

CHAPTER TWENTY FIVE

## BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: SECOND GENERATION DUTCH MIGRANTS IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA<sup>1</sup>

**Kim Negenman**

How do you say goodbye  
To somewhere you've never been?  
How greet a world where you don't arrive?<sup>2</sup>

### INTRODUCTION

This chapter will tell the story of the second generation Dutch migrants who grew up in Western Australia during the 1950s and 1960s, when the ideology of assimilation dominated immigration policy. The story is based on anthropological research carried out for my Masters' thesis about the ways in which the first and second generation Dutch in Perth constructed their identity. My motivation for choosing this subject was the fact that I grew up in a multicultural neighbourhood in Alkmaar, The Netherlands. My own experience of migrants living a life in between two worlds and their consequent identity problems, made it interesting for me to see how Dutch migrants abroad were dealing with these similar issues.

I will draw my conclusions from focus group data, obtained from Dutch-born as well as Australian-born second generation migrants. Seventeen migrants, divided into two groups, homogeneous in their demographic and socio-economic characteristics, all participated in the group discussions which took place in *Neerlandia*, the Dutch club in Perth. By organising several focus group discussions and participating in the Dutch community, I came to understand some of the challenges and pressures that were experienced by Dutch migrants and their children in Australia. What struck me most, were the problems the second generation faced in their efforts to develop an independent identity within the Dutch private sphere, distinct from the Australian public sphere in which they were raised. My account of the research will be illustrated by quotations from the focus group discussions.

Most parents had the expectation that their children would adjust without any problems to the culture of the new environment.<sup>3</sup> They believed that growing up in Australia was all that their children needed in order to develop a sense of being Australian. This chapter, however, will tell a different story.

The second generation was confronted with the pressure to assimilate imposed by their parents, the Australian children, the schoolteachers and Australian society as a whole. For them, both finding a sense of belonging within this Australian society and of creating an identity, was a very complex process. These pressures made a huge impression on the children and still are important in the construction of their identity as adults.



**Figure 1**  
Frances McManus nee Verschuren came to Western Australia as a 10 year old child in 1954 with her parents and nine siblings. Courtesy: F. Mcmanus.

Assimilation ideology dominated Australian immigration policy until the mid-1960s. The so-called ‘White Australia’ policy focused on maintaining a homogenous Australian society, both in appearances and lifestyle. As Prime Minister John Curtin pointed out after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan:

This country shall remain forever the home of the descendants of those people who came here in peace in order to establish in the South Seas an outpost of the British race.<sup>4</sup>

In this way, the old Australians were assured that the newcomers would soon become indistinguishable from them. The migrants were encouraged to learn the language and adopt the Australian customs as soon as possible. Whatever cultural heritage and language they brought with them were seen as irrelevant to their new lives.<sup>5</sup>

## BEING DIFFERENT

Ninety per cent of the Australian population before the post-war wave of migration was Australian-born and English speaking. A sense of being different was therefore the most dominant feeling that migrant children faced as they grew up in Australia in the Fifties and Sixties. Since anything not Australian was labelled inferior, the children had to deal with constant discrimination and prejudice. A lot of the misunderstandings can be attributed to both the Australians and the Dutch being ignorant of one

**Figure 2**  
“We want to be like all the other kids.”  
Sjannie Berens (third left, 2nd row without a school uniform) Our Lady Help of Christians School, 1953.  
Courtesy: Sjannie Crick nee Berens.



another's culture, customs, traditions and beliefs.. Especially in the outback, the locals were not used to migrants from different cultural backgrounds:

I had difficulties settling, because we moved into the country. It was really hard because there were only a few other migrants; two Italian families and certainly no Dutch. So the people were not used to migrants. They looked at us as if we were not normal.<sup>6</sup>

