Cultural Identity and Everyday Life among Elderly Dutch New Zealanders

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Jinko A. Rots

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PRELUDE

After I graduated from high school in 2003, I decided to see some of the world before going to university. The destination was New Zealand, where I stayed for five months and saw pretty much every corner of. During my travels, I was surprised to find typical Dutch food in supermarkets and special Dutch shops. I also met a New Zealander whose parents had emigrated from the Netherlands some forty years earlier. I was amazed to find out that he could not speak Dutch. I encountered Dutch emigrants again when I was on a study trip in Western Canada in 2008. When I visited the hot pools in winter resort Banff with some fellow students, an elderly woman said, after overhearing us: *"Oh, I haven't heard that in a long time, komen jullie van Holland?"*.[1] Again, I was surprised to find out that her daughter and granddaughter could hardly speak Dutch. In 2009 I visited my eldest aunt who lives in the US, and I was even more intrigued by her ambiguous relation with the US and the Netherlands.

When I was thinking about possible research topics for this master's thesis, especially this last experience made me interested in this topic. Questions arose about the relations between migration and culture, between ethnicity, place attachment and ageing. During my studies, I have always been interested in the concept of the *Other* (Said 1978), of that what is considered different and strange. So I chose to write my thesis on Dutch immigrants and their identity. Then, I had to find a place where I could carry out my fieldwork. Fortunately, the opportunity came up to go to Hamilton, New Zealand. I did not need much time to decide whether or not I should seize this opportunity. The result is this thesis.

For achieving this I would like to thank several people. First, I'd like to thank my girlfriend Anoek, who has been a real support for me the past years. Also, I want to thank my parents Wim and Gerrie, for their extensive and on-going moral, practical and financial support. My brother Aike deserves thanks too, for challenging me to continuously expand my knowledge since we were little boys. My sister Annekyra I thank for the relaxed cohabitation the past years, and especially for the times she actually did clean our apartment ☺.

Then, I want to thank my teachers at the University of Groningen for all they taught me. Specifically, I want to thank my supervisor dr. Bettina van Hoven for her advice and support during my research master. I thank the coordinator of my study program prof.dr. Philip McCann and prof.dr. Jacques Poot from the University of Waikato for making my stay at the National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis (NIDEA) in Hamilton possible. My local supervisor there, prof. Peggy Koopman-Boyden also deserves thanks for her valuable help with my research. Last and foremost, I want to thank the people that helped me during my stay in New Zealand to carry out my research. Especially, I want to thank 'my' respondents in Netherville without whom this thesis would not have been possible, and of whom I have learned a great deal as well. Thank you all.

Jinko A. Rots, March 2012

[1] Translation: "Are you from Holland?" Notice that she uses the wrong Dutch adverb here, *'van'* instead of *'uit'*.

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CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION

1.1: CONTEXT

Up until the Second World War 98% of the immigrants in New Zealand came from the United Kingdom (Thomson 1970). Massive labour shortages after the war forced the New Zealand government to seek other immigrant groups to fulfil these jobs, as the British immigration stagnated. The Dutch became favoured immigrants (after Scandinavians), mainly because of their (assumed) protestant North-West European descent – they 'looked most like the English' (Brooking & Rabel 1995). In 1949 the New Zealand and Dutch government signed an immigration treaty that allowed tens of thousands of Dutch people to enter New Zealand in the following decades. The Dutch government stimulated emigration heavily from 1949 until 1961, as they feared overpopulation and structural mass unemployment (Hofstede 1964; Van Stekelenburg 2000). Mainly in the first years, these fears were shared by the Dutch population, which resulted in staggering proportions of people wanting to emigrate (Hofstede 1964; Blom 1981). In total, almost half a million people left the Netherlands[1] up until 1970 (Van Stekelenburg 2000).

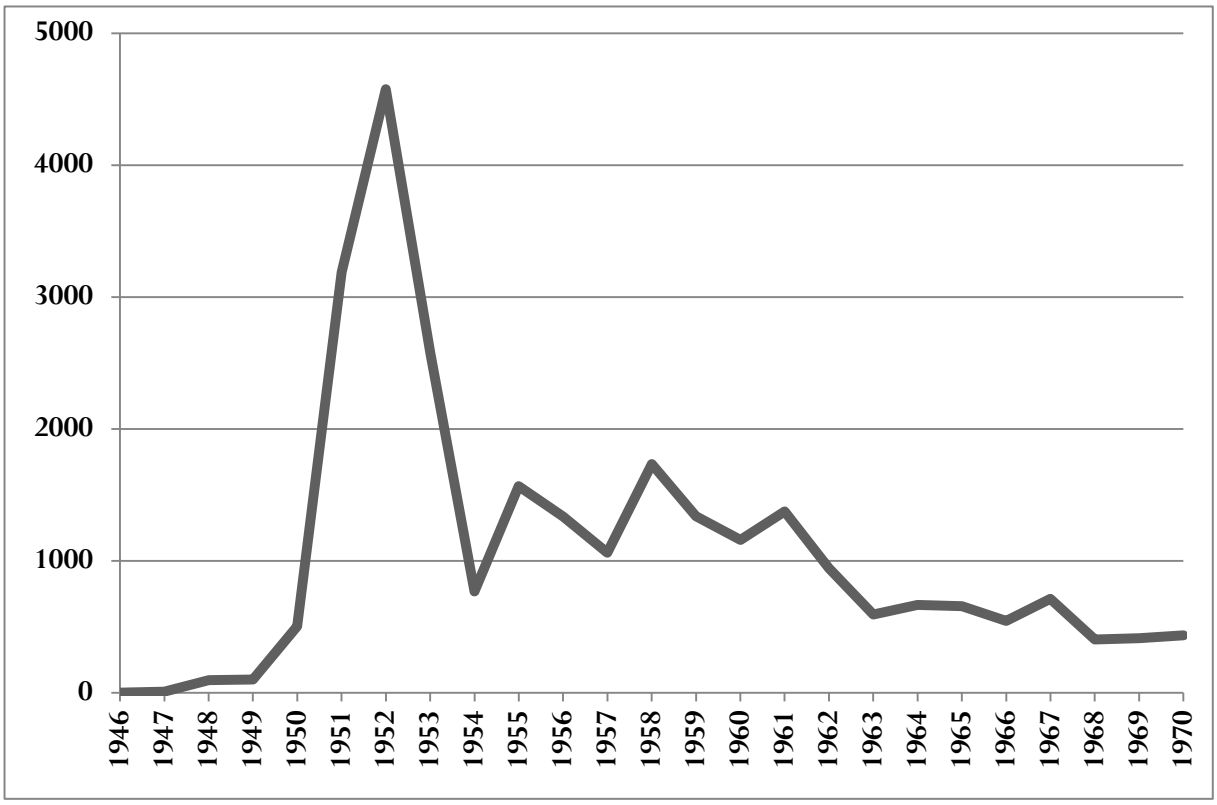

Figure 1.1: Dutch immigration to New Zealand, 1946-1970. *(Source: Priemus 1997)*

[1] 'Holland' and 'the Netherlands' are, especially outside the Netherlands, often used synonymously. Although the respondents in this study mostly speak of 'Holland', I will only use the term 'the Netherlands' in the main text as it is formally more correct. Namely, strictly spoken 'Holland' only refers to the provinces of North- and South-Holland.

New Zealand received about 30,000 Dutch immigrants in this period. Especially between 1951 and 1953 there was a large influx of Dutch (see figure 1.1). The Dutch immigrant group was of considerable size at that time, as New Zealand only had a population of about two million, Moreover, there were hardly any non-British residents in New Zealand, besides the indigenous Maori's. Most Dutch immigrants were young adults with no or few children, as immigration regulations restricted immigration by larger families. In 2006, there were about 28,000 New Zealand residents who stated to have a Dutch ethnicity and about the same number could speak Dutch as well (Statistics New Zealand 2006). Van der Pas & Poot (2007a) estimate a total number of 150,000 first, second and third generation Dutch New Zealanders.

In general, when a person migrates his or her identity is often being questioned in the new situation (Chambers 1993; Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson 1998). This involves a negotiation between the past and the present, between home country and host country. In the decades after the Second World War New Zealand society valued conformity and differences from the white mainstream population were hardly accepted (George 2009). This conformity expressed itself among other things through an unofficial (and also racist) 'white New Zealand policy', as many historians have noted (McMillan 2004). Prior to the 1970s there was a strong believe that New Zealand society should have one main, white, British Anglo-Saxon culture, with little room for other cultures. According to Anderson (1983: 83) "Anglicization was (…) cultural policy", which was particularly directed towards European immigrants. This viewpoint was widely accepted within New Zealand society. Different methods were applied to make it clear to immigrants that they should assimilate. For example, schools urged immigrants to change to the English language, and a naturalization policy was adopted. Most Dutch immigrants tried to integrate in New Zealand society as soon as possible, for example by changing to speaking English at home in an early stage, even if they could not speak it well (Hulsen 2000; Walker 2001). Journalist Schouten (1992: 135) underlines this in his non-academic volume on Dutch immigration in New Zealand, as Dutch boys at school "were literally having their native tongue beaten out of them". Assimilation to the 'white New Zealand-British culture' was thus the societal objective. Nevertheless, it seems that this objective was impossible to achieve as people do not easily forget their past experiences.

Considering this particular societal context and the initial pressure to assimilate, the question arises how and why these – by now elderly – Dutch immigrants negotiate their cultural identities in the present. Thus this concerns people who moved to New Zealand more than 45 years ago. Also, the question of sense of belonging comes forward. I believe that a key element in identity formation is the practices of everyday life. Through practices such as recreation, home making, eating ant talking, a person constantly (re)produces his or her identity.

1.2: AIM

The aim of this research project is to illustrate and analyse how elderly Dutch immigrants' everyday lives are influenced by their Dutch background. The way in which the respondents of this research deal with their hybrid cultural identities and sense of belonging through the practices of everyday life is central to this problem. It draws on accounts by elderly Dutch immigrants who have spent most of their adult life in New Zealand.

1.3: OBJECTIVES

Following from the aim, two objectives have been identified. The first objective is to assess hybrid cultural identification and sense of belonging of the respondents. The second objective is to explore and describe in which ways the respondents perform everyday practices that could be associated with their Dutch background, such as language use, recreational activities, club membership, holiday celebration, food consumption, home making and social contacts. Such practices can be regarded as key elements in identity formation.

1.4: JUSTIFICATION

Until recently, scientific research was often centred on the societal mainstream while people with different characteristics were often overlooked (Holloway & Hubbard 2001). This particular research is about people with two such characteristics which were previously ignored: the elderly status and the immigrant status. When people migrate, their identities become contested by this physical move to another society (Chambers 1993). In such cases, migration becomes a very interesting field in understanding the formation of identities. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) conclude that "a focus on people who live in the borders between dominant societies or nations (and here borders is also a metaphor for people who identify, culturally, with more than one group) makes clear the fact that differences between cultures come about not because of their isolation from each other, but because of their *connections* with each other" (Oakes & Price 2008: 60-61).

It is interesting to explore this process when it concerns people who migrated to another country over 45 years ago. At present, the group of Dutch-born immigrants in New Zealand is ageing rapidly. However, very little research has been done on the subject of elderly Dutch immigrants (Van der Pas & Poot 2007a; 2007b). Moreover, it should also be noted that this study concerns *white* elderly immigrants in a predominantly white society – such 'invisible' groups have even got less attention than immigrant groups that are more directly 'visible' (George 2009). Another major element in this study is the home environment which plays a central role in everyday life. Especially for older people the home is important (Oswald & Wahl 2005). However, studies concerning the relations between home, ageing and identity are limited, as most publications on ageing only focus upon its physical challenges (Rubinstein & de Medeiros 2005).

In the past forty years, a fair amount of research has been conducted concerning Dutch immigrants in New Zealand. Roughly, there are two types of research: one is concerned with different socio-economic aspects of Dutch immigrants, such as religion, work, social life and integration. The other focuses on the (dis)use of Dutch language. About half of these studies concern master theses, which have not been subject to academic peer review (e.g. Noor 1968; Eykman 1971; Terpstra 1971; Kroef 1977; Willemse 1981; Elich & Blauw 1982; Hoogeveen & Ettema 1984; Overberg 1984; Kappert 1988; Leek 1990; Hulsen 1996a; Priemus 1997; Roberts 1999; Vlak 2005). Besides master theses, several PhD dissertations have been (partly) written on the subject of Dutch immigrants as well (e.g. Pauwels 1980; Elich 1987; Johri 1998; Hulsen 2000; Walker 2004). Other publications about Dutch immigrants in New Zealand include articles and book chapters (e.g. Thomson 1970; Peddie 1991; Folmer 1991; 1992; Kaplan 1994; Hulsen 1996b; 1999; 2002; Klatter-Folmer & Kroon 1997; Kuiper 2004; 2005).

From the research that is mentioned above, it can be concluded that relatively much has been written on the maintenance of Dutch language in New Zealand. Sociological aspects have also got some attention,

however much of this work is inspired by a positivist tradition which tries to uncover an objective 'truth'. These studies are often not really about *understanding* the research subjects in a critical way. Van der Pas & Poot (2007a) conclude that little scientific research has been conducted on other characteristics of Dutch culture(s) in New Zealand than language. The term *culture* is however very ambiguous and has been interpreted in different ways. According to Williams (1983: 76), "culture is one of the … most complicated words in the English language". It is a highly ambiguous and complicated term and is difficult to define. Therefore I will discuss this and other concepts in the next chapter to provide this study with a theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 2:
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter will provide this thesis with the necessary theoretical fundament, which will enable me to relate hybrid cultural identities and everyday life. I will draw on insights from different social sciences, such as anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, and of course geography. First, culture, ethnicity and nation will be discussed, which will be linked to identity formation. Cultural identity is an important concept in this study, as it greatly related to everyday practices. It is also significant as respondents may identify themselves with or act within different 'cultures' (i.e. 'Dutch', 'New Zealand', and regional cultures). Then, I will expand on the hybridity of cultural identities in the context of migration, which is very relevant for this research on Dutch immigrants. Subsequently, I will discuss the way identity and culture are influenced and formed by everyday practices, as these practices constitute a key element of identity. Also, the context of ageing receives some attention, as this study concerns people that are over 75 years old and live in a retirement community.

2.1: CULTURAL IDENTITIES

Sewell (1999) argues that the concept of 'culture' can be viewed in two different ways: on the one hand, it can be regarded as a world of meanings in itself, in which it is more regarded as everyday practices – I will come back on this later. On the other hand, it can be regarded as an abstract category of social life, where it is a system of symbols and meanings. In line with the latter view is Hall's (1995: 176) definition of culture: it is a "system of shared meanings which people (…) use to help them interpret and make sense of the world". This shared set of meanings may include values, beliefs and practices, as well as ideas about religion, language and family. The social and physical world is imbued by these meanings. Important is, that "[s]haring the same 'maps of meaning' gives us a sense of belonging to a culture, creates a common bond, a sense of community or identity with others" (Hall 1995: 176). In the context of this research, a person may feel a sense of belonging to New Zealand or the Netherlands for example. It should be noted that 'a culture' is not a fixed entity someone 'has', although many people believe so (Baumann 1999).

Identity is an important concept in this study, and is closely related to culture. On the one hand, identity is formed through a cultural system in which a person lives. On the other hand, identities change what is regarded as culture as well. Identity is created dialogically, which means that it is formed through interaction with the social and physical surroundings (Hermans 2006). Identity formation is therefore essentially a social process, in which social surroundings and personal characteristics play a key role (Erikson 1963). Forming an identity creates "a sense of psychosocial well-being[,] (…) a feeling of being at home in one's body, a sense of 'knowing where one is going'" (Erikson 1980: 127). But it is at the same time also "where we're coming from" (Taylor, Appiah & Gutmann 1994: 33). Spatiality has become to be regarded as an important factor in the formation of social identities, as they are believed to be constructed in relation to specific geographic and social places (Keith & Pile 1993; Carter & Donald 1993). However, there is no such thing as a fixed identity that is unchangeable. "Identity is always in process, is always being reconstituted in a process of becoming and by virtue of location in social, material, temporal and spatial contexts". It is "best conceived as a process of continually weaving together fragments of discourse and images, enactions, spaces and times, things and people into a vast matrix, in which complex systems of relationality between elements constellate around common-sense

themes" (Edensor 2002: 29). Moreover, identity should essentially be understood as not only temporally and spatially variable, but also as intrinsically contradictory, plural and open to transgression (Hermans & Rijks 1993; Martin 2005; Hermans 2006). However, it is rare for people to explicitly experience them as such (Baumann 1999; Martin 2005).

As it is fundamentally impossible to create a 'closed', one-dimensional essentialist identity, psychoanalyst Lacan argues that this makes people seek ways to fill this void by performing acts of *identification* (Laclau 1994; Stavrakakis 1999). These identifications are made with another person, a group or an idea with which people believe to share some characteristics or a common origin (Hall 1995). The fundamental underlying concept of identification is the existence of the *Other*: by making clear what one is *not*, he or she identifies him- or herself. *Othering* is thus a way to create, recreate and strengthen perceived shared characteristics (Said 1978). If people believe to share a certain amount of identifying characteristics, a certain group identity is formed (or rather: *imagined*).

There are several intriguing assumptions on which these identifications take place on a larger scale. For this research, most notable of the different types of group identity are the nation and the ethnic group, which are closely related. Leerssen (2006) notes that a nation is regarded to have a high degree of cultural homogeneity. 'The' Dutch are therefore often seen as a distinct nation, and this accounts to 'the' New Zealanders to a lesser extent as well. Benedict Anderson (1983) shows in an influential work how the nation is in fact a social construction and thus an 'imagined community'. He defines the nation as "an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (1983: 6).

Ethnicity then, resembles *culture* but specifically refers to origin (Phinney et al. 2001; Arnett Jensen 2003). According to Hall (1995: 181), ethnicity is "a form of cultural identity which, though historically constructed like all cultural identities, is so unified on so many levels over such a long period that it is experienced as if it were imprinted and transmitted by Nature, outside what we would call Culture or History". Therefore, ethnicity presumes a group tie that a person receives by birth and is based on kinship and genes (Baumann 1999). Often, it also implies an imagined geographical relation with a homeland or *Heimat*. In this study, the Netherlands might be considered as the homeland of the respondents. When ethnicity and nation are combined, a mix of *Blut und Boden* [blood and soil] is created through ethnic nationalism (Storey 2001). In such case, the nation becomes synonymous to 'race' or *Volk* (Leerssen 2006). This primordialist way of thinking implies that ethnicity is fixed and unchangeable, just like culture and nation are popularly believed to be.

However, ethnicity is also socially constructed and should be understood in a multi-dimensional way (Anderson 1983; Baumann 1999). Therefore, "an individual's ethnic minority identity development" should be seen "as fluid, dynamic, and constructed in a relational (interpersonal) context" (Yi & Shorter-Gooden 1999: 18). Ethnic identity is defined as "one's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perception, feelings, and behavior that is due to ethnic group membership" (Phinney & Rotheram 1987: 13). Most researchers agree that this encompasses (a number of) the following characteristics: "self-identification as member of a group, feelings of belonging and commitment to a group, positive (or negative) attitudes toward the group, a sense of shared attitudes and values, and specific ethnic traditions and practices, such as language, behavior, and customs" (Phinney & Rosenthal 1992: 147). The respondents in this study might identify themselves as belonging to the Dutch ethnic group in New Zealand. However, the concept of ethnicity is highly ambiguous, and there is widespread debate how to define and 'measure' it. One reason for this is that most measures assume that ethnicity and ethnic identity can be understood in a linear, one-dimensional model of identification (House,

Stiffman & Brown 2006). However, these identifications are much more multi-faceted and also contradictory than often assumed.

It can be concluded that the theoretical fundaments of thinking about cultural, ethnic and national identities are very similar, albeit not exactly the same. Though interesting, it is not necessary for this study to pinpoint which concept fits best in which context, as it is not one of my objectives. Therefore, I will use the term 'cultural identities' in this thesis as it includes a broader field of ideas, such as religious, regional and political identities as well. Another reason is the objective to understand the subjects of this research in their own words and concepts. In other migration studies especially ethnicity is often an important factor – however, it is arguable whether (elderly) Dutch immigrants in New Zealand regard themselves as an ethnic (or national) group when the specific definitions of ethnicity and nation are used.1 In addition, people's multiple, shifting and contradicting identities can be captured better with a broader term like cultural identities.

2.2: MIGRATION AND HYBRIDITY

In this research migration is a central issue, as it concerns people who grew up in the Netherlands but have lived in New Zealand for decades. A person's identity or sense of self is specifically being questioned when he or she migrates. According to Chambers (1993) the experience of migration influences migrants' identities greatly. Often, this involves a social or cultural change in the life of the migrant (Boyle, Halfacree & Robinson 1998), which is especially the case when it concerns ethnic minorities (Bottomley 1992). Migration in this sense is not limited to the act itself but is a lifelong process that affects others, such as children, as well (Castles & Miller 1998).

When a person migrates to a country with a (perceived) different dominant culture, this may cause tensions. Only by being present an immigrant already defies existing social relations, since he or she is seen as the *Other*. According to Berry (1990; 2007), an immigrant can pursue four different strategies to cope with this *Otherness*: assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization. Assimilation means that an immigrant totally dissolves in the host culture, without keeping his former culture. Integration implies that an immigrant connects with the host culture and adapts partially, but keeps several (important) elements from his original culture. Separation occurs when an immigrant isolates himself from the host culture and adheres to his original. Marginalization means that an immigrant loses connection to his original culture but does not connect with the host culture either. Berry assumes that a migrant has the ability to make a choice between the different options.

