

# Explanations of Post-War Dutch Emigration to Australia

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## Introduction

Although the Dutch were the first Europeans to discover *Terra Incognita Australis*, which they simply called *New Holland*, they were not interested in building any settlement there. As Willem Jansz, captain of the *Duyfken*, said, ‘... we were constrained to return finding no good to be done there’. (cited by Jarratt, 1985: 26) The country was not considered interesting from their point of view. The Dutch were interested in exploring the world and in expanding their commerce, as they did in the Dutch East Indies, with its rich supply of spices.

Foreigners might have wondered why the Dutch, having seen so much of the world, stayed in the low lands by the sea. Instead of leaving their marshy country, they reclaimed the lakes and built dykes around it. Viewing the rainforests of Australia one can imagine that the world was created by God. Not so the Netherlands, which, it has been said, was not created by God, but has been made by the Dutch themselves.

## Why emigrate?

Why then did the Dutch, and why do people in general, move to another country? Why don't emigrants stay where they have been brought up, like most people do?

The most general theory is that people migrate and establish themselves elsewhere because they want to improve their life situation. This seems plausible. However, most people do not migrate. Although their economic circumstances are worse than they would be elsewhere, people seldom move to another place, let alone emigrate.

The decision to move, particularly to emigrate, is generally not taken lightly. According to Lee's push-pull model (Lee, 1969) potential emigrants take into account the factors that push them from their country of origin and the factors that pull them towards the country of destination. For example, people can be pushed out of their country because they cannot find a job there and can be pulled towards another country in order to stay with their friends and relatives. The opportunities to improve their life situation can pull potential emigrants, but the need to adjust to another way of life can push them to stay. If the balance is in favour of the country of destination, people may decide to emigrate. However, even if the balance is in favour of the move, 'intervening obstacles' such as the costs of transport and restrictions on immigration can stop people from taking the decision to move.

The model presupposes that emigrants make their decisions in a rational way, calculating the costs and benefits of a possible move to another country. Lee himself admits that emigrants, as well as other individuals, may behave irrationally. People might make the decision to move because they do not feel at ease in their home country or because they want to move whatever the consequences.

The popularity of the model can be understood because of the ease with which researchers can fill in the push- and pull factors. For every move, within or to another

country, the decision is based on push and pull factors. However, it is not sufficient for the researcher explaining migration behaviour to mention possible push and pull factors. Individual migrants might interpret the same information differently or might weigh the factors differently. To explain migration behaviour, the researcher should take into account both the objective situation with regard to the country of origin and the country of destination and should study individual personal reasons of emigration. By referring to an objectively observed difference between a country of origin and a country of destination (for example, a difference of affluence) the size of a migration stream might be explained. However, to explain which individuals will and which ones will not migrate the characteristics and personal reasons of migrants has to be studied.

It is important to know which people emigrate, even though this does not give a complete understanding why people emigrate. However, knowing which people emigrate can give an indication of where a possible explanation can be found. If, for example, we find that a relatively large number of farmers emigrate, this indicates that farmers might not find enough opportunities to get work as farmers in their home country.

A large number of characteristics might distinguish the emigrants from the non-emigrants. Many studies mention structural demographic characteristics like age, marital status, educational and professional level etc. Besides these, and not so often studied, personal traits can be relevant to explain why people migrate. (See, for example, Wentholt, 1961)

A more direct approach to studying characteristics is to study the emigrants' reasons, to ask them why they took the decision to leave their home country. In their answers emigrants might refer to their personal situation (for example, a need for adventure) or to the social circumstances or the mentality of the population in their home country. One might expect that there is a relationship between the actual situation and people's interpretation of the situation. However, it may be that emigrants rationalise their arguments. In other words, they give a picture of the situation, which is more or less in accordance with their own interests. For example, the often mentioned reason, 'a better future for the children' could also mean 'a better future for us' or it might reflect emigrants' own worries about the future.

In this chapter the characteristics and reasons of the Dutch emigrants will be described, if possible with particular attention to the characteristics and reasons of the Dutch who went to Australia. Also the social context of this emigration is referred to.

