THE DUTCH IN TASMANIA:
An Exploration of Ethnicity and
Immigrant Adaptation

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This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of this thesis.

Roberta Julian
ABSTRACT

Despite the fact that Tasmania’s largest non-English speaking ethnic category is that of Dutch immigrants and their descendants, it has been the subject of very little empirical research. This study remedies this omission by providing an ethnographic account of the adaptation of Dutch immigrants and their descendants in southern Tasmania. The concept of 'ethnicity' is also critically examined and its role in the process of immigrant adaptation is analyzed.

The emphasis throughout is upon the structural context within which immigrant adaptation takes place by focussing on the relationship between social networks, ethnic organizational development and the process of self-identification. Migrant adaptation is a process in which an immigrant selects strategies. Such strategies are constrained both by the skill level of immigrants and their access to resources and opportunities in the receiving society. The mobilization of ethnicity is thus seen as a situationally specific adaptive strategy which the immigrant chooses from a repertoire of available identity options.

Two alternative patterns of adaptation are identified. The first is characterized by the development of an 'ethnic' community with a wide range of organizational development and relatively closed social networks leading to the maintenance of ethnic traits. The second pattern involves the dispersion of migrant individuals within the receiving society, resulting in limited ethnic networks and hence a decline in the salience of ethnicity both in social relationships and as an identity construct.
The two types of adaptation are the result of an individual's social location in both the society of origin and the receiving society. Factors considered include the level of modernity characterizing these societies, an individual's social location in the society of origin prior to emigration and upon arrival in the receiving society, mode of migration, skill level, availability of resources and identity options and the structure of opportunities in the receiving society. Using this approach the recent 'ethnic revival' in modern societies can be distinguished as a different phenomenon from the mobilization of ethnicity among first-generation migrants.

Variations in the nature of ethnic mobilization are explained through an examination, grounded in actual social experiences, of the structural conditions which lead to the choice of strategies. The study thus demonstrates the limited explanatory power of ethnicity *per se* in the process of immigrant adaptation. The concept of 'ethnicity' is a descriptive term which subsumes a variety of factors and processes. In order to develop adequate explanations of ethnic phenomena in modern society it is therefore necessary to develop concepts based on distinct and measurable processes.
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A great number of people are necessarily involved in the process of ethnographic research. I wish to express my appreciation of all those who have helped to bring this study to fruition.

While it is not possible to acknowledge everyone whose cooperation and interest made the study possible, certain individuals deserve special mention. I am especially indebted to my supervisors, Professor Rodney Crook and Dr. Gary Easthope, for their patience, encouragement, advice and critical comments on numerous drafts of the thesis. I thank them for giving generously of their time to coach me in the process of sociological research and for their willingness to participate in regular discussion sessions. I also warmly acknowledge the contribution of all members of the Department of Sociology, University of Tasmania, who gave invaluable help at different stages of the study.

I wish to acknowledge the co-operation and assistance given me by the organizations investigated and by those interviewed. I am especially grateful to the committee members of the Dutch Australian Society 'Abel Tasman' who generously gave me access to written records and welcomed me into their organization as well as their homes.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Ethnic relations has been a popular field for social research and publications in the area have been profuse. However, these publications tend to be either complex theoretical explanations of ethnic group relations or empirical studies with a specific focus. The theory is at a very abstract level while the empirical studies have limited applicability to other populations and the diverse findings of various researchers are unrelated. The development of a general theoretical account of immigrant adaptation, at a 'middle-range' level, which can accommodate these diverse empirical findings is needed. This study develops such an account.

A central problem is the meaning of the concept of 'ethnicity'. Ethnicity is an umbrella term which subsumes a variety of factors and processes, some of which have little in common. There is therefore a need to 'unpack' the concept of ethnicity, that is, to identify the factors and processes it subsumes, if one wishes to understand the phenomenon of 'ethnicity' in society and, more specifically, the role of ethnicity in the process of immigrant adaptation.

To achieve this, the discussion of ethnicity is grounded in empirical evidence; the theoretical argument on the process of immigrant adaptation being located within a socio-historical account of the settlement of Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania (see Appendix C: Map 1.1). The study is analytic and qualitative data are employed purely to illustrate the utility of the mode of analysis presented. Although the empirical data were collected from Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania the analytic argument applies equally to other populations.

1. The writer owes this term to Prof. R.K.N.Crook.
The process of immigrant adaptation is a problem of structural adaptation. Hence ethnicity is a resource available to all individuals not only immigrants. It is consequently necessary to adequately describe and explain the conditions which give rise to ethnic strategies, the mechanisms involved and the consequences of employing ethnic strategies.

To achieve this the present study will draw predominantly on sociological understandings from the Weberian tradition. In addition, research on immigrant adaptation in various societies, including Australia will be used.

**Northern European Migrants**

The central focus of the thesis is analytic not empirical. Nonetheless the empirical study of Dutch migration to Tasmania does meet the need expressed by many writers who have called for more community studies of ethnic groups in Australia (e.g. Martin, 1978; Jupp, 1986; de Lepervanche, 1984a; Price, 1986). Additionally, northern European migrants, such as the Dutch, constitute a much neglected, though sociologically important, immigrant category.

The majority of studies on immigrant adaptation in Australia has been on southern Europeans as a result of their high level of visibility which has led to the perception of them as distinct groups posing a threat to the status quo. On the other hand, studies of the adaptation of northern European migrants have been less detailed and less illuminating. Large scale studies, which dominate this area, tend to collapse a number of nationalities into the category 'Northern Europeans' (e.g. Kelley and McCallister, 1984; Reeves, 1973) so that specific characteristics or processes relevant to each nationality cannot then be abstracted from the overall findings. (Note that the nationalities included in the category 'Northern Europeans' vary across studies and are typically unspecified.)
On the basis of indices such as socio-economic dispersion (e.g. Kelley and McCallister, 1984; Timms, 1969; Zubrzycki, 1968) and levels of acculturation these studies generally conclude that northern European migrants have "assimilated successfully" (Harvey, undated) and have managed to achieve this without encountering many problems. Typically, this is attributed to the supposed similarity, both structurally and culturally, of northern European and Australian societies. This view automatically precludes any significance that northern Europeans might have as a subject for political or social concern; hence, the lack of interesting or enlightening studies.

For sociological analysis, however, it is precisely these findings which make the study of northern Europeans significant for understanding the process of immigrant adaptation. In other words, rather than focussing on why southern Europeans have experienced difficulties in this process it would be valuable to determine if and why northern Europeans have not.

**Value orientations and conceptual clarification**

One of the problems of analyzing processes of immigrant adaptation is the emotive nature of the issue. This can lead to problems in conducting the research but more significant are difficulties associated with choosing value-neutral concepts to report the research findings. Such problems arise as a consequence of terms and concepts becoming value-laden and imprecise through their adoption into everyday language.

In addition, the popularity of differing value-orientations alters in response to changing socio-historical conditions. There is a tendency for particular concepts to become linked with particular value-orientations. The term 'assimilation', for example, tends to be viewed negatively through its implied association with some notion of enforced Anglo-conformism. As a consequence, the terminology employed in the
ethnic relations literature tends to change as particular orientations move in and out of vogue, regardless of the utility of the concept in describing particular structural arrangements. When concepts are not clearly defined and value-orientations are not explicitly stated, confusion is likely to arise and the validity of arguments questioned.

Changing orientations to post-war migrants in societies such as the USA, Australia, New Zealand and Israel have coincided with changes in terminology. Galvin (1980) has identified a gradual change in orientation from strict Anglo-conformism to the melting-pot approach, to integration, cultural pluralism, multiculturalism and polyethnicism. In the early post-war period migrants tended to be greeted with various levels of prejudice and discrimination from members of the host society. In response, social scientists and others began to promote an attitude of cultural relativism. Consequently, research which questioned the value of some aspect of a migrant culture in the context of the receiving society took the risk of being labelled ethnocentric or even discriminatory. Terminology commonly used in earlier periods became taboo as a result of its implied association with a particular value-orientation.

One consequence of this process has been the proliferation of new concepts and a tendency to view as valid and scientific only those writings which employ the new jargon specific to the field of ethnic relations. Rather than assisting social scientists, however, this process has led to a lack of clarity in ethnic relations research and an avoidance of certain perspectives and issues which are important for understanding the phenomenon of 'ethnicity' and the process of immigrant adaptation. For this reason, in the present study much of the ethnic relations' jargon is deliberately avoided and more general sociological concepts are used. These concepts will be clearly defined and, unless specifically stated, are not associated with any particular value-orientation. They will be used to describe a process of structural adaptation.
**Research Methodology**

The empirical research on Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania was conducted over a five-year period between 1983 and 1988. Different kinds of data were collected so that a wide range of relevant material could be drawn upon in the analysis. Inquiry began with 50 in-depth semi-structured interviews (see Appendix A) with Hobart residents of Dutch origin. They came from diverse backgrounds and were in various social locations in the host society. Respondents varied by religion, province of origin, educational standard, occupational status, sex and age and gave varied accounts of their migration and settlement experiences. The interview schedule was organized in terms of broad topics which followed a chronological order but respondents were encouraged to simply "talk about" their life experiences.

The length of the interviews ranged from 20 minutes to 3 hours, depending on the degree of detail which the respondent wished to provide. Some interviews were conducted on a one-to-one basis; others were conducted with couples or family groups. The majority of respondents enjoyed reminiscing and were happy to describe their life histories to an interested audience.

Interviews were not taped as it was felt that this would detract from the relaxed atmosphere of the interviews, particularly as the length of many of the interviews would have required changing the tape during the session. Very brief notes were written on the interview schedule during the course of the interview; for example, summaries of important points, details of names, dates and places or a comment made which was pertinent. Immediately after the interview was completed the researcher verbally recorded the details of the interview by reporting into a tape recorder. This report was later transcribed into a written document. Fictional names have been used throughout the study when referring to individual respondents and privately-owned companies.
Respondents did not constitute a random sample of Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania. The research began by interviewing a few migrants of varying backgrounds from which a 'snowball' sample was obtained. Some of those interviewed became informants and were revisited on many varied occasions. The initial respondent was an acquaintance of the researcher prior to the onset of the study and, as a sociology graduate, became an invaluable informant throughout the early stages of the research programme.

Interviews were also conducted with community leaders either of Dutch origin themselves or those who had an interest in Dutch migrants. These included ministers of religion, parliamentary ministers, council members (and their wives) in municipalities where the proportion of Dutch residents was significant, teachers of children who were (or whose parents were) Dutch, employers who were either of Dutch origin themselves or who employed a significant proportion of Dutch migrants, government officials (notably from the Department of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs and the Department of Social Security), committee members of the Ethnic Communities Council, volunteers working in ethnic 'communities' in southern Tasmania, employees of the Migrant Resource Centre and the Australian Institute of Multicultural Affairs, teachers employed by the Adult Migrant Education Service and the past and present honorary Dutch Consuls for Tasmania. Through these interviews it has been possible to establish a social history of Dutch organizational development in southern Tasmania and to gather varied accounts of the establishment of 'ethnic' organizations from both insiders and outsiders.

Field-work was conducted through both the method of participant observation and that of non-participant observation. The choice of method was not pre-determined by the researcher but by the nature of the social setting being observed. In some social settings it was possible only to observe since participation was dependent upon certain criteria
which the researcher did not meet; for example, Reformed Church membership. Where participation was possible, the researcher took on the role of participant observer. In all cases the researcher role was declared. A common response was that the more the researcher became involved as a participant the less suspicious the subjects became and the less conscious they were of being observed.

Field-work involved being present at, and to varying degrees participating in, as many activities as possible at which Dutch migrants and their children were present. This included church services, youth camps, elderly citizens' dinners, barbeques to celebrate Queen Beatrix' Birthday, harbour cruises to Bruny Island on St.Nicolaas Day, the annual Oliebollen Festival, International and Multicultural festivities at Salamanca Place, weekend camps for young and old, folk dancing carnivals, cocktail parties at Parliament House, the ceremony at the Cenotaph to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of V.E. Day, fundraising activities for the Abel Tasman Fountain (which was the Dutch 'community's' Bicentennial gift to the people of Tasmania), the unveiling of this fountain by Queen Beatrix in October 1988 and a number of private parties.

In addition, the researcher has been a committee member of the Dutch-Australian Society 'Abel Tasman' for the past four years. This has provided the opportunity for frequent contact with the research subjects through regular attendance at monthly committee meetings and assisting with the organization of activities and functions throughout the year. Detailed information was recorded in written form immediately after each activity and function.

Secondary sources were also utilized to gain information. These included local newspaper articles, publications by the Reformed Church and publications of the Dutch-Australian Society. The researcher was given access to all Dutch-Australian Society records including minutes
of meetings and correspondence. Access to Reformed Church meetings and records of these meetings were not available to the researcher and it was here, in particular, that key informants were a useful source of information.

The Presentation of Qualitative Data

The present study draws on material gained in the field to illustrate the process of immigrant adaptation. It is presented in an ethnographic style with reference to individual case histories and quotes excerpts from individual interviews and migrant publications where pertinent. The qualitative methodology is appropriate to the study since its aim is to provide an analytic description of the processes of adaptation among Dutch migrants which can then be used to illustrate a theoretical argument.

A more important reason for the choice of a qualitative methodology lies in the nature of the topic itself: ethnicity is both objective and subjective in nature. Most large-scale studies of immigrant adaptation based on quantitative data avoid the complications of dealing with the subjective aspects of ethnicity but at the same time exclude one of the most important pieces of data for understanding its significance for social life; namely, that objective and subjective 'ethnicity' do not necessarily coincide. That is to say, ethnicity may or may not have meaning and/or salience for those individuals or groups we can objectively define as 'ethnic'.

The problematic nature of 'ethnicity' is not only apparent in the different definitions of the situation given by the researcher and the subject of his research. It has consequences for social life in that an individual or group in society may perceive another individual or group as 'ethnic', define them as such and treat them as such when they themselves do not. More importantly, these definitions are not static but will vary over time. Thus, the subjective meaning of ethnicity (and
changes in this over time) is a vital and essential component of the data required to understand processes of immigrant adaptation. Participant observation and qualitative methodology more generally, it is argued, is the most appropriate method for dealing with this topic.

Chapter Presentation

Chapter Two provides the rationale for the thesis through a review of the literature on ethnicity and immigrant adaptation and presents and explains the approach taken in the present study. It begins with a discussion of the concept of ethnicity and assesses some explanations for the social phenomenon of ethnicity. Major issues in the field of ethnic relations are discussed and previous research on immigrant adaptation reviewed. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the perspective on immigrant adaptation used in the present study and the analytic framework for 'unpacking' the concept of ethnicity is presented.

Chapter Three provides an introduction to the case study by focussing on the situation of Dutch immigrants in Australia and Tasmania. It begins by discussing Dutch society and Dutch immigration and reviews the research findings on Dutch migrants in Australia which typically conclude that the Dutch have assimilated successfully in Australia. The main evidence for this contention comes from their socio-economic distribution which parallels that of native-born Australians. Closer examination of the category of Dutch immigrants soon reveals problems with the interpretation that they have assimilated. The main problem is that they do not constitute an homogenous category. Their dispersion through the occupational structure may consequently not be a function of their experience of assimilation but rather a function of the differential skills and background they brought with them from the Netherlands.
In the second part of Chapter Three this variability in origin is described and evidence for their variability within Australia documented. Such variability indicates the need for small-scale studies if an understanding of the process of immigrant adaptation is desired. Similar variability is shown to exist in Tasmania. By examining this variability more closely this chapter provides initial evidence of two alternative patterns of adaptation in southern Tasmania.

A description and predominantly structural analysis of these two alternative patterns of adaptation is undertaken in Chapters Four and Five. The effects of variable origins and background characteristics on the process of adaptation is explained thereby demonstrating the limited explanatory power of ethnicity per se in the this process. Through the presentation and interpretation of case histories Chapter Six re-examines these alternative patterns of adaptation from a micro-perspective; that is, by focussing on life experiences from the vantage point of the migrant.

Chapter Seven provides an analytical synthesis of the discussion in Chapters Four to Six by explaining an individual's 'choice' of adaptive strategy in terms of social location and past experience and explains group processes as the outcome of individual strategies. The relative advantages and disadvantages of choosing 'ethnic' strategies are analyzed and the changes brought about by group processes are seen to affect the migrant's perceptions of advantage/disadvantage.

Chapter Eight analyzes and interprets recent changes in the adaptive strategies of Dutch immigrants and their descendants in terms of their changing social location. The tensions that arise from these changes and the mechanisms employed for managing them are discussed. The chapter concludes with a projection of these trends into the future thus suggesting the probable outcome of the adaptation of Dutch migrants in Australian society.
The concluding chapter summarizes the approach to the process of immigrant adaptation presented in the study. It emphasizes the limited explanatory power of ethnicity and explains that 'unpacking' the concept of ethnicity and analyzing the factors it subsumes is essential for an adequate understanding of immigrant adaptation. Previous approaches to immigrant adaptation and major issues in the field of ethnic relations are reassessed in the light of these conclusions. The limitations of the present study are discussed and possibilities for further research in the area suggested.
CHAPTER TWO:
ETHNICITY AND IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

The perspective adopted in this thesis, which provides the rationale for its methodology and thus its organizing framework, is developed from the works of Glaser and Strauss (1971) and Crook (1973). Glaser and Strauss view formal theory as the product of an ongoing process of systematic social research and theoretical development at the substantive level. They argue for the development of multiple "grounded" theories as the most fruitful method of generating formal theories which fit social reality, enable the formulation of predictions and explanations and are open to modification.

This thesis constitutes one part of the process of theory development in the field of ethnicity. It contributes to the cumulation of knowledge on ethnicity and offers an extension of existing theoretical approaches through an empirical investigation and analysis of processes of immigrant adaptation.

The framework for the analysis is adopted from Crook (1973) who emphasizes the need for sociological analysis to be "informed by human action based on meaning and choice" (1973: 253). This is achieved by focussing on individual biographies as differential trajectories through social space and across time. The structural analysis is thus rooted in actual social processes and real life experiences thereby enabling an integration of analysis at both macro and micro levels.

The linking of theory and research is an essential aspect of this process. Existing theory and research directed the initial data collection and provided the basis from which the analysis could be developed. The study builds on, and extends, existing knowledge in the field of ethnicity both empirically, through its focus on a relatively unexamined category of immigrants and theoretically, by developing a framework which
incorporates analysis at both macro and micro levels. New insights are woven back into the literature thereby contributing to the development of knowledge and theory in the field of ethnicity and immigrant adaptation.

The first step in demonstrating the contribution made by this study is to review the existing literature, both theoretical and empirical, which informs the later analysis.

The Concept of Ethnicity

The study of ethnicity in contemporary sociological writing is confounded by two major problems: a lack of conceptual clarity and the fact that the academic debate has been diffused with ideological rhetoric.

Conceptual clarity is an essential component of the sociological process: it is necessary for precise analysis and the formulation of a succinct argument. A generally-accepted definition of 'ethnicity' is that developed by Vallee (1975) who states that it refers to:

"descent from ancestors who shared a common culture or subculture manifested in distinctive ways of speaking and/or acting" (1975:165-166).

While this definition corresponds with the meaning usually given to the term 'ethnicity', it can be used to demonstrate the two major problems surrounding the concept.

First, as defined above, 'ethnicity' is viewed as an ascribed attribute which may or may not be socially significant in any given situation. Since it does not incorporate any notion of identification with an ethnic 'group' there is no recognition of the subjective component of ethnicity. As such, the concept of 'ethnicity', when defined in this manner, is not useful for addressing one of the central problems of contemporary sociology; that is, explaining alterations in the salience of 'ethnicity' over time and space.
Secondly, the concept of 'ethnicity' is too abstract and imprecise to be employed for the purpose of comparative analysis. As de Lepervanche (1984a:186) has noted "ethnicity can mean almost anything people use to distinguish themselves from others". It is clearly an umbrella term which subsumes a number of variables, any one (or more) of which can legitimately lay claim to referring to 'ethnicity'. This has led to attempts to delineate the 'key' characteristics of 'ethnicity' (e.g. Harris, 1979; McKay and Lewins, 1978; *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 1980; Encel, 1986). However, through this process a single concept acquires a variety of meanings, either explicitly, through the development of an ever-increasing number of alternative definitions or implicitly, by employing the same term to refer to a variety of social phenomena.

The concept of 'ethnicity' has therefore been criticized because it covers a host of varying social, psychological and ideological phenomena (see McKay & Lewins, 1978; Harris, 1979; de Lepervanche, 1980, 1984a; Eipper, 1983; Smith, 1984; Schermerhorn, 1970). The lack of conceptual clarity surrounding 'ethnicity' has resulted in corresponding confusion over key terms in the analysis of immigrant adaptation, such as 'ethnic group' (Western, 1983), 'ethnic community' and 'ethnic identity', leading some writers (e.g. Eipper, 1983) to wonder whether the term should not be abandoned altogether.

In an effort to produce conceptual clarity, scholars, from various perspectives, have engaged in debates over its definition. These include debates over whether 'ethnicity' should be subjectively or objectively defined or whether it should incorporate elements of both (e.g. Vallee, 1975; McKay and Lewins, 1978; Harris, 1979) and debates over whether it is merely ideology (e.g. de Lepervanche, 1980; Jakubowicz, 1981) or, as others suggest, a structural element of society (e.g. Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Bell, 1975). When it is viewed as a component of social structure questions are then raised over what form it takes and whether
it is more or less significant than class (e.g. Jakubowicz, 1986).

In relation to ethnic groups there is debate over what constitutes a group as opposed to an aggregate or category (e.g. McKay and Lewins, 1978) and further, what criteria distinguish ethnic groups from other kinds of groups (e.g. Lieberson, 1961, 1972; Vallee, 1975). Attempts are also made to define what is meant by 'ethnic identity' (McKay and Lewins, 1978) and to delineate the relationship between 'ethnic identification' and 'ethnic group formation' (Harwood, 1981). These debates are rarely resolved and tend to increase, rather than decrease, the level of confusion surrounding the concept of 'ethnicity'.

This lack of conceptual clarity has been, in part, the cause of a more important problem in the sociological literature; namely, that the concept of ethnicity has been employed in various ways as a result of the perspectives and ideological assumptions of writers. Such an abstract and imprecise concept has been used to support various value-orientations, usually stated implicitly rather than explicitly, and has thus acquired an even greater variety of meanings. This has led to the current situation in which debates about ethnicity are predominantly ideological rather than existential. It is the argument of this thesis that the discussion of ethnicity needs to be taken out of the realm of ideological debate by rationally examining the concept of 'ethnicity' through analysis so that its utility as an explanatory concept can be demonstrated.

**Locating the Debate: Primordialism vs Mobilization**

Current approaches to the study of ethnicity have been broadly divided into two categories in the literature: primordialist and mobilizationist or instrumentalist (Smith, 1984; McCall et al., 1985). There is a tendency to discuss these approaches as if they were alternatives. Upon closer examination a variety of views is evident within each perspective demonstrating a greater level of consistency than is often recognized. The distinction between the two approaches is not clear-cut.
In general terms, there is agreement on the characteristics of ethnic phenomena while disagreement occurs at the level of explanation. Such disagreement results from divergent and often implicit value-orientations which lead various researchers to select for investigation certain aspects of the phenomenon over and above others.

Primordialists view ethnicity as a primal, primitive and prerational characteristic essential to man (Zubrzycki, 1977:134). It is described as a primordial sentiment, a 'we' feeling based on "something personal, something sacred" (Zubrzycki, 1977:132). Geertz (1973) has defined a 'primordial attachment' as:

"one that stems from the 'givens' - or more precisely, as culture is inevitably invoked in such matters, the assumed ‘givens’ - of social existence: immediate contiguity...that stems from being born into a particular religious community speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language and following particular social patterns. These contiguities of blood, speech, custom and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsmen, one's neighbour, one's fellow believer, ipso facto, as a result not merely of one's personal affection, practical necessity, common interest or inferred obligation, but at least in great part, by the virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself...(F)or virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times such attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural - some would say spiritual - affinity than from social interaction." (1973:259-260).
Writers following this perspective stress the universal nature of the phenomenon of ethnicity and regard ethnicity as "'perennial', part of the substratum of human association, and certainly coeval with recorded history" (Smith, 1984).

Primordialists emphasize the durability, even permanence, of ethnic communities and ties (Smith, 1984). Their concern is to explain the maintenance of ethnic ties and the strengthening of ethnic group boundaries, a phenomenon known as 'the ethnic revival', which has been identified in modern societies. They recognize that this situation does not fit comfortably with modernization theories which state that ethnicity as an ascribed basis for group formation and identification should decline as societies modernize and increasing emphasis is placed on achievement (Vallee, 1975).

To explain the durability of ethnicity, they rely on the subjective meanings of those who maintain ethnic ties. They claim that:

"these prerational, sacred ties mean far more to individuals than stricter, rational, materialistically oriented ties of an overwhelming homogenized society" (Zubrzycki, 1977:134) (emphasis added).

They assert that these ties are more meaningful because they result from a primordial sentiment. The primordial nature of this sentiment is something one can know "to be true instinctively" (Zubrzycki in Jakubowicz, 1986:14). Extreme exponents of this view (e.g. Connor, 1973) have even contemplated the possibility of:

"an ethnic imperative, as others have claimed to detect a universal imperative based on such diverse factors as territory, economic self-interest or the sex urge."
(deLepervanche, 1980:31; see also Patterson, 1979).

Statements such as these do not constitute explanations. They are simply assertions.
It is a short step from this purported 'explanation' to the view that ethnic ties and communities should be maintained. Primordialists pronounce the ultimate benefit, for the individual and society, of maintaining the salience of ethnicity. They view ethnicity as an essential and 'core' component of self-identity which must be allowed free expression (Smolicz, 1979). Ethnic identification is viewed positively as a reaction against the process of homogenization in a rational society (McCall et al., 1985).

In this sense, the primordialist approach is clearly a value-orientation. Primordialists focus on evidence of the maintenance and strengthening of ethnicity within modern societies. They view this as positive and justify this value-orientation by asserting that ethnicity is primordial.