The Dutch soon realised that they were expected to assimilate without any changes being made by the old Australians.<sup>7</sup> To make sure that the newcomers would not interfere with the Australian way of life, some Australians took it upon themselves to pressure the migrants to speak only English. Others pushed their Dutch friends to apply for naturalisation. Dutch parents were shocked when they were stopped in the street by Australians for speaking Dutch to their children. The teachers shared this point of view and told both Dutch parents and children to speak English at home and to forget their Dutch background.<sup>8</sup> The Education Department and the teachers believed that the migrant children would adjust without any problems. They did not consider it worth discussing. Once the migrant children were enrolled in school they were, from the teachers' point of view, considered Australian children.<sup>9</sup> Children had their difficult Dutch names changed for them immediately. There were no support systems for migrant children and their specific disadvantages were ignored by the teachers. When learning problems arose, teachers subsequently blamed the children or their migrant home background and definitely not the school system. Part of the problem was that teachers did not know how to help the migrant children. This is illustrated by John's school experience:

The teachers hadn't been set up to know what to expect and many were absolutely blind to the fact that we couldn't understand their language, with no experience and no idea how to help us. They basically thought we were deaf and dumb because we never said anything in response. We couldn't!<sup>10</sup>

The migrant children believed that being Dutch was a distinct disadvantage to them. Mixing with their Australian classmates made them very aware of the differences in culture. Children felt ashamed of their Dutch language, their ethnic parents, their European-style clothing and Dutch cuisine. As Deanna says:

I can remember being 13 years of age and walking down the street in Bunbury thinking if I keep my mouth shut, no one will know who I am and what I am, because as soon as I spoke there was my accent, because I only had been here one year.<sup>11</sup>

Jennifer did not eat her lunch with other kids around. All she wanted was her mother to buy Kraft Cheddar - a processed cheese in a packet - instead of any other of the various cheeses from Europe. Her good quality European clothes also marked her as a new Australian, who was thus labelled inferior

by the Australians. She saw acceptance by her Australian classmates as the ultimate form of success.

Because of their insufficient knowledge of the English language, especially for the description of their emotions, children did not talk to classmates about the problems they faced. The children of working-class families could not talk to their parents either, for they strongly believed that growing up in Australia was all that was required to make their children feel Australian.<sup>12</sup> Besides, parents were too busy solving their own problems. Frances recalls:

I think there was a sort of in-built sense that you came to terms with things that were not important enough. You sorted it out yourself. It made you very independent and tough.<sup>13</sup>

Children with educated parents experienced fewer problems, since their parents were better able to cope with the demands of both cultures. Working-class families tried to cover up any social characteristics defined as ‘ethnic’ by the Australians, in order to become more accepted and to avoid any discrimination. They complied with the assimilationist dictates.

In the privacy of their homes however, working-class women stayed committed to the Dutch culture, as was expected of them by the Dutch Calvinist and Catholic churches - the two religions that encouraged emigration. According to them, the Dutch wives had the important task of ensuring their family’s successful immigration by creating a convivial Dutch home in Australia. This however rarely included passing on the Dutch language to their children.<sup>14</sup> Yet some more highly educated people continued to transmit the homeland culture and language to their children. Anton recalls how his mother told him:

Be proud of what you are, you should be very proud of where you came from, Europe. You have nothing to be ashamed of. Never be afraid or ashamed of where you came from, the hell with them, just go out there and do what you want to do, if they don’t like it, tough!<sup>15</sup>

However, the positive attitude of his mother still could not prevent him from feeling different. He recalls:

We (second generation migrants) all have the same experience. We all grew up and we felt very different. You grew up with different food and a different culture. You looked at your friends’ houses and you became very aware how different you were. And then you as a young self-conscious child think: ‘What is wrong with me? Why am I different? It affects your self-worth. It affects the way you think, talk and believe and the way you grow up.’<sup>16</sup>

As children or teenagers, the second generation migrants tried to find a strategy to deal with the feeling of being different and less worthy. Peter studied really hard to prove himself:



**Figure 3**  
Anton Ottenhof receiving his Science degree at Murdoch University, WA.  
Courtesy: Nell Ottenhof.



**Figure 4**  
Nonja and Nancy Peters 1955 - without any extended kin, the older children became live-in babysitters.  
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

You felt like you had to do so much better. That sort of pushed me. It has never been my choice to come here, but you develop a value that you want to do better than anybody else. I didn't just study, because I wanted the piece of paper in the end. I just felt it as a competition. Everything had to be better.<sup>17</sup>

Others tried to be the best at sport, hoping that this would gain them recognition as a person. Deanna dropped out of school after finding a job at a very young age:

I was in grade two for two weeks. I never spoke and I wouldn't stand up because I towered over the other students and I was embarrassed. They got rid of me by putting me in grade four, and then they moved me to another class, and then another. I had no idea why. I did speak some English but I was never tested, never taken aside and spoken to. I was just put in these classes, never introduced to the teachers, so I felt alien, a nuisance and a problem to everybody and very scared. I couldn't handle the situation and I left school before my fourteenth birthday.<sup>18</sup>

For her the school experience was unbearable. The lack of specific help with lessons and the shifting from class to class confused her. Deanna's father supported her decision to leave school. He felt she should go to work and hand over her weekly earnings. Most Dutch parents, like many European parents at that time, depended upon their children's income to purchase a house or set up a business.<sup>19</sup> Older migrant children like Deanna who wished to complete high school, experienced difficulties with written and spoken English, caused by the lack of language assistance. These circumstances also reduced their possibilities to gain a higher education scholarship, since these were only given to students with high English marks. As a consequence these migrant children were often unable to realise their pre-migration dream to enter a certain career path.<sup>20</sup>

## DUTCH FAMILY POWER STRUCTURES IN A NEW LAND

Conflicts with the parents about differences in values and beliefs between the two cultures, increased migrant children's sense of being different. Isolated from their family in Holland, the first generation tried to be good parents exactly in the way their own parents had fulfilled that role in the past, unaware of the child-raising techniques that were beginning to be promoted in Australia at that time. Instilled via the socialisation practices in the Netherlands, Dutch parents continued to attach value to the Calvinist principles of discipline, commitment to hierarchy, obedience, industry and frugality.<sup>21</sup> They were seen by their children as very dominant figures, especially in comparison with the experiences of their Australian classmates. Dutch children did as they were told and were afraid to speak up.<sup>22</sup> Although Australian society was also still patriarchal and hierarchical, the dominant

position of the Dutch parents, especially of the father, was increased by the migration process. Deanna explains:

In my situation, where I have a very dominant father, the immigration allowed him to continue that, because we became that little unit and there were no aunts, uncles, grandmas and granddads. Whereas when we lived in Holland, he would still be dominant, but he could only do so much, because my mother was one of nine children and had a very close family. If he went too far, somebody would say something. But here he became the boss, he was the controller. The immigration did that.<sup>23</sup>

For women it was even more difficult to create an independent identity and to have some self-respect, since they also had a subordinate role within the male-dominated Dutch family-life. Deanna reflects on her position within the household:

The boys would all sit and Mum and I served the food. Then they sat back and we cleared the table. There were fights sometimes, I used to object, but you still did it, because if you didn't you had to find a place to sleep somewhere else. That was tough: very dominant and very strong.<sup>24</sup>

Girls more than boys, were pushed by their parents to find a job at the age of fifteen and then to give up a substantial amount of their salary. They were in fact destined to be housewives, and the curtailment of their education made it easier financially for their brothers to be then educated to a higher level.



**Figure 5**  
150 Durlacher Street, Geraldton - owned by the RC Church.  
In front (from left to right): Rita, Angela, Pat and Theo van Beek  
At the back with the family cat 'Black Beauty'.  
The family arrived from NL on 28 October 1953 and moved there on 30 October. The residents of the house at the time were: the van Beek's 10 children, the Oorschot's 13 children and both sets of parents - thus 27 people. It had no refrigerator and no electric fans for cooling.  
Courtesy: Van Beek Family.

This led to friction between siblings because of a difference in economic situation and in worldview.<sup>25</sup> Most Dutch girls did not tell their Australian friends about these aspects of their family life, because they felt ashamed that they paid their parents that much money and could not save for the future.<sup>26</sup> Mixing with their Australian classmates was therefore difficult, since they had less available spending money. These imported traditions obstructed the children's economic development, just like the prejudices and discrimination in the public sphere.<sup>27</sup>

Later in life female migrants empowered themselves and tried to find a strategy to deal with this inferiority, hoping that this would bring them acknowledgement. Elisabeth felt very disadvantaged, and so at the age of forty-one she went to University to get a degree in English and Communication Studies. Higher education ultimately gave her the desired sense of belonging. A side-effect however was that she drifted even further away from her less educated family. She had broken with the Fifties tradition, where education



**Figure 6**  
Gannaway neighbour's boy with Nonja  
Peters, Subiaco, 1951.  
Courtesy: Peters Family Collection.

was not necessary for a woman. For these women the process of identity-construction was an ongoing battle.

