

MASTER THESIS

“Selling images from both sides: Visual and textual representation of migration
and negotiation of identities of Dutch migrants from 1945 until 1965”

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to show how Dutch migrants were framed to emigrate to Australia by the governments of Australia and the Netherlands via utilizing visuals and texts, and how Dutch migrants constructed themselves as the perfect migrants in the dominant assimilationist Australian discourse. Dutch immigrants were the most desirable migrants in Australia after the Second World War as migration was highly selective. Since migrants' experience rely solely on published works of Jupp, Bosma, Tavan etc., this thesis would like to research the impact of immigration on individuals, by taking into account biographic narratives of some Dutch migrants in Australia, documenting their settlement experiences and their perspectives on themselves, and their place in Australian society.

This thesis will try to show how migrants negotiated the dominant discourse of migration, and show how in the process they managed to create a balance between a national Australian and an ethnic Dutch identity.

Keywords: *migration, visuals, texts, biographic narratives, cultural identity (Dutch heritage), national identity (Australianness), hyphenated identities.*

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1 Chapter 1: Introduction

After the devastation of the Second World War, many Dutch people emigrated to Australia, Canada and the United States looking for a new life across the ocean. This thesis takes into account the Dutch migration to Australia from 1945 until 1965 in particular. It uses the concepts of migration and emigration as it relies on the perspectives of the people who emigrated.

I was interested in migration because I am a migrant myself, but my particular interest in Dutch migration to Australia originated when I started my internship at the Huygens Institute in The Hague. I was a part of the project *Migrant: Mobilities and Connection*. The goal of this project was to assign the central position to Dutch migrants in Australia and explore their life histories. As the cultural heritage of migrants played an important part in the project, it aimed to shed a new light on the circulation and adaptation of Dutch values in a new environment and to show how by cherishing those memories from the past, the migrants themselves eventually managed to re-establish the contact and managed to reconnect with their home country.¹ It was remarkable how Dutch migrants managed to persevere in an environment which promoted complete assimilation, and yet managed to maintain the connection with their pasts. The fact that the Dutch migrants moved to another locations means that they had to deal with the migrant identities – with a ‘dual identity,’ referred to in literature as a ‘hyphenated identity.’² This thesis, therefore, wants to explore how the Dutch migrants created a balance between the national Australian and an ethnic Dutch identity.

Even though there exists an extensive literature on the process of migration³, there has been little said about the construction of migrants’ identities as a reaction to the proliferation of migration by the governments of Australia and the Netherlands. Thereby, there has not been enough research on framing the preferred Dutch migrants as perfect migrants in the context of the Netherlands that needed them to leave the country, and good citizens in the context of Australia that needed white European labourers. This thesis looks into the way that identities are constructed in the context of migration. It contributes to a growing body of research focusing on the discursive construction of identity through biographic narratives in which space constitutes the main structuring elements. This area is especially relevant when analysing affiliation processes among

¹ For more information, please see my final report for the Huygens Institute.

² See: Sharobeem, H. M. 2003. "The Hyphenated Identity and the Question of Belonging: A Study of Samia Serageldin's the Cairo House." *Studies in the Humanities* 30: 60-84.

³ Many scholars such as Markus Andrew, John Farewell, Kippen McDonald etc. have written on Australian migration.

people who have migrated, have been displaced, or live between different geographical worlds. This thesis also points towards certain migration topics prominent in the primary sources: labour, household, gender, class, festivals, symbols etc. which are important as they portray one more level of the governmental framing.

1.1 Main Research question

Recent debates on migrants' identity configurations by Lack, Templeton, Jupp et al. were influential in the field of exploring what happens to identity configurations in the contexts of migration. The imperatives of immigration trends after the Second World War imposed on the Dutch population, brought to light a number of issues to be addressed. Having become acquainted with the notion of old vs. 'new' Australians⁴, I was inclined to research what the term 'new/real' Australian refers to, but also, how to be an Australian and still retain the Dutch identity. This led me to my main research question:

How did Dutch migrants in Australia negotiate their migrant identities in the context of the dominant Australian assimilationist/integrationist discourse in the period from 1945 until 1965?

To analyse the main research question, I will address:

1. What is the historical overview of migration of Dutch citizens to Australia after the Second World War?

This question will provide the basis for the understanding of the main impetus behind Dutch migration to Australia after the Second World War, and acquaint us with different immigration policies of Australia and the Netherlands. It will be elaborated on in Chapter 2, and it will accentuate emigration from the Netherlands to Australia after the Second World War. The 1960s signified the (alleged) transition from the assimilationist to a more integrationist approach, which was supposed to stop the constant emphasis on assimilation. Thus, I have chosen the periodization from 1945 until 1965.

2. How were Dutch migrants 'framed' by both Netherlands' and Australian governments in order to be constructed as the 'perfect' migrants in the 1960s?

This question will be elaborated on in Chapters 3 and 4, where we will see how migrants were attracted, i.e. enticed to the land of 'new opportunities' by visuals and texts employed as propaganda by both Australian and Netherlands' governments. Hence, the usage of the term 'framed.' These chapters will also show whether the changing governmental policies influenced

⁴ A term commonly employed in literature to designate the British and Dutch migrants.

the construction of migrants' identities. We will see how upon the arrival in a new 'homeland' migrants had to cope with becoming perfect migrants in the sense of assimilating in Australian society, but how they also had to construct a cultural identity.

3. How did Dutch migrants construct themselves as 'good Australian citizens' and at the same time retained their sense of Dutchness in the period from 1945 until 1965?

Chapter 5 will show how the Dutch migrants negotiated the Australian assimilationist discourse, and introduce the role of narrative in identity configurations. We will see how migrants' attempt to integrate portrayed them as 'good' migrants, but how integrating may not imply belonging. This chapter will disclose a more diverse perspective on migration: how did migrants feel when they arrived in Australia and was it really so ideal as pictured? And how did they (try to) become 'real/new' Australian citizens?

1.2 *Historiography*

The historical overview of Dutch post-war migration to Australia, points to how the political and economic climate in the Netherlands after the World War II triggered migration.⁵ As population density was high in the Netherlands, population growth became a serious concern to the Dutch authorities. The solution that seemed viable was emigration as a policy measure to keep the population problem under control.⁶ On the other hand, Australia was in urgent need of a greater population for purposes of defence and development, and it was in need of white European able bodied labourers.⁷ Thus Australia and the Netherlands entered the NAMA (Netherlands Australia Migration Agreement) in 1951 aiming to promote and facilitate migration from the Netherlands to Australia, by portraying Australia as a 'Lucky country' and 'a land of great opportunities'⁸.

There are three debates on migration which are of main importance for this thesis: Australia being represented as a land of many opportunities, Australia as not a racist country, and Australian assimilationist prerequisite.

⁵ Website of European History Online, accessed on 06-08-2016: <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/europe-on-the-road/economic-migration/pieter-c-emmer-leo-lucassen-migration-from-the-colonies-to-western-europe-since-1800>

⁶ Cited in: Velthuis, Kirsten. 2005. *The Dutch in NSW – A Thematic History*. The Johnstone Centre Report No 201. Albury, N.S.W.: The Johnstone Centre, Charles Sturt University. Pp. 15

⁷ Price, A. Charles. 1998. *Post-War immigration: 1947-98*. Journal of the Australian Population Association. Vol.15. No.2. Pp.2.

⁸ Lack, John, and Jacqueline Templeton. 1994. "Bold experiment: A documentary history of Australian immigration since 1945". Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

This thesis problematizes the idea that Australia was a superb place for Dutch migrants to start anew as suggested by the Australian Bureau of Statistics claiming that Australian economy was thriving after the Second World War⁹. Scholars such as John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton noted that Australia was not to be regarded as the land of great prosperity.¹⁰ This thesis argues that the NAMA migration agreement of 1951 was an attempt by both governments to solve their own governmental issues, and was not meant to prioritize in the first place the welfare of their own citizens. It posits that Dutch migrants were enticed by the allegedly flawless conditions that Australia supposedly offered and they were thus misled by both the Dutch and Australian governments that worked together to accomplish their goals. Various policies funded and directed by the Australian government were supported by extensive visual information, used as propaganda, in photographs and movies which were widely spread in the Netherlands and Australia. The Dutch migrants were portrayed in these photographs as good, abiding citizens, who were willing to assimilate in Australian society.

Additionally, this thesis disputes views of Windschuttle, Hume and Wilkinson, who justified the White Australia policy, defining Australian nationalism not by race, but by loyalty to Australia's democratic political institutions. Instead, this thesis proposes the racist character of post-war Australian society by relying on Tim Soutphommasane's idea of the post-war direction Australia had taken - Australia as a Commonwealth that would be set aside for the 'noblest race upon this sphere', excluding from its sphere the people from 'the servile nations of the world'.¹¹ This was validated by the search of the Australian government for the 'New Australians'¹², since the nineteenth- and the twentieth-century migration was highly selective, and the ultimate goal was to maintain the British character of Australia. "Holland is one of the few countries in Europe with people to export of a type that can quickly merge with the Australian community" - a statement by James Jupp in "Immigration"¹³ referring to Dutch as the most desirable migrants in Australia due to their physical resemblance with Australians, and due to their alleged ability to assimilate easily. Moreover, this thesis relies on the example of the governmental selection of the

⁹ Website accessed on 06-08-2016:

<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/featurearticlesbytitle/33BB7A8977192473CA2569DE0027CED7?OpenDocument>

¹⁰ Lack, John, and Jacqueline Templeton. 1994. "Bold experiment: A documentary history of Australian immigration since 1945". Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

¹¹ Soutphommasane. Reclaiming Patriotism. Pp. 41

¹² A term commonly employed in literature to designate the British and Dutch migrants because of the high resemblance with Australians.

¹³ Jupp, James. 1998. "Immigration". Oxford University Press. Melbourne. Pp.109. Cited in: Velthuis, Kirsten., and Charles Sturt University. 2005. Dutch in NSW: A Thematic History. Report / Johnstone Centre, no. 201; Report (Charles Sturt University. Johnstone Centre), no. 201; PANDORA electronic collection. Albury, N.S.W.: Johnstone Centre NSW, Charles Sturt University. Pp. 16.

100.000th Dutch migrant to Australia, whose “fine lightly-tanned skin”¹⁴ and the appealing looks was the prerequisite for the selection.

This thesis builds upon Dyker’s conception that Dutch migrants were never encouraged by the Dutch government to retain their own culture; instead, the government urged them to follow Australian policy and assimilate.¹⁵ It, however, disagrees and posits that migrants were not required to cast off whatever previous cultural heritage they had brought with them, it would have been highly unlikely that Dutch migrants would have ever been described as perfect, well assimilated migrants. According to “Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis 7” (“Magazine for Social and Economic History 7”), upon emigration, both Dutch and Australian governments considered it the duty of a migrant to assimilate, to speak the language of the host, to adopt the traditions and customs and discard the old.¹⁶ This thesis will explore the validity of this idea and check if the state of affairs was indeed as blatant as portrayed in literature: I will explore if migrants indeed managed to conform to the new environment’s demands or perhaps they managed to negotiate these prerequisites. Additionally, by looking into photographic images and biographic narratives of some migrants, this thesis challenges the benign nature of the Australian integrationist policy allegedly characterised by tolerance and engagement of migrants with different cultural backgrounds in the new Australian society was only a façade aimed for attracting more migrants to Australia.

By relying on Howard Palmer’s idea of Dutch migrants’ ‘invisibility’ trait, this work further explores the portrayal of the Dutch as ‘invisible’ in Australia in terms of depicting them as perfect, fully assimilated migrants.¹⁷ Despite the fact that Dutch community being frequently described in the literature as being ‘invisible’¹⁸ in Australian society, the existence of many memorabilia noticed in Dutch migrants’ homes, points towards the complexity of the process of assimilation. Moreover, the existence of festivals, various social organisations seemed to indicate that the Dutch continued to feel a sense of community and attach value to their Dutch heritage.¹⁹

¹⁴ Policy file from the Nationaal Archief Den Haag. See: Appendix 6: Press release from Australian Department of Immigration.

¹⁵ Velthuis, Kirsten., and Charles Sturt University. 2005. Dutch in NSW: A Thematic History. Report / Johnstone Centre, no. 201; Report (Charles Sturt University. Johnstone Centre), no. 201; PANDORA electronic collection. Albury, N.S.W.: Johnstone Centre NSW, Charles Sturt University.

¹⁶ Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis 7. 2010. No 2. Pp.90.

¹⁷ See: Palmer. Howard. 1981. “Canadian Immigration and ethnic history in the 1970s and 1980s.” International Migration Review. (IMR) 15:3. Pp. 471-501.

¹⁸ An Arts Internship Project for the Migration Museum. 2011. *The Invisible Immigrants: Dutch Migrants in South Australia*. Sandy Horne. University of Adelaide. South Australia.

¹⁹ Velthuis, Kirsten. 2005. *The Dutch in NSW – A Thematic History*. The Johnstone Centre Report No 201. Albury, N.S.W.: The Johnstone Centre, Charles Sturt University

I was led by the idea that Dutch migrants state of affairs could not be as plain as it was portrayed in literature: it could not be either opting for the perfect assimilation, i.e. constructing Australianness, or maintaining the Dutchness. In 1986 the news magazine *Time Australia* described a naturalisation ceremony when the migrants entered as official Australians, into what journalist Alan Attwood described as a country of ‘confused identity’²⁰. That is why I eventually decided to borrow the idea of Andrew Riemer suggesting that migrants eventually ended up of being “at the borderland, in-between, in transit”²¹ with ambivalent identities.

Eventually, even though this thesis accepts the notion of Australia’s economic development and prosperity, this thesis suggests the idea of Australia as ‘a narrow, inward-looking society, convinced of its absolute superiority, contemptuous of anything foreign or out of the ordinary’.²² However, this is not to suggest that the state of affairs was completely bad for migrants, but merely to add a note that it was not as perfect as it was portrayed. In order to do so, I base my analysis on the concepts I will explain in the next section.

1.3 *The main concepts*

The reader should grasp the idea of a *context* as essential here, since throughout the thesis we will discern the assimilationist and integrationist contexts, but also the context of constructing Australianness, i.e. constructing a national identity, and the context of retaining Dutchness or Dutch heritage while configuring an ethnic identity.

Discursive context, refers to working of a *dominant discourse* or the dominant narrative context. Within texts, for instance, we can discern the dominant discourses which allow the text to have meanings, of which certain meanings are more appropriate, more meaningful, and more powerful than others.²³ As these texts can depend on some other texts, the idea of *intertextuality* is essential for this thesis²⁴ as it serves as the building blocks of the dominant discourse. We have to be mindful of all the dominant discourses present.

²⁰ In: Lack, John, and Jacqueline Templeton. 1994. “Bold experiment: A documentary history of Australian immigration since 1945”. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

²¹ Riemer, Andrew. 1992. “Inside Outside: Life between Two Worlds.” Angus & Robertson. Harper Collins Publishers.

²² Lack, John. Jacqueline, Templeton. 1994. “Bold experiment: A documentary history of Australian immigration since 1945”. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. pp.278.

²³ PowerPoint presentation used during the course Text and Context by the professor Karin Willemse.

²⁴ Jørgensen, Marianne W., and Louise. Phillips. 2002. “Discourse Analysis: As Theory and Method.” London etc.: Sage. Pp.7.

Dominant discourse gives us the prevailing “accepted” rules of everyday living as practiced by the decision-makers.²⁵ They allot people in a given society certain subject-positions which means that none of them can think of themselves, nor configure identities without making use of the terms of the discourse they therefore negotiate in the first place.²⁶ This thesis will show us the position of Dutch migrants as allotted to the dominant discourse decision makers, in this case Australian and the Netherlands’ governments, and we will see how by negotiating this discourse, alternative identities may be configured (gender, class, ethnic, national identities etc.) and these configurations hold the power perhaps not to overturn the dominant discourse, but in many cases to transform it.²⁷

As in this thesis, the focus is on identity configurations influenced by migration, these two concepts go hand in hand. *Migration* will be referred to as a process that begins with the arrival into a country but continues during one’s permanence in a new, foreign country.²⁸ In addition, it will be considered as “the material and existential condition of being at the borderland, in-between, in transit”²⁹ because this thesis will position migration as one of those situations where migrants are confronted with discontinuities and ruptures in their identities influenced by the change of space. Migration narratives will therefore reveal the construction of the process of sense-making that goes hand in hand with the identity construction in the experience of displacement.³⁰ Thus, this thesis will show us how when people migrate they carry with them their knowledge and memories from the home, but also the distressing experiences.

The essence of this thesis is to show how Dutch migrants are constantly in the process of alternating between certain subject positions while constantly configuring multiple identifications which can be seen as the intersection of different identities, for example: ethnic, national, class identity, gender identity etc., thus *identity* can be seen as a temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us.³¹ This thesis will try to portray migrants’ multiple, constantly changing and unstable identifications as the result of the dominant

²⁵ Willemse, Karin, Ruth. Morgan, and John. Meletse. 2009. “Deaf, Gay, HIV Positive, and Proud: Narrating an Alternative Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1.

²⁶ Willemse, Karin, Ruth. Morgan, and John. Meletse. “Deaf, Gay, HIV Positive, and Proud: Narrating an Alternative Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa.”

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Barbera, Maria Caterina La. 2015. *Identity and Migration in Europe: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. International perspectives on migration, 13; International perspectives on migration, 13. Cham: Springer. pp 9.

²⁹ Riemer, Andrew. 1992. “Inside Outside: Life between Two Worlds.” Angus & Robertson. Harper Collins Publishers.

³⁰ Escandell, Xavier, and Maria Tapias. 2010. “Transnational Lives, Travelling Emotions and Idioms of Distress among Bolivian Migrants in Spain.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36 (3): 407-423.

³¹ Hall, Stuart. “Who needs identity?”, in: Du Gay, Paul., Jessica. Evans, Peter Redman, and Open University. 2000. “Identity: A Reader.” London: SAGE Publications in association with the Open University. pp. 15-30.

discourse narrative practices, where we will see how migrants are constantly dealing with the idea of ‘being’ and ‘becoming’ while moving back and forth between the idea of otherness (identity marking through Dutch heritage) and of becoming (construction of identity through Australianness) in the discursive context.³²

In that respect the concept of ‘*hyphenated*’ identity is of importance because it is often used as a term which implies a dual identity – ethnic and national.³³ This term encapsulates the complexity of the processes of cultural configurations and identity formations the migrants surround themselves with. Hyphenated identity refers to the named identities that position migrants in the receiving host society.

Migrants’ identity can be understood as unstable, metamorphic and even contradictory – i.e. marked by multiple points of similarities as well as differences.³⁴ This means that one cannot speak about one identity and one experience without acknowledging its other side – the ruptures and discontinuities, “*the Other*.” Thus, we try to explain an identity in terms of something what *it is not*, meaning that we are excluding something.³⁵ Plainly put, we can dare to say “He is Dutch, so he is *not* Australian,” but this is where the problem arises - we cannot exclude the Other, since it is also a part of the Self - The Self and the Other complement each other.³⁶ The notion of Dutchness or Dutch culture will be here referred to as the Dutch heritage. This thesis takes the definition of heritage representing an “efficacious element in the European memory complex” with the most important accomplishment being “to turn the past from something that is simply there, or has merely happened, into an arena from which selections can be made and values derived”.³⁷ However, as heritage does not always have to be characterized in terms of material monuments or paintings, this thesis will be concerned with ‘intangible heritage’³⁸ which relates to the Dutch culture. By accentuating the importance of Dutch cultural heritage we will see how by configuring a national identity and becoming an Australian does not imply necessarily belonging

³² Willemse, Karin, Ruth. Morgan, and John. Meletse. 2009. “Deaf, Gay, HIV Positive, and Proud: Narrating an Alternative Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1.S

³³ Sharobeem, H. M. 2003. “The Hyphenated Identity and the Question of Belonging: A Study of Samia Serageldin's the Cairo House.” *Studies in the Humanities* 30: 60-84.

³⁴ Hall, Stuart. “Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In: Braziel, Jana Evans, and Anita Mannur. 2003. “Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader.” *Keyworks in cultural studies*, 6; *Keyworks in cultural studies*, 6. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. pp.233.

³⁵ Hall, Stuart. “Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In: Braziel, Jana Evans, and Anita Mannur. 2003. “Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader.” *Keyworks in cultural studies*, 6; *Keyworks in cultural studies*, 6. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing. pp.233-236.

³⁶ Pinder, Sherrow O. 2012. “Whiteness and Racialized Ethnic Groups in the United States: The Politics of Remembering. Lanham”, Md.: Lexington Books. Pp.154.

³⁷ Macdonald, Sharon. 2013. *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. London: Routledge. pp 18.

³⁸ Macdonald, Sharon. 2013. *Memorylands: Heritage and Identity in Europe Today*. London: Routledge. pp 17

to a new country. This emerging idea of heritage is important for this thesis as it is capable of accommodating other kinds of identities, such as cultural and national.

1.4 Sources criticism and methods

My aim was to conduct a qualitative research where I will collect and analyse visual and textual data analytically (photographs, photographic captions, policy files, biographic narratives).

This thesis will read the primary sources ‘against the grain’ meaning that it will try to find out what has been put forward and how it has been put forward, but also what has not been conveyed, what has been left out.³⁹ It builds upon the notions of intertextuality, focalization, argumentation and self-reflexivity explicitly when analysing visuals, texts and narratives.

I divided the methodology in three parts, depending on the primary sources in question, and I have done so for the sake of clarity. I would like to note that this thesis relies on the diverse sources and it uses three different kinds of materials: visuals (photographs, photographic captions), texts (policy files, newspapers excerpts) and biographic narratives. These are, however, the governmental collections. I also tried to obtain personal photographic collections, however, they were not accessible.⁴⁰

1.4.1 Primary sources: Photographs and photographic captions from the National Archive of Australia

Exploring the photographic series A12111, entitled “Immigration Photographic Archive 1946 – Today”, from the National Archive of Australia⁴¹ was the starting point of this thesis research. This photographic series represents an extraordinary collection consisting of 26.481 items on this series number in record search, with photographs as the predominant physical format. It was highly interesting to work with this series and become acquainted with such a remarkable quantity of material portraying the Dutch migration and settlement to Australia. The disadvantage of working with the A12111 photographic series was the lack of a satisfactory

³⁹ Willemse, Karin, Ruth. Morgan, and John. Meletse. 2009. “Deaf, Gay, HIV Positive, and Proud: Narrating an Alternative Identity in Post-Apartheid South Africa.” *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1. pp.86.

⁴⁰ I tried to obtain Dutch migrants’ private collections from Nonja Peters (Director of History of Migration Experiences (HOME) Centre at Curtin University) and Anneke Mackay-Boudewijn from Australia (a Dutch emigrant).

⁴¹ This archive is accessible online: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>

organization, and many over-laps – it was possible to find examples from one topic also incorporated in some other topics, or, there were repetitions of some captions and photographs.

Having been an intern at the Huygens Institute in The Hague, I composed a list of all the topics related to Dutch migration to Australia after the Second World War by relying on the data found on the official website of the National Archive of Australia, browsing the series number A12111. The Australian database yielded 62 topics in total, 27 of which were related to the Dutch migration.⁴² As this list appeared too general, it required a more detailed and meticulous exploration. Therefore, I composed a new list of all Dutch migrants' names, detected in the photographic captions within the topics by thoroughly examining topic by topic, and within every topic, looking at every photograph for the name of a Dutch migrant. The goal was to see if there were migrants whose names were used more often than others'. This search resulted in a couple of names which were the most pronounced - Maria Agnes Scholte, the 50.000th migrant to Australia in 1954, and Cornelius and Adriana Zevenbergen, the 100.000th migrants to Australia in 1958.

As in photograph analysis one has 'to decode the 'secondary' (mediated) visual reality which is no longer directly accessible'⁴³, intertextuality was a leading notion in analysing photographic images. In this way I could distinguish dominant discourses that were represented in the photographic images and their captions. These dominant discourses were those pointed at the positioning of Dutch migrants to Australia (focalization) and pointed to negotiations of these dominant discourses by the migrant (argumentation). Photographic captions proved to be a useful tool for the analysis, as they were creating the context for understanding the photographs and thereby more clearly communicating what photographs depicted.

1.4.2 Primary sources: Policy files from Nationaal Archief den Haag

De Nationaal Archief Den Haag (The Dutch National Archives) is the 'national memory' of the Netherlands holding more than 110 km of documents, 14 million photographs and almost 300.000 historical maps.⁴⁴ Despite the immense number of the policy files regarding the Dutch migration to Australia, the illegibility of documents was a drawback, bearing in mind that some of them are hand written in Dutch. The collections in Nationaal Archief Den Haag are not yet

⁴² The list of all the topics may be found in the Appendix 1: The list of migration topics from the National Archive of Australia. For further details, please see my final report for the Huygens Institute.