There are two major problems with this approach. First, primordialists tend to confuse the issue of whether ethnicity is always meaningful with whether it should be meaningful. To support their moral assertions they selectively attend to situations in which ethnicity has remained salient over time or has become socially significant more recently. They choose not to emphasize that the meaning of ethnicity can and does vary such that the salience of ethnicity can also decline. Awareness of the changing nature of ethnicity is evident in statements to the effect that it may remain latent or suppressed under certain conditions but such statements are typically qualified with the claim that ethnicity is always potentially significant. Nevertheless, implicit in this qualification is the recognition that under certain conditions it is not. What is clearly missing in this approach is an analysis of ethnicity which is located within an understanding of the major trends and directions of social change as societies modernize.
Secondly, even if one holds the view that ethnicity is universally meaningful across all situations, this does not necessarily mean that it is a "primordial sentiment" or that ethnic ties are in any sense "natural" or "primeval" (Smith, 1984). On the contrary, ethnicity can be viewed as a universally available resource which will be mobilized by particular individuals and groups under certain conditions. From this perspective, the question of whether it is primordial or not is unimportant. This is the view held by the 'mobilizationists'.

Mobilizationists emphasize the transient nature of ethnicity. They recognize that ethnic affiliations fluctuate considerably and change their meanings across a variety of situations. In explaining these fluctuations they argue that the role of ethnic groups is largely 'situational' and instrumental (Smith, 1984). Among the mobilizationists there are some who hold that ethnicity is a relatively modern phenomenon. They therefore conclude that it cannot be an ineradicable given (Smith, 1984).

Mobilizationists are concerned with how ethnicity is used as a basis for competing for desirable resources (McCallet al., 1985). Rather than viewing ethnicity as an ascribed and universally meaningful characteristic, they are concerned with its achievement. Their interests focus on the explanation of ethnicity as a social process. This involves delineating the variety of forms through which it is expressed and explaining their causes and consequences. They do not assume that ethnicity is necessarily meaningful or beneficial for individuals or groups in society. For them, the consequences of ethnic mobilization in terms of costs and benefits to individuals, groups and society as a whole are problematic. Variation will exist across situations such that this becomes an empirical problem.
Modernization and Mobilization

The most productive approach to the study of ethnicity is to analyze the mobilization of ethnicity within the more general perspective provided by modernization theory. Such an approach takes into account the fact that ethnic phenomena are evident in modern societies but does not assume that ethnicity is always salient. Such an approach is able to explain alterations in the salience of ethnicity within a comparative perspective and is able to locate the discussion within the context of wider social processes and long-term trends.

If ethnicity is viewed as one among a number of alternative bases for social differentiation and status allocation, the explanation of ethnic phenomena can be located within the framework of modernization theories. From this perspective, fluctuations in the salience of ethnicity are indicative of the tensions between ascription and achievement in modern societies.

By modernization in this context is meant the social structural and attitudinal changes associated with industrialization and urbanization (see eg. Levy, 1966). The process of modernization has involved the "subordination of ascription and particularism as ongoing principles of society to achievement and universalism" (Parsons, 1977:13-14). Increasing emphasis on occupational achievement, along with the pressures of geographical and social mobility, have undermined the significance of ascriptive background characteristics in determining access to membership and achievement opportunities. The nature of social relationships has altered accordingly such that kinship ties and community ties, characterized by affectivity and diffuseness, have tended to weaken. They have been replaced by social relationships characterized by specificity and affective neutrality. Orientation towards the self has increasingly replaced the collectivity-orientation characteristic of members in relatively less modern societies.
Ethnicity, in the sense of a shared cultural heritage, is an ascribed characteristic. In this sense, modern societies are typically heterogeneous with reference to ethnicity. This has occurred as a result of high levels of immigration and the establishment of political boundaries which encompass a number of groups with distinct cultures within the modern nation-state. This does not mean, however, that ethnicity will necessarily be given any social significance in these societies. In fact, the salience of ethnicity, as an ascribed attribute, has declined as a result of modernity. It is clear that viewing ethnicity purely as an ascribed attribute has limited utility for understanding ethnic phenomena in modern social contexts.

An understanding of the processes involved in the mobilization of ethnicity must take into consideration the mechanisms involved in the achievement of ethnicity. This involves focussing on the process of ethnic identification since the mobilization of ethnicity through ethnicities and communities presupposes ethnic identification. It is also important to recognize, however, that ethnic identity is fluid and malleable. Thus, an understanding of the factors influencing fluctuations in ethnic identification is important for explaining the mobilization of ethnicity. Consequently, an important topic for sociological concern involves exploring the ways in which ethnicity achieves significance, for individuals and/or groups, in modern societies. The present study involves such an exploration at both macro and micro levels of analysis.

In summary, the important issue does not lie in determining whether ethnicity is primordial or not but in explaining ethnicity as a social process. This involves identifying the conditions which give rise to the mobilization of ethnicity, the social mechanisms involved, the variety of forms this takes and the social consequences of mobilizing ethnicity.
The Mobilization of Ethnicity as a Social Process

Ethnicity is not only a cultural phenomenon but a complex social process. The mobilization of ethnicity as a process of structural adaptation can be understood by drawing on insights from Weber (1964, 1965, 1978) and locating these within an understanding of wider social processes associated with modernization.

Ethnicity is a basis for the formation of status groups. Weber (1978) defines 'status groups' as those which mark themselves off from others by some criterion which gives rise to particular conventions. They are distinguished by specific 'life-styles'. The recognition of differences in any aspect of life-style, no matter how apparently superficial, may give rise to feelings of repulsion and contempt for foreigners. More importantly, it can stimulate awareness of a common identity and feelings of attraction among those who resemble each other. Weber calls this awareness of a common identity among members of a status group, a 'consciousness of kind'. When this 'consciousness of kind' gives rise to a belief in common ancestry then these status groups can be viewed as ethnic groups.

Weber (1978:364) uses the expression 'ethnic groups' to describe:

"human groups (other than kinship groups) which cherish a belief in their common origins of such a kind that it provides a basis for the formation of a community."

Any aspect of a distinctive way of life can induce this belief in common ancestry. Whether those who identify with a particular ethnic group are objectively of common ancestry is not significant for understanding the formation of ethnic groups and communities. Thus, from this perspective, the central focus for analysis becomes identification with a particular group which provides the basis for the mobilization of ethnicity. It is this process which has important consequences for social structure.
Weber points to the fact that status groups are characterized by the existence of communal relationships. These are social relationships which involve feelings of belonging together. They have the potential to develop into communities but will do so only under certain structural conditions. Weber describes a communal relationship in the following way:

"A social relationship will be called 'communal' if and so far as the orientation of social action...is based on a subjective feeling of the parties...that they belong together..." (1964:137).

He points out that "(c)ommunal relationships may rest on various types of affectual, emotional or traditional bases"and recognizes that:

"...(E)very social relationship which goes beyond the pursuit of immediate common ends, which hence lasts for long periods, (and) involves relatively permanent social relationships between the same persons"(Weber, 1964:137-138) is potentially capable of becoming a communal relationship.

From the Weberian perspective, the term 'community' is used to refer to a relatively homogeneous human group, experiencing little mobility, interacting and participating in a wide range of activities, and sharing an awareness of common life and personal bonds (Dalton & Dalton, 1975). Communities are characterized by the restriction of social intercourse (Neuwirth,1969) which can extend to the the point of totally exclusive endogamy. Since communities are marked by closure, the identification of particular ethnic communities involves the delineation of boundaries.

It is important to note that while the affective quality of the social relationships is fundamental to the existence of any community, it is not a sufficient causal factor in its development. The formation of a community is a structural process dependent on factors other than
ethnicity (in the sense of a belief in common ancestry). Weber (1978) has noted that the formation of an ethnic community usually presupposes the existence of a political, linguistic or religious community. Differences in custom which create feelings of common ethnicity are usually caused by linguistic or religious differences and the diverse economic and political conditions of various social groups (Weber, 1965). The writer suggests that identification of the specific factors which cause a status group to develop into an ethnic community is an empirical problem. These factors will vary across individual cases depending on which aspects of 'life-style' delineate the boundaries between ethnic groups.

By locating these insights from Weber on status group formation and community development within the framework provided by modernization theory, some important propositions can be formulated which will aid in the examination of ethnic phenomena in modern societies. Since a community is characterized by diffuse relationships, such a structure is likely to develop only when a sufficient number of communal relationships interlock over time among the same group of people. However, the processes of differentiation and mobility consistent with modernization work against the possibility of creating and sustaining more than a few interlocking communal relationships. Thus, the general trend as societies modernize is that status groups are less likely to develop into communities.

This indicates that it is important to analyze the development of ethnic communities within the context of these wider processes of social change. The explanation of the formation of ethnic communities in modern society must focus on identifying the factors which lead to the development of sharp boundaries between ethnic groups. Weber (1978) has noted that this normally occurs as a result of migration or colonization. These processes bring into contact a number of groups with distinct modes of life and are therefore likely to lead to the development of ethnic boundaries.
While the development of 'ethnic' communities typically occurs among immigrants it is important to recognize that the process is not limited to this situation. The identification of factors which give rise to ethnic identity, communal relationships within ethnic groups and the development of ethnic communities is a matter for empirical research. The influence which 'ethnicity' per se has on these processes is of limited importance except, perhaps, in reinforcing the boundaries between ethnic groups. As a causal factor it has little significance.

The mobilization of ethnicity in modern societies can be understood within the context of the social processes discussed above. From this perspective, in which ethnic groups are viewed as part of the status system in society, it is possible to formulate precise propositions which will lead to a greater understanding of the phenomenon of ethnicity.

**The meaning of ethnic mobilization**

The previous discussion has indicated that the causal factors in the development of ethnic groups can, and do, vary. Furthermore, ethnicity is a resource which may be mobilized by status group members for a variety of instrumental and expressive reasons. Consequently there will be variation in the nature and meaning of ethnic phenomena both within and across societies. Variation in the salience of ethnicity must therefore be explained through an empirical investigation of the process of ethnic mobilization.

The mobilization of ethnicity is both a cultural and a structural process. Status group members may mobilize ethnicity for expressive purposes and/or to improve access to scarce resources such as power and economic rewards thereby producing a complex relationship between ethnic status, class and political power. The nature of this relationship varies across individual cases and is determined by the particular historical and structural context.
Ethnicity is mobilized in the political sphere by ethnic interest groups. Political activity is goal-oriented and therefore requires the formation of an association which "possesses some form of rational organization and an apparatus of personnel which is ready to bring about the goals in question" (Weber, 1978:55). In order to achieve political goals, ethnic groups will develop ethnic associations which can be either ephemeral or permanent structures. Such associations do not necessarily represent the interests of all members of the ethnic group. The degree of representativeness depends on the level of social differentiation within the ethnic group and is a matter for empirical investigation.

Ethnicity may be mobilized in the economic sphere in a variety of ways. 'Occupational status groups' are those groups which successfully lay claim to social status by virtue of a specific life-style which may be determined by the occupation which they pursue (Weber, 1978). In theory, where members of an occupational status group share a common ethnic background the salience of ethnicity is likely to be high.

Where members of an ethnic group share a common class situation, ethnicity may be mobilized to achieve class interests. Under these conditions the salience of ethnicity increases for both individuals and groups but it is important to recognize that ethnic groups and classes are analytically distinct phenomena. They arise from different aspects of the social structure so that they do not necessarily overlap. Furthermore, the likelihood of such overlap occurring decreases along with societal increases in the rate of social mobility and is thus less likely to occur in relatively modern societies. In addition, this type of ethnic mobilization is dependent upon a low level of class differentiation and a high degree of homogeneity within the ethnic group. The existence of this situation depends largely on the migration processes which determine the nature of ethnic differentiation in any society and is therefore a matter for empirical research.
Ethnic groups are characterized by social relationships which involve a feeling of belonging together. Ethnicity may therefore be mobilized for expressive purposes through the development of 'communal' relationships. Thus, the greater the proportion of ethnic relationships in the individual's interpersonal network the more salient is ethnicity for the individual, both in his daily activities and as a central construct in the process of self-identification.

Ethnic communities are, by definition, characterized by the existence of ethnic relationships across a range of institutional spheres. Where such ethnic communities exist, therefore, diffuse ethnic relationships may be mobilized for a variety of instrumental and expressive purposes which include the satisfaction of educational, religious, occupational, residential and linguistic needs.

Clearly, ethnicity may be mobilized in a variety of ways. It has been suggested that the meaning and salience of ethnicity vary across societies and across groups within a society. It is equally important to recognize that the meaning and salience of ethnicity vary across individuals within an ethnic group. This is expressed through variation in the degree of commitment to ethnic identification. In other words, ethnicity may be more or less significant as a basis for the identification of self and others. In any given situation the degree to which it is salient depends on the individual's social location and the nature of ethnic mobilization consistent with this location.

By adopting a perspective which enables the relations between macro and micro levels to be explored, it becomes clear that the strategic importance of ethnicity can, and does, vary across individuals. This is the consequence of the differential location of individuals in the social structure (both past and present) which leads to different interests and adaptive strategies. This can be understood as a continuum.
At one end of the continuum there are individuals who have nominal membership in an amorphous ethnic group. Such individuals maintain no ethnic relationships. They may be aware of their membership in an ethnic group but it is of little importance to them. For them, the ethnic group does not function as a reference group. They do not mobilize ethnicity in their daily activities and it is not significant in the process of self-identification. Nevertheless, under certain conditions such individuals may mobilize ethnicity symbolically. 'Symbolic' ethnicity is situational. It is expressed sporadically and is transient in nature.

At the other end of the continuum there are individuals who live their lives totally within the boundaries of the ethnic community. Their formal roles are located within ethnic organizations and their interpersonal networks are ethnic in nature. All their daily activities involve the mobilization of ethnicity for instrumental and/or expressive purposes. For them ethnicity is central in the process of self-identification. These individuals express 'behavioural' ethnicity. This form of ethnicity is extremely durable but is dependent on the maintenance of the ethnic community. Under certain conditions, these individuals are likely to mobilize ethnicity outside the ethnic community.

Between these two extremes there are individuals who maintain some ethnic communal relationships and for whom ethnicity is one identity option among many. For them, the salience of ethnicity varies across situational contexts and across time. They will mobilize ethnicity in various ways, across various institutional spheres and for a variety of expressive and instrumental purposes. In some contexts, ethnicity will be relatively durable; in other contexts, it will be transitory. This process gives rise to fluctuations in the salience of ethnicity demonstrating that ethnic identity is fluid. It is this scenario which is most common in
relatively modern societies where ethnic interactions have a shifting quality so that, in practice, they may slide into religious or class ties and sentiments.

The more closely the individual is linked to the ethnic community the more socially significant is ethnicity. In addition, the individual's social location vis-a-vis the wider social milieu is affected by the degree to which the ethnic community is 'institutionally-complete'. Breton (1964) coined this term to refer to the extent to which an ethnic community contains representative types of organizations so that individuals might live out their lives within the boundaries of the ethnic community. Within a relatively modern, structurally differentiated society the level of 'institutional completeness' will vary across ethnic communities and over time. The changing structure of the ethnic community is therefore an important variable to consider when explaining variations in the salience of ethnicity.

In summary, ethnicity may be mobilized in one or more ways across individuals, across groups and even across different situational contexts for the same individuals. Clearly, ethnicity per se cannot account for this variation.

Analyzing Ethnicity as a Social Process

The analysis of ethnicity as a social process involves identifying the structural conditions which give rise to various types of ethnic mobilization. This involves exploring the strategic importance of ethnicity vis-a-vis the wider social milieu. At the macro-level, analysis must focus on identifying the conditions within which ethnic communal relationships develop and are transformed into ethnic communities. It involves identifying the conditions which give rise to ethnic interest groups and exploring the mobilization of ethnicity within and across classes. At the micro-level, analysis involves identifying the conditions which lead individuals to mobilize ethnicity for symbolic,
expressive and instrumental purposes. It involves delineating the conditions which curtail the 'choices' individuals make in managing their situations. These conditions can be analyzed at societal, group and individual levels.

Factors determining ethnic mobilization

(a) Societal conditions

Structural conditions in the host society determine the social significance of ethnicity and thus, the nature of ethnic mobilization. One important factor is the degree to which ethnicity functions as a basis for social differentiation. This refers to the degree of ethnic differentiation characterizing the society which is determined by the sharpness of the boundaries distinguishing ethnic groups from each other.

A second and more important factor is the nature of the relationship between status differentiation and ethnic differentiation. Ethnic differentiation, as a purely horizontal system of social relationships, tends to develop into status differentiation. In any given society, then, ethnic groups vary in their amounts of 'status honour' depending upon, and further reinforcing, access to power and economic rewards. An ethnic group's position in the overall system of status differentiation will therefore determine the nature of ethnic mobilization.

The dynamic nature of the underlying structural conditions is equally important for understanding the mobilization of ethnicity. The social significance of ethnicity varies in relation to changing social and economic conditions. Weber argued that "the degree to which status differentiation is prevalent in any given social order is influenced by how far the society in question is subject to rapid economic transformation" (Giddens, 1971:167). He noted that "where marked economic changes are occurring, class stratification is a more pervasive
determinant of action than in a situation where there is little change. In the latter case, status differentials come increasingly to the fore" (Giddens, 1971:167).

From this perspective, the significance of ethnicity as a basis for social and status differentiation will be greatest in societies with a relatively high degree of economic stability. In relation to fluctuating economic conditions, Weber suggests that any "deceleration of the process of economic change...leads to the growth of 'status' structures and restores the significance of 'social standing' " (Weber, 1978:54-55).

The significance of ethnicity as a basis for status differentiation is dependent upon the society's relative level of modernity. Modernization theories suggest that the degree of differentiation based on ascribed ethnic status will be higher in relatively less modern societies than in relatively more modern societies. This is an important factor determining the nature of ethnic mobilization.

In modern societies, the influence of ascribed ethnicity declines as the variety of bases for social mobility increases. In such societies the mobilization of ethnicity is also increasingly influenced by the State. The salience of ethnicity depends on the degree to which it is involved in the distribution of economic and political advantage through the allocation of welfare or the selection of personnel for public offices. In any given society, the importance placed on ethnicity as a criterion in these processes will directly affect the mobilization of ethnicity. Ethnicity will be increasingly mobilized if it provides greater access to power and economic rewards than do alternative bases for identification and action.

The significance of this type of ethnic mobilization should not be underestimated. It has important consequences resulting from the fact that ethnicity is typically mobilized for such instrumental purposes through ethnic organizations and associations. Members of such
organizations develop affective ties. Consequently, the salience of ethnicity increases as it is mobilized for both instrumental and expressive purposes. Furthermore, this situation can initiate imitative tendencies among other ethnic groups who are involved in the competition for scarce rewards (Patterson, 1983).

Prejudice and discrimination are important factors determining the nature of ethnic mobilization in any given society. Societal attitudes towards ethnic groups are determined by the degree to which boundaries between groups are clearly-defined on the basis of ethnicity. Attitudes towards a particular ethnic group are dependent upon that group’s position in the system of status differentiation. Furthermore, the institutionalization of ethnic differentiation leads people to interpret ethnicity as the major cause of differential life-chances. Such a situation reinforces the perceived advantages of ethnic mobilization.

(b) Group factors

The process of ethnic differentiation is a process of boundary development. Boundaries are marked by interaction patterns and are most clearly-defined under conditions of ethnic community development. Such development is dependent upon structural conditions in the society on the one hand, and factors relating to the ethnic group on the other. The latter includes factors which lead to a sense of common identity and a belief in common ancestry.

Ethnicity is socially significant where it is mobilized as a basis for identification and boundary development. Boundaries may develop on the basis of any distinct cultural trait. Ethnic groups tend to define themselves not by reference to their own characteristics but by exclusion; that is, in terms of how they differ from other groups. Empirically, the set of characteristics which defines the boundary between ethnic groups varies across situations and over time. This boundary may also be defined differently by members and non-members and becomes 'ethnic'
where the recognition of differences creates a belief in common ancestry. Thus ethnic groups are "human groups (other than kinship groups) which cherish a belief in their common origins" (Weber, 1978:364, emphasis added). There is no direct connection between the 'fact' of ethnicity and its social significance.

Ethnic identification and the development of an ethnic community are theoretically open to all members of society. In practice, however, ethnic communities tend to develop among minority groups and immigrant populations. This is the result of a number of factors associated with migration. Memories of recent migration bolster identification with the ethnic group therefore helping to create and maintain a sense of shared identity and a belief in common ancestry. Ethnic identification, however, is a necessary but not sufficient condition of ethnic community development and ethnic mobilization.

Factors determining ethnic community development include the size and homogeneity of the immigrant category, mode of migration, settlement patterns, the distribution of social resources and the nature of social relationships among members together with the degree to which these resources differ from those which characterize the members of the host society. These factors are, in turn, determined by the structure of the society from which the immigrants are drawn, emigration policies in the society of origin, immigration policies and anti-discrimination legislation in the receiving society and the degree of xenophobia characteristic of societal members.

(c) Individual factors

The mobilization of ethnicity is dependent upon the individual's social location. The degree to which the individual is linked to his ethnic community is defined in terms of the location of his formal roles and the nature of his interpersonal network. The nature of these links is determined by the individual's motivation for migration, the relative
importance of national and regional bases for identification and his resources, including skill level, religion, kinship and friendship ties. The immigrant's social location on arrival is particularly important in determining the nature of ethnic mobilization at a future point in time. It influences the degree to which the individual identifies with the group and his access to opportunities in the receiving society.

Social location must therefore be viewed as dynamic. The individual's access to information and opportunities in the receiving society alters over time and is dependent upon adaptive strategies 'chosen' in the past. Differential life histories are thus the result of different locations in the social structure and different socialization experiences. They can be understood as differential biographical trajectories through space and across time. An important corollary of this is that, given the changes that take place in social location as immigrants adapt to the receiving society, there is likely to be significant variation across generations in the nature of ethnic mobilization.

**Major Issues in the Ethnic Relations Literature**

The previous discussion of the process of ethnic mobilization and the factors involved in its analysis provides a background from which the major issues in the literature can be examined.

**The consequences of ethnic mobilization**

Positive and negative evaluations of the consequences of ethnic mobilization are predominantly the result of differing value orientations. Positive evaluations are consistent with the view that the mobilization of ethnicity indicates the individual's ability to express a 'core' aspect of his identity (e.g. Smolicz and Secombe, 1979; Smolicz, 1979; Smolicz and Harris, 1977; Clyne, 1986). It is viewed as an expression of 'individuality' and a reaction against the pressures of cultural homogenization in modern society (McCall et al., 1985). Additionally, ethnic organizational development is viewed as a means of improving
access to scarce resources thereby achieving a greater degree of social equality (e.g. AEAC, 1978). Since the development of ethnic communities creates affective ties between members, this process is also perceived as beneficial in that it meets the expressive needs of individuals in a society increasingly characterized by affectively-neutral social relationships. From this perspective, the consequences of ethnic mobilization are perceived in terms of increased equality and social cohesion and a greater freedom of individual expression.

Negative evaluations of ethnic mobilization result from focusing on alternative representations of ethnic differentiation in modern society. Under conditions of increasing ethnic differentiation the ascribed nature of ethnicity is said to gain in importance. This results in the development of ‘mobility traps’ and thus increased levels of inequality (e.g. Jakubowicz and Buckley, 1975). Proponents of this view note that ethnic organizational development increases the significance of ethnicity as a basis for self-identification and thus leads to conflict between ethnic groups (e.g. van den Berghe, 1967, 1970; Glazer, 1982). Such writers are concerned that the precarious nature of social cohesion in modern societies is thereby undermined (see Patterson, 1983).

By focusing on alternative aspects of the process of ethnic mobilization the two arguments tend to go past one another such that the debate cannot be resolved. Rather than arguing at an ideological level, a more productive discussion can occur if the conditions determining the mobilization of ethnicity are rationally examined within the context of modernization theory and the analysis is grounded in actual social processes. Furthermore, both perspectives appear to stem from the perception that ethnicity is becoming an increasingly salient basis for identification, action and social differentiation in modern society. However, as mentioned earlier, overall trends in the modernization process suggest that this may not be the case.
In a modern society with a differentiated social structure individuals and groups have an extensive repertoire of identity options which can be mobilized across various social contexts. The significance of ethnicity for individual or group identity is fluid and dependent on the social setting. In modern society the mobilization of ethnicity occurs along with the mobilization of other resources, ethnicity being but one basis for organizational development. From this perspective, ethnic differentiation is but one type of social differentiation which is, in principle, no more or less significant than others. The relative significance of these is a matter for empirical investigation. Within the context of wider social processes associated with modernization, however, it can be suggested that ethnicity is unlikely to become an increasingly important basis for social cohesion; nor is it likely to become the major cause of conflict in modern societies.

Ethnic communities develop where the members of an ethnic group share resources across a wide range of institutional spheres. They are based on the existence of diffuse ties between members. As such, the development of ethnic communities is not consistent with the increased mobility and achievement opportunities associated with the process of modernization. The existence of ethnic communities in modern societies must therefore be viewed as a short-term adaptive strategy. Such communities develop under particular historical circumstances through which a group of people come to share common resources and develop diffuse relationships. They are commonly caused by the transplantation of a less modern system of social organization into a relatively modern society through migration. However, they can also exist among indigenous populations experiencing the pervasive influences of modernization.
Ethnic diversity and social cohesion

The existence of ethnic communities raises questions about the problem of order and the nature of social cohesion in modern society. Writers interested in this issue tend to come from a Durkheimian tradition. They focus on the shared values of cultural groups and place less emphasis on the structural conditions underlying ethnic group relations.

There are two major assumptions evident within this perspective. Both can be questioned on empirical grounds. First, ethnicity is assumed to be important on moral grounds. This view is consistent with the tendency to assert that ethnicity is primordial, a critique of which has been presented earlier. Secondly, the salience of ethnicity is assumed to be increasing in modern societies. This is the result of focussing on the durability of ethnic communities and the 'reassertion' of ethnicity among those for whom it had previously remained latent.

On the basis of these assumptions some writers hold that the social significance of ethnicity is increasing, and will continue to do so, because it is primordial in nature. Alternatively, when the primordiality of ethnicity is not assumed, writers hold that increasing cultural diversity is a fact of modern society (e.g. Encel, 1986; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Schermerhorn, 1970). These writers focus on the functions of ethnic communities. They demonstrate empirically that such communities satisfy the instrumental and expressive needs of members and, on this basis, they assert that ethnic communities will persist and may become increasingly significant in modern societies.

Writers within this perspective assert that the mobilization of ethnicity enhances social cohesion. They present the ethnic group "as the means by which the overarching societal values and the group values could be intermeshed into a new conscience collective and thereby reconstitute organic solidarity" (Jakubowicz, 1986:14). Implicit in this
view is the assumption that the values of the ethnic group and the values of the larger society are complementary or at least can be modified to become so. A number of suggestions have been made in relation to how a situation of complementary value systems can be achieved. First, the ethnic group may discard, or at least place less emphasis on, 'minor' values which do not complement the values of the larger society. Secondly, the ethnic group can incorporate the 'central' values of the larger society into its own value system. Thirdly, the larger society may discard, or place less emphasis on, some of its 'minor' values and incorporate some of the ethnic group's values into its own value system.