A related way to think about the nature of the relationship between immigrants and the host community is through the term *acculturation*. This is a "process of bidirectional change that takes place when two ethnocultural groups come into contact with one another" (Bourhis et al. 1997: 370). According to Bourhis' model "acculturation is not a passive process experienced by the migrants, rather it is the result of a dynamic interaction with the wider social environment. This host environment impacts upon migrants' acculturation strategies, their social identity (Tajfel 1974) and their language" (Hatoss 2006: 81; see also Bourhis et al. 1997; Bourhis 2001). When this acculturation process is not successful, migration may cause negative feelings like uprootedness and a sense of loss. For instance, Leavey, Sembhi & Livingston (2004) found that many elderly Irish immigrants living in London had social and

[1] Elich (1987) notes that the Dutch in Australia can be regarded as a distinct ethnic group; this could also account for Dutch in New Zealand. However, his conclusion seems not to be based on the perceptions of group members themselves.

psychological problems with regard to their identity and sense of belonging. They state however that "problems encountered by each migrant group will be substantially different and/or experienced differently. Factors such as language, portability of education and skills, culture, skin colour, community size and reception by the host community will determine the ease of settlement by migrants" (2004: 765).

An interesting characteristic of this thesis is that it concerns white immigrants in a predominantly white host society. This may cause problems, as a certain sameness is assumed because the immigrants have the same skin colour as the dominant population group (Leavey, Sembhi & Livingston 2004). According to Walter (1991) this problem is caused by an assumed ethnic black-white binary, which supposes that white people are a distinct and unified group, as opposed to people with a different skin colour. Although non-white people in a predominantly white society are far more likely to be visible and to be considered 'out of place' (Bonnett 2005), this supposition may simultaneously deny white immigrant groups of their specific cultural identities. In other words, white Dutch immigrants are expected to be the *same* as other white New Zealanders and are thus denied to being *different*.

An interesting concept within studies of migration is that of *diaspora*. Although the term was first used to describe exiled and dispersed people like Jews or Armenians, it is now "widely used to describe transnational networks of immigrants, refugees, guest workers and so on". It has become an expression of "multilocality, 'post-nationality' and the non-linearity of *both* movement and time" (Fortier 2005: 182). Diaspora is notable for its fundamental opposition to the idea of monolithic, essentialist and absolute culture, as it is strongly related to cultural change and hybridity. Therefore it opposes classical assimilation theories, where immigrants culturally 'melt' into the dominant core (Faist 2000). Also, it contests mainstream ideas about the fixity of places. It is at the same time about "dealing equally with roots and routes" (Gilroy 1993: 190), or as Fortier (2005: 183) argues, "more accurately, about examining the *social dynamics of rootings and routings*". Diasporic cultures are therefore complex and never-ending processes of combining elements from different cultural frameworks, which result in some form of 'new' cultures that are *related* to the originals but *different* (Hall 1995).

Sometimes this process is referred to as *hybridization*. According to Mitchell (2005), the term hybridity provides the broadest interpretative framework to understand these mixing processes and is better theoretically equipped than similar concepts like 'syncretism', 'mestizaje', 'grafting', 'pidgin' and 'creolization'. Mikhael Bakhtin's work on hybridity of languages was the first major research on this subject. According to Bakhtin (1981: 360):

> "The … hybrid is not only double-voiced and double-accented … but it is also double-languaged; for in it there are not only (and not even so much) two individual consciousnesses, two voices, two accents, as there are [doublings of] socio-linguistic, consciousnesses, two epochs … that come together and consciously fight it out on the territory of the utterance. … It is the collision between differing points of view on the world that are embedded in these forms."

Moreover, this concept provides us with the idea of an active agency that contests essentialist binary understandings of cultures (Bhabha 1996). Hall (1995: 206) captures the essence of this term strikingly as he refers to diasporic subjects, while drawing on Bhabha (1994):

> "[They] have succeeded in remaking themselves and fashioning new kinds of cultural identity by, consciously or unconsciously, drawing on more than one cultural *repertoire*. (…) They are people who belong to more than one world, speak more than one language (literally and metaphorically), inhabit more than one identity, have more than one home; who have learned to negotiate and translate *between* cultures, and who, because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, have learned to live with, and indeed to speak from, *difference*. They speak from the 'in-between' of different cultures, always unsettling the assumptions of one culture from the perspective of another, and thus finding ways of being both *the same as* and at the same time *different from* the others amongst whom they live."

Due to the contradicting experiences of migration, a migrant can develop a sense of 'being in-between cultures', with a hybridity of cultural values, perspectives and ways of thinking (Torres 2006). In a research on Taiwanese immigrants in Japan, Han (2008) shows the difficulties and the 'identity struggle' many of his participants faced. He found that a strongly articulated self-identification may be problematic in some instances, as a strong self-identification might oppose the everyday behaviours of people. Therefore, these immigrants do not identify themselves in static terms like Chinese or Japanese, but are 'in-between' cultures. 'Power' is often an important factor in articulating specific identities. In general, minorities have greater difficulties in doing so, as they are resisted by dominant cultures. Nevertheless, Bhabha (1996: 58) notes that "the hybrid strategy or discourse opens up a space of negotiation where power is unequal but its articulation may be equivocal".

However, the concepts of diaspora and hybridization pose two difficulties with regard to this research. First, diaspora is commonly associated with the forced migration of people – those who have been displaced and uprooted from their homes due to war, famine, persecution or slavery (Fortier 2005). That is obviously not the case in this research, as all subjects have voluntarily migrated and could hardly be regarded as being 'forced'. Second, hybridization is mostly associated with cultural mixings through various generations of Europeans, native Indians, Africans and Asians in the Caribbean and Latin-America; this is often also called *creolization* or *mestizaje*. In some studies 'hybridization' is also used when it concerns first-generation immigrants, however this regards mostly Latino immigrants in the United States. It is hardly used in the context of a white, western immigrant group in another white, western country – which is the case in this study. Nevertheless, the underlying ideas of these two concepts provide me with additional theoretical tools for understanding the respondents in this research and are therefore very valuable.

2.3: EVERYDAY LIFE PRACTICES

An important thread through concepts like *culture*, *ethnicity* and *identity* is that they are not only socially constructed, but fundamentally plural, contradictory and in a constant flux. At the same time however, humans often have a need to construct a feeling of oneness, an image of an inseparable self that is logically consistent (Hermans 2006). Considering this, it seems not possible to do any meaningful research on a subject that assumes migrants to contradict themselves on different fundamental levels. Bourdieu however, states that neither abstract theoretical structures nor a conscious mental state actually determines a person's actions (Leezenberg & De Vries 2001). Bourdieu believes that people act mostly from a sub- or half-conscious system of learned norms, values and inclinations – he calls these actions *habitus*. This 'system' then, resembles the 'system' Hall (1995) described in his definition of

culture. This observation may not be very surprising, as it seems obvious that people always act out of and within their own cultural framework(s). However, the notion of subconscious *acting in the everyday life* is more interesting. Michel de Certeau (1988: xi) argues that "the systems of operational combination (les combinatoires d'opérations) … also compose a "culture"". In other words, people not only act out of or within a certain cultural framework, but this acting actually forms the cultural framework as well. If we go back to the first section of this chapter, it becomes clear what Sewell (1999) means with his second way of thinking about culture: culture as a world of meanings in itself, in which it is more regarded as practices.

According to De Certeau (1988), people make use of what he calls *tactics* in the everyday life, while institutions use *strategies*. People apply these tactics almost always in a world that is shaped by the strategies of institutions like the state and the municipality. "Many everyday practices (talking, reading, moving about, shopping, [dwelling], cooking, etc.) are tactical in character" (De Certeau 1988: xix). In contrast to Bourdieu, De Certeau insists that these practices are performed out of free choice and are not passively and unconsciously carried out (Sheringham 2006). In my research I focus upon the *tactics* of the everyday lives of my respondents: about their social encounters and their practices, as "[e]verydayness lies in practices that weave contexts together; only practices make it visible". Or, in other words, "[t]he everyday exists through the practices that constitute it" (Sheringham 2006: 360; 386).

Latham (2003: 1997) argues that studies about the everyday life "are united by a conviction that everyday life is a key realm where social power is exercised and maintained, and the everyday simultaneously opens-up new realms of resistance to mainstream networks of power/knowledge". Sheringham (2006: 23) puts it even stronger: "It is the source of our truth; the daily world is our homeland: we alienate ourselves in the extraordinary, not in the ordinary". However, research of the everyday lives of people is still an underrepresented aspect in current scientific works. In this research I will focus upon several practices that may be related to the cultural background of the respondents, such as language use, food consumption, club membership, recreational activities, social encounters, national symbolic practices, etc. I believe that hybrid cultural identities are produced *through* these specific practices. By studying these practices, it becomes possible to study hybrid cultural identities (Edensor 2002). Thus, these practices are not so much an indicator of cultural identity – rather they are constituents of it. I will discuss several of these practices below.

An important aspect in the practices of everyday life is the concept of *home*.[1] This can be a private house, a room or even a bed or chair, where one 'feels at home', but can also be geographically extended to neighbourhood, village, town, city, region, country, society, continent or even world (Sopher 1979). This concept can be highly symbolic, especially when people refer to a *homeland* or *Heimat* (Morley & Robins 1995). These are closely linked to ethnic and national 'imagined communities'. In the context of this research, there is one important notion about the private home: it is "a central emotional and sometimes physical reference point in a person's life" (Oswald & Wahl 2005: 29). At home an individual is free to speak, eat and act as he or she wishes. For older people the home is especially important, as it is the place where both most time is spend and most activities occur (Oswald & Wahl 2005).

Home is also important for immigrants, as it can be a place outside the host society and connected to the *homeland*. In a research on ethnic interregional migrants in Goa (India), Bailey, Channakki & Hutter

[1] In this thesis, when I speak of 'home' I mean a person's private house.

(2009) found that these migrants literally inscribe temples, schools and homes with parts of their own culture. By home making, migrants try to reconnect with the culture of the homeland. Thus, little "microcosms" are created "which are spatialised by the social relations" (Bailey, Channakki & Hutter 2009: 11). According to Miller (2001: 17) "[p]eople take possession of home through home decoration as a form of objectification of the self vis-à-vis the material culture of home". Walker (2001: 12) argues that "[t]he need for a sense of belonging may be enhanced as a consequence of the migration experience". Moreover, "[s]uch possessions can give us a sense of who we are, where we have come from, and where we are going" (Belk 1992: 37). In other words, home making practices play a central role in the construction of identities, as it provides an (imagined) fixity in an ever-changing world (Edensor 2002; Morley & Robins 1995). The way people decorate their home, may tell something about their sense of belonging, as material objects often have symbolic meanings (Belk 1992; Rowles & Watkins 2003).

Eating and drinking practices have long been seen as an indicator of cultural differences (A. James 2005). However, eating practices counter the idea of essentialist cultures as they are hybrid practices. "Paradoxically, therefore, food provides a *flexible* symbolic vehicle for Self identity, precisely through the invocation of sets of '*inflexible* cultural stereotypes which link particular foodstuffs to particular localized identities'" (A. James 2005: 375; quoted: J. James 1993). Food practices are therefore "building blocks in the construction of all social identities" and a point of identification (Wilson 2006: 15; Sutton 2005; Giddens 1991). The consumption of food which is considered to be linked to a homeland, is often a coping tactic of immigrants to retain a perceived oneness of the self (Sutton 2005).

According to Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983), national holidays are 'invented traditions', which were institutionalized for nationalistic purposes. Edensor (2002: 73) argues that "such events perform timelessness, grounding nation in history, symbolising community and legitimising authority". They are often loaded with symbolic rituals, which are often bodily performed as well. Waving a flag may either serve an instrumental or symbolic function (Schatz & Lavine 2007). The latter is an expression of important values and identity, a facilitation of social relations or the management of conflict between people. It is often an expression of national identification (Cerulo 1995), and is therefore interesting in this study. To what extent the respondents in this study adhere to such Dutch 'rituals' or have adopted New Zealand ones, may illustrate their cultural hybridity.

According to Romanucci-Ross and De Vos (1995: 23) language is the "most single characteristic feature of ethnic identity". Thus, language is more than just a communication tool, as it "serves to perform 'acts of identity' both individually and collectively" (Walker 2001: 5). Linguistic behaviour often resembles with which group(s) a person wants to identify and be identified with, and from which group(s) to be distinguished (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Simultaneously however, language use could also be regarded as a sub-conscious practice originating from *habitus*. In general, language may be a unifying factor for people, "as they promote shared culture, access to ethnic social networks and a sense of belonging" (Jancovic-Kramaric 2001: 46). The social environment is a crucial factor in language use (Hulsen, De Bot & Weltens 2002).

Several other (social) practices such as recreational activities, social interactions, and cultural club membership may also be constituents of the hybrid cultural identities of the respondents. In different studies it was found that there is a connection between immigration and these practices. I.e. immigrants differ from the autochthonous population. For instance, they are more often member of an ethnic or cultural club, they practice specific recreational activities and have social networks that are more focused on other immigrants.

2.4: AGEING

A last interesting part of the questions of cultural identity and everyday life of migrants in this study is the context of ageing and the relationships between these. It is important to understand the acculturation process when dealing with elderly migrants (Harris 1998), because people may look back and evaluate their lives when they reach an older age. This can be tough, as the choice to emigrate changed their lives fundamentally (Meurs 1996). In a research on ethnic elderly immigrants in the United States Becker analyses the meanings these people attribute to certain places. He shows "how seemingly disparate topics such as social relationships, memory, displacement, the reworking of identity, and the presence of identity politics are interwoven in the lives of the respondents" (Becker 2003).

In the scientific debate, the concept of ageing is often seen as a fixed state of being. However, it should be seen as a process, "as people move through different stages and transitions of the life course" (Phillips, Ajrouch & Hillcoat-Nallétamby 2010: 15). People make use of different *tactics* in everyday life to cope with their ageing; these tactics are highly heterogenic (Torres 2006). Therefore, research should be focused on this diversity and not on the idea of 'the normal biography', as it was in the past (Phillipson & Ahmed 2006). And as more people age and society is becoming more heterogeneous, the emphasis should be even more on diversity and variation (Daatland & Biggs 2006). Within gerontological research however, there has been very little theorizing about the heterogeneity of ageing. And what theories predict, has not been confirmed by observation (Daatland & Biggs 2006). One way to enhance knowledge on ageing is by doing research on elderly in migrant and minority populations. This is especially interesting as it provides us with the "ability to explore the hybridity that is characteristic of the international migrant experience" (Torres 2006: 135).

One more notion is important, which is the recent attention to the idea of ageing in place. This concept means that older people remain in their own homes when they get older, instead of moving to an institutional care facility (Davies & James 2011). By staying in a familiar and private dwelling, people are better able to maintain independence and a sense of self and have a role in "maintaining identity and social standing" (Kendig & Gardner 1997: 174). The retirement village Netherville in which all respondents of this study live, provides such a place. Ageing in place may be especially important for immigrants, as they often face more difficulties concerning psychosocial development (Phillips, Ajrouch & Hillcoat-Nallétamby 2010).

CHAPTER 3:
METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will describe and explain which methods were used for this research. First, the different data collection methods will be discussed, each in a different section. Subsequently, the methodology for data analysis will be treated.

3.1: DATA COLLECTION

This research makes use of several qualitative data collection methods. Qualitative research is "concerned with elucidating human environments and human experiences within a variety of conceptual frameworks" (Winchester & Rofe 2010: 5). It provides therefore a depth of understanding which quantitative inquiry cannot provide (Babbie 2006), as it focuses on "naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings" (Miles & Huberman 1994: 10). First, in-depth interviews comprise the main data source in this research. Second, I conducted participatory observation throughout the fieldwork. A third method is photography, which I used to record the homes of the interviewees visually. Fourth, one orientational interview was held with a representative of the Dutch New Zealand community. These will be discussed in the following sub-sections.

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

According to Dunn (2010), using interviews as a data collection method may have four different reasons: a) other methods are unsuccessful in addressing the issues properly, b) to investigate complex personal issues, c) to collect a range of differing opinions, meanings and experiences, and d) to empower the research subjects and treat them with respect. All these reasons apply to this particular research. This approach was chosen because this study focuses on different complex and personal meanings, opinions and experiences of a group of people, such as identification, sense of belonging and everyday practices. Interviewing enables respondents to explore and explain their experiences in a way that a more structured method, such as a questionnaire, cannot (Babbie 2006). It gives them the possibility to use their own words and emphasize the things *they* regard important. Respondents are thus able to express their feelings, ideas and motives more accurately, which is very important in this research. Moreover, it provides a researcher with the possibility to actively and immediately respond to a respondent, e.g. by asking for clarification or asking further about related subjects.

Through in-depth interviews information was gathered that addressed the core themes of this thesis, i.e. cultural identification, sense of belonging and everyday practices. 14 interviews were held with 21 persons in total, as half were held with both spouses present. In five interviews both spouses contributed about equally to the interview, whilst in two the spouse joined in at a later moment during the interview. The other seven interviews were held individually. In total, twelve men and nine women were interviewed. All respondents are residents of retirement village 'Netherville' in Hamilton, New Zealand. This is a community of 103 private houses built in a regular suburb of Hamilton in the 1990s. Several prerequisites were formulated which the respondent should meet: a) born and grown up in the Netherlands, b) immigrated to New Zealand as an adult, c) immigrated over 40 years ago (before 1970), and d) living in Netherville.

The interviews were held in a semi-structured way; this means that the interviewer identifies themes and questions prior to the interview, but is flexible to the respondent's contributions and opinion what

is significant (Dunn 2010). Therefore, prior to the interviews I made an interview guide with themes and questions, which was updated a few times after the initial interviews as some questions were superfluous or irrelevant, and other questions or themes were missing. The themes of the interviews are a) short descriptive questions, b) immigration, c) social life, d) habits and customs, e) home, and f) sense of belonging (Appendix A). Interviewing in a semi-structured way made it possible for me to "follow the natural flow of the conversation" (O'Leary 2010: 195). Therefore, the interviews differed in length and in the subjects that were talked about most. The shortest interview was just over an hour, while the longest lasted for more than three. On average, an interview took 1½ hours, excluding photographing.

All interviews were held in the home of the respondent, twelve in the morning and two in the afternoon. The interviews were tape recorded, and notes were made at the same time. A few times the tour I got through the house was recorded as well. The respondent was free to choose if he or she wanted to do the interview in English or in Dutch. Most respondents spoke almost entirely in one language during the interview, but some switched from one language to the other now and then. My ability to speak both languages helped this research a lot therefore, as respondents could speak the language they were best in to express themselves.

One orientational interview was held with a representative of 'The Dutch Connection', which is an organization that is realizing a Dutch museum in New Zealand. This museum is scheduled to open in 2012 in Foxton. I also visited the location of the future museum, which is adjacent to a copy of a Dutch windmill that was built in 2002. The goal of this interview was to get a better contextual understanding of the developments within the New Zealand-Dutch community. Moreover, it provided me with insights about the valuing of material culture by (some) Dutch immigrants, as the museum was initially set up to preserve private objects and items of Dutch immigrants who died or had to move a smaller residence.

RECRUITMENT OF RESPONDENTS

Through a gatekeeper contact was made with two members of the resident's management committee of Netherville. After explaining my intentions, I was introduced to one of the residents who had already been informed of my visit. After further explanation about the research by myself she agreed to do an interview, after which she introduced me to several other residents. The Netherville Committee agreed that I could approach the residents directly by attending a communal Coffee Morning in the communal hall to explain more about the research and to seek respondents. To inform the Dutch residents of Netherville in advance, I distributed a letter about my research two weeks before the Coffee Morning (see Appendix B). In total, 41 letters were distributed. My coming was announced through the special Netherville TV channel Nethernet as well (see Appendix C). At the Coffee Morning, I explained my research plenary to all residents that were present, after which I dealt out leaflets on which people could write their names and some other information if they were interested in taking part in the research (see Appendix D). For those who were not present but wanted to participate, my contact information was provided in the letter.

At the end of the Coffee Morning, I received 22 leaflets in total from couples or individuals. I telephoned them a few days later and either made an appointment for an interview within the following two weeks, or agreed that the interview would take place later for which I would call again. Three stated on the leaflet that they would only take part if I did not have enough respondents, one said this after I called her, one couple later changed their mind, two did not meet the previously set conditions as

they emigrated to New Zealand after 1970, and one interview did not actually take place (see the 'Ethics' section). As a result, 14 interviews were held with 21 respondents in total. This number was satisfactory as I found that sufficient saturation had taken place as few new things came up in the last interviews.

The recruitment of respondents was based on the idea that the residents of Netherville got familiarized with me so I could build up *rapport*, before I actually approached them for an interview. Building up rapport is important to gain trust, especially when it involves ethnic minority elders because they are more often reluctant to cooperate in research (Blair & Minkler 2009). This was achieved by being introduced in several different settings by different people. This includes the contact I made through a gatekeeper and a resident as I described earlier. Moreover, I also met some residents at the Klaverjas Club[1] and during the Dutch-Frisian cultural day 'Fryslân Ferbynt',[2] before I visited the Coffee Morning. I think this approach helped me in my request for respondents. I believe another aspect that helped me conduct the research was the fact that I am Dutch, as sharing a characteristic "can have a positive effect, facilitating the development of a rapport between interviewer and interviewee and thus producing a rich, detailed conversation based on empathy and mutual respect and understanding" (Flowerdew & Martin 2005: 113). Some respondents mentioned they wanted "to help" me mostly *because* I come from the Netherlands.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

To place this research in the necessary context, I will also give a short description of the characteristics of the respondents. The mean age of the respondents is 80 years, with a range between 73 and 88 years. The youngest was 19 when he left the Netherlands, the oldest 31 – on average the respondents were 25 years old upon emigration. The mean emigration year is 1956, ranging from 1951 to 1964. All respondents grew up (for the most part) in one place in the Netherlands and lived there until he or she emigrated. All respondents married someone who lived in the same place or very close by, except two who married a New Zealander. Four respondents are widowed, while the others are married. In half of the interviews the respondents come from the provinces of South- and North-Holland; in five they come from North-Brabant and in two from the north of the Netherlands. The respondents' parents came in about half of the cases from the same place or very nearby, while in the other cases they came from somewhere else. However, only half of the respondents mentioned the origin of their parents.