## **The Emigration of the Dutch**

Unlike other Western Europeans since the seventeenth century, the Dutch did not emigrate in large numbers.

(Table One about here)

Since the seventeenth century, the Netherlands has been more an immigration than an emigration country. It has welcomed the French Huguenots, Jews, and Hungarian

refugees, and in the 1960s and 1970s guest workers from the Mediterranean countries and Dutch citizens from Surinam and the Dutch Antilles.

Elich (1987, 86-90) presents some possible explanations for the fact that the Netherlands for such a long time has not been an emigration country. Those, who wished to improve their economic position could work temporarily in Germany (like Germans worked temporarily in the Netherlands); the more adventurous could settle in the Dutch East Indies and in the decade 1930s more than 100 000 Dutch persons did so. Thirdly, unlike British migrants, migration for the Dutch meant that they had to speak another language. And finally, compared with Ireland, Sweden and Norway the economic situation in the Netherlands has never been so grinding that emigration became the preferred option.

However in the 1950s things changed. As Table 2 shows large numbers of Dutch people began to emigrate to countries such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. Canada was the preferred destination but not much ahead of Australia which attracted more than 160 000 Dutch emigrants.

(Tables 2 and 3 about here)

In the peak year, 1952, nearly 50 000 Dutch citizens packed their trunks and waved their relatives and friend at the quay a definite farewell Why did this happen, and why in particular did the Dutch come to Australia?

# **Emigration in the 1950s: For a Better Future for the Children**

## **Social situation of the Netherlands after the World War II**

One way to explain the emigration wave is to refer to the social situation of the Netherlands. After the World War II the country had to completely reconstruct inner cities like Rotterdam, residential districts and its infra-structure. The War had resulted in a trauma - a fear of another famine - either because of another world war or because of a shortage of agricultural products. The country was the most densely populated in Europe and the population growth was the fastest of all European countries- from 1900 to 1949, an increase of 92 per cent. (Wander, 1951) Among politicians and social scientists a consensus existed that the country was over-populated. The Dutch sociologist Hofstede spoke of a 'over-population psychosis' (Hofstede, 1964: 59). It should be noted that this 'psychosis' played a more important role in facilitating emigration than did the reality of overpopulation. The Netherlands today is much more heavily populated now than in the 1950s (fifteen million compared to ten million) but emigration levels are nowhere near as high now as then.. Nonetheless, at the time, two solutions were presented to solve the apparent problem: industrialisation - the Netherlands just after the War was less industrialised than other Western European countries- and emigration, particularly of young farmers as for them, it was supposed, there would not be sufficient employment. Consequently the Dutch government promoted emigration by providing potential emigrants with information and financial support..

Elich (1987, 94-95) explains the increase in the inclination to emigrate by referring to the consequences of the World War II. The Dutch citizens had suffered psychologically and physically and longed for more space, literally and figuratively. They still feared another

world war (young men were recruited for the Korea War). Secondly, the population was not convinced that economic recovery could be achieved in the short term. Thirdly, many expected that after the War there would be more unity and more mutual understanding in society and were disappointed that there was not. Particularly those who participated in the Resistance Movement were disappointed. (Hofstede, 1964: 43-44) Another factor might have been the declaration of independence of the former Dutch colony, Indonesia. A significant portion of the Dutch in Indonesia preferred to emigrate (most of them to Australia) instead of returning to their home country where they expected they would have adjustment problems such as dissatisfaction with work, housing and climate. (Beijer, 1961: 29) Hofstede (1964, 17) estimated that 10 per cent of the Dutch emigrants who moved “down under” came from Indonesia. But the reason, most mentioned by all Dutch emigrants at that time was that they wanted a better future for their children.

## **Characteristics**

Describing the characteristics of individuals might help find explanations for their behaviour. What are the characteristics of emigrants and more specifically of the Dutch who emigrated overseas?

