

Leisure among Retired Immigrants: The Indos of The Hague

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ABSTRACT

The ethnic mixture in Europe has been changing rapidly since the end of World War II. The Netherlands is one of those European countries, which has been affected significantly by a large number of different ethnic immigrants, who are now beginning to reach retirement age. This study focuses on mixed race people (Indos) originating in the former Dutch East Indies (now Indonesia) and residing in The Hague and its surroundings. Their situation is relevant to other immigrant groups in the Netherlands, as well as to those in other European countries. There are several important issues that are studied with regard to their leisure, from which a typology of Indo leisure lifestyles is developed. These issues include: 1) how this group is able to avail itself of leisure activities with which its members feel comfortable during retirement and old age; 2) whether this group has integrated itself completely into local society and feels happy in its social life; 3) whether the leisure activities of retired Indos are a way for them to keep healthy mentally and physically, thereby leading to satisfaction with life; and 4) how this particular group of people feels about its unique identity and culture after many years of living in the Netherlands.

Key words: Leisure and the immigrant elderly, Indos in retirement, Europe and its aging ethnic immigrants.

INTRODUCTION

The subject of leisure and recreation for the elderly is an increasingly important topic in the Netherlands as those adults born just after the end of World War II begin to reach retirement age. Both the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) and the Royal Institute for Public Health and Environmental Hygiene (RIVM) have been studying the implications of this *graying* of the Dutch population (de Volkskrant, 1997). These, so called *Baby Boomers* are wealthier, healthier and more independent than past generations, and it can be expected that their requirements for leisure will be affected by these factors (de Volkskrant, 1997). Thus, these new circumstances will affect the lifestyle and leisure activities of Dutch retirees in the future, who are expected to have different demands than those of the present.

This study, however, focuses on a particular subgroup of Dutch retirees, the members of which are now beginning to cease working and who only partially fit the profile of the dominant culture. That is, this study is centered on retired people residing in the Netherlands who were either not born in the country or who have non-Dutch parents. The question is how

are they able to avail themselves of leisure as they age and reach retirement. Of primary concern here are the questions of whether the members of this group have integrated themselves into local society and feel happy in their social lives, and whether their leisure activities are a way for them to keep themselves healthy mentally and physically. Another item of concern is how important the members of the group feel their unique identity and culture is to them. These are important issues if, as is assumed for this research, they are not as wealthy or “Dutch” enough, in comparison to native ethnic Dutch, to have their needs met by the social services provided in their local community or by the private sector. It is a question of public policy how to accommodate these needs.

In order to consider the issues related to this concern, the study concentrates on a specific section of this subgroup. These are the retired *Indos*, or mixed race immigrants from the former Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia, residing in the Netherlands. They form a large non-white ethnic group numbering 440,330 in 1996 (Wolters-Noordhoff Atlas, 1997), which has been present in the country for several generations. A significant number of individuals in this group are soon to reach retirement. The Hague metropolitan area has been chosen as the place of analysis for several reasons. First, according to Dutch statistics, the city has an above average percentage of elderly (65+) residents at 17.2%, versus the national municipal average of 12.82%, while the provincial percentage for South Holland of 13.8% is slightly above the national average of 13.35%. In addition, the province has the highest number of people in the Netherlands who were born in Indonesia and the former Dutch East Indies. 113,624 residents of this type represent 26% of all in the country (440,330). In The Hague itself, 5.5% of the population belongs to this group, while the national municipal average is only 1.97% (*ibid.*)

With the changing ethnic mix, or what is called here the browning of the populations of European countries due to immigration, and with the graying of those populations, the question of the mix of leisure activities undertaken by the first generation immigrant elderly becomes increasingly important. Where and how, then, can they feel comfortable to pursue leisure, which is consistent with their own habits and customs? This is an especially difficult matter when those migrants are of mixed race or ethnicity, and also not fully integrated into the local society.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The ability of the first generation of any immigrant group to accept the culture and habits of their new homeland, as well as the acceptance of that group by the people among whom they now reside, are important factors for the immigrant group’s leisure. This situation reaches a critical phase when the immigrants reach retirement. All retirees face a lifestyle change when they cease working,, but this adjustment is more difficult for immigrants who are not fully integrated because their social support network is more limited.

In this regard, the question of aging *Indos* in the Netherlands is especially interesting. Of particular concern is the question of whether the mix of leisure activities available to this group has enough Indonesian cultural content to ensure their satisfaction with life and staying happy and healthy in old age. Thus, answering this question forms the *general objective* of the study.

This overall concern is brought into focus by the *four specific objectives* of the research. These are:

- To determine to what extent retiring and aging Indos have been exposed to Indonesian culture both before and after immigration to the Netherlands;
- To identify how deeply childhood experience in Indonesia has influenced their way of life and leisure activities in the Netherlands;
- To measure to what extent these Indos participate in leisure activities, which pertain to their cultural or ethnic Indonesian heritage in their free time, and
- To evaluate how leisure activities can help the Indos in the Netherlands retain their original Indo culture, thereby enabling them to feel comfortable in their new culture (i.e., Dutch culture) during retirement and ensuring satisfaction with life.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

In order to answer the questions posed above, the meanings of some key terms are defined. The first concerns the *Indos*, or Indo-Europeans, with whom this research is concerned. This refers to those people of mixed race or ethnicity; who were born in Indonesia or came to Indonesia as infants, and who lived in Indonesia at least until adolescence, which is considered to be between 10 and 20 years old according to the World Health Organization (cited in Sarwono, 1989). It is assumed that customs, norms, rules and habits are internalized during childhood. Therefore, this research will consider only individuals who have spent their childhood in Indonesia, and who have lived their adult years in the Netherlands.

It is also necessary to define more precisely what the term *elderly* means in this paper. In many countries, elderly means *old*, and in the West, one may be labeled as old when one retires. Consequently, in the United States, for example, one is a productive member of society at 64 but suddenly old at 65! In Indonesia, on the other hand, one retires at 55. Does that mean an Indonesian is old at 55 but an American at 65? Even with, on average, better health conditions and a higher life expectancy in the US, this seems a dubious assumption.

However, for the purpose of this study, the *elderly* are not considered the group of interest. Instead, the important analytical group is composed of those who have reached legal retirement age in the Netherlands and actually begun to draw their Dutch pensions. Thus, the Dutch perspective is taken into consideration, since the Netherlands is the country of residence. The watershed age in the Netherlands is 55, after which one is classified in the statistics of the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) as being one of the elderly (*ouderen*) with regard to discussion of free time activities (te Kloetze, 1991). Of course, the Dutch also recognize the inescapable fact that different age groups within the elderly population have different socio-demographic backgrounds.

The term *culture* also requires definition here. A culture has developed within a society when there is a similarity in perception among its individual members, and when they share a way of life, values, norms, beliefs, customs, knowledge, language, music, songs, dress, literature, laws, ceremonies, and so forth. McPherson (1990) calls these aspects the non-material and material elements wherein culture provides a symbolic order and a set of shared meanings to social life.

For the purpose of this study, a culture is defined when individuals share non-material elements such as values, norms, customs, knowledge, beliefs, as well as the material elements of life, such as eating habits, a clothing or dress code, arts, history, language, literature, music, folklore, traditional ceremonies and laws.

The terms *leisure* and *recreation* are often used interchangeably. However, in the academic and professional literature, they have different meanings. It is, therefore, necessary to define these terms for the purpose of this research. A clear distinction is made by Leitner and Leitner (1996), who define *leisure* as, "...free or unobligated time, time during which work, life-sustaining functions, and other obligatory activities are not performed." *Recreation*, on the other hand, is defined as, "...activity conducted during leisure, usually for the purpose of enjoyment."

Of course, many aspects of leisure and recreation have defined through the different professional orientation of a particular discipline. For example, Kelly (1991) sees leisure from the sociological perspective. Thus, he sees leisure as a product of the social system and embedded in culture and its institutional structures (Borgatta and Borgatta, 1991). The observation of Iso-Ahola (1997), on the other hand, is that for leisure to exist, one has to be in control of one's actions and have a sense of freedom to pursue willingly a given activity.