Most respondents come from relatively large families; on average they have (or had) seven brothers and sisters. The number of siblings correlates strongly with religious denomination. Those who grew up in a non-religious or *Nederlands Hervormde*[3] family had few brothers and sisters (less than three), while those who grew up in a catholic or *gereformeerde*[4] family had more than nine. These family sizes were not uncommon in that time. In three interviews the respondents were a little older and had young children when they emigrated. A few men emigrated alone, and returned later to their birthplace to marry a Dutch girl. Most interviewees however, either married just before departure or soon after arriving in

[1] Klaverjassen is a (Dutch) card game which is quite popular amongst (elderly) Dutch immigrants in New Zealand.
[2] 'Fryslân Ferbynt' means 'Friesland connects'.
[3] The *Nederlands Hervormde Kerk* was the protestant state church in the Netherlands. It was the most liberal denomination of the largest three confessional groups and had the least social organization. About 30% of the population was *hervormd* (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) 1963). During the 1960s and 70s, the *Hervormde* church had the biggest exodus of members when Dutch society secularized strongly.
[4] The *Gereformeerden* are an orthodox protestant denomination, who split from the *Hervormde* State Church in the 19th century. They constituted about 10% of the Dutch population in the 1950s, one million people in total (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS) 1963). About 40% of the Dutch population was catholic.

New Zealand. As for education, the large majority of respondents has had only practical secondary education. Men are a little better educated, mostly in trait school or lower agricultural school.[1] Most women only have got domestic schooling,[2] sometimes with a specialization as seamstress or the like. In most cases, the respondents started working at an early age, while going to secondary school part-time.

The respondents have four children on average, with a range between none and seven. Almost all children were born in New Zealand, and for many respondents their children are very important. All respondents lived in the province of Waikato before they moved to Netherville, and most have lived in this province since they arrived in New Zealand over 45 years ago. On average, the respondents have been living in Netherville for ten years. All live in a private self-owned home with two to four bedrooms.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

According to the Oxford English Dictionary 'observation' is "accurate watching and noting of phenomena as they occur". However, observation is not only watching but is an active process by "taking part in the world, not just representing it" (Crang 1997: 360). Observation may have three different purposes, according to Kearns (2010): a) counting of persons, objects or phenomena, b) providing complementary descriptive evidence to other methods, and c) gaining a contextual understanding by constructing an in-depth interpretation through direct experience. The observation in this research was inspired by the last two purposes. Participant observation is especially useful to understand the meanings of place and the everyday life of people, as it places both researcher and research subjects in a more natural environment (Kearns 2010).

I conducted participatory observation by attending different different types of social meetings. Outside Netherville I visited a) ten weekly *klaverjassen* card game nights in the Celebrating Age Centre in Hamilton, and b) the Dutch-Frisian cultural day 'Fryslân Ferbynt' at the university campus in Hamilton. Within Netherville I attended c) two coffee mornings, d) two communal dinners, e) a games day, f) a games night and g) a meeting of the Friendly Support Network (FSN). Furthermore, I had lunch or dinner five times at several residents' homes. A diary was kept about these experiences to be able to analyse these experiences later.

By using this method I experienced the atmosphere of social practices myself, which improved my understanding of the context. It helped me mostly in providing supplementary data to the interviews, but it also helped me to better understand underlying processes and meanings. A point of critique may be the fact that in all situations but the cultural day, it was obvious that I was not part of the 'regular' environment – that is, it was clear that I was a university student whose purpose was to do research on Dutch immigrants. Therefore, people may have acted differently because of my presence (Kearns 2010). However, I regarded the ethical and practical considerations for being honest about my presence more important.

PHOTOGRAPHY

According to Dodman (2003: 294), photographs are "a more transparent representation of the life experiences of participants in [a] study". Such "pictures are valuable because they encode an enormous amount of information in a single representation" (Grady 2004: 20). Photographs may be either

[1] Ambachtsschool, Lagere Landbouwschool.
[2] Huishoudschool.

supportive or supplemental in a study; the first term means that photos support a researcher's text and are interpreted by the researcher himself. The second term means that a photograph supplements a researcher's text more on its own terms, for example to depict things that are hard to describe (Rose 2007).

In this research, I photographed the interior (and sometimes exterior) of a respondent's home after an interview. All respondents gave permission for this. These photographs included overall views of different rooms and close-up views of specific objects. I photographed most things that were visually present, such as objects on the wall, furniture, fridge magnets, book shelves and 'knick-knacks'. In most cases, all rooms of the house were photographed, including bathroom, toilet and garage. In a few cases, I was not allowed to see the bedroom of the respondent(s), as this was "private" or because the spouse lay there to rest.

These photographs were taken for two different reasons. The first reason is to provide me with "photos [that] are made systematically by the researcher in order to provide data that the researcher then analyses" (Rose 2007: 243). This reason is supportive in character, and is named photo-documentation (Rose 2007). By taking photographs I was better able to analyse the material culture of the home. The second reason has a supplemental character. The photos capture 'texture', as "they can convey the 'feel' of specific locations very effectively" (Rose 2007: 247). As the photographs are mainly concerned with the materiality of personal spaces and objects with emotional values, displaying photos in this research may "exceed their spoken or written expression" (Rose 2007: 248).

3.2: DATA ANALYSIS

The records of the interviews were transcribed fully afterwards, to be able to analyse them in a structured way. The transcriptions are verbatim records of the interviews, which includes silences, emphasis, non-verbal communication, sounds, laughter, and poor grammar. This may enhance understanding as it provides additional information and makes the transcript 'richer' (Dunn 2010). For example, a silence may indicate hesitancy, or poor grammar could point to difficulties in everyday communication. According to Dunn (2010), transcribing in verbatim may specifically cause embarrassment among second language speakers, as they may use words or grammar more often incorrectly. However, I did not encounter such embarrassment – perhaps because English not my first language as well. Moreover, by assuring anonymity this potential embarrassment is to a large extent negated.

In this thesis, I quote many respondents literally, including (grammatical) errors. When a quote is (partly) in Dutch, I translate this to enhance readability. In a footnote, the original quote is provided. To enrich the excerpts further, I have chosen to indicate in which language a word or sentence is spoken by using a different font in the main text. When it is in English, the regular font in this thesis is used. When a word is spoken in Dutch however, the font 'Futura Md' is used with a grey colour. In this way, it becomes immediately clear which language is spoken.

The transcripts were then analysed with the online software program *Dedoose*. Coding the data was an important part of the analysis. Coding may have different purposes, according to Cope (2010): a) data reduction, b) organization of data, and c) analysis. All three purposes played a role in this research. The first purpose, reduction, was necessary as all interviews together consisted of more than 150,000 words and more than 250 pages. By coding this large amount of data it also became better organized, so I could

"quickly find, pull out, and cluster the segments relating to a particular research question, hypothesis, construct, or theme" (Miles & Huberman 1994: 57). Analysis was the most principle purpose for coding as it provided me with a deeper understanding. Cope (2010) distinguishes two types of coding: descriptive and analytical. Descriptive coding is the process of coding 'chunks' of text (words, sentences, paragraphs, sections) that "reflect themes or patterns that are obvious on the surface or are stated directly by research subjects" (Cope 2010: 283). Analytical coding then, "comes from interpretation and reflection on meaning" (Richards 2009: 102). These dig deeper in the context and meaning of what it said.

Before starting the coding process, a list of different themes was created, which was transformed into a coding system that contains primary, secondary and tertiary codes. This initial list was composed of codes that came up from the (initial) theoretical framework, research questions, and interview guide (Miles & Huberman 1994). The coding system was approached in a dynamic way, as many codes were added, merged or deleted while coding the first two transcripts. This included both descriptive and analytical codes. It also involved *in-vivo codes*, which come directly from respondent's statements (Cope 2010). Then, the coding system was reviewed and changed wholly, after which the first two transcripts were recoded again. It should be noted that "the *process* of coding is an integral part of analysis (Cope 2010: 284). The order in which the transcripts were coded, was chosen randomly. Occasionally, a new code was added when necessary after this review. This concerned mainly analytical codes. In total, 140 codes were created, of which a few only had an organizational function (see Appendix G).

To record the observations notes were kept to provide a detailed account of them. These notes were re-read before I started with the main analysis of this research, and again after I wrote most of the different chapters. In this way I checked whether my observations were consistent with what the respondents said. Each photograph was described shortly after an interview, so all (mostly unrecorded) information respondents gave about objects was preserved. During and before writing the section on home making, all photographs were viewed several times during which notes were made.

3.3: PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS

Several basic ontological and epistemological are important for this research which deserve some attention. In modernist thinking, scientists believe there is an objective reality 'out there' which can be known. However, humans are bound to what they can observe and these observations are always partial, selective and distorted (Holloway & Hubbard 2001). Therefore, it is impossible to reflect the (objective) reality of the world, if it exists at all. A postmodernist view is that there is therefore no reality at all – outside people's perceptions that is. In this light, all perceptions would be equally valid, good, important and true as there is no other reality. This view has gained widespread critiques as it would be quite fatalistic (Sayer 1993; Hobsbawm 1993). The epistemological discussion on what we can know is a very complex one for which I cannot provide an answer. However, to deal with it in my research I adopt Nigel Thrift's (1994) view: he believes that there is no distinction between representation and reality. In other words, all representations are real. And thus the question of what reality really is does not need to be answered. It should be clear by now that my research is a representation too; it is not my goal to describe or explain objective reality. It is bound to the text I produce and could never catch the full magnitude of the research subject in all its variety, ambiguity and complexity (Iggers 2005).

According to postmodernist thinking, the social world is becoming increasingly heterogeneous and fragmented. This confirms my view that my research should be seen as an idiographic explanation. It is

about the unique, the particular. It is not my goal to formulate a law; neither do I intend to produce a representative research which would be valid for, say, all Dutch immigrants in New Zealand. In other words, my research is not generalizable. Rather, it is about understanding. In a way, it is more an ethnographic research, which literally means 'writing about a way of life'. In this type of research the researcher engages with people in their everyday life, which leads to a so-called *thick description* of the research subject (Geertz 1973). Although I am not an anthropologist, I did incorporate some aspects of this approach in my research. Furthermore, this research is inspired by the hermeneutic (or interpretative) tradition. Therefore, an important part of this research is to try to *understand* the research subjects. Already more than a century ago Max Weber pleaded for this type of research: the social sciences should be focused on *verstehen* (understanding) rather than *erklären* (explaining) (Leezenberg & De Vries 2001).

CHAPTER 4:
ETHICS

It is paramount that social research should be done in an ethical way. Ethics is concerned with *morality*, of what is right and what is wrong (Leezenberg & De Vries 2001). However, different people have different opinions about morality. Also, the context plays an important role: what is acceptable in one context may be unacceptable in another. This is also the case for ethics in social research: it is debateable and contextual. This does not mean however that ethical considerations are therefore useless. Especially when doing research on people this is the case.

According to Babbie (2006), there are four important pillars of ethical research: a) voluntary participation, b) no harm to participants, c) confidentiality, and d) informed consent. First, people should not be coerced or intimidated in any way to take part in a research. Participation has to be voluntary and should in most cases not be paid for, as this may influence people's statements. Second, participants should not be harmed in any way, be it socially, financially or emotionally. Third, participants should have the possibility to remain unidentifiable to the outside world and in published results. And fourth, respondents should be informed fully about the content and intentions of the research. In this research, all respondents participated voluntarily and were not paid. Confidentiality and anonymity has been maintained to the best of my ability and last, participants were informed about the research. These conditions will be discussed in this chapter.

These ethical considerations played a central role in the research design of this study. It was necessary to obtain formal ethical approval by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences of the University of Waikato in order to conduct the research. The application form was submitted on January 10 2011, and ethical approval was given four days later with great approval. Thus, I considered many ethical issues already before conducting the actual research. While doing the research I kept to the promises given. During the research however, I concluded that I had to change one part of the approved ethical application. I had obliged myself to destroy all data within a certain timeframe, however the collected data may be valuable in the more distant future. Therefore, a formal alteration of the approved ethical application was requested on February 23 2011, which was granted a day later. I also sought consent of the Netherville Committee that manages Netherville to approach (Dutch) residents in different ways, which was granted immediately.

Before an interview the respondent was given a consent form (Appendix E) in which an outline of the interview, their rights and my obligations were stated. Furthermore, the respondent was asked on this form if they consented with:

1. Giving the interview
2. Having his or her house photographed
3. Having these photographs published without further approval

All fourteen respondents consented to all three options. They were also asked whether they would like to receive a copy of the transcript and if they would like to receive a copy of the findings. Eleven respondents wanted to obtain the results of this research, while nine wished to receive the transcript of their interview. By providing the transcript respondents were given the opportunity to comment on the

interview; however, no one did comment. I also asked permission for taping the interview, which all respondents willingly accepted.

VULNERABILITY

In this research, it was important to acknowledge the possible vulnerability of the participants as being elderly people. This vulnerability may have been exhibited mentally and physically. The latter exhibited itself for example in the reduced eye-sight of one respondent. In this particular case, I read the consent form out loud and taped this, so the respondent was fully informed. Another example is shortness of breath, for which I paused the interview. Mentally, participants were vulnerable in different ways. First, I had to take the emotions of participants into account which came up during the interview. This regarded problems in family life with a partner, parents or children, homesickness, mourning about deceased relatives, frustration, etc. I tried to deal with this by being emphatic and listen to what the respondent had to say. Sometimes a respondent was reluctant or unwilling to tell something; in those cases I have not pressed participants to answer questions or to speak about a specific subject.

Second, there were two cases in which someone was not able to fully understand my intentions. The first case considered a resident whom I would interview. After I arrived at her house we had coffee, talked a bit and I was shown some old photographs. When I handed her the consent form however, she had difficulties understanding it. When I tried to explain, it slowly became clear to me that she did not really understand what the conception of the interview was. She was reluctant in signing the document which she did not do eventually. Therefore, I decided to cancel the interview. We had another cup of coffee, talked a bit, looked at some more pictures and then I left in a pleasant way. Clearly, this is an example where ethical considerations are important. In this case the respondent could not be informed sufficiently.

The second case considered the partner of a respondent, who had moderate Alzheimer's disease. She was present during the interview, but did not participate. However, she did not really understand who I was or what my intentions were. A few times this made her a uncomfortable and she needed reconfirmation of her partner that all was well. At these moments I tried to reassure her as well. At one stage, when I was making photographs, she said "Well, we know where we have to be if something goes missing!".[1] I experienced a similar situation when I interviewed an elderly man with Alzheimer in the Netherlands for a different study. I assume that such reactions have to do with the great uncertainty of the mind that is caused by Alzheimer's disease.

A last aspect is related to the private space of the home, where all interviews were held. As home is a private space, it is important to exercise restraint both when asking to be admitted to the home, as well as when staying there. All respondents were readily willing to invite me in their homes. I spoke with my local supervisor Peggy Koopman-Boyden how to act when an object actually would go missing after I interviewed someone. To minimize the risk of being accused I tried to be in the presence of the respondent(s) at all times. When I was making photographs I would invite them to come. Luckily, no such case happened.

[1] Nou, als er iets mist dan weten we waar we moeten zijn!

ANONYMITY AND CONFIDENTIALITY

The anonymity of the respondents was emphasized and is an important issue in this research. First, because the group of respondents is quite small it is easier to identify a person. Second, because all interviews were held in one rather small community, the possibility of identification is further enlarged. Third, the interviews contained questions about (sensitive) private matters which should not be made public. Therefore, several measures were taken.

The anonymity of the respondents has been ensured in a variety of ways. All respondents were given a pseudonym and a different age in this report (deviating a few years from their real age). Identifiable personal information has been changed as well, such as profession, names of friends, and places of past residence. During the fieldwork, I tried to reveal as little as possible about who I interviewed. I kept silence about this, even when people asked who I had interviewed already. Also, I parked my car on a public parking spot rather than the personal drive of the respondent. Nevertheless, it was impossible to keep this research completely anonymous. People may have seen me entering or leaving a house, or seen talking to people on other occasions. Also, respondents talked with other residents about me interviewing them. Confidentiality has been handled in different ways. First, the tape recordings are only accessible to me personally, and will be destroyed in 2013. Second, the transcripts are only accessible to me and my supervisors; nine respondents requested for this transcript which is thereafter their own affair. After 2020 these transcripts will be stored securely at the University of Groningen. Third, the photographs that were taken are only published with consent of the respondent. No pictures of people were made.

Last, when conducting observation, it is desirable to be open about the researcher's intentions and reasons for being there. In practice, this meant that people knew who I was and that I did research on elderly Dutch immigrants for my Master's thesis. These social gatherings however also had a social value for me as a person. I genuinely liked meeting people, speaking to them and recreate by playing cards. So, this observation was not only out a scientific affair. The information that was gathered during these observations has been treated anonymous.

IMPACT OF THE RESEARCH

Doing research may have a negative impact on those that are researched (Babbie 2006). This impact may be either caused by the actual fieldwork, or by the final report. I will discuss two ways it might have affected people. First, the actual interview may have caused people to question themselves about certain suppositions. I asked people questions about subjects that, in everyday life, are not much talked about. Examples are for instance their youth; friends or relatives who passed away; their future; their identity; attachment to the Netherlands; heirlooms; choices they made, etc. This may have caused people to realize things they would not have done otherwise. One respondent mentioned later that she only realized some things about her husband after having read the transcript.[1] On the other hand, respondents may also have been contented to talk about their past and current life which may have had a positive effect on their psychological wellbeing.

Second, by conducting this type of research I entered the lives of my respondents, which I left again a few months later. In general, my presence should not have made a big impression on most respondents.

[1] To protect the anonymity of the respondents I will not expand on what this was.

But it is possible that certain respondents may have come to be attached to my presence. As I did not only conduct interviews, but also joined in other public or private activities, I entered their lives more profoundly. Seeing me leave again may have made people sad. It is very difficult to tell whether this has actually been the case or not, but the possibility always remains and should be acknowledged.

The outcomes of this research may also have impact, on respondents or other residents of Netherville. In this report I make numerous generalizations and suppositions, which is inevitable when you want to conduct meaningful research. It is not possible that every person will agree with (some of) my statements. There is a possibility that the report will cause debate amongst residents or others. To minimize this risk, I have tried to take all different opinions into account when possible, and I have genuinely tried to *understand* the respondents in *their* world.

CHAPTER 5:
POSITIONALITY

As Bourdieu remarks, a scientist has got a *habitus* from which he or she acts (Leezenberg & De Vries 2001). In other words, the views of a researcher are also partial and socially situated. Therefore, a researcher should be reflexive on his or her own characteristics and be aware of them; this is called positionality. Characteristics like age, educational level, gender and ethnicity influence the way a researcher perceives the world and thus his or her research. This is problem can be countered, as long as it is reflected on. This is especially the case when data is ambiguous and multi-interpretable, which is more likely with qualitative data. To acknowledge one's positionality makes research stronger in its reliability and validity. With regard to myself, I could say that I am a young, white, highly educated, fit, heterosexual man who was brought up in a rich, liberal, non-religious and rural environment. This has without doubt influenced my thinking.

Concerning this research, the first thing to note is that being a Dutchman doing research on Dutch-born immigrants in New Zealand, may have influenced both data collection and interpretation. For instance, it may have been easier for me to touch upon certain subjects because I speak Dutch and know more of Dutch cultures than other nationalities do. The participant may have been more open and willing to share ideas, as I am not part of the New Zealand culture (George (2009) experienced this as well). On the other hand, participants might have given some answers they expect me to be expecting, as a Dutch student who does research on Dutch immigrants. Next, it could be more difficult to place the findings within the New Zealand context as a foreigner. Also, the respondents may have thought it not necessary to explain certain things because they expect me to know them as a Dutchman. To counter this I often asked what they meant exactly when I was not totally sure about it. Furthermore, I am not part of an (ethnic) minority but part of a white majority. My respondents belong to a minority however with a different language. I have never experienced what it means to belong to a minority group, which may have made it harder for me to really understand. Also, my respondents have the experience of a long life, while I do not and I do not know how it feels to be old. I can *imagine*, but I can never *really* understand until I reach that age myself (see hooks 1992) about this fundamental position). This also accounts for health, as all respondents were physically less fit and some (had) experienced serious illnesses.

Another factor may be that the respondents are all retired after a life of hard work, while I am still a university student and have not worked much in my life. There is also a big difference in education, as most only got basic secondary schooling and started working at a young age. This has partly to do with the wealthiness of society in our youths. As I was born in 1985, I had a very different childhood than most participants, who experienced poverty and war. I believe however that I have been better able to understand these circumstances as I also hold a Bachelor in History and have done additional research about the post-war era in the Netherlands. Also, I think that I was quite able to understand the respondents who had been a farmer, as I grew up in a very small village in the countryside myself. Another characteristic that may have been influential is gender, which may have either had a positive or a negative effect on the research. For instance, male respondents might have found it easier to talk to me about certain things as 'man to man'. On the other hand, they may also have kept silent about certain feelings or ideas because they believe them to be feminine. Something similar may have been the case for women; however, it is very difficult to pinpoint the effects exactly.

I visited New Zealand in 2003-2004 for five months as a backpacker, so I already knew the country. This may have been favourable as I was a bit more aware of New Zealand life when I was conducting my research. As I found my stay in NZ very pleasant both times, I have developed a positive image of the country as a whole. Also, I am quite sure that my personal beliefs about immigration politics influenced my research from the start. I welcome differences between people, which makes (public) life richer and more diverse, while I reject simplistic nationalistic populist rhetoric that excludes (immigrant) people and denies them the freedom of an own identity. People should principally be free to cherish their ethnic, religious or cultural identity, whoever and wherever they are. If I would have thought differently, I am sure that I would have approached this research differently.

To conclude, social research can never be value free, nor can it be purely objective as this is the nature of humankind. I did however genuinely try to approach the research problem in an open way with as few prejudices as possible, so that the outcomes would become more reliable and valid. The way I conducted my analysis may have contributed a lot to achieve this.