⁴³ Margolis, Eric, and L. Pauwels. 2011. *The SAGE Handbook of Visual Research Methods*. Los Angeles: SAGE. pp.7.

⁴⁴ Website accessed on 08-08-2016: <http://www.gahetna.nl/en/about-us/gahetnanl>

publicly accessible and they are not properly inventoried, making it complicating to choose files and photographs.

The archive, however, offers a wealth of information and provides an interactive access to the archives. The topics which were of interest were from the collection of the Dutch Migration to Australia:

- Godsdienst, with a folder number 101;
- Australische emigranten, with a folder number 150;
- Emigranten I, with a folder number 73.

After scrutinising the policy files, I decided to explore those regarding the arrival of the 50.000th and 100.000th migrant from the Netherlands to Australia. The original policy files' titles were: *Aankomst van de vijftigduizendste emigrant in juni 1954 en de aankomst van de honderdduizendste emigrant in oktober 1958*⁴⁵; and *Australia Drive: 1957-1958 omslag*⁴⁶ (Arrival of the 50.000th emigrant in June 1954, and arrival of the 100.000th emigrant in October 1958; and Australia Drive: 1957-1959 coverage)

The policy files offer an insight into the dominant discourses of the post-war Australia migration. They need not to be analysed per se, as they serve to show the reader the main discursive contexts of the thesis. Intertextuality is important here, as reading diverse governmental texts will serve as the building blocks of the Australian dominant discourse.

The question that arises is *how* we study this transformation the dominant discourse? We can refer here to *argumentation* – negotiation of a subject position as allotted by the dominant discourse relevant in/to the narrative – stretching the boundaries of the dominant discourse.⁴⁷ Namely, we will here see how a subject is able to negotiate, thus transform the dominant discourse by utilizing the capacity of the *narrative* which will be employed as a sense making tool, giving the power to the subject to negotiate the dominant discourse narrative. Negotiating or adhering to the dominant discourse constructs one's subjectivity, and by constantly repeating the dominant discourse one becomes the agent of narratives.⁴⁸ Therefore, what people do is to continuously repeat their stories, thus becoming the subjects in the narratives of our lives while creating alternative identities.⁴⁹ Similarly, biographic narratives have been considered a fundamental tool for the sense making of people's autobiographies and their identities, especially in turning-point

⁴⁵ Nummer archiefinventaris 2.15.68, Inventarisnummer 1400.

⁴⁶ Nummer archiefinventaris 2.15.68, Inventarisnummer: 1239

⁴⁷ Website accessed on 08-08-2016: <http://www.massey.ac.nz/~alock/theory/subpos.htm>

⁴⁸ Davids, Tine. 2011. "The Micro Dynamics of Agency: Repetition and Subversion in a Mexican Right-Wing Female Politician's Life Story." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 18 (2): 155-168.

⁴⁹ Davids, Tine. "The Micro Dynamics of Agency: Repetition and Subversion in a Mexican Right-Wing Female Politician's Life Story." 155-168.

situations like migration.⁵⁰ The concept of biographic narrative is essential for this thesis as it will point to the impact of emigration on some individuals, providing us with their experiences, high nostalgic charge and interweaved personal and cultural strands of identity.⁵¹ *Self-reflexivity* will be employed as an analytical device that supports one in breaking free from their own subjectivities and thus be able to interpret the narrative in a better manner, avoid ‘the self-evident truths,’ so that one can unpack one’s own framing of a narrative.⁵² Even though I do not employ this device explicitly in my thesis, I believe it is important to be objective when analysing migrants’ narratives bearing in mind that I am a migrant myself, thus at certain point it might occur that my own subjective interpretation might interfere with an objective state of affairs.

Beside silences within narratives, this thesis will also rely on the analytical device of ‘*focalization*’ which will be used for a narrative interpretation. This analytical device refers to the perspective through which something is being said, thus it has to do with who speaks, or who sees something, and who has the power to give meaning to the text.⁵³ Changes in focalization will lead to the gradual identity constructions within narratives.⁵⁴ We can notice this via change of a person, e.g. *I/you*, or *we/they*, but also when there is a lack of a personal statement in a migrant’s narration, i.e. if a narrator sounds distant and general.

As the process of narration implies also a process of modification and selection, we have to take into account not only what is being said, but also what is being repressed. Thus, we have to take into account ‘*silences*’ within narratives. This analytical tool is socially constructed in conversational interactions between speakers and listeners, in which voice and silence are negotiated, imposed, contested, and provided.⁵⁵ Here I will employ the idea of a silence in order for one to realize that what is repressed in a narrative of a Dutch migrant is as important as what a migrant actually utters, as it points towards the dominant discourse negotiation, and identities configurations.

⁵⁰ Macias-Gomez-Estern, Beatriz. 2015. “Narrative as a Sense-Making Tool in the Construction of Migrants’ Identities. Apprehending Emotions.” *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 173 (1): 168-175.

⁵¹ Gomez-Estern B.M., and de la Mata Benitez M.L. 2013. “Narratives of Migration: Emotions and the Interweaving of Personal and Cultural Identity through Narrative.” *Culture and Psychology* 19 (3). pp. 349.

⁵² Van Stapele, Naomi. 2014. “Intersubjectivity, Self-Reflexivity and Agency: Narrating About ‘self’ and ‘other’ in Feminist Research.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 43 (3): 13-21.

⁵³ Ball, Mieke. 1996. “Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative.” Toronto: University of Toronto. pp.142-160.

⁵⁴ Ball, Mieke. “Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative.” Pp:142-160.

⁵⁵ Fivush R. 2010. “Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in Autobiographical and Cultural Narratives.” *Memory* (Hove, England) 18 (2): 88-98.

1.4.3 *Secondary sources: Biographic narratives*

Biographic narrative analysis will be employed as a semiotic tool pointing towards the construction of migrant identities in migration situations. Narratives of three migrants will be compared with the governmental archival material in order to check for the similarities or contrasts between them, especially with regard to how the migrants' lives and their positions were portrayed in Australia, but also how Australia itself was portrayed.

By relying on intertextuality discerned in the archival material, we will proceed with finding the ways these migrants were positioned within the dominant narratives (focalization), and how they negotiated their allotted positions (argumentation).

The structure and the content of three biographic narratives of migration will be examined and the analysis will focus on three inter-related facets: the migrant story, how they tell it, and my interpretation. In this respect, narrative will be employed as the sense-making tool which engaged migrants at different positions of time and space in the activity of storytelling.⁵⁶For the purpose of data analysis, I will use a bottom-up approach, so that I can rely on piecing information together which will lead to a more complex information. As there are not so many biographic narratives of Dutch migrants available, I decided to rely on Andrew Riemer's biographic narrative because he is an academic and he wrote about the notions of Dutchness and Australianes. Moreover, he thinks in terms of the discourses, and because of that his biographic narrative will be used to provide a basic insight into the feeling of confusion and ambivalence that followed migrants once they were in the new environment, and to corroborate the idea and consequences of requesting a full assimilation in Australia. His narrative will serve as a bridge between the dominant discourse on immigrants in Australia and the way the migrants themselves perceived in their migration experiences, and it will help in telling what to look for in the narratives. Therefore, his project is to prove the 'in-betweenness'.

I interviewed a Dutch migrant by the name of Jan Holvast, a first generation migrant who emigrated to New Zealand in 1957, and later to Australia, in 1970. The entire conversation was recorded while Holvast was narrating about his migrant experience in New Zealand and later in Australia. Holvast provided a lot of information on leaving the Netherlands with his family, and settling first in New Zealand and later in Australia.

⁵⁶ Macias-Gomez-Estern, Beatriz. "Narrative as a Sense-Making Tool in the Construction of Migrants' Identities. Apprehending Emotions." *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 173 (1): pp.348.

Biographic narratives of Johanna van der Steen, and Elly Anderson, former van der Sommen, second generation migrants to Australia, were obtained from the website <http://www.daaag.org/> accessed on the 09-06-2016.

The analytical tool of silences is especially important for the interview with Jan Holvast, as Holvast's narration at some points appeared incomplete. For that reason, silences will be analysed only in the interview, and not in the narratives of Elly Anderson and Johanna Van der Sommen as these two were the written testimonies.

These three narratives will be compared with each other and with the governmental photographs, texts and policy files.

1.5 The structure of my argument

This thesis is structured as follows – Chapter 1 is the introduction of the thesis. Chapter 2 will introduce the post-war Immigration policies of the Australian and the Netherlands' governments as crucial to the success of the post-war immigration program. Australian immigration policies will be divided into three periods of Australian immigration: the period before the Second World War taking into account the White Australia Policy, period after the war and the assimilationist policy, and the period in the 1960s which accentuates Australian integrationist policy.

Chapter 3 will provide the analysis of the governmental archival materials: photographs and photographic captions from various migration topics illustrated in Nationaal Archief Den Haag, and the National Archive in Australia.⁵⁷ It will take into account migration and settlement of Maria Agnes Scholte and Adriana Zevenbergen, but also of other migrants whose stories were not so prominent in the archives. It will elaborate on the usage of visual and textual propaganda in attracting migrants to Australia by advertising Australia as the land of many opportunities by using policy files regarding raising publicity as a validation point.

Chapter 4 will show us the way we can understand the domestic interior of the Dutch people in Australia and point towards the effect of material objects on people's identity configurations. At the same time, it will reveal the governmental frame behind the utilization of these photographs portraying migrants in their homes and migrants at various festivals in Australia. This chapter will try to inspect if the Dutch assimilated completely into the Australian society and therefore constructed a national identity, or they kept a cultural/ethnic identity.

⁵⁷ The entire list of topics may be found in the Appendix 1: The list of migration topics from the National Archive of Australia.

Chapter 5 will include the biographic narratives and their analysis and testify to the role of a narrative in configuring migrant identities, and making sense in life turning situations associated with ruptures and discontinuities as the consequence of many migration prerequisites. This chapter will challenge the Australian dominant assimilationist and integrationist discourses by relying on the migrants' discourse negotiations.

2 Chapter 2: Historical overview of migration context to Australia - the Dutch as the specific case

This chapter will shed light on the historical context of migration of Dutch citizens to Australia after World War II. It will review Dutch migration to Australia before and after the Second World War, and look into the immigration policies of the Netherlands and Australia, as well as to the mutual agreements on migration these two countries reached after the Second World War. I will show how migration to Australia was highly selective, as Australians aimed to preserve the British character of the country: only people physically resembling Australians and able bodied were welcome after the Second World War, under condition that they accept full assimilation.

Australia had the slow rate of growth of Australian population, which had increased from three and three-quarter million in 1901 to only seven million in 1939.⁵⁸ It was only after the war that Australia's population rose from 7.5 million in 1947, to 17.5 million in 1992.⁵⁹ Australians needed more people in order for economy to achieve its potential, thus even doubling the amount of population rate in forty years did not suffice. According to Professor Andrew Jakubowicz, by 1944 the wartime Labour government under John Curtin⁶⁰ had come to believe that a major national strategy was needed to build the economy and to ensure Australia could become a significant manufacturing nation.⁶¹ It needed to escape its total dependency on primary products and their export, and to be liberated from the tyranny of the British banks - a major issue during the Depression of the 1930s.⁶² Curtin stated: "A key component was to be the immigration program, still operating under the restrictions of White Australia, which would bring millions of immigrants, many of them government sponsored, to break the production bottlenecks that the peacetime economy faced".⁶³ The immigration policy was announced late in 1945 as the war in the Pacific was ending, and grew over the following decades into a massive population

⁵⁸ Website of the National Archive in Australia, accessed on 29-02-2016: <http://guides.naa.gov.au/more-people-imperative/chapter1/index.aspx>

⁵⁹ Lack, John, and Jacqueline Templeton. 1994. *Bold experiment: A documentary history of Australian immigration since 1945.*

⁶⁰ An Australian politician who was the 14th Prime Minister of Australia from 1941 to 1945 and the Leader of the Labor Party from 1935 to 1945.

⁶¹ Commentary on Mass migration, website accessed on 30-12-2015
<http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/7.Mass-migration->

⁶² Commentary on Mass migration, website accessed on 30-12-2015.
<http://www.multiculturalaustralia.edu.au/library/media/Timeline-Commentary/id/7.Mass-migration->

⁶³ Ibid.

development program.⁶⁴ After Curtin's death, Arthur Augustus Calwell⁶⁵ continued with an ambitious programme for mass immigration on the 2nd of August 1945. A nation which vaunted itself as '98 per cent British' was then on the eve of a demographic revolution. This was a bold experiment for Australia, an experiment which was conceived in trepidation, under the slogan 'Populate or Perish!' and its purpose was to secure white and British Australia.⁶⁶ The post-war Australia recorded the dramatic growth of the Dutch population. Within five years after the war, the Australian community had more than doubled to 36.284.⁶⁷ The peak years of the arrivals of Dutch settlers were 1950-51, when precisely 16. 863 Dutch men came to Australia, and 1955-56, when 14. 126 Dutch migrants entered Australia.⁶⁸ Then, from around 1960 to 1964, Australia accepted up to 8.000 Dutch immigrants a year.⁶⁹

On the other hand, the Netherlands experienced the political and economic devastation and housing shortages after the war. Population growth became a serious concern to the Dutch authorities. During the century until 1940 the Dutch population had increased from 5.1 million to 8.8 million as a consequence of a very low mortality rate combined with a high fertility rate, and in 1945 the population density reached 300 per sq. km.⁷⁰ A solution that seemed viable was emigration, as a policy measure to keep the population problem under control.⁷¹ After the Second World War, there were prominent changes in the public and private attitude to emigration, as well as in the patterns of emigration. At the same time, there were many (alleged) indications that Australia was a good place to start anew – its economy was thriving, and it continued to appeal as 'land of golden opportunities'.⁷² Thus, as Australia lacked sufficient able bodied, and the Netherlands had too many people, migration appeared as the best solution for both sides.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Minister for Immigration in the Chifley Labor Government.

⁶⁶ Website accessed on 08-08-2016: <http://john.curtin.edu.au/1940s/populate/>

⁶⁷ Website accessed on 08-08-2016: <https://museumvictoria.com.au/origins/history.aspx?pid=41>

⁶⁸ Jupp, James. 2001. "The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins". Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press. pp.260.

⁶⁹ Eijsbertse, Dirk, Marijke Eijsbertse, and Louise. Chenana. 2006. "Where Waters Meet: Bonegilla: The Dutch Migrant Experience in Australia". 3rd rev. ed.pp.13.

⁷⁰ Jupp, James. 2001. "The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins". Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press. pp.258.

⁷¹ Cited in: Velthuis, Kirsten. 2005. "The Dutch in NSW – A Thematic History". The Johnstone Centre Report No 201. Albury, N.S.W.: The Johnstone Centre, Charles Sturt University. Pp. 15

⁷² Jupp, James. 2001. "The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins". Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.pp.259.

2.1.1 The first period of Australian immigration: White Australia Policy

With respect to emigration policies, Australia can distinguish three different periods: first, the period prior to the Second World War which was unassisted by the government officials and related to the White Australia policy and its people and their origins. This was a policy directed mainly against Asians who were frequently referred to as the Yellow Peril,⁷³ their own Aboriginal population. After some time, it was based on a very pro-British character as the basis of Australianness. Then, the period directly after the Second World War and its aftermath when Australians were propagating migration from Europe with Dutch as the preferred migrants whom they saw as easily to be assimilated, able bodied persons, suitable as good work force and ‘new Australian citizens.’ In the 1960s, Australia promoted a new policy where migration emphasised multi-ethnic society.

Before the Second World War, Dutch migration to Australia was not too pronounced. In the early 19th century a few Dutch convicts were transported from the Netherlands to Australia. From the 1850s, a small number of free settlers also immigrated, and the gold rushes drew increasing numbers, for instance, to Victoria. Immigration to Australia has not always been assisted. Before 1861 if a person wanted to emigrate, he provided for the expenses himself, and the expenses included the trip, as well as settling in a new country which was a risky endeavour. Although the Emigrant Passage and Transport Act offered a degree of protection after 1861, emigration remained a personal subject of interest only to railway and land development companies, and religious societies long after that. Many emigrants to Australia, who either did not fit the category of restricted immigrants or those who were actively encouraged, were not assisted in any way by governments or private organisations. These were ordinary people seeking a better life in Australia hoping that they could afford better lives for their children. Both British and European people ended up working in factories or the service industry, in mines or on northern plantations. Some migrants opened and managed their own business enterprises. The unassisted immigrants, who paid their own passages to Australia, were least visible in the public records. Because they were not sponsored, there is little official documentation about them or their migration and settlement experiences. They were not favoured by governments or trade unions, often because they were city dwellers, competitors at the labour market, or simply poor.⁷⁴

⁷³ The Yellow Peril (also Yellow Terror and Yellow Spectre) was a racist colour-metaphor that is conceptually integral to the xenophobic theory of colonialism; that the peoples of East Asia are a danger to the Western World. (Website accessed on 08-08-2016: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yellow_Peril)

⁷⁴ Website of the National Archive in Australia, accessed on 29-02-2016: <http://guides.naa.gov.au/more-people-imperative/chapter1/index.aspx>

In 1901, 98% of people living in Australia were white, and the goal was that Australia should remain the country of white people who lived by British customs.⁷⁵ The term White Australia has many historical connotations that intentionally restricted non-white immigration to Australia. It aimed to exclude migrants from Asian background during the Gold Rush, and it became a tool to exclude everyone not fitting the ideal White Anglo-Saxon appearance and background. Among the first pieces of legislation passed in the new federal parliament was the Immigration Restriction Act which was severe, as the customs officers gave extremely difficult dictation tests to migrants. A proof of the stringency of the language tests was that 759 applicants of Asian origin failed it, and only 46 managed to pass it in 1902-03. Only 6 applicant succeeded between 1904 and 1909.⁷⁶ Now known as the infamous White Australia Policy it made it very difficult for Asians and Pacific Islanders to migrate to Australia.⁷⁷

Accordingly, this policy aimed to attract only British migrants.⁷⁸ However, as England alone could not provide enough migrants to suit the needs of Australian economy, the ‘assisted’ migration was opened up to other selected nationalities by about 1947.⁷⁹ Therefore, the next ideal white migrants in line were the Dutch: “There were no people of Europe whom we would sooner have with us in Australia than the people from the Netherlands.”⁸⁰

Thus, immigrants from English-speaking countries were more favoured than those from certain North-western European countries. It was considered to be an attempt of Australians to construct their own identity after federation, and it was realized in 1901.⁸¹

There were many scholars, such as Windschuttle (2004), who justified White Australia’s policy, and rendered it as not based on racial stereotyping. Windschuttle stated that Australian nationalism was defined not by race but by loyalty to Australia’s democratic political institutions. He contended that this nationalism was not the racial nationalism that emerged in the unification of Germany and Italy in the 1870s which eventually produced fascism and Nazism. White Australia, understood like this, was a labour movement policy to end the importation of low-paid

⁷⁵ Website visited on 24-01-2015. <http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/objectsthroughtime/white-australia-game/>

⁷⁶ Jupp, James. 2001. “The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins”. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press.pp.47.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Jupp, James. 2002. “From White Australia to Woomera. The story of Australian immigration”. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. Pp.24.

⁷⁹ Jupp, James. “From white Australia to Woomera. The story of Australian immigration”. Pp.36.

⁸⁰ Cited in a written interview taken upon the arrival of the 100.000th migrant to Australia found in the National Archive Den Haag. The sentence was uttered by A.R. Downer, Australian Minister for Immigration. It can be found in the National Archive Den Haag, under: Titel: Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid: Directie voor de Emigratie. Nummer Archiefinventaris: 2.15.68. Inventarisnummer: 1400. See: Appendix: 100.000th Dutch migrant reaches Melbourne.

⁸¹ Soon after Australia became a federation in 1901, it passed the notorious Immigration Restriction Act.

Chinese and Melanesian labour. Argued from his point of view, Australians were not racists, and many nineteenth century statements regarding the Non-European inferiority should not be taken into account as racist. He referred to the philosopher David Hume (1854) who claimed that this inferiority was biologically based, but not racist – “There was never a civilized nation of any other complexion than white, not even any individual eminent either in action or speculation.”⁸² Hume believed that the whites were born as the most superior, and the inferiority of other nations was biologically rooted. However, the Australian prerequisite was clearly aimed towards having a predominantly white population.

For Australian politicians in 1920s it was quite clear: White Australia, or no Australia at all. The choice Australians made for their policy at the time was the Federation of ‘one dear blood’⁸³ which became a common reference with respect to Australian ambitions regarding the type of migrants they preferred. This explains how they positioned themselves in relation to people ‘different’ from them, and further points out how they portrayed themselves as more superior to non-Europeans.

2.1.2 The second period of Australian immigration: Assimilationist Policies of New Zealand and Australia after 1945

Assimilation was the main prerequisite of the Australian government in the years after the Second World War. The individual migrants were expected to cast off their previous ethnic loyalties and identifications, and be ready to be absorbed into a dominant, homogenous, cohesive culture.⁸⁴ “The Dutch who have come to us have assimilated quickly into the Australian community and have made the best of impressions”⁸⁵ This is one of the quotes used to denote Dutch as the perfect migrants for Australian society. The Dutch were regarded as the most attractive alternatives to British migrants, and they were represented as a good migrant material in Australia - they were doing well in a new country, they were learning the language and

⁸² Hume, David. 1854. “Of National Characters”. In the Philosophical Works of David Hume. Vol.3. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Pp.228-229.

⁸³ The expression of ‘one dear blood’ was taken from William Gay’s sonnet “Australian Federation.” *The Complete Poetical Works of William Gay*.

⁸⁴ Tavan, Gwenda. 1997. “‘Good Neighbours’: Community Organizations, Migrant Assimilation and Australian Society and Culture, 1950-1961”. *Australian Historical Studies* 27 (109): 77-89

⁸⁵ Cited in a written interview taken upon the arrival of the 100.000th migrant to Australia found in the National Archive Den Haag. The sentence was uttered by A.R. Downer, Australian Minister for Immigration. It can be found in the National Archive Den Haag, under: Titel: Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid: Directie voor de Emigratie. Nummer Archiefinventaris: 2.15.68. Inventarisnummer: 1400. See: Appendix: 100.000th Dutch migrant reaches Melbourne.

assimilation was allegedly so successful that the Dutch became known as the invisible migrants, as Bell puts it.⁸⁶

“Holland is one of the few countries in Europe with people to export of a type that can quickly merge with the Australian community.”⁸⁷

This statement served as a demonstration portraying Dutch as the preferred migrants due to their rapid assimilation capacity. After 1945 the expectation that newcomers should imbibe the habits of the natives and become assimilated in the shortest period of time possible, was prominent. This ideology was even accepted by Dutch emigration organisations as being appropriate for their emigrants. They were also advised not to make too much use of the Australian migration services, but to rely mostly on themselves.⁸⁸

Assimilation was an imperative in New Zealand⁸⁹ as well as in Australia. All new migrants felt pressure to discard their Dutch heritage and get rid of their cultural identity soon upon their arrival in New Zealand.⁹⁰ As in the case of Australia, the government of New Zealand wanted settlers to blend, socially and culturally into the new society. When New Zealand adopted the Statute of Westminster in 1947, it had to establish its own citizenship distinct from British citizenship. It furthermore emphasised New Zealand’s growing independence from the United Kingdom, and this change influenced the tendency of New Zealand government to promote assimilation of migrants as it aimed for the construction of New Zealand citizenship.⁹¹ Until 1948, most people in New Zealand were British citizens, and up to then naturalisation resulted in British citizenship. After the beginning of New Zealand citizenship in 1949, naturalisation resulted in New Zealand citizenship.⁹²

So, in New Zealand and Australia, the first step towards the settlement and assimilation on behalf of the Department of Immigration was to align their mass immigration programs with the newly passed Nationality and Citizenship Act 1948.⁹³ The goal of this Act was to help the average Australian define responsibilities towards immigration and migrant assimilation. Accordingly,

⁸⁶ Cited in: Velthuis, Kirsten. 2005. *The Dutch in NSW – “A Thematic History”*. The Johnstone Centre Report No 201. Albury, N.S.W.: The Johnstone Centre, Charles Sturt University. Pp.16

⁸⁷ Jupp, James. 1998. “Immigration”. Oxford University Press, Melbourne. Pp 109.

⁸⁸ Jupp, James. 2001. “The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins”. Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press pp.261.

⁸⁹ As this thesis uses a biographic narrative of Jan Holvast, who migrated to New Zealand and then to Australia, it is good to mention the assimilation policy of New Zealand as well.