Without belaboring this point further, leisure here is considered as the time within which freely chosen discretionary activities (i.e., recreational activities) of an individual are pursued for enjoyment and pleasure within the norms of society. Thus, the basic definition of Leitner and Leitner is considered within the limits imposed by Kelly (1991) and Iso-Ahola (1997).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study addresses social and well being issues through the analysis of leisure activities available to Indos through the detailed discussion of leisure activities with several local Indo clubs and a sample group of forty retired Indo residents (i.e., ten single men, ten single women and ten couples, the male and female partners of which are interviewed separately) in The Hague and its surroundings. The respondents were interviewed using in-depth, open-ended questions focusing on the research objectives. This allowed the respondents to interact with the interviewer and explain their answers fully. The interviews yielded information, which was then followed up in other interviews and further research. A tape recorder was used in all instances.

In addition to interviewing retired Indo respondents, some key people, including academics, researchers and government officials, who have considerable knowledge about the subject under study, were also consulted. They contributed to the work by discussing important issues, which are related to the social and cultural aspects of the research and the historical background of the Indo people.

Virtually all interviews (i.e., 39 out of 40) were conducted at the respondents' residences, so that during the sessions the interviewer could observe the way of life of the respondents directly. For example, how the respondents decorate their homes, their eating habits and what their domestic toilet habits are (i.e., whether they use water or paper after using the

toilet) provide significant information about whether they feel closer to Indonesian or European culture. Each respondent was interviewed, on average, for two to three hours in the language with which they felt most comfortable. Dutch, Indonesian and English were all used.

SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

The target population consisted of those Indo residents who reside within The Hague and its surroundings. Due to the difficulties of constructing a sample population, the so-called *snowball effect* method was used. With this method, the population to be researched was obtained through first consulting important and established key source people who work at universities, research institutes, government institutions, the media and at registered or otherwise recognized Indo organizations. Thus, the starting point of the *snowball effect* to obtain a research sample was to identify very reliable sources for the initial consultations. This was done by consulting academics at the University of Leiden, who are experts on Indonesian history. This includes, especially, the project coordinator of the Oral History Project on Indonesia (Stichting Mondelinge Geschiedenis Indonesie). Their recommendations led to leaders of various Indo foundations (such as Pelita, the largest) and government officials (e.g., from the Dutch census bureau, the CBS). In parallel to this, contacts of the researchers among their friends in the Indo community in The Hague led to recommendations of clubs to visit and Indo representatives to talk to. They suggested individuals who might fit the research profile. The researchers then talked to them. Some of them were appropriate and others not, but all suggested further people to talk to. The variety in the backgrounds of these resource persons and initial contacts in the Indo community led to different backgrounds within the sample of this study.

The population selected in this way is more likely to yield a random sample by matching people to the sampling characteristics and conditions, which are determined by the operational definitions. To summarize, the required conditions for those, who were interviewed as subjects in this study, were that each respondent must:

- Have mixed blood characterizing him/her as Indo;
- Have been born in Indonesia or moved to Indonesia as an infant during the era of the Dutch Indies;
- Have spent at least her/his childhood up to adolescence in Indonesia;
- Have arrived in the Netherlands after World War II;
- Be a retiree at the present time (i.e., above 55 years old), and
- Live in The Hague and its surroundings.

Those people who were identified as fulfilling the above conditions (60) were put into an initial research sample, which was then controlled to ensure homogeneity of the sample (or sub-samples) in terms of socio-demographic background(s). Furthermore, an equal number of men (20) and women (20) were selected to be studied. Lastly, both married and currently single (i.e., those who never married, are widowed or are divorced) individuals were selected, so that the final sample of forty was composed of ten single men (4 widowed, 3 divorced and 3 never married), ten single women (9 widowed, 1 divorced and 0 never married) and ten married couples. Partners were interviewed separately, as well as directly after each other, to

eliminate the effects of a dominant partner on the responses of the spouse. The reason for interviewing both single and married retirees was to determine if there were significant differences in their leisure due to their marital status.

The data/information were collected by various methods. Anthropological approaches were used to gather information, namely by using observation, in-depth interviewing and participant observation. These approaches have been chosen in order to collect a great deal of detailed information from the relatively limited number of respondents in this study.

DATA ANALYSIS

Each answer from a respondent was analyzed and notes taken. The use of a tape recorder proved essential in allowing the researchers to review each answer and each interview repeatedly, and to recapture the nature of a particular interview weeks and even months after it took place. The researchers then put together the responses to each question and reread interview observations and post-interview notes before drawing any conclusion from the specific pattern of answers. Because of the nature of the interview procedure, by which the respondents gave long and detailed answers to each question, the researchers had to skip around the recordings to filter out repeated information and draw inferences and deductions from several answers given to questions at widely separated points in an interview.

THE ETHNIC ELDERLY IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands, no special attention was paid to the immigrant, ethnic elderly by the government before 1985 (Vriezen, 1993). In that year, an official *nota* (policy paper similar to a British white paper) on the ethnic elderly appeared entitled *Ouderen uit ethnische groepen*. This was the first time the government connected the two subject areas of *ouderen* (the elderly) and *minderheden* (minorities). The paper was intended as an inventory of minority groups and what was known over their living conditions (*ibid*). Naturally, the Indo group was included here. Government policy regarding the point of departure of the minority elderly, however, was no different than for the ethnic Dutch. The two-track policy of independence and participation (in all aspects of social life) was the same for all. It wasn't until the *nota Ouderenbeleid 1990-1991* that it was mentioned in Dutch policy that the traditional care for the Dutch elderly might not be as suitable for other ethnic groups as had been assumed. In order to end problems such as isolation among these elderly, it was recognized that it had become necessary to initiate new information, research and other projects specifically targeted at them (*ibid*).

A significant aspect of leisure for the elderly in the Netherlands is the point that most leisure takes place in or near the home. This means the neighborhood takes on great significance for the Dutch elderly. Their social networks within the neighborhood are, therefore, important to limiting social isolation in old age (Thissen, 1992). Thus, in considering the leisure of the Indo elderly in the Netherlands, the attitude of the neighborhood's residents to them, as well as their feeling towards their Dutch neighbors, becomes significant. In a study of the integration of Turkish families into a Dutch neighborhood in Arnhem through recreational activities, it was found that most of the Turkish families indicated that they seek

integration into Dutch society at the local level. Nevertheless, they retain a substantial amount of elements from their own culture and do not adopt many aspects of Dutch society (te Kloeze, 1998). Thus, after three generations, they appear to remain predominantly oriented toward their own cultural group. Moreover, although the respondents in the research expressed a need for more social contact in the community, they experienced a rather inhospitable behavior on the part of their Dutch neighbors (Soeters, de Hoog and te Kloeze, 1996).

I. THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE INDO COMMUNITY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

THE SOCIAL NETWORK WITHIN THE INDO COMMUNITY

As the preceding paragraphs show, the social network within the Indo community is one of the critical aspects of Indo life necessary to explore in order to understand how Indos live and pursue their leisure in the community. Community is understood here to be a place where people live and where most of their activities outside of work are concentrated. The social network within the community, however, becomes even more important during retirement, when people who have ceased working lose a large part of the social network based on their employment and workplace. The importance of the social network to retirees within the Indo community is, therefore, analyzed in the following sections through a consideration of a number of research questions, which are related to the above issue. These include: 1) *What role do Indo clubs play in the community of retired Indos?* 2) *With what kinds of people do retired Indo mix, and who are their friends most often (i.e., Dutch, Indo or Indonesian)?*

THE ROLE OF INDO CLUBS

There are many reasons for forming a club, but the main ones are to provide a forum for undertaking activities together, for sharing interests and experiences, for socializing and having fun together and for supporting each other when it is necessary. Of interest to this study, then, is to determine how important the role of Indo clubs is in the life and leisure of retired Indos. The first step is to compare the incidence of club membership of the respondents at various stages in their lives. Thus, the respondents were asked whether they had joined any club during their youth, as adults (i.e., while working) or during retirement. They were also asked what kinds of clubs they belonged to and their reasons for joining. The table below shows club membership and its continuity from youth through retirement.