There are a number of problems with this perspective. First, such writers do not focus on the functions of ethnic communities in satisfying the specialized needs of migrants. These relate to their 'marginal' status and include the need to maintain a stable identity and to establish a support network. These are temporary functions caused by the process of migration so that, theoretically, there should be no need for ethnic communities among the second generation. Once established, however, ethnic communities persist through their organizational development. As new members are born and socialized into the ethnic community, the 'needs' which this community meets appear to persist. They are, nevertheless, caused by the original processes of migration and adaptation to the receiving society.

Secondly, there are empirical problems in determining what constitute the 'central' and 'minor' values of any cultural system. The determination of such values is an exercise in abstraction undertaken by researchers. As such it typically leads to different interpretations of the values considered 'central' to any particular culture. Furthermore, this perspective assumes the existence of a static hierarchy of values when it is more likely that the significance of particular values is situational. More importantly, it is based on the simplistic notion of a direct causal link between values and actual behaviour. On the contrary, values
provide a general framework for ordering preferences and thus constitute a set of parameters within which individual 'choices' are made.

Thirdly, this perspective appears to reject the notion that values are systemic. If one adopts the view that they are, then, in theory, the incorporation of new values into the ethnic culture will significantly alter its value system as a whole such that a distinctive ethnic culture may no longer exist.

Fourthly, the extreme cultural relativism implicit in this perspective blinds such writers to the fact that some cultural systems are more conducive to success in a particular society than others. This can only be understood by analyzing the situation of cultural diversity within the framework of modernization processes. Success in a modern society typically requires that the traditional values of the ethnic group be discarded. Such values can be considered 'central' to the ethnic culture and are not only 'non-complementary' but are in direct opposition to the value system of modern societies. In accord with this argument, de Lacey (1985) has stressed that society should not be seen as a combination of equally valued cultural systems, because some are more functional than others in achieving mobility and success. He emphasizes that learning the norms and values of a 'fossilized culture' does little to equip children with the tools and skills necessary for survival and success in a modern society.

In addition, this perspective tends to overlook the fact that the maintenance of specific cultural practices, values and beliefs requires a structural basis. By focussing on the intermeshing of value systems as the basis of cohesion, it avoids the fact that 'cultural pluralism' must rest on some degree of 'structural pluralism'. This form of pluralism is more likely to be corrosive of social cohesion.
A more immediate concern is the fact that structural pluralism tends to reinforce the conditions of social inequality. The existence of ethnic communities decreases ethnic group members' access to, or even excludes them from, mainstream opportunities. The accuracy of this criticism is typically denied by the suggestion that it is possible to maintain a type of structural pluralism which does not influence life-chances. This is dependent upon the existence of ethnic differentiation without ethnic stratification along with the incorporation of the value of achievement into the ethnic culture. The previous discussion has demonstrated that while theoretically plausible, this outcome is clearly improbable.

**Ethnicity and social inequality.**

The problem of social inequality is not a central concern of value system-oriented theorists for whom the relationship between ethnic diversity and social cohesion is paramount. They do not perceive ethnicity as being necessarily linked with social inequality. Where such a link exists in practice, they view the problem as resolvable through the intermeshing of values. Such writers hold that once all cultures are viewed as equal, ethnicity will no longer function as a determining factor in life-chances. Under these conditions, the 'true' causes of inequality will be exposed.

However, the issue of inequality is the central concern of Marxist writers. In terms of the analysis of ethnicity, the substantive problem for these writers is the fact that ethnic groups cross-cut classes. In theory, however, class structure and class relations are viewed as the fundamental aspects of society. Therefore, such writers hold that ethnic relations and ethnic diversity, while not reducible to class practices, "can only be understood within a class perspective" (Jakubowicz, 1986:11; de Lepervanche, 1984b).
In the analysis of this issue there has been a tendency for class theory either to neglect ethnic divisions or to treat ethnicity as a complicating factor which prevents class formation. Implicit in the latter view is a negative evaluation of the mobilization of ethnicity since the ultimate aim of Marxist writers is to create class consciousness and thereby bring about class conflict.

Writers adopting the former approach tend to view 'ethnicity' as merely false consciousness. Ethnic divisions are dismissed as surface phenomena, distorting the 'pure' class consciousness of the proletariat and preventing the formation of a revolutionary working class. De Lepervanche clearly adopts this view when she claims that:

"There are in fact no ethnics; there are only ways of seeing people as ethnics" (1980:35).

She views ethnicity as an ideological mechanism for maintaining hegemony and argues that:

"the promotion of ethnicity serves the same ideological function as the promotion of race differences a century ago. Both are convenient to ruling class interests, and suggest that the nature of hegemony within society is to be understood in terms of Anglo-Saxon dominance rather than in terms of class relationships. On the contrary Anglo-Saxon hegemony is historically grounded in class domination and in specific relations between capital and immigrant labour" (McCall et al., 1985:27).

Other Marxist writers are more ambiguous in their analysis of ethnicity. They alternate between the view that ethnicity can be dismissed as false consciousness on the one hand, and the view that ethnicity is real and valid on the other. The particular view being adopted depends largely on which class is the focus of concern.
Bourgeois ethnicity is considered suspect because it obscures the facts of exploitation and creates a false unity of interests between different class groups who happen to share a common cultural background (McCall et al., 1985:13). Working class ethnicity, on the other hand, is seen to be a framework through which broader class issues are managed (Jakubowicz, 1986). It tends to be regarded as valid because it denotes resistance to capitalist and imperialist exploitation (McCall et al., 1985:13). This is because ethnic group formation is based on, and further reinforces, the recognition of common interests and a common identity at least among a section of the working class. The next step involves altering the focus of these common interests from an ethnic to a class base.

Labour segmentation theory emphasizes the role of ethnicity in creating a fragmentation of the working class (Collins, 1978; de Lepervanche, 1975). This theory distinguishes between a primary and a secondary labour market. The primary labour market comprises jobs which offer security, some prospects for career advancement, good pay and working conditions. The secondary labour market consists of jobs lacking these characteristics, and which are often short-term, part-time or seasonal. The theory argues that migrants tend to be recruited into and remain in the secondary labour market (Birrell and Birrell, 1981).

The problem with this approach is that it confuses migrant status with ethnic status. Writers adopting this perspective focus on two empirical facts. First, they emphasize the fact that positions in the secondary labour market are predominantly filled by members of particular ethnic categories. Secondly, they recognize that these members of the ethnic category usually establish ethnic communities and maintain a relatively high degree of ethnic identification. On this basis, such writers infer that ethnicity is the causal factor inhibiting the development of class consciousness. Furthermore, they suggest that the 'real' underlying cause of this situation lies in the nature of hegemony.
Marxist writers who recognize the significance of migrant status hold that migrants form a reserve army of labour which is central to the production of surplus value in capitalist societies (Lever-Tracy, 1984). Within the Australian context there is often a more or less implicit imputation that migrants were recruited specifically to keep down the costs of labour (Birrell and Birrell, 1981). In addition, a 'labour aristocracy' theory is employed by some writers to explain the indigenous working class's lack of opposition to immigration which functions to further reinforce the degree of fragmentation. In an explicit statement of such an approach Collins (1975) claims that:

"By bringing migrant workers into the large plants that have been regarded as the traditional bastion of working class consciousness, the bourgeoisie has succeeded in engineering a significant decline in class consciousness among Australian workers" (Collins, 1975:121).

There is an additional tendency in the work of such writers to focus on the fact that non-English speaking migrants from southern and eastern Europe are disproportionately represented in the secondary labour market. Following a conspiracy theory approach they claim that this situation has been engineered by the ruling class to suit its interests. This is considered so, because it reduces communication between sections of the working class with differing ethnic backgrounds thereby reinforcing its fragmentary condition. In support of this interpretation, such writers point to the limited provision of English language tuition, either by employers or the State, for members of such ethnic groups. Once again, ethnicity (this time in the guise of language) is interpreted as the complicating factor inhibiting the development of class consciousness.
The problems of this perspective stem from the desire of Marxist writers to interpret the empirical situation in such a way that it 'fits' pre-defined categories and pre-conceived explanations. Such an approach involves an unacceptable degree of generalization on the basis of a specific empirical situation. It involves generalizing the experiences of some migrants to all migrants, applying this interpretation to immigration as whole, and finally asserting that the mobilization of ethnicity is the major complicating factor inhibiting class formation.

A critique of this approach can begin on purely empirical grounds. In a particular historical context the secondary labour market may be dominated by migrants of particular ethnic backgrounds. This does not necessarily mean, however, that migrant status or ethnicity is the major causal factor. This criticism is supported by the fact that not all migrants occupy positions in the secondary labour market. Furthermore, migrants from the same ethnic category are dispersed throughout the labour market, predominantly on the basis of their ownership of marketable skills.

The major weakness of this approach is that it denies the importance of differentiation within preconceived 'objective' categories. In practice, classes are differentiated on the basis of skill level so that members of a common 'class' (in Marxist terms) have divergent interests. The importance of variation in the market value of skills among the propertyless has been noted by Weber and among the middle-class by Dahrendorf. The effect of such variation in skill level and interests is comparable to, if not more important than, that of ethnicity in creating differentiation within classes. Taking this into consideration, the present study adopts a Weberian perspective when employing the term 'class'. Thus, by class is meant an aggregate of individuals who share the same market situation and similar life chances. Adopting this approach, social location is taken to mean similar structured access to goods and services, life chances, power and the like.
Migrant and ethnic categories are also differentiated on the basis of numerous variables including language or dialect (Clyne, 1986), skill level, religion, regional origin (Price, 1968), educational level and level of identification with the ethnic group. The degree to which such categories are differentiated is dependent upon the relative level of modernity which characterizes the society of origin. Ethnicity is not necessarily the major basis of identification and group formation among migrants. It may in fact hold no significance at all. Empirically, ethnicity appears to be more salient for southern and eastern European migrants than it is for migrants from northern or western Europe and North America. The former are also over-represented in working-class occupations. The causes of this situation, however, are more complex than Marxist interpretations suggest.

A more comprehensive analysis of the situation must take into consideration the structure of the societies from which these migrants come, the nature of the resources they bring with them and the mode of migration employed in arrival. Such an analysis rests firmly on the perception of 'ethnicity' as a concept which subsumes a number of factors. This allows the researcher to make sense of the facts that ethnic categories are characterized by various levels of differentiation and that the significance of ethnicity for individual or group identification is fluid. Once these facts are recognized they can then be employed in an explanation of the mobilization of ethnicity in modern society.

In concluding this discussion of current issues in the ethnic relations literature it is pertinent to make two general observations. First, there is a tendency in this literature for writers to focus on particular aspects of the process of ethnic mobilization to the exclusion of others and to develop general conclusions from these. This is largely the result of the fact that the discussion of ethnicity tends to take place within the realm of ideological debate. Many of these conclusions are thus based on unanalyzed assumptions about the nature of ethnicity, the most obvious
being the assumption that ethnicity is becoming increasingly salient in contemporary society. There is thus a tendency to overlook the central fact that, in practice, there is variation in the nature of ethnic mobilization. This points to the need to rationally examine the process of ethnic mobilization through empirical analysis and to locate this analysis within the wider framework of modernization processes.

Secondly, there is a major weakness in the theoretical literature in that it lacks analysis at the micro level. The previous discussion has emphasized the need for an adequate explanation of ethnicity and immigrant adaptation to involve a synthesis of analysis at micro and macro levels. The present study directly addresses this issue by viewing decisions to mobilize ethnicity as 'choices' made by individuals as they manage the situations they are experiencing.

**Immigrant Adaptation: Review of Studies**

Much of the literature in the field of ethnic relations focusses on the issue of immigrant adaptation. This has occurred as the result of historical circumstances surrounding mass immigration. Large numbers of immigrants settled in the United States at the turn of the century, then in Canada, Israel, Australia and New Zealand in the post-Second World War period and more recently, in Britain and western Europe. Immigrant populations have thus provided researchers with the opportunity to analyze ethnic phenomena. Sociological interest in 'ethnicity' has therefore grown in response to an increased awareness of 'ethnicity' as a social phenomenon.

Within this historical context, there has developed a tendency to view the field of ethnic relations research as synonymous with the attempt to explain the nature of immigrant adaptation. The foregoing discussion has demonstrated, however, that immigrant adaptation is only one situation (albeit a common one) which may predispose people to mobilize ethnicity. An explanation of the process of immigrant
adaptation should therefore have relevance for and be located within an understanding of the broader issue of ethnic relations in modern society.

The following review of the literature on immigrant adaptation begins with a brief overview of general trends in the orientation of researchers. This is followed by a review of studies on immigrant adaptation in a comparative perspective. This takes the form of an examination of developments in overseas studies this century followed by a comparison with major Australian studies on post-war immigration.

From Assimilation to Cultural Pluralism

Approaches to the study of immigrant adaptation have developed from early simplistic and descriptive accounts through to more recent explanations which attempt to illuminate the complexity of adaptive processes. These studies have been significantly influenced by the value-orientations of researchers.

The general trend in value-orientations has involved a shift from 'assimilation' to 'cultural pluralism' (Galvin, 1980; Western, 1983). These value orientations have led to confusion in conceptual definition as researchers have, often unknowingly, incorporated their biases into the terminology they have employed. It has also led to the proliferation of concepts specific to the field of immigrant adaptation. The meanings of many of these concepts vary across researchers thereby tending to increase the level of conceptual confusion.

In reviewing the literature on immigrant adaptation it is therefore important to determine the purpose for which a concept is being employed. The same concept may be variously employed to describe cultural and/or structural conditions as they exist in a specific context, to delineate a social process or to refer to a particular value-orientation.
In terms of value-orientations, the shift from assimilation to cultural pluralism largely occurred in response to the empirical results of research into immigrant adaptation. The early simplistic notion of assimilation of migrants as inevitable was questioned by the fact of slow assimilation, or even the absence of assimilation, among many immigrant groups. As ethnic communities began to flourish, research interests shifted from attempts to understand how immigrants assimilate to explanations of the development of ethnic communities. Such research focused on the functions of ethnic communities and attempted to explain adaptation by taking into consideration the immigrant's point of view.

In the 1920s and '30s in the United States, cultural relativism was becoming an increasingly popular perspective in sociological research and was quickly adopted by those researching immigrant adaptation. Many of these researchers were immigrants themselves or those who had developed an empathic relationship with ethnic community members whom they were studying. As a result, earlier assumptions of assimilation were not only considered incorrect but indicative of an ethnocentric attitude on the part of host society members. Cultural pluralism came to replace assimilation as the dominant orientation among researchers interested in immigrant adaptation.

Review of Overseas Studies

Studies of immigrant adaptation are marked by an increasing complexity in their explanations of the process. There are two main reasons for this historical development. First, the lack of conceptual clarity and the diffusion of ideological rhetoric discussed earlier and secondly, the fact that the complexity of the empirical reality did not fit the early simplistic theories. Historically, theories of immigrant adaptation progressed from purely cultural explanations through to more structural approaches in response to the available empirical evidence.
During the early period of American immigration the dominant orientation toward the study of immigrant adaptation was 'assimilationist'. Its initial version was Anglo-Conformist which "asserted that it was both possible and necessary for newcomers at once to cast away their old language, customs and attitudes in favour of America's Anglo-Saxon 'core' culture" (Price, 1966). Later, cultural relativists challenged the notion of Anglo-Saxon superiority implicit in this orientation and put forward the 'melting-pot' hypothesis as an alternative. This orientation "claimed that it was possible and desirable for both immigrants and native-born boldly to enter the great New World crucible and emerge, melted, blended and reshaped, as the shining American men and women" (Price, 1966: A3).

Early research into immigrant adaptation assumed the inevitability of 'assimilation' and attempted to identify the nature of this process. It was predominantly ethnographic and descriptive in nature (e.g. Thomas and Znaniecki, 1958; Wirth, 1928) so that little attempt was made to develop a theoretical explanation of the process. Nevertheless, such studies were useful in providing empirical data against which theories could later be tested. Ethnographic studies of particular ethnic groups have continued to appear (e.g. Gans, 1962) providing a valuable contribution to the study of immigrant adaptation.

During the 1920s, following the lead of E.W. Burgess, the analysis of immigrant groups focussed on their ecological context. The concept of ecological succession suggested that new arrivals first settle in inner city areas. Over time, these immigrants are pushed up the occupational ladder and out of the central city areas by new and less affluent immigrants who are themselves eventually replaced by more recently arrived groups. This sequence is consistent with an assimilationist orientation since it implies that the old-world culture weakens as ethnic groups move out of the older city areas and immigrants are dispersed through outer suburbs. The sequence was identified among a number of
immigrant groups in the United States (Glazer, 1957; Wirth, 1928) and modified to suit different cities and ethnic groups of varying socio-economic backgrounds.

Despite the attempt to distinguish a process in this sequential model of immigrant adaptation, the concept of ecological succession is descriptive rather than explanatory. Furthermore, it only describes the situation among some ethnic groups and cannot explain the relatively common situation in which ethnic groups choose to remain in the inner-city areas despite their increasing affluence. This weakness stems from the researchers' assimilationist orientations which assumed the existence of an achievement value within all ethnic cultures.

The 'Race Relations Cycle' developed by Park and Burgess (1969) moves away from an ecological model to a social model which attempts to explain the process of immigrant adaptation through the formulation of more general theoretical propositions. In this model Park and Burgess argue that whenever two or more ethnic groups come to live together in one place their relationships pass through the cycle of:

- Contact - usually peaceful exploratory contacts;
- Competition - for scarce jobs and resources;
- Conflict - the result of competition; warfare, riots and discrimination;
- Accommodation - a modus vivendi, sometimes based on the withdrawal by one group into niche occupations, a separate area, or inferior status;
- Assimilation - progressive intermixture and intermarriage until the two groups merge into one; 'ethnic' groups disappear and persons become 'invisible' as distinct ethnics (Price, 1966: A31).

In this sequence, the concept of assimilation has clearly undergone a change in meaning and represents a 'melting-pot' approach. In conjunction with this model Park developed the concept of the
'marginal man' to describe the situation of the individual as he progressively sheds his old-world culture but before he has reached the stage of assimilation (Price, 1966).

In the early formulation of this model Park (1950) viewed the cycle as inevitable and irreversible. He stated that:

"Immigration restrictions and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a time, but cannot change its direction; cannot at any rate reverse it" (Price, 1966:A32).

Such a definitive view was consistent with an assimilationist value-orientation but not with empirical findings. He later modified his views suggesting that regression of the cycle was possible, such as in outbreaks of race conflict after periods of accommodation, and came to doubt the inevitability of assimilation as the final outcome. Although the cycle allows for such modifications it is not able to explain either regression or alternative outcomes. Nor is it able to explain the situation of uneven assimilation since its view of assimilation is implicitly unidimensional.

Initial expectations of rapid assimilation within the first-generation were not supported by empirical studies conducted in the 1930s. This led to the development of generational theories which viewed assimilation as a slow process that could not be completed within the first-generation. Typical of such theories was Duncan's (1933 in Price, 1966) 'Three-generation assimilation cycle' in which the second generation were perceived as a language and cultural bridge between the original migrants and their assimilated grandchildren. Price (1966:A23) has described the sequence as:

"First generation: though a few assimilate completely, the majority adopt only some American economic and social customs and intermix and intermarry little, rather forming ethnic groups and institutions to preserve much of the old-world culture. This stage is essential for
immigrant security and happiness as too rapid or forceful assimilation causes loss of security, lunacy, suicide, alcoholism and, amongst children, delinquency.

Bridge generation: under pressure from two worlds this generation preserves the parental culture at home but acquires the 'American' culture at school and work, so acquiring a dual culture and mixed set of values. There is more intermixture and intermarriage, especially by those reacting against parents who exert too much pressure on their children to preserve the old-world culture.

Assimilated generation: again under pressure from the host society this generation completely drops the old-world culture and freely intermixes and intermarries. The process of assimilation to the core culture is then complete."

The overall trend in immigrant studies can be viewed in terms of a steadily increasing recognition of the complexity of the process of immigrant adaptation. At the same time, the concept of 'assimilation' became associated with a notion of rapid, enforced cultural abandonment which was perceived as the cause of high rates of mental and physical illness among some immigrants. This perception was based on findings that immigrants without such problems were likely to have maintained distinctive cultural traits, thus lending further support for the 'melting pot' approach to assimilation.

The 'melting-pot' approach emphasizes the process of interaction between the ethnic and host cultures thereby fitting into the perspective known as 'interactionism'. This can be interpreted as "two (or more) cultures gradually approaching each other and becoming more alike as each acquires some elements of the other as a result of more or less intensive sharing and interchange" (Harris, 1979:36). There are two
possible outcomes to this slow process of mutual adaptation. In the 'melting-pot' approach, the process of convergence is viewed as a transitional stage towards a final synthesis of the different cultures into a single homogeneous culture. On the other hand, where the interacting cultures are viewed as being in a state of dynamic equilibrium without any eventual fusion of cultures occurring (Schermerhorn, 1970), the outcome is 'cultural pluralism'.

In the United States, the triple religious melting pot was mooted which suggested that the long-term trend was for ethnic groups to disappear within the categories of Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism. In this sense, the assimilation of immigrants involved the disappearance of distinctly ethnic traits but the maintenance of religious differences, religion being considered a legitimate basis for group differentiation in American society.

Glazer and Moynihan's (1963) model of 'assimilation' follows this approach. Unlike previous models, it does not assume an homogenous culture in the host society nor does it predict that assimilation will occur within the first generation. The sequence in their model is:

Stage 1 (the past): the creation of first-generation ethnic organizations associated with ethnic areas and sometimes with ethnic occupations and classes, but also a gradual loss of ethnic language and culture;

Stage 2 (the present): transformation of old ethnic groups and organizations into Americanized 'interest-groups' distinguished by colour and religion, by attitudes to sex, birth-control, education and politics, and sometimes by occupations and areas of settlement;

Stage 3 (the future): gradual disappearance of ethnic groups into divisions of colour and religion. There is no assimilation to a single American culture, nor any definite number of generations by which assimilation to one of the three religious culture groupings (Protestant, Catholic, Jew) will be complete (Price, 1966:A24-25).
Although predicting that 'assimilation' would be the long-term outcome of this process, Glazer and Moynihan's model was clearly a response to the fact that among some immigrant groups certain ethnic traits were being maintained over a number of generations. The additional discovery, that many third-generation Americans were actually reviving the culture and language of their ancestors, led to further doubts about the validity of assimilationist models. Understandably, in a society with a large immigrant population, the notion of 'cultural pluralism' rapidly gained support while assimilationist models, perceived as ethnocentric and discriminatory, came into disrepute.

The concept of cultural pluralism was further supported and developed in Canada where, together with large numbers of European immigrants, there was official recognition of two founding peoples and two languages: French and English. Further conceptual developments included those of the 'cultural mosaic' and the 'vertical mosiac' (Porter, 1965) and the popular political banner of 'multiculturalism'.

In attempting to explain immigrant adaptation all the foregoing approaches focus on culture as a set of values and practices as though they were removed from the structural conditions underlying them. Where structural arrangements are mentioned they are employed to distinguish between stages or to describe variations across ethnic groups. Thus they are included as descriptive rather than causal factors in the analysis. This leads to a simplistic view of adaptation which cannot explain the problematic findings of 'regression', uneven assimilation, various rates of 'assimilation' and alternative outcomes. This is precisely because the causal factors in these processes are structural not cultural. Recognition of the complex structural arrangements through which cultures are maintained and transformed is therefore essential for explaining processes of immigrant adaptation.
The central theme of Gordon's (1964) *Assimilation in American Life* was the observation that there could be no preservation of ethnic cultures without ethnic structural support. His analysis of assimilation shifts the focus onto structural processes which he saw as the key to understanding ethnic relations. Thus he distinguishes between cultural and structural assimilation as parts of a seven-stage sequence of complete assimilation, the latter occurring most rapidly and completely if primary ties are established with host society members. His sequence is as follows:

Stage 1 - Cultural or behavioural assimilation (acculturation) which refers to a change of cultural patterns to those of the host society;

Stage 2 - Structural assimilation which is marked by large-scale entrance into host society's primary groups;

Stage 3 - Marital assimilation (amalgamation) which involves large-scale intermarriage;

Stage 4 - Identificational assimilation which involves the development of a sense of peoplehood based on the host society;

Stage 5 - Attitudinal receptional assimilation which is marked by the absence of prejudice;

Stage 6 - Behaviour receptional assimilation which is marked by the absence of discrimination;

Stage 7 - Civic assimilation which is marked by the absence of value or power conflict. (Baldock and Lally, 1974:64; Price, 1966:A38).

In Gordon's model acculturation is viewed as a stage which is reached rather quickly and automatically so that measures of acculturation are seen as indicators of somewhat superficial assimilation (Baldock and Lally, 1974:64). Thus to account for variation in the significance of this stage he includes a distinction between 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' cultural traits. 'Intrinsic' cultural traits (religions, ethics, folk-music, language, literature) are those which derive from the central core of the ethnic cultural heritage whereas 'extrinsic' cultural traits (dress, manner, pronunciation of English) derive from adjustment to the
environment and are therefore extrinsic to the core of the group's cultural values. His determination of intrinsic and extrinsic traits is questionable, however, since the empirical significance of cultural traits, and their relationship to the central value system, differs across ethnic groups.

Gordon uses this stage model of assimilation in two main ways. First, it is used to describe and explain an inevitable process of assimilation. Thus he explains that:

"cultural assimilation, or acculturation, is likely to be the first of the types of assimilation to occur when a minority group arrives on the scene... (and) once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow" (Gordon, 1964:77, 81).

On the other hand, Gordon uses the model to explain the situation of uneven assimilation by stating that in the absence of primary group assimilation some of the other types may occur simultaneously. The particular pattern of assimilation characteristic of any ethnic group is dependent upon social forces within the immigrant group and host society. These include residential isolation, patterns of prejudice and discrimination, the separatist strength of religion and the extent to which the host society is prepared to allow cultural pluralism (Price, 1966).

The strength of this model lies in its greater complexity when compared with earlier models. It is useful for analyzing uneven assimilation and recognizes that the transformation or maintenance of distinct cultural traits is dependent upon structural conditions, especially primary group interaction patterns. Nevertheless, it still focusses on cultural factors and psychological processes. Wider social processes which are causal in the development of assimilation patterns are external to the model. Its major weakness lies in its inflexibility when used as a fixed and inevitable temporal sequence. When applied in this manner it
cannot account for the situation of 'regression' or the 'reassertion' of ethnicity among those who are structurally assimilated. Furthermore, by focussing on group processes it fails to take into account the meaning of ethnic mobilization for the individual.