Compared with the general population emigrants prove to be young. According to a study of non-agrarians Dutch emigrants who left the country in 1955-6, 50 per cent of male emigrants were 18-30 years old, compared to 29 per cent of the general population in this age group. Thirty seven percent were 31- 45 years old compared to 49 per cent of

the general population, and, compared to 32 per cent of the general population, 13 per cent of non-agrarian emigrants were 46 years old or older. (Beijer, 1961: 116)

(Table 4 about here)

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.

A popular Dutch picture book of Australia, which could be acquired by saving the coupons of coffee packets, described the Dutch emigrant as follows, 'a young man, enterprising, willing to take risks, for whom the overpopulated country has become too narrow, who has talked with his friends who have seen more of the world, and longs to discover the world for himself.' Such an image might be too subjective. In 1961 a study was carried out to explore the personal characteristics of emigrants. This study (Wentholt in 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'.

## **Reasons**

In the same study (Beijer, 1961) respondents were interviewed about their reasons for migrating. The results are summarized in Table 5.

(Table 5 about here)

As the table shows, the majority of the emigrants have been influenced by a smaller group of pioneers who explored the new world before them. An existing relationship, often with relatives, can be considered the major pull-factor, whereas most of the other motives can be considered push-factors (problems in the Netherlands). A major pull-factor is 'a better future for the children.'

### **Emigration to Australia in the 1950s**

As Table 2 shows the top years of Dutch emigration to Australia, like that to other destination countries, were in the early 1950s. In 1952 almost 16 000 Dutch emigrants came to Australia. In what way did these Dutch emigrants to Australia differ from other Dutch emigrants of that period? Whereas Canada welcomed relatively many Calvinist emigrants, Roman Catholics in the 1950s more often moved to Australia and New Zealand. (Hofstede, 1964: 95-96) This can be explained by the role of religious organisations in both the Netherlands and the emigration countries.

With regard to the reasons, given for the choice of the country of destination 32 per cent of those who moved "down under" thought Australia had the 'best opportunities' (Beijer, 1961: 7). Other reasons for choosing Australia included climate (25 per cent) relatives (17 per cent) that it was a 'young, go-ahead country' (9 per cent) that emigrants had heard favourable reports (4 per cent) that Australia has plenty of space (4 per cent) and had easy entry (also 4 per cent).

(Table six about here)

## **Emigration in the Seventies: For a Better Living Environment**

In 1952, the top emigration year, there was a widespread structural unemployment in the Netherlands, whereas by the beginning of the 1960s there was a shortage of labour because of a rapid industrialisation (Hofstede, 1964: 63). At the same time total Dutch emigration decreased rapidly (from 24 000 in 1960 to an average of about 10 000 for the rest of the 1960s) (See Table 2). By and large this also applies to the Dutch emigration to Australia: from about 14 000 in 1955 to only 400 in 1975 (See Table 3). Developments in Dutch society can explain the decline of emigration. As will be shown in by Elich in this volume religious organizations had a strong impact on emigration and these organizations were loosing their grip on their members (the so called “de-pillarisation”) because of the growing influence of the mass media and of the rise of the welfare state. The welfare state with its wide choice of facilities and supports to Dutch citizens took over the functions of many religiously based organisations and it contributed to the solution of some of the problems which were mentioned by the emigrants in the 1950s (See Table 5).

At the lowest point - at the end of the seventies, when only 3200 Dutch emigrated overseas - the Ministry of Social Affairs commissioned a study into possible emigration developments to be expected in light of the decreasing numbers of emigrants. This study (Kruiter, 1981), showed that the (smaller) wave of emigration in the mid sixties (1965) and in the seventies (1970, 1974-79) can be characterized as ‘chain emigration’ These emigrants were even more followers than their predecessors in the fifties.

## Characteristics

Since the study, unlike older studies (Beijer, 1961; Frijda, 1960; Frijda, 1962; Hofstede, 1964 and Wentholt, 1961), differentiated results by the countries of destination, we can see that Dutch emigrants to Australia at the end of the 1970s were older than Dutch emigrants to other countries.