Table 1. Club Membership of Respondents

	<u>Single Female</u>			<u>Single Male</u>			<u>Married Female</u>			<u>Married Male</u>			<u>Total</u>		
	Y	A	R	Y	A	R	Y	A	R	Y	A	R	Y	A	R
Yes	7	4	4	8	7	5	5	4	5	7	6	6	27	21	20
No	3	6	6	2	3	5	5	6	5	3	4	4	13	19	20

Y = Youth A = Adult R = Retiree

While the table does not indicate whether the membership of the respondents over time is in the same or different clubs, it does show that there is a decrease in overall club membership among the retired Indos who have at some point in their lives joined clubs. While 27 were club members as youths, only 20 are members in their retirement. Six out of the 27 respondents who joined clubs in their youth discontinued membership completely when they became adults and have never rejoined clubs. Three of them said that they did not have much time when their own kids were small, and that they really spent most of their time with family obligations and family-centered recreation. The others simply said that they do not like being tied to any group and having club obligations

In addition, from the interviews, it became clear that 12 out of the 20 respondents who remain members of clubs have been club joiners throughout their lives. Most of the respondents who continue being club members do so because they enjoy the club activities and their corresponding social life.

Of the 20 retired Indos who are club members, 13 are members of various Indo club, 8 belong to sport clubs and 6 are active in other kinds of hobby and interest clubs. Obviously the Indo and sports clubs are the two most popular. The reasons are apparent from the following grouping of their comments regarding why they joined clubs:

- Most joined clubs so that they would meet other people for socializing, extending their friendship circle, meeting others with the same interests, talking about the old days (“Tempo Doeloe”), etc. (N=16);
- Others became members to keep fit, for health purposes, to participate in a sport, etc. (N=8), and
- Some joined clubs because membership keeps them busy, and it fills their time with positive activities such as helping other people or developing a hobby (N=6).

The respondents were also asked the related question *What does the club mean to you?* This question was used as a check on how much club membership means to the 20 respondents who are active, and the answers can be grouped as follows:

- The club is important and means a lot as a place to meet other people and socialize, to do things together with other members and to help other people (N=9), and
- The club is not so important (N=11), although it is a place to meet other people, socialize, do thing together with others and help people.

After analyzing the respondents’ answers to the questions on club membership and the reasons for joining them, it becomes obvious that most of the retired Indos have joined Indo clubs in order to meet other people, socialize, participate in activities together and help others. Although only 9 have said that the club is an important aspect in their life, all the respondents have said that their club is a place for them to meet other people, socialize, have activities together and help people. It is clear, then, that clubs have a significant role for a substantial segment of the retired Indo community with regard to social life and leisure activities.

THE ROLE OF FAMILY AND FRIENDS

An important element of Indo culture, which is due to the heavy influence of Asian culture, is the very clear priority that the family has in life. In Eastern cultures, it is critical to society's judgement of a family's success in life to be able to show that the family bond is strong and that the children behave properly and have good manners. These are the main aspects to measure in order to assess whether a family is close and happy.

Unlike with Europeans, however, there are two family categories in an Indo family that need to be taken into consideration here. The first is the immediate family (i.e., what the researchers call the *inner bond*), which consists of children, grandchildren, brothers and sisters. This is already a broader concept than what is considered the immediate family by Europeans (i.e., parents and their children). The rest of the family, that is, the extended family (i.e., the *outer bond*), is composed of the other relatives, but the kinship bond is also stronger here than with Europeans. It has a high value. Love, closeness, trust, loyalty, and respect are all bound up in these family ties. In this respect, the family values of the Indo family resemble those of the Indonesia family.

When the respondents were asked what element of Indo culture is still part of their family life, 23 out of 40 noted how important family bonds are. This is the case even though most of the respondents have all their family and relatives in the Netherlands. In fact, 31 out of the 40 Indos interviewed in this study have their entire inner and outer bond relations living in the Netherlands, and only 9 have family or relatives in other parts of the world, including Indonesia. Of those interviewed, 30 said that they see both their inner and outer bond relations frequently, and only 10 responded that they do not see them as often as they would like. The reasons given include distance, difficulty in travelling and so forth. Nevertheless, they said that they keep in touch, mostly by phoning each other.

Friendship is also important among retired Indos. Visiting friends and having leisure activities in common are an integral part of the respondents' lives. Of the 40 respondents, 13 have said that visiting friends is part of their leisure and an important aspect of their social lives. As will be discussed in more detail later, most of the respondents' friends are Indo, and they have thus formed a social circle among the Indo retirees, which sets them apart from most Dutch elderly. In summation, family and friends play a significant role in the social life and leisure among the retired Indos of The Hague and its surroundings.

CURRENT LEISURE FACILITIES

The Indos are considered fully integrated into Dutch society by the Dutch government, although this study indicates that they are certainly not assimilated. Nevertheless, when they came to the Netherlands, they were not considered as a separate group of common immigrants or foreign refugees from the Dutch East Indies, but as "repatriates", or *repatriaten* in Dutch. That is, they were considered along with the white Dutch repatriates as citizens returning home. This concept of Indo repatriation explains why they have been treated differently from the post World War II immigrants to the Netherlands, who have come from Turkey, Morocco and other countries. The Indos came with knowledge of the Netherlands acquired in school, and they spoke the Dutch language. In this sense, adaptation was easier for them. However, there were many other aspects of repatriation and life in the Netherlands to adjust

to. The Indos needed legal, financial, social and psychological support in a number of ways to get settled in their new (or old) homeland. Consequently, they formed clubs, associations and foundations (e.g., Pelita) among themselves to provide mutual support for their relocation and integration into Dutch life.

INTEGRATION INTO DUTCH SOCIETY

Beyond considering the social network within the Indo community, integration into Dutch society is also an important element in the consideration of Indo leisure. It is, therefore, necessary to look at the relevant research questions, which can help in providing a basis for the discussion of this matter in the following sections. These include:

- 1) *To what extent do the Indos themselves try to maintain their unique Indo culture?*
- 2) *What elements of Indonesian culture do the Indos find it important to maintain in their old age in the Netherlands?*
- 3) *What do the retired Indos do to retain the Indonesian aspects of their culture?*
- 4) *What elements of Dutch culture do the Indos feel uncomfortable with in their old age?*
- 5) *How close do these Indo people now feel to Indonesia?*

These research questions are answered in sequence through the discussion of the following sections.

The Importance of Self Identity

Self-identity is an important aspect of social life. As a social being, each individual needs to identify oneself in terms of certain social traits and values belonging to a particular social group. The study population in this research considers itself as Indo with regard to its physical and social characteristics. They come from the same background and/or place, and they are characterized by mixed blood and a mixed culture of the East and West. The way in which the Indos in this study identify themselves is summarized in Table 2.

Table 2. How Respondents Identify Themselves

	<i>Single Female</i>	<i>Single Male</i>	<i>Married Female</i>	<i>Married Male</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Dutch</i>	0	0	1	0	1
<i>Indo</i>	3	5	5	7	20
<i>Both</i>	6	5	4	3	18
<i>International</i>	1	0	0	0	1
<i>Total</i>	10	10	10	10	40

While half of those interviewed for this study (20 of 40) consider themselves completely Indo, a large number of the respondents (18 of 40) have identified themselves as both Indo and Dutch. It is clear here that they are not pure Dutch or Indonesian in their own eyes, and they also don't simply feel *Indo-European* but rather specifically *Indo-European Dutch*. Naturally they have different traditions, values, norms and culture than the pure Dutch or Indonesian, but what precisely is Indo culture according to them? Table 3 below illustrates this.