Eisenstadt (1975), like Gordon, emphasizes the importance of entry into primary groups in the process of immigrant adaptation. He focusses on the individual however, and points to the important fact that the immigrant's major problem centres around the reconstruction of his interpersonal 'field'. His analysis of this process is firmly located within the wider structural conditions characterizing the receiving society (Eisenstadt, 1953). He points out that in attempting to satisfy his immediate needs the immigrant will make use of existing institutions. He will introduce himself into a particular social group (or groups) and, in so doing, will construct a new network of interpersonal relations. The nature of this process will vary across individuals and ethnic groups and is dependent upon existing structural conditions.

Through his emphasis on structural processes, Eisenstadt moves away from models of assimilation which attempt to delineate an inevitable sequence of stages applicable to all social settings. He insists that the validity of assimilation indices cannot be assumed to hold across societies and should be posed as an empirical question within a particular social setting (Baldock and Lally, 1974). He states that each receiving society and each sending society is so different from any other that the:

"various indices, 'acculturation and the rest' cannot be used as absolute measuring-rods nor can comparisons be made according to their distribution in various countries.... Such comparisons are not valid, since they assume equal importance for each of these criteria in all these social settings and at all periods of their evolution; while in reality their importance varies
according to the institutionalization of roles. Instead, comparison should be made through the intervening variables of the emergence of a pluralistic society, whose concrete manifestations differ, of course, from one society to another" (Eisenstadt, 1975:16).

Glazer and Moynihan (1975) take into consideration the wider structural conditions underlying immigrant adaptation and ethnic group relations. In doing so, they reject the assimilationist perspective in Gordon's model and claim that ethnic pluralism, both structural and cultural, is becoming increasingly important in American society. They equate ethnicity with class in terms of its significance as a basis for differentiation in modern societies and therefore emphasize the important role of ethnic communities in the structural and cultural integration of immigrants. Bell (1975) goes one step further by claiming that ethnicity becomes even more important than class in post-industrial societies such as the United States. By focussing on the durability and strengthening of some ethnic communities, however, such writers overlook the fact that in many cases ethnic differentiation is weakening and intermarriage rates are increasing. To understand the paradox apparent in this situation it is necessary to understand the meaning of ethnicity for the individual in terms of his social location and to understand the complexity of social location in modern societies.

Breton (1964,1978) analyzes the process of immigrant adaptation from both the individual and the group perspective. Like Eisenstadt, he seeks to describe and explain variations in patterns of adaptation with reference to the immigrant's social location. His analysis begins with the observation that numerous ethnic communities exist in modern societies. He develops the work of Eisenstadt by recognizing that the immigrant's interpersonal relations may develop within a number of alternative ethnic communities (i.e. the community of his own ethnicity, the native community, other ethnic communities) so that assimilation is
not an inevitable outcome.

Breton (1964) further suggests that it is possible for an immigrant to establish a network of social relations extending beyond the boundaries of any one community. By noting that integration can take place in any single community or in two or three directions at the same time he takes into account the multi-dimensional nature of immigrant adaptation. Through empirical analysis, he demonstrates that the direction of the immigrant's integration into the host society will largely depend on the social organization of the communities with which he comes into contact. This is defined in terms of the community's level of 'institutional completeness'.

The major problem with Breton's analysis is that it assumes rather than explains the development of ethnic communities with varying levels of institutional completeness. As a result, ethnic communities are perceived in a predominantly static manner. He does not take into account the changing structure of ethnic communities over time nor does he consider variation in the nature of ethnic identification. Both these factors will influence the 'power' of ethnic communities to attract members, their social characteristics and hence the nature of the shared identity through which cohesion is maintained. An adequate explanation of the process of immigrant adaptation must be able to account for the development of the ethnic community as well as the adaptive strategies of the individual in terms of his location within it. A temporal dimension must be included in the analysis in order to explain variations in ethnic community formation as well as the existence of differential life histories across generations.

This review of studies on immigrant adaptation demonstrates an increasing complexity and sophistication in the conceptualization of the process. None, however, goes far enough in its attempt to locate the adaptive strategies of individuals and groups within wider social
processes, nor is any able to develop a comprehensive explanation of the phenomenon of ethnicity in modern societies. The empirical studies presented above lack the insights provided by a more general theoretical perspective and 'explanations' of the process of immigrant adaptation suffer from being developed in an ad hoc manner in response to empirical findings. Thus as the complexity of immigrant adaptation is discovered, the complexity of the explanations increases. The confusion which is engendered can be overcome through the development of a more parsimonious account of immigrant adaptation. This can be achieved by analyzing the process of immigrant adaptation, as does the present study, in terms of the wider social processes associated with modernization.

**Review of Australian Studies**

Studies of immigrant adaptation in Australia have followed a similar trend to those overseas but at a later stage of historical development. Despite the hindsight provided by immigrant experiences in the United States, Australian approaches have made the same mistakes, following a shift in orientation from assimilation to cultural pluralism. This can be understood by locating Australian immigration within its political and historical context.

Prior to the Second World War Australia's British heritage had been safeguarded through legislation such as the Federal Immigration Restriction Act (1901) which became known as the White Australia Policy. Immigration restrictions were eased after the Second World War, mainly for economic and defence purposes, thereby allowing the entry of large numbers of immigrants of non-British nationality. A policy of assimilation was introduced in 1947 by the then Minister for Immigration, Arthur Calwell, which aimed at maintaining cultural 'purity' through the careful planning of the composition of Australia's population. It involved a high level of government control and intervention based on a procedure in which various nationalities were
ranked in order of their 'suitability': first, British settlers who were regarded as so similar to Australians that they warranted government assistance with passages, jobs and accommodation; second, northern Europeans, who could enter without restriction except in times of severe recession but normally without government help; third, southern Europeans who could enter in limited numbers; fourth, non-Europeans, who except in special circumstances could enter on a temporary basis only (Price, 1970).

Knowledge of this ranking system sheds some light on the history of Australian immigration which has been characterized by 'waves' of immigrants of differing nationalities. This resulted from fluctuations in the availability of 'preferred' immigrants such that, at times, the Australian government found it necessary to establish assistance schemes with 'less preferred' countries. As a result, 58% of the 2.5 million immigrants who arrived between 1947 and 1970 were of non-British stock. Of these approximately 75% came from the non-English speaking countries of northern, southern and eastern Europe.

Within this context of government intervention and control over immigration, early Australian approaches to the study of immigrant adaptation were assimilationist in orientation. Australians were assured that the problems of ethnic pluralism in the United States could, and should, be avoided by adequately planning for assimilation. Thus, pointing to the situation in America, one post-war Minister for Immigration warned that:

"Without assimilation, a migration scheme can be a tragedy of race riots, fostered enmity and malicious whispers - the ingredients of national dissension, turmoil and bloodshed" (Holt, 1950 cited in White, 1979:535).

In Australia during the post-war period, assimilation was not only perceived as a preference but was believed to be the probable outcome of large-scale immigration.
As had occurred in the United States, the move away from this perspective in the mid-sixties was largely a response to the fact that predictions about migrant assimilation were not borne out in practice. Rather than 'disappearing' into Australian society as expected, the visibility of migrants actually increased over time. Such increased visibility corresponded with an awareness, on the part of academics, social workers and teachers, of the problems faced by migrants as they adjusted to the receiving society.

Studies of return migration and poverty led to a questioning of the assumed ease of assimilation. A number of studies (e.g. Appleyard, 1962, 1963) forced the government to acknowledge a substantial departure rate among recent immigrants. By 1966 the issue was important enough for an inquiry to be initiated by the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Social Patterns. It estimated that for the period 1959-1965 total settler loss was over 16% of settler arrivals. Such departure rates were a serious threat to a government experiencing a shortage of migration sources (Martin, 1978). In addition, Henderson's 1966 Poverty Inquiry found that certain groups of non-Anglo-Saxon origin had exceptionally high rates of poverty. Such migrants held a disproportionate number of lower-ranking manual occupations and maintained lower average incomes than the dominant Anglo-Australian population (Henderson et al., 1970).

The increased number of non-English speaking migrants produced communication problems in a broad spectrum of dominant institutional structures. Staff in host society organizations such as schools, hospitals and government bureaucracies found the number of non-English speakers a disturbing obstacle to the adequate performance of their jobs. They could no longer continue in established practices without disruption or change.
The visibility of migrants became apparent to more members of the host society during the 1960s as many began to develop concentrations of population, complete with social centres, churches, shops and eating places in inner-city areas (Martin, 1978). This visible existence of ethnic communities which appeared to be strengthening rather than weakening caused the greatest concern to the host society during the 1960s. In Martin's words:

"...Where ethnic communities had previously been seen, at best, as marginal, transient and the repositories of safe and (from the larger society's standpoint) irrelevant traditions, and, at worst, as a threat to national unity, they now presented themselves as legitimate interest groups, integral to the social structure as a whole" (Martin, 1978:55).

This slowly developing awareness of ethnic diversity in Australian society marked the beginning of a shift in government policy from 'assimilation' to 'multiculturalism' which culminated in the 1977 report by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council entitled *Australia as a Multicultural Society* (1978).

Jean Martin (1978) referred to the ethnic diversity in Australian society as 'the migrant presence' and, in a book of that title, has analyzed the ways in which Australian attitudes altered in the previous three decades. She pointed to the assimilationist orientation during the fifties and sixties when it was assumed that migrants would assimilate without undue strain on themselves or undue change on the part of the Australian community. By the late sixties and early seventies there was evidence that some immigrants did not adjust easily. At this time migrants were perceived as people with problems caused by some inadequacy within the individual immigrants. From the mid-seventies, migrants were more commonly perceived as minority pressure groups with rights to participation. In analyzing the changing perception of immigrants from 'easily assimilating' to 'problems' to 'pressure groups'...
Martin stated that:

"The first two definitions emphasize the transient, marginal status of newcomers as *migrants*; the third conceives of culturally diverse groups as established legitimate structures within Australian society—*ethnic* comes to the fore as an appropriate term to claim the dignity which the definition implies" (Martin, 1978:78).

She emphasizes that Australian attitudes towards immigrants have altered, not because of a vague general acceptance of the value of cultural diversity, but because of developments in the institutional structure of ethnic communities. In addition, structural responses to Australia's 'migrant presence' have been slow and far from uniform in degree. The more obvious changes have occurred in political rhetoric and in the perspectives followed by researchers in the study of immigrant adaptation. Her own perspective, based on the value of cultural pluralism is clear, if implicit, in the above quotation.

Australian approaches to the study of immigrant adaptation reflect this shift in perspective. Early post-war studies focussed on the assimilation of immigrant 'groups' through the classification of distinguishing features. Such classification schemes, predominantly statistical in nature, were developed by demographers (e.g. Borrie, 1954; Price, 1963, 1964), economists (e.g. Appleyard, 1962), political scientists (e.g. Jupp, 1966) as well as geographers (Scott, 1957, 1965; Burnley, 1971) and others focussing on ecological characteristics (e.g. F.L. Jones, 1966). More complex classifications of ethnic groups were developed by Zubrzycki (1960) who included a more comprehensive list of demographic and social characteristics and the Australian Immigration Advisory Council (1960) which included the second generation in its classification scheme.

As attempts to make sense of immigrant adaptation, such classification schemes presented a number of problems. First, as a by-product of the predominant assimilationist orientation of the period,
migrants from a variety of different backgrounds tended to be classified together under a series of common terms such as 'foreigners', 'non-British', 'non-English speakers', 'northern Europeans', 'southern Europeans' and 'eastern Europeans'. There was very little attempt to distinguish various nationalities, or smaller sub-groups, within this general categories. As Martin has noted:

"To acknowledge inter-group differences would in any case have run counter to the assertion that these differences were irrelevant" (Martin,1978:29).

Additional problems stem from the fact that the criteria chosen to classify various ethnic groups were often based on American findings. This assumes a high degree of similarity across host societies and the position of ethnic groups in them. The degree of similarity, however, is a matter for empirical research not assertion. Moreover, the foregoing discussion has shown that, in theory, the criteria distinguishing ethnic groups from each other which then determine the nature of 'ethnic' boundaries will vary across societies.

More importantly, such classification schemes based on comparative statistics often assume that the less an ethnic group differs from the total population the more it is assimilated. This leads to the tendency to impute a process from a classification of differences. It is often followed by an attempt to weight the differences in terms of their significance as causal factors in this imputed process. Such differences include the degree of residential segregation, occupational dispersion, citizenship, ability to speak the host language, in-marriage, family customs and religion. Disagreement across researchers about the relative weightings of these variables results from the fact that, in practice, the significance of various factors differs across societies, across ethnic groups and within ethnic groups across situations and over time. In short, an explanation of the process of immigrant adaptation cannot be deduced from the classification of differences in a particular historical context. As
Price has pointed out:

"To go further, the various items must be linked to each other and to the social system before we can understand why and how some differences survive longer than others, and which items are more important in influencing intermixture and intermarriage" (Price, 1966: A18).

To develop such an explanation it is necessary to analyze the empirical data from a general theoretical perspective. Such a perspective, however, is clearly lacking in the Australian literature.

More systematic attempts to explain immigrant adaptation developed during the late 1960s at a time when migrants were perceived as 'problems' (Western, 1983). Empirical research had demonstrated high rates of physical and mental illness among immigrants (e.g. Krupinski, 1967, 1968; Krupinski and Stoller, 1965; Adler and Taft, 1966) sparking interest among social psychologists. They were particularly interested in explaining the individual's level of adjustment or 'maladjustment' in terms of the process of assimilation. This led some researchers (e.g. Johnston, 1963; Richardson, 1967; Taft, 1965), through the use of attitude scales and psychological testing, to incorporate indices of satisfaction and identification into the American typologies of assimilation.

Richardson's (1967) research in Western Australia led him to modify Gordon's (1964) typology to account for maladjustment and regression in the process of assimilation. He focuses on the preconditions for individual acculturation and suggests that the individual must reach a certain level of satisfaction with his new life before he can identify with the host population; that is, develop a feeling that he is like, and a desire to become like, members of the host society. For Richardson, such identification is a prerequisite for cultural or behavioural assimilation which he labels 'optional acculturation'.

Richardson divides the concept of acculturation into three parts:

1. Obligatory acculturation in which changes are forced upon the migrant sometimes against his wishes; for example, type of housing, eating and dressing habits;

2. Advantageous acculturation which involves conforming in areas where it is in the migrant's best interests to do so; for example, using the British as opposed to the metric system of weights and measures;

3. Optional acculturation is the final stage. It involves adopting the attitudes and behaviours of the host society when there is no significant pressure to do so (Baldock and Lally, 1974:70).

These are arbitrary and 'forced' distinctions, however, which cannot be adequately separated in practice. Thus Richardson agrees with Gordon that both obligatory and advantageous acculturation can, and usually do, occur regardless of whether satisfaction or identification has been achieved. 'Optional acculturation', however, presumes a degree of both satisfaction and identification and is considered crucial in the process of assimilation (Baldock and Lally, 1974:70). This enables Richardson to 'explain' regression in terms of degree of identification. He claims that if socio-economic conditions deteriorate or discrimination occurs, identification may regress into dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, he does not locate this explanation within a wider analysis of the social processes leading to either the deterioration of socio-economic conditions or discrimination.

Taft's (1965) framework is a sequential model that describes the stages through which an individual passes on his way to an advanced stage of assimilation. Like Richardson he includes the concepts of satisfaction and identification but focusses more directly on the migrant's location in the host society. His stages are: knowledge of the host culture, change of attitudes to the host society and ethnic culture, assumption of roles within the host society, acceptance by the host society, entry in host
society's groups and a final convergence of norms and attitudes with those of the host population (Price, 1966).

Taft tested this model using a large set of empirical indicators. He subsequently inter-correlated these indicators and used factor analysis to produce two basic factors:
1. Primary identification whereby the migrant is satisfied with Australia and identifies with Australians;
2. Secondary identification whereby the migrant has gained entrance to Australian primary groups and conforms to 'optional' behaviour norms (Balock and Lally, 1974: 71).

Following Gordon, Taft emphasizes the importance of gaining entrance into Australian primary groups and like Richardson, he perceives satisfaction with Australia and identification with Australians as prerequisites for this.

Using survey analysis and complex statistical procedures, Taft employed his classification scheme to develop migrant typologies. His study of Hungarian immigrants (1960) yielded six distinct migrant types: those wishing to stay in Australia; those not sure if they wished to stay; those definitely anxious to return to Hungary; those wishing to go to some other country; those wishing to 'get out' of Australia, no matter where and; those so 'groggy' or demoralized they want nothing at all. In a later study of Dutch migrants, Taft (1961) cross-classified these assimilation levels with personality characteristics.

A typology of migrants was also developed by Martin (1965) in her study of Refugee Settlers. This was developed, not on the basis of statistical procedures but qualitative analysis, through the detailed investigation of a small sample of individuals. The common types in her sample were:
1. middle-status functionally adapted: well-educated, good English, good jobs but little saving, some Australian friends and a
few refugee friends, little cultural life, dignified and reasonable in criticism of Australia, occasional loneliness and illness, rapid naturalization;

2. lower-status functionally adapted: tradesmen, fair English, work hard and accumulate property, little social life but some Australian friends, few ethnic contacts;

3. middle-status status conscious: well-educated, excellent English, originally ambitious for high status in Australia; are now fairly satisfied with jobs but endeavour to ignore national background in an exaggerated effort to be accepted by Australians; outward approval of Australia hides a basic disrespect and depreciation;

4. lower-status ethnically in-turned: hard work and saving, poor English, ethnic friends and newspapers, negative attitude to Australia (Price, 1966:A47).

Martin excluded personality characteristics from her typology because they did not correlate highly with her categories of adaptation. She indicates the complexity of the process by noting that, in practice, there are different optimum degrees of adaptation for different migrant types and that assimilation, adjustment and satisfaction do not necessarily coincide. She points to the multi-dimensional nature of adaptation when she notes that, in her sample, it was found that lack of assimilation in one direction may be compensated for by rapid assimilation in another (Price, 1966).

Martin uses her typology to formulate 'reasonable hypotheses' about the process of immigrant adaptation. In her explanation of the process she places greater emphasis on factors relating to the immigrants' resources, migration channels and conditions in the receiving society than do either Richardson or Taft. Thus, for example, she points to the level of industrialization in the receiving society as an important factor for consideration but does not attempt to include it in a more developed theoretical formulation of the process.
The implication of Martin's analysis is that assimilation need not be the outcome of immigrant adaptation. For example, it is possible for the immigrant to be functionally adapted to the receiving society and yet not assimilated. This recognition of alternative outcomes at the level of the individual was followed by studies emphasizing the existence of diverse ethnic groups in Australian society. Coinciding with a shift in orientation, such studies focussed on the nature of cultural pluralism (e.g. Smolicz, 1981, 1983; Clyne, 1982) and the relationship between structural and cultural pluralism (Martin, 1972, 1978; AEAC, 1978). Community studies focussed on the nature of the links between ethnic groups and the host society through the analysis of ethnic institutions and the social networks of ethnic community members (e.g. Bottomley, 1975, 1979; Johnston, 1967; Sinclair, 1980; Burnley, 1980, 1985; Lewins and Ly, 1985; Galvin, 1985).

During the late seventies and early eighties, Australian studies on immigrant adaptation have predominantly followed a Marxist perspective. Collins (1975) employed the concepts of the 'industrial reserve army' and the 'labour aristocracy' in his analysis of Australian immigration. He argues that Australia, as a capitalist society, has increasingly relied on immigrant labour to perform the function of the industrial reserve army which Marx viewed as a precondition for capital accumulation. At the same time, the growth of trade unionism created particular groups of privileged workers, namely the 'indigenous workforce'. This labour aristocracy were intent on security and defending their privileged position within the working class. This, he concludes, led to a fragmentation of the working class which undermined class consciousness (Collins, 1975). This perspective has been followed and developed by writers such as Lever-Tracy (1983) and Jakubowicz (1984).
Critique of Australian Studies

A lack of conceptual clarity is one of the major problems evident in the Australian literature on immigrant adaptation. The proliferation of new definitions of common concepts and new terms for well-known sociological concepts and processes\(^1\) has confused rather than clarified any attempt to explain the process of immigrant adaptation. Such confusion is exacerbated by the influence of researchers' value-orientations which are typically undeclared and implicit rather than explicitly stated and which diffuse the academic debate with ideological rhetoric. This is particularly true of the concept of 'assimilation'. Initially a descriptive sociological concept, the term has become value-laden and prescriptive through its association with the dominant ideology of the post-war period. In popular contexts it implies enforced adaptation in a particular direction which is not consistent with its purely sociological meaning.

Another weakness in the Australian literature on immigrant adaptation is that, on the one hand, there are studies which focus on the process of adjustment for the individual (e.g. Taft, 1965; Richardson, 1961; Kovacs and Cropley, 1975) and on the other hand, there are studies which focus on the structural arrangement of inter-group relations (Price, 1963; Burnley, 1985; Collins, 1975, 1978). The tendency in the first perspective is to emphasize the individual process of assimilation or adjustment without an adequate analysis of the structural conditions influencing such a process. The second approach enables the development of relatively static typologies of migrants or group patterns of adaptation based on structural characteristics but the process itself can only be inferred.

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1. Taft (1965), for example, notes that the two factors he labels 'primary' and 'secondary' integration are comparable to the well-known 'reference group' and 'membership group' distinction (Ballock & Lally, 1974:71).
An adequate explanation of immigrant adaptation must combine the advantages of both perspectives. The process of adaptation must be understood with reference to the structural conditions underlying intergroup relations. At the most general level, this means that where this process takes place within the context of a structurally differentiated society, the multi-dimensional nature of immigrant adaptation must be taken into account and ethnicity must be viewed as one identity option among a range of alternatives. Furthermore, structural conditions must be perceived as dynamic in nature. Interaction between migrants and members of the host society establishes, sustains and transforms these structural arrangements over time. An adequate understanding of the process of immigrant adaptation, qua process, can only develop through a detailed analysis of the nature of these transformations.

The attempt to explain the process of immigrant adaptation on the basis of classification schemes and migrant or ethnic group typologies has led researchers to view ethnicity as the major causal factor in this process. Typically, migrants have been classified in terms of their ethnic background or a typology has been applied to ethnic categories. This has produced the tendency to assume that, for immigrants, ethnicity is always significant for individual adaptive strategies, group formation and 'ethnic' community development. By implication ethnicity is not considered significant for members of the host society.

Ethnicity, however, is a resource which is likely to be mobilized under certain conditions. Thus, the relative salience of ethnicity vis-a-vis alternative bases for social action and identification poses questions of an empirical nature. The tendency to assume that ethnicity will always be significant for immigrants can only be avoided by analyzing the empirical data in terms of a more general theoretical perspective on ethnicity. The Australian literature on immigrant adaptation lacks such a theoretical perspective.
Conclusion: The Process of Immigrant Adaptation

This review of the relevant literature has demonstrated the inadequacies of current explanations of ethnicity and immigrant adaptation. In general it can be stated that, on the one hand, theories of ethnic relations tend to be too abstract and removed from the actual experiences of individuals in real situations. On the other hand, explanations of immigrant adaptation tend to be overly descriptive and/or characterized by a low level of analysis so that they are limited in their applicability. In both cases, the perspectives adopted are predominantly macro and there is a tendency to focus on either cultural or structural characteristics. The important interface between macro and micro levels typically remains unexplored thereby rendering the explanations incomplete.

On the basis of this review it is apparent that a need exists for a 'middle-range' theory which is grounded in actual social experiences. It is argued that an adequate discussion of 'ethnicity' can only be undertaken through rational analysis by locating empirical research within a sound theoretical framework. Such analysis needs to recognize the process of ethnic mobilization as both cultural and structural in nature and should encompass both macro and micro perspectives. This synthesis can be achieved by locating the explanation of the mobilization of ethnicity as an adaptive strategy within the context of wider processes of modernization.

Such a perspective provides some important insights as to the nature of 'ethnicity'. First and foremost, it emphasizes that ethnicity is not always significant, thereby indicating that the concept has no explanatory power per se. On the contrary, ethnicity is a descriptive umbrella term which subsumes a number of variables such as skill level, education, religion and cultural comparability, these being the causal factors in the mobilization of ethnicity. To adequately explain the process
of immigrant adaptation it is therefore necessary to 'unpack' the concept of ethnicity. Only by identifying the significance of each of these variables and the relationships between them will it be possible to explain the individual's 'choice' of adaptive strategies and the structural processes through which amorphous ethnic groups may or may not develop into 'ethnic' communities.

From this perspective, migration is a process whereby the individual is relocated in a new social system. The process of immigrant adaptation is thus a process of structural adaptation which can only be understood by focussing on changes in the individual's social location in the society of origin and the receiving society over time.

In a relatively non-modern social structure, the typically diffuse ties between members are, by definition, 'ethnic' in nature. In such contexts, 'ethnicity' encompasses all aspects of life. On the other hand, in a relatively modern structurally differentiated society, ethnicity is but one basis of social differentiation and identification. In theory, individuals and groups mobilize a variety of resources across social contexts, ethnicity being one of these. Empirically, an explanation of the process of adaptation for any migrant or migrant group can be achieved through the analysis of conditions determining the mobilization of various resources, including ethnicity.

The mobilization of ethnicity is an adaptive strategy which is determined by an individual's needs and social location. These are interdependent factors which change as individuals adapt to the receiving society so that significant variation will be apparent across stages of the life-cycle and over generations. Social location structures access to information, resources, goals, means and support networks thereby influencing an individual's 'choice' of adaptive strategy and the centrality of ethnicity as a basis for the identification of self and others. An explanation of the mobilization of ethnicity therefore requires an
analysis of the factors determining an individual's social location and needs. For immigrants, such factors include the reasons for migration, the migration channel employed and the nature of available resources on arrival in the receiving society. However, for those comprising the second and third generation, the specific factors determining the nature of ethnic mobilization will differ as a consequence of their differential life histories.

There is an interdependent relationship between individual and group processes of adaptation. Group processes can be viewed as the outcome of individual adaptive strategies but, through transforming the structural arrangements underlying intergroup relations, they also influence individual strategies. An explanation of the process of immigrant adaptation at the group level involves identifying the conditions which lead to the mobilization of ethnicity. This is determined by the mode of migration, the distribution of resources within the migrant category and the social composition and demographic characteristics of its membership.