(Table seven about here)

With regard to household size and number of children no significant differences have been found between Dutch emigrants of this period who went to Australia and those to went to other countries.. However, in comparison with the total group of emigrants, those who moved to Australia had a somewhat lower level of education (Kruiter, 1981: 38) and class position (58 per cent lower class position versus 49 per cent for the total group of emigrants) (Kruiter, 1981: 55). The percentage of farmers and farm labourers of those who moved to Australia during this period was only 2.7 per cent compared to 11.6 per cent for Canada. (Kruiter, 1981: 40).Chain emigration is a particularly important feature of Dutch migration to Australia during this period. Ninety five percent of Dutch emigrants to Australia at this time already had family living in Australia. This compares to 87 per cent for the total number of Dutch emigrants of this period. (Kruiter, 1981: 56) It is possible that this is in part due to the importance Australia at that time attached to family re-union in its immigration policy.

## **Reasons**

The change in the character of Dutch society is reflected in what the population considers to be the problems of their society. Instead of being worried about economic circumstances, the emigrants in the seventies were worried about the environment and the social climate, which were experienced as oppressive. Emigrants proved to be more worried about these problems than the general Dutch population (See Table 8).

(Table eight about here)

The reasons for emigration are closely related to the problems which emigrants experienced in Dutch society. Emigrants left the country because of unhappiness with the living situation (too crowded) unhappiness with government policy (taxation, expensive social security, lax judicial policy) and because of considerations concerning climate and environmental problems. Only 10 per cent cited a 'better future for their children' as the major argument to emigrate. (Kruiter, 1981: 98-99) However, the emigrants to Australia differ from the other emigrants with regard to this point. For them a better future for the children is one of the main reasons. The attractive climate and the quality of the environment are for them, and for the those who emigrate to New Zealand, other important pull factors for emigration (respectively 23 and 36 per cent ).

(Table nine about here)

## **Emigration in the 1990s: For Personal Growth**

Unlike the studies of the 1950s and the 1970s no studies are available to describe the emigrants of the 1990s. The number of traditional emigrants to Australia has, after a temporarily recovery in the early 1980s, fallen back to about 1000 per year (See Table 3). The interest in migration might be like that of earlier times, but the possibilities to emigrate have become very limited because of the restrictive rules which the immigration countries consider necessary given the unemployment situation.

However, there is a growing interest in the opportunity which Australia offers for young (18-25 year old) people to travel and work in Australia for a period of less than one year without having the right to stay there permanently. Since the start in 1991 the number of participants of the Work & Travel Program is growing by 30 per cent annually. Many participants in this programme would have preferred to stay. The interest of the young Dutch in Australia is explained by the good travel infrastructure of the country, the combination of travel and work is very much appreciated as is the fact that the program offers a lot of freedom in a relatively safe country with a relaxing social climate. A quick survey among the young participants in my own social circle tells me that these young people want to discover their own capabilities, are willing to take risks and to accept failures as a possibility for personal growth.

## **Why the Dutch Returned to the Netherlands**

As for other immigrants there are circumstances, which induces Dutch immigrants to return to the Netherlands. A study carried out in the early 1980s - the Dutch government

commissioned this study because of the observed increasing interest in emigration- surprisingly showed that about one third of the Dutch emigrants returned to the Netherlands within 10 years (Reported in Blauw & Elich 1983; Blauw & Elich 1984; Elich & Blauw 1981 and 1984). Most of these emigrants came back after two or three years. The return migrants' characteristics have been compared with those, who emigrated at about the same period but did not return.. We can conclude that the return migrants are relatively young, more often single and more often of a lower level of education.

The media were impressed by the high portion of return migrants and were anxious to interview the "disappointed" return migrants. As researchers, we pointed out that a return migration does not always prove that migrants have failed. About two-third of the return migrants considered their emigration positively, 18 per cent were disappointed by their return and 8 per cent regretted their emigration altogether. Another 10 per cent had emigrated again and about half of those who returned from Australia intend to emigrate again. Some migrants fall into a situation in which they are not fully at ease either in their country of origin or in the country of emigration - the so-called "Atlantic swimmer".