Growing up in a Dutch family also meant that the eldest children were confronted with enormous responsibilities. Kirsten reflects:

Because I was the eldest, I did everything. It didn't matter, nobody asked how old you were, you just did everything; telephone calls, telegrams to be send, shopping to be done or somebody's birthday in the family. We lived in the country and we had only one bike and it would always be me. It was amazing really the responsibility that you were given as the eldest of the family.<sup>28</sup>

Others had to be interpreter at the doctor's surgery, hospital or government agencies or had to baby-sit at a very young age, in the absence of other direct family-members. Many of them realised later in life that they were in fact deprived of their childhood. In some cases this ultimately led to a reversal of the parent-child role. Elisabeth, being the eldest daughter, had to take care of her depressed mother. In reality, one third of my focus group participants came from families in which the loneliness and homesickness of their parents, resulted in alcohol abuse, domestic violence and depression. Elisabeth tells about her memories of living in a household in which domestic violence and depression played an important role:

I am sure my mother went through severe depression, because she wasn't told. She only found out the night before departure that we were going to Australia. And I can remember it was a very big fight between my parents. For all these years she never forgave him. I think that completely dominated our family life. That complete tension that was there in the family. And my father also was a very angry man, till this day very difficult to talk to. But the drama and the tension and the violence that was there was horrific. Most of my childhood I spent under the bed, not in my bed. I was so terrified of what my parents were up to. I think it caused a very dysfunctional family and we are.<sup>29</sup>

For many years she resented the fact that she was her mother's carer. She rebelled and tried to cut herself off. However just recently, the situation transformed into something positive:

My mother with her dementia needed a keeper to have her affairs looked after. So just recently, only this year, I became my mother's keeper because someone had to do it. It has worked out for her and I feel more empowered by it.

Some of the second generation migrants stated that they believed they had lost their mother after arriving in Australia. Louise thinks her mother never accepted the fact of living in Australia:



Looking back, I think my mother was in total depression all of the trip. She actually never came out of the cabin. She had a three year old baby, who I think probably nearly died on the way over, because my mother was so ill. I think it came as a total shock that she was actually on this ship. And for years afterward when we were here she was depressed. It took me a long time to figure that out, that that is what actually happened. My mother was emotionally unavailable for the greater part of our childhood and that does make a huge impact. I do a lot of therapy to come to terms with a lot of stuff.<sup>30</sup>

Because of the lack of emotional support from their parents, children were not able to create a strong sense of personal self. Parents were far too busy solving their own problems and were therefore emotionally unavailable for their children. Moreover, most parents and children were not able to share their emotional feelings. Parents were not fluent in the English language and children understood only the important words in the Dutch language. The continual absence of a strong sense of self can have serious consequences. Its most common symptoms are prolonged restlessness, lack of employment stability or delinquency and mental disorders.<sup>31</sup> In the case of four respondents, who arrived in Australia at a very young age, it led to psychological disorders and depressions.<sup>32</sup> They had the feeling of always being pushed into the background. They were always the ones left behind; no one listened to them, no one took them seriously. They sort of plodded along.<sup>33</sup> They undertook, and some still do, a lot of therapy to come to terms with what happened to them. Dientje reflects on her feelings as a five-year-old girl:

I experienced the difficulties many years later. As a child you withdraw. I was the youngest of ten children, so you withdraw. Everyone else around you is so busy with their own problems, shit and depressions that you as a five year old child feel your place is 'back', at the end of the line. For many years I felt that my place was 'back'. But now that is changing. But it has had a very bad effect.<sup>34</sup>

Her subordinate position and the lack of a sense of belonging resulted in two nervous breakdowns and six years of therapy. She recently finished therapy, but still experiences a lot of anger, especially towards her mother, who was depressed during her childhood:

I still experience a lot of anger. I experience more anger to my family and my parents. I have no feelings for my mother, because I didn't have a mother as I have been told, I had mothers and none that I could specifically go to. It was very sad to come to terms with the fact that I lost my mother when we arrived in Australia.<sup>35</sup>

Her mother and the rest of the family never understood her situation. Parents were overwhelmed with their own problems when trying to cope

with the migration experience. Besides, much of their mental problems were also linked to their wartime trauma, the loss of family members and the devastation of their home country and livelihood. In dealing with these issues, they easily forgot that the youngest children needed more attention and emotional support. Dientje continues:

My psychologist told me that being the youngest of ten children, which I have never been able to express to my family, and I am not looking for sympathy here, that I was probably affected the most. I don't think that my family will ever understand that, which is a total tragedy. But I must move on . . .<sup>36</sup>

Two sisters of Dientje, who were 10 and 12 years old when they arrived in Australia, were participants in another focus group. When I asked them about the differences between the siblings in their family, they both answered that they believed the eldest children in the family experienced most difficulty:

For the older ones the social changes and the differences were just too great to bear. Not only did you have to leave your family, you had to leave your friends too. Which when you are 14, 15, 18 to 20 would be dreadful. Pete [their elder brother] is an example, he was 21 and had already a good job in Holland and was an excellent goalkeeper. He had experienced friends and social clubs and social events, whereas the younger ones had not, so it was easier for the younger ones to adapt.<sup>37</sup>

On reflection, Dientje notes that she believes all ages experience the transition differently.<sup>38</sup>

## LIFE IN BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

Deprived of a sense of pride in their own heritage and the opportunities for creating a strong self-image, most second generation migrants were confronted with an existence in between two worlds. They derived their meanings about identity from the two cultural milieus in which they were raised. They were as children, not firmly rooted in one culture and therefore were not capable of creating a separate private and public sphere, like their parents. The assimilation push denied them access to their own cultural background and created a lack of a sense of pride in their heritage. Confronted with discrimination, this second generation tried to be accepted by changing both their appearance and behaviour at a young age. The assimilation ideology of Australia that time, is responsible for the second generation's strong aspirations for acceptance in Australian society.

Dutch migrant children have tended to feel alienated in Australia as well as in their country of origin. Frank's experience is representative of most of the second generation migrants I interviewed. For him identifying with one culture is not possible. In his poem about his parents' decision to emigrate he says: 'How do you say goodbye to somewhere (Holland) you've never

been? How greet a world where you don't arrive (Australia)?<sup>39</sup> A reason for this dilemma is that children had rarely been involved in the discussion about whether or not to go to Australia. The parents, and in most cases only the father, made the decision to leave the Netherlands. Children certainly did not have a choice. Deanna's emotions are representative of this:

I was 12 when I came to Australia and I knew that we were coming to Australia about three months before. I don't think it was even three months. It was a huge shock, because I knew nothing about it. I just started a new school in Holland, high school and I really loved it. I made some new friends and for the first time in my life I was really happy at school. I was doing really well. And all of a sudden my father told me that we were leaving. There was a letter for my school and that was it! It was just horrendous. I just couldn't believe this was happening!<sup>40</sup>

Since the Seventies, when the Australian policy of assimilation changed to one of multiculturalism, Dutch migrants have no longer had to repress their ethnicity. The Australian mainstream attitude towards ethnicity of any kind began to change; ethnicity became authentic and relevant. Multicultural Australia not only recognised, but also encouraged members of ethnic groups to cultivate cultural differences with respect for and understanding of each other's differences.<sup>41</sup> As a result, many second generation Dutch who survived assimilation by rejecting their ethnicity, have now acknowledged and reclaimed their cultural heritage and ethnic identity. Deanna could not deny her background for ever:

You don't forget your heritage. It may go underground for a while, but it won't be denied for ever . . . I really didn't think of myself as Dutch even though I married Dutch. But as I am getting older I am beginning to realise that there is quite a lot there really, still. I have kept up the Dutch language and I have encouraged my children to speak Dutch and to be proud of their Dutch heritage.<sup>42</sup>

Frank explains multicultural Australia in terms of a melting pot of cultures: 'I think there is this growing awareness that 'I am Australian first and multi second or Dutch second'.<sup>43</sup>

For most second generation migrants, it is easier now to find a balance between both cultural worlds. Elisabeth went to visit Holland in 1986 to find her roots:

I met all of my mother's family before they passed away, except for my grandparents. I spent some time with my aunties, uncles and cousins and we had fun. I made a fool of myself with the Dutch language, but that didn't matter. I was there for about three weeks and I think I felt more in touch with myself when I came to Australia. I knew I couldn't live in Holland, because Australia was home and I was married and had three

sons as well by then. That was very important; knowing that I do feel Australian, but I like the Dutch attachments that I have got at the same time.