Approach of the Present Study

The present study is an examination of the role of ethnicity in the process of immigrant adaptation. Immigrant adaptation is viewed as a particular case which highlights the processes surrounding the mobilization of ethnicity. The explanation of this process is informed by, and feeds back into, a more general theoretical perspective on the nature of ethnicity in modern society and is grounded in actual life histories.

Immigrant adaptation is viewed as the social process through which an immigrant, or migrant group, adjusts in order to function more or less effectively in the receiving society. Assimilation, on the other hand, is understood as a process of identity-shift associated with changes in a migrant's relationship networks such that reference groups are increasingly located within the receiving society. The two processes of
adaptation and assimilation are interdependent in that an immigrant's changing social location influences the nature of his interpersonal relationships.

Two alternative patterns of adaptation within the category of post-war Dutch migrants in Tasmania are distinguished. The first is characterized by the development of an 'ethnic' community with a wide range of organizational development and relatively closed social networks. The second pattern involves the dispersion of migrant individuals within the receiving society. The study examines the extent to which the concept of 'ethnicity' can usefully be employed for explanatory purposes and indicates the need for the concept to be 'unpacked'.

The analytical framework through which it is possible to determine the causal factors subsumed by 'ethnicity' and thereby explain the process of adaptation is developed by focussing on the immigrant's location in the society of origin and the dynamic inter-relationship between three sets of variables in the receiving society. These are the level and nature of ethnic organizational development; transformations in the nature of an immigrant's social networks, particularly kinship and friendship networks and; the salience of ethnicity as a basis for the identification of self and others. The dynamic nature of this process is presented in Figure 2.1, below.

FIGURE 2.1 - THE DYNAMICS OF IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION
The level of ethnic organizational development refers to both formal organizations and voluntary associations. Following Breton (1964) the concept of 'institutional completeness' is employed to describe variations in the degree of organizational development. For Breton, institutional completeness refers to the extent to which an ethnic community contains representative types of organizations so that individuals might live out their lives within the boundaries of that community. The degree of institutional completeness thereby determines the extent of closure in the social relationships of ethnic group members. The use of the term 'closure' in this context is similar to that found in Schermerhorn (1970).

The nature of an immigrant's social networks includes both formal role relationships and interpersonal networks. The latter can be defined as that set of relationships which is characterized by particularism, diffuseness and affective sentiments. The two are inter-related in that the location of formal roles determines, in part, the nature of an immigrant's interpersonal networks. Furthermore, these determine the nature of ethnic mobilization and thus the degree of centrality attached to ethnicity in the process of self-identification.

The salience of ethnicity as a basis for the identification of self and others is perceived as fluid. It is identified in terms of the degree to which ethnic relationships act as a reference for identity and reward and is therefore dependent upon the existence of social relationships through which ethnicity is mobilized.

In this study the process of immigrant adaptation is explained through an analysis of the interdependent relationship between these three sets of variables, applying these to two distinct modes of adaptation evident among Dutch migrants in Tasmania. In so doing, it provides a
framework for locating actual life histories within an explanation of more general processes of immigrant adaptation. However, before such an analysis is undertaken it is essential to understand the social context from which the immigrants came and the general features of Dutch migration to Australia. It is the purpose of the next chapter to provide this information thereby covering an important aspect of the process of immigrant adaptation.
CHAPTER THREE: DUTCH MIGRATION

The analytic framework presented in the previous chapter emphasizes that the analysis of processes of adaptation must begin with an understanding of the social context of immigration. This chapter therefore locates the empirical information on Dutch migration to Australia within a wider discussion of prevailing conditions in both the society of origin and the receiving society.

Dutch Society

The Netherlands is a small country of 12,906 square miles (Huggett,1971:93), the most densely populated in Europe (see Appendix B: Table 3.1) and is typically classified as a modern, developed and industrialized nation. However, despite its small size and dense population it is characterized by a high degree of regional diversity and social heterogeneity.

The Netherlands comprises eleven provinces, the boundaries of which not only mark separate administrative domains but also separate regions which have been isolated from each other for centuries as a result of the country's topography (see Appendix C: Map 3.1). The provincial composition of the four regional divisions of North, East, South and West are listed in Table 3.2 together with details of their relative size. Significant inter-regional differences exist at both the economic (Pinder,1976) and socio-cultural levels (Huggett,1971). There is regional variation in relative levels of modernity which is associated with marked differences in lifestyle and cultural traditions.

Modernization processes have not had a uniform impact on the provinces of the Netherlands. Modernization is far more apparent in the West, particularly in the randstat (comprising the towns of The Hague, Leiden, Haarlem, Amsterdam, Hilversum, Utrecht, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Schiedam and Delft) where nearly half the total population
TABLE 3.2
PROVINCES AND REGIONS  1971

<table>
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<th>Provinces</th>
<th>% of national area</th>
<th>% of national population</th>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>% of national area</th>
<th>% of national population</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>East</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gelderland</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utrecht</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>West</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Holland</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Holland</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeeland</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>South</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Brabant</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limburg</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Including the IJsselmeer Polders


of the country lives (see Table 3.2, above; Huggett,1971:93). This forms the economic heart of the Netherlands and is the area corresponding most closely with the popular concept of 'Holland'.

In contrast, Zeeland in the South, and the northern provinces of Groningen and Friesland have experienced comparative isolation and are relatively less modern than the central provinces. The province of Zeeland occupies the majority of the Rhine-Maas-Scelde Delta and only encroaches on the mainland in the extreme south. Despite its proximity to the randstadt, Zeeland has experienced comparative isolation because of its deltaic location and the fact that it possesses no natural resources. Internal and external communications have therefore developed slowly.

2. While foreigners often use the term "Holland" to refer to the Netherlands as a whole, to the Dutch it specifically refers to the provinces of North and South Holland.
The North, comprising Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe, is historically the least prosperous and most remote region in the Netherlands. Until the discovery in 1959 of large natural gas deposits in Groningen and adjacent districts, the region possessed little in the way of natural resources and maintained no labour-intensive industries. The regional economy was thus dominated by agriculture and associated processing industries: dairy products in the pastoral coastal zone and potato-flour production and straw processing in the drier districts (Pinder, 1976). Road and rail development in the North has been retarded by a lack of regional economic stimulus and, in turn, the post-war economic growth of the region has probably been impeded by inadequate transport infrastructure (Pinder, 1976).

Pinder (1976) has noted that between 1914 and 1939 unemployment and a weak economic base emerged as major problems in the North. A few years after the end of World War Two the region was consequently given Development Area status which entitled it to government aid aimed at achieving economic modernization and improving employment opportunities. Little progress was made in the attainment of these goals and the region was characterized by a high rate of emigration both overseas and to other regions in the Netherlands, particularly the West (Pinder, 1976; Bagley, 1973). However, despite some economic expansion during the 1950s, seasonal unemployment remains more characteristic of the North than of any other region and annual average unemployment rates have shown no permanent downward trend since the 1950s (Pinder, 1976). Pinder concludes his discussion of the North by stating that the region "still possesses an economy deficient in impetus and stability" (1976:169).

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3. In 1959 special employment projects funded by the taxpayer accounted for no less than 5 per cent of the male labour force (Pinder, 1976:169)
The relative isolation of these regions has contributed to the maintenance of language differences. The standard Dutch language of today, 'General Refined Dutch' (Algemeen Beschaafd Nederlands or ABN) was brought into being around 1610 and was the language of educated speakers from Holland and the other Western provinces (Newton, 1978). Attempts by Dutch school teachers to purge their pupils of inferior dialects were largely unsuccessful and led to the development of the regional languages(streektalen) of modern Dutch (Newton, 1978). In particular, residents of the northern provinces of Groningen and Friesland speak a distinctive language which is incomprehensible to those from central and southern provinces. The Frisian language exists in the north-east mainland and the offshore islands. Its speakers have been estimated to number over a quarter of a million and the language has recently received official status as the second language of the Netherlands (Newton, 1978). Stadsfries, or 'Town Frisian', is a mixture of Dutch and Frisian and is particularly spoken in the region around Groningen (Newton, 1978). Children from Groningen and Friesland must therefore learn the Dutch language (ABN) at school and are typically bi-lingual as a result.

Dutch society is further characterized by marked religious and class cleavages. The nation is deeply divided by religious differences which have a long history (Lijphart, 1968; Bagley, 1973) and have led to the development of a pluralist social structure (Newton, 1978). The social structure of the Netherlands consists of overzuilengen or 'pillars' which are social blocs based on differing world-views, namely Catholic, Protestant and secular (Bryant, 1981; Bagley, 1973; Newton, 1978; Huggett, 1971; Lijphart, 1968 4). The Protestant bloc is further divided into

4. While Lijphart (1968) agrees on the threefold division of social 'blocs' he argues that they comprise the Roman Catholic, orthodox Calvinist and secular 'blocs' based not only on formal affiliations but also on the degree of religious commitment. Thus, for Lijphart, the orthodox Calvinist 'bloc' includes all members of the Reformed Church and 'regular' members of the Dutch Reformed Church while the secular 'bloc' includes 'irregular' members of both the Catholic and Dutch Reformed Churches as well as those with no religious affiliation.
the Dutch Reformed (*Nederlands Hervormd*), which is the state church, and the Re-reformed (*Gereformeerde Kerken*). Some writers (e.g., Lijphart, 1968) also divide the secular bloc into two separate blocs as a result of class cleavages. Lijphart (1968) delineates a Liberal bloc, consisting of the secular upper middle and middle classes, and a Socialist bloc consisting of the secular lower middle and lower classes.

Both the Dutch Reformed and the Re-Reformed Churches have Calvinist origins, but the Re-Reformed Church adheres much more strongly to its Calvinist origins (Bagley, 1973). On the whole, the majority of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church believe that the Calvinist confession, with its doctrines of grace and sin, should be adapted to the reality of the present day; while most of the members of the Re-Reformed Church think that it should be interpreted literally and strictly applied in daily life (Huggett, 1971). A survey by Attwood Statistics of ‘Church and Religion in the Netherlands’ (cited in Bagley, 1973:178) provides some interesting data on the difference in outlook and values between members of different churches (see Table 3.3, below) demonstrating the conservatism of members of the Re-Reformed Church.

In 1960 the religious composition of the population was: Roman Catholics 40.4 per cent, Dutch Reformed (*Nederland Hervormd*) 28.3 per cent, Re-Reformed (*Gereformeerde*) 9.3 per cent. Other smaller groups accounted for 3.6 per cent, and those without religious affiliation 18.4 per cent (Bagley, 1973:5). The Re-Reformed Church is thus much smaller than the Dutch Reformed but its members are more involved in socio-political life (Huggett, 1971). The Attwood survey of ‘Churches and Religion in the Netherlands’ further showed that 85 per cent of Catholics attended church regularly (at least once a fortnight) compared with 39 per cent of Dutch Reformed, 88 per cent of Re-Reformed, and 60 per cent of other churches (mostly minor Protestant sects) (cited in Bagley, 1973:178). Gadourek and his colleagues (1962; cited in Bagley,
### TABLE 3.3

**VARIATION IN RELIGIOUS VALUES (ATTWOOD SURVEY, 1965)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>R.C.</th>
<th>RE-REFORMED</th>
<th>DUTCH REFORMED</th>
<th>NO DENOM.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>QUESTION</strong></td>
<td><strong>PER CENT ANSWERING 'YES'</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Do you believe in the existence of Hell, or not?</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Do you believe in the existence of Heaven, or not?</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Do you believe that what happens in the world happens according to a certain plan...?</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Do you believe that there is a God who concerns himself with everyone personally?</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


1973:179) analyzed data from a survey which inquired about the subject's religious denomination, and occupational group, and then measured the intensity of an individual's involvement in his religious organization (or, in the case of a secularist, the appropriate sectarian or political group). They found that members of the Re-Reformed Church had the highest level of involvement in religious organizations when compared with members of other social blocs (see Table 3.4, below).

In 1954, 'pillarization' was as strong as ever (Huggett, 1971). Dutch social, cultural, political and educational life was organized on a sectarian basis. Each bloc had set up a whole array of organizations encompassing every sphere of social life. Schools and universities, newspapers, radio and television corporations, trade unions, health and welfare agencies, and sports associations were organized on a bloc, or religious basis (Bagley, 1973; Lijphart, 1968; Newton, 1978) and represented
TABLE 3.4

INTENSITY OF AN INDIVIDUAL’S INVOLVEMENT IN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>PER CENT IN SURVEY</th>
<th>MEAN INVOLVEMENT SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>41.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant (Dutch Reformed and Re-Reformed)</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small sects</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Socialists</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberals</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanists (secular)</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All subjects</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-Reformed</td>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled labourers</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical workers</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social workers, nurses</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers and priests</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Gadourek et al. (1962) cited in Bagley (1973:179)

bloc interests (Bryant, 1981; see Tables 3.5 - 3.12). There was very little inter-bloc communication with the result that belonging to a bloc directed and limited the social possibilities of individuals and organizations (Bryant, 1981)\(^5\).

Religious affiliation is an important determinant of the degree and manner of interpersonal relationships (Bagley, 1973). Relationships in a public context are marked by formality and unfriendliness. However, within the bloc system, relationships are less formal and more friendly. Relationships are warmest within the family (Bagley, 1973). Dutchmen typically mix on intimate terms only with people of the same religion (Lijphart, 1968) and there is a high degree of religious endogamy. According to the 1960 census, 94.7 per cent of all married Catholics had Catholic spouses, and the percentages of endogamy for the other major groups were only slightly lower: 89.8 per

\(^5\) In particular, Catholics were unable to occupy government positions until this century. (Lijphart, 1968:90)
cent for the Dutch Reformed; 93.6 per cent for the Re-Reformed, and 87.1 per cent for persons without religious affiliations (Bagley, 1973:7; Lijphart, 1968:57; see Table 3.13). The following statement by Lijphart succinctly summarizes the nature of pluralism in the Netherlands social structure:

"Thus the blocs live side by side as distinctly separate subcultural communities, each with its own political and social institutions and with interaction and communication across bloc boundaries kept to a minimum" (1968:58).

These differences between religious blocs in the Netherlands are reinforced by geographical differences. The Catholics have their stronghold in the south, the Calvinists (Re-Reformed) are concentrated in the north (Bagley, 1973) and the secular bloc dominates the west of the country (Lijphart, 1968). It is clear therefore that regional differences in the Netherlands refer to more than superficial variation in costumes and dialect. On the contrary, regional diversity corresponds with significant variation in the total way of life of the Dutch population. Gadourek (1961, cited in Bagley, 1973:6) has described the two main subcultures in the Netherlands as follows:

"Over against the more optimistic, vivacious Roman Catholic or Southern pattern, emphasizing sexual morality, stands the more sombre and sober, more matter-of-fact Protestant-Calvinistic or Northern way of life, disapproving most of lies and theft".

Further divisions in Dutch society are created by class differences which cut across religious ones (Bagley, 1973). Social class is important and quite rigidly fixed although it is not a popular subject for investigation (Huggett, 1971; Lijphart, 1968). Lijphart (1968:20) refers to comparative survey findings which suggest that class feelings are more pronounced in the Netherlands than in any other Western democracy.
There is a great consciousness of ancestry and a whole range of class accents so that upward mobility is extremely difficult to achieve (Huggett, 1971). There is rigid stratification by class, by origin, by education and by religion and "people tend to live protectively in small, self-contained circles of their class contemporaries" (Huggett, 1971:77,75).

As a consequence, the small ruling elite, men of the right ancestry, education and rank, know each other intimately through many formal and informal contacts. Their power is firmly established and was sustained until very recently by the distribution of income which was more unequal than in other industrialized nations 6 (Huggett, 1971:78).

Bagley (1973:13) states that the Dutch population appears to be segmented by social class, with seemingly little interaction or mobility between the classes. Religious and class lines thus sharply separate the subcultural blocs from each other, but it is important to recognize that these cleavages do not coincide. Each social bloc contains substantial numbers of both workers and middle-class people. In fact, the class composition of each bloc is virtually identical to the class composition of the population as a whole (Lijphart, 1968:89-90; see Table 3.14).

Religious and class lines are thus cross-cutting cleavages. The Catholic and Protestant blocs are separated from other groups by religious cleavages but are not divided much further by class differences (Lijphart, 1968). However, in the secular bloc, the class line is particularly important because of the absence of cohesion provided by a common religious outlook (Lijphart, 1968).

To summarize, Lijphart states that Dutch society "is characterized by an extraordinary degree of social cleavage. Deep religious and class divisions separate distinct, isolated, and self-contained

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6. In 1955, the top 5 per cent in the Netherlands had 24 per cent of the total income, against 21 per cent in the United States, 20 per cent in England and 17 per cent in Sweden (Huggett, 1971:78)
population groups" (1968:1). Such deep divisions lead Huggett to conclude that:

"As far as one can generalize about any nation's characteristics, those of the Dutch seem to be paradoxical, a series of conflicting attributes. In any event it is more difficult to generalize about the Dutch than it is about some other nations... There are fewer recognizable stereotypes than in many other countries, partly because of... the regional diversity" (1971:77).

Migration from the Netherlands

The Netherlands is a nation with a relatively long tradition of emigration. The threat of overpopulation has been a recurrent theme in such a small, densely-populated country and governments have typically responded to such threats by developing policies and programmes aimed at stimulating emigration. During the period 1930-60 the population of the Netherlands increased by 47.6 per cent (de Yanes, cited in Bagley, 1973:33), the highest rate of population growth in Western Europe (Educational Productions Ltd., 1966). While the problem of overpopulation received considerable publicity in the period of reconstruction after 1945, there was a consensus between Catholics and Calvinists that a solution in terms of birth control was unethical (Bagley, 1973). Pressure was therefore directed towards developing a vigorous policy of emigration.

Continuing economic insecurity and social unrest during the immediate post-second World War years saw the Dutch government attempting to stimulate both emigration and industrialization simultaneously in an effort to prevent the development of widespread

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7. The annual birth rate in the Netherlands has never dropped below 19 per 1,000 inhabitants and until the mid-1960s it was 21.2 per 1,000. This was the highest for Western Europe, including traditional Catholic countries such as Eire (Russett, 1964, cited in Bagley, 1973:35)
structural unemployment (Beijer, 1964).

Agreements were established between the Netherlands government and the governments of a number of receiving societies, including Australia, Canada and New Zealand, to provide assistance to potential emigrants for the cost of passages overseas. Emigration offices, financed by the Government, were set up in many areas and subsidies were provided to support the emigration activities of the churches (Bagley, 1973). A large emigration bureaucracy thus developed to assist the government in achieving its goal of stimulating emigration.

An opinion poll in 1948 found that about a third of the Dutch population wanted to emigrate (Lijphart, 1968:95; Bagley, 1973:34) and the success of the programme is demonstrated by the fact that in the two decades after 1945 over 400,000 people did emigrate (Bagley, 1973:34; see Appendix B: Table 3.15). During the same period Australia received a total of 141,616 Dutch citizens as permanent or long-term arrivals, of which 87,239 arrived under an assisted passage scheme (see Appendix B: Table 3.16).

The first Assisted Migration Agreement between Australia and the Netherlands was negotiated in 1951 (The Immigration Planning Council, 1968; Salter, 1978; Cox, 1975). By 1963 two-thirds of the immigrants from the Netherlands had been assisted by the Australian government (Cox, 1975). However, unlike the arrangements for other countries where each migrant contributed a flat fee of about $A20-$25 towards the cost of transport, the practice in the Netherlands was for the migrant:

"to make a personal contribution towards emigration costs which was directly related to his earning capacity, and this ..... tended to discriminate against well-qualified migrants" (The Immigration Planning Council, 1968:63). 8

A second agreement was entered into on 1 August 1956 and despite a
third, signed on 1 June 1965 (the Migration and Settlement Agreement with provisions for assisted passage) Dutch immigration to Australia declined during the 1960s.

Unassisted immigration followed a similar pattern although the decline began earlier, dropping below 2,000 in 1957-58. An increase in the rate of return migration among Dutch migrants during the 1960s also contributed to the substantial decline in the Netherlands-born proportion of the Australian population during this decade (see Appendix B: Table 3.17).

During the 1950s the Netherlands experienced rapid social changes as it developed into a modern industrial nation (Beijer,1964). By 1960 it was apparent that the Dutch government’s industrialization policy was succeeding and that a population policy based on emigration, which had been conceived during a period of threatening poverty, was no longer appropriate (Beijer,1964). Prior to 1960 the Netherlands had had a net loss of population from migration (averaging 13,000 per annum in the previous five years) after which time the need for a greater rate of increase in the labour force was met by encouraging guest workers to come to the country (The Immigration Planning Council,1968). Emigration then declined dramatically until by the late 1960s the Netherlands was actually employing over 80,000 foreign guest workers (Cox,1975).

By influencing rates of emigration, the changing economic and

8. This arrangement was revised in 1967 with the Netherlands providing much more liberal financial assistance in an effort to increase the flow of Dutch settlers to Australia (The Immigration Planning Council,1968).
9. At 30 per cent, the rate of Dutch settler loss in Australia was considerably higher than the average loss of 22.3 per cent (Price,1981:44).
10. Since the 1970s the Netherlands has been plagued by high unemployment rates once again and the social problems created by guest workers have become a sensitive public and political issue (van den Berg-Eldering,1979). This has contributed to the recent increases in unassisted Dutch immigration to Australia (see Appendix B: Table 3.16)
social conditions in the Netherlands affected the nature of post-war Dutch immigration to Australia. While the causal relationship between economic conditions in the society of origin and the receiving society cannot be easily determined it has been suggested that:

"the combination of full employment and rising levels of consumption in .... the Netherlands and under-full employment and reduced levels of retail sales in Australia was responsible for a sharp decline in the flow of ..... Dutch migrants to Australia" (Appleyard, 1963:36).

Consequently, one of the most significant features of the pattern of Dutch migration to Australia is that it was characterized by 'waves' (see Appendix B: Table 3.16) which varied in size and composition.

In 1951, instructions were issued to immigration officers in Europe, including those in the Netherlands, to concentrate on rural workers when making their selections. However, late in 1951, the Eltham Mission was despatched to Europe to investigate the standards of training given to tradesmen in the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy. The Mission discovered a uniformity in systems of apprenticeship in the Netherlands and the Federal Republic of Germany (Salter, 1978). Later selection from the Netherlands consequently included a larger proportion of tradesmen from cities whose training, employment experience and skills were accepted as equivalent in Australia. Thus, using data acquired from a survey of immigrants between 1952 and 1955, Burnley (1976:181) estimates that over 75 per cent of Netherlands-born migrants were born in cities of over 20,000 persons. Other researchers (e.g. Ware, 1974 cited in Burnley, 1976:182) have concluded that the majority of workers from north-west Europe were skilled tradesmen, or clerical or professional workers and, in terms of socio-economic status, were a representative cross-section of their countries of origin.

Emigration from the Netherlands was handled by both religious
and secular, government organizations although they differed in the degree to which they assisted Dutch immigrants on their arrival in the receiving society. Each of these organizations had institutionalized a particular pattern of emigration and developed a 'migration ideology'. The particular organization chosen by the emigrant thus directly affected his choice of destination and his orientation towards the migration process.

The religious agencies representing the Catholic and Protestant 'social blocs' had established links with different receiving societies. The Catholic Central Migration Office was using Australia as its main receiving society whereas the Protestant organizations were predominantly sending emigrants to Canada. The institutionalization of these alternative migration 'paths' led to a salient characteristic of post-war Dutch migrants in Australia, namely the greater proportion of Catholics among them (see Appendix B: Table 3.18).

This pattern of Dutch emigration "reflects the socio-religious macro-structure of the Netherlands society, both as regards to its organizational structure as well as its cultural pattern" (Hofstede, 1964 cited in Beijer, 1964:215). It has been suggested (Overberg, 1981) that this migration structure produced a situation in which the traditional inter-bloc rivalries soon made their presence felt in the countries receiving Dutch immigrants.

Religious and secular emigration organizations not only influenced the country of destination but determined the mode of migration. Emigration through secular organizations was primarily of individual families, a pattern typical of emigration from 'modern' societies. However, emigration through religious organizations was clearly a group process (Bagley, 1973). Denominational groups emigrated together, to the same area, and were often accompanied on their voyages by a priest or minister whose passage was subsidized by the Dutch

Beijer (1964) thus recognizes that rather than viewing Dutch migration as 'individual migration', it clearly has certain characteristics which indicate 'group migration'. However, unlike the group migration typical of southern Europeans, among the Dutch this pattern of 'chain' migration appears to be the outcome of religious rather than kin ties (Cox, 1975).

**Migration from Indonesia**

The category of Dutch migrants in Australia comprises not only the diverse population from the Netherlands but also includes Dutch citizens who emigrated from Indonesia (formerly the Netherlands Indies) during the 1940s and 1950s. Independence was proclaimed by Sukarno on 17 August 1945 after the surrender of Japan to the Allies (Crouch, 1985) and some Dutch nationals emigrated immediately. In 1947 there was a mass movement of Dutch troops to Indonesia to aid in handing over the administration and control of the colony to its indigenous population.

The gradual replacement of Dutch personnel produced large groups of Dutch exiles who were evicted from their adopted country, Indonesia, but no longer felt comfortable in the Netherlands. They found its way of life to be 'stifling' and many chose to emigrate elsewhere. From 1947 to 1951 Dutch nationals in the Netherlands and elsewhere were eligible to apply for passage assistance to Australia under the Empire and Allied Ex-Servicemen's Scheme (The Immigration Planning Council, 1968). Although open to other nationalities, most of the 21,994 who arrived under this scheme were Dutch nationals resident in Indonesia (Australian Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, 1984; Price, 1981:22).

A later 'wave' of Dutch migration from Indonesia occurred in the
late 1950s as a result of unsettled conditions and Indonesian government policy decisions. In December 1957, large numbers of Dutch businesses, offices, banks, and trading concerns were seized by groups of young Indonesian men (Palmier, 1962: 103). The Indonesian Minister of Justice then announced that 50,000 Dutch nationals would be expelled or expatriated in three stages: first, those employed by the Netherlands Government and the Royal Dutch Airlines (KLM), those who could be 'replaced by Indonesians', and those whose income was derived mainly from the Netherlands; the next would be middle-class Dutch nationals such as shopkeepers; and then the others. Of these 50,000 Dutch nationals, 30,000 were Eurasians who had been born in Indonesia.

In 1959 the Indonesian Government announced the formal 'nationalization' of Dutch properties taken over in 1957; they included import-export concerns, estates, public utilities, banks, insurance firms, and contracting companies (Palmier, 1962). This led to a mass 'exodus' of Dutch nationals in the following year.