Table 3. How Respondents Characterize Indo Culture

	<i>Single Female</i>	<i>Single Male</i>	<i>Married Female</i>	<i>Married Male</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Euro/Western</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Asian/Eastern</i>	4	3	5	4	16
<i>Mixed</i>	4	4	4	5	17
<i>No Own</i>	2	3	1	1	7
<i>Total</i>	10	10	10	10	40

The respondents are split basically into two groups. In the first, 16 out of 40 respondents feel that their culture is more Eastern or Asian in its characteristic values. These respondents were born in Indonesia and have strong feelings of connection to their birthplace. They have been brought up in a more Eastern manner, so they feel more comfortable considering themselves as such, rather than as Dutchmen with direct and unseemly Western manners. They also feel that the Indo culture is completely different than that of the Dutch. They feel their own way of life is Asian or Eastern. They are hospitable, warm towards others and consider themselves easy going in their social attitude. For example, it is not necessary for a visitor to make an appointment to come to their homes. One just visits, and if they are not home, it is too bad. However, if they are at home, unannounced visitors are always welcome. It is very different attitude from that of the Dutch, who expect one to make an appointment first rather than disturb one's plans or privacy.

Members of the second group, however, 17 respondents out of 40, feel that their Indo culture is actually a mixed culture of the European and Asian. According to them, Indos are mixed blood, so their culture is also mixed. That is to say that the Indo culture reflects the origin of the people.

Finally, there were 7 respondents who felt that they don't have any culture of their own; that is, they felt there is no unique Indo culture.

Living as a Subculture in the Netherlands

The respondents are Indos, and at the same time they are Dutch citizens. Being Indo and living in the Netherlands, they are not completely comfortable when their Indo norms and values come into conflict with Dutch ones. Indos have their own traditions, norms, habits, and culture, which are quite different than the Dutch. These unique elements have become part of an identifiable Indo subculture. While living in the Netherlands as Dutch citizens and integrating themselves well into Dutch society, they have nonetheless retained the elements of their separateness in Indonesia and further developed a culture for themselves in the Netherlands. For example, there is a Dutch Indo vocabulary, an Indo way of expressing and speaking, Indo food, which is neither Indonesian nor Dutch, Indo clothing, and so forth. The Indo traditions, habits, norms and values will be discussed further.

Here, though, it is useful to show that as Indos they will always see their country differently than their ethnic Dutch brothers and sisters. The respondents were asked what they like least about the place they live in the Netherlands where they currently live. The responses to this question determine what they like least about their immediate environment.

Of the 40 respondents, 17 mentioned that, seen from a social perspective, they don't like the rough attitude and impolite manners of the Dutch (the Indo term is *kasar*). In addition, 14 respondents indicated that they don't like the weather. There are 6 who cite the increase of youth crime and vandalism, and one who dislikes Dutch politics. The other 2 respondents didn't have any opinion.

Being Dutch citizens, but having nevertheless different values in reacting to and observing the environment where they live is quite significant in determining what elements of Dutch culture and values that the retired Indo respondents feel uncomfortable with during their old age. Listed below are the social attitudes and values of the Dutch people that have been seen by the respondents as norms and values that contradict Indo norms, and which make them feel uncomfortable when they are confronted with them. Those statements of the respondents that have similar meanings have been grouped together and each respondent has given several uncomfortable aspects with which they feel uneasy. What has been found offensive includes:

- The attitudes that reflect rudeness, roughness, impoliteness, aggressiveness and unfriendliness (N=30)
- The attitudes which indicate excessive care in spending money (N=3) and
- The attitudes that show formality and stiffness in making new acquaintances, which give an impression that someone is keeping their distance from you (N=5).

These attitudes make the respondents feel uneasy at times in the communities in which they live. Sometimes the Dutch characteristic of directness in reacting to a question or social situation can make Indos, even after many years in the Netherlands, feel that Dutch individuals are unfriendly.

Despite this, the retired Indos in this study are quite integrated into Dutch society, although they still feel more comfortable associating with other Indo people who can understand and recognize their feelings, values, habits, traditions, and so forth. Moreover, the respondents are retired now and have more time for their leisure. As the results discussed earlier from the interviews regarding clubs show, most of the respondents who have joined clubs belong to Indo clubs or organizations. It is very natural that the respondents feel more comfortable among other Indos in sharing their leisure activities.

The Netherlands as Motherland

Except for one 83 year old lady, the respondents in this study have lived in the Netherlands longer than they have lived in Indonesia. However, even this person has lived 40 years in the Netherlands. The respondents have, nevertheless, been asked whether, if they had the opportunity, they would go back to Indonesia and live there. Of the 40 respondents, 28 clearly stated that they wouldn't live in Indonesia. They gave several reasons, and they can be grouped as follows:

- They like living in the Netherlands, and they are settled and used to the Dutch way of life after so many years of living in the country. They don't know if they can fit in any more and adjust themselves to the present way life in Indonesia (N=26),
- Their families and friends are in the Netherlands (N=10) and
- They had bad experiences during the revolution and still feel threatened (N=1).

On the other hand, 9 of the respondents said that they would go back and live there if they had the opportunity. These interviewees gave as reasons that some of their roots are in Indonesia, and they love the Indonesian way of life. However, two of the respondents also mentioned that one factor could stop them from going. They were referring to their grandchildren.

There were also 3 respondents who would like to live in both countries for six months a year if they had the chance. It is very difficult for them to choose to leave the Netherlands because of family, friends and the lives that they have built after many years living in the country.

The Importance of Indo Norms, Values and Traditions

While Indo culture according to the respondents in this study is a mixed European and Asian one, each individual has a different strength of feeling with regard to whether he or she feels more attraction to the Asian way of life or the European. It depends more or less on one’s upbringing, and on how much one has been exposed by his or her parents to both cultures. How close, then, do the retired Indos in this study feel to Indonesia now? Table 4. indicates this.

Table 4. How Close the Respondents feel to Indonesia

	<i>Single Female</i>	<i>Single Male</i>	<i>Married Female</i>	<i>Married Male</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Very Close</i>	1	4	4	3	12
<i>Close</i>	6	4	4	5	19
<i>Fairly Close</i>	2	0	2	1	5
<i>Not Close</i>	1	2	0	1	4
<i>Total</i>	10	10	10	10	40

It is very significant that the overwhelming majority of respondents (36 of 40) still feel close to Indonesia even after all the years of living in the Netherlands. To understand fully the Indo subculture in the Netherlands, it is important to determine the particular Indo habits and values brought from the East Indies that are still part of the Indo way of life in Europe. Maintaining these values and habits is as important to being Indo as being of mixed race.

All respondents were asked to comment on the importance of Indo cultural elements to them individually. Their responses indicate their overwhelming closeness to things and values Indo. Table 5. below summarizes and groups their answers:

Table 5. The Importance of Indo Values and Habits to the Respondents

	<i>Single Female</i>	<i>Single Male</i>	<i>Married Female</i>	<i>Married Male</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Very Important</i>	8	8	7	7	30
<i>Important</i>	2	2	3	3	10
<i>Not So Important</i>	0	0	0	0	0
<i>Total</i>	10	10	10	10	40

Given these answers about the importance of various aspects of Indonesian culture, traditions, norms and values in their lives, the researchers then sought to find out if they actually still practiced them. Thus, the question was posed as to, *What elements or parts of Indonesian culture do you still maintain or keep?* The answers can be grouped into several categories as follows:

- Personal habits: Included here are eating Indo food, eating in the Indo manner (i.e., with a fork and spoon or with the hand), and other Indonesian habits such as using water (*botol tjebok*) to clean oneself after using the restroom, taking a bath with a scoop for pouring the water over the body (*mandi pakai/pake ganjung*) and using a long pillow, the so-called *Dutch- wife or guling* (36 positive responses out of 40);
- Manners: This comprises kindness, politeness, patience, respect of an elderly or elder person, warm and friendly feeling towards others, helping each other, etc. (N=21);
- Hospitality: Here are included being a good host and welcoming guests (N=35), and
- Culture: This covers language and music (N=10).

From these responses, it appears that the Indo retirees of The Hague and its surroundings still strongly practice many elements of Indo culture.