Other second generation migrants became involved with Dutch aged-care problems. The Dutch population in Western Australia has not been able to raise the funds necessary to establish an ethno-specific nursing home.<sup>44</sup> First and second generation Dutch migrants therefore established the Dutch Australia Community Service (DACS), whose volunteers visit the elderly Dutch in their homes or in mainstream nursing homes. This is very important because the knowledge of a second language, in this case the English language, is often severely reduced by the aging process and it can even completely disappear after a stroke or severe illness. Especially for those Dutch who did not transmit the Dutch language to their children, this has had serious consequences. They experience difficulties in communicating with their Australian-speaking children and grandchildren. Elisabeth tells about the fact that she is struggling to have a conversation with her mother:

My parents are in the eighties and my mother is in a nursing home and has dementia. She is switching back to her Dutch a lot and I am struggling to have a conversation with her. I am enjoying the Dutch idioms that come out and I have a giggle, but I can't actually conduct a conversation with my mother. When I get a phone call from my relatives from Holland, I can't have a conversation with them about the medical things, about the bigger topics. So I have become friends with an old friend of my mothers in Adelaide. She is bilingual and can speak Dutch and English very well. I use her as translator. But it is very difficult.

Some second generation migrants, who arrived in Australia at a young age, fear that such loss of language will eventually happen to them as well. Riki, 15 years old when she arrived in the Fifties, notices that she is now developing a much stronger sense of being Dutch:

I suppose when you get older you go back to your roots. We are involved with Neerlandia (Dutch club) now. Over the last five years our Dutch is coming back a lot more. I think that is a natural thing. I hope it doesn't go back as far as my mother. My mother cannot speak English anymore. That happens a lot with people losing their second language. I hope it doesn't happen to our generation. I have spoken more English in my life than I have Dutch. But it is coming back very well!

The fact that most Dutch migrants wanted to become 'invisible' as migrants in the public sphere during the assimilation push, has had very negative consequences in recent times. It is very difficult now to convince the Australian government that these 'invisible' Dutch now need extra facilities for their older first generation migrants.

## Conclusion

The focus group discussions and the conversations with my Dutch host families, gave me a much better understanding of the migration process and the different factors that influence identity construction in another country. I came to understand the problems caused by being raised within the Dutch private and the Australian public spheres. The second generation had to create an independent identity on the basis of the limitations and the possibilities within the Australian society.<sup>45</sup> Under the assimilation policy they did not have free access to their cultural background. As a consequence they tried to fit in to the public domain as quickly as possible, in order to become invisible as a migrant. Since most Dutch parents stayed committed to the Dutch culture inside their homes, this caused frictions about differences in values between the two cultures. Also, sharing their emotional feelings was almost impossible because children were not fluent in the Dutch language.

None of the problems second generation migrants faced were ever able to be publicly discussed, because of the assimilation policy. It was only when multiculturalism entered the migration policy in Australia that the migrants started to speak about their migration experience. During the focus group discussions I noticed that the participants felt the urge to share their feelings and they even suggested organising weekly or monthly gatherings. For their sake and for the sake of their children in the future, it is important to develop a better understanding of their personal migration process, which will be a part of their lives forever.