CHAPTER 6:
BACKGROUND OF THE RESPONDENTS

It is necessary to understand the context to be able to understand the respondents with regard to the key objectives of this thesis: the relation between cultural identity and everyday practices. According to Chambers (1993) the experience of migration has a great impact on migrants' identities. Migration is an on-going experience, as it stretches out over one's lifetime and is not just the act itself (Castles & Miller 1998). To understand identity formation and negotiation it is important to take the specific context of these into account. As Hall (1996: 4) notes "[w]e need to understand identities (…) as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formats and practices". The construction of immigrants' identities is greatly impacted by social, cultural and political factors in the destination country (George 2009). Moreover, the social environment is an important factor in identity formation and should thus be understood well. This first chapter describes and explores therefore the experiences of emigration and immigration of the respondents. Furthermore, a short account will be given of retirement village Netherville, where all respondents live.

6.1: EMIGRATION EXPERIENCE

The reasons the respondents give for leaving the Netherlands are in line with those given in the literature (see Hofstede 1964; Blom 1981). These include lack of job opportunities (especially for farmer's sons), bad economic prospects, housing shortages, fear for a nuclear war, perceived overpopulation in the Netherlands and the disrupting nature of the war. Most respondents mention the better job opportunities in New Zealand and the bad labour prospects in The Netherlands first. This is especially the case for farmers. Subsequently however, three other reasons for emigration are often given as well: a) a wish for freedom and adventure, b) the fact that the Dutch government stimulated and propagated emigration heavily in those years, and c) the husband (or fiancé) wanted to emigrate and the wife (or fiancée) came along. The itch for adventure appears to have played a significant role in many cases. Another reason for emigration for some respondents was the wish for independence from the parents and perhaps from social control in society.

> And I'll tell you something: when that ship went out Hook of Holland, and we were three miles out… Duty free, right. And I, an unimaginable load came off my shoulders. I can't describe it. I just can't describe it, it's impossible. But there was something that came off me! There and then, right. And I looked back to that coast, and I thought aaaaahhh [sighs]. The expectations of me in Holland. I had to keep on learning… The expectations of always doing your best.[1] And and… what for? Where is the prize? Where is the prize I'm going to get? Wasn't there. It didn't look like it. And so yeah, right from the start I had this "aaah, I'm free". I don't have to answer to anybody, anymore. Now I can go and make my own decisions.
>
> *(Arend, 80)*

Some respondents admit that it was mostly the wish of the husband or fiancé to emigrate, and that the wife or fiancée would not have made that decision if it was up to her. Nevertheless, it should be noted

[1] The expectations of always je best doen.

that, except in one case, no woman regrets that she emigrated to New Zealand. Moreover, they moved to New Zealand voluntarily and it was also emphasized in those years that "a positive attitude of the woman towards emigration [is] an important, if not the most important element of success" (Hofstede, Huizing-Büchli & Groenman 1958: 30).[1] But it does express the general power relations that existed between men and women in marriage at that time. This is illustrated by the following excerpt:[2]

> I found that, for myself, I would come along. It was not my first choice; I would have never left the Netherlands myself. But 'cause he left, I came along. That's how it goes. But it was one of the… The worst days I reckoned in my young life. To leave. For father and mother. (…) Because I fell in love, so yeah…[3]
>
> *(Clara, 82)*

Throughout almost all interviews the financial difficulties in The Netherlands of the respondents and their families was prevalent. Most fathers were small farmers, traits men or small business owners, situated in the (lower) middle class. The lack of money during their youth was, especially in the interviews with emigrants from the early 1950s, very present. This was the case for many Dutch people in that period (Blom 1981). About two-thirds of the respondents were financially assisted migrants, which means that the Dutch government, New Zealand government and the individual each paid one third of the trip fare. In most cases, the parents of the respondent paid his or her share, as most respondents did not have any money themselves. The earlier assisted immigrants had to fulfil a two year work contract after arriving in New Zealand.

IMMIGRATION EXPERIENCES: "I CAME HERE WITH NOTHING"

A central issue in the emigration experience of the respondents was the fact that they barely had any possessions and money when they arrived in New Zealand. I often heard the quote "I came here with nothing". Even those who were a little older and had been married for several years had to put all their liquid assets in the journey. The only difference with the somewhat younger emigrants is that they had more possessions such as furniture which they could bring. Nevertheless, all respondents came to New Zealand with little money and had to build up their lives "from scratch" *(Bert, 84)*.

> *Gré:* But, we didn't have any possessions. (…) We had two plates and we ate from the lid of the sauce pan. We had absolutely nothing, except for a couple of pots.
> *John:* We were married and Pieter and Ger de Heer came to visit us. And they stayed for dinner. And, Pieter and Ger got the plate[s] to eat of. She [Gré] had the lid of the casserole, and I had the little breadboard.[4]
>
> *(John, 80 and Gré, 79)*

[1] "een positieve instelling van de vrouw op de emigratie [is] een belangrijk, zo niet het belangrijkste element van welslagen".
[2] Quotes in Dutch are translated in English but in a different font and colour. The literal quote is reproduced in a footnote.
[3] Dat vond ik, voor mezelf, ik wilde best mee. Het was nou niet m'n eerste keuze; ik was uit mezelf nooit uit Nederland weggegaan. Maar dat hij ging, ging ik mee. Zo gaat dat. Dat was wel een van de… De ergste dagen vond ik in mijn jonge leven. Dat ik wegging. Voor vader en moeder. (…) Want ik werd verliefd, dus ja…
[4] Wij waren getrouwd en Pieter en Ger de Heer kwamen ons opzoeken. En die bleven eten. En, Pieter en Ger kregen de bord[en] om van te eten. Zij [Gré] had het deksel van de braadpan, en ik had het broodplankje.

The respondents regard work as an important factor in their further life in New Zealand. Most seem to feel a certain pride about their financial and work-related achievements: "all I have, has come out of: nothing",[1] as Clara *(80)* mentions. They report however that they had to work very hard to accomplish that, which is also part of this pride. At the same time, respondents are also grateful to New Zealand for the opportunities the country gave them. Then, all but one respondent is very positive about the decision to immigrate to New Zealand. First, this positive attitude is generated by the (work) opportunities in New Zealand, which they believe not to have had in the Netherlands. Second, most respondents think that their children have (had) better opportunities in New Zealand than they would have had in the Netherlands. Last, people also mention the favourable climate as a positive aspect of New Zealand. The following excerpt shows how people respond when asked whether it was a good decision to emigrate:

> *Arnold:* Yes, yes. Never regretted it for a second. No.[2] (…) But I really enjoyed it. The farm we really enjoyed it.
> *Greetje:* Oh yeah, we'd do it again. If I had to do my life again.
> *(Arnold, 77 and Greetje, 75)*

6.2: NETHERVILLE

All respondents live in retirement village Netherville, which is situated in a suburb of Hamilton, New Zealand (145,000 residents, Statistics New Zealand 2011). The village meets all characteristics Phillips et al. (2001) attribute to a retirement community, as it has: a) a retirement element, residents are no longer (full-time) employed, b) a geographical and age-specific community element, c) a degree of collectivity with which residents identify and which may include shared activities and facilities, and d) a sense of independence together with security. Netherville can also be regarded as a practical community, as Meijering (2006) defined. This means that members "live together for utilitarian reasons", but have no common *ideology*, as a set of norms and values that are shared by the residents (Meijering 2006: 47). The village merely provides a convenient place to live in a setting that is simultaneously private and communal. The following section provides an overview which will show the practical conception of Netherville.

The village was set up and developed from the late 1980s onwards by a small group of Dutch immigrants, some of whom are still living in the village (see Appendix F for a map of Netherville). Between 1992 and 1999 103 houses were completed. Netherville contains nine different types of bungalows, mostly built with prefabricated material. Each house neighbours one other house at the garage. Before construction, a future resident had the possibility to adjust the physical interior of the house, such as inner walls, windows and doors. The village was developed with private money of (future) residents only. Initially, it was set up to meet the needs of ageing Dutch immigrants, but this policy changed very soon so every nationality was welcome. The first pamphlet read *"Everybody can live here, but it will have a Dutch flavour"*, according to one of the initiators. The Dutch flag and the name Netherville are examples of this flavour. At present about 40% of the residents are Dutch immigrants.

[1] alles wat ik heb, dat is gekomen van: niets.
[2] Ja, ja. Nooit een seconde spijt gehad. Nee.

Figure 6.1: Netherville. The Community Hall is located at the end of the street.

According to many respondents, an important difference with other retirement villages is that a resident gets a legal title to a house, while in most other villages only a permit for living in a house is given. When a resident sells his or her house, 10% of the selling price is turned over to the Netherville Trust for maintaining facilities. Respondents are also pleased with the low service charges, which are claimed to be less than a fourth of other (Dutch) retirement villages. Reason for this is apparently the non-commercial structure of Netherville: there is no external corporation involved that needs profit, nor is there a professional manager. Basically, the village is managed by the residents themselves, through the so-called Netherville Committee. This Committee consists of nine residents and is chosen every two years. At present, there are only two Dutch immigrants in the Committee.

Netherville provides a range of different practical facilities for its residents, which is often the case in retirement communities (Davies & James 2011). There is a large Community Hall that can accommodate all residents. Here is also a library (with a small Dutch section), a gym, a kitchen, a smaller meeting room, an office, toilets, and a recreation room with a billiard table. Then, there is also a craft shed with tools and machinery and a vegetable garden. There is a big car park at the Hall, and smaller ones (four spaces each) on different spots in the village. The greens are maintained by contracted gardeners. A resident only owns a very small section outside the house, but people are allowed to maintain larger stretches of communal green if they wish so. A few years ago, Dutch television (BVN)[1] was installed village-wide which was paid for with a subsidy of the Dutch Juliana Fund. There is also a television channel for the village itself called *Nethernet*, which broadcasts information, music and occasionally movies. The nearest shopping centre is 2,5 kilometres away, but there is a bus stop outside the village.

[1] BVN means *Het Beste van Vlaanderen en Nederland* [The Best of Flanders and the Netherlands] and broadcasts Dutch and Flemish public television programs worldwide via satellite.

Figure 6.2: Netherville Community Hall.

REASONS FOR MOVING TO NETHERVILLE

Basically, the respondents give two types of reasons for moving to Netherville. These are reasons for moving to a retirement village in general, and reasons for chosing Netherville specifically. First, several reasons are mentioned why people wanted to leave their old house and neighbourhood and settle in a retirement village. These have either a medical or a social character. The medical reasons are related to ageing mostly. E.g., respondents had problems with stairs in their old house, or could not handle the maintenance of the building and section anymore. Social reasons are either the disappearance of old neighbours, or couples thought about the future possibility that one spouse would pass away (or the spouse had already passed away). This last reason is very prevalent among the respondents.

> *Bert:* At one stage we said we go off the farm and I built a house in Cambridge. And I thought I built a nice good house there, and I thought that was my last house where we retired, we had a nice neighbourhood, but all the neighbours disappeared, and To says, it's getting a bit lonely, we better go to Netherville. (…)
> *To:* The people we knew around us, moved out, you know people from our age group, and I said, the younger people coming go to work, don't get to know them, I said, whenever one of us goes, the time comes, then you are on your own, and then it's much better to live in a village. (…) When one of us is on their own we have more company here.
>
> *(Bert, 84 and To, 82)*

There are three underlying reasons for the respondents to specifically choose to move to Netherville: financial, geographical and social reasons. First, some respondents mention the profitable financial set-up as a reason. The service costs are low and residents get a title to their house. Then, some say that the geographical location is of importance. To be in a city instead of the countryside is seen as an advantage, as there are more facilities. Also, some wished to be near Hamilton for family or church reasons. Last, social factors are most important. Many respondents mention they already knew other residents of Netherville, whose positive stories may have been of influence on the decision to come.

> *Herman:* Yes, it suits us fine, for family reasons, and for company in Netherville. We knew quite a few people already who were living here, so…
> *Adriana:* And the church is also,
> *Herman:* Close, yes. (…)
> *Interviewer:* Did it make a difference that there is some Dutch background here, to come here?
> *Herman:* … Probably a bit, yes…
> *Interviewer:* In what way then?
> *Herman:* Well, because acquaintances already lived here, and of Dutch background, we knew already quite a bit from Netherville, and that made it quite attractive to us.[1]
>
> *(Herman, 77 and Adriana, 78)*

It is striking that the mere fact that many Dutch immigrants live in the village, was *not* much a reason for most respondents to choose for Netherville. Although Herman says above that the Dutch *background* of the village was important, he actually means that he already knew Dutch *people* in Netherville. Only one respondent (Peter) mentions that the presence of Dutch immigrants *in general* was important, and he actually has a New Zealand wife. I had expected that the general presence of other Dutch immigrants would be more important, but it seems that the decision to move to Netherville is mostly influenced by the respondent's social network – which contains a fair number of other Dutch immigrants. This social network will be treated in section 8.1 more fully.

> *Interviewer:* Why did you want to come to Netherville eagerly?
> *Peter:* Eh people with the same background. You don't have to explain everything. They understand exactly what you been through, what you have been through and how life has been here.[2]
>
> *(Peter, 82)*

---

[1] Herman: Ja,'t suits us fine, for family reasons, and for company in Netherville. We knew quite a few people already who were living here, so…
Adriana: En de kerk is ook,
Herman: Dichtbij, ja. (…)
Interviewer: Maakte het dan nog wat uit dat hier een Nederlandse achtergrond is, om hier te komen?
Herman: … Waarschijnlijk wel een klein beetje ja…
Interviewer: Op welke manier dan?
Herman: Well, omdat hier al kennissen woonden, en van Nederlandse achtergrond, wisten we aardig wat van Netherville af, en dat maakte 't quite aantrekkelijk to us.

[2] Interviewer: Waarom wilde u graag naar Netherville komen?
Peter: Eh mensen van dezelfde achtergrond. Je hoeft niet alles uit te leggen. Ze begrijpen precies wat je doorheen gemaakt, wat je meegemaakt hebt en hoe het leven hier was.

CHAPTER 7:
CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION

This chapter will deal with the sense of belonging the respondents have in New Zealand and how their migration affect(ed) their cultural identification as they perceive it themselves. It thus focuses on the respondents' experiences of being part (or *not* a part) of a "system of shared meanings" (Hall 1995: 176). A major notion in this cultural identification is its hybrid nature, which is often relation to *diaspora* (Bhabha 1994; Hall 1995). Roots and routes are both important signifiers of cultural identity formation (Gilroy 1993). First, I will discuss integration of Dutch immigrants in New Zealand, as it provides the necessary context for the next sections. Moreover, analysis showed that it seems to be a very significant issue in the lives of the respondents. In the following section the nationality of the respondents is discussed, as this may be an indicator of national or cultural identification. The last part of the chapter will be devoted to cultural identification and sense of belonging of the respondents. It will specifically focus upon the idea of hybridity (Mitchell 2005)

7.1: INTEGRATION IN NEW ZEALAND

It is important to acknowledge that identity formation always takes place in a specific (historical) setting (Hall 1996). The following section will provide an overview how the respondents dealt with the particular situation in New Zealand. In the 1950s and 1960s, New Zealand society pressed immigrants heavily to integrate and become 'New Zealanders' (Anderson 1983, see also introduction). Most respondents appear to have accepted this norm and have placed it in their own repertoire as well. So, it seems that pressure to integrate came from (other) Dutch immigrants too. A large majority of respondents actually say they are very much integrated in New Zealand society. Most acknowledge that they actively chose this path, although they explain it mainly as a functional result of the interactions with New Zealanders over the years. This considers contacts from work, with neighbours, at schools, via their children and their respective partners and the church. As George (2009) notes, many immigrants have some sort of pre-packed story at hand about their immigration experiences, in which a linear, coherent story of their first experiences, work, family life and integration process is presented. This is something I encountered in my interviews as well. Often, there is a linear notion of integration: most did not integrate much in the first years for different reasons, but later when their children grew up and they settled down they got more involved in New Zealand society.

Dutch immigrants in New Zealand are often heralded for their excellent and successful integration in society and also for their work ethics (see Schouten 1992 for example). This view of Dutch immigrants as hard-working and well-integrated is widely accepted throughout New Zealand. It has therefore become part of their assigned group identity, but also part of their self-identity. It is not my intention to prove whether this viewpoint is correct or not, but rather to point out that these *imagined* essentialist characteristics influence people's perceptions of themselves.

> And, we Dutchies, we have a good name here. (…) Trustworthy. That's something we brought with us here. You can depend on that.[1] They can depend on us. Absolutely.
>
> *(Rein, 83)*

[1] Dat's een ding dat wij hier meegebracht hebben. Daar kun je van op aan.

> Slowly, we integrate(d).[1] Into the way of life. I mean our way of life at the start, and many of the immigrants, was not quite normal. But we accepted. The fact that we immigrated and got on with it.
>
> *(Gré, 79)*

Considering this, it becomes clear why most respondents display a certain pride of their achievement to integrate what is in their eyes successfully. Also, the vigour of some towards "other Dutch" for their apparent lack to integrate well becomes understandable: those immigrants do not live up to the norm in their perception. For instance, some respondents show a certain pride that they mix with non-Dutch at social gatherings in Netherville (or elsewhere), instead of knitting together with other Dutch immigrants. Some others point to other immigrant groups:

> But you often see that they all sit together the Hollanders. And Gré says so then, because she sees a group of Hollanders sitting, but she joins those oldies then, let's say.[2]
>
> *(John, 80)*

> It's not like in the Netherlands, Moroccans and what's more... They have implanted their children you have to stay like that [Moroccan]. We did not do that. We integrated, and we did our best for that. We did not speak Dutch, you spoke English, even though you spoke it badly.[3]
>
> *(Clara, 82)*

Two qualities which most respondents share are significant in this context: perseverance and future-mindedness. First, many respondents show an attitude of perseverance. They wanted their migration to be successful and worked hard to accomplish this. This also accounts for integration: most put a lot of efforts in integrating, for instance by switching to English at home. Second, a certain future-mindedness comes up from the analysis. Quite a few respondents literally said "And I never look back", indicating that they have left the past behind them (that is, the Netherlands and the initial hardships in New Zealand), and only look at the present and the future. This attitude is still salient among most, despite their current age.

However, the notion that they are well integrated may initially deny them of identifying with Dutch aspects. This may also be further fuelled by an assumed sameness as a result of skin colour (Walter 1991; Leavey, Sembhi & Livingstone 2004)). When thinking in an essentialist way – that is, culture as being absolute, monolithic and unchangeable – this would be the case. But now the specific qualities of the respondents in their identification processes become visible. That is, their ability to identify themselves

[1] Slowly, we integreren.
[2] Maar je vindt dikwijls dat ze allemaal bij mekaar gaan zitten de Hollanders. En Net die zegt dat ook, want dan ziet zij een groepje met Hollanders zitten, maar dan gaat zij bij die ouwen van dagen zitten, zeg maar.
[3] 't Is niet zoals in Nederland, Marokkanen, en wat heb je nog meer… Die hebben het bij de kinderen ingeplant je moet dat blijven. Dat hebben wij niet gedaan. We zijn ingeburgerd, daar hebben we ons best gedaan. We spraken geen Nederlands, je sprak Engels, ook al sprak je het slecht.

in multiple and sometimes contradicting ways by acknowledging the hybrid character of their cultural identity. This will be discussed in detail in paragraph 7.3.

7.2: NATIONALITY

Formal nationality could be an indicator of national identity, as it may say something about the sense of belonging to a nation. An immigrant may decide to become a naturalized citizen of his or her new country out of symbolic reasons of attachment (or detachment) (Cerulo 1995). Respondents were therefore asked whether they retained the Dutch nationality or became naturalized New Zealanders, and about their reasons for doing so. Exactly half of the respondents took on the New Zealand nationality, while the other half retained the Dutch nationality (couples always did the same). The respondents mention very diverse reasons for this, which is mostly the case for those who remained Dutch. These reasons are for instance profitable Dutch pensions, the advantages of a Dutch passport when travelling, protest against New Zealand regulations about naturalisation, resentment to England or the English queen and just plain laxity.[1]

> So they lobbied (…) that you had to be nationalized to get a loan. (…) And before we knew it, it came through Parliament. And from then on you had to be nationalized first before you could get a loan from the State Advances. And out of objection, out of protest, out of, stubbornness, out of pride, whatever you want to call it, I never became New Zealander.
>
> *(Bert, 84)*

> We have been working on naturalization. But eh, with shifting from eh, we lived near Napier, but by the time we came here [in the Waikato] and had settled down, the papers were lost, never happened.[2]
>
> *(Dirk, 80)*

Those who became New Zealanders mainly did so for two different reasons: first, some felt that they belonged in New Zealand society, and had no intention of going back to the Netherlands. Second, people were obliged to become a naturalized New Zealander to be able to receive a cheap loan from the State Advances Corporation from the early 1960s onwards. Without such a loan, many farmers were not able to invest in cattle or land. Four couples mention this reason, some of whom are not very pleased with it.

> Well, they looked after me very well;[3] they pay child benefit, so all those children are New Zealanders. I am not better, actually I am a little less than them and when I'm a Kiwi, then we are on an equal footing again. That's how I felt.[1]

[1] Some children or grandchildren have the Dutch nationality as well, even some whose parents became naturalized New Zealanders. However, this is a minority and the main reason for them for holding a Dutch passport is out of practical (or functional) considerations. Having a Dutch passport, it is much easier to work, live and travel in the European Union.
[2] We zijn bezig geweest om te naturaliseren. Maarre, met shiften van eh, we woonden bij Upper Hutt, maar by the time dat we hier waren en eenmaal ingeburgerd, de papieren waren zoek, nooit gebeurd.
[3] Peter uses an Anglicism in his Dutch sentence. He translates 'look after' literally in 'achter kijken' instead of 'zorgen voor'.