SUMMARY (I)

Finally, it is useful to summarize a few of the most important points about the role of Indo clubs, foundations and organizations, as well as about the integration of Indos into Dutch society, to conclude this section. First, while the retired Indos of The Hague and its surroundings profiled in this study have various reasons for joining clubs, it is significant that 50% of the respondents do belong to some type of club. Moreover, Indo clubs are clearly the most popular among them. Most of these are social clubs to meet other Indo people for leisure. In some ways as well, the clubs also play a role in preserving Indo culture by organizing different kinds of cultural events, which related and connect these people to the past and their culture.

Most leisure facilities available to the population interviewed for this study where they live are those facilities available to the general public. The Indo people are considered fully integrated into Dutch society by the national and local governments, so no special facilities supported by government exist for them. For those who want to participate in leisure activities with other Indos, private or foundation supported Indo clubs near their places of residence exist in The Hague and its surroundings.

The Indo-Europeans of this study are Dutch citizens, who have resided in the Netherlands for over 40 years, but who have a different culture from the ethnic Dutch and have formed a distinct subculture in Dutch society. The Indo culture, according to the responding to the respondents, is a mixed European and Asian one, with tight family bonds and close friendships forming important elements to treasure in their lives. A social life with friends and family is an extremely important leisure activity for most of the respondents.

Having a different culture from the ethnic Dutch and having moved from their Asian homes in a new place in Europe, the Indos of this study, all of whom are now retired, needed

to adjust quickly and adapt themselves to settle in and build new lives. All of the respondents have done very well in this regard. However, they retain their Indo culture and maintain it within their families.

II. LEISURE ACTIVITIES AMONG THE RETIRED INDOS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

INTRODUCTION TO LEISURE AMONG INDOS

This section analyzes the leisure activities of retired Indos living in The Hague and its surroundings by considering the interview data in relation to the following research question:

- 1) *What kinds of leisure activities do they pursue in general?*
- 2) *To what extent does the Indonesian culture, which was experienced in childhood, influence the leisure activities of the retired Indos in The Hague and its surroundings?*
- 3) *Do Indos feel closer to the Indonesian way of life or to the Dutch lifestyle in pursuing their leisure activities?*
- 4) *What role do Indo clubs play in the community of retired persons?*
- 5) *What kinds of people do the Indos mix with, and who are their best friends?*

INFLUENCE OF CULTURE ON LEISURE ACTIVITIES

The choice of leisure activities that one pursues reflects individual preferences and habits that have developed since childhood. However, since people of mixed race, ethnicity or culture are very conscious of cultural values, the study examines culture as a strong influence on the leisure activities of the sample population. In order to look at the leisure activities of retired indos, the study pays close attention to the questions: 1) *To what extent does the Indonesian culture which was experienced in childhood influence the leisure activities of the retired Indos of The Hague and its surroundings?* 2) *What kinds of leisure activities do they pursue in general?* Thus, looking at the childhood background of the subjects in this study, the researchers looked at the conditions of their early lives in the East Indies. One must understand how the colonial society and its community structures were organized at that time to understand this group at present.

Indo society, then, was structured so that individuals perceived themselves with regard to their relative privilege, status and position in the Indo community. This was reinforced by the fact that neighborhoods were also segregated according to status. In fact, one could see immediately the position and status of a person by the neighborhood in which s/he lived. Thus, the majority of indigenous people lived in a *kampung* (village). This was separated from the Dutch settlements, so that typically Dutch kids had little or no contact with the *kampung* kids who may have lived just behind their houses.

There were also clear distinctions between the Dutch and local school systems at the time. Aside from whites, only Indos with privileges could go to Dutch schools, although a few indigenous people with status were exceptions and were able to attend. Other poor Indos who lived in a *kampung* (village) and almost all indigenous people were excluded, however, and had little education beyond the most rudimentary. Thus, at that time if an Asian was able

to attend MULO (junior high school) s/he was considered relatively well educated. To reach the HBS level (senior high school) was rare and considered very good fortune. According to the *social profiles* of this study, then, the Indos interviewed are rather well educated for their generation. Ranging in age from 56 to 85, and with a mean age of 69.6, all 40 are completed a minimum of MULO, with 34 having completed at least HBS/MTS. Of the 40, moreover, 15 completed some kind of non-academic, but post-secondary school, and 8 completed university or other tertiary education.

This is also reflected in the professions of the interviewees and their last jobs prior to retirement. None, for example were factory workers or manual laborers. Their last positions included many with middle level administrative positions. These included: 1 laboratory assistant, 1 postal employee, 9 secretaries and typists, 9 administrative clerks at various levels in ministries or private companies, 1 technician and 1 communications officer for the municipality of The Hague. However, some had professional positions. These included: 1 director of a foundation, 1 high-ranking police officer, 1 graphic designer, 1 engineer with a construction company, 1 technical officer on a major public works project, 1 ship's chief engineer, 1 cost estimator for a construction company, 4 teachers, 1 controller for social insurance, 1 naval officer, 1 army officer, 1 exploration geologist and 1 psychologist. Two were housewives.

Also according to the *social profiles* of those interviewed, it is clear to the researchers that all the interviewees had experienced the Dutch school system during the Dutch colonial period in the East Indies. The schools they attended were mixed schools. Although they were primarily for the Dutch, Indos with Dutch nationality and privileged Asians were allowed to attend. The respondents also indicated that they lived primarily in mixed neighborhoods and had a social group of friends that was somewhat mixed. However, further probing exposed the fact that most of their friends were Indos, with only a very few who were white Dutch or local Indonesians. Thus, Indos lived mostly within their own community. Their income was also at a level between that of the Dutch and Indonesian ethnic groups in the East Indies. At present, in their retirements, their individual income is well distributed, although single men tend to earn more than single women, and couples also do rather well > better as a group than even the single men (although the income is for both). Moreover, all 10 couples own cars, compared to 5 of 10 single men and only 1 single woman.

Currently, the daily life of Indos in the Netherlands is greatly influenced by the Dutch lifestyle. All but one (a Buddhist) are Christian (with 22 Catholic and 17 Protestant), and not Moslem as most Indonesians, for example, although only 28 of them practice religion actively, which is a higher percentage (70%) than the Dutch population as a whole. The Dutch lifestyle, of course, means more than just religion, and some basic elements are different from those of the East Indies.

First, it is important to highlight the fact that the whole educational system in the Netherlands is focussed on developing thoughtful and independent individuals. Dutch schools do not emphasize the institution of the family as the cornerstone of society as in Indonesia. This also means the Dutch are taught to be self-reliant, but also open to different views. This might be one of the reasons it is a relatively liberal society.

The Dutch educational system is reflected in the way the Dutch spend their free time and their vacations. Normally, there is not a lot of pressure on children, especially after they become teenagers, to spend leisure time with the family, although it is appreciated. The choice is, generally speaking, that of each individual. Sometimes the older children spend their leisure with the family and sometimes with their friends. However, Christmas and Easter are special times when entire families come together.

Another Dutch characteristic is that they prefer to spend their leisure time in small groups or with the nuclear family of parents and children. Huge dinners are not a common practice, and the Dutch normally cook just enough for the people present. In addition, dinner is normally not more than one hour. After the meal, family games, especially board games, as well as puzzles, are very popular in Dutch families. However, once again, it is normal that each individual decides what he or she wants to do.

Youngsters along with their friends are used to spending their evenings and nights in pubs and discos. Parents normally stay home with the younger children. They do not go out together as families. Finally, although restaurants are gaining in popularity, the Dutch still don't visit them as regularly as people in many other countries.

Nevertheless, because of their unique background, the Indo lifestyle is different from both the pure Dutch and the pure Indonesian. Whether they initially seem characterized by only a trace of, or seem heavily influenced by the culture of the former Dutch East Indies, because of being born and spending part of their lives in Indonesia and having Indonesian blood in their vein, their habits, traditions and values are Indonesian-influenced. How much they have been affected, however, depends on several factors. These need to be discussed before getting into more detail about how much and in what specific ways Indonesian culture influences the lifestyle and leisure activities among the Indos in this study.