⁹⁰ Website of “Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand”, accessed on 05-06-2016:

<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/dutch/page-3>

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Official website of the National Archive of New Zealand, accessed on: 14-05-2016.

<http://archives.govt.nz/research/guides/citizenship>

⁹³ This Act created the conception of an Australian citizen as opposed to a British subject, as prior to 1949, all Australian were British subjects owing their allegiance to the monarch, the queen of England.

every Australian citizen had a duty to help receive and settle migrants and to ensure a smooth transition and minimal disruption to the existing social order. This was achieved through the foundation of the Good Neighbour Movement in 1949. Through this movement Australians offered their time and energy to assist in the effort to assimilate huge numbers of new immigrants into the Australian way of life⁹⁴ and to educate the public to welcome newcomers by promoting a sense of civic responsibility.

In the 1950s, the Australian Commonwealth Department of Immigration contributed to a unique, political and social environment into which Australia received its post-war migrant community. Generally, it was responsible for all the aspects of the immigration program including the selection of migrants in Europe, transportation and processing of arrivals, settlement, assimilation, publicity and education of the Australian public to ensure minimal disruption to the migrants' transition.

The first Australian Citizenship Convention (ACC) was held in Canberra in January 1950 with the themes of citizenship, assimilation, and the prevalent pro-British outlook being of paramount importance. This was the initiative of who wanted to discuss the ways and the means of turning new migrants into Australian citizens. Since the aim was to preserve the homogeneity of Australia and its British character, many scholars (Jupp et al) saw this rhetoric of assimilation as evidence of the governments disregard for the needs of migrants:

“Our main concern is the tremendously important problem of assimilation. Governments and their agencies can do a great deal, but when governments have done all they reasonably can, it is for the community to take up the task of converting the migrants into contented and permanent settlers.”⁹⁵

The statement by Minister Holt had used the annual Australian Citizenship Convention to point to the pragmatic provision of assistance to migrants utilising existing community resources, with a view to their absorption into the exiting society. The utilization of the Australian Citizenship Convention's appeal to inform the Australian public about assimilation requirements continued throughout the decade. The outcome of the 1953 Convention was the joint publication of a booklet by the Department of Immigration and the GNC in 1954, which stated the implementation of convention resolutions. The booklet reflected on the role of the citizen:

It is realised... that the task of assimilation lies in securing the sympathetic interest of the average Australian man and woman with whom the migrant shares his daily

⁹⁴ Website accessed on 24-03-2016: <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/changing-face-of-modern-australia-1950s-to-1970s>

⁹⁵ NAA: A439/1, 1951/11/300, Commonwealth Jubilee Citizenship Convention. Minister's speeches on migration. Harold Holt, 'Australia's Immigration Policy- a Victory for Peace,' 22 January 1951, 7.

life. The Department of Immigration is, therefore, anxious to use all available publicity media to ensure that the significance of immigration to the nation and the individual is kept constantly before the general public.⁹⁶

This booklet served to propagate information on the work of organisations with the intention of assimilation as well as to compel Australian citizens to accomplish more.

1952 was crucial for Dutch immigration, as Holt then announced a large-scale immigration from the Netherlands, and other Northern-European countries. Still, throughout 1952, many efforts were made to assimilate immigrants in best ways possible. In 1954 Minister Heyes received a response from the Chief Migration Officer in South Australia reporting on the assimilationist work of the Electricity Trust of South Australia.⁹⁷ This employer issued a notice of welcoming the new employees and advising them of the facilities where they can learn English in the area.

2.1.3 The third period of Australian immigration: Integrationist Policy

By 1957 a sense of nation building through assimilation had supposedly begun to fade away, and a more integrationist approach was taking its toll. This shift came into life due to the realization on behalf of the Australian government that the emphasis should not be any longer on the assimilation of migrants into the existing culture, but rather onto the integration of migrants into society without the loss of cultural and ethnic differences. This happened as the consequence of the changed reality in Australia since the society was becoming culturally and ethnically mixed, and began to redefine the meaning of Australian national identity. As Australia post-war policy of migrant assimilation was nuanced, it created the foundation for multiculturalism at the end of the 1950s. There was the transition from a British-white definition of the nation to one that was conceptualised in pluralistic and multicultural terms. Thus, a new image of assimilation was offered, emphasising that the individual subjects within society may remain identifiable and still make a comprehensive whole. This should have been the end of the constant fixture of Dutch migrants' assimilation. Additionally, in 1975, the Whitlam Government passed the Racial Discrimination Act in Australia, which made racially-based selection criteria unlawful and dismantled the White Australia policy. In the decades since, Australia became a multi-ethnic

⁹⁶ NAA: A445/1, 146/8/14, 1954 Citizenship Convention Part 2. Report of Action: By the Department of Immigration and Good Neighbour Organisations to Implement Resolutions of the Fourth Australian Citizenship Convention held in Canberra during January, 1953 (Canberra 1954), 21 of 25.

⁹⁷ Electricity Trust of South Australia was a large employer of migrant labour.

country allowing people to migrate to Australia regardless of their nationality, ethnicity, culture, religion, or language.

2.1.4 The Netherlands' immigration system

Many Dutch migrants went to America long before the establishment of the United States of America, and many of them went to Canada before the World War One.⁹⁸ However, after the Second World War, Dutch people left and settled mostly in Australia and New Zealand due to the great propagation of migration by the Australian and the Netherlands' governments.

In 1913, the Dutch Society for Emigration was formed and migration was not a personal matter anymore.⁹⁹ This emigration society was a private consultative organisation for prospective emigrants. In 1923, a rival organisation, the Holland Migration Centre, was formed. The amalgamation of these two organisations resulted in the creation of Dutch Emigration centre. Emigrants then received an advanced payment in the form of government credit so that they would be able to cover the costs of the trip, and the interest was particularly in the group migrations. The goal of The Dutch Emigration centre was to lead and coordinate emigration from the Netherlands and provide information and assistance.¹⁰⁰

The year 1936 was important as the Dutch and Australian governments negotiated the possibilities of migration for specific professions (At this time Australia did not see a real revival of immigration until 1938).¹⁰¹ Thus, the Australian government showed interest to work with the Dutch Emigration Foundation, however, before 1939 no official contract was signed, since Australia wanted to avoid other countries seeking from insisting on similar provisions. The agreement was that the Foundation would select potential emigrants in the Netherlands and set up migrants' organisation in Australia. Upon the migrants' arrivals in the main ports, committees would be responsible for arranging reception, placement and after-care for the Dutch emigrants as a sign of good will and assistance.¹⁰² The immigration policy was announced late in 1945 as the war in the Pacific was ending, and it developed over the following decades into a massive population development program.¹⁰³

⁹⁸ Website accessed on 08-08-2016: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_people

⁹⁹ Jupp, James. "The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins". pp. 259.

¹⁰⁰ Website accessed on 08-08-2016: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dutch_people

¹⁰¹ Website of the National Archive in Den Haag, Netherlands, accessed on 29-02-2016: <http://www.gahetna.nl/en/node/5870>

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

In 1950s, the Dutch Prime Minister Willem Drees addressed the nation saying that some Dutch citizens would have to gain courage to leave their homes and forge their future further afield.¹⁰⁴ The Dutch government anticipated a need on the part of the Dutch population to emigrate while the Second World War was still in progress. For this reason the Netherlands joined the international debate about the extent to which internationally regulated migration from overpopulated European countries to regions which were scarcely populated in Europe and elsewhere might solve economic and demographic problems.¹⁰⁵ The aim was for emigration to be personal and voluntary, with the government ready to assist it by providing information, offering courses, negotiating transport facilities and concluding treaties on reception and subsidies for passage. In 1949, the Dutch government awarded the first individual grants to emigrants to Australia.¹⁰⁶ At the beginning of providing the grants they were mainly confined to the unskilled and unemployed. However, with the 1951 Netherlands Australia Migration Agreement (NAMA) it was decided to give grants to as many Dutch emigrants as possible.

2.1.5 The Dutch-Australian cooperation

Summing up the topic on Australian and the Netherlands' immigration policies, it is crucial to refer to the way that both governments cooperated with each other in order to have a mutually benefitting arrangement of organized migration after the Second World War. Many institutions were founded that gave structure to this new cooperation between the two countries: the sending and the receiving country. For example, *the Good Neighbour Movement* founded in 1949, wanted to assist the newly arrived migrants and help them accept the Australian way of life. Also, 50.000th Dutch migrant, for example, travelled under *Dependents Nomination Scheme* in 1954, which meant that Australian government provided for the travelling expenses. The Netherlands Co-op Building Society of New South Wales. These societies were conducted by Dutch interests in Australia in order to help migrants from the Netherlands to finance home building. The New South Wales Society has financed 150 houses in the six months to mid-1958 for Dutch migrant members.¹⁰⁷ There was also an Australian Department of Immigration officers which assisted migration from the Netherlands to Australia. The Australian Government maintained migration

¹⁰⁴ Website of the National Archive in Den Haag, Netherlands, accessed on 29-02-2016:

<http://www.gahetna.nl/en/node/5870>

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Website accessed on 08-08-2016:

<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx>

offices in most European countries. In Holland, the migration office was situated in The Hague. According to the data from the archive of Australia, series number NAA: A12111, 1/1963/14/9, between October, 1945 and December 1962, 131.058 men, women and children arrived in Australia from the Netherlands as permanent and long term arrivals.¹⁰⁸

2.2 *Concluding remarks*

Chapter 2 showed the history of the dialogue between the Netherlands and Australia which enabled the creation of the stereotypes such as Dutch as invisible migrants who assimilated effortlessly. It acquainted us with various immigration policies as the consequence of the mutual interest between the Netherlands and Australia. It contended that Australia's post-war policy of migrants' assimilation was more nuanced than the perception allows, and showed that the implications of the post-war migrant assimilation policy cannot be understood without examining the governmental initiatives towards migrant settlement. I pointed how assimilation of migrants was seen as the main prerequisite of the Australian government in the years after the Second World War, and how it lay the basis of the configuration of migrant identities.

The essence of this historical overview of the emigration policies lies in answering the question how, and by whom the international migration was placed on the agenda both during and after the Second World War. This chapter showed us how the Dutch were the preferred migrants, as they were going to help Australians preserve the British white character of Australian society.

Publicity campaigns were important for both Australia and the Netherlands in 1960s. 1950-51, and 1955-56 were the peak years for the arrivals of Dutch settlers.¹⁰⁹ Afterwards, as the number of Dutch settlers started decreasing, publicity campaigns gained in importance and became pronounced in both Australia and the Netherlands. The goal became to attract as many migrants as possible. The Australian government believed that it was essential to conduct a general Australia information campaign in the country, in order to educate the public about the alleged opportunities Australia had to offer to migrants. This required a lot of financial means, therefore strenuous attempts were made on behalf of both governments to acquire them.¹¹⁰ This

¹⁰⁸ Website accessed on 08-08-2016:

<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx>

¹⁰⁹ Jupp, James. 2001. "The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins". Cambridge etc.: Cambridge University Press. pp.260.

¹¹⁰ I found a lot of written correspondences between the government officials where the matter of financial means was at hand. See Appendix 2: Financial Means correspondences

leads us to the next chapter which will try to show how both governments enticed Dutch migrants to migrate from the Netherlands to Australia.

3 Chapter 3: Attracting migrants to ‘the land of great opportunities’

Chapter 3 aims to show how the Dutch migrants were ‘framed’ by both Netherlands’ and Australian governments in order to be constructed as the ‘perfect’ migrants in the 1960s. It deals with the way Dutch migrants were enticed to embark on the trip to Australia to try their luck, with the help of visuals and texts used as propaganda tools by both governments. It will show us how migrants were escorted from the country of arrival and received into the new society, and what was required of them upon the settlement.

The following analysis is based upon the policy files inspected in the Archief Emigratiedienst¹¹¹ in Nationaal Archief Den Haag regarding the arrival of the 50.000th and the 100.000th migrant from the Netherlands to Australia. This chapter analyses various photographs, captions and migration topics illustrated in Nationaal Archief Den Haag, and the National Archive of Australia.¹¹² I will examine the visuals and texts referring to Maria Agnes Scholte the 50.000th, and Adriana Zevenbergen the 100.000th iconographic migrants, but also take into account less iconographic migrants’ stories whose life situations were at the disposal of both governments.

The 50.000th migrant was selected by both the Australian and the Netherland’s governmental departments for migration. Scholte emigrated under the Dependents Nomination Scheme, meaning that the Australian government played a part in providing for her travelling costs. Maria Agnes Scholte was twenty years old when she migrated to Australia on the 1st of June 1954. A hairdresser by occupation, Scholte lived in Amsterdam in Hogendorpstraat 120 III. Her fiancée, an architect by occupation, already migrated to Melbourne. It was nine months before she was able to see him. She intended to get married the first Saturday or Sunday after her arrival to Australia. In 1954, upon her departure, Scholte was surrounded by ministers of immigration who bid her goodbye from Rotterdam. Her departure from Rotterdam was preceded by a lot of written correspondences between the government officials arranging both her departure and arrival in the new country. While communicating about the 50.000th migrant, the government officials from the Netherlands politely required from the government officials in Australia to be personally present upon the arrival of Scholte in Australia,



*Figure 1: Maria Agnes Scholte;
Source: Nationaal Archief Den Haag*

¹¹¹Translation: Immigration Archive

¹¹² The entire list of topics may be found in the Appendix 1: The list of migration topics from the National Archive of Australia.

so that her arrival could be recorded by the press, news, and radio, and the photographs taken could be sent to the Netherlands in order to be used as a proof of a successful migration process assisted by the Nederlandse Emigratiedienst (The Dutch Migration Service) and by the Australian government as well. “*Wellicht u kunt deze gebruiken ter stimulering van de publiciteit welke aan de aankomst van de 50.000ste Nederlandse emigrante in Australie door pers en radio zal worden gegeven.*” (“Perhaps you can use this to stimulate the publicity which will be given by the press and radio regarding the arrival of the 50,000th Dutch expatriate in Australia.”)¹¹³ This was written in one of the correspondences, relating to four photographs taken at the departure of Scholte that were sent from the Netherlands to Australia so that they can be used to promote and stimulate migration.¹¹⁴

When she arrived in Melbourne in June 1954, she was received by the minister for Immigration, Harold Holt, who organized a celebration for her. Scholte was aware of the celebration having been arranged, thus she prepared a gift for the Minister Holt. She gave him an inscribed plate which she brought as a goodwill gift from the Netherlands. As the imperative of migration was to assimilate, Scholte was soon brought to anticipate in the class of trainee nurses who were hearing a lecture on Australian cooking.

In 1958, the Australian and the Netherlands’ governments chose Adriana Zevenbergen, (formerly Wageveld, originally from Rotterdam) to be the 100.000th Dutch migrant to Australia. Her parents owned a fruit and vegetable shop, and Zevenbergen worked there before marriage in 1953. Then she moved to Abbenbroek, a country village of 800 people then, 11 miles south of Rotterdam, in the delta area of Puten. Her marriage was the meeting of the city and the country. Cornelius Zevenbergen is the third son of a local farmer and was born on a farm three miles from Abbenbroek. Having been selected by the Australian and the Netherlands’ governments as 100.000th migrants, they emigrated to Australia with their two sons. The 100.000th Dutch migrant for Australia sailed from the Netherlands in the liner Johan van Oldenbarnevelt on September 29, 1958 and arrived in Melbourne on November 5, 1958. Adriana was a housewife, while her husband held an occupation of an engineering fitter.

Again, many preparations were made so that the arrival of the 100.000th migrant could be advertised in the Netherlands and Australia. Publicity was the indispensable goal of the governments. There was a separate thesis entitled ‘*Publicity Coverage of Arrival*’ issued by the Australian government, where it was clearly stated that most of the publicity material was

¹¹³ This is a quote from the correspondence between J.H. Niehof from the Migration department in the Netherlands, and G.W.J. Pieters, a migration official in Australia.

¹¹⁴ See: Appendix 7: The Correspondence between J. H. Niehof and G. W. J. Pieter.

obtained by 54 press, radio, television and newsreel people who travelled across the bay early in the morning to board J.V.O.¹¹⁵ two hours before it docked.¹¹⁶ The Australian Department of Migration's advertising campaign in the Dutch press on the occasion of the departure of the 100.000th Dutch migrant amounted to f. 20.841, 30¹¹⁷. With regard to 100.000th migrant, publicity plans were made in advance, as after 1957, when Departments of immigration realized that advertising might bring more people to Australia, publicity endeavours were augmented. The emigration attaches believed that precisely the specific cluster of physical traits might be perfect to attract the masses of people to Australia. They found these features prominent in Adriana Zevenbergen's face, and used them to advertise migration and portray the soothing life Australia had to offer. "*Deze emigrant dient bij voorkeur een jonge, attractieve en fotogenieke getrouwde vrouw met een aantal kleine kinderen te zijn. Zij dient zich een enigermate in het Engels te kunnen uitdrukken.*".¹¹⁸ If not for the appealing looks and charisma of Adriana Zevenbergen, she would not have been selected as the 100.000th migrant. There were certain requirements to be met first so that one can be an eligible migrant for Australia, especially the 100.000th migrant: "*Mrs. Zevenbergen, a slim, brown-eyed brunette, with fine lightly-tanned skin, was formerly Miss Wageveld, of Noorder eiland, Rotterdam.*"¹¹⁹ This migrant had to be a young, attractive, eye-catching, married woman, with children. Once again, gender issues are also prominent. This sexist advertising resulted in images of gender-related stereotypes in behaviour in order to socially devalue women by ascribing responsibilities of doing house chores, responsibility to raise children etc.

"*Publiciteit is geaccentueerd op deze aankomst*" ("The publicity regarding this arrival is accentuated"). Both governments' officials were aware that publicity should be rendered of utmost importance for the success of migration. This was especially evident in the correspondences between the office of emigration attaché in the Netherlands, and the Australian emigration attaché C.H.J. Beukering. The governments considered it a great success: "*The whole operation was a great success from a publicity viewpoint, both in Holland and Australia*"¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ Johan Van Oldenbarnevelt – Post World War II migrant ship.

¹¹⁶ See: Appendix 3: Publicity Coverage of Arrival

¹¹⁷ In Dutch: gulden, or 'Nederlandse florijn', was the currency of the Netherlands from the 17th century until 2002, when it was replaced by the euro. The symbol *f* or *fl.* for the Dutch guilder was derived from another old currency, the florijn, called the florin in English.

¹¹⁸ Translation: This emigrant should preferably be a young, attractive and photogenic married woman with several small children. She should be able to express herself in English. See: Appendix 8: De 100.000ste Nederlandse emigrant.

¹¹⁹ Policy file from the Nationaal Archief Den Haag: See: Appendix 6: Press release from Australian Department of Immigration.

¹²⁰ Policy file from the Nationaal Archief Den Haag: See: Appendix 9: 100.000th Dutch migrant publicity.

The importance of publicity was manifest as all the television networks in Sydney and Melbourne, as well as newsreels gave the prominent coverage of the arrival of the 100.000th migrant. More specifically, the Australian press, television, and radio of about fifty-four representatives of these organisations boarded the Johan van Oldenbarnevelt at six in the morning on the arrival day November, 5th. That is why it was emphasized that 100,000th migrant in Australia received a film star welcome.

Also in this case the Australian government made the plans in advance. A letter regarding the 100.000th migrant arrival sent to the Emigration commissioner in the Netherlands (de Heer Commissaris voor de Emigratie) received on the 22nd of August, 1958 stated that Macquarie Network (Australian media company) and A.B.C (Australian Broadcasting Corporation)¹²¹ would broadcast the recording of the departure on a national basis.¹²² These media companies were also to cover the arrival in Australia with a shipboard interview at first port. They, then, had to do a follow-up stories of the family the settling in their new home, the father going to work etc.¹²³ There would be a thorough coverage of the arrival in Australia, welcoming ceremony, interviews etc., and the excerpts of the recordings of the departure from the Netherlands would be incorporated in the Australian arrival cover in the magazine News Review.

As the date of the 100.000th migrants was approaching, it was arranged that the television and the newsreel filmed scenes of the departure would be sent to Australia in order for them to be incorporated in the actual cover scenes of the arrival in Australia. Similarly, the arrival scenes films were sent to the Netherlands. The scenes that were sent to both countries included reception and entry of the family into their new home, welcome by Dutch community and neighbours. It was assumed that the family would be fluent in English, and it was requested from them to give a Guest of Honour Talk or to appear on other suitable programmes. I identified a letter from the emigration official of the Netherlands asking for a higher landing fee for the Zevenbergen – ‘f.300,’¹²⁴, and I also established that the Zevenbergens received an insurance policy by the

¹²¹ A broadcasting television networks.

¹²² See Appendix 3: Macquarie Network Broadcast.

¹²³ This was described in detail in the letter enclosed in Appendix 4: Macquarie Network Broadcast.

¹²⁴In Dutch: gulden, or ‘Nederlandse florijn’, was the currency of the Netherlands from the 17th century until 2002, when it was replaced by the euro. The symbol *f* or *fl.* for the Dutch guilder was derived from another old currency, the florijn, called the florin in English.

government officials. Thus, this family's welfare was prioritized over other migrant families, and special attention was given to them. They received a different treatment because they were important for the representation of the migration success. I noticed this in the letter regarding the selection of the 100.000th migrant: *“Het zou aanbeveling verdienen een gezin dat naar privé accommodatie vertrekt te selecteren. Hiermede wordt nog eens duidelijk gemaakt, dat niet iedereen naar een kamp moet”* (“It would be advisable to select a family that goes to a private accommodation. With this, it is made clear again that not everybody has to go to a camp.”).¹²⁵ This corroborates that the Zevenbergen family was prioritized, and illuminates how some migrants were sent to camps upon their arrival in Australia, thus not everybody had the privilege to have a house in Australia. I can compare this to two photographs (Figure 2 and 3) I found in the National Archive of Australia depicting a family which came from The Hague to Australia. This family was situated in a small, one-room house, with no yard. Neither the interior, nor the exterior were glamorously decorated in comparison to the house of the Zevenbergens. The neighbouring houses were in the same state as this house – modest, old, even worn-out.¹²⁶



Figure 2: Vrouwenvelder family in their living-room. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1958/21/12



Figure 3: Vrouwenvelder family, who came from The Hague. August, 1958. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1954/4/63

¹²⁵See: Appendix 8: De 100.000ste Nederlandse emigrant.

¹²⁶ Website of NAA: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> Vrouwenvelder family; Photographic series number: A12111, Citation: NAA: A12111, 1/1958/21/12; and NAA: A12111, 1/1958/21/13)

3.1 Analysis of the archival photographic series and captions depicting 100.000th migrant



Figure 4: Village of Abbenbroek; Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 2/1958/13A/5

This photograph depicts a small harbour with sailboats. It has been taken by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs in Australia and it represents one of many photographs found in the photographic series showing a provincial and rustic and even desolated area.

Another photograph taken in the Netherlands portrayed Adriana Zevenbergen talking with an old friend, the widow de Man, near the water pump in an older part of the village. Even though the caption did not convey much, the photograph itself was enough to portray the poor neighbourhood:



Figure 5: Adriana Zevenbergen talks with an old friend, the widow de Man, near the water pump in an older part of the village. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1958/4/37

This photograph portrays Adriana Zevenbergen talking with a friend in an older part of Abbenbroek. Perhaps the most suitable word to describe this photograph is traditional. The photograph was taken in August, 1958, a month before the departure to Australia. The timing is not peculiar as this photo was taken with the agenda behind it – Adriana Zevenbergen is dressed fashionably, wearing a white shoes and white pair of shoes, with a multi-coloured dress, while a neighbour did not leave the door step as she was not properly dressed. The Department of Immigration had wittily used photographs like these in order to later promote life in Australia as more modern than life in the Netherlands. I encountered a line from the press release from Australian Department of Immigration describing the Zevenbergens' home, stating “Embargoed for simultaneous release” and noting: “They live in a small, two-storeyed semi-detached house at Zweedseplein 4, a low-lying square at the Abbenbroek village.” Photographs and captions like these were used to make a clear contrast between the “simple life” one had had in the country of origin and the “glamorous new life” full of luxury Australia offered. All the photographs taken in the Netherlands resembled a “modest and indigent” appearance: They lived in a humble neighbourhood and had a modest home. On the other hand, the Zevenbergen family had a lot of arable land, domestic animals such as cows and chickens, which suggests that they were rich, despite the photographs portraying them as “modest.”