(Peter, 82)

Interviewer: Did you retain your Dutch nationality?
Hendrik: No, eh, I had to change over to eh, the Kiwi. Because I needed a loan, from the government. And I only could get a loan if I was New Zealand. (…)
Interviewer: So you became Kiwi.
Trijntje: New Zealanders.
(Hendrik, 76 and Trijntje, 75)

Two different types of reasons for naturalization emerge from the answers: functional and emotional ones. If people regard nationality as a functional concept, it is not a part of their self-identity. However, if it is regarded more emotionally it is to a much greater extent part of a person's self-identity. This does not necessarily mean that the nationality a person actually holds, is the one he or she identifies with. Trijntje for example corrects me when I conclude that she and her husband became Kiwis. Rather, they became New Zealanders, which is much less an identity concept than the term Kiwi is.[2] In other words, Trijntje does not see herself as part of the dominant Kiwi culture, though she shares the same nationality. Also, a person may have both types of reasons for doing either. Thus, it can be argued that nationality is not a very helpful concept to understand or explain identification processes in this particular study. As William puts it, nationality has no influence on his identity:

Personally I can't see any difference in my way of life whether I'd been Dutch nationality or New Zealand nationality. I don't think being a naturalized New Zealander has changed me one little bit one way or the other.
(William, 80)

7.3: CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION AND SENSE OF BELONGING

One of the objectives of this research is to explore cultural identities and sense of belonging of elderly Dutch immigrants in New Zealand. Therefore, respondents were asked explicitly about their cultural-national identity: whether they felt to be more New Zealander, more Dutch, or somewhere in-between. In other words, they were asked to which cultural 'system' and to which people they feel most connected to (see Hall 1995). Such a question may indicate a feeling of in-betweenness (Torres 2006; Han 2008). Many respondents also talked about attachment to the Netherlands and to New Zealand. The answers show a notion of the multiplicity of identity and a nuance of hybridity, which will come forward in the following pages.

First of all, many respondents say that they integrated into New Zealand society very much, of which some are quite proud. When asked at the end of the interview whether they feel more Dutch or New

[1] Nou ze hebben heel goed achter me gekeken; ze betalen kinderbijslag, dus al die kinderen zijn Nieuw-Zeelanders. Ik ben niet beter, ik ben eigenlijk iets minder dan hun en als ik een Kiwi ben dan zijn we weer op gelijke voet. Zo voelden ik dat.
[2] The term 'Kiwi' is popularly used to refer to people living in New Zealand both domestically as internationally. Although at first it was only a nickname for New Zealand soldiers in the World Wars, it became a common and also honorary designation in the following decades (Phillips 2011). However, the term also breaths a more cultural-nationalistic air than the neutral term 'New Zealander', which mostly refers to the fact someone is a resident of the state New Zealand.

Zealander (or Kiwi), quite some responded with New Zealander (although a few say Dutch or say it is somewhere in between).

> *Interviewer:* Yeah, so do you feel more to be a Kiwi, or…?
> *Arnold:* Oh heck yeah. There's only one thing: I had no regrets coming here, none at all. (…) I left and turned me back, and, right and found a different way of life. And that's it. And I'm extremely happy with it.
> *(Arend, 80)*

> I feel more to be New Zealander. … But you're still allowed to, eh, I'm not ashamed to be Dutch. And especially when you get older, [the] accent, you never lose that.[1]
> *(Herman, 77)*

In this last fragment, Herman points out something that many respondents acknowledge: you never lose your Dutch heritage. Even people such as Arend, who say to be a Kiwi and have integrated very well, still acknowledge their Dutch background and value it. This corresponds with Roberts (1999), who found that over 70% of her Wellington sample did not want to forget being Dutch, even though some did not want to belong to the Dutch community. So in other words, no assimilation has taken place as noted by Bourhis (1997). Some state that their regional or local origin is even more important than their national background. These notions point towards a valuation of one's *roots*, which they never lose according to themselves. This valuation seems even larger than it was a few decades ago.

> Look, I fly the Dutch flag, and I'm still proud to be Dutch, but am I in love with Holland, no, am I in love with New Zealand (…) yes.
> *(Arend, 80)*

> No, your, your Dutch-ness never goes away. But more, Noordwijker than Dutchman I would say.[2]
> *(Arnold, 77)*

> Insofar, you have said goodbye to being Dutch, but that does not mean, it is not the way you feel y'r self, but you don't want to show it to those others anymore. You get what I mean? Still, a connection remains.[3]
> *(Peter, 82)*

Herman says above that he is "not ashamed to be Dutch", and he is not the only one. This attitude reveals a certain pride for his Dutch background which is very prevalent among the respondents, even (or maybe especially?) those like Arend who say they are "Kiwi". So, most not only acknowledge their perceived cultural background, but are even proud of it. However, as Peter says above, it is something

[1] Ik voel me meer Nieuw-Zeelander. … Maar je mag toch ook nog wel, eh, I'm not ashamed to be Dutch. En, special when je ouder wordt, [the] accent *[eksent]*, dat raak je nooit kwijt.
[2] Nee, je, je Nederlander gaat nooit weg. Maar meer, Noordwijker dan Nederlander zal ik maar zeggen.
[3] In zoverre, je heb het Nederlandse afgezegd, maar het betekent niet, zo voel je je eigen niet, maar je wilt het niet meer aan die anderen laten weten. Snap je wat ik bedoel? Er blijft toch altijd een connectie.

that he does not want to show to others (that is, New Zealanders). It seems that most feel they have to defend themselves for this opinion. This may be caused by the disparagement of non-New Zealand cultures in the past, when non-British immigrants were told to 'give up' their original culture.

> *William:* You don't have to be ashamed of being a Dutchman. Not a bit. And whether or not you got a Dutch dialect it doesn't matter. They can understand me well enough.
> *Interviewer:* Would you say you're proud of being Dutch?
> *William:* Oh I'm proud off my Dutch heritage, yes! Of course I am. You don't, well, you don't have to be ashamed from your heritage from the country you came from. (…) I'm still proud that I'm, you know, was born in Holland, from Dutch origin, but, I'm also proud that I'm a Kiwi. Because I've lived a hell of a lot longer than that I've lived in Holland!
> *(William, 80)*

> We're Dutch, and I'm proud on my inheritance. But we're not Dutch-Dutch.
> *(Christine, 76)*

Most respondents point out that they changed a lot in the years they have been living in New Zealand, mostly in certain negative personal attitudes which are attributed to Dutch people in the Netherlands, such as overly competitiveness, narrow-mindedness, and rigidness. Respondents construct this self-image in contradiction to Dutch people in the Netherlands. In this way, the Dutch in the Netherlands are seen as the *Other* with whom they do not identify (see Said 1978). This is what Christine means when she says above she is not "Dutch-Dutch".

> The first time I arrived in the Netherlands, I walked through the village and I thought, 'Oh oh this is where I belong!'. You get the feeling this is where my home is! Up to six weeks, then I thought, I just have to get out of here. I have changed. It has got nothing to do whether Holland is good or bad, you have simply changed.[1]
> *(Clara, 82)*

> That's what we noticed when we were in the Netherlands. We wanted to go back [to New Zealand] eagerly. (…) We had been here for seventeen years when we went back. Been here in New Zealand. And we had become different. We had changed. Different.[2]
> *(Rein, 83)*

Often, the respondents also pointed out how much the Netherlands had changed when they returned for a visit after many years. They had changed, but the people in the Netherlands had changed as well in their perception. In that sense, most respondents did not feel at home anymore in the place they grew up. Some only realized that they sensed to belong in New Zealand when they visited the Netherlands.

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[1] De eerste keer dat ik aankwam in Nederland, toen liep ik door het dorp heen en toen dacht ik 'Oh oh hier hoor ik!'. Dan krijg je een gevoel hier hoor ik thuis! Tot zes weken, toen dacht ik, hier moet ik toch weg. Ik ben veranderd. Heeft niks mee te maken of Holland nou goed of slecht is, je bent gewoon veranderd.
[2] Dat merkten wij toen wij in Nederland waren. Wij wouwen graag weer terug [naar Nieuw-Zeeland]. (…) Wij waren zeventien jaar hier toen wij teruggingen. Hier geweest in Nieuw-Zeeland. En wij waren anders geworden. Wij waren veranderend. Different.

Their 'home' was not in Waalwijk, 's Gravenmoer or Berkenwoude, but in Pukemoremore, Waitanguru or Springdale. Or to be more precise, in New Zealand *in general*, as place attachment to a specific place of residence in New Zealand seems not as strong as place attachment to the birthplace. This is the case for a very large majority.

> We went to Holland after fifteen years, and then we said "Oh we go home". To find out that this [New Zealand] is home. We went to Holland, and had a good time, we even had an own apartment, from relatives from Gert's stepmother. (…) So we came home, and we were looking forward to coming home. To find out that this was home.
>
> *(Christine, 76)*

> *Interviewer:* Do you feel at home here?
> *Grie:* Yes. More than in Hol… Holland has changed much in fifty years. And is alright if you, I'd say, see you brothers and sisters, but if you come somewhere [else] it's all, strange for me.[1]
>
> *(Grie, 76)*

However, respondents also make clear that they are different from New Zealanders in numerous ways, both implicitly and explicitly. These perceived differences include habits and customs, mind-sets, attitudes, etc. In short, they constitute a different 'culture'. So, New Zealanders are also regarded as the *Other*, just like the Dutch in the Netherlands. What the respondents actually say is that they are neither Kiwi, nor Dutch. This could be interpreted as being in-between cultures (see Hall 1995; Torres 2006; Han 2008), as being uprooted and in an uncertain state of flux. Yet, it could also be interpreted in a positive way: they are *both*, instead of *neither*. Some respondents explicitly stated that they actually have this kind of hybrid cultural identity. They are both *the same* and simultaneously *different from* the people they live among (Hall 1995).
Walker (2004: 303) found something similar in her research on immigrants in New Zealand; one of her Dutch respondents said "that you're both" Dutch and New Zealander. Walker concludes that this hybrid mix is not the sum of the two 'parts', but rather a new way of identifying the self, while using multiple identities. I believe that this is also the case with my respondents. They use various hybrid ways in identifying themselves, depending on what is needed by a specific context. This is not so much a state of *'in-betweenness'*, as it is a state of *'being both'*.

> *Interviewer:* Do you feel to be a New Zealander?
> *Peter:* Yes. And I feel meself Dutch, too. You're a Dutch New Zealander. I don't have to choose between the two, I'm both.[2]
>
> *(Peter, 82)*

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[1] I: Voelt u zich thuis hier?
G: Ja. Meer als in Hol… Holland is veel veranderd in vijftig jaren. En is alright als wij u, zal 'k maar zeggen, broers en zusjes zien, maar als je dan ergens [anders] komt dat is allemaal, vreemd voor mij.
[2] I: Voelt u zich Nieuw-Zeelander?
P: Ja. En ik voel me eigen Hollander, ook. Je bent een Hollandse Nieuw-Zeelander. Ik hoef niet te kiezen tussen de twee, ik ben het allebei.

CHAPTER 8:
EVERYDAY PRACTICES

In the previous chapter, it became clear that the cultural identities of the respondents should be viewed as a hybrid form of elements from Dutch, New Zealand and regional 'cultural systems'. These elements are simultaneously present and may also be contradictory. Thus, it could be argued that a new hybrid 'cultural system' emerges as Hall (1995) notes among diasporic people. However, cultural identities may also be viewed as the product of people's *actions*. The practices of everyday life constitute a key factor in this production of culture, and are therefore an integral part of one's cultural identity (De Certeau 1988). The *tactics* of everyday life provide a rich source for investigating hybrid cultural identities, as they become visible through these actions and are simultaneously formed by them (Sheringham 2006). Following De Certeau (1988), I argue that these practices should be mainly seen as products of conscious thinking.

Therefore, several everyday practices will be analysed in this chapter. This concerns practices which may be specifically influenced by the Dutch background of the respondents, and are therefore relevant to expand on. First I will discuss several practices with a social character: social relations, social recreational activities, and language. These are inherently performed in a social environment. Then several more individual practices are treated which are greatly connected to the private home. These include home making, individual recreational activities, food consumption, and the performances of symbolic national rituals (which could also be regarded as a social activity). The hybrid cultural nature of these practices is fundamental as they are influenced by the context in which they are produced.

8.1: SOCIAL RELATIONS

Social relations are an important factor in life; they can even be considered as the very thing that defines a human being (Phillips, Ajrouch & Hillcoat-Nallétamby 2010). According to the literature, elderly people have a smaller social network than younger people, which is more dominated by family and in which associates are less frequently seen (Phillips, Ajrouch & Hillcoat-Nallétamby 2010). However, this does not say much about the qualitative nature of these relations. In my opinion, social encounters (and thus relationships) can be viewed as a practice which is also part of a person's identity. Moreover, immigrants' social networks are often influenced by their immigrant status. Therefore, I will discuss the social networks of the respondents in this subparagraph, while focussing on the hybrid cultural nature of those networks.

Almost all respondents consider family, and especially children, as very important contacts. Most talked about their children and are often proud of what they have achieved in education or in business. It is often remarked that the children, and grandchildren even more, are "real Kiwis" In general, children (and grandchildren) have priority over other social contacts as William shows below, which is in line with the literature (Carstensen 1993; Cantor, Brennan & Sainz 1994).

> And on that party you saw a lot of people you were associated with during all those years. But you sort of don't keep up with them all the time. Because you can't, because you've got a family and your family takes up quite a bit of time as well. Probably not quite as much as years ago, but… Whatever is on with your family that always has priority of course.
>
> *(William, 80)*

In some cases, brothers and sisters and their partners are also an important social contact. About half of the interviewees have (had) one or more brothers or sisters living in New Zealand. In general, these are socially closer than those living in the Netherlands and have been quite important in earlier life in New Zealand. Respondents who still have brothers or sisters in the Netherlands keep in contact with them via telephone and e-mail mainly. These contacts are mostly limited to a few times per year, except for one case in which there is regular contact with a sister.

The respondents were also asked about the origin of their friends and how they keep in contact with them. Overall, most respondents have little to no contact with old friends in the Netherlands, although there are a few exceptions. A majority of the interviewees reports that most of their friends in New Zealand are other Dutch immigrants, while three say their friends are mostly New Zealanders and four that it is about even. It must be noted however, that two of three who report to have more New Zealand friends, have a New Zealand wife which they say is an important factor in this. This corresponds with Erber (2010) who notes that within couples the wife is generally most active in keeping social relations.

Many respondents had similar experiences in the development of their social network. First of all, almost all respondents say they had more Dutch friends than New Zealand ones 'in the early days'. One reason is the difficulties most respondents had with the English language. Another was in some cases geographical isolation on a farm. A third was the shared experiences of the war according to one respondent. A fourth reason is probably the shared experience of leaving home and immigrating in another country. In the first years after arrival social contacts with other Dutch immigrants were probably also about support as William mentions above, especially when it concerned siblings. Many immigrants say that after the initial years contact with other Dutch immigrants dwindled (see also Mason 1974; Schouten 1992; Vlak 2005). After retirement however, the respondents seem to have got more need for these contacts again, as Peter's excerpt shows below.

> *Interviewer:* Why did you want to come to Netherville?
> *Peter:* Eh, people with the same background. You don't have to explain everything. They understand exactly what you be through, what you've been through and how the life was here.[1]
>
> *(Peter, 82)*

One respondent makes an interesting remark about the nature of social relationships he has with other Dutch immigrants on the one hand and New Zealanders on the other. He sees a clear difference between the two:

> *Bert:* The friendship with Dutch are different than friendship with Kiwis. Dutch people visit each other a lot more. I think they're a lot closer, New Zealanders are more eh, associates, people you know, 'acquaintances' in Dutch.[2] And I knew a hell of a lot people, and I was very good in contact with them. (…) And, when you meet them you have good conversations with them,

[1] Interviewer: Waarom wilde u graag naar Netherville komen?
Peter: Eh mensen van dezelfde achtergrond. Je hoeft niet alles uit te leggen. Ze begrijpen precies wat je doorheen gemaakt, wat je meegemaakt hebt en hoe het leven hier was.
[2] 'kennissen' op z'n Hollands.

and you're close to them. But when you're out of the organization, later on you perhaps meet him on a funeral, or a meeting and then you talk to him again, as old friends, but they don't come to visit you. It's different. It's good, but it's different.
Interviewer: So you'd say that your closest friends are…
Bert: Dutch.
Interviewer: Dutch.
Bert: And I think culture's got to do with that too. Language and the background and…
(Bert, 84)

Some respondents state, when asked about their friends, "Oh yeah, I have plenty of friends" *(Grie, 76)*[1] or that they have "Heaps, heaps, heaps" *(Arend, 80)*. Three respondents however say the opposite, that they do not have many friends. This difference may be caused by a different definition of the term 'friend' by the respondents (see Bert's quote above for example). But there may also be another explanation:

Interviewer: In these first ten years, did you still have contact with other Dutch people here?
Gré: Yes. John worked with, the other Dutchman, Pieter de Heer, and they were good friends. Mainly them, a few others, but not as close. En, yeah with bringing up a family you don't have that much time socializing. (…)
John: Pieter and Ger are both dead now, they were our real friends, what you say, [what] friends are, who go through fire and water. For you. But besides, nah, never made any contacts anymore.
Gré: The street we lived in there were three or four other couples, but not over much.
John: Acquaintances we call 'em.
Interviewer: [~] Acquaintances.
John: [~] Acquaintance. But not friends.[2]
(John, 80 and Gré, 79)

This couple says they did not have much time to make friends when they were raising their family. Subsequently however, it becomes clear why they state not to have any friends: their best friends died recently and they only have 'acquaintances' left. These acquaintances are mostly former and current neighbours, of whom "quite a few have died" too. The death of (dear) friends, family or partner was in almost all interviews present and constitutes an important factor in the respondents' current social lives. According to Antonucci & Akiyama (1987) these lost social contacts are often not replaced. This loss of friends and acquaintances may cause a feeling of loneliness which might have caused John's slightly negative attitude. The fact that some respondents *say* they have many friends, might also be a form of denial of this process by which it could be easier to cope with, but that is difficult to say.
This (possible) loss of social contacts was an important factor for many respondents to move to Netherville. The village thus provides people with a social network in which they (expected to) feel at

[1] Oh ja, ik heb vrienden zat.
[2] John: Pieter en Ger zijn nu allebei dood, dat waren onze echte vrienden, wat je zegt, [wat] vrienden zijn, die door 't vuur gaan. Voor je. Maar verder, nah, heb nooit geen contacten meer gemaakt. (…)
Interviewer: Kennissen.
John: Kennis. Maar geen vrienden.

home. This is supported by the fact that respondents report to feel at home in Netherville, in which social factors seem to be of greatest significance. It could be thought that the social contacts within the village are thus very intimate, but that is not the case. Most respondent report to have some contact with neighbours, but this contact is mostly superficial. Although most do say to have a few (good) friends in the village whom they meet regularly, privacy is still regarded highly:

> I mean, you don't go for a coffee every day at each other's place, and, you know. You go to the meeting or you go somewhere, small talk, and you call each other if someone is sick or there's something [else]. And now and again you go for a cup of coffee, I mean.... Yeah, and you go to church together or whatever, you know.[1]
>
> *(Grie, 76)*

> The company is good, people don't overrun one another, you have your privacy.
>
> *(Gré, 79)*

So, on the one hand the social contacts in the village are seen as valuable and nice, but on the other hand people don't want too much contact either, save with a few good friends perhaps. It seems that there is a sharp division between private and public spaces when it concerns social contacts. In the next paragraph it will become clear that public activities in the village and social contacts during these are valued highly. The home however, is a very private space. An underlying theme may be the wish to remain independent. The *possibility* of contact is very important nevertheless, and that the community as a whole functions as a social safety net. This is a characteristic of retirement villages and functional communities in general (Phillips et al. 2001; Meijering 2006).

It can be concluded that the social network of the respondents has a culturally and spatially hybrid structure: The respondents have Dutch friends and family in both New Zealand and the Netherlands, and New Zealand friends and family in New Zealand (moreover, some also have friends originating from other countries). The nuclear family is especially important for most respondents, but is also culturally hybrid as most children are regarded as "Kiwis". The functional community of Netherville is a hybrid cultural network in itself, with elements from New Zealand, the Netherlands, and other countries. Performing the social relations of the respondents' network is thus a hybrid cultural practice.

8.2: SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND DUTCH ORGANIZATIONS

The social relations of the respondents are partly moulded through (public) social activities. Social activities create a ground for people to interact, and are often guided by common interests. These can be recreational in character, but may also have a more practical or utilitarian goal. Such activities are also matters one identifies with and are therefore interesting in this study. First the different activities that are organized in Netherville will be discussed, as these play an important social role in the respondents' lives. Second, there will be attention to Dutch social organizations, with special attention for the Klaverjas Club.[2] By joining a club a person may reveal he identifies with it or with its members.

[1] Ik bedoel, je gaat niet iedere dag bij elkaar op de koffie, en, weetjewel. Je gaat naar de meeting of je gaat ergens naar toe, praatje, en je belt elkaar op als d'r iemand ziek is of d'r is iets. En af en toe ga je voor een kop koffie, ik bedoel... Ja, en je gaat samen naar de kerk ofzo, weetjewel.

[2] Klaverjas is a Dutch card game that is played by two teams of two people with 32 cards.

Investigating membership to clubs that may be culturally inspired, may thus point towards a sense of belonging to a group.

Different activities are organized in Netherville, which mostly take place in the communal Hall. The monthly Coffee Morning, afternoon Happy Hour with drinks, and communal dinners are most visited of these, with around three quarters of the residents joining in each time. All respondents say they attend these activities if they are able. During the activities, some announcements regarding Netherville are made, there may be some sort of performance (e.g. traditional Dutch folkdance when I visited), a lottery, etc. Some residents remark however that it is becoming more difficult to find volunteers to organize these activities as the mean age in the village is getting higher and people are physically less able to carry out the tasks needed. Furthermore, there are less visited activities such as a weekly games night where people can play card games, Rummikub or chess and afternoon indoor bowls (a popular English sport). All these social activities are enjoyed very much and seem to be quite important for the residents. They give "a nice break", some recreation and may make people feel less lonely, as it provides opportunities of social contact in 'acceptable' amounts. The public nature of these activities is important, because they do not interfere with the need for privacy in the private home as stated in the previous section. The public spaces in Netherville are thus quite significant, especially the Hall.