First, the influence of their parents during socialization in childhood is one of the factors, which plays a big part in their current lifestyle and habits. Moreover, having living in pre-Indonesia during childhood and having Indo and Indonesian friends throughout their lives has helped determine their habits and values, as well as their outlook in life. In addition, the bad experiences of childhood or youth spent in the Japanese camps and the upheaval of the war of independence in Indonesia (i.e., the *Bersiap Period*) are important factors. Of the 40 respondents, 34 have experienced one or both of these events, which has had a significant impact on the lifestyle of this generation of Indos.

This last experience, however, is different from that of both the Dutch and Indonesians. The independence movement was, as would be expected, a national movement characterized by anti-Dutch feelings. Those Indos who stayed in Indonesia were left with only Indo and Indonesian friends, because most of their few Dutch friends went home to the Netherlands. This period of time was the hardest time for the Indos. Once again they had to face tragedy, which was even harder to bear than the period spent in Japanese camps. Knowing that the Indonesians were friendly people before the war, it was hard to adjust to their changed attitudes. All of a sudden, they were unfriendly and considered Indos as their enemies, because they were close to the Dutch.

In the end, the Indos had to choose whether to stay in Indonesia as Indonesians or to leave for the Netherlands as Dutch. They loved Indonesia as their country and at the same time they wanted to be Dutch. Those who left, such as the subjects of this study, abandoned a country which they loved to start a new, radically different and very uncertain life in the Netherlands.

In answering the research questions posed above, it is necessary to compare the leisure activities of childhood to those activities pursued by the study population at present to determine if there is relationship between the past and the present. In analyzing the transition from childhood to adulthood among the retired Indos in this study, it is very difficult to see any continuity of leisure activities throughout the childhood, adolescent and adult periods due to war, revolution and immigration. It is significant to this research in that the absence of normal childhood and adolescent development is one of the factors, which may influence the lifestyle and leisure activities of the retired Indos in and around The Hague. Nevertheless, the researchers have been able to analyze their childhood prior to World War II.

In spite of those difficult times during the war, the respondents reported happy childhood and adolescent experiences as part of the special memories of their early lives in Indonesia. One of the characteristics of this was high club membership. Looking at their responses to the question: *Were you a member of a club when you were in adolescence?* 67.5% (27 of 40) indicated membership. Those who did not belong were either too young or already in Japanese camps.

The most common club activities listed by interviewees were scouting and student club activities, which were popular among respondents of both sexes. Sports activities, such as playing tennis (35%) and soccer (30%), were popular among the boys who joined athletic clubs. Swimming, badminton, hockey, yachting and rowing were also pursued by boys and girls on an individual basis. There were 17 respondents (42.5%) who participated in scouting (N=13) and organized student club activities (N=4), split almost down the middle, with one more female than male. The explanatory factor for such high membership in the scouts is the fact that the scouting programs were related to the church (since most Indos are Christian) or school. Thus, they were relatively inexpensive to join and participate in. Another reason is that there were not many organized activities at that time. Most of their friends joined the scouts, and these groups provided opportunities to meet other people.

However, when the respondents were asked several questions related to their leisure activities in adulthood in the Netherlands before retirement, their answers showed a less participatory pattern. The questions of interest here are: 1) *What kinds of activities did you do when you were not at work?* 2) *What type of activities did you consider leisure?* The responses to those questions have shown that there is a break with childhood and adolescence in that Indo adults in the Netherlands participate far less in formally organized activities.

A few relevant questions were also posed regarding activities after retirement to see whether there would be a continuation of their adult leisure activities into old age. These questions are: 1) *How do you fill your time daily?* 2) *What kinds of activities do you do for leisure?*

It was found that, indeed, adult activities continue to a certain extent into retirement. Social and family oriented activities such as visiting friends (55%), going dancing (30%) helping other people (35%), going shopping (45%), looking after grandchildren (22.5%), visiting family (30.8%), playing cards (17.5%) and cooking (22.5%) are the major leisure activities of Indo adults in The Hague and its surroundings, and they remain an important part of life among the retired Indos in this study.

In contrast, participation in those activities related to physical movement, such as tennis, badminton, swimming, soccer and rowing, which began in youth and continued to some extent into adulthood, has declined and in some cases even ended. While some physical activities among retired Indos, especially tennis (20%) and swimming (7.5%), are still pursued to a certain extent by mostly male Indos, most sports have been replaced by other forms of physical exercise, such as walking (37.5%; mostly men) to keep healthy.

Moreover, married man and married women among the retired Indos in this sample display a somewhat more active leisure lifestyle than their single contemporaries. While the single women interviewed in this study named visiting friends, watching TV and reading as their most significant leisure activities, married women were much more likely to go out to parties, do dancing and travel. Analogous to the women, among single men, reading walking and visiting friends were the most frequent leisure activities, while among married men, partying, dancing and travelling were also important.

Of course, with aging, sedentary leisure activities have also developed among retired Indos. Watching television (42.5%) is one example, but this is characteristic more of single and married women than among single or married men. Reading is the single most popular leisure activity among the retired Indo, comprising 27 out of 40 respondents (67.5%) in this study. The next common leisure activity is visiting friends as a social activity (55%). A gathering with food is one of the most important social occasions within the Indo community. Indos like getting together for a pleasant evening. With their Asian hospitality and warm feelings of welcome extended to visitors to their homes, Indos are quite different from the Dutch in general.

Nevertheless, while the general pattern of high participation in sedentary-social and sedentary-isolate activities in old age, coupled with a decline in pursuing active-social (i.e., physical activities such as sports) may be characteristic of most adults in later life (Leitner and Leitner, 1996), regardless of their culture, the respondents accept their increasing confinement to their homes more easily than most Dutch. The reason for this is the fact that their close family bonds mean that a large portion of their leisure has been spent receiving visits from their families and relations, or visiting them, throughout their lives. Thus, they simply receive more visits than they make as they age. This aspect of their culture plays a positive role in enabling aging Indos to adjust to decreasing mobility.

After analyzing the retired Indos' leisure, it is apparent that culture influences their leisure activities, especially in relation to social life. Particularly in old age the social aspects of leisure become extremely important, because retired Indos have more time to socialize. Moreover, the circumstances of aging, such as being in poor health, having limited mobility and not being able to drive make them feel the importance of social life even more. The fear

of being isolated is very strong, due to the importance placed on the extended family and social life in Eastern cultures.

LEISURE AS SOCIAL LIFE

There are many reasons for pursuing any particular leisure activity for an individual, and the choice depends very much on personal preference, which is tied to the personal background, habits, culture and social sphere of the individual. Having said this, however, for the purposes of the analysis in this study, it is necessary to review several reasons for pursuing a leisure activity in general in relation to the retired Indos as the subjects of the study. These are: 1) leisure as a psychological factor in achieving a happy and satisfies life; 2) leisure as social life, and 3) leisure for a healthy life. The first purpose of leisure has been and will continue to be mentioned in general discussion throughout this paper; while the second is the focus of this section, and the third will be analyzed in the following section.

It is necessary to look at the relevant research questions to be able to elaborate the issue: 1) *Do the retired Indos feel closer to the Indonesian way of life or to the Dutch lifestyle in pursuing their leisure activities?* 2) *What kinds of people do the Indos mix with, and who are their best friends?* 3) *What kinds of leisure activities do they pursue in general?* In order to analyze the retired Indos' way of life, it is first necessary to look at the answers to the research questions mentioned above as they have become clear through the conduct of the interviews.

The answers to a number of questions indicate that Indos pursue a mixture of Western and Eastern leisure activities. For example, when they were asked *what kinds of dances did you learn in your adolescence and why*, 38 respondents or 95% said that they had learned Western dances such as ballroom dances and modern dances. One respondent said he had learned Indonesian traditional martial arts dance (pencak silat), and 1 respondent answered none. There were also 2 female respondents who learned both Indonesian traditional dance and Western dances. The reasons they learned ballroom dances or modern dances were that they formed a part of their education and were also a must thing to do socially in those Dutch colonial days. In this sense, learning Western dances was just like learning how to play the piano; it was done to demonstrate that one belonged to a certain status level. Of the 40 respondents, 17 or 42.5% played musical instruments. Of these 17, 10 or 58.8% learned to play the piano. The other instruments played included the guitar, played by 5 respondents; the harmonica, played by 4; the drum by 3; the ukulele by 2; and the bongos and bass by 1 each. In addition, 3 out of 40 respondents learned how to play a traditional Indonesian instrument (suling). Some of the respondents still play their instruments as a social activity with their Indo friends, and at least 3 play in small bands as a hobby.