The photographs and captions we saw displayed no glamour; instead they portrayed the life this family had prior to emigrating to Australia, and the position, environment, neighbourhood, and the looks of their previous home. These photographs were taken in the Netherlands; however, they were used by the Australian Department of Immigration in order to promote migration to Australia by accentuating the good life Australia can offer to Dutch migrants as opposed to the “modest” life in the Netherlands.

The arrival in Australia sheds light on the new life that was awaiting the Zevenbergens'. The photographs taken in Australia reflected and emphasized the access to the new clothes, the good neighbourhood. Furthermore, there was no garbage in the background of the photographs, the environment was urban etc. The photograph on the right shows the family's new house in Australia, and the caption noted that this house was only a temporary accommodation



Figure 6: The Zevenbergens' temporary accommodation provided by the Shell Refining Ltd. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; A12111, 1/1958/4/79A

provided by the Shell Company for which Cornelius Zevenbergen was supposed to start working. The Zevenbergens received the keys of this six-room, fully furnished brick bungalow, provided by the Shell Company as a temporary accommodation.¹²⁷ Upon their entrance, they noticed that the table was set for dinner, and that the cupboards in the kitchen were fully stocked with food, coffee, tea, tinned food, eggs, meat, salad dressings, vegetables, etc. We can see that the exterior was flawless – the house architecture was superb, the house was enormous, neatly maintained on the outside, with a lawn in front of the house, and a big backyard.

However, this was not a permanent accommodation for the Zevenbergens'. Two years after the arrival, Adriana Zevenbergen received the keys of her own house, which was portraying modernity and luxury.



Figure 7: The Zevenbergens new home in Australia in 1960. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; A12111, 1/1960/21/24

The photographic captions following their new accommodation pointed towards the modernity of the housing object utilities: “It was not long before Mrs. Zevenbergen was making a pot of tea in the gleaming kitchen of her new home,” suggesting that now she has a fashionable, modern kitchen, by stressing the novelty the new home can offer. The insight into the new kitchen may be a better example to serve the point:



Figure 8: Adriana Zevenbergen making tea in her new kitchen. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1958/4/76



Figure 9: The Zevenbergens in their new kitchen. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1958/4/52

¹²⁷ This was a temporary accommodation until they got their own home two years after the arrival.

Not only the photographs referring to modernity and luxury of migrants' homes and their exterior and interior, but also photographs portraying Adriana Zevenbergen going shopping, for instance:



Figure 10: Adriana Zevenbergen goes shopping with Addo. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> NAA: A12111, 1/1959/13/23

Even though these photographic images regarding the Zevenbergen family were randomly placed on the National Archive of Australia website without a clear demarcation between the life before and after the arrival in Australia, we have nevertheless seen a governmental portrayal of the former life the Zevenbergen family led in the Netherlands portrayed as set-back and demoted, and the new life the family led in Australia as modern, luxurious, glamorous and prosperous. However, we have also seen the position of a woman within the Australian society: almost all photographs and projections of a 'new life' are about houses and household appliances, about women showing their homes inside and outside. All photographs portray a woman cooking, cleaning, or doing the laundry. Her abilities were diminished in the new society: "Mrs. Zevenbergen's full interests are concentrated on her family, home, cooking, sewing and occasional visits to the beach at Oostvoorne where she first met her husband in 1949. She speaks a little English and is studying hard."¹²⁸ The photograph and its caption depicting Maria Scholte placed emphasis on assimilation: "Maria was attracted by the Australian woollen sportswear displayed in a suburban



Figure 11: Miss. Maria Scholte looking Australian woollen sportswear displayed in a suburban shop. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> NAA: A12111, 1/1954/4/63

¹²⁸ See Appendix 6: Press Release from Australian Department of Immigration.

shop,” and soon afterwards, there was a caption noting how Miss. Scholte already plans to furnish her house, so she was looking into ‘typically Australian furnishings’. The utilization of the words ‘typically’ and ‘Australian furnishings’ emphasize the need of the Australian government to stress the importance of assimilation instantaneously, by stressing the need to *buy* and *use* something *typically Australian*. The governmental urge to promote the instant assimilation, i.e. conversion of the Dutch migrants was pronounced. Judging by the photographs and their captions issued by the government of Australia and the Netherlands, it would have been a matter of days before the migrant would be ‘raptured’ by the Australian ways of life and before they would take on the role of becoming a ‘new’ Australian. Furthermore, the Australian government aimed to raise the consciousness regarding how normal it was for migrants to get acquainted with everything ‘*typically*’ Australian, and to accept it imminently. It suggested the elevated lifestyle marked by ordinary humans buying, for example, woollen sportswear or household equipment. At the same time this proposes that the Australian society promoted the idea of a ‘leisure class’¹²⁹ implied in many unproductive activities, such as playing golf, sightseeing, owning a swimming-pool etc. all representing a part of a “modern” life-style - some photographs show Scholte with her husband Frank, whom she married five days after her arrival, going for sightseeing of Melbourne.

3.2 Migrants whose stories were less prominent yet utilized by the governments: Focus on texts encountered in photographic captions

So far we have seen the flamboyant and glamorous life of the 50.000th and 100.000th Dutch migrant family. However, not only theirs, but also some other migrants’ stories were used by both governments with the purpose to propagate the opportunities on the new continent and to attract more migrants. They were not as distinguished as the 50.000th or 100.000th Dutch migrants. The following observation will be based on the photographic images and their captions from various migration topics encountered in the database of the National Archive of Australia, and Nationaal Archief Den Haag. I will establish a general observation based on what I have seen in these photographs and elaborate on that, but also introduce some individual stories in order to corroborate my points.

Since the beginning of one’s new life in a new country was to be marked by finding a home, the Netherlands Building Society in New South Wales, founded in August, 1958 was,

¹²⁹ A 1899 theory by Thorstein Veblen suggesting how the elite have employed themselves in the economically unproductive practices of conspicuous consumption and conspicuous leisure, which are useless activities that contribute neither to the economy nor to the material production of the useful goods and services required for the functioning of society.

allegedly, responsible for helping migrants in Australia. There was an abundance of photographs showing migrants receiving advice from a 'reputable' estate agent about building and there were a lot of photographs with Dutch migrants getting a building permit so that they could build their homes. This was to suggest that only the best, the most reputable officials were to help and advise migrants so that they could manage to get by in the new country. I noticed many photographs capturing Dutch migrant families which embarked on a home building scheme. Supposedly, together they would build a modern home within twelve months without a penny of advanced cash. The migrants signed on to devote their weekends to communal effort in helping to build the homes, until each contributed at least 400 hours of labour.¹³⁰ The outcome would be many beautiful houses funded by the Netherlands Co-op Building Society of New South Wales. Eventually, even though the houses were paid by their own labour, the claim was that The New South Wales Society had financed 150 houses in the six months to mid-1958 for Dutch migrant members.¹³¹ This was a canny attempt by both governments to attract migrants to Australia by showing the image of the home that was secured for them, only if they were willing to make some effort.

I observed governmental usage of the text as propaganda (in photographic captions in both archives) suggesting in deceptive ways how a change of a country of residence would influence one's life for the better. There were many examples of lawyers becoming successful accountants and managing directors of prosperous firms, or a radio-operator becoming a paymaster of a Sydney firm of appliance manufacturers, or a tradesman owning his own business, a bricklayer in the Netherlands becoming a building contractor in Australia with an average of five or six homes under construction at any one time. More generally, I found many captions noting: "Dutch family *well* established in Scottsdale, Tasmania," or "North Queensland is the land of *opportunity*."¹³²

The emphasis was on prosperity and on acquiring a modern and peaceful life in Australia by Dutch migrants. For example:

¹³⁰ See: National Archive of Australia, record search: A12111, 1/1960/21/30; A12111, 1/1960/21/31; A12111, 1/1960/21/32

¹³¹ <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx?series=A12111>

¹³² <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx?series=A12111>



“The modern all-electric kitchen in the Kers’ where Mrs Kers shows daughter Jennifer the cake she has just made has electric stove, electric fridge and other electrical appliances.”¹³³

Figure 12: Mrs Kers shows daughter Jennifer the cake she has just made. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> NAA: A12111, 1/1960/21/3

That is why I encountered a lot of instances where migrants *now* have a modern all-electric kitchen, electric stove, electric fridge, and other electrical appliances, and live in a three-bedroom home. Additionally – “The Dutch migrants *now* have a *comfortable* lounge room. Some of them live in a *new two-bedroomed home*, and built much of the furniture themselves. They had *gardens* so that they can grow vegetables and fruit, and they have *a big yard where they can do laundry*.”¹³⁴ I especially noticed a bountiful number of photographs with migrants doing laundry, not only in their homes, but even at hostels. Even though the photographs were black and white, one could discern that the laundry was perfectly neat, clean, white and new. I also found other photographs portraying the Australian abundance and bountifulness of the new Australian environment. For instance:

“Bob van den Hoek found his fortune in Australia. In five years Bob and his wife Rie saved enough to build a magnificent home overlooking the Indian Ocean. In contrast to the home’s gleaming modern labour saving appliances are exotic furnishings and curios in the home, which Bob collected during his seafaring days. They also have a new car and money in the bank. Bob said anyone can make a fortune in Australia if they are willing to work very hard and go where the opportunities lie.”¹³⁵

Beside this caption, I also noticed other captions pointing to the same idea of Australian plentifulness: “Some migrants had a swimming pool in the garden of their home; they owned their homes and they had jobs.”¹³⁶ Captions like these suggested that the opportunities Australia had to offer were so vast that the problem seemed to be *the lack of time for leisure activities* - A migrant

¹³³ National Archive of Australia, record search: A12111, 1/1960/21/3, series number A12111.

¹³⁴ Website of NAA: <https://www.destinationaustralia.gov.au/site/index.php>

¹³⁵ Website of NAA, A12111, 1/1961/21/4, accessed on 25-04-2016:

<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=7427317&isAv=N>

¹³⁶ Website of NAA: <https://www.destinationaustralia.gov.au/site/index.php>

by the name of Jacques van de Pol, had two jobs – a daytime job as an operator with a firm of bookbinders and had been employed there since his arrival in Australia. His other job was a projectionist in a suburban picture theatre, where he worked every evening except Sundays, and Saturday afternoons. His only complaint was that “his work allows him insufficient time to play golf, a game he took up after he came to Australia.”¹³⁷

These captions indicate how migrants led a modern and at the same time tranquil life in Australia in comparison to the devastations they experienced in their country of origin. This was again a way to suggest all the favourable circumstances Australia had to offer, and at the same time to show how nobody could be unemployed. This was one more proof that corroborates Australia being a ‘leisure class’ society.

On the other hand, there were many examples of migrants who decided to build their own houses after a short period of stay in Australia. For instance, two years after their arrival, Josee and Jos Teunissen had saved enough money to buy a block of land, and aided by a bank loan they started building their house. However, they built not only a house, but also *a garage*. Again, the emphasis was on the prosperity offered by the Australian society. Some migrants managed to get by even more quickly – “Once John and Rini van Leeuwarden migrated to Australia they have *a gorgeous home*.”¹³⁸ Some of them had the luxury to build their homes to their own design. Strikingly enough, some photos showed how, for instance, a fruit and vegetable salesman lived in a nice house, with a modern kitchen, thus again the same concept from ‘rags to riches’ was employed.

On the other hand, unlike the representation of the underprivileged migrants, who were portrayed as successful in Australia, I also observed the photographs of the elite. For instance: “Surfers’ Paradise home of Dutch auto engineer,”¹³⁹ referring to a home of a migrant who enjoyed all the riches Australia could offer. A former lecturer in automotive engineering from the Netherlands, had a staff of eighteen employees in two businesses in Australia. They had a service station in the heart of Surfer’s Paradise, Australia’s biggest tourist resort; and a car showroom and franchise in a nearby town. Among others, there was also a nice photograph of a big family walking together down the driveway of their huge house, whose architecture was very modern, with a garage, a private driveway, loan, many trees in the yard.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Website of NAA. Series number NAA: A12111, 1/1961/21/9. <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/>

¹³⁸ <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=7427386&isAv=N> Leeuwarden family; Photographic series number: A12111, Citation: A12111, 1/1967/21/7

¹³⁹ <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=7427345&isAv=N>

¹⁴⁰ Website of NAA: <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/>. Series number: NAA: A12111, 1/1962/21/1

However, unlike the grandiose representation presented so far, I also encountered photographs whose level of ‘governmental framing’, was not so pronounced. For example, within ‘Migrants in the community’ topic, there were ninety photographs portraying migrants doing some work for the community, however the extent of exaggeration in terms of emphasizing modernity and luxury was not as pronounced as it was with previous topics. For example, I encountered the photo of a Dutch couple holding a film they made on North Queensland, Australia, which the couple wanted to send to a relative in the Netherlands. The title was: “North Queensland is the land of opportunity”¹⁴¹.

On the other hand, the topic ‘Churches and religion in the migrant community’, identified in the database of the National Archive of Australia exuded a higher extent of exaggeration. The caption states: “From Dutch bookkeeper to Presbyterian home missionary,”¹⁴² and it is in a way diminishing the value of the job he held in the Netherlands, while accentuating the job he now holds in Australia. The caption furthermore suggests that that a migrant in question came to Australia because he did not want to be a bookkeeper all his life, and this refers to the process of one’s improvement. Therefore, the caption suggested that he left the Netherlands looking for a better life opportunity in Australia. This was more accentuated by the fact that the Presbyterian Church in Queensland was paying him a salary to represent the Zillmere congregation in Brisbane. Thus, if we were to follow the ultimate denouement the caption aimed to reach, we realize that this migrant became a successful man in Australia and we would reach the conclusion that Australia was a country offering prosperity for Dutch migrants. However, this was biased and therefore inconclusive as the official website offers only the successful migrants’ biographies.

3.3 *Concluding remarks*

The purpose of this chapter was to show that the governments utilized visuals and texts to attract the preferred type of migrants. Following the dominant Australian discourse which promoted the complete assimilation of migrants, the general impression of the inspected photographic series and captions is that both Netherlands’ and Australian governments enticed migrants into coming to Australia, in order to settle there permanently by stressing assimilation as something common to accept. We have seen this in the portrayal of migrants, propagated in the

¹⁴¹<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=7478111&isAv=N>

¹⁴²<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=8275236&isAv=N>

media, as willing to absorb into the society by buying *typically* Australian cloth, or instantly going to a *language* course. This chapter demonstrated that blending into the new Australian society implied constructing national identities and repressing cultural identities as the consequence of negotiating the migrants' positions within the dominant discourse, constructing themselves as the 'good' migrants.

Maria Scholte migrant's story was not too protracted in terms of the high publicity coverage. However, it was still conspicuous as she was portrayed as an iconographic migrant, since her departure and arrival were advertised in the Netherlands and Australia. Her migration story was represented through the frame offered by Australian and the Netherlands' governments dominant discourses, but it was not given as much attention as was the case with the 100.000th migrant. This story was not redundantly emphasized as at the time of Scholte's arrival, in 1954, the number of Dutch arrivals in Australia was high - the peak years of Dutch arrivals were 1950-51, and 1955-56¹⁴³, it was unnecessary to promote migration and make the arrival of the 50.000th migrant too pompous. Unlike Scholte's, Adriana Zevenbergen's story received a lot of publicity, as at the time the arrival for this family was scheduled, both governments considered the idea of advertising and promoting Australia as the good place to go convenient. Zevenbergens' story was highly accentuated both in the Netherlands and in Australia and Adriana received a lot of attention.

The main strategy these governments employed was framing a particular type of a migrant they needed in photographs and captions they advertised. They employed the same strategy with Scholte and Zevenbergen – portraying a winsome, charming woman determined to pave her wave in Australia. The constant advertising stressing the positive prospects of Australia was encouraging for the masses to emigrate, as visual and textual propaganda emphasized qualifying adjectives as *modern, comfortable, large, beautiful, opportunities, magnificent, new, feeling impressed*, etc. The accent was also on *the new car, brand new house, magnificent house, money in the bank, comfortable lounge room, modern all-electric kitchen, own business* etc., introducing at the same time the concept of the 'leisure class' by accentuating that migrants had time for sports and leisure activities, such as sailing, golf, finding gemstones, bowling, cruising, races at the ocean, picnicking, doing pencil sketches, etc. However, as this was all propaganda, it was one-sided and insufficient to portray the palpable picture of the real life migrants led in the new environment.

¹⁴³ Eijsbertse, Dirk, Marijke Eijsbertse, and Louise. Chenana. 2006. "Where Waters Meet: Bonegilla: The Dutch Migrant Experience in Australia". 3rd rev. ed.pp.13.

4 Chapter 4: Framing Dutch cultural identity

This chapter deals with the way that Dutch immigrants were portrayed when settled in Australia: how they were dealing with their Dutch culture/heritage while being perfect migrants in the sense of assimilating in Australian society. Focusing on the same side of the migration journey we see a very productive move from the Netherlands to Australia. It is a continuation of providing the answer to the sub-question 2 of this thesis regarding how the Dutch migrants were framed by both governments in order to be constructed as ‘perfect’ migrants.

This chapter will refer to the connection between the material culture recognized in the migrants’ domestic interior in Australia and show how we can understand the domestic interior of the Dutch people in Australia. For that purpose, this chapter relies on photographs from “Migrants in their homes” and “Ethnic festivals, arts and crafts,” migration topics from the website of the National Archive of Australia.

4.1 Migration: Longing for the material objects from the past - A journey to the pre-migratory landscapes and environments.



Figure 13: Dutch emigrants at Schiphol airport about to leave for Australia, February 1952. Source: www.gahetna.nl

Even though by definition, migration represents the movement of people from one place to another, is it all there is about migration? The photograph on the left serves as a good example of the definition provided, however, there is more to migration than this definition suggests. Migration is not only a matter of a physical movement, but also of evoking memories of the country of origin¹⁴⁴, as at certain moments, migration causes a longing for some familiar things, either immaterial or material. These material objects trigger the senses and evoke memories of the

country of origin.¹⁴⁵ These active connections with memory through material culture represent the process of identification for the groups in question. What material culture provides is that they

¹⁴⁴ Dibbits, Hester. 2009. “Furnishing the Salon: Symbolic Ethnicity and Performative Practices in Moroccan-Dutch Domestic Interiors.” *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 33 (5): Pp.556

¹⁴⁵ Dibbits, Hester. 2009. “Furnishing the Salon: Symbolic Ethnicity and Performative Practices in Moroccan-Dutch Domestic Interiors.” *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 33 (5): Pp. 556.

become nodes of connection in a network of people, places and narration of past stories, histories and traditions.¹⁴⁶

Once in a new country, many migrants and their descendants surround themselves with objects from their country of origin.¹⁴⁷ I encountered many examples of the material longing in the migrants' photographic series A12111, in the National Archive of Australia. The topic which interested me was "Migrants in their homes," which yielded 159 photographs in total.

Dibbits explains that people all over the world re-create imagined distant worlds.¹⁴⁸ What artefacts they choose differ among people, but these may be pictures on the wall, figures, small ornaments, figurines etc. While some prefer a scant depiction of their home country, others may decorate their houses entirely in a fashionable, but simultaneously traditional-looking manner. These objects may not have any purposeful functions. It is their meanings that are infused with socio-cultural markers of the owner, and they acquire value through a form of devotion, reverence of the memories they signify.¹⁴⁹ They are cherished beyond their material worth and function. In the home country these objects were just background things, a part of everyday Dutch life. However, the diasporic journey may be imbued with a heightened significance. These objects the migrants decided to bring with them were charged with memories that activate common connections to pre-migratory landscapes and environments.¹⁵⁰ In this period of migration, the idea of a 'home' is positioned as a site where a new history linked with past landscapes is refracted through the material objects in the domestic sphere. The material culture then serves as a manifestation of a 'home' which forms layers of identification.

¹⁴⁶ Tolia-Kelly, Divya. 2004. "Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-Memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29 (3): 314-329.

¹⁴⁷ Dibbits, Hester. 2009. "Furnishing the Salon: Symbolic Ethnicity and Performative Practices in Moroccan-Dutch Domestic Interiors." *International Journal of Consumer Studies* 33 (5): Pp 555.

¹⁴⁸ Dibbits, Hester. 2009. "Furnishing the Salon: Symbolic Ethnicity and Performative Practices in Moroccan-Dutch Domestic Interiors." Pp.556

¹⁴⁹ Tolia-Kelly, Divya. 2004. "Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-Memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29 (3). Pp. 324- 326.

¹⁵⁰ Tolia-Kelly, Divya. 2004. "Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-Memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29 (3). pp.314.



Figure 14: Adriana Zevenbergen polishing a solid oak dining-room dresser. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>



Figure 15: Tony van Rooyen's living room. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>



Figure 16: Tony van Rooyen's living-room. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>



Figure 17: Hanna Spijkerboer shows a traditional windmill. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>

For example, in the migration topic “Migrants in their homes,” series number A12111, I found a photograph of a solid oak dining room dresser, brought by the Zevenbergen’s family which migrated to Australia in 1958.¹⁵¹ In the same photographic series in the National Archive of Australia, I encountered many photographic images of Dutch migrants’ living-rooms with the curtains wide open - something conventional for the Dutch culture.¹⁵² I also noticed a photograph with a clog on the wall in a Dutch family living-room,¹⁵³ then, a photograph with a figurine of a

¹⁵¹ This example will be dealt with in the photograph analysis chapter.

¹⁵² Website of NAA: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> Photographic image NAA: A12111, 1/1960/21/5

¹⁵³ Website of NAA: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> : Photographic image NAA: A12111, 1/1968/21/52

windmill placed on the TV in the migrants' living-room,¹⁵⁴ and a photograph of a migrant's living room with a figurine of a Dutch barrel organ, and a figurine of a windmill.¹⁵⁵

These photographic images imply that there is a connection between memory and the material culture of the migrants' interior.¹⁵⁶ As Dibbits puts it: "Material objects may provide a material anchor to the remembrance of rituals or habitual practices that strengthen ties within a community."¹⁵⁷ By relying on visual and material cultures we refer to them as the constituting processes of identification, positing that objects trigger memories, which in their turn play a central role in discourses of heritage.¹⁵⁸

However, these photographic images above can be elaborated on in terms of the governmental frame. Even though the existence of the material culture in Dutch migrants' homes points towards cultivating Dutchness and prioritizing cultural identity, Australian and the Netherlands' governments framed the people in the photographs. Here it is portrayed as if Dutch migrants themselves sent some photographs of their family life, but how these at the same time seemed very much like enactments of the 'nice life' in the new environment in order to promote Australia as a good country to live a nevertheless Dutch life. Bearing in mind that these photographs were taken in the 1960s when a more integrationist approach was prominent in Australia, it was vital to portray Australia as a country where one can keep in touch with their roots. Thus, cleaning the Dutch dining-room dresser, or putting flowers right next to the figurine of a windmill, or touching the windmill was staged, because portrayed like that it sent a message to the potential Dutch migrants that Australia is a land which welcomes people from different cultural backgrounds.

4.2 Negotiating ethnicity politics and display of cultural identities in Australia

This section introduces the migration topic – "Ethnic festivals, arts and crafts in Australia," from the National Archive of Australia which provides an insight into the migrants' overseas practices.

¹⁵⁴ Website of NAA: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> : Photographic image NAA: A12111, 1/1968/21/54

¹⁵⁵ Website of NAA: <http://www.naa.gov.au/> : Photographic image: NAA: A12111, 1/1970/9/8

¹⁵⁶ McMillan, Michael. 2009. "The West Indian Front Room: Reflections on a Diasporic Phenomenon." *Small Axe* 13 (1): 135-156.

¹⁵⁷ Dibbits, Hester. 2009. "Furnishing the Salon: Symbolic Ethnicity and Performative Practices in Moroccan-Dutch Domestic Interiors." Pp.550.

¹⁵⁸ Tolia-Kelly, Divya. 2004. "Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-Memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 29 (3): pp.310.

The narrative of ethnicity in Australia ran like this: In the beginning immigrants suppressed their ethnicity in the name of pragmatism and opportunism, because in order to be successful in the new world, one had to assimilate, and therefore hide their ethnicity and cultural heritage.¹⁵⁹ I observed this, for example, in the photograph showing a Dutch migrant, who had just arrived in Australia looking for ‘typically Australian furnishing for her home.’¹⁶⁰ The caption accompanying this photograph is stating that this migrant decided to buy Australian furnishing, rather than looking for some cloth or material from her home country.



Figure 18: Phase 1 - Miss Scholte buying typically Australian furnishing. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>

The following photographic series¹⁶¹ may serve as a good example of the negotiation between Australianness and Dutchness. I encountered many photographs from the 1960s, which I can link to the third period of Australian immigration, portraying well assimilated Dutch migrants trying to fit some parts of Dutch culture into Australian society by setting up a windmill of flowers at the festival, or planting the tulips at the Dutch tulip farm, or wearing Dutch national dress, or celebrating Sinterklaas – there were many photographs of St. Nicolas with Black Piet, for example.