A considerable portion of the return migrants came back because of a less successful adjustment. One quarter (24 per cent) could not get used to the Australian way of life and nearly one fifth (18 per cent) returned because of (mostly the wife's) homesickness. (See Table 9) The most frequently mentioned reason for return migration was personal and relationship problems. Some return emigrants already had such problems at the time of

emigration. Ten percent of the return migrants had personal or relation problems at that time.

A large proportion of return migrants (37 per cent) who had moved “down under” longed for adventure. This is a significantly high proportion compared to the proportion of the total group of emigrants who gave this as the main reason for their migration (5 per cent in 1980) (Kruiter, 1981: 99). It indicates a relationship between adventure as a reason of emigration and return migration. Other reasons for return migration were ‘not being able to get satisfying work’ (20 per cent) and ‘the circumstances of relatives in the Netherlands’ (19 per cent).

(Table ten about here)

## **Conclusions**

This chapter has dealt with the characteristics and reasons of the Dutch who emigrated to Australia in the period from 1945 till 1995. The emigration is explained by the reactions of individuals to Dutch society. Thus three types of successive emigrants can be distinguished:

1. the emigrant of the 1950s: they wanted to offer better economic opportunities for their children (as a reaction to the deprivations of World War II);
2. the emigrant of the 1970s: they wanted a better living environment (as a reaction on the environmental problems and housing problems);



3) the potential emigrant of the 1990s: they were interested in personal growth, in an exploration of own capacities (as a reaction on the social pressure put on young people).

Although the waves of emigrants are different with regard to their reasons of emigration and their reaction to the social circumstances in the Netherlands, they all have had to find their way to integrate in Australian society.

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**Table 1. Number of emigrants per 1000 inhabitants, 1851-1910**

Country	Emigrants per 1,000 Inhabitants
Ireland	12.2
Norway	5.9
Great-Britain	4.4
Sweden	3.4
Germany	1.7
Netherlands	0.7
France	0.2

Source: Sauerissig & Swierenga, 1982, cited by Elich & Blauw, 1983

**Table 2. Number of Dutch emigrants (1946-1982)**

Year	Australia	N Zealand	Canada	USA	S Africa <sup>a</sup>	Total <sup>c</sup>
1946	23	0	9	369	16	504
1947	95	8	2 361	2 911	1 062	6 818
1948	867	95	6 899	3 128	2 340	13 837
1949	1 619	101	6 856	2 605	2 021	13 963
1950	9 268	503	7 033	2 883	1 153	21 330
1951	10 494	3 187	18 604	2 262	2 588	37 605
1952	15 828	4 575	20 653	2 634	4 177	48 690
1953	7 813	2 575	20 095	2 843	3 432	38 049
1954	10 906	768	15 859	2 708	3 275	34 676
1955	13 731	1 266	6 654	4 012	2 839	29 631
1956	10 959	1 335	7 651	9 220	1 819	31 788
1957	6 731	1 065	11 724	9 074	1 224	30 421
1958	7 458	1 733	7 284	3 745	1 956	23 117
1959	8 319	1 338	5 343	5 332	1 689	22 489
1960	8 060	1 158	5 457	8 700	482	24 355
1961	4 210	1 375	1 799	6 045	344	14 155
1962	2 027	944	1 553	6 176	490	11 546
1963	1 930	594	1 701	1 572	631	6 786
1964	2 493	666	1 911	1 825	903	8 152
1965	2 473	655	2 505	1 606	1 116	8 683
1966	2 284	545	3 516	1 285	1 120	9 106
1967	2 064	713	4 223	1 398	1 540	10 189
1968	3 039	405	3 099	1 235	1 375	9 445
1969	3 253	413	2 343	946	1 361	8 592
1970	2 550	436	1 767	746	1 279	7 023
1971	2 162	484	1 091	530	1 057	5 476
1972	1 369	636	1 277	435	979	4 882
1973	1 121	585	1 532	311	874	4 634
1974	1 155	677	1 878	253	806	5 052
1975	414	555	1 260	208	742	3 424
1976	654	453	1 069	209	555	3 166
1977	1 001	569	1 115	217	240 <sup>a</sup>	3 367
1978	775	607	1 201	166	294 <sup>a</sup>	3 200
1979	918	510	1 492	320	319 <sup>a</sup>	3 841
1980	1 607	894	1 724	328	462 <sup>a</sup>	5 232
1981	2 259	1 060	1 712	412	<sup>b</sup>	5 677
1982	2 394	1 250	1 920	381	<sup>b</sup>	6 166
Total	154 323	34 733	184 150	89 030	46 266	524 047