> *Interviewer:* Do you participate in the activities in the village?
> *Gré:* Yes, yes. Now we don't play cards with them, because John is not, well at the moment, so mobile, so we play Rummikub three nights a week, one by a friend's place, then to our place, and so on. But if there's nights that they have shared dinner, pot luck, or barbecue, or whatever, we always take part in that, always. Just gives a nice break, in a sometimes, boring…
> *John:* We have a very good hall.
> *Gré:* Because it can be very quiet.[1]
> *(John, 80 and Gré, 79)*

Another activity in Netherville is a seasonal games day organized by the Friendly Support Network (FSN). When I participated, there were about thirty people playing Rummikub and card games like klaverjassen, rikken and canasta. The FSN is a charitable organization that provides social support for elderly Dutch immigrants in the Waikato and is run by volunteers. When I visited a meeting of the volunteers, all but one that were present were women. So, there seems to be a certain gender role pattern. In recent years, the organization has been struggling with the ageing of its volunteers. Women who have done the work for years are quitting, and few new come in. This may become a major problem in the near future. The existence of the FSN shows however that there is still a need among elderly Dutch immigrants for social support by other Dutch immigrants.

In the past decades several small Dutch-New Zealand magazines existed, like the *Oranje Wimpel* and *Windmill Post* (Schouten 1992). At present only one national and several regional small brochure-like magazines remain in New Zealand. The Waikato version is called *Koetjes en Kalfjes,*[2] which is distributed by the Waikato branch of the New Zealand Netherlands Society (NZNS), also popularly known as the Dutch Society. Some respondents read this magazine, but membership of the NZNS is required to

[1] Interviewer: Doet u mee met de activiteiten die er zijn in het dorp? (…)
John: We hebben een hele goeie hall.
[2] ~Smalltalk. Literally: Cows and Calfs.

receive it which more than a third of the respondents are not.[1] Those who are not a member say they never had much interest in the Dutch immigrant society in New Zealand. However, most that *are* member, have never been much involved with its activities either. These activities include(d) the organization of trips, get-togethers, a Dutch cultural day and the celebration of Sinterklaas. There seems to be a low identification with the NZNS, and even some ambivalence against it when Arend's quote below is considered. As argued earlier, this ambivalence may have been caused by the belief that immigrants should assimilate and should not cling on to their culture. As Jancovic-Kramaric (2001) noted, ethnic club membership is an expression of ethnic identity and if people do not (want to) identify with a migrant community, they do not become member.

> *Interviewer:* Are you member of any Dutch club, or have you been member?
> *Arend:* No, no, in fact when I lived in Palmerston North I eh, went to a Dutch club there, once or twice, and no I didn't feel at home. Yeah I didn't come here to, eh, to really hang around with the Dutch, right? Not that I didn't want to talk to Dutch people…
>
> *(Arend, 80)*

Figure 8.1: The 'Waikato Dutch Folkdancers' perform at the Fryslân Ferbynt cultural day, March 12 2011.

Every region in New Zealand has its own branch of the NZNS, which had in its place several sub-organizations as well such as a folkdance club, theatre group, choir, etc. However, most of these have dissolved recently as a result of the ageing of the Dutch-born population in New Zealand. Only one club remains, the Waikato Dutch Folkdancers who still "struggle on" according to one respondent.[2] At the Frisian cultural day 'Fryslân Ferbynt' and at a coffee morning they performed their 'traditional' folkdances, while dressed in traditional costumes. According to Edensor (2002: 81) "dance is a form of

[1] Schouten (1992) calculated that only 5% of the people from Dutch descent were member in 1992. However, this figure was (and is) probably higher among immigrants who arrived as an adult.
[2] "De dansers strugglen nog steeds door" *(Dirk, 80)*.

popular embodied performance where particular styles are believed to embody national characteristics". However, just as the costumes these dance styles originate largely from the nineteenth century and are partly inspired by nationalistic ideas (Cerulo 1995). Without going deeper into the meaning of dance performances, it suffices to say that such performances confirm an essentialist idea about (Dutch) culture and that those who participate identify themselves to a certain extent with this notion. In other words, the participants regard it important to preserve their (imagined) cultural heritage.

The Waikato Dutch Choir had been especially popular among the respondents, as almost half had participated in it. This choir existed for about twenty five years, but was discontinued in 2009. Predominantly English songs were sung, which shows the cultural hybridity of this club. Besides singing, social contacts were also very important according to some respondents. Some respondents are members of the Klaverjas Club, which organizes a klaverjas competition every Wednesday evening (sometimes there is also a table for Rummikub). I visited ten of these nights, which attract in general twenty to twenty-five people. Almost all members are elderly Dutch immigrants, of whom about half live in Netherville and about half originate from the province of North-Brabant.[1] The remaining players are a few Dutch immigrant's (grand)children or non-Dutch elderly, some of whom live in Netherville. When they are present at a table of four, generally only English is spoken. Otherwise, it is often a mix of Dutch and English. About the same number of men and women participate. The atmosphere is casual, although there is also some competitiveness. An evening mostly takes about two and a half to three hours in total. People enjoy playing this game very much it seems, also because of the social nature of it and small-talk in-between games. This activity also shows a hybridity of New Zealand and Dutch elements, concerning language use, participants, instant coffee and Dutch *speculaas* cookies.

In conclusion, social activities provide the respondents with the possibility of social contacts. Although such contacts are generally emotionally not very deep, they are still an important part of everyday life. Some activities are organized by clubs with a Dutch background, but identification with these is mainly based on interest in the particular *activity* it organizes (such as klaverjassen or singing), and on the social contacts they generate. There is only little identification with the umbrella organization NZNS, which is more related to the Netherlands and the Dutch community in New Zealand as a whole. The cultural background of the clubs is thus not very important. Simultaneously however, by taking part in activities that are attributed to the Netherlands, people reproduce their hybrid cultural identity as these activities contain elements from both New Zealand and the Netherlands.

8.3: LANGUAGE

Language is an important part of human life. Without language, it is impossible to communicate in a meaningful way. When an individual immigrates to a country where a different language is spoken, the question of language use becomes especially important, as it is a significant feature of cultural identity. According to Romanucci-Ross & De Vos (1995) it is even the most important feature. Thus, language is more than just a communication tool, as it "serves to perform 'acts of identity' both individually and collectively" (Walker 2001: 5). The respondents in this research speak Dutch, English and often a Dutch regional dialect. By speaking one of these languages, respondents may indicate that they identify with others who speak the same language (see Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In general, languages may

[1] The large number of Brabanders probably accounts for the variant that is played: 'Rotterdams', which is more common in the southern half of the Netherlands, instead of 'Amsterdams' which is more common in the northern half.

be a unifying factor for people, "as they promote shared culture, access to ethnic social networks and a sense of belonging" (Jancovic-Kramaric 2001: 46). It should be noted that by *not* using a specific language, a person may also indicate such identifications. Thus, language can also be a separating factor between people. These suppositions assume that a person actively chooses which language he or she speaks. If we follow Bourdieu's *habitus* however, it could also be argued that language use is a sub-conscious practice. I believe that both views are correct, as the respondents in this study sometimes consciously decide which language they use, while in other situations it seems to be sub-conscious.

All respondents report that they hardly spoke English when they emigrated over 45 years ago. Some did not speak a word, while others had learned a little English at high school (MULO), or followed a short English course prior to departure. This was very basic however and did not help much in their everyday lives after arrival. The respondents mostly learned English through their work, social contacts, and from their children – which was not always easy. Most started speaking English with their children after the first went to school, as this was often asked by the teachers. All respondents have an accent, although some "thicker" than others. In everyday life the respondents use three different languages: English, Dutch, and in some cases local Dutch dialects such as Brabants, Frisian, or Noordwijks. What language is used often depends on the context and audience (Hulsen, De Bot & Weltens 2002). Actually all respondents report that they speak English when somebody who cannot speak Dutch is present. Kuiper (2005) named this the 'earshot rule': speaking Dutch is considered rude in the presence of non-Dutch, both by Dutch immigrants as New Zealanders. The reason for this lies in the apparent disapproval of other languages than English in New Zealand society a few decades ago. Among the respondents, the idea that speaking Dutch in front of others is rude still persists up to the present:

> Otherwise they will be reminded by someone: "Hey, speak English!", if New Zealanders are sitting on the same table.
>
> *(Gré, 79)*

All respondents speak mostly English with their children, who are often unable to express themselves in Dutch and have difficulties understanding. Some respondents also speak (mostly) English with their spouse and other Dutch immigrants in everyday life. This seems to be a conscious choice, and may point to a stronger identification with New Zealand society and a certain disconnection with the Netherlands or other Dutch immigrants. Yet quite a few respondents report to speak in dialect with their partner, siblings or friends from the same Dutch region. One respondent remarked for instance that it would be silly if she would speak English to a sibling in New Zealand. People from the north and south of the Netherlands speak more dialect than those from the west, which may be caused by the larger difference of these dialects from standardized Dutch than Hollandic dialects. Some respondents say they mostly speak Dutch when only other Dutch immigrants are present. Interestingly, it seems that this tendency to speak Dutch together has increased with ageing, and in particular after people moved to Netherville:

> "You talk English to someone here he answers in Dutch. So before you know you talk Dutch again. (…) Here in the village I talk <u>less</u> English [than before], and, I notice that my accent gets thicker and thicker."
>
> *(Bert, 84)*

When people speak Dutch, often certain English words are mixed in the sentences. This seems to happen more often with terms that were not (frequently) used before a respondent emigrated. Also, Dutch words and expressions are sometimes translated literally in English in an erroneous way, and the other way around. Most respondents acknowledge that they "mix up" their language, or to speak in linguistic terms, do a lot of code-switching, even within sentences. This means that words and grammar of both English and Dutch are used simultaneously. Immigrants often experience forms of language attrition: when people get older, they are less apt in using a second language they learned later in life. Instead, they return more often to their mother language (Hulsen 2000). This mostly happens unconsciously, as I experienced myself during interviews and other conversations. Most respondents are however *that* they code-switch sometimes, but often not at the moment they actually *do* it. Several examples:

> No… Ik weet niet what else to add really… Oh well. Misschien… Je talk about immigreren… In the beginning I think ik had wel heimwee, maar je had geen tijd om erover na te denken want je was busy helping on the farm, and with your household.[1]
>
> *(To, 82)*

> He had redecorated ons huisje, opgeknapt, painting, wall papering, all that, plastering, zelf geleerd. He did that voor mijn moeder, so my mother could say, that's what he's capable of.[2]
>
> *(Christine, 76)*

> And I could go there in tweeënvijftig, whereas hij, what I've early said to him, four years later kreeg hij ook een permit. Waarom was, because een van zijn broers die hier al was, ook on een government schedule, but he went to a farm.[3]
>
> *(Bert, 84)*

In conclusion, it becomes clear that all respondents show a hybrid use of language. This concerns differences in language use bound to the context and audience, but also literal hybridity within sentences. This is not always a conscious choice however. Some respondents identify with the Dutch language, or actually more with their own regional dialect. Others have some sort of disapproval of the Dutch language, which may have been caused by earlier disapproval of society. Overall, language is a practice which shows the cultural hybridity of the respondents.

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[1] No… I don't know what else to add really… Oh well. Maybe… You talk about immigrating… In the beginning I think I some homesickness had, but you did not have time to think about it because you were busy helping on the farm, and with your household.

[2] He had redecorated our little house, done it up, painting, wall papering, all that, plastering, learned it himself. He did that for my mother, so my mother could say, that's what he's capable of.

[3] And I could go there in fifty-two, whereas he, what I've early said to him, four years later he also got a permit. Why was, because one of his brothers who was here already, also on a government schedule, but he went to a farm.

8.4: HOME MAKING

The private home is a central factor in a person's life, as it is the physical and emotional place where many practices are performed. It is a sheltered place which is (to a certain extent) free from societal pressure to conform to its norms and where one can be relaxed and unselfconscious (Edensor 2002). It is a place where the Other can be excluded, but also a place of private material culture. It is the place where physical objects are kept which can have great emotional value and which are collected over the course of a lifetime (Sherman & 2005). According to Miller (2001: 17) "[p]eople take possession of home through home decoration as a form of objectification of the self vis-à-vis the material culture of home". The way people decorate their home, may reveal something about the sense of belonging, as material objects often have symbolic meanings (Belk 1992; Rowles & Watkins 2003). Possessions and the practices of home making play a key factor in identity formation, as it provides an (imagined) fixity in an ever-changing world (Edensor 2002; Morley & Robins 1995). For immigrants home is especially important, as it is a place that can be physically inscribed with culture from the homeland, creating little "microcosms" (Bailey, Channakki & Hutter 2009). According to Walker (2001: 12) "[t]he need for a sense of belonging may be enhanced as a consequence of the migration experience". This subparagraphs will explore and describe the home making practices of the respondents, and will focus on material objects. I consider these as constituents of the respondents' hybrid cultural identities. As Rubinstein & De Medeiros (2005: 56-57) note:

> "Through personalization (the projection of one's self and identity into objects), extension (the conscious use of objects to represent important aspects of the self), and embodiment (a degree of merging between self-representation and object), the individual acts inseparably from objects."

The private home seems to be an important factor in the respondents' lives. Most show a pride when talking about the first house (or farm) they owned, especially when they had built it themselves. This pride is probably partly a result from the relative poverty they experienced in their youth and the initial hardships in New Zealand. Also, owning a house may have been the reification of the successfulness of migration. Although some never expected they would live in Netherville, almost all are very happy with their home in Netherville. They feel "a hundred per cent" at home as some say.

It is interesting to note that quite some respondents remark that New Zealanders arrange and decorate their homes differently from the Dutch (immigrants). They claim for example that New Zealanders have less furniture which is often placed at the walls creating a large empty space in the living room. Subsequently, this is positioned against a so-called 'Dutch way' of interior design, in which people make it *gezellig* (cosy) with more "stuff" and "nick-nacks" (see figure 8.2). This was explained sometimes by the idea that Dutch people spend more time inside the house while New Zealanders are more often outside, as a result of the climate. However, some respondents do not perceive this difference and say for example that New Zealanders also have coffee tables. Moreover, those who say there is a difference, also acknowledge that it is a stereotype and that it has changed much since they arrived. Whether these stereotypes bear any truth in them is not really important – that is not an issue in this research. But it is more interesting to note that quite some respondents perceive this difference, in which New Zealanders are seen as the Other and 'the Dutch' are seen as the group one identifies with.

Interviewer: Do you think the way in which you have decorated your house is different from New Zealanders?
Rein: Oh yeah, oh absolutely.
Interviewer: In what way then?
Rein: We make it *gezellig* [cosy]. We say in the Netherlands.
Interviewer: Gezellig.
Rein: Yes. Those New Zealanders don't know that. (…) They do it differently. We brought the cosiness we were used to in the Netherlands, we brought it with us and we do it here again.
Interviewer: What are the biggest differences you think?
Rein: Well, to give a typical example, my opposite neighbour [from New Zealand] came here, but they have a television and opposite that television there are two chairs. With a table and that's all there is. (…) There's a sort of picture on the wall somewhere, you know, but, not the way we do it. We make it *gezellig*. (…) With many little thingies I think.[1]

(Rein, 83)

Without exception, all respondents decorate their homes with items *from* or *related to* the Netherlands. These were gathered in different ways: as a purchase, as a present, or as an heirloom. Most respondents came to New Zealand with few belongings, so most things were acquired later. Some of the objects were gathered on a return trip to the Netherlands, whereas others were collected while being in New Zealand (gifts from visitors for example). Different sorts of objects related to the Netherlands are present in most houses, of which the most salient are delft(ware), clocks, embroideries and paintings. All respondents have delft(ware) in their house from the Netherlands, mostly tiles and plates. This is often exhibited in the living room. Some items are antiques, while others are cheaper fabrics. Moreover, many also possess a Dutch clock. Half of the respondents own a specific type, the so-called Zaanse clock which was supposedly very popular in the twentieth century (see figure 8.3). These were mostly acquired as a present. Many also have embroideries with Dutch motifs, which were mostly made by the wife, a sister or mother decades ago (see figure 8.5). The motifs probably originate from Dutch women's magazines like *Margriet* and *Libelle*. Last, pictures and especially paintings depicting Dutch places are very popular. These are often related to the respondent's birthplace and youth, such as the parental farm or youth neighbourhood (see figure 8.4). These and are often placed in a prominent place such as the living room. Some respondents also have paintings made by family members in their homes, while some also decorate their homes with more nostalgic images of the Netherlands.[2] By placing these items in the private home little 'microcosms' are created, as noted by Bailey, Channaki & Hutter (2009).

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[1] Interviewer: Denkt u dat de manier waarop u uw huis heeft ingericht anders is dan hoe Nieuw-Zeelanders dat doen?
Rein: Oh ja, oh absolutely.
Interviewer: Op wat voor manier dan?
Rein: Wij maken 't gezellig. Zeggen we in Nederland.
Interviewer: Gezellig.
Rein: Ja. Die Nieuw-Zeelanders die kennen dat niet. (…) Die doen 't anders. Wij brengen de gezelligheid die we in Nederland gewend waren, die brengen wij mee en dat doen wij hier opnieuw.
Interviewer: Wat zijn dan de grootste verschillen denkt u?
Rein: Wel, om nou eens een typisch voorbeeld te geven, nou kwam mijn overbuurman hier, maar die hebben een televisie en tegenover die televisie staan twee stoelen. Met een tafel en da's alles wat er is. (…) D'r hangt wel een soort van foto aan de muur ergens, weet je wel, maar, niet zoals wij dat doen. Wij maken 't gezellig. (…) Met vele kleine dingetjes denk ik.
[2] Examples are Ot & Sien, Anton Pieck and the Aap-noot-mies.

Figure 8.2: The living room of a Dutch resident in Netherville. According to some respondents, the decorations on the walls, 'nick-nacks' on cupboards and lay-out and number of furniture pieces is a way to make it 'gezellig'.

Most respondents emphasize they come from relatively poor families and that their parents did not possess much. However, most respondents still inherited one or more heirlooms like a coffee or tea pot, porcelain, painting or sculpture. Even though these items may not have much real (monetary) value, the objects are still emotionally valuable. There was little inherited furniture however (or any furniture from the Netherlands at all), mostly because of the distance and shipping costs from the Netherlands to New Zealand. Trijntje points out below which objects they inherited:

> Those vases, those three middle ones. And that silver plate, so we got quite a bit from your [Hendrik's] parents. Not much from [mine], well I was one of twelve. So I've got maybe… [picks up a little pot] This was something we always used at home for sugar. And that's the only one thing I think.
>
> *(Trijntje, 75)*

Besides Dutch-related items, some other items also take a prominent place. These include pictures of children and grandchildren, aerial photographs of the New Zealand farm, souvenirs and pictures and paintings unrelated to the Netherlands. Nevertheless, Dutch-related items have a central place in almost all homes, even though some objects are sometimes put in less prominent places such as a study or garage. It should be noted that some respondents thought they have less items from the Netherlands at first than is actually the case. Perhaps the items have become such a natural part of the everyday environment, that its origin is shallowly forgotten. It is not clear whether home decoration is a genderized practice. A few respondents say it is mainly the wife's doing (as is suggested by some studies),

but some also contradict this. Moreover, many items were bought together in the Netherlands, or are presents or heirlooms.

Figure 8.3: A Zaanse clock.

Figure 8.4: A parental farm in the Netherlands, painted by a father.

Figure 8.5: An embroidery, a so-called schellekoord with a "Dutch motif", made by a wife.

In conclusion, it can be argued that many of the home decorations that are related to the Netherlands are also related to a personal memory of a place or person, often to their youth or family. This is the case with many of the paintings, pictures, presents and heirlooms. The emotional attachment to these objects seems to be strong specifically because of this *connection*, and not so much because the item is from the Netherlands *in general*. These objects have become part of the everyday environment, which is located in a New Zealand setting. Simultaneously, the home is also a place that confirms this location by exhibiting material items related to New Zealand. This results in the home being a hybrid cultural place with emotionally valuable items that are related to both the Netherlands as New Zealand. Thus, it could be said that the hybrid cultural identities of the respondents is partly formed through these home making practices.

8.5: INDIVIDUAL RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Individual activities are often practiced in a private place such as the home. The home provides people with a place where they are free to act the way they prefer. Considering this research, the home provided and still provides Dutch immigrants with a place that is free of (perceived) assimilationist societal pressure. Moreover, for elderly people it is the place where most time is spent and most activities are employed (Oswald & Wahl 2005). It is also an emotional and physical place where cultural

identity is most tangible and profound as the home has high emotional value. The individual activities people employ privately may show people's (hybrid) cultural identity.

Therefore, the respondents were asked about their recreational activities in and around the house. Of the many individual activities that are employed, two stand out in relative importance and frequency: reading and watching television. These two forms are also interesting for this research as there is a clear difference concerning language, societal focus and location of production of books and television programmes. Those produced for the Dutch market are generally in Dutch, while those for the New Zealand market are generally in English. How these practices are carried out may say something about self-identity and identification with a society in general.

First, reading is an important activity, although there are differences between the respondents. Some read many novels, while others only read the local newspaper or hardly at all because of bad eyesight. Almost all respondents prefer to read in English, as Dutch "doesn't feel natural anymore" *(Gert, 76)*. This seems to be merely a result of practical considerations: they got accustomed to reading in English because there were little Dutch books available in New Zealand. An example of this transition to English is seen in the use of the Bible. Respondents report that this is mainly because they got accustomed to it in church and because they like the English biblical language better. These notions show a stronger identification with their current churches in which English is spoken, than with the churches of their youth. The few Dutch books that respondents have been reading recently are mostly historically or informative.[1] The Netherville library also provides some books in Dutch, although these are not very popular. To conclude, reading is a practice which is more connected to New Zealand. This change was mostly caused by practical considerations however. Interestingly, this notion about reading partly opposes the use of Dutch as a spoken language, which is much more salient.