Figure 19: Dutch tulip farm; Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1965/1



Figure 20: Dutch windmill of flowers at the Festival; Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A1200, L469587/2

¹⁵⁹ Roberson, L. Susan. 2001. “Defining Travel: Diverse Visions.” University Press of Mississippi. Pp.201

¹⁶⁰ A photographs from the topic Migrant Arrivals in Australia, title - 50,000th Dutch migrant arrives in Melbourne; series number NAA: A12111, 1/1954/4/64.

¹⁶¹The photographic series are from the following topics: Migrants in the community, Migrants in employment, Horticulture- flowers and herbs, Churches and religion in the migrant community, and Ethnic festivals, arts and crafts in Australia, and there are 15 photographs in total.



Figure 21: Dutch migrants in national dress; Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1964/17/26



Figure 22: St. Nicolas in Melbourne; Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1964/17/24

Festivals held annually in Australia, reflected many sides of Dutch community life. There were many crafts and arts exhibitions, folk dance evenings, folk singing, classical concerts, drama, ballet taking part at various festivals, such as Moomba festival - a community festival celebrated during the Labour Day, or Holland festival and Holland Ball which represented a display of Dutch traditions in Australia, or Warana¹⁶² festival which is an international arts festival, etc. Many Dutch migrants made great contributions to these festivals with their craftwork and skill – there was a woman selling Dutch dolls, for example, and a Dutch street organ which also took place at the festival, and there were also many people in the national costumes.

¹⁶² Warana is a suburb of the Sunshine Coast, Queensland, Australia, located within the Kawana Waters urban centre giving an annual, international arts festival.



Figure 23: Gerarda Paschedag selling Dutch dolls at the Dutch Exhibition. Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1964/17/3



Figure 24: Putting the finishing touches to a Dutch barrel organ for Warana festival; Source: NAA: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; A12111, 1/1964/17/1



Figure 25: Dutch float in a festival procession; Source: <http://www.naa.gov.au/>; NAA: A12111, 1/1964/17/37

These festivals usually lasted for a couple of weeks and their line-up of classical and contemporary music, theatre, dance, comedy, opera, circus attracts an audience of more than one million people every year. There were many International performances at the festivals, but the Dutch contributions were highly regarded by Australians – “Overseas talent was the main ingredient in the fine fare offered at Australia's third festival of Arts.”¹⁶³ An international flavour was reflected in the many floats in the Festival procession, such as Dutch migrants in national dress who took part of the colourful float.

The agenda behind these photographs was to represent the celebration of cultural heritage of the Dutch migrants in Australia in the 1960s, and show the kind and compassionate nature Australian receiving society held towards different cultures. In this respect, 1960s multiculturalism was supposed to be a democratic response for coping with cultural and social diversity in society. However, these photographs portrayed only the bright side of the integrationist process. The migrants’ private sphere of life was not included in the collection, and it was unlikely that it had been as simple as it was portrayed, since these photographs portrayed only one side of the public sphere of migrants’ annual practices.

¹⁶³ Website of the National Archive of Australia: NAA: A12111, 1/1964/17/37. <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=7428215&isAv=N>

At the same time, it is dubious whether the change of discourse, namely from the assimilationist policy towards 1960s multiculturalist policy, did migrants well. The opinions on the success of the introduction of this policy varied - there was an idea that multiculturalism represents a threat to the very basis of the Australian culture, identity and shared values, arguing that there is “no reason why migrant cultures should be maintained at the expense of our shared, national culture.”¹⁶⁴ Perhaps the Australian government realized that it was impossible to simply shut down the past as if it did not exist, but they were also wrong to believe that by embracing of an inclusive, diverse society they can contribute to a single, national, cultural ethos. Or, perhaps, the multiculturalist policy in the 60s was only a façade, one more way to entice migrants into coming to Australia?

4.3 *Concluding remarks*

Summing up this chapter, we have seen how clinging to the material culture can help maintain the connection or configure cultural identity/Dutchness. The meaning of identity, history and heritage through the material cultures, depends upon the continuing dependence on the past as the sustenance of the present.¹⁶⁵ In this respect, depending on the material cultures as a manifestation of a ‘home’ compiles layers of identification.¹⁶⁶ Suggested like this, one may argue that identity is a performative process continually negotiating through “a complex process of appropriation, compromise, subversion, masking, invention, and revival.”¹⁶⁷ Thus, what follows from this is that identity, history, heritage, material culture and collective memory are all interrelated.

By relying on the material culture, one can cultivate Dutchness, therefore Dutch cultural identity. Thus, by maintaining the ties with the past by means of preserving certain material objects as a reminder of who a person is, no matter how blemished the past became with time, one can maintain the lost tie with the roots. These material culture objects the migrants brought to the

¹⁶⁴ Website accessed on the 09-06-2016: <http://australianpolitics.com/parties/onenation/immigration-policy-98.shtml>

¹⁶⁵ Tolia-Kelly, Divya. “Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-Memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home.” Pp.315.

¹⁶⁶ Tolia-Kelly, Divya. 2004. “Locating Processes of Identification: Studying the Precipitates of Re-Memory through Artefacts in the British Asian Home.” Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers 29 (3). pp. 316.

¹⁶⁷ Hall, Stuart “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” in Patrick Williams and Laura Williams, eds., Colonial Discourse, and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader. London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 395.

new 'homeland' can be seen as deliberately connecting devices after migration,¹⁶⁸ and as such they were situated as symbolic of their lives and narratives.

However, even though ethnic symbols kept fostering the Dutch heritage, all the visuals showed how the governments made use of Dutchness through these symbols because they are powerful as they are very recognizable for the Dutch migrants. This was used as a strategy in the Australian policy of migration. Moreover, we can look at the objects from the material culture as a part of the dominant discourse context enticing the Dutch migrants to come to Australia because of the hidden agenda behind it: Even in Australia, one can still be Dutch.

We have seen that at the beginning migrants suppressed their ethnic identity in the name of opportunism – in order to succeed in the new environment migrants had to assimilate, thus they had to conceal the cultural identity. In the next phase, immigrants reasserted their ethnicity.¹⁶⁹ We have already seen these examples in the previous section of this chapter – the migrants start decorating their homes with a depiction of their home country.¹⁷⁰ Therefore, they begin reasserting and reviving their connections to the past. However, in the third phase, immigrants sought the hyphenated integration of an ethnic identity and national identity under conditions that did not privilege the national at the expense of the ethnic.¹⁷¹ I have utilized the word 'hyphenated' as I posit that this attempt to merge one and another is not easy, and it is difficult to make a balance between the national and ethnic identity, as one always suffers at the expense of the other – thus, the national should not make the concession to the ethnic, but at the same time the new Australian citizen must now also think of their Dutch self that does not defer to their nationalized Australian status. This is a very complicated process, as already in the second phase one is encouraged to actively celebrate their past, and take care that keeping in touch with Dutchness does not diminish their Australianness.

This was particularly notable in the period of multiculturalist policy in the 1960s. The Dutch government gave the traditional costumes to the Dutch in Australia in the attempt to stimulate multiculturalism,¹⁷² and Dutch migrants were encouraged to cherish their Dutchness, by participating in festivals, for example. However, even though one may appreciate the attempts of the dominant discourse multicultural policy portrayed in beautiful photographs showing how

¹⁶⁸ Tolia-Kelly, Divya Praful. 2010. "Landscape, Race, and Memory: Material Ecologies of Citizenship." *Heritage, culture and identity; Heritage, culture, and identity*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate. pp.98.

¹⁶⁹ Roberson, L. Susan. 2001. "Defining Travel: Diverse Visions." University Press of Mississippi. Pp.202.

¹⁷⁰ Dibbits, Hester. "Furnishing the Salon: Symbolic Ethnicity and Performative Practices in Moroccan-Dutch Domestic Interiors." Pp. 7.

¹⁷¹ Roberson, L. Susan. 2001. "Defining Travel: Diverse Visions." University Press of Mississippi. Pp.202.

¹⁷² Website accessed on 10-06-2016, Item details for: C5206, 1158359:

<http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/DetailsReports/ItemDetail.aspx?Barcode=13246528&isAv=Y>

Dutch proudly celebrated their culture, these celebrations took place only once a year. Therefore, we cannot claim that what we saw in these photographs was the general state of affairs in Australia allowing the Dutch to keep in touch with their culture. These photographs do not portray an ‘either/or’ situation. We cannot posit if the Dutch migrants cherished Dutchness or Australianness, but we can analyse the photographs in terms of negotiation of the ‘hyphenated’ identities within the scope of the dominant discourse multicultural context.

When the migrant community has to adapt to the host culture, an individual’s cultural identity may be lost due to the acculturation process, as it results in the assimilation of cultural values, customs, beliefs and language by a minority group within a majority community.¹⁷³

In their adaptation to a new cultural context, migrants need to adopt the tools required to participate in the host society, and that these practices are related to the acculturation strategy adopted by them in different life settings.¹⁷⁴ That adaptation (acculturation strategy) produces a change in their identities and everyday practices. However, as the acculturation process further progresses, the migrants start to feel comfortable in the new environment, therefore they begin to experience a sense of belonging in their new homeland.¹⁷⁵ The culture of the majority seems less threatening and more inviting as the individual becomes more linguistically and socially fluent in this new culture.¹⁷⁶ However, by adapting to the new environment, the individual starts to relinquish the bond with its roots, as they get altered and influenced by the new environment, and the more time a migrant spends in the new country, the bigger sense of perplexity becomes as they are forced to exist in-between the worlds.

Therefore, these migrants sought to merge the national and cultural identities by negotiating the positions of assimilated migrants in Australian society while at the same time trying to establish the lost connection with their roots within the boundaries of the allegedly benevolent nature of multiculturalism they therefore negotiated.

This chapter showed the Australian government’s emphasis on the specific migration topics such as gender, household, labour, class, festivals, symbols etc. We have seen how by emphasizing these topics the government of Australia showed the way life was led in the new Australian environment. This was very interesting, as Australia needed work force in the

¹⁷³ Bhugra, D., and O. Ayonrinde. 2004. “Depression in Migrants and Ethnic Minorities.” *Advances in Psychiatric Treatment* 10: 13-17.

¹⁷⁴ Berry, John W. 2005. “Acculturation: Living Successfully in Two Cultures.” *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 29 (6): 697-712.

¹⁷⁵ This depends on the age of the migrant in question, as people of different ages react differently to the change.

¹⁷⁶ Bhugra D., and Becker MA. 2005. “Migration, Cultural Bereavement and Cultural Identity.” *World Psychiatry: Official Journal of the World Psychiatric Association (WPA)* 4 (1): 18-24.

industry,¹⁷⁷ but it portrayed women in their kitchens working with the appliances. Thus, they needed able bodied men – instead they showed beautiful and charming women. They allegedly stood for the acceptance of multiple cultural traditions, but represented only the white middle-class population. Therefore, we can refer to these topics as the propagation by the Netherlands' and Australian governments used as a strategy of attracting migrants to Australia.

This chapter has provided a very neat, simple and unproblematic depiction of the migrants' new life, claiming that becoming a 'new' Australian is easy, because it is easily combined with Dutch history and Dutch heritage. But was this indeed so? The next chapter will problematize this and show us how the dominant assimilationist and multiculturalist discourse were negotiated by migrants in their narratives of the migration experience.

¹⁷⁷ Website accessed on 26-08-2016: <http://www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/changing-face-of-modern-australia-1950s-to-1970s>

5 Chapter 5: *Becoming a ‘good’ Australian citizen – Analysing narratives as a sense-making tool in the negotiation of migrants’ identities*

This chapter’s goal is to answer the third sub-question of this thesis: How did Dutch migrants construct themselves as ‘good Australian citizens’ and at the same time retained their sense of Dutchness in the period from 1945 until 1965? It is designed so as to provide a more diverse perspective on migration: how did migrants feel when they arrived in Australia: was it really as ideal as pictured? How did they (try to) become ‘new’ Australian citizens? What place did their Dutch identity or culture play in making themselves a new home in a strange country? This chapter takes into account the dominant discourses of the narration period, and the identities migrants constructed while negotiating them. For this purpose, I will analyse some migration narratives by using the conceptual tool of focalization and silences within narratives, while looking into the specific lines of migrants’ argumentation pointing towards the ambivalent/hyphenated sense of belonging in the new environment.

This chapter begins with the narrative of Andrew Riemer, whose narration will be taken as a starting point in trying to answer how the Dutch negotiated the notion of the ‘perfect’ migrant, the assimilated citizen. Even though this thesis takes into account that Riemer is a migrant to Australia, his narrative was primarily considered because his work was published¹⁷⁸, and he is a professor. His biographic narrative is highly stylized. The ideas he proposes throughout his narration will be used as a basis in order to look for clues in the photographs and narratives of the migrants from a ‘bottom-up’ perspective. This chapter further explores what are generally seen as ‘problems’ related to their migration to Australia and in becoming a citizen of Australia with a non-British, i.e. analysing biographic narratives of Elly Anderson, Johanna Wagenar and Jan Holvast.

5.1 *Andrew Riemer’s academic response to the Australian assimilationist discourse*

Andrew Riemer, Hungarian by origin, a Sydney-based academic and critic, reflected upon his migrant’s experience and his narrative of the self, entitled: “Andrew Riemer: ‘Between two worlds’” (1992), published in the book *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australian Immigration since 1945*, by John Lack and Jacqueline Templeton, in Documents section, sub-section

¹⁷⁸ His other famous books are “The Habsburg Café,” “Sandstone Gothic,” “Hughes and A Family History of Smoking.”

Questions of Identity.¹⁷⁹ However, this narrative of the self was replicated from the memoirs Riemer wrote himself entitled “Inside Outside: Life between Two Worlds” where he recalled the circumstances of his family history. He won the NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission Prize in 1992 for the first volume of his memoirs.

He wrote about the prerequisite to assimilate, however, he was aware of how this might affect migrants’ identity. He asserted that they, referring to migrants, could never be ‘real Australians’ because their ‘otherness’¹⁸⁰ cannot be cast off. As he was a Hungarian himself, he always felt it a drawback to be short and with darker complexion. He also noted that at best, people like his parents lived a half-life, as they belonged to no society, they were isolated from the world, and even their native language came to be transformed in bizarre ways.¹⁸¹ He added that it was impossible to achieve full assimilation, as one cannot ‘remake’ oneself. On the other hand, even with the introduction of the multicultural policy in Australia, when respect for cultural, religious and linguistic diversity was emphasized, migrants still could not have achieved an intact relationship with their roots as one’s heritage was altered by the new environment.

“We have to be given the liberty to realise that we must, for better or worse, dwell between two worlds; and we must be allowed to work out our cultural salvation in terms of our individual, often confused, personalities, predicaments, fears and aspirations. Above all, we must realise that such process may well take a long time, perhaps the whole of a life, to achieve.”¹⁸²

Eventually he asserted that even though he believed that he could never be able to discard his cultural heritage, he became an Australian. However, the feeling of perplexity was following him throughout his entire life, and he never achieved a sense of belonging.

Riemer was self-aware of the debate (Templeton, Jupp, Eysbertse et al) regarding the success of the settlement in Australia, therefore he took up control and tried to influence the public by writing this book, giving account on the changes in Australian society in the years after the Second World War and on the lives migrants led throughout these years. He showed how the connection with the past is unbreakable, as one cannot leave their past behind, but at the same time he claimed how the more time one spent in Australia, the greater the frustrations and irritations of their life in Australia

¹⁷⁹ In: Lack, John, and Jacqueline. Templeton. 1995. *Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australian Immigration Since 1945*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

¹⁸⁰ This concept was introduced by Stuart Hall, and it suggests that identities are constructed through difference, i.e. through the relation to the Other, and through something what it is not, and identity constitution is based on excluding something, and establishing a violent hierarchy between the two poles.

¹⁸¹ Riemer, Andrew. 1992. “Inside Outside: Life between Two Worlds.” Angus & Robertson. Harper Collins Publishers. pp. 115.

¹⁸² Riemer, Andrew. “Inside Outside: Life between Two Worlds.” Pp. 210.

came to grate on them, so that eventually the feeling of dissatisfaction and nostalgia came to dominate their life. Riemer concluded by questioning whether the answer is to seek elusive assimilation, or to maintain one's ethnicity and risk a 'ghetto mentality.' Neither route offered a solution for him. He remained essentially rootless:

“No matter how thoroughly you have been absorbed by your adopted society, and even if you have been accepted within its structures, as I have been, your otherness cannot be expunged. ...the more thoroughly assimilated you are and the more you come to think of yourself as an integral part of your adopted society, the more you are likely to be troubled by confusions of identity, by the anxiety of living in a vacancy between two worlds... We are essentially rootless.”¹⁸³

Reflecting on his life as a migrant in the context of the dominant assimilationist discourse of Australia, Riemer was stretching the boundaries of the dominant discourse by making an alternative sub-discourse – Australia as a narrow-minded and bigoted society whose people lack self-consciousness. His narrative is essential for the understanding of the basic feelings of ambivalence that migrants had to negotiate. What he posits is essential for facilitating the conception of the identity construction as a fluid process prone to changes, as the consequence of assuming different subject positions while negotiating and challenging the dominant discourse. I will use this to show in the next sections how the 'in-betweenness' Riemer proposed, relates to the configurations of 'hyphenated' identities in migration situations as the result of negotiating certain lines of argumentation.

5.2 *Elly Anderson (former Van der Sommen) biographic narrative*

“In my small collection of Dutch books at our home in South Australia there is a 1950 hard cover publication titled “Australië – Land van Vele Mogelijkheden” by J.J. van der Laan. Translated, the title suggests that Australia was a land of many possibilities. It was one of many books that my parents brought to Australia when they emigrated from The Netherlands after World War II. My parents, Gérard and Maria van der Sommen, owned a “drogisterij”, a Dutch style chemist shop in the provincial textile town of Helmond in southern province of Noord Brabant. World War II and its aftermath were a major factor in their decision to emigrate. ... The author J.J. van der Laan, warned readers of his book that emigrating was a serious business, breaking off ties and tearing loose one's roots. It was something of which my mother especially

¹⁸³ Lack, John, and Jacqueline. Templeton. 1995. “Bold Experiment: A Documentary History of Australian Immigration Since 1945”. Melbourne: Oxford University Press. pp. 279-280

was only too aware and the decision was made with caution and also with reservations on her part.... My father, then aged 30, sailed from Rotterdam on the R.M.S “Orontes” on 26th April 1950. We departed on the M.S. “Sibajak” from Rotterdam on 9th May 1951. ...Relatives saw us off at the docks. How they felt I do not know but the correspondence and gift parcels that ensued in the following years were a sign that our bond always remained strong. ...At my father’s suggestion, our names were anglicised where possible in order to fit in. He himself was already known as Gerald and I changed from Elly to my baptismal name, Elisabeth. Frans Joseph became Francis and then Frank. At times our surname was difficult for some locals and more than once it was confused with someone else’s Dutch name. Later on my brother saw our name as a real drawback and considered modifying it to improve his chances of work promotion. ...My siblings and I would all agree that over the years Australia has definitely become our homeland and we would no longer feel at home in The Netherlands. At the same time, we have never cut ties with our Dutch relatives and, except for my father, we have all returned to the land of our birth for visits over the years. None of us married a Dutch-born partner. Personally, I still have an interest in the language and culture of my former homeland.”

5.2.1 Elly’s biographic narrative interpretation

“In my small collection of Dutch books at our home in South Australia there is a 1950 hard cover publication titled “Australië – Land van Vele Mogelijkheden” by J.J. van der Laan. It was one of many books that my parents brought to Australia when they emigrated from The Netherlands after World War II.”

The biographic narrative of Elly Van der Sommen began with the referral to Australia as the land of many possibilities. “Australië – Land van Vele Mogelijkheden” by J.J. van der Laan was a title of a Dutch book collection in their home in Australia. Elly here referred to the fact that farmers and labourers had prospects in Australia.

Soon afterwards she referred to the same book by J.J. van der Laan who noted that housing indeed was an issue in Australia, and that proved to be the case with her father as well. It was difficult to earn enough to build a home, but it was also difficult to find accommodation unless one was single. In the 1950s, it was even easier to migrate if one was single¹⁸⁴.

Struggling to provide accommodation in order to be able to send for his family, Elly’s father, Gerard, first lived in a guest house in the town and later at the home of a local bank

¹⁸⁴ In the 1950s, which was the first wave of migration to New Zealand, the migrants were usually single males, mostly lower middle-class.

manager and his wife. Then he was offered a large house on the outskirts of the town by the Parish Priest. Since there were some sheds on the property, he established a two-man factory, Mount Gambier Tile Works. Having been aware of how difficult it was to find a proper accommodation, Elly's father Gerard was the first to emigrate in 1950. His destination was Melbourne, where he lived in single men's quarters.

“His airmail letters home were full of optimism and hope as he searched for suitable family accommodation and attempted various types of work possibilities that keyed into his expertise. At one stage he wrote about a job he had obtained with the face care products manufacturer Pond's.”

She disclosed that their father had missed them all, but still there was a positive spirit in his letters. She went on saying how she received a birthday telegram from her father on the 2nd of February 1951 worded in English and signed off as 'Dad'. Her father promised her that they would be celebrating her next birthday in Australia.

“I was too young to realise then how I would miss this familiar world, especially our relatives and friends, although we would do our best to fit into our totally new environment,” said Elly while reflecting upon the settling in the new environment. She said how she envied the girls in the new school when she heard them talk about their aunts, uncles and cousins. She noted then: “My home and immediate family would become very important for me.”

On 9th May 1951 the rest of Van der Sommen family started their journey to Australia:

“Relatives saw us off at the docks. How they felt I do not know but the correspondence and gift parcels that ensued in the following years were a sign that our bond always remained strong.”

Upon the arrival in Australia, the girls were sent to the boarding school, as the family was waiting for the furniture to arrive. Even though Elly remarked that the nuns at the boarding school were friendly, the experience was nevertheless disconcerting as Van der Sommen sisters found themselves all alone in the new environment.

“At my father's suggestion, our names were anglicised where possible in order to fit in.”

Soon enough they started learning the new language, and attempted to fit in. Her father was already known as Gerald, and Elly changed her name to Elisabeth. Her brother Frans Joseph became first Francis and then Frank. They also thought about changing their family name in order to enhance the chances to fit in better in the new environment:

“At times our surname was difficult for some locals and more than once it was confused with someone else's Dutch name. Later on my

brother saw our name as a real drawback and considered modifying it to improve his chances of work promotion.”

The initial observation of this biographic narrative was the general sense of continuity and flow of the migrant’s experience, suggesting that the narrator has come to terms with the changes in the past. However, the lack of the strong emotional sentiment throughout the narrative noticed in the absence of mood swings, and the lack of liveliness in a narrative: there was no rising action, no climax of the story and no falling action, suggests the opposite. If we read this against the grain, we realize that Elly in her narration did not want to involve a lot of sadness, sympathy, affection or any other sentiment because the migration experience was strenuous (even though this was not particularly articulated). She narrated as if all the things this family had gone through (changing names, trying to fit in, not making themselves too conspicuous) were completely normal. It appeared as if they lived their lives according to the book Elly’s parents brought from the Netherlands to Australia telling them step by step what to do and how to behave in ‘een Land van Vele Mogelijkheden’.

There were not consistent changes of focalization, as Elly started narrating about her experience from a point of view of a child, and continued to do so until the end, where she abruptly changed narrating from the perspective of a child to a perspective of a grown-up. Throughout the entire narrative, she was constantly referring to the past by providing us with the past experience of a child:

“Before our departure my fifth class school teacher in Helmond arranged for my classmates to give me a Dutch-English/English-Dutch pocket dictionary, bearing their names inside the cover.”

At the end of the narration, she provided an account of a grown up, suddenly changing her perspective:

“My siblings and I would all agree that over the years Australia has definitely become our homeland and we would no longer feel at home in The Netherlands.”

This sudden change of focalization points towards Elly’s negotiation of the dominant discourse – when she was a child she created a strong connection to her home land establishing a strong emotional bond with her school teacher and class mates, but speaking from the perspective of a grown-up – we saw how this tie seemed broken, or interrupted by the dominant discourse regime, which required of them to break off the ties with the past. Thus, in Australia Elly positioned herself as an Australian perfect migrant by claiming that Australia is her and her siblings’ new homeland now.

Elly started her narration by quoting J.J. van der Laan:

“The author J.J. van der Laan, warned readers of his book that emigrating was a serious business, breaking off ties and tearing loose one’s roots. It was something of which my mother especially was only too aware and the decision was made with caution and also with reservations on her part.”