An important question then arises: who are their friends most often? Their responses show that they had mostly a mixture of friends during childhood, but with only a few of them pure Dutch or pure Indonesian, and that this continued into adolescence and adulthood. Moreover, this pattern has lasted into retirement. Of the 40 subjects in the study, 87.5% (35 out of 40) declared that they have a mixture of friends, and 5 of the respondents said that they have Indo friends only. Most of the respondents who have mixed friends said that they have more Indo friends than Dutch or Indonesian friends.

The most common leisure activities among the retired Indos in The Hague and its surroundings were mentioned in the previous section. Visiting friends as a social activity comprises 55% of the respondents' leisure. The other leisure activities, which are pursued by the respondents as part of their social lives, are visiting family (30.8%), going dancing (30%), playing cards (17.5%) and helping others (17.5%). Generally speaking, after interviewing them, the researchers formed the impression that most of the retired Indo people in this study like parties; that is, getting together with friends to eat and chat as part of social life. They like to hear music, to dance and to have a good time with their friends.

LEISURE FOR A HEALTHY LIFE

The research questions relating to the respondents' reasons for pursuing leisure for their health are not specific. Rather, their reasons for answering the general questions about why they pursue their leisure activities in general have been analyzed for this purpose, as have their feelings towards the activities themselves. For example, the respondents were asked: *Why do you do these activities?* The answers that were given were then grouped according to their connotations. The answers do not add up to 40, because some interviewees had more than one reason:

- 1) They pursue leisure to fill their empty time with activities (N=17);
- 2) They are involved because they have plenty of time now to do the activities that they had always wanted to do in the past (N=8);
- 3) They find that the activities give them pleasure and/or help them relax (N=19);
- 4) They pursue the activities to make social contact with others so that they don't feel lonely (N=4), and
- 5) They do the leisure activities for their health; that is to keep in shape, stay active and stave off depression from being old (N=24).

It is obvious from the pattern of answers that the respondents clearly see the value of leisure to their physical and mental health. The answers that fall in category 5, given by the greatest number of respondents (i.e., 24 of 40 or 60%), explicitly recognize the health value of leisure activities. In addition, answers falling into categories 1 and 4, 17 and 4 respectively, or a total of 21 or 52.5% of respondents, implicitly recognize the health benefits of leisure.

The next set of questions posed to the respondents was: *Are you satisfied with your current leisure activities? Give the reason why?* The answers to these are important, because the results should confirm that the health benefits of leisure expected by the respondents have in fact been realized. The results show that 80.5% (34 out of 40) are satisfied with their current leisure activities, while only 6 of them are not. Those who are satisfied in pursuing their leisure activities have demonstrated that they are enjoying the retirement. They are happy to have more time to enjoy family life and doing things with their friends (6 of 34), and to do things that they could not do before retiring (N=3). In addition, they feel that they have plenty of enjoyable activities (N=25).

It seems, then, that most of the retired Indos in this case study have a sufficient number and quality of activities and follow an active social life, with their family and friends as the center of attention. However, it is important to mention here that the existence of an excellent state pension and retirement plan in the Netherlands makes it possible for the average retired

person to live comfortable. The elderly, by and large, are not threatened by poverty. Moreover, the Dutch public transport system is well connected and runs almost everywhere, so that retired people can do things easily by using buses, trams and trains. They are, therefore, not bound to their houses.

For those respondents who are not satisfied with their leisure activities, several health-related reasons stand out. A few of them have physical problems that limit them from doing what they want to do in their leisure time, while others feel depressed from not having enough productive activities. Some suffer from depression in retirement because they miss their late spouses or even their old friends in Asia.

The results presented in this section, however, show that the retired Indos of The Hague and its surroundings are, generally speaking, happy and satisfied with their leisure activities. They enjoy their retirement, and recognize that physical and mental health contributes to it.

A TYPOLOGY OF INDO LEISURE LIFESTYLES

What emerges from this research on and the analysis of the leisure of the retired Indos of The Hague and its surroundings is a typology of leisure styles. A typology is a classification system, that is, a way of organizing ideas. It is not the only one, but it seems appropriate here. In a typology, researchers normally combine two or more uni-dimensional, simple concepts or ideas, and the intersection of the simple concepts or ideas forms a new way of examining a topic.

For the purpose of this research, a typology of leisure lifestyles for retired Indos is appropriate in understanding what has been reviewed so far. One might suppose that there are three such leisure lifestyles exhibited by those retirees studied here; that is, *Indonesian, Dutch and Indo* leisure lifestyles. One might further assume that they could be characterized by some or all of the following simple elements and concepts: (1) *social roles* – concept of family, role of extended family, strength of family bonds, importance of using the proper form of address, respect for older persons, value placed on helping each other and the value of hospitality; (2) *personal habits* – language spoken among the group, Asian or European manners, importance of modesty, type of food consumed at home, method of bathing, and toilet habits; (3) *leisure activities* – movie-going, listening to music, social dancing, party-going, eating together and visiting friends and family.

One could also suppose that men and women, as well as single people and married ones, would have different leisure lifestyles. To some extent, that appears to be true among the retired Indos of this study. Although both men and women are club member (or not), men participate more in sports (e.g., badminton and tennis) and other outdoor activities (e.g., walking, cycling and gardening) than women, while women are more involved in indoor pursuits such as socializing with friends and playing cards. Couples also are more likely to go on trips, to go out to dinner, dancing or a party and to participate in more-related social activities of the Indo social clubs than single Indos.

Moreover, it might be assumed that with a strong Eastern cultural component, that the male member of a couple would dominate in the choice of leisure. However, this does not appear to be the case. Both men and women seem to be the dominant or subservient partner

depending on the particular couple.

Thus, the research undertaken here has yielded a somewhat different picture than the assumed Indonesian, Dutch and Indo leisure lifestyle split one might expect. The key factor seems to be the degree of *integration* into Dutch society. The first two groups of elements and concepts outlined above (i.e., social roles and personal habits) are merely manifestations of this integration, which the respondents have verbalized through their views on how they identify themselves (Table 2), how they characterize Indo culture (Table 3), how close they feel to Indonesia (table 4), and the importance of Indo values and habits to them (Table 5).

What these and other feelings of self identity expressed by the respondents indicate is that it is more meaningful to classify the population of this research into a typology of two rather than three group with regard to their leisure lifestyles. These groups can be characterized as *Traditional Indo and Indo-European Dutch*. The first group remains more classically Indo in self-concept (Indo), social roles (strong family bonds) and personal habits (Eastern toilet habits), while the second group of individuals feels both Indo and Dutch, and this is apparent by its way of life. Thus, the second group has a mixed Indo and Dutch self-concept, Indo social roles (strong family ties) and some additional Dutch personal habits (e.g., Western toilet habits). The styles of leisure of the sample studied here seem to exhibit this dichotomy as well. The first group is somewhat more bound to family and old, exclusively Indo friends than the second, which is more likely to meet new people in Indo clubs and partake in more Dutch-style leisure activities (e.g., attending the theatre) with their Indo friends. Of the 40 respondents in this study, 20 were clearly *Tradition Indo*, while 18 were *Indo-European Dutch*. The remaining two were in neither group completely, but could be better considered as members of the latter group who were the closest to being either Dutch (N=1) or international (N=1) with respect to their leisure lifestyles. The typology outlined in this section is summarized in Table 6.

There is no indication given by any of those retirees interviewed that they exhibit a totally Indonesian leisure lifestyle. This is to be expected, since they were never Indonesian, but were always considered as a distinct and separate group in the Dutch East Indies. There is, however, also no indication that any of the respondents are completely assimilated and now pursue a totally Dutch lifestyle, including its leisure, although two do seem to lean somewhat more in this direction.