Between 1945 and 1960, when diplomatic relations with the Netherlands were finally severed, 300,000 Dutch nationals had emigrated from Indonesia; the majority had been repatriated to the Netherlands while some 50,000 had emigrated to other countries (Palmier, 1962:109) including Australia. Some of those who had been repatriated were dissatisfied with conditions in the Netherlands and soon re-emigrated.

The Dutch nationals who migrated from Indonesia to Australia therefore do not constitute an homogeneous category. They varied by birthplace, occupation, social class, marital status, age and represented

11. They were putting into effect the resolutions of a mass rally of 600 representatives of political, military and youth organizations from all parts of Indonesia which had been held a month earlier in Djakarta (Palmier, 1962:101).
12. Palmier (1962:139) notes that the relatively large number of Dutch nationals in the Netherlands Indies had followed a wide range of occupations from Governor-General to minor official and small shopkeeper. Some 70 per cent of them were born in the Indies.
a variety of religions, including both the Catholic and Reformed Churches.

In summary, Dutch immigrants came from different provinces, at different times, for different reasons and with different religious affiliations. They varied in terms of background characteristics, used different emigration agencies, followed different modes of migration, had different orientations and different resources available to them on arrival. *En masse*, therefore, they do not form an homogenous group but simply constitute a category of immigrants with a common nationality. These differences were then further complicated by the fact that many Dutch immigrants came to Australia via an often lengthy period of time in Indonesia thus creating further differentiation within the category.

**The Dutch in Australia**

Dutch immigrants have not been a popular subject for research in Australia and the few studies that have been undertaken have rarely taken into account the high degree of diversity characteristic of the members of this category. Much of the extant information has been extrapolated from more general data such as immigrants from Northern, Western, North-Western Europe (e.g. Burnley, 1971) or 'Other' Europe (e.g. Hugo, 1986). In such studies it is often impossible to distinguish the Dutch from other nationalities and, further complicating the issue, there is a lack of consistency in the category to which the Dutch are allocated. Nevertheless, researchers have discovered significant differences between the Dutch and other North-Western European nationalities, such as the Germans, which have led them to delineate national distinctions in some cases (e.g. Zubrzycki, 1960, 1968).

Reviewing the limited research on Dutch immigrants in Australia, it is apparent that studies tend to fall into one of two types:
first, large scale statistical analyses and secondly, small scale studies at either an individual or community level. Of the latter type it has also been noted (de Lepervanche, 1984a) that very little has been published on the Dutch in comparison with other settlers such as the British, Greek, Italian, Chinese and Jewish.

Large scale statistical analyses of survey and census data conclude that the Dutch are 'assimilated'. Such conclusions are typically reached on the basis of findings that the Dutch, unlike other settlers such as Greeks and Italians, exhibit a high degree of socio-economic dispersion in Australian society. It can be suggested, however, that indices such as these do not necessarily indicate that Dutch migrants have undergone a process of assimilation in the receiving society. Rather, socio-economic dispersion is a direct result of the diversity in economic background which characterizes the category of Dutch immigrants. On the other hand, the findings of small scale studies typically state that the Dutch are 'well adjusted' but not necessarily assimilated. For example, a number of studies have demonstrated the existence of distinct enclaves of Dutch settlers (e.g. Zubrzycki, 1964a; Burnley, 1971; Gough, 1963 cited in Taft, 1965; Taft, 1961). A few (e.g. Elich, 1985:48) even conclude that "the Dutch are not assimilated, unrecognizable migrants".

The conclusion that the Dutch are 'assimilated' is based on a variety of research findings. Some studies point to similarities which exist between the Australian population and Dutch migrants in Australia (Timms, 1969). For example, the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (Cox, 1975:99) concluded that "the occupational distribution of the Dutch tends to approximate the Australian figures to a greater degree than is true of other ethnic groups studied" (see Appendix B: Table 3.19; Western, 1983). Following the same line of argument, Burnley (1971:67) notes that the percentage of Dutch migrants in professional and managerial occupations is close to that of the Australian-born population (see Appendix B: Table 3.20). Similarly, using health as an
indicator, the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (Cox, 1975:100) concluded that the Dutch-born do not differ from the Australian-born majority.

Other studies emphasize findings which indicate the degree to which the Dutch have been 'successful' in Australia. For example, Zubrzycki (1964a) found that migrants from the Netherlands had the highest family incomes whilst those from Italy and Greece maintained the lowest. Furthermore, the Australian Population and Immigration Council (1976) found that amongst recent migrant family heads born in the Netherlands and West Germany, 74 per cent reported having had no employment problems and 81 per cent reported having had no accommodation problems in the preceding twelve months (APIC, 1976:114).

Indicators of geographical dispersion and social integration are additional data used to support the conclusion that the Dutch are 'assimilated'. Lancaster Jones (1967 cited in Burnley, 1976:182) in a Melbourne study and Timms (1969) in a Queensland study both identified the Dutch as moderately concentrated groups when compared with strongly concentrated (which they termed unassimilated) groups, such as the Greeks, Maltese, Italians and Yugoslavs.

A further index of ethnic cohesion is the degree to which exogamy is practiced. Price (cited in Cox, 1975:99) found that the proportion of Dutch marrying outside their own ethnic group is comparable to that of Germans and eastern Europeans, whilst much higher than that of the southern Europeans (any imbalances of sexes already being taken into consideration). Table 3.21 (below) compares the degree of intermarriage for Italians, Greeks and Dutch immigrants. Further support for such findings is provided by studies of second-generation immigrants which note that "in contrast to the Greeks and Italians, where ethnic social, community and family ties are strong, the majority of second-generation
TABLE 3.21
MARRIAGE PATTERNS IN THREE ETHNIC GROUPS IN AUSTRALIA, 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of birth</th>
<th>Grooms marrying Australian, British or NZ-bom brides %</th>
<th>Brides from own country %</th>
<th>Brides from elsewhere %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>73.9</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Australians of... Dutch .... origin had one parent born in Australia" (Hugo, 1986:234).

Other studies demonstrate the assimilation of the Dutch through data which indicate a low level of maintenance of distinctive cultural traits and a low degree of ethnic organizational development. Zubrzycki (1964a, 1964b, 1965) found that the Dutch had the second lowest proportion joining purely migrant organizations and the highest proportion maintaining visiting relations with Australians. He further found that 84 per cent of the Dutch migrants spoke English at home and 94 per cent did not wish to send their children to Dutch classes (1964a:140). Other studies on language use (cf. Clyne, 1982; APIC, 1976; Harvey, 1974) report similar findings of low levels of first language maintenance and high levels of fluency in English.

The conclusion reached by the Commission of Inquiry into Poverty through its review of the research findings is typical of the kind of statement made summarizing the situation of Dutch migrants in Australia:

"... Dutch people settle fairly easily; ... tend to identify to a reasonable degree with the host community in
language and social life; ... are not over-concerned about the preservation of the Dutch language or community and intermarry freely; but... they also remain very Dutch in cultural minutiae" (Cox,1975:101).

It can be suggested, however, that such conclusions are spurious and result from the high degree of variability within the ethnic category. Furthermore, by not taking into account the variation within the category, such gross generalizations do little to improve our understanding of the adaptation of Dutch immigrants in Australia.

A number of studies have reached an alternative conclusion that the Dutch are typically well-adjusted or well-adapted but are not necessarily 'assimilated'. Such studies (e.g.Zubrzycki,1964a; Taft,1961; Gough,1963 cited in Taft,1965; Burnley,1982 cited in Hugo,1986:99; Harvey,undated) have found clusters of Dutch immigrants with relatively high levels of residential concentration. These have been found to be either religious-based (Burnley,1982 cited in Hugo,1986:99) or a reflection of "socio-economic factors rather than ethnic group social needs" (Burnley,1971:65). In support of the findings of these studies, Gough (1963 cited in Taft,1965:56) concluded that members of Dutch affiliated churches are less assimilated (identified or acculturated) than immigrants who are members of Australian churches. Furthermore, Taft's (1961) study found a low rate of identification with the receiving society among the Dutch and he therefore suggests that assimilation is impeded by living in small urban communities.

The findings of other studies have also led researchers to question the conclusion that the Dutch are 'assimilated'. For example, Zubrzycki (1964a) found a lower level of job satisfaction among the Dutch than was true for the British, Maltese, Poles and Yugoslavs 13 together with the

13. It is possible that this is a direct consequence of the very low rate of recognition of overseas qualifications for migrants from the Netherlands (see Table 3.22)
maintenance of some distinctive cultural traits which distinguish the Dutch from the Australian-born population. These included a much higher birth rate than is typical of the Australian-born (Zubrzycki, 1964a; Krupinski, 1968) and the continuance of the Dutch style of furnishing in the household (Zubrzycki, 1964a).

The research on patterns of adaptation among Dutch immigrants in Australia is also characterized by a number of contradictory findings. Findings on settlement patterns range from moderate concentration (Lancaster Jones, 1967 cited in Burnley, 1976:182; Timms, 1969; Hugo, 1986; Burnley, 1971) to none at all: conclusions such as "ethnic residential concentrations did not occur with north-west Europeans" (Burnley, 1971:65). Zubrzycki (1960:81) found both an "unevenness of spread" and a high levels of residential concentration "in certain outer zones bordering on the rural belts of the metropolitan areas". Burnley (1971:62) and McCaughey (1970) also found that the Dutch tend to reside in rural-urban fringe suburbs (see Appendix B: Table 3.23) although Zubrzycki (1960:72) found that the Dutch were the third most rural population after the Scandinavians and Italians, all three groups having an urban proportion lower than the native born population.

The similarity between the occupational distribution of Dutch immigrants and the Australian-born population has been noted previously. However, upon closer examination Zubrzycki (1960:95) points out that "the Netherlands immigrants are significantly concentrated in building and construction and manufacturing" (see Appendix B: Table 3.24) and that there is a deficiency of the Netherlands-born in communication and finance and the property industry which is where native-born males are highly concentrated (1960:100). Zubrzycki (1960:105) further observed "a particularly noticeable under-representation of the Dutch-born in the 'Employer' and 'Self-employed' categories" (see Appendix B: Table 3.25). This was markedly lower than for other nationalities and much lower than for the Australian-born
population.

Other apparently contradictory findings are evident in discussions of the significance of religion for Dutch settlement. Zubrzycki (1960:63) found that the Netherlands had the highest proportion of persons who said that they have no religion or who did not reply to the question on religious affiliation (see Appendix B: Table 3.26). The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty also noted that among the Netherlands-born population: "The proportion stating 'no religion' or giving no reply is exceptionally high" (Cox, 1975:100; see Appendix B: Table 3.18). This report draws the conclusion that "religious ties are unlikely to be important for a large number of Dutch and (are) less significant in ethnic development" (Cox, 1975:100). However, it has already been noted that Burnley (1982 cited in Hugo, 1986:99) found concentrations of Dutch settlers which were religious-based.

Contradictory results are also reached in relation to the incidence of working wives among Dutch immigrants. On the basis of the 1966 Survey of Living Conditions in Melbourne, McCaughey (1970) concluded that wives were most likely to be working among the British, Australian, Dutch, German and Greek populations. On the other hand, Zubrzycki (1960) found that only 18.2 per cent of the female Dutch-born population were in the labour force (see Table 3.27). This was lower than the figure for Australasia and he suggests that this could be due to differences in cultural background and attitudes to female employment.

Further evidence of contradictory findings can be provided in relation to home ownership. The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (Cox, 1975) notes the desire of post-war Dutch migrants for home ownership and McCaughey's (1970) study of Melbourne showed that 60.7 per cent of migrants from the Netherlands were owners and buyers. On the other hand, Burnley (1971) found that Dutch migrants did not favour home-ownership and Zubrzycki's study (1964) of the Latrobe Valley
found that the majority of Dutch migrants tended to live in rented houses.

In relation to financial security, it has already been noted that Zubrzycki (1964a) found Netherland's migrants to have the highest family incomes. Nevertheless, Hugo (1986) points to a high incidence of poverty among the Dutch aged in Australia. Contradictory evidence also exists in relation to the ease of language shift. The Commission of Inquiry into Poverty (Cox, 1975) points to the ease with which the Dutch learn English as one of the reasons for their easy adjustment and assimilation. On the other hand, McConville (1969 cited in Cox, 1975:100) found that 35 per cent of Dutch primary students and 31 per cent of Dutch secondary students were experiencing language difficulties. This was the fourth highest proportion at the secondary level after Czechoslovakian, Maltese and Polish students.

**Implications of Research Findings on Dutch Immigrants in Australia**

The above review of research findings raises questions about the term 'assimilation' when it is applied to Dutch immigrants in Australia. Large scale statistical analyses tend to impute a process of assimilation which cannot be demonstrated by quantitative data alone. Furthermore, such studies assume the centrality of ethnicity in the process of adaptation simply through the nature of the categories which are employed as a basis for the quantitative analysis. However, by not addressing the process of assimilation these studies are unable to identify the causal factors in it.

More importantly, the analysis of characteristics of the category of Dutch immigrants at the national level leads to spurious results. This is due to the fact that any significant variations within the category are obscured by the aggregate statistics. The most obvious example of such an obfuscation is the conclusion that Dutch settlement patterns in Australia are characterized by a 'moderate' level of concentration.
On the other hand, small scale studies focus on the process of adaptation but do not systematically analyze the structural constraints on the immigrant's choice of adaptive strategy. Thus, variation within the ethnic category is demonstrated (e.g. varying levels of 'assimilation' across individuals and communities) but cannot be explained. Correlations are demonstrated between, for example, degree of assimilation, acculturation, identification, satisfaction, education, intelligence and income level (see Daw, 1962 cited in Taft, 1965:58-9) but ethnicity is still assumed to be central to the individual and therefore of greatest significance in the process of adaptation. The existence of residential concentrations is also demonstrated but the causal factors for such 'ethnic' development cannot be adequately analyzed.

This suggests a need for analysis at the 'middle-range' level. In other words, in order to understand the process of immigrant adaptation, it is necessary first, to study a population which is large enough to demonstrate variability and secondly, to employ a framework which enables the process of adaptation to be analyzed. This allows for an exploration into the role of ethnicity in the process of immigrant adaptation and an analysis of the causal factors which explain variation within the ethnic category.

**Dutch Immigration: The Tasmanian Context**

Tasmania is not a microcosm of Australian society; nor does its Netherlands-born population have the same demographic characteristics as the category at the national level.

Tasmania can be described as relatively less modern than the mainland states of Australia and has been least affected by overseas

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migration. Economic development in Tasmania during the Second World War and in the immediate post-war years differed from the mainland states. The state has been described as economically "stagnant" prior to the Second World War (Townsley, 1976:6) and although it developed rapidly in the twenty years after the war the average growth was, nevertheless, much less than in the mainland states (Townsley, 1976:6; Farmer, 1980:211).

Farmer (1980:229) has described Tasmania as "a lagging region troubled by its island handicaps of small size, separation from mainland markets, narrow industrial structure and difficulty in attracting development capital". She notes that the state has limited resources so that living conditions have only been maintained at national levels because of the financial aid received from the Federal government (Farmer, 1980). While Tasmanians have consistently viewed themselves as dependent on the Federal Government for special assistance (Townsley, 1976) its isolation has fostered an island patriotism that clearly distinguishes Tasmanians from mainlanders in their attitudes (Reynolds, 1971 cited in Farmer, 1980:211).

Overall the population of Tasmania since the Second World War has been more widely distributed geographically than in any of the mainland states. The 1966 census figures showed Tasmania having the lowest proportion in the metropolitan area; 33.3 per cent compared with an Australian average of almost 60 per cent (Townsley, 1976:7). Later census figures show no significant changes: at the time of the 1981 Census Tasmania still maintained its position as the least urbanized state with 74 per cent of the population living in urban areas (ABS, 1986:11). Tasmania's population has also been noticeable for its depleted adult age groups and disproportionately small labour force (Farmer, 1980:211). The 1966 census figures showed 43.19 per cent aged under 21 and 7.83 per cent over 65, constituting a relatively high degree of dependency (Townsley, 1976:7).
Only in the years 1947 - 54 did the rate of increase of population in Tasmania rise above the Australian average, largely as a result of an unusually high post-war birth-rate and the initial influx of British and European migrants. However, the number of migrants never reached the proportion of the other states, so that the 1966 census in Tasmania showed the greatest percentage of Australian-born (90.35 per cent) (Townsley,1976:6). Furthermore, in 1933, 1947 and 1954 Australia experienced a decline in the proportion of its population which was British-born. However, during the same time period, Tasmania was the only state where the proportion of the British-born persons rose from 4.2 per cent to 4.6 per cent (Zubrzycki,1960:66). Migrants thus entered a social context characterized by limited economic growth with a population which was less urban, more homogenous in terms of ethnic origin and more parochial in its attitudes than mainland states.

Tasmania experienced a dramatic increase in the proportion of its immigrant population between 1947 and 1954 (Zubrzycki,1960:65; see Appendix B: Tables 3.28 and 3.29). Most of this growth was contributed by persons of North-Western European origin (Zubrzycki,1960:66; see Appendix B: Table 3.30) so that the Netherlands-born population comprises the state's largest non-British migrant category (ABS,1987:8-9; Hugo,1986:94; see Appendix B: Table 3.31). 15

An explanation for this migration pattern is not immediately clear from the statistics alone. Post-war immigrants to Australia tended to settle in the larger metropolitan centres on the mainland where most of the new employment opportunities existed, particularly in the manufacturing and construction industries (Burnley,1971:57).

Employment opportunities in Tasmania did increase dramatically

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15. Zubrzycki (1960:45) emphasized the impact on Tasmania's population of a few thousand Dutch during the intercensal period 1947 - 54. He noted that the proportion of the Netherlands-born population in the state had increased by 17,938.5 per cent.
after World War Two when labour was needed for hydro-electric power development projects (Townsley, 1976; Farmer, 1980) but, as Hugo has pointed out: "although the employment situation is significant in shaping the destination of immigrants, the relationship at the State level is by no means a deterministic one" (1986:93).

A glance at some of the demographic features of Dutch immigrants in Tasmania immediately indicates some important differences between them and their compatriots on the Australian mainland.

The 1981 census shows that 3.1 per cent of Australia's Netherlands-born population reside in Tasmania (N=3,008) which constitutes 0.7 per cent of the total population of Tasmania (see Appendix B: Table 3.32). However, only 18.6 per cent of the Netherlands-born population are residents of the state's capital city, Hobart, a proportion which is significantly less than that in other states where Dutch migrants tend to be geographically concentrated in the capital cities (see Appendix B: Table 3.33). Zubrzycki's (1960:75) study shows that nearly half of Tasmania's Netherlands population settled in other urban areas outside the metropolitan areas (see Appendix B: Table 3.34).

A larger proportion of Tasmania's Netherlands-born population have been resident in Australia for 29 years or more than is true for other states and territories (see Appendix B: Table 3.35). 38.6 per cent of Tasmania's Netherlands-born population migrated prior to 1952 which is much higher than the national average of 29.0 per cent. In addition, a much lower proportion of the Dutch who migrated to Australia between 1953 and 1961 are resident in Tasmania while there are no significant differences between states in the proportions of more recent migrants whose period of residence in Australia is 22 years or less. This would partly explain the different age distribution of Dutch migrants in Tasmania which shows a lower proportion in the 15 - 19 year age group.
than the national average (2.0%) and a greater proportion in the 30-54 year age group (60.6%) than the national average (57.7%) (see Appendix B: Table 3.36).

The 1981 census figures show that 84.1 per cent (N=1,286) of all Netherlands-born males aged 15 years and over are in the labour force and of these 95.9% (N=1,233) are employed (see Table 3.37). However, a much lower proportion (40%; N=555) of all Netherlands-born females aged 15 years and over are in the labour force of whom 91 per cent are employed.

The 1954 census data on industry groups demonstrated the significant concentration of Netherlands immigrants in the areas of building and construction and manufacturing in all the Australian states (Zubrzycki, 1960:90,100; see Appendix B: Table 3.24). The proportion in building and construction was particularly high in Tasmania (see Appendix B: Table 3.38). Looking more closely at the 1981 data (see Appendix B: Table 3.39) we find that 36.6 per cent of Netherlands-born males are employed in manufacturing or wholesale and retail trade and 34.5 per cent of Netherlands-born females are employed in community services. Thus, there has been a clear trend away from the construction industry among Netherlands-born males over the last three decades.

The 1954 Census data also show an important difference in the occupational status of Netherlands-born males in Tasmania when compared with those in other Australian states (see Appendix B: Table 3.40) with a much higher proportion of employers and a relatively high proportion in the self-employed category.

Data on the age at which Netherlands-born persons in Tasmania left school (see Appendix B: Table 3.41) show some interesting variations on the basis of sex which are consistent with the level of sex differentiation found in the labour force. In particular, almost double the
proportion of males attended school until the age of 19 or more (9.6%) than did females (4.5%). In general, however, the Netherlands-born population aged 15 years and over are relatively well-educated with 60.4 per cent having attended school until at least the ages of 14, 15 or 16. Nevertheless, just over half of the Netherlands-born population of Tasmania (54.4%) have received no qualifications since leaving school although it is important to recognize that this figure includes the female population. The distribution of qualifications among the Netherlands-born population of Tasmania is similar to the national distribution with the largest proportion (19.8%) holding a trade certificate (see Appendix B: Table 3.42).

The majority of the Netherlands-born population of Tasmania speak English competently, following the same pattern as for other Australian states and territories (with the exception of the Northern Territory where Dutch language maintenance is significantly lower) (see Appendix B: Table 3.43). Of the Netherlands-born population aged 15 years and over in Tasmania, 48.7 per cent speak only English, 50 per cent speak both Dutch and English and 0.1 per cent speak only Dutch. Thus, an extremely high proportion aged 15 years and over speak at least some English and 96.5 per cent speak English well.

The Netherlands-born population of Tasmania differs markedly from those residing in the mainland states on two other factors important in relation to processes of adaptation, namely: Dutch citizenship and religion. First, a significantly lower proportion of the Netherlands-born population of Tasmania has elected to maintain Dutch citizenship (9.1%) than is true for other states and territories (see Appendix B: Table 3.44).

Secondly, the religious distribution of the Netherlands-born population of Tasmania differs markedly from other states and territories. Tasmania has a much higher proportion of Christians (72.0%
compared with the national average of 61.5%) while the proportion who fall into the category 'Other', which includes those who declare they are non-religious, is relatively low (27.8% compared with 38.2% nationally) (see Appendix B: Table 3.45). Another significant feature of the religious distribution of Dutch migrants in Tasmania is that, unlike the mainland states where Catholics predominate, the religious in Tasmania tend to be Reformed Church members.

The above data indicate that a different migration 'path' was followed by many of the Dutch migrants who settled in Tasmania compared with those now residing on the mainland. This has led to differences in age distribution, length of residence, religious affiliation, occupational status and settlement patterns. At the same time, however, the category of Dutch immigrants in Tasmania exhibits the heterogeneity characteristic of Dutch immigrants at the national level. It therefore provides the researcher with the opportunity to analyze the process of adaptation at the 'middle-range' level.

Initial exploration indicates the existence of distinct and visible Dutch 'communities' in Tasmania. On the other hand, there is also clear evidence of the existence of Dutch immigrants who are indistinguishable from the native-born population. This suggests the possibility that two alternative patterns of adaptation have been followed by Dutch immigrants in Tasmania; one leading to community development and the other to dispersion throughout the institutional structure of the host society.

In the next two chapters, two such alternative patterns of adaptation will be delineated. In Chapter Four the development of an ethno-religious community will be traced and documented while Chapter Five will examine migrants who have taken an individual route in adapting to Australian society.
CHAPTER FOUR: THE DUTCH IN TASMANIA: TYPE 1-ETHNO-RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY AND CHAIN MIGRATION

During the post-war period a number of Dutch communities were established in Tasmania. These were located at Kingston in southern Tasmania, Launceston in the north and Penguin and Ulverstone on the north-west coast (Watt, 1988). This phenomenon raises questions about the validity of previous research conclusions on Dutch 'assimilation'. These are now addressed by focussing on the development of the so-called Dutch community in southern Tasmania.

Chain Migration and Community Formation

The Kingborough municipality, which is centred on Kingston, covers a geographical area of 358 square kilometres and includes the rural-urban fringe suburbs of Kingston Beach and Blackman's Bay (see Appendix C: Map 4.1). Almost half (41.4%) of the Netherlands-born population of Hobart resides in Kingborough 1 but this constitutes only 2.5% of the municipality's total population (ABS, 1981). Clearly, the visibility of the Dutch in the Kingston/Blackman's Bay area cannot be accounted for on the basis of numbers alone. A more detailed analysis of the adaptive strategies of these migrants is required.

The majority of the Netherlands-born population of Kingborough emigrated from Groningen, an isolated northern province of the Netherlands (see Appendix C: Map 3.1). It has a distinct regional culture which differentiates its residents from those raised in other provinces. They speak a dialect which is incomprehensible to those from other provinces and formally learn the Dutch national language at school. Unlike the southern provinces, the population of Groningen is predominantly Protestant with strong support for the orthodox Calvinist religion known as the Gereformeerde Kerken (Re-Reformed Churches).

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1. The tendency for Dutch migrants to reside in rural-urban fringe areas has been noted in other Australian studies (see Burnley, 1971:62; McCaughey, 1970; Zubrzycki, 1964a).
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1. The tendency for Dutch migrants to reside in rural-urban fringe areas has been noted in other Australian studies (see Burnley, 1971:62; McCaughey, 1970; Zubrzycki, 1964a).
The members of these churches, while comprising a minority group in the Netherlands as a whole, are over-represented in the northern provinces. Most towns in Groningen have two types of schools: the state school and the Christian Day School, the latter being a parent-controlled school established by members of the *Gereformeerde Kerken*. Re-Reformed church members belong to numerous voluntary associations established by church members. Endogamous marriages are encouraged and any interaction with 'outsiders' is strongly discouraged by the community’s norms and organizational structure.\(^2\)

In 1950 seven businessmen from Groningen, five of whom were Re-Reformed Church members, established a building company in Kingston. The decision to locate the business in Tasmania was made after discussions with a Dutch financier, Dr.Graef. He had been a resident of Hobart since 1933 and was holidaying near Groningen in 1949. The group of businessmen were all ex-Resistance fighters whose dissatisfaction with the policies of the post-war Dutch government had led them to make enquiries about emigrating. The threat of a possible depression, such as that which followed the First World War, was an additional factor in their decision to emigrate.