She disclosed here that emigration was something to be taken seriously, but she provided an impersonal account, not as an ‘I’ but through an authority, as she did not tell us to what extent this had been difficult for her. Instead she mentioned her mother’s fears of losing the ties with the past by remarking that her mother was especially worried and tentative about this. By relying on J.J. van der Laan’s ideas regarding migration, Elly cautiously accepted the Australian dominant discourse main prerequisite that migrants are to let go of the past, therefore she negotiated the subject position of the perfect Australian migrant.

“I was proud to receive a telegram from my father, worded in English, wishing me a happy birthday and promising me that the next one would be in Australia.”

Her father emigrated on 26th April 1950, and on the 2nd of February 1951 he sent a birthday telegram in English. I can imagine that it might have been exciting for a young girl to receive a telegram like this. However, I found it odd that the father would feel comfortable with writing a telegram to his child in English, and rather express his wishes in another language than in his native tongue. Perhaps we can decode this behaviour with the high level of acculturation Elly’s father had gone through, as he might have taken in a new culture into a pre-existing culture due to being in a new area. Maybe Elly, following his example, decided also to take in the new culture into the Dutch culture, thus prioritize becoming a perfect Australian migrant, rather than to cherish Dutchness.

“...he searched for suitable family accommodation and attempted various types of work possibilities that keyed into his expertise. At one stage he wrote about a job he had obtained with the face care products manufacturer Pond’s.”

She, then, disclosed how her father attempted various types of jobs that fit his area of expertise (a pharmacist-druggist) and that he eventually worked with face care products. Elly, however, described this attempt as easy and effortless, and even engaged a high level of positivity and optimism when talking about her father finding this kind of a job. There was no reflection on if she later in life found out that job searching in Australia was perhaps challenging, or if her father told her when she grew up that starting a new life and trying to affirm oneself all over again

in the new country was not as straightforward as the letters he sent portrayed it was. Here, it appeared as if her thinking regarding job search and job opportunities in Australia was framed – Photographic collections disclosed how there were sufficient job opportunities in Australia for everyone. So, Elly was also framed by the dominant Australian discourse into thinking that Australia indeed is ‘Een Land van Vele Mogelijkheden’.

“One of the nuns occasionally liked to spoil us with treats of coconut ice. I remember often being called ‘good girl’ but had no idea what this meant.”

Here Elly recollects the time she spent in a boarding school with her sisters. What we see here is the idea of a ‘good girl’ as a contrast to an ‘ordinary’ or a ‘bad girl’. The Australian society’s imposed norms and values had made it clear from the beginning of one’s arrival on the new continent, that one had to be ‘good’ if they wanted to fit in. Elly here said “I remember often being called “good girl”.” She gave a personal account of this recollection where she claimed that she did not understand what it meant to be a ‘good’ migrant. But, she knew what it meant – It meant being willing to fit in and conform to a *duty* to assimilate. Also, children might have been aware that they needed to ‘fit in’ as this was frequently emphasized by their parents, thus they behaved the best they could, or perhaps they were aware of the struggle their parents had made so they did not want to ruin it.

“I was too young to realise then how I would miss this familiar world, especially our relatives and friends, although we would do our best to fit into our totally new environment... My home and immediate family would become very important for me.”

At the same time, while being aware of the duty to conform, Elly was nevertheless longing to maintain the link with what had already been familiar, as by adhering to the common, domestic, and well-known one felt less threatened by the new environment. Thus, by preserving the ties with the eminent persons and things in her life, she tried to establish a sense of security in the new environment:

“My pyjamas had been hastily wrapped in some pages of an old Dutch trade magazine and I found it strangely comforting to read these in my bed whilst tucked up under the blankets, simply because the words looked familiar.”

Adhering to the familiar provided Elly with the sense of care and warmth, both literary and metaphorically – the Dutch magazine pages kept her bed warm and gave her a sense of serenity and peace. As a young girl she felt that retaining Dutchness is what gave her the basic feeling of sustenance. Moreover, it represented the pillar all migrants depended on in the new and unknown

environment. She was aware of it, and that is why she uttered:” ...Our bond always remained strong,” referring to the bond she had with the immediate family. Narrating from this perspective, Elly here negotiated the dominant Australian discourse of complete assimilation by positioning herself as a Dutch, who will always, perhaps on an unconscious level, be aware of her Dutch heritage. Various festive celebrations also contributed to the sense of Dutchness, and played an important part in this family’s life: “Christmas and St. Nicholas celebrations remained a joyous part of our lives, in both the Dutch and German traditions.”

“In our house all heating was wood-fuelled, with a copper in the laundry and a cheap heater in the bathroom, a woodstove with a rather smoky chimney in the kitchen and open hearths in all the rooms. We all took our turns in the task of sawing up fire wood. Equipped with a bow saw and a wood horse, we cut up the pine off-cuts as they were required.”

Even though Elly did not specifically articulate if she considered the Australian environment contemporary, modern, old-fashioned, or none of the kind, the quote above provides the description of a basic Australian society. This description is her argumentation against the dominant discourse portrayal of Australian society as modern, wealthy and urban. She negotiates the new idea of a traditional Australian environment via providing a vivid description emphasized by *wood-fuelled*, *cheap heater*, *smoky chimney*, *bow saw*.

Her narration also discloses the governmental frame behind migrants’ arrivals in Australia. Even though the visual and textual propaganda material suggested that Dutch migrants were seen off and welcomed by the government officials, on 9th May 1951, nobody but the relatives saw off or welcomed Van der Sommens. There was no press, no newspapers, no radio, and none of the government officials to bid goodbye, and nobody but Gerard to welcome them to Australia.

On a conscious level, Van der Sommens embraced the Australian dominant assimilationist discourse. This family made great efforts to assimilate and blend in. They changed their names, and thought about changing the last name as well in order to be able to find better jobs. Van der Sommens in a way renounced their pasts, as they consciously wanted to fit in and be accepted by the new environment, thus they suppressed their Dutchness in favour of Australianness. There had been a major change in their identities due to embracing the prerequisites imposed by the dominant narrative of the time – they consciously negotiated rootlessness, breaking off the ties with their cultural heritage.

“My siblings and I would all agree that over the years Australia has definitely become our homeland and we would no longer feel at home in the Netherlands. ...At the same time, we have never cut ties with our Dutch relatives and, except for my father, we have all returned to the land of our birth for visits over the years. None of us married a Dutch-born partner... Personally, I still have an interest in the language and culture of my former homeland.”

Even though Elly and her family tried to fit in the Australian society, this excerpt points towards the fact that speaking about the sense of belonging in migrant situations cannot have one simple outcome. The family was celebrating Dutch holidays, and they (except for Elly’s father) kept in touch with the relatives in the Netherlands - this negotiation shows that even though Elly claimed with certainty that she felt Australian, we cannot posit that she indeed became an Australian. Moreover, this excerpt points to ambivalence being employed as a strategy to negotiate the hyphenated identity configurations – Elly first refers to Australia as a ‘*homeland*,’ opposed to the Netherlands which she refers to as ‘*the land of our birth*’ only to later refer to the Netherlands as ‘*my former homeland*.’ We can say that she ended up continuously negotiating this ‘hyphenated’ identity where she will always fluctuate between the notion of being both Australian and Dutch.

The next section introduces another biographic narrative of a migrant aiming also to show how this migrant negotiated ‘hyphenated’ identities.

5.3 Johanna Wagenar’s (former Van der Steen) biographic narrative

“The ship had previously served as a troop-transport ship and was decked out to carry roughly 800 soldiers. It was a tired old vessel where quick paint jobs had been carried out to try to cover the rust... my parents must have often wondered what they had let themselves in for. ... My Mum, being one of the lucky ones who did not get seasick, bravely tended to many of the sick. Even then she was a strong, tough and determined lady. Real migration material! ... Some of the mothers just could not cope with the heat, the very basic accommodation, the flies, and blow flies that covered our food, because no one had a fridge. We did have a little meat safe, made with fly wire and chaff bags. We would hang this outside in the wind; filled the bottom with water and so hoped that the meat would remain relatively fresh and safe from the fly larvae. ...Soon it was time to settle in our own (rented) home. Summer was just beginning, but the single walled, corrugated iron house was already beginning to get pretty hot. The water tank out the back was our only source of drinking water. Three rings of water were all that was left, so Mum carried the tap in

her pocket, preventing us from drinking our fill whenever we were thirsty. The other water source came from a well – brown water like the gravel in the back yard. In this murky water we would have our bath, or wash the clothes. The clothes really did not look much cleaner after the washing. To quench our thirst a little, Mum allowed us to walk to the shop twice a day to buy a ‘penny’ ice block – large, fruity one – in a square cone. Really cool! ...I had to walk 30 minutes each day to get to the job. ...Once on the job I did simple house-keeping tasks. Making beds, doing dishes etc. The worst task that I have ever had to do was washing a bucket full of soaking handkerchiefs that were covered in lots of slippery ‘you know what’ ... How could someone give such a job to a poor innocent, inexperienced city girl of fourteen? ...In 1951 the Dutch government had not yet started to assist migrants by paying for their fares. My father had sold his home and business, and had to use most of these proceeds to pay the fares of our family of seven - Dad, Mum, two girls and three boys. ...With his last few Pounds Dad was able to buy a block of land just outside of the town centre. On it stood an old dilapidated shed, with holes in the iron roof and without a proper floor. But, as Dad told us on his return, “it has scheme water!” Wow, we would live in an old shed, but we would have ‘water.’ ...During the next few months Mum and Dad worked hard to make our shed a home, fixing the roof, lining the iron walls, digging up a second-hand stove for cooking and baking, and... “a bath!” It was old and rusty, so my Dad painted it white. However, soon the layers of paint came off and would float in among the bath water. ...Mum and Dad struggled to make ends meet. There was no assistance; no dole, no social security, no Medicare. If one did not work, one would suffer the hardship... Mum would sew pretty lawn handkerchiefs with a lace edges, and in the evenings Dad (being the artist that he was) would paint pretty wildflowers in the corners. The next day Mum would go to town and beg shop owners to buy some of these souvenir items.”

5.3.1 Hannie’s biographic narrative interpretation: A tough migrant is a ‘new/real’ Australian?

Van der Steen family started their journey from the Netherlands to Fremantle, Western Australia, on board the ‘Groote Beer’ in 1951. The ship’s primary function was a troop-transport ship. Hannie described it as NOT a passengers’ ship due to which the journey was exhausting. The family had a reception by the committee members of the Free Reformed Church. The accommodation was appalling. There was not enough drinking water, apart from the water tank, and the mother had to carry with her the tap so that the children would not waste the water

supplies in vain. Soon every family member, including the girls of 14 had to get a job in order for a family to make ends meet. The environment was harsh for Dutch migrants and the experience was challenging and onerous.

This biographic narrative was a moving story of a migrant family which dared to take their chances abroad. Even though the prevailing feeling throughout the narrative was desponded, there was nevertheless the feeling of stamina and persistence of this migrant family following the process of narration. This family was not received by the governments officials, but by the Free Reform Church members. The indication is thus that only the selected (iconographic) migrants were lucky to receive such attention by the government officials, press, radio, newspapers etc.

The focalization in this narration suggested an aura of unity and personal experience. Hannie frequently employed 'we' and 'I' when describing their adversities. She often said 'my parents,' 'we would live,' 'my dad' or 'we two girls'. The narration was personal and we have seen the affiliation process of migration which the entire Van der Steen family shared.

A narrative was narrated from a point of view of a child affiliating the entire time with her family, providing no recollection of an adult person. Therefore, Hannie positioned herself as a migrant child struggling to help her family get by in the harsh Australian assimilationist discourse.

During the 1950s Australia was advertised as well-suited for migrants, with huge, luxurious houses, and all-electric, modern appliances.¹⁸⁵ What we have learned from Hannie's narration was quite the opposite. She gave us an account of a poor, desolated and demoted environment by relying on qualifying adjectives such as: *rusty roof, single walled, corrugated iron house, brown water like the gravel, murky water, old dilapidated shed, with holes in the iron roof and without a proper floor, old and rusty* etc. The emphasis on these adjectives represents Hannie's challenging the discourse of Australia having been represented as well suited, rich, contemporary society for migrants, by creating the sub-discourse of a demoted and backwards society not suitable for migrants unless they are tough, resilient and courageous for such a venture.

Additionally, there were also photographs she inserted in her written biographic account of the family's migratory experience lacking luxury and modernity. The buildings in the background



Figure 26: The family disembarked for a day at Sydney. Hannie, her father and two brothers Arend (left) and Henk (right) near the Sydney Harbour Bridge. Private collection from the website. Source: <http://www.daaag.org/>

¹⁸⁵ The migration topic Migrants in their Homes, from the National Archive of Australia website, accessed on 23-06-2016: <http://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx>

look dilapidated and old. The next photograph also portrays a rural area, with an old house in the background. If we recall the archival photographs portraying, for example, the Zevenbergens accommodation, or their cupboards filled with food, or diverse house electric appliances, we see that this family was unassisted in these terms, as they lacked the means for the basic sustenance.

Hannie's narrative eventually challenged the dominant representation of Australia offering vast job opportunities to people willing to work - her mother was doing the sewing jobs – she sewed pretty lawn handkerchiefs with a lace edges, and in the evenings Hannie's father, whom she described as an artist, would paint pretty wildflowers in the corners: “The next day Mum would go to town and *beg* shop owners to buy some of these souvenir items.” Here Hannie provided a harsh but nevertheless real picture of the post-war Australia.

By constantly emphasizing the word ‘no’, for example in: “no dole, no social security, no Medicare...” Hannie offered a prototype of what a ‘real’ Australian should be like. She puts herself and her family apart from other Dutch in her notion of the type of a migrant she uses. This, however does not imply that she does not want to be referred to as Dutch, but points that the constant utilization of ‘no’ enhances the construction of herself as a strong real migrant.

Even though Hannie's attempt was to portray her family's diasporic journey and settlement in the new environment, she unconsciously challenged the idea of the Australian 1950s dominant narrative. Her argumentation showed how her family managed to succeed as a strong migrant family in a backward environment they found themselves in – the girls found jobs, the dad repaired whatever accommodation they ended up in, the mom also did whatever she could in order to make ends meet. Thus, she negotiated the dominant discourse by constructing a ‘better or real’ migrant, or in her words ‘a real migration material.’ The final section introduces the biographic narrative of Jan Holvast.

5.4 Jan Holvast's biographic narrative

The interview with Jan Holvast was taken on the 7th of March, 2016, at 19:30, and it lasted approximately one hour. Holvast, by occupation a coppersmith, is a Dutch migrant who emigrated in 1957 to New Zealand, and later, in 1970 to Australia. The interview was very interesting and thought provoking. Jan Holvast is a cordial and friendly person, easy to conduct an interview with.



Figure 27: The family enjoying ice blocks. Source: private collection from the website: <http://www.daaag.org/>

I decided to interview him because I hoped for the divergent information regarding his migration experience. I will rely on his biographic narrative for the purpose of comparing it with the data from the governmental collections, but also with biographic narratives of Elly and Hannie.

During the interview Holvast switched continuously between his memories of his time in New Zealand which lasted 13 years and the time in Australia which lasted 37 years. For the sake of analysis, I have put all the things he said about New Zealand together, and I have separated everything he told me about Australia. This means that I already shifted some parts of the interview, and I have done so for the sake of clarity.

Here we have to trace the way in which Holvast constructed the narratives of what it meant to be labelled a 'new/ real' Australian, how he positioned himself within this dominant discourse, if he tried to negotiate it, and if he did, what the negotiation resulted in. Throughout this section, there may occur a repentance of quotes from the biographic narrative as these will be rendered essential in showing us how Holvast experienced the migration.

5.4.1 *Becoming a migrant: The Netherlands*

"We decided to emigrate to New Zealand. ...You can put yourself on the list in the town hall... You could only come to New Zealand single then, and we were married, and then it took much longer for us to get there. ...They wanted people working in the industry, so unmarried people. We were the late comers, as most of the people we knew had already been there. ...Anyhow, to save up, if you wanted to go home, and if you wanted to save up to do this, it took a long, long, long time. At that time, some people had money to go back, but they did not want to go back anymore. They were used to the environment they lived in. That was a good thing. We thought we said goodbye forever. We thought we were never coming back to Holland. We never wanted to go back, my wife and I, no...no ... There were millions of reasons we emigrated. The government wanted you to emigrate. They subsidized it. Australia wanted migrants, and New Zealand wanted migrants. Holland didn't want you.

...The Minister of the Church was there, and another bloke, and he said: "Where you are going, it is not so nice - it is an old house." The next morning, he showed us the city, Auckland, and then he brought us to the old, dingy house. We were happy with it. We had a bedroom, a small bedroom, and a small kitchen, and a small living-room. Very, very small. When we came there, the authorities gave you twenty New Zealand pounds per person... They wanted us to blend in. In New Zealand they put pressure behind you to wait five years before you become a New Zealander.

They did not want Dutch people, they wanted New Zealanders. So we became New Zealanders, and our Dutch passports were taken in.

...So I came to work in a brewery. I was a coppersmith then, and they were building a new brewery there, and my wife found a job in the city gardens, in the kitchens cutting onions and washing up, you know, all that kind of stuff. Not a really good job, but still. ... I had a good job in the Netherlands, also as a coppersmith.

When you came in Australia, you stepped about 25 years back. That's what we thought, and not only us, but our people too, other immigrants. Some people could not get used to it, and did everything in their might to go back to Holland.

When you came to Australia, you did not have to have a house, you did not have to have a job, and they put you in an old disused army camp from the Second World War. And we hear stories about that, that they were usually way out somewhere, never in the city centre. People wanted to get away from there as soon as possible, and find their own accommodation, which was not easy, you know. The family I was talking about with nine children, they lived in a garage. It was a big garage, with 11 of them. ... Houses, even in Australia were not plentiful. And it was because of the same reason here, the Germans, the War, many houses were bombed, many houses were broken down, no new houses were built.

When we came there, most people were not so pro-immigrants. They said: "They come here, they take the best jobs," and all that kind of stuff.

... I have been away 50 years, twenty in New Zealand, and 30 in Australia. And I came back, only me. My wife died, and I lived about 15 years by myself in Australia, and that was very lonesome. I didn't live in the city. I lived way out of the city.

... I got two sons in Australia. My eldest son is here. They were all three born in New Zealand. They are all three New Zealanders.

"Holland had too many people. It was overpopulated." Holvast narration starts in the 1950s, when he and his wife started thinking about moving to another country. Having been aware that the Netherlands was overpopulated, Holvast did not consciously blame it for promoting migration. He commented on the half-caste Indonesian-Dutch who migrated to Holland after the Second World War, but due to overpopulation, the Netherlands did not want to accept them. "People felt they were doomed", he said regarding the post-war state of affairs in the Netherlands, and he thought it was better for him and his wife to seek a new home on the new continent.

"There were millions of reasons we emigrated. The government wanted you to emigrate. They subsidized it. Australia wanted

migrants, and New Zealand wanted migrants. Holland didn't want you. Many people thought it was the end of Europe, people felt they were doomed."

Here he referred to the fact that his wife and him decided to emigrate noting that people felt ill-fated due to the devastations of the Second World War. Then he corrected himself noting that he did not mean to put it in such a harsh manner.

While Holvast was talking about life in the Netherlands he was utilizing 'I' and thus made the narration about the life in the Netherlands appear personal. For example, he employed 'I' in - "I was a coppersmith", "I had a good job in Holland. As his narration progressed, he told me that when he had set his mind to emigrate, they first needed to do the paperwork in the town hall. Interestingly enough he employed the pronoun 'you' - "You can put yourself on the list in the town hall," so in his narration he avoided saying that *he himself* enlisted for migration, but chose an impersonal account while talking about this. Thus, he was distancing himself from 'I' and made the narration appear more general.

"We thought we said goodbye forever. We thought we were never coming back to Holland. We never wanted to go back, my wife and I, no...no ... There were millions of reasons we emigrated. The government wanted you to emigrate. They subsidized it. Australia wanted migrants, and New Zealand wanted migrants. Holland didn't want you.

These were Holvast's words regarding the reasons and the departure from the Netherlands. Regarding leaving the country of origin, there was not a personal account on it. Instead, there was the perception of the affiliation process he shared with his wife. It seemed as if the decision he and his wife made was something he decided to accept as given, and not something he came to terms with, not something he himself agreed on.

5.4.2 *Holvast's narrative interpretation: Being a migrant - New Zealand/Australia: Constructing a past to cope with the present*

"We were the late comers, as most of the people we knew had already been there... The Minister of the Church was there, and another bloke..." In 1957, when Holvast and his wife arranged all the papers, they emigrated to New Zealand. The religious institutions were uniquely placed within post-war New Zealand (and Australian) society to undertake work in the field of migrant settlement. The Reform church provided Holvast and his wife with a place to stay, however Holvast disclosed that when the minister of the church awaited him and his wife he did not bring them good news:

“He said: “Where you are going, it is not so nice - it is an old house. The next morning, he showed us the city, Auckland, and then he brought us to the old, dingy house. We were happy with it. We had a bedroom, a small bedroom, and a small kitchen, and a small living-room. Very, very small.”

The New Zealand dominant discourse in the 1950s was based on assimilation of the newly arrived migrants.¹⁸⁶ Upon arrival, all new migrants felt pressure to discard their Dutchness, as the government wanted settlers to blend, socially and culturally into the new society:

“In New Zealand they put pressure behind you to wait five years before you become a New Zealander. They did not want Dutch people, they wanted New Zealanders. So we became New Zealanders, and our Dutch passports were taken in.”

This part of Holvast’s narration was ambiguous because it seemed as if Holvast was aware of knowing that he had to assimilate and at the same time wishing not to do so, but, instead, wishing to preserve the ties with his cultural identity. It appeared as if he was struggling to show his sentiments regarding the entire process of migration (first to New Zealand, and later to Australia).

“We decided to migrate to New Zealand. I was curious to see something new. New Zealand and Australia wanted migrants. Holland didn’t want you.”

The construction of the sub-dominant discourse shifted from a personal account of the events (I) - “I was curious to see something new.”, to the to a perceived objective account of the events (they) - “Holland/They didn’t want you”, to the illustration of the experience (we) - “We decided to migrate to New Zealand.” These various sub-discourses, illustrated by changes in focalization point towards different perspectives of his narration. For example, the ‘I/me’ discourses tell a personal account of the narrator where he established himself as a migrant who came to New Zealand and had to conform to his *duty* as a migrant and assimilate. The ‘we’ perspective signifies his wife and him, and portrays how the narrator affiliated himself with his wife during a certain period. The last perspective, the ‘they’ perspective refers to Holvast’s knowledge of the debate surrounding the period of his narration regarding the overpopulation of the Netherlands: “Holland didn’t want you. The government wanted you to emigrate. They subsidized it.”, and the necessity of Australia and New Zealand to have more people and to

¹⁸⁶ Website of “Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand”, accessed on 05-06-2016: <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/dutch/page-3>

assimilate them: “New Zealand and Australia wanted migrants. Holland didn’t want you”, and he uses this perspective as a tool to construct a context surrounding the events in which he places himself in.

In 1970, Holvast emigrated with his family – his wife and three sons, to Australia. This brings us to the second prominent discourse of Holvast’s narrative based on Australia’s immigration policy in the 1970s. The striking characteristic of this discourse is that the assimilationist approach in Australia gave way to a more integrationist approach, implying that migrants should integrate into the society without the loss of cultural and ethnic differences. However, Holvast’s argumentation disclosed that despite the new policy taking place, in the 1970s it was still desirable to assimilate completely as only by assimilation one could have received the citizenship. He also noted that they went to Australia, they were not referred to as ‘migrants’ anymore:

“They didn’t call us migrants, like in New Zealand, they called us ‘New Australians.’ It was the governmental policy.”

This suggests the idea behind the assimilation process in Australia – the expectancy of the newly arrived immigrants to become the mainstream Australians, since the original intent behind this term, was to promote assimilation of migrants to Australia from continental Europe.

Holvast argued that he felt the influence of propaganda regarding migration to Australia: “They wanted you to go”, he exclaimed, and added that the ship he embarked was full of people ready to start a ‘new’ life in Australia. While recalling the past experience he utilized ‘they’ and not ‘the Netherlands’, or ‘my country’, thus we may grasp how Holvast did not associate himself with the Netherlands anymore. Instead, as the time was passing by, he became aware that he was becoming a ‘New Australian’.