Source: Ministry of Social Affairs, Direction of Emigration, cited by Elich & Blauw, 1983

- (a) Figures South Africa Bureau of Statistics
- (b) No figures available
- (c) Inclusive of others

**Table 3. Number of Dutch emigrants to Australia (1980-1995)**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Australia</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Australia</b>
1980	2 314	1988	976
1981	2 882	1989	927
1982	3 161	1990	799
1983	1 330	1991	691
1984	939	1992	687
1985	980	1993	711
1986	1 082	1994	876
1987	947	1995	1 177
		<b>Total</b>	<b>20 479</b>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 1980-1995

**Table 4. Age of (male) emigrants (1955/56) compared with the general Dutch population (1954) (per cent)**

<b>Age</b>	<b>Emigrants</b>	<b>General Dutch Population</b>
18-30 years	50	29.1
31-45 years	37	39.6
46 years and older	13	31.3

Source: Beijer: 1961, 116

**Table 5. Reasons for migrating (per cent)**

Reasons	Major Reason	One of the other Reasons
Influence of relatives	25	70
Children's future	25	40
Occupational problems	10	30
Housing problems	10	20
Financial problems	5	20
Adventure		10
Personal problems		5

Source: Beijer, 1961: 14-36



**Table 6. Reasons for the choice of country of destination (per cent)**

Reasons	Australia	Canada
Best opportunities	32	20
Climate	25	9
Relatives	17	27
‘Young, go-ahead country’	9	4
Favourable reports	4	5
Plenty of space, few people	4	3
Easy entry	4	0
Mentality of the population	0	10
Proximity to Holland	0	8
Agricultural country	0	4
Other	5	10
Total	100 (N= 407)	100 (N= 327)

Source: Beijer, 1961: 7

**Table 7. Age of Dutch emigrants to Australia and of all overseas emigrants, 1980 (per cent)**

<b>Age group</b>	<b>Australia</b>	<b>Total emigrants</b>
18-24	29.2	29.5
25-34	36.6	40.2
35-44	11.8	14.4
45-64	13.8	9.8
65 +	8.6	6.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Kruiter 1981, 25

**Table 8. Problems of Dutch society, which are experienced as very urgent by Dutch emigrants (who emigrated in 1965, 1970, 1974-79) and the general population (1980) (per cent)**

<b>Problems of Dutch society</b>	<b>Emigrants</b>	<b>General Dutch Population</b>
Housing	36	28
Environment	29	18
Tax pressure	27	21
Energy supply	23	16
Farmers and market-gardeners	20	14
Social benefits	17	12

Source: Kruiter, 1981: 74

**Table 9. Main reasons for the emigration of Dutch emigrants (who emigrated in 1965, 1970, 1974-79) by country of destination (per cent)**

<b>Reason for emigration</b>	<b>Australia</b>	<b>New Zealand</b>	<b>Canada</b>
Climate and environment	23	36	6
Future of the children	23	16	16
Unhappiness with life situation	22	32	19
Unhappiness with certain aspects of Dutch society	20	22	29
Work and profession	14	10	19
Need for rest and space	10	25	14

Source: Kruiter 1981, 100.

**Table 10. Reasons of return migration (per cent)**

Reason	Percentage
Personal and relationship problems	26
Not being able to get used to the way of life	24
No or no satisfying work	20
Circumstance of relatives in the Netherlands	19
Homesickness	18

Source: Elich & Blauw 1981, 62.