The businessmen, all of whom had achieved success in various fields, had previously decided to establish a building company in the Netherlands. They had recognized the investment potential in the construction industry in the Netherlands after the destruction brought about by the Second World War. They decided to establish a construction company and, in anticipation of its success, purchased expensive machinery and developed contacts in Sweden and Finland for the purchase of timber. However, they had not anticipated the restrictions which were placed on the construction industry by the post-war socialist

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\(^2\) Watt (1988) notes that a schism of the *Gereformeerde Kerk*, namely the *Vrijgemaakte Gereformeerde Kerken*, provided the migrants for the Launceston Dutch community. Their religious orthodoxy also served to maintain community closure.
government. The establishment of a business and its location required government approval and was then heavily taxed. Tradesmen were required to attend four years of privately-funded tertiary education to be eligible for their certificates.

These restrictions in an industry with obvious financial potential produced feelings of frustration and disappointment among these men who had fought together during the war in the hope of a "better future". It enhanced the feeling of disillusionment they were experiencing with what they saw as a corrupt post-war government and a complacent people. Once it was realized that their dream of establishing a construction company in the Netherlands was no longer a viable proposition, possibilities were explored in the United States, Canada, South America, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia.

The idealized version of Australia presented by government propaganda gave it immediate appeal. It was described as a country in which success came easily. However, this propaganda also intimated that the migration experience would only be successful if migrants were prepared to approximate the stereotype of the 'beer-drinking, race-going, bronzed Aussie who enjoyed gambling'. This created a potential problem since this way of life directly opposed the Calvinist standards held by these businessmen from Groningen.

Having heard of Dr. Graef's presence in Groningen they decided to approach him for a more realistic picture of business potential in Australia. Initially he gave them a negative impression of the potential for immediate financial success in Australia. He also pointed out, however, that most Australians were not the 'bronzed-Aussie' type presented by the media but were level-headed and hard-working. Further discussion with Dr. Graef provided them with a more promising picture. It appeared that the potential for success existed in Australia if one was prepared to work very hard. Dr. Graef offered to provide
financial backing for the venture and the businessmen decided to emigrate to Australia.

Mr. Diehl and Mr. Bueren were sent to Tasmania to determine the best location for the business and to establish Dr. Graef's credentials as a financier. They were satisfied with his financial arrangements and following his advice chose some land which later became known as "Little Groningen". It was sited on the outskirts of Kingston, approximately 15 kilometres from Hobart along a narrow, winding coastal road (see Appendix C: Map 4.1).

The five remaining members of the group settled the necessary business arrangements in the Netherlands and advertized their venture. They acquired the financial backing of other businessmen interested in emigrating to Australia. These financial backers came from various provinces but were predominantly members of the Re-Reformed Churches.

The remaining five members of the original group emigrated to Australia with their wives and families in 1950. Prior to emigrating all had achieved a considerable degree of economic success in their respective fields of business and were at the stage of the life-cycle in which they had young families. The building industry was a field in which none had had any specific experience or previous involvement but they were confident of achieving success through their combined business expertise.

The Australian Federal and State governments provided unexpected assistance on entry into Australia. Machinery for the company was brought into the country as 'household goods', reportedly with the cognizance of customs officials, so that less duty was paid. The Australian government approved the entry of 250 pre-fabricated houses for the building company to establish itself.
The construction company was established at 'Little Groningen' and registered as the Australian Construction Company. At this time Kingston was a predominantly rural area. It included a couple of small stores situated about a kilometre inland from Kingston Beach, a small seaside resort and popular picnic spot for day-trippers from Hobart (see Appendix C: Map 4.2). The pre-fabricated houses were quickly erected close to the site of the construction company to provide accommodation for the directors and initial employees.

The Australian Construction Company was well-received by others in the Tasmanian building industry. Its directors received regular offers of assistance from other companies. This included the loan of materials when shortages occurred, a frequent problem due to difficulties associated with transporting goods from mainland Australia. It soon established itself as a reliable building company and became a financial success very quickly. After the first few years, however, the company's relationship with other building companies deteriorated.

During the period 1952-1953 the Australian Construction Company sponsored skilled tradesmen from both Britain and the Netherlands as a means of ensuring that it developed a reputation for quality workmanship. The board of directors believed that Tasmania lacked well-qualified tradesmen. They therefore considered it was necessary to import them from Europe if the company was to maintain a high standard of workmanship while it expanded to its optimum size of 100 - 200 employees. While some of the first tradesmen employed by the company were British, the majority were recruited from Groningen by

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3. Only about a dozen of these houses were eventually imported. They were to be constructed of Swedish timber and this was considered to be an unnecessary expense when they had been reliably informed that Tasmania was heavily-wooded. The company went on to become one of the first in the state to rely almost exclusively on Tasmanian timber.
4. The Kingborough Council later named the road on which it was sited, Groningen Rd.
5. At its peak the Australian Construction Company employed approximately 120 men.
financial backers who had temporarily remained in the Netherlands specifically for this purpose. Being Re-Reformed Church members they recruited mainly from this church although some tradesmen emigrated from the predominantly Catholic areas of Brabant and Limburg.

There was no shortage of skilled and unskilled workers willing to emigrate to Australia. Many recall leaving the Netherlands because of the government's restrictions on individual enterprise. The decision to emigrate is explained in terms of a lack of job opportunities, the 'red tape' involved in establishing a business, difficulties involved in 'getting anywhere' and feelings of 'being controlled' by the government. Among those who had returned to the Netherlands from Indonesia additional explanations included a 'lack of freedom', 'cramped conditions' and the hostile reception they met from the Dutch population. The Australian Construction Company sponsored skilled tradesmen and unskilled labourers on the condition that they would remain as employees for a minimum period of twelve months. Once they were settled in Tasmania these employees sponsored friends and relatives from diverse occupational backgrounds in the Netherlands. Many were subsequently employed by the Australian Construction Company providing a steady source of unskilled labour.

Although skilled tradesmen were available in Tasmania the directors' perception of a shortage was not entirely unfounded. The company concentrated on large-scale construction requiring specialized knowledge in the use of concrete. This was a method of construction in which European tradesmen were experienced but which had not yet become common practice in Tasmania. This knowledge and expertise gave the Australian Construction Company an advantage over local companies so that it was able to successfully compete for many large private and government contracts.

Through the 1950s and '60s the Australian Construction Company
strengthened and grew. The managing director during this period attributed the company's success to excellent management and hard work. He emphasized the fact that, unlike many local businesses, the Australian Construction Company had not been established by tradesmen lacking business skills. The company's directors were extremely competent and highly successful businessmen with a wealth of economic expertise gained in the Netherlands which they were able to transfer to the burgeoning building industry in Tasmania. Unlike many of the local companies, the Australian Construction Company quickly established a reputation for construction of a high standard which would be completed according to a pre-arranged schedule and for the price originally quoted.

In addition the company directors applied the standard of frugality wherever possible in the operation of the business. While complaints relating to this were not expressed by former employees, 'outsiders' sometimes reported that the company exploited its workers by paying them less than union wages. The managing director of the company during the 1980s defended this policy by noting that its employees had never been in favour of union involvement.

This view is consistent with the attitudes expressed by many Dutch migrants towards the widespread nationalization of various industries in the Netherlands during the post-war years. It was one of the changes which had led many of them to feel that their 'freedom' was being threatened and had played an important part in motivating them to emigrate. The managing director of the Australian Construction Company during the 1960s held very strong views on the power of Australian unions. He perceived their demands for "ridiculously high wages" as the major cause of problems in the building industry.6

A lack of accommodation was a major problem for the Dutch migrants arriving to work for the Australian Construction Company
during the 1950s. At this time the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area was a predominantly rural zone with the local farmers largely involved in the apple industry. The seasonal nature of employment in this industry meant that the small shacks made available to apple-pickers were vacant during the off-season. These provided the only existing form of family accommodation in the vicinity of the Australian Construction Company. The company therefore preferred to sponsor single men who were accommodated in tents and later in temporary dormitories erected specifically for this purpose. The pre-fabricated houses, once erected, provided limited accommodation for some employees and their families. Later migrants were able to board with these families while more permanent housing was built in the area.

The majority of the Australian Construction Company's early employees were single men. Many purchased land in the area and began to build homes large enough to accommodate a wife and family in future years. They built with a sense of permanency and a keen appreciation of the availability of large blocks of land on which they could build detached bungalow-style houses.\(^7\)

These employees had arrived with little, if any, material security. Those who were qualified tradesmen had had to pay their own fares to Australia. They were ineligible for assisted passages as a result of restrictions enforced by the Dutch government. These were aimed at discouraging tradesmen from emigrating since they were needed in the post-war rebuilding programme. In addition, career opportunities for tradesmen, especially in private enterprise, came under strict government control. Furthermore, there were restrictions on the

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6. In later years as President of the Master Builders Association he had attempted, unsuccessfully, to introduce an apprenticeship system for builders' labourers (similar to that which existed in the Netherlands). He justified this on the grounds that young boys in training were not as productive as experienced labourers.

7. Discussions in 1983 with the Session Clerk of the Kingston Reformed Church disclosed that many of these men still live in the same houses they constructed during the 1950s.
amount of capital emigrants could take with them when they left the Netherlands.

The majority of those who migrated were therefore young men who believed that there were greater opportunities for success in Australia than there were in the Netherlands. There was a feeling among them of "all being in it together". They were in a common economic situation, working for the same company, at similar stages of the life-cycle and living within walking distance of each other. Many had renewed kinship or friendship ties. Those who had not had any contacts in Tasmania prior to emigrating either made friends during the passage to Australia or alternatively established friendships on their arrival. Many had been aware before leaving the Netherlands that other Reformed Church members were emigrating to Kingston. They were eagerly anticipating their arrival knowing that they would be welcomed by others with whom they shared a common religious bond.

The strong camaraderie which existed among these early migrants was reinforced by a common recreational activity. Saturdays and 'free' time after work were typically spent assisting each other in the construction of their own homes. This shared activity provided an opportunity to adhere to one of the important norms of the Reformed faith, that which urged members to employ their time constructively. Nevertheless, indicative of the 'social' nature of this pastime was the fact that "there was always a beer available" and many long-lasting friendships were established. Between Monday and Saturday these migrants spent all their time in each other's company. Opportunities to interact with native-born Australians were extremely limited.

Upon their arrival in southern Tasmania the majority of these

8. This data suggest that at least some of these early migrants had previously been members of the Hervormde Kerk, which was more liberal than the Gereformeerde Kerken on issues such as alcohol consumption.
early migrants attended St. John's Presbyterian Church in Hobart where the official doctrine was similar to that of the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands. Soon afterwards, however, they reached the conclusion that the 'modernist' or 'liberalist' trend evident in the Presbyterian Church opposed their own orthodox belief system. They decided that, in order to maintain the purity of their faith, it was necessary to establish a Reformed Church.

This decision not to join the Presbyterian Church but to establish their own independent congregation coincided with similar developments occurring among former members of the *Gereformeerde Kerken* residing in Penguin in northern Tasmania, Melbourne and Sydney (den Brave, 1976 cited in Overberg, 1981:28). In explaining this development a prominent Reformed Church minister stated that:

"The reason for the establishment of the Reformed Churches was not a matter of nationality or language but of CONFESSIONAL IDENTITY."

(VanderBom, undated)

To emphasize this point they called themselves the Reformed Churches of Australia. Although services were initially held in the Dutch language this soon changed to English. They were assisted in this change by the Christian Reformed Church in North America which sent them hymnals and psalm books printed in English. In the early stages of the transition to English, however, the sermon was summarized in Dutch to assist those not yet competent in the English language.

Thirty years later native-born Australians still refer to them as members of the Dutch Reformed Church. That native-born Australians clearly perceive the church to be an ethnic organization is a fact that upsets many of its members, particularly the second-generation who do not identify themselves as Dutch. They believe that this perception indicates a lack of knowledge and understanding of their church which in turn reflects their own failure to fulfill their evangelising mission.
The Reformed Church of Australia is a conservative Calvinist denomination in that the creeds to which it adheres are Calvinist in origin. These are the Westminster Confession, the Belgic Confession and the Canons of Dort. Bouma (1984:5) explains that:

"More strictly, conservative Calvinism can usefully be defined as continued adherence to the Canons of Dort. This statement of faith was formulated by a Synod (including representatives from all Calvinist groups at the time) which met in the Netherlands town of Dordrecht from 1618 -19 in the early days of the Thirty Years War.... Here are stated the core beliefs which ... separate classical Calvinism from other systems of Reformation theology and, more particularly, the conservative Calvinist from the 'softened' Calvinist."

To summarize the essential elements of the Canons of Dort, Bouma (1984:5) refers to the mnemonic TULIP used by young catechumens of the Christian Reformed Church in North America:

T - Total Depravity
U - Unconditional Election (of both saved and damned)
L - Limited Atonement (Jesus atoned only for the elect)
I - Irresistible Grace (the elect cannot reject grace)
P - Perseverance of the Saints (the elect never fall from grace).

The Canons of Dort essentially denigrate human potential and the value of human action in order to exalt divine action. In essence, they state that:

9. Both the Christian Reformed Church (CRC) and the Reformed Churches of Australia (RCA) originated from the same theological source and, although the CRC was established much earlier, both churches have followed similar patterns of social development.
"all men are totally corrupt and incapable of doing any good in the eyes of God. Of this sorry lot, God chooses a few, not on the basis of their merits, for they have none, for salvation. Those so chosen cannot resist God's grace and persevere against all temptation and trial. The rest are elected to eternal damnation" (Bouma,1984:5-6).

This theological position is an unpopular one which runs against the grain of many features of western culture. It is not surprising therefore that the Gereformeerde stream of Dutch migrants who settled in southern Tasmania found no existing organization in the receiving society which could cater to their religious requirements.

The first Reformed Church in southern Tasmania was established on 24th February 1952. It was built using the voluntary labour of Reformed Dutch migrants and located close to the centre of Kingston where these migrants were residentially concentrated. Fund-raising activities were community-based and aimed predominantly at potential members. This mainly included former members of the Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands but also some of those who had been members of the more liberal Hervormde Kerk.

The process of funding and building a Reformed Church strengthened the friendships developing among these Dutch migrants. It provided them with a common goal which they conscientiously worked together to achieve and further limited any opportunities for interaction with native-born Australians. This feeling of unity was enhanced by the fact that, unlike other denominations, a Reformed Church belongs

10. The original building was still being used until mid-1986. It was located at the end of Maranoa Road (see Appendix C: Map 4.3), the residents of which were largely Reformed Dutch migrants.
11. The Gereformeerde Kerken (or Re-Reformed Churches) were established in the Afscheiding of 1832 in which a group of conservative Calvinists broke with the Hervormde Kerk (or Reformed Church), the state church of the Netherlands at that time (Bouma,1984:5).
totally to its members.

They establish it, own it, run it and 'call' a minister (whom they are also able to remove) to attend them. Running costs are met through the financial contributions of members which is expected to be at least 10 per cent of one's annual income. It was not until the building was completed and paid for that members finally considered themselves to be in a position to call a minister to attend them. Rev. Van Kuyl answered their call, arriving from the Netherlands in 1954.12

Apart from confessional identity and doctrinal differences, the Reformed Church of Australia differed from the Presbyterian Church and other more 'liberal' Calvinist denominations in the stringency of church discipline. Sunday was defined as 'a day of rest' and strict adherence to religious norms in relation to Sunday activities was expected. Reformed Church members were expected to attend two services each Sunday. This was to ensure that they heard both sermons, one of which was required to be an exposition of a certain doctrine, the other an exposition of some portion of Scripture. By attending both it was believed that:

"instead of worshipping God in an ignorant and superstitious fashion, they may worship him in spirit and in truth" (Wilkinson, undated:7).

It was expected that the rest of the day would be spent in 'quiet' activities such as reading, visiting friends for coffee, going on family walks, Bible discussion and prayer. Children were encouraged to adhere to these standards and members of the 'typical' Dutch family at Kingston during the 1950s were dressed in their 'Sunday best' all day. This visibly distinguished them from native-born Australians who were typically

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12. The process of acquiring a minister from the Netherlands created little difficulty during this period. Ministers were regularly arriving in Australia in the 1950s to attend congregations of Reformed Dutch migrants which were scattered throughout the country. Where difficulties did arise ministers were sometimes 'loaned' by the Christian Reformed Church in North America.
dressed in casual clothes.

Frivolous activities were considered taboo at all times and this norm particularly applied on Sundays. A strict adherence to the rules of the Sabbath excluded these migrants from joining in the activities of local native-born Australians including swimming at the beach, golf and informal sports matches such as football, tennis and cricket. Opportunities to interact with native-born Australians were even more limited on Sundays than they were throughout the rest of the week.

Other recreational activities were also forbidden by the Reformed faith. These included theatre, cinema, dancing and card-playing. Some Reformed Church members did attend a weekly social gathering of Dutch migrants of various backgrounds. Meetings were held at a function room in the centre of Hobart and a soccer club was established. Cleavages developed among members, however, and both the meetings and the soccer club were short-lived. The Reformed migrants stopped attending because the loud music and drinking did not appeal to them. Furthermore, on wet days soccer matches were often postponed to Sundays. Since Reformed players would not play, the team was often left with no alternative but to forfeit. Conflicts ensued which eventually led to the disintegration of the 'club'.

Once the Reformed Church had been established at Kingston, the demographic characteristics of the Dutch migrants in the area gradually began to change. Many of those who had arrived as single men had completed their houses and were in a position to marry. To ensure they married a person of 'positive background' 13 many returned temporarily to the Netherlands. This period often lasted up to two years after which they would return to Tasmania with their new wives. Despite having to leave their family and friends, these women recall that they were happy

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13. Members of the Reformed Church refer to others who share their beliefs as those of 'positive background' (Reformed Churches of Australia, Yearbook, 1961:12).
to emigrate from the Netherlands knowing that awaiting them in Tasmania was a house, other Dutch people of the Reformed faith and an established Reformed Church.

Interaction between native-born Australian and Reformed Dutch women was limited and superficial. The Dutch women typically had no knowledge of English or the Australian way of life and lacked the confidence to establish relationships with the local population. In addition, the native-born Australians lacked experience in dealing with migrants from other cultures and were apprehensive about establishing contacts.

In the late 1950s when Dutch migration to Kingston reached its peak some formal attempts were made by native-born Australian women to establish contacts with the Dutch women. The wife of a Kingborough Council member organized regular morning teas at the Council Chambers and the local Country Women's Association invited about a dozen Dutch women to a few of their meetings. Here the Dutch women were assisted in understanding some of the nuances of the English language and became familiar with some local Australian customs (such as "bringing a plate"). Many of these, however, they viewed as childish and ridiculous. In short, these attempts to establish social relationships were generally limited in their success. They tended to highlight the differences between the women rather than establish any common ground for interaction.

Close social relationships developed between the Reformed Dutch women. The large construction work undertaken by the Australian Construction Company was located at sites throughout the state so that husbands were frequently absent from the home for a week at a time. Wives recall their feelings of loneliness, depression and isolation which were enhanced by the limited availability and expense of transport into the city. The minister of the Kingston Reformed Church during the 1960s
considered that the isolation of the women was one of the church's major social problems at that time. In attempting to solve this problem he motivated the women to develop their own associations. It was during this period that the Ladies Guild was established by the women of the Reformed Church.

During the late 1950s and early 1960s Dutch migration to Tasmania continued to increase (see Appendix B: Table 4.1) as did membership in all the Reformed Churches in Tasmania (see Table 4.2, below). The growth of the Reformed Church in the 1950s and 1960s was largely due to continued Dutch immigration and a high birth rate among members. This rapid growth was enhanced by the fact that responsibility for sponsoring migrants was largely taken over by the Reformed Church as the Australian Construction Company approached its optimum size. The Migrant Sponsoring Committee was established by Reformed Dutch migrants specifically to perform this function. The Re-Reformed Churches in the Netherlands cooperated by distributing pamphlets to its members which advertized the opportunities available in Tasmania and encouraged members to migrate.

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Potential emigrants wrote to the Migrant Sponsoring Committee and arranged the details through this organization. On their arrival in Tasmania they were met by committee members and temporary accommodation was provided for them in the homes of Reformed Church members. They later settled in the vicinity of Kingston where they were relatively close to the church and its members. The involvement of the Migrant Sponsoring Committee was not confined to migrants without friends or relatives in Tasmania. Establishing contact with the Reformed Churches of Australia was considered to be important by all Reformed Dutch migrants regardless of their immediate need for temporary accommodation.

Sponsorship by the Australian Construction Company declined during the 1960s and, unlike the earlier migrants, those who arrived at this time did not have pre-arranged employment opportunities. Many had been skilled tradesmen or businessmen in the Netherlands (see Appendix B: Table 4.3) but were employed as unskilled labourers on arrival in Tasmania. They were willing to work in any type of employment and acquired jobs with large mining and transport companies, the government postal service, building suppliers and engineering firms. Although these jobs were located at various sites throughout the greater Hobart area they still preferred to live in the vicinity of Kingston, near the Reformed Church and its members.

The religious world-view of these Dutch migrants directly affected their attitudes towards work, their behaviour in the workplace and their relationships with fellow workers. Their conservative Calvinist beliefs motivated them to work hard and to strive for economic success. They readily worked overtime and looked for private employment on Saturdays. They perceived the native-born Australians with whom they worked as "lazy" and were frustrated by the amount of time wasted on tea breaks, playing cards and smoking. Relationships with workmates were not very good and many believe they were overlooked for
promotion simply because they were migrants.

Social norms relating to recreational or leisure activities differed markedly between the native-born Australians and the Reformed Dutch migrants. This directly affected relationships between fellow workers outside the workplace and impinged on their relationships at work. The Australian norm of "going out with the boys" was alien to these Dutch migrants. This refers to the expectation that workmates meet regularly at the local "pub" for a few beers, an activity which formed the basis for congenial work relationships. These traditional "pub sessions" directly violated the moral code of Reformed Church members which strictly forbade the consumption of alcohol. They were strongly discouraged from taking part in these 'worldly amusements', particularly when this involved potential contamination from others who did not share their beliefs. Social relations between Reformed Dutch workers and their native-born Australian colleagues were thus relatively strained and formal.

During the 1960s some of the original employees of the Australian Construction Company established their own small businesses in Kingston. These included construction companies, plumbing and electrical firms and a bakery. The first shopping centre in the area was built by two Reformed Dutch entrepreneurs within walking distance of Maranoa Road and the Reformed Church (see Appendix C: Map 4.3). The shop leases were predominantly owned by Reformed Dutch migrants and the two original corner stores were bought by Dutch migrants.

The development of a shopping centre encouraged other businesses, including banks and real estate agents, to establish branches at Kingston. Managerial positions were often filled by Reformed Dutch migrants who could cater to the needs of the growing number of Dutch migrants settling in the area. These businesses continued to expand during the 1960s and provided employment opportunities for Dutch
migrants who were arriving in Kingston with various skills and expertise.

Having reached a comfortable level of economic security, some of the early Reformed Dutch migrants began to establish firms in the central business district while others accepted managerial positions with large Hobart companies. Some of those who acquired well-paid positions in the city consequently sold their houses and became residents of the more elite suburbs situated between Kingston and Hobart (see Appendix C: Map 4.1).

The declining residential concentration of Reformed Dutch migrants is reflected in the establishment of the Hobart Reformed Church on 9th May, 1960 for which services were initially held at the Protestant Hall in the city. Many of its members had formerly attended the Kingston Reformed Church which accounts for the latter's slight decline in membership over the years 1960 and 1961 (see Table 4.2, above). The central location of the Hobart Reformed Church further assisted the process of geographical dispersion which had already begun. Nevertheless, connections between the two churches were extremely strong and the development of a second Reformed Church did not indicate a split in the church. Rather, it indicated the rapid expansion of the Reformed Church as a whole. Membership at both the Kingston and the Hobart Reformed Churches continued to increase after 1961 as a result of continued Dutch immigration (see Table 4.2, above).

A characteristically high birth rate among Dutch migrants in general and Reformed Church members in particular also contributed to the growth of the church. During the 1950s and 1960s the Dutch migrant family in Australia typically included between six and nine children.14 The Australian norm during the same period was three to four children (ABS, 1976c). This differential in birth rate was maintained throughout the 1970s when 58.5 per cent of Netherlands-born women (including
many of the second generation) have had two to four children while nearly 50 per cent of Australian-born women have had 2 or less children (see Appendix B: Table 4.4).

The Reformed Churches also boast a high retention rate among their members which is largely achieved through their social organization. Reformed Church members are encouraged to view the totality of their lives from a religious perspective and the church and its associated organizations are structured to achieve this goal. Most of the daily voluntary and recreational activities in which members are involved are typically conducted under the auspices of the Reformed Church. These take place either within a formal religious organization or informally with a group of Reformed people.

The potential extent of the church's domination over the lives of its members is evident in the range of activities organized by either the church or its members. First, members are strongly encouraged to attend two church services on Sundays. Additional activities include Sunday School, Cadets and Calvinettes (clubs for boys and girls respectively, between the ages of nine and fifteen), Youth Clubs for teenagers of both sexes, Catechism classes and Bible Study groups all of which are held regularly. There are also specific-purpose committees which members are encouraged to join. These have included the Migrant Sponsoring Committee, the Reformed Theological College Committee, the Classical Committee for Home Missions and the School Association. There are also a number of publications which seek to regularly inform members about church affairs and doctrinal issues. These include Trowel and Sword, Contact and Give Yourself to Reading.

There is a high level of active involvement in the organizations associated with the Reformed Church. This results partly from the fact that, unlike other denominations, they are not established by the church for its members but rather by the members themselves. The impetus for the establishment of publications, voluntary associations and formal organizations comes directly from the ranks of ordinary church members. In addition, a number of successful mechanisms of social control operate among members.\(^{15}\)

The exercise of church discipline is particularly successful when conducted in a small, relatively isolated community such as that which existed among Reformed Dutch migrants during the 1950s. This is largely because formal social control mechanisms are supported by powerful informal sanctions at the level of face-to-face interaction. The Reformed Church takes church discipline at all levels extremely seriously, disciplining members "even to the point of excommunication for failure to show evidence of a true faith or failure to live the Christian life" (Kuiper, 1964:392).

The key actors in relation to formal church discipline are the elders who have the authority to "exercise discipline in their task of watching over the souls of those entrusted in their care" (Wilkinson, undated:6; Kuiper, 1964:392). They visit members regularly to enquire about their behaviour and to ensure conformity to religious standards.

The Kingston Reformed Church has twelve elders. They have a term of office of three years and there are three sets of elections each year with two vacancies at a time. Each elder has certain members allotted to his care who form a 'ward'. They are formally visited at least once a year.