The differences in focalization mentioned earlier show how Holvast tried to negotiate the dominant discourse by intersecting multiple identities throughout the narration, all of which were related to the level of succeeding in a new country and finding justifications for leaving the country of origin. Thus, before migrating to New Zealand, he negotiated the position of a coppersmith. Later, he positioned himself as a member of the Reform Church, as he and his wife migrated as members of the Reform Church. When they found Holvast a job in a brewery he constructed an identity of a worker in New Zealand.

He was constantly alternating through these identities during the interview, which suggested that he, first of all, only affiliated himself with the progress he has made in the new environments, and, second of all, that he did not want to associate himself with the feeling of defeat, thus he prioritized identities which may portray him as a successful migrant.

However, at the same time throughout the process of narrating, he affiliated himself on an unconscious level with the sense of failure. Even though he narrated about the progress he made in the new country, the constant focus on being encouraged to leave his country of origin, the perplexity regarding the matter of belonging to the new Australian surroundings, and the idea of becoming a 'New Australian,' showed how beside a dominant discourse, he was also a part of a sub-dominant discourse, where he affiliated himself and his wife and the people struggling with the sense of belonging in the new country.

Reflecting upon his migrant experience, Holvast struggled with the notion of being Australian, i.e. a New Australian. Thus, by reflecting on the moment when he came to the new country, Holvast was negotiating the dominant discourse of the Post-Second World War Australia, creating the sub-dominant discourse in the moment of narrating which allowed him to construct an identity of successful 'good' migrant who assimilated and accomplished the task given to him by the Australian and the Netherlands' government.

Holvast challenged the alleged claim of Australians having a benevolent attitude towards migrants, holding how they were welcome in the new country, where Australians themselves acted as 'good neighbours.'¹⁸⁷ Holvast argumentation provided an example of migrants' treatment in Australia: "Most people were not so pro emigrants. They said, "They come here, they take the best jobs," and all that kind of stuff." He noted that the old Australians were unfriendly towards migrants. By the same token, Holvast challenged the dominant discourse of the 1970s Australia multiculturalism policy, revealing that it was an essentiality for a migrant to assimilate in order to be naturalised.

He also challenged the idea of Australian abundance, and the representation of every migrant being a contented and prosperous migrant in Australia. He noted:

"Houses, even in Australia were not plentiful. And it was because of the same reason here, the Germans, the War, many houses were bombed, many houses were broken down, no new houses were built."

Holvast then continued: "Some people could not get used to it, and they did everything in their might to go back to Holland." He provided a new insight into the dominant debate regarding the portrayal of life in Australia as befitting and convenient for the Dutch migrants - "If you wanted to save up, it took a long, long, long time." This is in sheer contrast with many captions I

¹⁸⁷ The term 'Good Neighbours Movement' commonly used to describe Australians who welcomed and helped newcomers.

found in the archives, one of which is: “anyone can make a fortune in Australia if they are willing to work very hard and go where the opportunities lie.”¹⁸⁸

5.4.3 *The construction of silences in Holvast’s biographic narrative: New Zealand and Australia*

The previous sections examined and analysed the uttered parts of a narrative, but what about what was not said? Narrating our experience by the definition implies a process of changing and selecting, voicing some aspects of what occurred and therefore silencing other aspects.¹⁸⁹ In Jean Brahan words: “We see the past ... in something of the same way we see a Henry Moore sculpture. The ‘holes’ define the ‘shape’.”¹⁹⁰ Thus, what we utter is as significant as what we do not utter. When we bring our past into everyday communications what we say and what remains unsaid between the speaker and the listener helps us form and re-form our personal memories that are the base of our individual identities.¹⁹¹

We will here see how silences within his narration testify to the critical dimension of the narrative – to be able to recognize an aberration(s) from the dominant narrative when it is not voiced, therefore testify to the negotiation of the dominant narratives.

To begin with, when Holvast arrived in New Zealand with his wife, the authorities gave them 20 New Zealand pounds per person. This amount of means was not enough for the basic sustenance, but he did not provide any account on that. He refused to complain about it, as he refused to be marked as a poor, unsuccessful migrant who did not manage to get by with as much as 20 pounds. He knew where they were supposed to be accommodated, and he maintained, “We had little but we were happy. ... Very little! Very, very little.” He did not elaborate what ‘very little’ meant, and it seemed as if his account in this regard sounded distant, as if he wanted to insulate himself from going through the same experience when he migrated. This may point to emotional hardships he and his wife have gone through once in a new country.

When he recollected his arrival in Australia, on the other hand, he noted that he and his wife were sent to the army camp:

¹⁸⁸ NAA: Serial number: A12111, 1/1961/21/3

¹⁸⁹ Fivush, Robyn. 2010. “Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in Autobiographical and Cultural Narratives.” *Memory* 18 (2): 88-98.

¹⁹⁰ Braham, Jean. 1995. “Crucial conversations: Interpreting contemporary American literary autobiography of Women”. New York: Teachers College Press. Cited in: Fivush, Robyn. 2010. “Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in Autobiographical and Cultural Narratives.” *Memory* 18 (2): 88-98.

¹⁹¹ Fivush, Robyn. 2010. “Speaking Silence: The Social Construction of Silence in Autobiographical and Cultural Narratives.” *Memory* 18 (2): 88-98.

“If you wanted to go to Australia, you did not have to have a house, you did not have to have a job. They put you in an old disused army camp from the Second World War.”

He underlined how people wanted to go away from that accommodation as soon as possible and find their own accommodation because the conditions were horrible:

“The family I was talking about with nine children, they lived in a garage. It was a big garage, with 11 of them.”

He provided an example of a migrant family which rather lived in a garage than in this camp. However, he did not talk about his own experience there, nor did he mention how much time he and his family spent there, if at all, nor did he elaborate on certain events that took place while he and his family were living in that camp. He rejected to recall the time of the arrival in Australia, as this first experience in Australia might have been arduous for him, and his family. He did not even provide a reason why he decided to emigrate to Australia with his family in the first place.

I noticed that Holvast did not have any photographs from the period he spent both in New Zealand and in Australia. Perhaps his experience both in New Zealand and in Australia might not have been pleasant, and he might not have experienced a lot of congeniality with the old Australians. Thus, there were not photographs he wanted to take with him to the Netherlands as they would be a constant reminder of the sort of implosion he experienced there. Or, the pressure to fit in was truly tenacious so that he did not want to have any intimation of that in the Netherlands.

“And I came back, only me. My wife died, and I lived about 15 years by myself in Australia, and that was very lonesome. I didn’t live in the city. I lived way out of the city.”

Holvast scarcely spoke about the motives behind his coming back to the Netherlands. When I asked him about it, at first, there was a short laughter, and then he said that his oldest son lives in the Netherlands, while his other two sons remained to live in Australia. The final remark was striking: “They are all three born in New Zealand. They are all three New Zealanders.” Thus, he did not associate not one member of his family as Dutch anymore.

5.5 Concluding remarks: Elly, Johanna and Holvast

By producing visuals and texts, the government of Australia and the Netherlands portrayed the life in Australia as impeccable. The illustrations of life in Australia as good, happy and stable were preposterous, because they introduced only the bright side of the migration process accessible only to a few. There were people whose migration narratives were not taken into account. These people were not escorted and received with special reception to the new country. They were not provided a luxurious place to stay, nor were there photographs taken at the moment of their departure from the home land, and arrival to the new land. People like Jan Holvast, Elly Anderson and Johanna Wagenar were not given a chance to become a part of the Australian 'leisure class.' Their biographic narratives testified to the role of a personal narrative in argumentative discussion on migration and its experience. All three narratives acknowledged the notion of assimilation, thus they all negotiate the same kind of a discourse, but in different ways.

Elly's biographic narrative at first glance showed the story's embeddedness in the discourse's surroundings and how by becoming the part of the dominant narrative one relinquishes the ties with their roots, as they accept the new culture as their own. This, however does not imply that Elly completely assimilated into the new environment. She wanted to fit in, while at the same time she wanted to retain the strong bonds with her relatives and celebrating Dutch holidays. This pointed towards keeping in touch with the Dutch heritage. She formulates what she sees as her Australian part – the *duty* to fit in, and what she considers her Dutch part – holidays, the family.

Johanna positioned herself as a Dutch migrant child trying to find her place in a larger Australian society in order to be able to assist the family's low income. She unintentionally challenged the dominant discourse of Australia being an opportune, auspicious and encouraging environment for Dutch migrants in the 1950s by providing vivid descriptions of the Australian outback. Her argumentation resulted in negotiating the discourse assuming a position of a migrant who succeeded despite the difficulties experienced in the harsh environment.

These women are still in Australia and they negotiate the discourse of the Australian government on migration by constructing themselves as even better migrants. Despite having faced Australia's harsh conditions, both Elly and Johanna stayed in Australia. They did not discuss the bad circumstance in the Netherlands after the Second World War which made them leave the Netherlands, which is remarkable. They only attempted to construct themselves as 'good migrants', therefore 'good Australian citizens' and in that case they constructed themselves predominantly within that dominant discourse. Johanna was even showing that her family was pre-positioned for becoming 'good' migrants by accentuating that they were a 'real migration

material,' therefore, she was uplifting her situation like a real self-made new Australian. She did not refer to the Netherlands but only to the fact that their Dutch heritage i.e. her Dutch roots, being closest to the British, was what made them a good migration material. Neither of them spoke ill about the Australian government even though they did provide descriptions of Australian environment with negative connotations.

Both Elly and Hannie used the idea that the Dutch were the closest to the British and they used this as different strategies to negotiate the discourse adding an extra layer to it – a layer that differs from Riemer's suggestion that all migrants are similar.

Jan Holvast, on the other hand, went back to the Netherlands and he was addressing the situation in the Netherlands. Holvast's narrative of migration started with a canonical state, living in the homeland, visualised as a 'lost paradise'¹⁹² destroyed by the process of migration. The whole process of narration was imbued with high emotional charge, and it was emotionally evaluated with a strong affiliation and commitment with the motherland. However, his narration was impersonal and appeared to resemble a description of migration, rather than a personal migration experience.

Holvast was constructing a story of a migrant who on an unconscious level positioned himself in the discourses shaping the state of affairs in the post-war New Zealand and Australia as strained, and offering assimilation as a must. He was cognizant of the necessity to assimilate in both New Zealand and Australia and of the importance to portray the success of the assimilation process in the Netherlands, New Zealand and Australia. He is much less detailed about the first months in Australia, and he did not take any pictures: he perhaps lost contact with his sons who stayed in Australia. He can be seen as a 'failed' migrant in a different way than Riemer is seeing himself: Holvast eventually came back, thus he did not accomplish the level of success he aimed for. It was difficult for him to show his sentiments with regard to the entire migration process, therefore, in attempt to negotiate the dominant discourses, Holvast constructed various sub-discourses, illustrated by changes in focalization, which in turn created many intersected identities. Holvast was here called upon to negotiate his view of the past so that he can obtain a position in the now. The aim was to find a place in himself for the sense he made of what made him the person he is now. For Holvast who was involved in the construction of his identity in the

¹⁹² Macias-Gomez-Estern, Beatriz., and de la Mata Benitez M.L. 2013. "Narratives of Migration: Emotions and the Interweaving of Personal and Cultural Identity through Narrative." *Culture and Psychology* 19 (3). Pp. 348.

migration situation, narrative constituted a bridge between the past and the present that makes sense of the past adjusting to the present conditions.¹⁹³

“The notion of the hyphen, employed to articulate the marriage of ethnic and national identity, and witnessed through identifications like ‘Italian-Canadian’, ‘Japanese-Canadian’ or ‘Somalian-Canadian’, has taken on a particular political, and, at the same time, paradoxical salience in Canada. For some, the hyphen is seen as a by product of the implementation of multiculturalism in Canada ... For others, however, the hyphen is understood as a ‘union of contradictions, each word symbolising the inversion of the ‘other’.”¹⁹⁴

Relying on Mahtani, I also believe that these three migrants negotiated the hyphenated identities by combining or perhaps alternating between the ethnic and the national identity. The question remains, however, which side of the hyphen the Dutch migrants emphasized.

Holvast’s, Anderson’s and Wagenar’s departure from the Netherlands to New Zealand and Australia happened at around the same time as the departure of the 50.000th and 100.000th emigrants to Australia. However, unlike the departures of these iconographic migrants, migration stories of some common people were not rendered with the same extent of interest. We can therefore discern two different migrant narratives – one of lucky migrants, who enjoyed all the riches the new land (allegedly) had to offer, and one of less lucky migrants who had to deal with the new environment and the change by themselves.

All three narratives pointed towards the major discrepancy between the way Australia was portrayed in the photographic images offered by the governments and the way these three migrants portrayed it either by providing a strong argumentation regarding the Australian dominant discourse or via personal photographs attached to the biographic narrative. Neither New Zealand, nor Australia were well suited for the Dutch migrants. The bountifulness presented in the archival photographs and photographic captions was far from what the narratives disclosed - the houses were *old, dingy, single walled, corrugated, iron and not plentiful, migrant families did not have fridges* etc. There were not enough good jobs for everyone. Only a lucky few were lucky to get jobs in big companies, such as Shell Company (which provided a good job for Cornelius Zevenbergen).

The way people talk and also do not talk (silences) about their experiences, their status, their positioning as both Australian (‘good’) citizens and at the same time their Dutch culture is

¹⁹³ Macias-Gomez-Estern, Beatriz and de la Mata Benitez M.L. 2013. “Narratives of Migration: Emotions and the Interweaving of Personal and Cultural Identity through Narrative.” *Culture and Psychology* 19 (3). Pp. 350.

¹⁹⁴ Mahtani, Minelle. 2002. "Interrogating the Hyphen-Nation: Canadian Multicultural Policy and 'Mixed Race' Identities." *Social Identities* 8 (1): 67-90.

related to the dominant discourses they are negotiating. In all three narratives, the notion of ambivalence is important. Holvast called himself a New Zealander, but after the experience the loss of his wife, he came back to the Netherlands looking for sustenance. His ambivalence is related to the silences whether he succeeded in Australia or not. For him, ambivalence means keeping it unclear whether he is more Australian or Dutch which further points to in-betweenness. The same applies for Elly and Johanna – even though they positioned themselves within the dominant narratives of the time, on an unconscious level they still kept in touch with the Dutchness.

They all constructed the narratives of what it meant to be labelled a ‘new’ Australian. According to Elly’s narrative, a migrant was supposed to be invisible, and work hard in order to fit in. Johanna offered a new notion of a ‘new/real’ Australian – a real migration material is a person who is “tough, strong and determined,” who can manage in the times of struggle without any kind of assistance. And Holvast constructed an image of a successful ‘good’ migrant who assimilated and accomplished the task given to him by the Australian and the Netherlands’ government, satisfied with no matter how little he received from the new society.

6 Conclusion

The main goal of this thesis was to answer the question: How did Dutch migrants in Australia negotiate their migrant identities in the context of the dominant Australian assimilationist/integrationist discourse in the period from 1945 until 1965?

This thesis started investigating this inquiry by first acquainting the reader with the beginnings of the dialogue between Australia and the Netherlands via introducing many immigration policies active before and after the Second World War, with an emphasis on those after the Second World War. We have seen how, based on the mutual needs (to relieve the Netherlands of the surplus of people and to supply Australia with the able bodied labourers), these two countries established a mutual agreement seen in founding organizations such as the Netherlands Building Society in New South Wales, and many Departments for Immigration in the Netherlands as well as in Australia in order to promote migration to Australia. Examining the government initiatives towards migrant settlement shed light on the implications of the post-war migrant assimilation policy, since the main Australian prerequisite was to preserve the distinct British character of the country. We have seen many governmental efforts in visual and textual advertisements broadcast in the Netherlands and Australia, promoting assimilation as crucial for migrants if they wanted to succeed in the new environment. There was extensive propaganda representing Australia as a well-suited country for migrants by stressing the material prosperity Australia can offer – *huge houses, money in the bank, new car, comfortable lounge rooms, modern all-electric kitchens* etc. We have seen a cunning attempt by the Australian government to portray a ‘leisure class’ and to promote Australia by constantly emphasizing topics of gender, middle-class, festivals, symbols, household etc. These topics were frequently employed in the governmental propaganda and can be seen as a bridge between framing the Dutch migrants as ‘good’, well assimilated migrants, negotiating the subject positions allotted by the dominant discourse framing, and the real migrant experience depicted in the biographic narratives.

Qualitative analysis showed that the active connections with memory through the objects from the material culture represents the process of identification of the Dutch migrants and a marker of retaining Dutchness. A more thorough inspection of the group of photographs portraying migrants in their homes showed the material culture as a part of the dominant discourse context framing migrants in these photographs - the portrayal of migrants polishing the dining-room dresses, or touching the figurine of a windmill appeared staged and set up. The existence of the festivals, and various social organisations seem to indicate that Dutch migrants continued to

feel a sense of belonging and attachment to their Dutch heritage. This thesis showed that in this manner Dutch migrants marked their Dutchness; however, as the photographs were framed and social organizations also had a governmental agenda behind them – to promote Australian multiculturalism, I consider them inconclusive with respect to the idea that Dutch prioritized their Dutch heritage in the dominant multicultural discourse. As these organizations were founded in the 1960s, when Australians promoted the continent in terms of the new multicultural policy, they also needed to stress the benign nature of their attitude towards the people from different cultural backgrounds. These photographs of Dutch in their homes and at festivals positioned Dutch migrants as prioritizing both cultural and national identity, framing them as ‘good’, well assimilated migrants who lived in the new surroundings, yet keeping track of their Dutch heritage.

The analysis of biographic narratives proved that settlement in Australia was not as facile as the visuals and texts showed it was. They provided an image of Australia as backwards in view of the Australian environment, infrastructure, social, health, and other services. The biographic narratives provided a more conspicuous insight into the migration process and settlement, and a more palpable picture of the life they led in Australia. By following the conceptual tools of focalization and silences within narratives, while taking into account the specific lines of migrants’ argumentation, leading towards the ambivalent/hyphenated sense of belonging in the new environment, we have seen the personal struggles these migrants went through.

These narratives provided us with different notions of what a ‘real’ Australian should be like. Elly’s negotiations of the dominant discourse constantly stressed her obedience and submissiveness to the dominant discourse prerequisites, as she emphasized how a ‘real’ Australian is the one who obeys the rules and tries to blend in. We have seen this in her argumentation based on learning the language as soon as possible, and changing the names and surname, making herself as inconspicuous as possible. Hannie constructed a different image of a ‘real’ Australian by constantly stressing the word ‘no’ which stood for migrants’ independence - an autonomous person, not asking for help in times of despair, struggling to persevere by being tough and persistent. Holvast configured an image of a ‘real’ Australian being a person striving for success, even though in the end he failed.

This thesis relied on Riemer’s ideas as analytical tools I employed in order to look for clues in the photographs and narratives of the migrants using his narrative as the basis upon which I built up arguments for biographic narratives I analysed - by creating the discourse for himself based on his experience as a migrant in Australia, Riemer posited how migrants could only lead a ‘half-life’ dominated by the feelings of confusion and ambiguity, because it was impossible to cast away their ‘otherness’, and let go of the past. However, since Riemer was originally of a

Hungarian descent, existing 'in-between' the two worlds was different for him, because he belonged to a 'non-preferred' group of migrants. On the other hand, Elly, Johanna and Holvast ended up living in-between the two worlds, just like Riemer had predicted. However, it was even more difficult for them to cope with the in-betweenness because first of all, they were the preferred migrants, but also because they were closer to Australians. In these terms, we have perceived ambivalence and in-betweenness as a strategy, as to be an Australian by nature implies having a hyphenated identity: New Australian is a Dutch migrant closest to the British who is an 'old' Australian. Thus, the Dutch migrants had a stake in retaining this notion of Dutchness as opposed to the Hungarian identity of Andrew Riemer. This positioned the Dutch migrants more 'in-between the two worlds' than Riemer. The ambivalence they faced themselves with can be seen as a consequence of the dominant discourse prerequisites urging migrants to blend in, and the consequence of the experiences that they silenced, but also the result of their own negotiations of the dominant discourse as stated above. It spawned out of the forced alteration between the Australianness and Dutchness, made immigrants seek the hyphenated integration of ethnic identity and national identity under conditions that do not privilege one at the expense of other - Dutch negotiated the dominant assimilationist/integrationist discourse by fluctuating between the status of a 'good' naturalized Australian citizen and identity marked through heritage.

These three narratives provided a basis in which gender, class and Dutchness were differently used as a model of negotiating the hyphenated identities and appropriating the Australian dominant discourse. We have seen how Dutchness was referred to as a link to the Dutch history, but also as a predisposition of on the one hand being a good 'migration material' and on the other hand of becoming a good migrant. We have also seen that a hyphenated identity is not only descriptive, but also analytical - both parts of the hyphen can be constructed and reconstructed as these three migrants used the notion of a hyphenated identity differently. Therefore, these narratives may be used as a kind of a pattern that can function as a model to "test" other narratives of migrants. Or, perhaps, there are more ways to do this. This research was based on visuals, texts and three biographic narratives, but there may be a further research conducted in the future on how other people refer to migration and deal with their migration experiences.

This thesis concludes that even though the migrants' identities cannot be elaborated on in terms of a two-sided identity configuration (since migrants' identity is also about racial identity, gender identity, class identity etc.) the best way to refer to the identity of Dutch migrants in Australia is a hyphenated identity, as they kept going back and forth between the two poles of the hyphen: Dutch – Australians. Australia can then indeed be rendered in these terms as the land of

opportunities, but not of material opportunities, but also of immaterial, as it points to what one can become. That is why the word 'hyphenated' may best show identity as a continuous flow, and migrants' identities as continuously becoming, i.e. oscillating between the idea of becoming (construction of identity through Australianness) and otherness (identity marking through heritage) in the discursive context.

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<https://historyofaustraliantheatremks.wordpress.com/2015/05/07/1961-warana-festival/>

8 Appendix

Appendix 1: The list of migration topics from the National Archive of Australia

Immigration Photographic Archive 1946 - Today. (26481 in total)		
	Total:	Dutch:
Migrants in employment	4786	247
Repatriation Communities	92	none
Migrants in the community	1012	90
Migrant arrivals in Australia	1450	108
Minister for Immigration	2681	none
Hostels, holding centres and state reception centres	2440	6
Citizenship/naturalization	91	none
Overseas Dignitaries	1072	135
Migrants in their homes	708	159
Migrants at leisure	325	43
Department of immigration officers	1778	22
A group of South American officials visited Australia	66	none
Promotional Activities	1134	35
Churches and religion in the migrant community	268	24
Architectural students	16	none
Good Neighbour Movement, Good Neighbour Council and New Settlers League	624	5
Ethnic festivals, arts and crafts in Australia	733	54
Senator Nancy Butterfield and Mr Dudley Mathews	1	none
The SA Attorney-General, Mr C D Rowe, with British artist	1	none
Mrs Elizabeth Kohut, from Hungary, shows the Minister for Immigration	1	none
Yugoslav exhibit at the Immigration Week arts and crafts exhibition in the Adelaide Town Hall	2	none
Yugoslav dancers	2	none
Lithuanian dancers at the Adelaide immigration week	1	none
Migrants commemorate visit	2	none
Part of the pictorial display in the Adelaide Public Library for Immigration Week	4	none
Migrants in Australian cities and towns	250	1
The Australian Migration Office in Copenhagen, Denmark	2	none
The Minister for Immigration, Mr Billy M Snedden on a European tour	85	none
Historical milestones	20	9
During a special ceremony at the office of the Commonwealth Migration Office	5	none
Ethnic groups, clubs etc.	450	13
An aerial view of the Coleambally Irrigation area	2	none
The lord mayor of Brisbane	1	none
Citizenship convention	715	12
Migrants in the arts and entertainment in Australia	1014	120
Displaced persons	714	2

During Tasmanian Immigration Week	26	5
Migrant school children and students	165	5
Migrants Needs and Interests	458	none
Migrants in the Professions	516	30
Ships- Migrant carriers	72	none
Migrants in sport in Australia	589	56
Promotional activities	1134	35
Migrant child care	69	none
Child migration schemes	171	none
Refugees - South East Asia	809	none
Customs, immigration and church officials process migrants at Sidney airport	11	none
Refugee arrivals in Australia	122	none
Parents or guardians of migrants can now fly to Australia for half price	49	none
The 'Bring out a Briton' (BOAB) scheme	116	none
Apex sponsorship (scheme for British migrants under the assisted passage scheme)	64	none
Migrants in the Australian armed services	100	11
Refugee camp and refugees coming ashore	5	none
Migrant resource centres	224	none
The Regularisation of status program (ROASP)	113	none
Telephone interpreter service	141	none
Publications/launches	119	none
Permanent heads	667	1
Prominent persons	116	7
Festival of the Snows	40	2
Housing		
Photographs used in publications	29	1
NUMAS (numerical migrant assessment system)	43	

Appendix 2: Financial Means correspondences

EMC/BF/GL/ *JU* 7 JAN 1958

Information projects
in the Netherlands.