Watching television is a popular activity for quite some respondents. A few years ago Dutch satellite television was installed village-wide, called BVN.[2] This seems to have had quite some impact:

> *Cornelis:* We read very little books nowadays ye know, because we watch television so much.
> *Interviewer:* Okay. And in the past that was more reading, less TV?
> *Cornelis:* Oh yeah, oh yeah. Since we have that Dutch TV, at five o'clock the paper comes, and then at seven o'clock after the [New Zealand] news, we watch the Dutch TV, Witteman and everything. Yeah, almost fulltime and then you hardly have time to read the paper. Hehe.[3]
>
> *(Cornelis, 86)*

Of course the above does not account to everybody; some respondents watch little BVN or hardly any television at all. But in general, most respondent watch BVN now and again. The type of programmes

[1] Geert Mak is a popular author for example. Mak is a historian who has written several very popular books about the history of the Netherlands and Europe, e.g. *In Europa [In Europe]* and *De eeuw van mijn vader [My Father's Century]*.

[2] BVN stands for *Het Beste van Vlaanderen en Nederland [The Best of Flanders and the Netherlands]* and broadcasts Dutch and Flemish television programs from the different public channels via satellite worldwide.

[3] Cornelis: We lezen tegenwoordig heel weinig boeken weetjewel, omdat we zoveel naar de televisie kijken.
Interviewer: Oké. En dat was vroeger meer lezen, minder tv?
Cornelis: Oh ja, oh ja. Sinds we die Hollandse tv hebben, om vijf uur komt de krant, en dan om zeven uur na het [Nieuw-Zeelandse] nieuws, kijken we naar de Hollandse tv, *Witteman* en alles, ja haast full tijd en dan heb je haast geen tijd om de krant te lezen. Hehe.

people watch are very different in character. These range from the news, current affairs programs like *Pauw & Witteman*, royalty programs like *Blauw bloed* and the broadcasting of Koninginnedag,[1] reality programs like *Vermist*, *Spoorloos* and *Boer zoekt vrouw*, historical documentaries like *Memories* and *Andere Tijden*, and soccer. Interestingly, not one Flemish television program was named, even though about half of the BVN broadcasting consists of these. Some respondents also follow Dutch politics a little, but not very much as most report to have little understanding of the different political parties. New Zealand channels are mostly watched for the news and sometimes for soaps like Coronation Street. It is not very clear whether respondents watch BVN because they identify themselves with the Netherlands, or that it is just a pastime or a sort of plain curiosity. However, this interest in Dutch television programmes does reveal some degree of interest in Dutch society in general. To conclude, watching television is for many respondents a practice in which their cultural hybridity comes forward.

8.6: FOOD CONSUMPTION

Eating and drinking practices have long been seen as an indicator of cultural difference within social sciences like anthropology (A. James 2005). This assumption is grounded on essentialist ideas of culture, which are still widespread among people. In many people's minds raw herring, liquorice and kale[2] is typically Dutch for example. Projections of national food and eating symbols, both abroad and at home, often serve nation-building processes (Wilson 2006). However, eating practices themselves counter the idea of essentialist cultures simultaneously as they are hybrid practices. "Paradoxically, therefore, food provides a *flexible* symbolic vehicle for Self identity, precisely through the invocation of sets of '*inflexible* cultural stereotypes which link particular foodstuffs to particular localized identities'" (A. James 2005: 375; quoted: J. James 1993). Food practices are therefore "building blocks in the construction of all social identities" and a point of identification (Wilson 2006: 15; Giddens 1991). Analyzing eating practices is therefore central to understanding the relevance of food in everyday life (Sneijder 2006).

Taste, smell, texture and colour of food can trigger memories of past experiences. Therefore, eating is an emotional practice, caused by its social meanings and sensual properties (Lupton 2005). Sutton (2005) also argues that people actively choose what food they eat, rather than that is an automatism grounded in unconscious *habitus*. The consumption of food which is considered to be linked to a 'home(land)', is often a coping tactic of immigrants to retain a perceived oneness of the self (Sutton 2005). Taste and smell are important triggers for remembering the homeland.

To get an insight in identifications through food, the respondents were asked whether they eat any Dutch foods. All respondents report to eat food they consider Dutch. Examples are *speculaazs* and *stroopwafels*,[3] cumin cheese, croquettes, *ontbijtkoek*,[4] raw herring, soup, and liquorice. These are mostly obtained at the Gouda Cheese Shop a few kilometres from Netherville. It sells among other things (Dutch) cheese, biscuits, confectionary, vegetables, soup, coffee, Indonesian ingredients and fish. By tasting and consuming these foods, memories of the Netherlands may be triggered and may cause a sense of identification with the country (Lupton 2005). Some are very much aware whether they eat Dutch food, while others are not. The next excerpt shows that William is normally not very aware that he eats (what is considered) Dutch food:

[1] Queen's Day, which is celebrated on April 30, the birthday of former queen Juliana.
[2] (Curly) kale = *boerenkool*, also known in English as borecole.
[3] Speculaas = sort of spiced biscuit, also known as Dutch Windmill Cookies. Stroopwafel = sort of syrup or treacle waffle.
[4] Ontbijtkoek = spiced breakfast cake.

Interviewer: Are there any Dutch foods that you eat?
William: Dutch foods…. No I don't think so…
Interviewer: Like speculaas?
William: Oh we eat speculaas yeah. That's probably the only thing. And Antonia is keen on the Dutch soup, package soup, but I think that's all we have. Oooh, knakworstjes,[1] when my friends come over for a game of cards we have after a tea and a little knakworstjes. Oh she has Dutch cheese sometimes. Apart from that I don't think we got any Dutch food at all.

(William, 80)

Respondents were also asked what they eat for dinner. Notable was that the wife always cooks (except for one who was not physically able to do so). It is interesting that a very large majority of the respondents report that they still prepare dinner very much in a Dutch manner, even William who initially denies he eats any Dutch foods at all (see the quote above). Only one couple says not to see a difference, and two men say to eat New Zealand style, but they have a New Zealand wife. Two respondents eat pre-prepared dinners only because they cannot cook (anymore). It could be argued that women are thus constantly reproducing and reconfirming their Dutch cultural identities through food preparation, as these practices are building blocks of identity formation (Wilson 2006). When asked what this 'Dutch' style is exactly and how it differs from New Zealand cuisine, people say the following:

Oooh, she [Antonia] still sort of cooks it in the Dutch way. Yeah. But it's all New Zealand ingredients of course. But we still eat very much the Dutch way I feel, like, eh, in the winter time we have soup, in the summer time we don't have soup. But we still have potatoes, and meat, and gravy, and vegetables, and that sort of thing, and dessert afterwards.

(William, 80)

Interviewer: Is there, eh, some sorts of Dutch food that you eat?
Trijntje: Hahaha, ask Hendrik.
Hendrik: Hahaha, we only eat Dutch. Hahahaha.
Interviewer: In what manner, or…?
Hendrik: Stamppot. And…
Trijntje: Potatoes with meat. And vegetables.
Hendrik: And plenty of gravy.[2]
Trijntje: I would like to try out some other things, but, now, Hendrik prefers…
Hendrik: Yes, potatoes with a bit of vegetables. Yeah.
Trijntje: Yeah yeah, but I like to cook, oh we have macaroni and rice, and eh… but not really eh… Kiwi food.
Hendrik: Not English, no.
Interviewer: How's that different, do you think?

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[1] Knakworstjes = little cooked frankfurter sausages.
[2] Hendrik: Stamppot. En…
Trijntje: *Aardappels met vlees. En groente.*
Hendrik: En plenty of jus.
(Stamppot = mashed potatoes with cabbage like kale, carrots or endive, often supplemented with a smoked sausage, bacon, gravy, onions and/or mustard).

Hendrik: Like Kiwis eat a lot of vegetables. Lot of lettuce, and that kind of stuff. I eat my greens, but hey…

(Hendrik, 76 and Trijntje, 75)

Interviewer: What is the difference then?
Clara: Well, then it's really old-fashioned Dutch: potatoes, vegetables and a [Dutch] meat ball.
Dirk: Yes, and well cooked vegetables, and not something that is half-cooked. I don't like that. Horrible.
Interviewer: Is that what the New Zealanders do?
Dirk: Oh yeah. Very much so.[1]

(Clara, 82 and Dirk, 80)

So, most respondents agree that 'Dutch' food is typically cooked potatoes, well cooked vegetables, a piece of meat and gravy. Also more typical dishes that are considered Dutch is *stamppot* and (pea) soup. Wintle (2006: 74-75) notes that "[t]he Dutch" eat potatoes "served with meat and other vegetables, with the potatoes themselves swimming in a rich meat gravy and often mashed with winter vegetables, (…) especially those of an older generation". It seems that almost all women often cook more or less the way they learned in the Netherlands when they were young. There is a strong tendency of the respondents to distance themselves from what they perceive as traditional New Zealand cuisine. New Zealanders are thus imagined as the Other, by which a Dutch identity is emphasized. They want to adhere to long practiced habits – although Trijntje does mention she "would like to try out some other things" but that her husband does not approve. This said, most respondents add that in general both New Zealand and Dutch food habits have changed much the last decades due to globalization and immigration. However, that is not related to their actual food practices.

It could be argued that in the eating practices of the respondents a strong identification with the Netherlands remains. However, it seems that the attachment to this particular food is not so much *because* it is Dutch, but rather because of certain memories of the past which are triggered by taste and smell. In other words, when the respondents prepare their meal, eat cumin cheese or raw herring, the taste and smell reminds them of the place they spent their youth. Further research on this subject could find out more about underlying reasons and emotional attachment to such practices.

8.7: (NATIONAL) HOLIDAYS AND FLAG WAVING

According to Hobsbawm & Ranger (1983), national holidays are 'invented traditions', which were institutionalized for nationalistic purposes. They are "governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983: 1). Edensor (2002: 73) argues that "such events perform timelessness, grounding nation in history, symbolising community and legitimising authority". They are often intended to construct a notion of essentialist unique identity,

[1] Interviewer: Wat is dan het verschil?
Clara: Nou ja dan is het ook echt op z'n ouwerwets Hollands: aardappels, groente en een balletje gehakt.
Dirk: Ja, en goeie gare groente, en niet iets dat halfgaar is. Daar hou ik niet van. Verschrikkelijk.
Interviewer: Dat doen de Nieuw-Zeelanders?
Dirk: Oh ja. Very much so.

giving a sense of inclusion with the in-group (or nation) and excluding Others (Cerulo 1995). Such events are often loaded with symbolic rituals, which are often bodily performed. In this way national memory and identity are incorporated in the body as well.

In celebrating national holidays the symbolic meaning they represent is reproduced, through which the in-group is defined. In this paragraph, it is the question whether the respondents identify with the Netherlands, New Zealand or neither through symbolic holiday celebration. Respondents were therefore asked about the celebration of Dutch national holidays like Remembrance Day (May 4), Liberation Day (May 5) and Queen's Day (April 30),[1] and the celebration of the cultural holiday of Sinterklaas.

An important Dutch cultural holiday is the (children's) festivity of Sinterklaas.[2] When the respondents arrived in New Zealand, a third adhered to this tradition, while a third changed to celebrating Boxing Day immediately. The remainder changed over later or celebrated it differently. In the following excerpts, it comes forward that Rein is somewhat proud that they celebrated it "the New Zealand way", and thus accepted in this particular case the assimilationist attitude of New Zealand society. Bert and To however, emphasize that they wished their children to have the same experience they had when they were young. Nevertheless, Bert also emphasizes that they were, in contrast to later years, not yet very integrated for which he seems to be slightly ashamed. This may have to do with the initial rejection of non-British cultures in the past. Interestingly, there seems to be no correlation with other Dutch habits, such as language use, flag possession or food consumption, although this cannot be analyzed statistically as there are insufficient cases in this study to do so.

> We did it the New Zealand way. Christmas.[3]
> *(Rein, 83)*

> *Interviewer:* When the kids were small you didn't celebrate Sinterklaas and all?
> *To:* Yes we always did, when the kids were small, we always did.
> *Interviewer:* And why was that?
> *Bert:* Yeah, well, eh, I mean, your Holland, and[4] now I'm saying I'm a New Zealander but that doesn't go *plooop [makes gesture]* but, slowly. When the kids were young, you just did. And that was a memory we experienced, and that was a nice experience, so the kids experienced the same thing. But that's a long time ago.
> *(Bert, 84 and To, 82)*

From the interviews it emerges that Dutch national holidays are seldom celebrated.[5] At most, people report they watch a little BVN when it is Queen's Day, but that has only been the case the last years since BVN was installed. Although the Waikato Dutch Society organizes activities at several occasions, not many respondents have participated in these. Liberation Day and Remembrance Day are given even

[1] Dodenherdenking, Bevrijdingsdag and Koninginnedag
[2] The (children's) festivity of Sinterklaas on December 5 is somewhat similar to the celebration of Boxing Day, in which the character of Sinterklaas resembles that of Santa Claus.
[3] Wij deden het the New Zealand way. Kerstmis.
[4] Jaaah, well, eh, ik bedoel, je Holland, en now I'm saying (…) [continues in English].
[5] National New Zealand or Commonwealth holidays are celebrated neither.

less attention and are considered unimportant, except for one respondent who has lost friends in the Indonesian War of Independence in the late 1940s.

> [Dutch] Liberation Day always means a lot to me. As, my mates that I don't see anymore, I remember them on the fifth of May. Friends I lost in the Indies. I never overcame that. Not even now.[1]
>
> *(Peter, 82)*

The reasons for this lack of interest may be sought in two different fields. First, these national holidays may not have been grounded deeply yet in the Dutch public conscience in the period the respondents left. Liberation Day for instance was only celebrated once every five years, and Queen's Day has become a major, nationwide event only in the decades after World War II. Second, most Dutch immigrants tried to integrate soon in New Zealand society, as this was expected of them by public opinion (McMillan 2004). To openly adhere to such 'foreign' nationalistic traditions may have enlarged the view of them as *Others*. Peter says for example he never flew a Dutch flag because of this disapproval, even not now:

> You gave up the Dutchness, but that does not mean, it's not the way you feel yourself. But you don't want to show it to the others. You get what I mean? There always stays a connection.[2]
>
> *(Peter, 82)*

Some respondents say they do put out the Dutch flag on these occasions, however often together with the New Zealand flag. A (national) flag is a unifying symbol, by which an in-group and an out-group is created (Cerulo 1995). Waving a flag can either serve an instrumental or symbolic function (Schatz & Lavine 2007). The latter is the case for the respondents who fly the flag, as waving the flag does not bear any reward or punishment (anymore), as is the case with the instrumental function. "[A]ttitudes serve a symbolic function if they are held to express important values and aspects of identity or if they facilitate social relations or the management of intrapsychic conflict" (Schatz & Lavine 2007: 334). Waving a flag which serves a symbolic function is often an expression of national identification, although there seems not to be a relation with political engagement (Schatz & Lavine 2007).

Concerning the flag, there is a clear dichotomy within the respondent group. Every respondent who owns a Dutch flag has a New Zealand one as well, while those who possess no Dutch flag have a New Zealand one neither. People say they put the flag out on several occasions, such as (Dutch) national holidays, when there is a visitor from the Netherlands, or just when asked by the Netherville Committee or New Zealand Netherlands Society. This last reason seems to be merely inspired by social considerations to conform to social rules. One respondent says he only owns a Dutch flag because friends gave him one "because [he] went to live in Netherville". He, and others who do not own a flag, sometimes defend themselves for not flying a (Dutch) flag by saying they do not have a bracket to put it in. The fact that they feel they have to defend themselves, seems directed towards other Dutch people (in- or outside the village) who may expect them to conform to these rituals. This is not to say with

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[1] Bevrijdingsdag betekent voor mij altijd veel. In dat, m'n jongens die ik niet meer ziet, die herinner ik op de vijfde mei. Vrienden die ik kwijtgeraakt ben in Indië. En daar ben ik nooit overgekomen. Zelfs nou niet.

[2] Je heb het Nederlandse afgezegd, maar het betekent niet, zo voel je je eigen niet. Maar je wilt het niet meer aan die anderen laten weten. Snap je wat ik bedoel? Er blijft toch altijd een connectie.

certainty, as the excuse could also be directed to me personally. Nevertheless, considering the open and relaxed character of the interviews, I believe this is not the case.

In conclusion, it is very interesting that some residents wave both flags. This is a clear and tangible expression of a hybrid national (or cultural) identity. It connects people to the Netherlands, New Zealand, and to the Dutch community in New Zealand as well. It thereby contradicts essentialist notions of the meanings of these symbols, as they presuppose a singular identification with only one nation. However, the non-celebration of national holidays and those who do not wave the flag, contradict this idea simultaneously, as it shows a certain non-identification with both the Netherlands and New Zealand.

Figure 8.6: Some residents put the Dutch flag out if there is a visitor from the Netherlands.

CHAPTER 9:
CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The aim of this research was to illustrate and analyse how elderly Dutch immigrants' everyday lives are influenced by their Dutch background. It was carried out by doing in-depth interviews with residents of retirement village Netherville in Hamilton, New Zealand. The study focused primarily on the hybrid nature of migrants' cultural identities, which came forward in different and sometimes surprising ways.

It became clear that most respondents regard themselves to have integrated well; simultaneously however all agree that they will never lose their Dutch background. Despite apparent disapproval of Dutch identity in New Zealand society, a certain pride of their descent still exists. Nevertheless, the respondents see both New Zealanders and the Dutch in the Netherlands as the *Other* (see Said 1978), and there is a low identification with the (imagined) Dutch nation. It could be argued that this is a form of *being in-between* cultures; however I believe it should rather be seen in a positive way as a hybrid state of *'being both'*.

The second part of this thesis focused on the practices of everyday life, which are a key factor in identity formation. Following De Certeau (1988), I argued that cultural identities are produced *through* these specific practices, rather than just being the expression of a specific 'culture'. These practices include language use, recreational activities, home making, food consumption, social interactions and symbolic national-cultural rituals. Naturally, every respondent is unique in practicing and expressing his or her cultural identities. Also, there were differences between practices in strength of identification with a particular group. Nevertheless, the hybrid cultural identities of the respondents became manifest *through* these specific practices. Their lives are imbued with influences from both 'worlds' (or *repertoires*), although some respondents may not always consciously realize it. Furthermore, those who think of themselves as being mostly Dutch (or New Zealander) do not necessarily behave in this way. In addition, identification with (practices associated with) the Netherlands seems often more prompted by memories of the past rather than things being 'Dutch' in general. Concluding, virtually all respondents have a sense of belonging in New Zealand, but their Dutch background is still very much part of their lives. This Dutch background is reproduced daily through certain practices and is thereby part of their hybrid cultural identities. The quote by Stuart Hall (1995: 206) that I already cited in the theoretical framework, represents very accurately how the people in this research should be understood:

> "[They] have succeeded in remaking themselves and fashioning new kinds of cultural identity by, consciously or unconsciously, drawing on more than one cultural *repertoire*. (…) They are people who belong to more than one world, speak more than one language (literally and metaphorically), inhabit more than one identity, have more than one home; who have learned to negotiate and translate *between* cultures, and who, because they are irrevocably the product of several interlocking histories and cultures, have learned to live with, and indeed to speak from, *difference*. They speak from the 'in-between' of different cultures, always unsettling the assumptions of one culture from the perspective of another, and thus finding ways of being both *the same as* and at the same time *different from* the others amongst whom they live."

This study has showed and contested several interesting understandings of social processes and situations regarding migration, culture and identity. First, it showed that (cultural) identities can be investigated

by looking into everyday practices, as identities can be regarded as being constituted by such practices. Second, it showed that culture, ethnicity and identity are inherently multiple, contradictory and hybrid. They are not characteristics someone 'has', but are rather a product of social interactions, self-perceptions and practices. It thus counters essentialist and absolute ideas of these concepts (see Baumann 1999). Third, this notion of hybridity is especially distinguishable among migrants, as they have to cope more directly with *difference* and *sameness*. Fourth, this research also showed that the idea of (cultural) hybridity is not only applicable to (disposed) diasporic subjects, but also to voluntary migrant groups. Furthermore, the concept is not restricted to 'visible' migrants, but also applies to 'invisible' white immigrants in a predominantly white host society. The assumption of sameness based on skin colour may create additional problems for immigrants. Fifth, this thesis also showed that cultural hybridity is a natural quality of migrant groups. It counters the general idea that immigrants could (or should) assimilate at all, especially because *even* Dutch immigrants in New Zealand, who are regarded as having integrated very well, did not assimilate. This study provides us therefore with a nuance on the understandings about migration and cultural identities. It is thus both a tool and an advocacy for promoting understanding between people.

The research also raises several questions about limitations. First and maybe most fundamentally, by focusing on everyday life practices for explaining identifications that are generally understood as human characteristics (ethnicity, culture), the question what identity exactly *is* becomes more pressing. It could be argued that fundamentally identity only constitutes of the things we actually *do*. While some notions of identity naturally refer to our actions (such as being a teacher, being a football player, being a motorist), some are intrinsically believed to refer to who we feel we actually *are* (such as being a Dutchman, being a catholic, being a woman). I cannot provide definitive answers for this, as it is a very complex, multi-faceted and contestable issue. Moreover, this notion of identity formation through practices creates a tension between theoretical assumptions and the experiences of real people who adhere to essentialist ideas of 'having an identity'. This is problematic for studies that focus on staying close to its research subjects. Nevertheless, it could also be a challenge for future research to handle this problem.

Another question that is raised by this research is whether the need for cultural identification becomes more important in later life. As most respondents say they integrated very well in New Zealand in earlier life, but now live in a village with a strong Dutch accent and interact more with other Dutch immigrants than before, this question becomes relevant. A stronger focus on the life course perspective may have clarified some of these issues. Moreover, the context of ageing did not receive much attention in this study either, whereas it may well be of importance. The fact that the respondents live in a retirement village may well influence their sense of belonging, as it clearly influences their social interactions.