Table 6. Typology of Indo Leisure Lifestyles

	<u><i>Traditional Indo</i></u>	<u><i>Indo-European Dutch</i></u>
<i>Social Roles</i>		
• <i>Family concept</i>	very strong	strong
• <i>Role of extended family</i>	very important	important
• <i>Strength of family bonds</i>	very strong	strong
• <i>Proper from of address</i>	very important	important
• <i>Respect for elders</i>	very important	very important
• <i>Value of mutual help</i>	very important	important
• <i>Value of hospitality</i>	very important	very important
<i>Personal Habits</i>		
• <i>Language of group</i>	Dutch & Indonesian	Dutch & Indonesian
• <i>Manners</i>	Eastern	Eastern & Western
• <i>Importance of modesty</i>	very important	important
• <i>Type of food at home</i>	more Indonesian	more Dutch
• <i>Method of bathing</i>	Eastern	Western
• <i>Toilet habits</i>	Eastern	Western
<i>Leisure Activities</i>		
• <i>Movie-going</i>	yes	yes
• <i>Theatre-going</i>	no	yes
• <i>Music listened to</i>	Eastern & Western	Eastern & Western
• <i>Social dancing</i>	often	sometimes
• <i>Party-going</i>	often	sometimes
• <i>Eating together</i>	very important	important
• <i>Visiting friends & family</i>	very important	important

SUMMARY (II)

What the analysis presented in this section and the typology summarized in Table 6. show is that there is definitely a unique Indo lifestyle among the retirees studies here. The respondents in this study have clearly been influenced by both Western and Eastern culture in their habits, way of life and preferences for leisure activities. The Eastern, predominantly Indonesian, culture influences their leisure activities in that social life plays a critically important role. Getting together with friends and families, having a meal together in a small gathering or big party with dancing, etc. are primary leisure activities among them. In addition, the respondents have expressed that they are satisfied with their leisure activities, and generally enjoy very active retirement. As a result they pursue leisure activities which enable them to be healthy in both body and mind.

Nevertheless, with 36 of the 40 respondents feeling close to Indonesia but nonetheless wanting to remain in the Netherlands, it seems that the older they get, the closer they feel to the culture of their birthplace. This is possibly why they spend more time with other Indos than with the Dutch. At the same time, while there is a different weight given to the various

elements of this leisure by members of the two different leisure lifestyle groups, this is really only a matter of degree. The leisure lifestyles of the interviewees remain remarkably similar, despite the variations observed.

CONCLUSIONS

The general conclusions of the research are as follows:

- Culture has influenced to an important extent the leisure and social lives of the respondents;
- The respondents' social lives, which reflect Indo habits, values and preferences, have become primary leisure activities among the respondents;
- Married retired Indos have more active social lives than either single men or single women, but single men are more active than single women;
- The respondents pursue active retirements, which they enjoy and fill with various leisure activities, enabling them to maintain generally healthy and satisfied lives during retirement;
- Clubs play, to a certain extent, a significant role among the respondents who are members. The clubs are important in their social lives as a place to meet other Indos, engage in leisure activities together and help to preserve the Indo culture through the organized cultural events, which take place there;
- Family and friends, who are mostly Indo, play the most important role in social life and leisure;
- Current leisure facilities, provided by the local municipality, are generally used by all local citizens as part of their general leisure and recreation;
- There are not many leisure facilities in the communities where the respondents live that can provide even occasionally programs which relate to the Indo people;
- The respondents are considered by *most Dutch* to be well integrated into their society. Some would probably also consider many to be assimilated if they did not know them well. However, the interviews conducted by this study present a picture of only partial integration and no assimilation at all among the members of this generation;
- The Indo culture, along with its habits, norms, and values are evident everywhere in the lives of those interviewed, and it is important to the respondents that they remain elements in their family lives; and
- This study on retired Indos in the area of The Hague seems to confirm the *activity theory of aging*, which assumes that continuous social involvement is the way people adapt successfully to aging. It also supports the *continuity hypothesis*, which suggests that there is a positive relationship between aged persons' contentment with their life situation and the similarity between their lifestyles in middle adulthood and in old age. Voges and Pongratz (1988) refer to this as the continuation of a familiar lifestyle.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendation of this research consider its policy and program implications. It has not been the intent of this study to formulated detailed leisure programs for the retired Indos of The Hague, but rather to understand existing leisure activities as an expression of

Indo culture, and to determine, in a general way, if and how they lead to healthy retirement. Clearly, this sample is content, but there are improvements to be made. Consequently, the following general recommendations are intended for those responsible for developing leisure programs for retired Indos. They are based upon or related to the findings of the 40 direct interviews of retired Indos in The Hague and its surroundings conducted in this study, and on the conclusions drawn from them. Obviously, they are relevant to retired Indos elsewhere in the Netherlands, and leisure planners might consider how the lessons learned from this research might be applied to considering other minority groups in the country. The Turkish and Moroccan communities come immediately to mind.

The policy and program recommendation of this study, then, are listed below:

- It is necessary to consider Indo cultural content for any leisure program or its component activities for aging or retired Indos due to the overwhelming importance of Indo culture to the mix of various leisure activities of the respondents in this study. Moreover, this should be the case for any group of minority retirees. Any program or activity should relate specifically to the culture, habits, norms and values of the particular people for whom the program is targeted.
- A complete leisure program of activities for Indos or any other minority group should include a meaningful array of cultural events that can connect the specific ethnic group to its part and bring its members closer to their own culture. This should be done even though the retirees are already integrated into (or appear to be integrated into) Dutch (or any host) society. Through leisure, culture can be maintained and preserved.
- More leisure activity, which is related to the culture of the Indos and other major minority groups in the Netherlands, aged or otherwise, should be scheduled as part of the leisure programs at the existing local facilities such as a community “*soos*” (club). By providing different types of programs for the local community, leisure would provide the local citizens with various choices to satisfy their needs and interests. In the case of Indo culture, the leisure organizers would give an opportunity to the local, ethnic Dutch people to learn about the culture of another people who reside in their country, as well as about an important part of their own history. A strong parallel can be made here between Indonesia with the Netherlands and Algeria with France or Mozambique with Portugal. All the former were major colonies that were considered, rather, as integral parts of the corresponding European states. All three colonies became independent after wars of liberation, and all three European states had a large number of *repatrianten*. With this level of importance tied to Indo culture, some locally based cultural events would show how important the minority subculture is to the dominant one. Thus, eventually Indo culture could be integrated into the local society as part of the rich culture and history of the Netherlands. Indos could eventually be viewed just like other Dutch people who come from the various regions of the country and have different cultures, habits, norms and values.
- An *Indische Bejaarden Huis* (Indo Home for the Aged) in The Hague is a necessity, especially as the Indo retirees continue to age. It is rather remarkable that one does not exist, considering the size of The Hague itself and the large Indo population living in the city and its surroundings. The existence of an Indo Home for the Aged would expand the possible choices of accommodation for retired and elderly Indos.

Considering the aging of this generation and the adoption of smaller family sizes and dwelling units among second and third generation Indos, at some point Indo retirees will form a large group of elderly in need of assisted living with an Indo cultural content. There is as yet no such institution in the city. As is indicated by the results of the interviews with the retired Indos of this study, it is evident that much of the retired Indo community in The Hague and its surrounding is still strongly connected to its own culture, norms and values as part of the daily routine. Without this cultural content, the Indo elderly do not feel comfortable. It is clear that the retired Indos in this study like being together with their Indo friends for the purpose of the leisure. A home will enable them to be together with other elderly Indos and feel comfortable within an Indo way of living as part of their home service. In addition, leisure activities with Indo cultural content would be more easily implemented through cultural events that could be scheduled on a regular basis. Thus, the Indo people will feel happy, comfortable and satisfied during their remaining days.

- In order to be effective, all of the above suggestions should be incorporated into a set of policy guidelines for recreational and social services within the city of The Hague and its surroundings municipalities, as well as, where appropriate, for the local community recreation centers. It is particularly important for the government of the Netherlands, working with the city and the surrounding municipalities, to develop a program supporting the local Indo clubs, organizations and foundations that try to keep the Indo culture alive through their various programs.

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