Mr. A.R. Driver,
Chief, Department of Operations,
Intergovernmental Committee for
European Migration,
63, rue des Pâquis,
G E N E V A.

Dear Mr. Driver,

Further to the discussions and correspondence which have already taken place between us in the above connection, I should greatly appreciate it for budgetary reasons if, with an eye to the closing of the financial year 1957, you would transfer to the Netherlands Emigration Service a sum of \$11,954.-.

This amount is specified as follows:-

b. (i) <u>Booklet</u> (see my letter of today's date on this subject)	\$ 6,000.-
b. (ii) <u>Exhibition Equipment</u> (see letter No.11885 from the Director of the Netherlands Emigration Service of 22 November 1957)	\$ 3,600.-
b. (iii) <u>Australia Drive</u> . With regard to your telegraphic confirmation of the telephone conversation with Mr. van Luyk, the films mentioned in my letter No.5099 of 13 November 1957 have now been ordered. The costs amount to	\$ 2,222.-
c. <u>Monthly professional paper</u> . Your share of the costs of the copies of the monthly paper printed under the 1957 budget - a number of which have already been sent to you - has now been finally calculated at	\$ 132.-
	Total - \$11,954.-

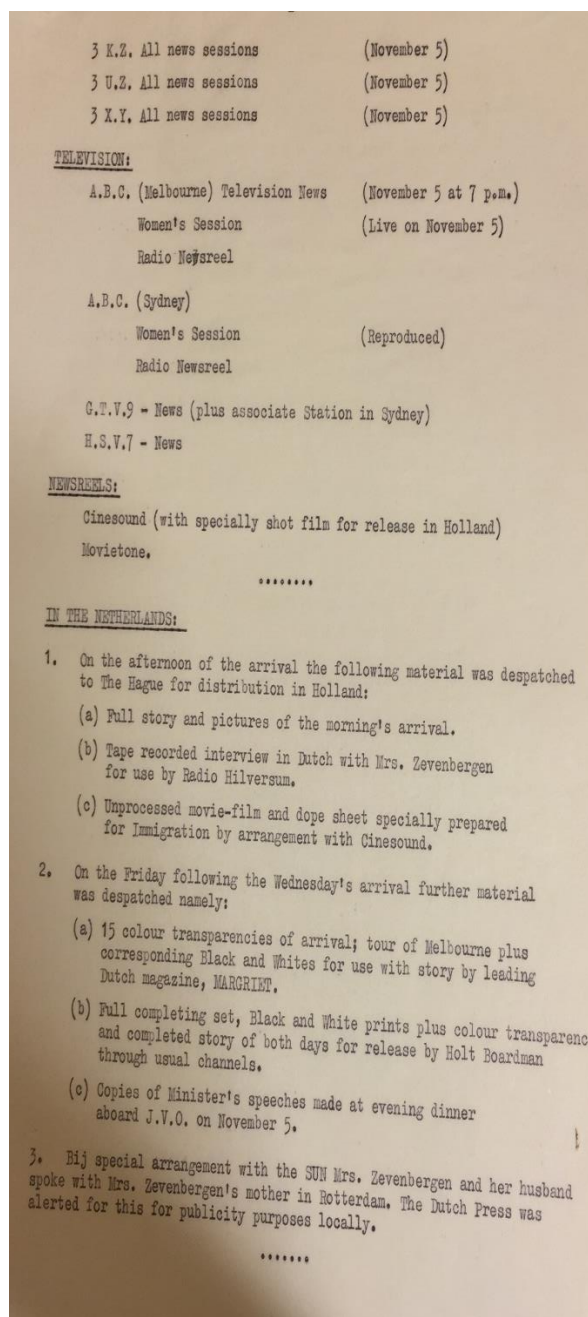
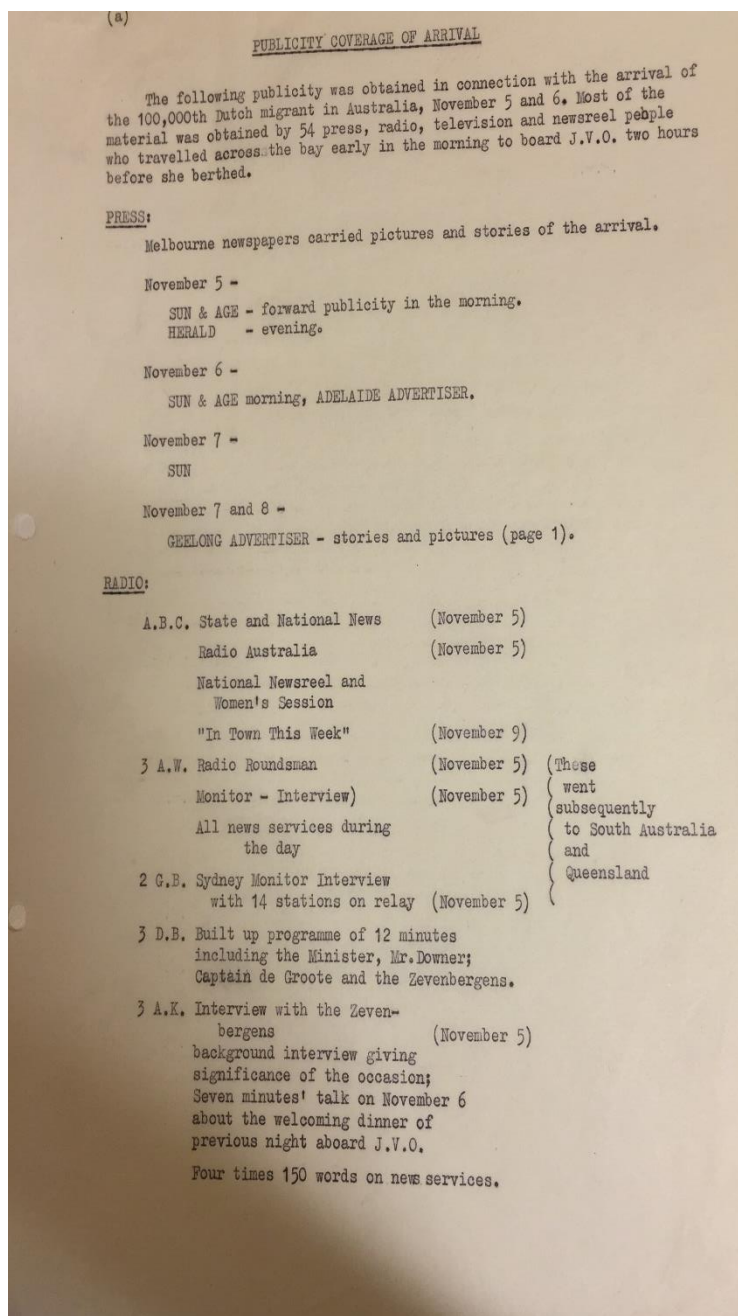
(Eleven thousand nine hundred and fifty-four dollars).

As soon as the projects in question have been carried out, I will submit to you a detailed specification for the purpose of the final settlement.

Yours sincerely,

J.A.U.M. VAN GREVENSTEIN
(J.A.U.M. van Grevenstein),
DEPUTY GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER FOR EMIGRATION.

Appendix 3: Publicity coverage of arrival



Appendix 4: Macquarie Network Broadcast

E 99

ROYAL NETHERLANDS EMBASSY
OFFICE OF THE EMIGRATION ATTACHE

TELEPHONE: U 1256
CABLE & TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
NAGRICON CANBERRA

120 EMPIRE CIRCUIT
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

15 augustus 1958.

INGEKOMEN:
22 AUG 1958
3420 I.M.G.

Ans. 07/8
3109

vB/gb
IN YOUR REPLY
PLEASE QUOTE:
No. 2270

De Heer Commissaris voor de Emigratie,
Piet Heinplein 6,
's-GRAVENHAGE.
Nederland.

VERTROUWELIJK.

Inz.: De 100.000ste emigrant.

Onder dankzegging bevestig ik U Hoogedelgestrenge de ontvangst van Uw brief no. 3109 dd. 28 juli 1958, betreffende bovenvermelde aangelegenheid. Daar mij niet bekend is in hoeverre U reeds door de heer Boardman bent ingelicht, moge ik onderstaand in het kort aangeven welke de plannen zijn met betrekking tot de publiciteit hier te lande te verlenen aan de aankomst van de honderdduizendste Nederlandse emigrant.

A. Zowel de A.B.C. als de commerciële omroep "Macquarie Network" zullen uitzendingen wijden aan de aankomst van de 100.000ste Nederlandse emigrant. Terzake deelde de heer Waterman, Hoofd van de publiciteitsafdeling van het Department of Immigration, het volgende mede:

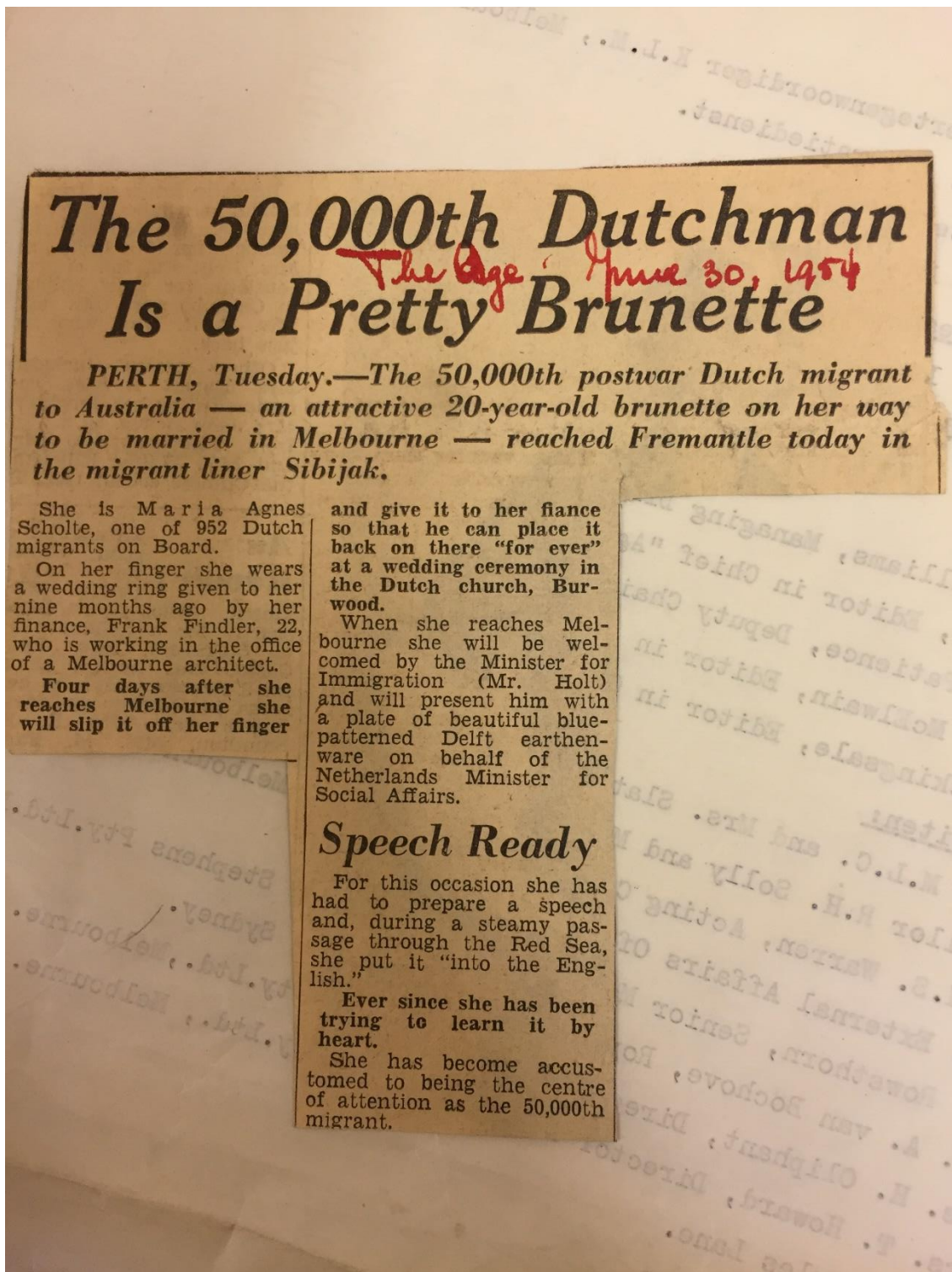
" Macquarie network support the project enthusiastically, and will
" broadcast a recording of the departure on a national basis. They will
" also cover the arrival in Australie with a shipboard interview at first
" port. They plan to do follow-up stories of the family settling in and
" the father going to work etc.
" A.B.C. Director of Talks promises thorough coverage of the arrival in
" Australia, welcoming ceremony, interviews etc. and plans to use excerpts
" of recordings of the departure from Holland in the Australian arrival
" cover in such magazine features as News Review."

B. Wat betreft de plannen voor televisie-uitzendingen en perspublicatie's, liet de heer Waterman het navolgende weten:

" All Television networks in Melbourne and Sydney as well as newsreels
" may be expected to give prominent coverage of the arrival.
" Daily Press and Women's Magazine will also be certain to give feature
" coverage of the arrival and interviews.
" Efforts will be made to arrange for television and newsreel filmed
" cover of the departure flown to Australian for incorporation in the

- 2 -

Appendix 5: The 50,000th Dutchman is a pretty brunette



Appendix 6: Press Release from Australian Department of Immigration

PRESS RELEASE FROM AUSTRALIAN DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION

Embargoed for simultaneous release:
The Netherlands 10 a.m., August 21, 1958.
Australia 7 p.m., August 21, 1958.

100,000th Dutch Migrant

The 100,000th Dutch migrant for Australia will sail from Holland in the liner Johan Van Oldenbarnevelt on September 29.

She is Mrs. Adriana Zevenbergen, 27, mother of two sons, Cornelis, 4½ years and Addo, 12 months.

Her husband, Mr. Cornelis Zevenbergen, 29, a skilled engineering fitter, is taking his family to settle at Newcastle, New South Wales. He has friends, Mr. and Mrs. E.G. de Bijl, of Barnsley Road, Barnsley, Newcastle, who migrated in February, 1957.

Mrs. Zevenbergen was invited by the Netherlands Emigration Service and the Australian Department of Immigration to represent the 100,000 Dutch migrants who have settled in Australia since the last war. She and her family are typical of young Dutch families migrating to Australia.

Dutch migrants have come to Australia from Holland and several other countries.

The total of 100,000 will be reached with the arrival in Australia of the liner Johan Van Oldenbarnevelt.

Mrs. Zevenbergen, a slim, brown-eyed brownette, with fine lightly-tanned skin, was formerly Miss Wageveld, of Noorder-eiland, Rotterdam. Her parents own a fruit and vegetable shop and Mrs. Zevenbergen worked there before her marriage in 1953.

Now she lives in Abbenbroek, a country village of 800 people, 11 miles south of Rotterdam, in the delta area of Putten.

Her marriage was a meeting of the city and the country. Mr. Zevenbergen is the third son of a local farmer and was born on the farm three miles from Abbenbroek.

They live in a small, two-storeyed semi-detached house at Zweedseplein 4, a low-lying square in the Abbenbroek village.

Homes in the Zweedseplein are new and form a sharp contrast with other buildings in the ancient village.

The old homes in this low part of the village were destroyed by the disastrous floods of February, 1953.

Four of the new houses at one end of the square were the gift to Abbenbroek of the Swedish Red Cross and hence the name "Swedish Square".

Standing solidly at the other end of the square is the Dutch Reformed Church which has withstood many floods since it was built -- originally as a Catholic Church -- 328 years ago. Floodwaters have left their mark almost 7ft up the inside walls.

Appendix 7: The Correspondence between J. H. Niehof and G. W. J. Pieter

Ontv. Centr. Typekamer	Getypt door: EP op	Gecollid door: op	ter tekening gecommitteerd	9 JUNI 1954
COMMISSARIS VOOR DE EMIGRATIE			's-Gravenhage, 195	
Men wordt verzocht het onderstaande in het dik omlinnde duidelijk en zo volledig mogelijk in te vullen.			Indien SPOED gewenst hier vermelden	
Ontworpen door: J.H. Niehof op: 8.6.54.	Afd. EMC/ANZ	Nr. 4175	Teestona	
Antw. op schr. van:	Aan: De Hoogedelgestrengste Heer Ir G.W.J. Pieters, Emigratie-Attaché bij Harer Majesteits Ambassade te <u>CANBERRA</u> .-			
Gelet op exh.:	Verbrouwen			
Onderwerp: 50.000ste emigrant.	Ten vervolge van mijn telegram nr 609 van 3 Juni jl. geef ik U hieronder enige nadere bijzonderheden over de 50.000ste Australië-emigrante en betreffende het doel dat dezerzijds wordt beoogd met het trekken van deze gebeurtenis binnen de officiële sfeer.			
Medepar. Afd.:	Wat dit laatste betreft: geen enkele goede gelegenheid mag thans verwaarloosd worden om de belangstelling hier te lande voor emigratie naar Australië, een belangstelling die nog steeds bij de in dat land aanwezige, ruime vestigingsmogelijkheden ten achter blijft, te verlevendigen. Dat vertrek en aankomst van de 50.000ste emigrant zulke gelegenheden bieden, daarover waren wij het tijdens Uw recent verblijf in Nederland reeds eens.			
Visie Afd.: Hr. v. Luyk, Hr. Hofstede Hr. Westerhuis ANZ 18/6	Het was dus zaak dat vertrek en die aankomst zó te regelen dat van de daaraan in Nederland en in Australië gegeven en nog te geven publiciteit de nuttigste uitwerking mocht worden verwacht. Met het oog hierop werd het lot bij zijn aanwijzing van de 50.000ste een handje geholpen door de Nederlandse Emigratiedienst, teneinde aldus te bereiken dat de aangewezenen aan bepaalde, in verband met die publiciteit te stellen eisen, voldeed. Te oordelen naar de pers - vide bijgaande knipsels - is men hierin inderdaad geslaagd. Mejuffrouw Scholte zal ook bij aankomst in Melbourne stellig de haar toevertrouwde taak - het aanbieden van twee wandborden, resp. voor Minister Holt en Mr. Heyes - naar behoren vervullen. Zij schuwt het voetlicht niet en kan zich redelijk goed in het Engels uitdrukken.			
Medezenden: bijl., t.w. 8 knipsels. 1 afschrift telegram Luns 1 afschrift verslag Ambassadeur Ottawa ontvangst 100.000ste Canada emigr. (met bylagen)	- Heeft			
Aantal te maken afschr. t.w.	Ruimte voor verbeteringen of aanvullingen.			
ex. van concept nr.				
voor				
ex. van concept nr.				
voor				
ex. van concept nr.				
voor				
ex. van concept nr.				
voor				
TENTIE: meerdere concepten in één minuut, even men op duidelijke wijze aan te geven het aantal afschriften dat van elk concepten gewenst wordt t.b.v. mededeling, afdeling(en) of bepaalde ambte-				

Appendix 8: De 100.000ste Nederlandse emigrant

ROYAL NETHERLANDS EMBASSY
OFFICE OF THE EMIGRATION ATTACHE

E 99

1256
TELEPHONE: U. ~~3236~~
CABLE AND TELEGRAPHIC ADDRESS:
NAGRICON CANBERRA

120 EMPIRE CIRCUIT
CANBERRA, A.C.T.

IN YOUR REPLY
PLEASE QUOTE:
No. 511

19 februari 1958.
- 07. 8 Aust

INGEKOMEN:
28 FEB 1958
956

De Heer Commissaris voor de Emigratie,
Piet Heinplein 6,
DEN HAAG,
Holland.

De 100.000ste Nederlandse emigrant.

Hierbij moge ik voor het navolgende Uw aandacht vragen.
Blijkens de statistische gegevens waarover het Department of Immigration beschikt kan over enige maanden de aankomst van de honderdduizendste na-oorlogse Nederlandse emigrant worden verwacht. Indien op de statistieken van "arrivals" en "Departures" zou worden afgegaan zal "de honderdduizendste" reeds in april/mei arriveren. Echter zijn in deze cijfers alle "visitors from the Netherlands", van Nederlandse, Australische, en andere nationaliteiten begrepen. Trekt men deze van het totale aantal af dan geeft zulks een vermindering van 700 à 1000 personen.

Persoonlijk geef ik de voorkeur aan een cijfer dat alleen betrekking heeft op emigranten. Ten departemente van Immigratie is men het hiermede eens. Het "zuivere cijfer" nemend kan de honderdduizendste emigrant omstreeks juli 1958 hier te lande worden verwacht.

Terzake van de aan het bereiken van deze mijlpaal te geven publiciteit heb ik overleg gepleegd met het Department of Immigration, waarbij uiteindelijk de volgende suggesties overeengekomen werden:-

- a) De 100.000ste emigrant zal zich aan boord van de "Waterman" die 30 juli hier te lande wordt verwacht, bevinden.
- b) Deze emigrant dient bij voorkeur een jonge, attractieve en fotogenieke getrouwde vrouw met een aantal kleine kinderen te zijn. Zij dient zich enigermate in het Engels te kunnen uitdrukken.
- c) Het zou aanbeveling verdienen een gezin dat naar privé accomodatie vertrekt te selecteren. (Hiermede wordt nog eens duidelijk gemaakt, dat niet "iedereen naar een kamp moet").
- d) Het zou een aardige geste zijn indien de 100.000ste een geschenk zou aanbieden, bijv. aan de Minister van Immigratie.

Publiciteit in Nederland zult U wellicht in overleg met de heren Robson en Boardman (de "information officer" die waarschijnlijk einde april in den Haag zal aankomen) willen organiseren.

Aan de aankomst hier te lande zullen enige plechtigheden en festiviteiten worden verbonden. Hr. Ms. Ambassadeur heeft zich gaarne bereid verklaard aan deze deel te nemen, terwijl aangenomen mag worden dat de Minister van Immigratie hiertoe eveneens bereid is.

Appendix 9: 100.000th Dutch migrant publicity

100.000TH DUTCH MIGRANT PUBLICITY

The selection and arrival of the 100,000th migrant from the Netherlands provided widespread, first-class publicity for Australian migration both in Holland and Australia in all media, press, magazines, radio, television and newsreels.

This publicity was sustained from the first announcement on August 21 through until after the arrival of the family at Melbourne and Geelong.

Earlier reports have given details of the excellent publicity obtained in Holland at the time of the announcement in August, at the farewell function in September and the actual departure and it has been noted that there has been an encouraging increase in applications for migration as a result.

The purpose of the present report is to give information on the coverage arranged for the arrival.

The attached cuttings give a selection of Australian newspaper cuttings which show a widespread useage in all States of stories, announcements and photographs, distributed by the Department and which have been published at intervals in the period since August 22. In addition it is understood that there will be a great many additional cuttings, not yet to hand of material published in provincial newspapers throughout Australia from stereos and information published in THE GOOD NEIGHBOUR.

The cuttings at the top of the pile, dated November 5 to 7 reflect the newspaper useage, so far available, of the arrival and welcome functions. As was expected the major useage in the press was in the Melbourne and Victorian newspapers. This reflects the customary Australian press approach to news. An arrival such as this is regarded as news in the State of destination, but of lesser interest in other States.

However major national coverage was achieved through national and commercial radio networks which used large-scale news and feature material on many programmes.

Television also provided valuable coverage on all three Melbourne television Stations and through two associated stations in Sydney.

Both newsreel organisations, Cinesound and Movietone, covered the event and in addition, at our request, Cinesound provided a separate special cover which was rushed back to Holland for distribution.

Special arrangements were made to provide detailed story and pictures in black and white, and colour for Dutch press and magazines; a recorded description and interviews for the Hilversum Radio and arrangements were made with the Australian Broadcasting Commission to telerecord and despatch a special cover for Dutch television.

The extent of the Australian press, radio and television interest in the event was given by the attendance of 54 representatives of these organisations, who were transported by launch to board the Johan van Oldenbarnevelt at 6 a.m. on the arrival day November 5.

Thanks to the co-operation of the Captain and ship's officers arrangements for handling this press coverage worked extremely smoothly and contributed to the favourable treatment accorded the event.

The whole operation was a great success from a publicity viewpoint, both in Holland and Australia. This was primarily due to the qualities of the 100.000th migrant, Mrs. Zevenbergen and her husband who proved themselves to be fine people.

intelligent

Appendix 10: Examples of photographic images from the National Archive of Australia