Because no comparison has been made with another case, it is difficult to deduct any generalizations. Although this was not the goal of this research, it may still have clarified certain findings and assumptions. The study may well have profited from a comparison with Dutch immigrants outside Netherville, in other countries or from other migration periods, or with other migrant groups in New Zealand or the world. While the theoretical assumptions make it inherently impossible to generalize the findings to other people, this does not mean that it would not be interesting and useful.

Several difficulties in the research should also not be ignored. The main data source of this study are in-depth interviews. While these provided much useful information, it may not have been the most effective way to collect rigorous and authentic data in some instances. For example, research on home making and private material culture may well have profited from a more active respondent-oriented approach by which it would be possible to get deeper in the meanings of these, e.g. by doing photo-elicitation.

It should be noted that this research merely concerned practices which, according to *myself*, could be regarded as specifically influenced by the Dutch background of the respondents. Other practices that I did not expect to be influenced by this background did not receive much attention. (Although certain practices were still incorporated, for instance questions about recreational activities were not only focused upon *klaverjassen* and watching BVN.) Nevertheless, I may have missed significant practices. It could also be argued that the practices that *were* selected were chosen a little arbitrarily. Practices such as shopping, sleeping, listening to music, driving a car, tourism, and sports did not get (much) attention during the interviews for example. However, it would also have been impossible to discuss every practice one can think of. Also, the application of more research methods would have been burdensome. The amount of data was already slightly overwhelming, and did not always provide much useful information with regard to the goals of this thesis. Still, transcription and analysis took time, and in that sense this study may have been carried out a little inefficiently.

The problems and limitations that are stated above are good pointers for further research in the subject of this thesis: cultural identities and everyday life. It would be theoretically interesting to go deeper in the subject of identity formation through practices, as it still is an ambiguous and complex issue. More practically, the context of ageing would be highly interesting to expand on, specifically because more migrants throughout the world will be in the older age group in the future. A comparison with other cases would be beneficial as well, as it would heighten understanding. These could be Dutch immigrants or others, could be situated in New Zealand or elsewhere in the world, or could concern research on other practices. Moreover, studies with a different methodological set-up may contribute further to understanding the processes that are described in this thesis.

Finally, as I also stated in chapter 5, the positionality of a researcher can never be forgotten. This thesis is inherently the result of my personal interpretation. Therefore the findings can never be regarded as 'the truth', but are a reflection of my thoughts and interpretation. Nevertheless, I genuinely tried to work systematically and with scientific rigor, and ensure validity and authenticity. I hope I succeeded well in this.

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Appendix A

Interview guide

Consent Form
The consent form is standard procedure at the university, it states your rights, and my rights and obligations. It seems quite formal, but that's the way they want it to be.
Please take your time to read it, and to decide to which things you agree and which not. Here is my card already, so you will have my address in case you want to contact me again.

Introduction
Thank you for your time, consent form is official policy at the university, must be some legal reason behind that. I will ask you about several subjects during the interview, first some short questions, then about your migration to NZ, about your social life, habits & customs, home and sense of belonging. But this does not necessarily be in this sequence.
You can take a break during the interview at any time, for whatever reason, or stop the interview altogether. That is no problem. Everything you say could help me in my research, and there are no right or wrong answers. It's all about your opinions and experiences. Only thing left to say is that I'm interested in what you can tell me!

Short questions
Age
Education
Birth place, place you grew up
Parents, Brothers/sisters
Husband/wife, Children (age, where do they live)
Job(s)
Financial Situation
Health

Migration
When migrated
With whom
Why
Who decided
How migrated
Where to
How financed
How informed? What was the quality?
First experiences
Could you summarize your time in NZ, e.g. where did you live, what work did you do?
Looking back, how do you evaluate your decision to migrate?
Did you retain Dutch nationality?

Social Life
How is contact with neighbors?
Who visits your home?
What friends do you have? Dutch? Kiwi?
How do you meet them?
Changed in time?
Do you stay in contact with the Netherlands? How? Visits? Have you been back?
What do you think about Dutch clubs in NZ? (are you member, how important)
What do you think about Dutch media in NZ? (News letters Echo, Koetjes en Kalfjes; BVN)

Habits & Customs
On what occasions do you speak Dutch? When English? Did this change in time?
Do you read in Dutch? What (magazines, paper, internet, books)
What activities do you do in your free time?
Is this different from other New Zealanders you think?
Are you religious? In what way? Do you attend church?
What kind of food do you eat normally?
Which (public) holidays do you celebrate?

Home
When did you move here and why?
Who designed the interior of your home?
What things are in it? (ask about things in room)
Are some things from Holland? Which not?
Are they important to you?
Do you think it is different from 'standard' New Zealand homes?
Do you have a favorite place in your house?
If you would have to move to a nursing home, what items would you bring?

Sense of Belonging
Do you feel at home in your house?
In the neighborhood?
Do you feel to be a 'New Zealander'? Do you feel to be a 'Dutchman'?
How did this change over time?
What about your children?
Do you have anything to add?

Thank you very much. End of interview.
Kado (+ Kaartje)

university of groningen

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

ENGLISH VERSION

10 February 2011

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Jinko Rots and I am a student at the University of Groningen, the Netherlands. I am currently at the University of Waikato in Hamilton to do research for my Master's thesis. My supervisors are dr. Bettina van Hoven (b.van.hoven@rug.nl) and dr. Louise Meijering from the University of Groningen, and prof. Peggy Koopman-Boyden (tel: 07 858 5040, pkb@waikato.co.nz) from the University of Waikato.

The topic of my research is the Dutch roots of older Dutch migrants, who left Holland over forty years ago. It is about their culture, habits and customs, social life, home and their sense of belonging in New Zealand.

I would like to interview about 15 older Dutch New Zealanders, and I would like to ask you if you would be willing to be interviewed. The interview takes about one to one and a half hours. I would also like to tape-record the interview so that I can better remember the information you give me.

Part of the research is about the homes of people, so I would prefer to interview you in your own home. But if you wish, another location can be found. After the interview, I would like to take some photographs of your home. However, if you object to this, you can still do the interview without having the photographs taken.

Everything you say during the interview will be treated confidentially. That is, your name will not appear on the transcript or in any publication. You will thus remain anonymous. Also, the photographs taken will only be used for analysis and will not be published or made public in any way, unless you give permission.

The results of this research will be used in my Master's thesis and some other university courses, and may be published in an academic journal, popular media or be presented at (academic) conferences.

This project has the ethical approval of the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Waikato. I will ask you to sign a Consent Form prior to the interview which sets out what assurances you can expect with regard to the interview. This is standard procedure at the University of Waikato.

On Thursday 24 February I will be visiting Netherville during the Coffee Hour at 10 am, to explain more about my research and the interview, and to answer any questions you may have. If you are willing to participate, you can tell me then and I will put you on my list. You could also phone me on 022 081 9688 (NZ mobile phone) or e-mail me at jinkorots@gmail.com. If there are too many participants I will have to select people from the list. Please don't be offended if it turns out that I cannot interview you.

Lastly, I would like to emphasise that the things you can tell me are very valuable for my research. I hope that you can help me with my project and have the time for an interview.

Yours sincerely
Jinko Rots

This letter is distributed with permission of the Netherville Board

DUTCH VERSION

10 februari 2011

Geachte meneer/mevrouw,

Mijn naam is Jinko Rots en ik studeer aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, in Nederland. Momenteel ben ik op de University of Waikato in Hamilton om onderzoek te doen voor mijn Master scriptie. Mijn begeleiders zijn dr. Bettina van Hoven (b.van.hoven@rug.nl) en dr. Louise Meijering van de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, en prof. Peggy Koopman-Boyden (tel: 07 858 5040, pkb@waikato.co.nz) van de University of Waikato.

Het onderwerp van mijn onderzoek is de Nederlandse wortels van oudere Nederlandse emigranten, die meer dan veertig jaar geleden emigreerden. Het gaat over cultuur, gewoonten en gebruiken, het sociale leven, het thuis, en het gevoel van zich thuis voelen.

Hiervoor wil ik graag ongeveer 15 oudere Nederlandse emigranten interviewen. Ik zou u dan ook willen vragen of u geïnterviewd wilt worden. Het interview duurt ongeveer één tot anderhalf uur. Ik zou het interview graag willen opnemen met een voice recorder zodat ik het me later beter kan herinneren.

Omdat een deel van het onderzoek gaat over het thuis, zou ik u graag in uw eigen huis interviewen. Maar als u dat wenst is een andere plek ook mogelijk. Na het interview zou ik graag een aantal foto's willen maken van uw huis en de inrichting. Maar als u hier bezwaar tegen heeft, dan is dat geen probleem.

Alles wat u zegt tijdens het interview wordt vertrouwelijk behandeld. Dat houdt in dat u in het transcript en verdere publicaties wordt geanonimiseerd. Daarnaast zullen de foto's alleen voor analyse worden gebruikt en niet worden gepubliceerd, tenzij u hier toestemming voor geeft.

De bevindingen van dit onderzoek zullen worden gebruikt in mijn Master scriptie en voor enkele andere vakken, en kunnen verder worden gepubliceerd in wetenschappelijke tijdschriften, populaire media of op (wetenschappelijke) congressen.

Dit onderzoek heeft de ethische goedkeuring van de *Human Research Ethics Committee* van de *Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences* van de University of Waikato. U zult worden gevraagd om een Toestemmingsformulier te tekenen voor het interview. Hierin staan welke rechten u heeft met betrekking tot het interview. Dit is standaardprocedure op de University of Waikato.

Donderdag 24 februari zal ik Netherville bezoeken tijdens het Koffie-uur om 10:00. Hier zal ik meer uitleg geven over mijn onderzoek en het interview en mogelijke vragen beantwoorden. U kunt dan ook aangeven als u mee wilt doen met het onderzoek, dan zet ik u op mijn lijst. U kunt me ook bellen op 022 081 9688 (NZ mobiele telefoon) of e-mailen op jinkorots@gmail.com. Als er teveel deelnemers zijn zal ik mensen moeten selecteren van de lijst. Wees alstublieft niet beledigd als blijkt dat ik u hierdoor niet kan interviewen.

Ten slotte wil ik benadrukken dat uw verhaal van grote waarde is voor mijn onderzoek. Ik hoop dat u me kunt helpen bij dit project en tijd heeft voor een interview.

Hoogachtend,
Jinko Rots

Deze brief is verspreid met toestemming van de Netherville Board

Appendix C

Message for Nethernet:

university of groningen

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Dutch student is looking for participants

Jinko Rots, a university student from the University of Groningen, the Netherlands, is currently in Hamilton to conduct research for his master's thesis.
The topic of his research is the Dutch roots of older Dutch migrants, who left Holland over forty years ago. It is about their culture, habits and customs, social life, home, and their sense of belonging.
Therefore, he is looking for older Dutch New Zealanders to interview. Thursday 24 February he will be attending the Coffee Morning in the Netherville Hall to explain more about the research and interview at 10.00 am. Please feel free to attend!

Appendix D

o Yes, you can interview me

o I would like to think it over, but you may call me in a few days

Name(s):.....

Age:.....

Sex:.....

Marital status:.....

Year of emigration:.....

Place(s) you grew up:.....

Living in Netherville since:.....

Telephone + House number:.....

university of groningen

THE UNIVERSITY OF WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

CONSENT FORM

"Dutch roots of older Dutch Migrants" *Jinko Rots BSc*

1. I am currently doing research about the Dutch roots of older Dutch migrants in New Zealand, who left Holland over forty years ago. My supervisors are dr. B. van Hoven and dr. L.B. Meijering from the University of Groningen, and prof. P. Koopman-Boyden from the University of Waikato. This project has the ethical approval of the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Waikato.

2. I would like to interview you about your culture, habits and customs, social life, home and your sense of belonging. The interview will take about an hour and a half.

3. I would like to record the interview so that I can obtain an accurate record of your views.

4. After the interview, I would like to make some photographs of your home. You may decide what can be photographed and what not. If you object to this, please state so below.

5. The photographs, the tape recording and its transcript will be stored on my personal password protected laptop, in a secure personal folder on the internet and the locked cabinet of dr. Bettina van Hoven. Only my supervisors and myself will have access to them. The tape records will be destroyed after 2 years. The photographs and anonymous transcripts will be stored here for a maximum of 10 years, after which they will be transferred to the Faculty Office of the Faculty of Spatial Sciences, University of Groningen.

6. Everything you say during the interview will be treated confidentially. That is, your name will not appear on the transcript or in any further publication. Photographs will not be published, unless you give permission.

7. The results of this research will be published in my master's thesis and other academic courses, and may be published in academic journals, and academic conferences.

8. If you agree to take part in this interview, you have the following rights:
a) To refuse to answer any particular question, to terminate the interview at any time, and to switch off the voice recorder at any time.
b) To ask any further questions about the interview or research project that occurs to you, either during the interview or after.
c) To decide which parts of your home can be photographed and which not.
d) To remain anonymous. Anything that may identify you will not be included in conference papers, academic articles or any other report about the findings of the research without your explicit consent.
e) To withdraw your consent up until two weeks after your interview by contacting me at 022 081 9688 or via e-mail: jinkorots@gmail.com.
f) To send any questions about the ethical conduct of this research to the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton 3240, or you can e-mail its secretary at fass-ethics@waikato.ac.nz).

"I consent to be interviewed for this research on the above conditions"	YES	NO
"I consent to have (parts of) my home photographed on the above conditions"	YES	NO
"I consent to have these photographs published without prior approval"	YES	NO
"I wish to receive a copy of the transcript of the interview"	YES	NO
"I wish to receive a copy of the findings"	YES	NO

(please circle your choice)

Participant: Name:..... Signature:..... Date:.....

"I agree to abide by the above conditions"

Interviewer: Name: Jinko Rots Signature..... Date:.....

Codes used in Dedoose

Id	Par.Id	Depth	Title	Id	Par.Id	Depth	Title
1		0	Family	46		0	Home
2	1	1	Children	47	46	1	Previous house(s)
3	1	1	Grandchildren	48	47	2	Location
4	1	1	Parents	49	46	1	Inventory
5	1	1	Brothers/Sisters	50	49	2	Furniture
6	1	1	Partner	51	49	2	Heirlooms
7	6	2	Disagreement	52	49	2	Dutch items
8	6	2	Loss of partner	53	49	2	Attachment to inventory
9		0	Birthplace	54	49	2	Other items
10	9	1	Youth	55	46	1	Visitors
11	9	1	War	56	55	2	Visitors from Holland
12		0	Social contacts	57	46	1	NZ houses
13	12	1	Dutch friends	58	46	1	Building house
14	12	1	NZ Friends	59	46	1	Feelings home
15	12	1	Former neighbours	60	59	2	Gezelligheid
16	12	1	In Holland	61		0	Habits and customs
17	12	1	Church	62	61	1	Food
18		0	Work	63	62	2	Koffie/thee
19	18	1	Education	64	61	1	Flag
20	18	1	Job NL	65	61	1	Sinterklaas/Kerst
21	18	1	Job NZ	66	61	1	Dutch holidays
22	18	1	Retiring	67		0	Activities
23		0	Language	68	67	1	Dutch clubs
24	23	1	Dutch	69	67	1	(card) games
25	23	1	English	70	67	1	Watching TV
26	23	1	Dialect	71	70	2	BVN
27	23	1	Attrition	72	67	1	Reading
28	23	1	Switching	73	72	2	Dutch paper/magazines
29	23	1	Learning English	74		0	Holidays
30	23	1	Spraakverwarring	75	74	1	Return to Holland
31		0	Emigration	76	74	1	NZ holidays
32	31	1	Reasons	77	74	1	Holidays overseas
33	31	1	Finance	78		0	Identity
34	31	1	Journey	79	78	1	Nationality
35	31	1	Information	80	78	1	Hybridity
36	31	1	Decision	81	78	1	Other groups
37	31	1	Permit	82	81	2	Other minorities
38	31	1	Looking back	83	81	2	Maori's
39	31	1	Remigration	84	81	2	Kiwi's
40		0	Immigration	85	81	2	Dutch in NL
41	40	1	Other Dutch	86	78	1	Cultural identity
42	40	1	New Zealanders	87	86	2	Regional identity
43	40	1	Positive experiences	88	86	2	Dutch identity
44	40	1	Negative experiences	89	88	3	Koningshuis
45	40	1	Integration	90	86	2	NZ identity

91		0	Omgangsvormen
92		0	Religion
93	92	1	Religion NL
94	92	1	Religion NZ
95		0	Armoede NL
96	95	1	Armoede NZ
97		0	Ageing
98	97	1	Lichamelijke gesteldheid
99	97	1	Death
100	97	1	Forgetfulness
101	97	1	Loss of friends
102		0	Gender relations
103		0	Netherville
104	103	1	Activities
105	103	1	Social contacts
106	103	1	Committee
107	103	1	Other retirement villages
108	103	1	Reasons for coming
109	103	1	Facilities
110	103	1	Housing
111	103	1	Privacy
112	103	1	Financial
113	103	1	Feelings Netherville
114		0	Instelling
115	114	1	Humor
116	114	1	Doorzettingsvermogen
117	114	1	Futureminded
118	114	1	Hard werken
119	114	1	Onbekende dingen aanpakken
120	114	1	Stubbornness
121	114	1	Independence
122	114	1	Verantwoordelijkheidsgevoel
123		0	Money
124		0	General Feelings
125	124	1	Pride
126	124	1	Afgunst
127	124	1	Attachment to Holland
128	127	2	Heimwee
129	124	1	Loneliness
130	124	1	Happiness
131	124	1	Attachment to NZ
132	124	1	Sadness
133	124	1	Frustration / Anger
134	124	1	Schuld aan NZ
135		0	Staat van NL
136	135	1	State of NZ
137		0	Health
138		0	Politics
139		0	Mobility
140		0	About interview(er)

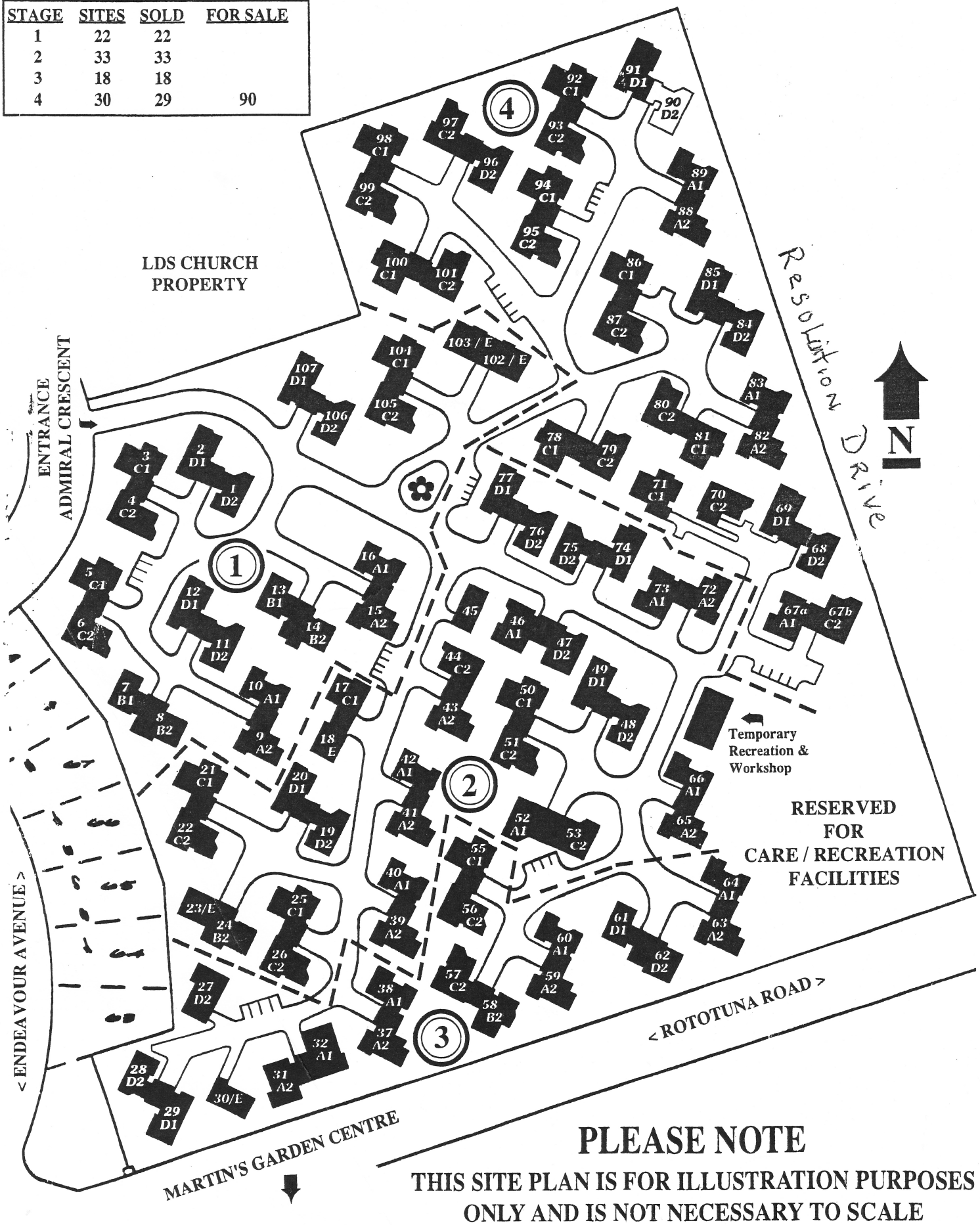
NETHERVILLE SITE PLAN

SECTION SALES SITUATION AS AT 15 FEBRUARY 1997

BLACK = SOLD

WHITE = FOR SALE

STAGE	SITES	SOLD	FOR SALE
1	22	22	
2	33	33	
3	18	18	
4	30	29	90



PLEASE NOTE

THIS SITE PLAN IS FOR ILLUSTRATION PURPOSES ONLY AND IS NOT NECESSARY TO SCALE