It also analyses the

¹⁵ Rowland, D, 'Ageing and the future' in N. Peters (ed), *The Dutch Down Under 1606-2006* (Perth, 2006, 350-364).

¹⁶ P. Neeleman, 'Care of the Dutch Aged in Victoria: Today and Future Options', in Grüter, Benoît and Stracke, Jan (editors) 'Dutch Australians Taking Stock: Proceedings of the First National Dutch Community Conference and Supplementary Papers' (Melbourne, 1993, 97-106).

correlation between each generational cohorts' current concerns as they relate to these adaptive patterns against a backdrop of the host's changing immigration policies: assimilation, through integration to multiculturalism.¹⁷ It identifies healthcare as the most pressing concern of the first generation, whereas for the second generation it is their *Dutch origins*, identity and belonging. I demonstrate that a far more comprehensive understanding of the long-term effect of migration on first and second generation Dutch Australians can be reached by viewing recruitment, socialisation, ethnicity and social class as empirically and analytically distinct influences on Dutch Australians' adaptive processes.

Ethnicity was a less powerful influence than religion and social class for the Dutch because pre-migration cultural norms continued to determine the nature of the Dutch socio-cultural networks in Australia.

Hardly any first or second generation Dutch entrepreneurs advertised their ethnicity unless they were selling ethnic goods to ethnic consumers, or targeting an ethnic consumer base deliberately. Ethnicity is in self-employed sector for the second generation a functional concept to be used or discarded according to the situation.

The experience of resettlement for the second generation often had more synergy inter than intra ethnic group. There is a sort of second generation experience of being a migrant child that we children understood/understand. However, how children responded was determined by their family socialisation practices, its imperatives, expectations and options. *Aanpassen*, was the imperative most Dutch parents expected from their children and this differed from many other groups who wished their children to marry a co-ethnic. Few Dutch people introduced their children into Dutch club structures – they were expected to make it in the mainstream arena.

The members of the Free Reformed Dutch illustrate the positive correlation between higher ratios of entrepreneurship, social cohesiveness and residential clustering, as anecdotal evidence suggests a far higher rate of entrepreneurship, evolved in the WA Dutch Free Reformed religious community than in the rest of the Dutch community.

A common remark was that Australians were just not 'gezellig' (cosy). A representative statement from Dutch women is embodied in the following quote:

Dutch homes are more 'furnished' than Australian homes, especially in the living-room. The windows, typically, are framed by lace curtains and there is often a small rug on the coffee table which is encircled by large, comfortable arm chairs. There is a great deal to look at - copper miniatures, wall hangings, wall tiles, wall clocks, paintings and pot plants - much of which is miniaturised and hanging on the walls, as if otherwise the room would be too 'small' to hold everything. With its indirect soft lighting and armchairs placed invitingly around the coffee table, the living room is the focal point of the house; to such an extent that the Dutch have been described as having a 'living room' culture (Taft 1961, Warmbrunn 1965).

¹⁷ N. Peters, *Milk and Honey But No Gold: Postwar Migration to Western Australia 1945-1964* (Perth 2001); N. Peters, 'Expectations versus Reality: Postwar Dutch Migration to Australia', in: L. Shaw (ed.), *400 Years of Dutch Connections with Australia*, National Maritime Museum, Conference Proceedings (Sydney 2006).

Most of the immigrants of the period mentioned have since become pensioners. They have noticed a change in Australian contacts. One man, for instance, said, 'I left my Australian friends at the office when I closed the door behind me'. The pensioners realize that they are still very Dutch no matter how assimilated they seemed to be. For years they suppressed their Dutch identity vis-à-vis Anglo-Australians.

OTHER POSSIBLE RESEARCH PROJECTS

- According to the Dutch Central Bureau for Statistics, approximately 15,000 first or second-generation Australians live in the Netherlands. Why, who are they?
- As they reach retirement age, many of the second generation are making the 'grand tour' back to their roots in NL or the NEI or both. Just how many and how long they stay is yet to be determined but would be a useful research project.
- In 2005, my colleague and I received 1000 expressions of interest from NEI Dutch to tell their story. Their stories of trauma need telling –this could be a meaningful oral history project.
- 'Our new status as a 'priority country' under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs 'Mutual Heritage' policy, What does it, can it, mean?
- The long-term 'sustainable preservation' of Dutch Australian immigrants' cultural heritage. This needs research and a serious business plan that engages with the costs associated with running small museums. The preservation process also needs to be managed according to Australian collections organisation guidelines – then it will always possible for the info to be harvested by them and given access on line if the museum fails to materialize or have the capacity for longevity.
- However, most important for us all to appreciate is that increasingly, to support the costs of preserving and showcasing Dutch Australians' maritime, military, migration and mercantile cultural heritage requires a significant injection of philanthropic support from the business sector and industry in tandem with bilateral collaborations between universities, communities, local, state, national and international governmental organisations, the GLAMS and the heritage tourism sector.

Current Issues

- Slide 12: Two outcomes of the CIE Dutch Culture Days in Fremantle, The Hague and Canberra.**
- Slide 13: Australia as priority country under NL's 'mutual heritage' policy – what possibilities does it raise?**
- Slide 14: Possible Collaborations in the future.**
- Slide 15: Concerns & Possibilities**
- Slide 16: Established Collaborations and Events**

Slide 17-22: Huygens, Nationaal Archief, National Archives, European Studies, Centre ANU, Curtin University, University West Sydney, WA Museum, Australia National Maritime Museum - Collaboration

Slide 23: Conclusion: expertise and philanthropy

ⁱ *The Adelaide Advertiser*, 2 February 1978.