The process of writing about the Dutch in Australia has made me more aware of how ethnic groups in the Netherlands deal with growing up in two cultural environments, how they cope with their existence in between two worlds, and how a strong emphasis on integration in Dutch government policy influences the minority groups.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Kim Negenman's thesis was supervised by Dr Nonja Peters at Curtin University. She would also like to thank Mrs Nell Ottenhof and the Wieman family in Cannington for providing her with accommodation for the duration of her study visit.
- 2 F Talen, 'Salt of the earth (Matthew 5:13)', 2000.
- 3 Children are recognised as having the ability to rapidly learn another language and to have great mental flexibility. See R Johnston, 'The immigrant child', *Immigration in Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, 1979a, pp. 64-79.
- 4 Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Fact Sheet 8, 2003.
- 5 A Reimer, 'Between two worlds', *The Bold Experiment*, 1995, p. 277
- 6 D Vlam, focus group discussion.
- 7 N Peters, 'Just a piece of paper': Dutch women in Australia', *Being Australian Women: Belongingship, Citizenship and Identity Studies in Western Australian History*, vol. 21, 2000, pp. 53-75.
- 8 K Negenman, 'Identiteitsvorming bij eerste en tweede generatie Nederlandse migranten in Perth', MA thesis, Free University of Amsterdam, 2005.

- 9 A statement made about the expectations of the Australian education as it concerned migrants by Dr. Wyndham, Director-General of Education in New South Wales. See N Peters, *Milk and Honey, but no Gold: Postwar Migration to Western Australia, 1945-1964*, UWA Press, Perth, WA, 2001, p.271.
- 10 Vlam, J., 'Reis vol verwachting'. *Jouneys of hope: Six Stories of Family Migration to Western Australia 1937-1968*, [publisher], Perth, WA, 1994.
- 11 D Vlam, focus group discussion.
- 12 N Peters, 'Just a piece of paper'.
- 13 F.M focus group discussion.
- 14 N Peters, 'Just a piece of paper'.
- 15 A Ottenhoff, focus group discussion.
- 16 *ibid.*
- 17 P Lieshout, focus group discussion.
- 18 D Vlam, 'Reis vol verwachting'.
- 19 E Burrell, focus group discussion.
- 20 Peters, N., *Milk and honey, but no Gold*.
- 21 N Peters, 'Just a piece of paper'.
- 22 K Negenman, *Identiteitsvorming bij eerste en tweede generatie Nederlandse migranten in Perth*.
- 23 D Vlam, focus group discussion.
- 24 *ibid.*
- 25 N Peters, *Milk and honey, but no Gold*.
- 26 Australians only associated these practices with migrants from Southern and Middle Europe and not Western Europe. See N Peters, 'Just a piece of paper'.
- 27 Peters, N., '*Trading places: Greek, Italian, Dutch and Vietnamese enterprise in Western Australia*', PhD thesis, University of Western Australia, 1999.
- 28 D Vlam, focus group discussion.
- 29 E Burrell, focus group discussion.
- 30 L van Houten, focus group discussion.
- 31 R Johnston, 'The immigrant child', *Immigration in Western Australia*, UWA Press, Perth WA, 1979, pp. 64-79. N Peters, *Milk and Honey, but no Gold*.
- 32 My (Nonja Peters) research, and that of some of my postgraduates about the 'second-generation' - defined as the children of migrants either born overseas or in Australia - has uncovered a significant degree of mental illness. Anecdotally, this appears to be greater among those who were children of early to mid - primary school age, rather than those who were older at time of arrival.
- 33 Elisabeth Burrell, focus group discussion.
- 34 M van der Sluis, focus group discussion.
- 35 *ibid.*
- 36 *ibid.*
- 37 N Meijer, focus group discussion.
- 38 Personal Communication March 2008.
- 39 F Talen, 'Salt of the earth (Matthew 5:13)', 2000.
- 40 D Vlam, focus group discussion.
- 41 Petterson, L., 'Immigration policy during the twentieth century in Australia', *Scandinavian and European migration to Australia and New Zealand: proceedings of the conference held in Stockholm, Sweden, and Turku, Finland June 9-11*, Turku: Institute of Migration, 1998, pp. 42-53.
- 42 D Vlam, 'Reis vol verwachting'.
- 43 F Talen, focus group discussion.
- 44 Peters, N., *Milk and Honey, but No Gold*.
- 45 For second generation migrants identity is more a question of 'becoming' than 'being'. S Hall claims that their position calls less upon tradition and ancestry and more on an individual's ability to utilise all available resources. See S Hall, cited in N Peters, '*Just a piece of paper*'.