"(He) comes to inquire about their spiritual

\(^{15}\) A variety of social control methods are legitimated by the Belgic Confession which states that exercise of church discipline is a mark of the true church (Bouma, 1984:63).
development; whether they get help from the preaching of the word and worship; whether they are conducting family worship in the home; whether the children are being well taught in the things of God" (Wilkinson, undated:6)

At Kingston during the 1950s these 'moral caretakers' were chosen from a relatively small community whose members were acquainted with each other. The high turnover of elders also meant that most of the men had been an elder at some time. This situation reinforced the legitimacy of the elder's role and made those in his care more willing to accept his authority than would otherwise have been the case.

Through these arrangements members of the community were able to monitor each others' behaviour. This proved to be a very effective method of social control which produced a low level of deviant behaviour and few withdrawals from the church (see Appendix B: Table 4.5).

Internal sources of growth, through a high birth rate and high retention rate, have been more important for the Reformed Church than external sources. This is expressed in the membership statistics in which most of the annual growth is accounted for by the categories 'Children of members baptised' and 'Received with certificate of membership from within the denomination or from a sister church' (see Appendix B: Table 4.6).

This internal growth process has been assisted by high rates of in-group marriages ranging from 63 to 73 per cent of all marriages during the 1960s, 1970s and early 1980s (see Appendix B: Table 4.7). Members explain that those who are born and raised in the Reformed Church are encouraged to marry within the church and severe sanctions are applied to those who do not conform to this expectation. Rather than marry a person who is not of the Reformed faith members are therefore likely to
wait until their future spouse has agreed to become a member.

Further organizational development took place in this community of Reformed Dutch migrants in the early 1960s with the opening of a Parent-Controlled Christian Day School. The history of the school began in 1953 when a number of Reformed parents formed the 'Association for Christian Parent-Controlled Schools'. At this time the issue of education had become a topic of growing concern to Reformed Church members as continued immigration and a high birth-rate dramatically increased the proportion of children in the community.

Fund-raising activities were undertaken in the 1950s and included regular contributions and donations from Reformed Church members. In 1961 a five-acre block of land was purchased in Maranoa Road near the Reformed Church (see Appendix C: Map 4.3). The school took 26 weeks to build and, as with the church, it was built using voluntary labour and was paid for before it was completed. The Calvin Christian School, named after the 16th century reformer, was officially opened on January 15th, 1962. The original building had three classrooms which accommodated 77 pupils. By 1968, increasing enrolments made extensions of a second unit necessary and a classroom and activity room were added. This second unit was completed in 1970 with the construction of two more classrooms.

A number of factors were involved in the decision to establish a Christian Day School. First, there was a specifically religious motivation. Reformed Church members believe in the Covenant which, they state, clearly exhorts parents to be responsible for their children's education. Thus, a Christian Parent-Controlled School is not a parochial school. It is

16. The pattern of separate Christian education was established by Abraham Kuyper, Prime Minister of the Netherlands in the last third of the nineteenth century. He was a leader in the development of Reformed principles who "insisted that education and Christian nurturance were the duties of parents and not the state nor the church" (Bourma, 1984:54).
legally separate from the Reformed Church although it receives considerable support from its members.

This religious motivation led to a number of specific dissatisfactions with the state school system to which their children had access. Parents "were anxious for their children to attend a school where the authority of the word of God was acknowledged" (Calvin Christian School, undated:6). Since this was not formally acknowledged in the state school system, parents believed that they were neglecting their religious and moral duty by sending their children there. Members of the Reformed Church were not satisfied with a few prayers, Scripture lessons and hymns dispersed throughout the children's school week. They believed that this was not enough to offset the secular views to which children would be exposed throughout the rest of the week. They believe that all subjects should be taught from a religious perspective:

"the salt of religion should not be given to children in separate doses but should season all the subjects taught throughout the day" (Kuiper,1964:376)

so that,

"Science, Art, Literature, medicine etc. must be seen in their proper relation to the Word of God and the Lord Jesus Christ" (Wilkinson,undated:9).

Since the state school system could not achieve this aim, they considered it necessary to establish an alternative school where:

"The children receive an education to fit them for life, spiritually as well as academically - a Christ-centred school - with teachers who are committed to Christ and His Service" (Calvin Christian School, undated:5)

Secondly, in the state school system there was very little opportunity, if any, for parental involvement especially in determining the content of the children's education. A Christian Parent-Controlled School, on the other hand, is organized on the basis of a high level of
parental involvement. Parents, as members of the Association of Christian Parent-Controlled Schools, are ultimately responsible for the functioning of the Calvin Christian School through its Board of Directors:

"Membership of the Association is open to all parents and others who agree with the constitution which governs the school, especially the educational creed. All parents who are members of the Association are eligible for election to the Board of Directors" (Calvin Christian School, undated:7).

Board members are subsequently allocated to a specialist committee such as the Building Committee, the Education Committee, the Finance Committee and the Public Relations Committee.

Members of the Education Committee, having taken the advice of the headmaster into consideration, are responsible for decisions affecting curricula, subjects and staffing. It has a reputation for keeping "a close eye" on teachers as well as providing them with direction. The committee also assists staff by clarifying religious goals in relation to each subject. Staff typically view this intervention positively as it enables them to fulfill successfully the difficult task of Christian education to which they are all deeply committed.17

Thirdly, the decision to establish a Christian Parent-Controlled School was reinforced, and legitimated, by the conditions experienced by migrant children attending the local state primary school during the 1950s.18 Reports of alleged discriminatory treatment came from Dutch

17. This function of the Education Committee is considered to be particularly valuable in Australia where teachers have typically attended secular tertiary institutions and therefore have had no specific training in applying Reformed principles to academic disciplines. This differs from the situation in North America where "the bulk of teachers in the Christian day schools......have passed through Calvin College"(Bouma,1984:59).

18. At this time, Kingston Primary School was the only educational facility in the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area. It was necessary for older children to travel to Taroona for their high school education (see Appendix C: Map 4.1).
children of both Reformed and non-Reformed backgrounds. They included reports of Dutch children having to perform menial tasks such as cleaning toilets, being humiliated in front of the class and publicly questioned as to their right to be in Australia.

Some parents believed that the headmaster's prejudice towards migrants caused him to be 'cruel' to the Dutch children attending the state school. Others suggest that he was a strict disciplinarian who had a meagre understanding, if any, of migrants and their problems. His limited experience and training had not prepared him for a sudden influx of migrant students. These parents believed that he therefore took out his frustrations on the children.

Finally, the past experiences of Reformed Church members contributed to the decision to establish a Christian Parent-Controlled School. The majority of Reformed Dutch migrants had attended Christian day schools in the Netherlands and believed that their own children should receive a similar education. They were fortunate in that one of their members, employed as a teacher by the State Education Department at the time, was willing to assist in the development of a Christian day school from which his own children would benefit. This Reformed Dutch migrant became the founding headmaster and he remained in this position until 1976.

From the time of its establishment the Calvin Christian school was officially interdenominational and Australian (Watt, 1980):

"The Calvin Christian School is independent of either State or Church, and it is stressed that admission of children can be at any age and is not restricted by church affiliation" (Calvin Christian School, undated:8).

Nevertheless, since it was based on a unique educational creed, almost all its students during the 1960s were Reformed Church
members of Dutch origin. The unique nature of the school's educational objectives lay in its adherence to the three historical standards of Reformed Orthodoxy\textsuperscript{20} which had laid the foundation for the establishment of the Reformed Churches of Australia a decade earlier. In admitting students, preference was given to those who strictly adhered to this code. As a result, the student body was largely comprised of Reformed Church members together with a few Baptists, Lutherans and Plymouth Brethren.

This system of separate Christian education provided a context in which the Reformed Church members were able to protect their youth from disconfirming contacts with those who did not share their worldview (cf. Bouma, 1984:54). This was considered to be vitally important during the period in which they were attempting to learn about and acquire a commitment to Reformed principles. The Calvin School views this function as one of its most important and on this basis exhorts parents to choose this alternative:

"The success or failure in the life of a child can be due to his upbringing....Parents have a tremendous responsibility and privilege in caring and guiding their children ...(who) are not experienced enough to evaluate different viewpoints for themselves. When they start going to school, it is important that the influence of the teachers and older children has the same foundation as the values they have received in the home....During his formative years, a child growing in an atmosphere of indecision and conflicting views of right and wrong can be confused as to what is right and acceptable in the eyes of the Lord....Your decision can help him." (Calvin Christian School, undated:2-3).

The foregoing discussion demonstrates that the Reformed Dutch

\textsuperscript{19} The headmaster of the Calvin Christian School in 1981 estimated that 99\% of enrolments during the 1960s were children of Reformed Dutch migrants.

\textsuperscript{20} These are the Heidelberg Catechism, the Belgic Confession and the Canons of Dort.
migrants who settled in southern Tasmania during the 1950s and '60s belonged to a variety of organizations established by church members. Most of their time was spent in each other's company and there were limited opportunities for interaction with either non-Reformed Dutch migrants or the native-born Australian population.

Customs and traditions with which these migrants had been familiar in the Netherlands became part of their way of life in Tasmania. These included having more elaborate family celebrations on Saint Nicolaas Day than Christmas Day. Religious ceremonies also included traditional regional customs. For example, the wedding ceremony was characterized by a high degree of informality and involved all Reformed Church members. The bride and bridegroom would arrive at the church together; with them were the bridesmaids and both families. There was no groomsman or bestman and the father did not 'give away' his daughter. No rings were exchanged in the church and at the reception there were no formal speeches.

Traditional customs were also evident at the Calvin Christian School. In particular, the annual school fair which is arranged by the Parents' Association and held in October had a distinctively Dutch atmosphere. It became known as the 'Oliebollen Festival' after the doughnut-like fare, traditionally eaten on New Year's Eve in the Netherlands, which was sold in large quantities.

The Dutch language, and more particularly the Groningen dialect, was a common medium of communication both among students at the Calvin School and among adults in situations where there were no native-born Australians (Watt, 1980). It was not unusual to hear Dutch women speaking their native language in shops, on street corners and across fences. A Kingborough Council member's wife even went to the extent of learning Dutch so that she could converse more easily with the shopkeepers and the migrant women in Kingston.
While the social environment of the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area began to take on a Dutch atmosphere during the 1950s and '60s, so did its physical environment. Houses were built following the traditional Dutch style of brightly coloured exteriors with steep gabled roofs. This was particularly evident in the immediate vicinity of the Reformed Church and Maranoa Road where there was a concentration of residents of Dutch origin. Dutch builders recall traditional Dutch styles being imitated by Australian builders and decorators. This included the incorporation of large windows into houses which were then decorated with light weight curtains normally drawn throughout the day.

Interaction with non-Reformed Dutch and native-born Australians was limited. During the 1950s the Reformed Church membership included only a couple of native-born Australians both of whom were married to Dutch migrants. In the 1960s native-born Australians joined infrequently and typically remained as members for only a short period of time. When the Calvin Christian School was opened there was only one native-born Australian couple with membership in the Association for Christian Parent-Controlled Schools. Interaction with non-Reformed Church members of Dutch origin was largely confined to those who had been members of the Hervormde Kerk in the Netherlands and had chosen to join either the Presbyterian Church or the Baptist Church in Tasmania.

Prior to the 1950s native-born Australians in southern Tasmania had had extremely limited experiences of European migrants. They had no knowledge or understanding of the Reformed Church and tended to regard its members with suspicion. This attitude severely hindered any possibilities for the development of social relationships between them.

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21. This is consistent with the pattern in the Reformed Churches of Australia as a whole in which growth through transfers from other denominations has been small (see Appendix B: Table 4.3).
Native-born Australians perceived the 'community', whose distinctive traits were visible in the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area, as an ethnic community. They interpreted Dutch national origin to be the basis for membership in this community and explained the fact that members interacted mainly with each other in terms of their common Dutch background. Indicative of this perception was their common reference to the 'Dutch Reform Church' and the 'Dutch School'. As a consequence of this perception it was assumed that all Dutch migrants, regardless of specific background characteristics, were at least marginally involved in this 'community'.

The Process of Adaptation - Type 1

Using the socio-historical account of the settlement patterns of Reformed Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania an analysis of the process of adaptation will be made. Following the approach presented in Chapter Two this analysis will focus on processes of migration, organizational development, social networks and the identification of self and others.

Migration and Settlement

In studies of immigrant adaptation both the Netherlands and Australia are typically classified as modern societies. It logically follows from this classification scheme that Dutch migration consists of the movement of people from one modern social structure to another. Consequently, the assimilation of Dutch migrants into Australian society is expected to proceed quickly and with relative ease. As discussed previously, large scale studies of the adaptation of Dutch migrants in Australia appear to support this hypothesis.

The data presented in this chapter do not support this perspective. A more comprehensive analysis of Netherlands society demonstrates that within its political boundaries there exist communities which vary in their relative levels of modernity. The same is also true of Australian
society. It is therefore necessary to identify more precisely the social structures of the 'society of origin' and the 'receiving society' before the process of adaptation can be explained.

The Dutch migrants who settled in Kingborough during the 1950s and '60s were drawn from a number of orthodox Calvinist groups, the majority having been members of the Gereformeerde Kerken while some had belonged to the Hervormde Kerk. Members of the Gereformeerde Kerken are not randomly distributed in the Netherlands but are concentrated in the northern provinces, particularly in Groningen. Membership in this church thus coincides with common regional allegiance and common dialect.

These Reformed Dutch migrants were therefore atypical of the Dutch population prior to emigration. This was the result of their membership in a geographically concentrated and socially isolated minority religious group with a unique world-view. They migrated to Tasmania from a traditional, relatively undifferentiated social structure in which social ties between members were diffuse and strong; quasi-kinship in nature.

'Settlement' is a process in which the migrant adapts to the existing institutional structure of the receiving society, a response resulting from his typically limited economic and information resources. The migrant's main concern is to meet his immediate needs, for accommodation and employment, as quickly as possible so that he can establish a degree of economic security for himself and his family.

Breton (1964) points out that these needs can be met through the integration of the migrant in any number of communities in the receiving society. These include the host community, the migrant's own 'ethnic community' and other 'ethnic' communities. The range of communities available to the immigrant, however, is dependent upon
the level of modernity in the receiving society and its immigration history.

Prior to World War Two non-British immigration to Australia had been limited but to Tasmania it had been negligible. Tasmania has been described as economically 'stagnant' prior to the Second World War (Townsley, 1976:6) and although it developed rapidly in the twenty years after the war the average growth was, nevertheless, much less than in the mainland states (Townsley, 1976:6).

After the war, Tasmania maintained a social structure which can be described as relatively less modern than that of the mainland states. The main exception to this process of non-modernization was in the manufacturing sector. Factory development increased rapidly after 1939 so that by the 1960s Tasmania "was relatively more industrialized than Western Australia and Queensland and the per capita value of production approximated that of South Australia" (Townsley, 1976:5). Post-war immigration did not increase greatly (Townsley, 1976:6-7) so that the Tasmanian population remained relatively homogenous in ethnic terms. Thus, for post-war Dutch migrants settling in Tasmania there did not exist a number of ethnic communities within which they could become integrated. For them, settlement necessarily took place within the constraints of the relatively non-modernized institutional structure of the host community.

Through a process of chain migration during the 1950s a large number of Reformed Dutch migrants arrived in southern Tasmania as a relatively cohesive group. They were predominantly single males who had been sponsored and employed by a construction company which was owned and managed by Dutch migrants of similar background. The Australian Construction Company was located in a geographically isolated rural area and the residential pattern of its employees was characterized by a high level of concentration.
The characteristics of this chain migration were caused by a combination of the conditions set out in the Australian Immigration Act and the particular requirements of the directors of the Australian Construction Company. The Australian Immigration Act required potential immigrants to have a sponsor in Australia and some form of employment pre-arranged prior to the time of emigration.22 The directors of the Australian Construction Company perceived a need to recruit skilled tradesmen from Europe and since they had contacts in Groningen the majority were recruited from this area.

During the initial stages of settlement the directors and employees of the Australian Construction Company had limited economic resources to draw upon. The directors received assistance from the building industry and the government, however, in establishing a company which the government recognized had the potential to assist in the further expansion of the post-war Tasmanian economy. More importantly, the directors and its employees had important marketable skills which enabled the Australian Construction Company to achieve success rapidly. These included the business and management skills of the directors and the unique expertise and experience of its employees in the area of large-scale concrete construction. The knowledge and skills gained from involvement in a competitive European market enabled this company to successfully establish itself in the more traditional, less competitive market conditions in Tasmania. As a result, the traditional xenophobic attitudes of members of the host community were rekindled and the assistance given to the Australian Construction Company declined and eventually disappeared.

22. Sponsorship was not a necessary condition for assisted passage; however, those migrants without sponsors were subject to the authority and control of the Australian Government. Accommodation was provided for non-sponsored migrants at one of the 'migrant camps' such as Bonegilla in New South Wales until they had acquired work. This was acquired either through the assistance of the Australian Government or, as occurred more frequently, through the migrants' own efforts. The length of stay at a migrant camp was expected to be no more than six weeks. In contrast, sponsored migrants went directly to their pre-arranged accommodation and place of employment.
During the 1950s the social networks of the Reformed Dutch migrants who had settled in Kingborough were characterized by closure based on a common economic situation, common occupation and residential proximity. This was further reinforced by their involvement in common recreational and leisure activities. The building of each others' homes, while providing a context in which long-term bonds of friendship could be created and strengthened, also left these migrants with little time or opportunity to establish relationships with members of the host community.

There was a limited number of social contexts in which these Dutch migrants interacted with native-born Australians. Interaction occurred in the areas of religion and education due to the necessity of joining organizations, namely the Presbyterian Church and Kingston Primary School, which were part of the existing institutional structure of the receiving society. However, rather than providing a context in which long-term relationships could be established, interaction within the church and the school led to conflicts. Such conflicts intensified, rather than reduced, the apparent distinctions between the native-born Australian population and the Dutch migrants who had settled in Kingborough.

The attempt to create a wider support network in the receiving society was evident in the development of a voluntary association of Dutch migrants of varying backgrounds. However, traditional cleavages in Dutch social relations soon evolved within this 'club'. The ensuing split, in which the Reformed Dutch migrants established their own 'club', served to further isolate them from interaction with 'outsiders' and to strengthen the pattern of social closure which characterized their interpersonal relationships.
Adaptation Through Community Development - Organizational Structure and Social Networks

After the initial stage of settlement, migrants typically experience conditions of improved financial security, increased access to information and growing familiarity with the normative expectations of members of the receiving society. They enter a stage in which they are increasingly able to interact with, rather than simply adapt to, their social situation. In Bouma's terms (undated:7), they are able to embark on an exercise in 'social engineering', a process in which they assist in creating their own social environment.

When undertaken by groups rather than individuals it is apparent that this process of 'social engineering' might actually transform the organizational structure of the receiving society, thus altering the social context within which the process of immigrant adaptation takes place. The development of an institutionally-complete 'ethnic community' exemplifies this process. In the following section it will become clear that the Reformed Dutch migrants who settled in Kingborough embarked on such a process.

Breton (1964:204) has noted that the development of an institutionally-complete 'ethnic' community is dependent upon the existence of some distinguishing characteristic which differentiates the migrant group from members of the host community.23 The Dutch migrants referred to in this chapter were distinguished from other members of the receiving society (including native-born Australians and other Dutch migrants) by a number of factors. These included chain migration, common national and regional origin, geographical isolation, common occupation, urban background in a predominantly rural

23. A problem in Breton's analysis arises from the fact that he assumes the prior existence of a group structure. The present analysis has demonstrated, through the discussion of the closure of social networks, that such a group structure existed among the Reformed Dutch migrants in Kingborough during the 1950s.
environment, a unique dialect and previous membership in a minority religion.

From the migrants' own perspective, the most important of this range of distinguishing characteristics was their unique religious worldview. The principles of orthodox Reformed theology differ significantly from most 'modern' Protestant denominations. In fact, Bouma (1984:6) has noted that "the basic flow of Western ... life since the Renaissance has been toward a more congenial and optimistic view of man" than that held by orthodox Calvinism.

No religious organization existed in the receiving society which could cater to the unique religious requirements of Reformed Dutch migrants. They therefore began the process of constructing a structural base for the maintenance of their worldview. Their desire to maintain the purity of their faith motivated them to begin a process of 'social engineering', of developing a 'plausibility structure' for maintaining the viability of their belief system in a hostile environment.

They considered it their moral responsibility to establish specialized organizations through which they could maintain the purity of their religious worldview. Two other conditions for the successful achievement of this goal also existed among them. First, the closed social networks of the Reformed Dutch migrants in Kingborough reflected the existence of a 'public' or 'clientele' for such specialized organizations. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, they possessed the knowledge and skills which would enable them to establish a successful 'plausibility structure'. This had been gained through their own experiences as members of orthodox Reformed communities in the Netherlands. In addition, their socialization experiences within this minority religious group provided them with a belief system which legitimated this task.

24. A 'plausibility structure' is "that social infrastructure required to maintain the believability of a particular belief system" (Bouma, undated:28).
The process began with the decision to establish their own denomination, the Reformed Churches of Australia. When the church took over responsibility for the sponsorship and settlement of migrants the previously established pattern of chain migration was maintained and strengthened. The construction of the Reformed Church at Kingston provided another context in which these Dutch migrants could interact and further isolated them from others in the receiving society.

The Reformed Church at Kingston, once operational, played an important part in developing and strengthening the extensive network of interaction patterns which characterized these Dutch migrants. Its organizational structure included a wide variety of associations, committees and publications which involved all age groups and pervaded almost every aspect of life.

The Reformed Church was central to their lives and the lives of their children during the 1950s and '60s. It can be viewed as the axis around which their lives revolved. As such it acted as an extremely important social context in the formation of social network patterns and thus, community development. It defined the norms and values by which they lived, it served as an agent of socialization of the young and had the authority to judge and punish deviant behaviour in relation to all aspects of members' daily lives.

The process of organizational development which began with the establishment of the Kingston Reformed Church was accelerated in the early 1960s by the opening of the Calvin Christian School. While the school was officially interdenominational and non-ethnic, its unique educational creed meant that students, staff and parents were predominantly Dutch migrants of the Reformed faith. In addition, members of the Reformed Church were encouraged to join its organizing body, the Association for Christian Parent-Controlled Schools, whether or not they had children enrolled. Once established, it
provided a basis for the development of numerous youth organizations such as sporting clubs, debating societies and musical groups. Thus, the school and its related organizations provided an additional context in which the Reformed world-view could be taken-for-granted in an atmosphere of support from peers and teachers who also acted as role-models for younger children.

The effect of the school was to reinforce social ties between community members, further limiting the opportunities for interaction with other members of the receiving society, not only among the first generation but also among the second. Together with the Reformed Church it served as an agent of socialization of the young into the norms and values of the community. Since children spend such a large part of their time at school it ensured that most interaction would occur with others who shared their belief system. In addition, it further decreased the children's access to 'outside', faith-disconfirming influences. Thus, with religious, educational and recreational activities organized by members of the Reformed Church, the children's social networks were relatively closed. They included mainly those with similar backgrounds thereby ensuring that they internalized the norms and values of the Reformed faith.

The existence of a second tangible structure representing this community of Dutch migrants further reinforced the host community's perception of its members as 'different'. The fact that this structure was a school was significant since it symbolized the desire and ability of community members to transmit these 'differences' to the next generation. The community thus began to acquire a sense of permanence. It could no longer be perceived as a purely temporary phenomenon.

The success of the Reformed Church and the Calvin Christian school as agents of socialization, achieved in large part through their
capacity to maintain closed social networks among members, is reflected in the very high retention rates in the church and the high rate of in-group marriage.

The women's social networks were also characterized by closure. The majority were not members of the workforce, their major role being a domestic one. In the initial stages of settlement very close social ties developed among the women as a result of their isolation, loneliness in the absence of their husbands, their lack of competence in the English language (Watt, 1980) and limited knowledge of Australian cultural traditions. These closed social networks were reinforced when the men returned home as a result of the high degree of closure in the male social networks. The process of organizational development which took place during the 1950s and '60s directly affected female social networks. The establishment of the church, school and other organizations provided an increasing range of contexts in which these Reformed Dutch women could interact thereby reinforcing the closure of their social networks.

In summary, during the 1950s and '60s the Reformed Dutch migrants who settled in Kingborough developed a community with a high level of institutional completeness and a relatively undifferentiated social structure similar to that from which they had emigrated. The community was characterized by the closure of social networks and limited interaction with others in the receiving society. Membership was largely ascribed with ties between members being quasi-kinship in nature. The community was able to maintain itself and grow in size as a result of its successful mechanisms of social control leading to a low rate of withdrawals; a high rate of in-group marriages together with a high birth rate and; most importantly, continued immigration of Reformed Dutch migrants through sponsorship by friends and relatives.

This institutionally-complete community, however, was not totally segregated from the institutional structure of the receiving
society. Links to the host community did exist and altered over time. The changing nature of these links was, in part, the result of the increasing level of institutional completeness which characterized the 'ethnic' community throughout the process of adaptation. Social relationships between members of the 'ethnic' and host communities, however, were typically specific rather than diffuse.

Economic ties were probably the first to be established between members of the 'ethnic' and host communities. A process of occupational dispersion began as soon as the Australian Construction Company had reached its optimum size. Migrants who were sponsored through the church gained employment in diverse fields, often in unskilled work in areas unrelated to their previous occupation. However, the religious world-view of Reformed Dutch migrants affected their attitudes towards work, their behaviour in the workplace and their relationships with workmates. Their 'work ethic' which was supported and legitimated by their conservative Calvinist beliefs, hindered the development of relationships with native-born Australians. As a consequence, many found support in the company of their own kind, a situation which kept interaction with native-born Australian workers to a minimum.

The employment careers of many of these early migrants was characterized by rapid upward mobility. Entrepreneurial activity was highly valued and many established their own small businesses in Kingston. Many of those who had been sponsored and employed by the Australian Construction Company did likewise. The economic base of the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area thus expanded at the same time as the

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25. This was partly a result of the Australian government's policy of non-acceptance of overseas qualifications. Since a large proportion of Dutch migrants had gained qualifications in the Netherlands, this policy had a particularly strong effect on the members of this category. Thus, for many Dutch migrants the process of migration was characterized by downward mobility. This was typically followed, however, by rapid upward mobility during the process of adaptation.
organizational structure of the 'ethnic' community developed.

To a limited extent Reformed Dutch migrants also became dispersed into the wider business community. Managerial positions in large firms were taken up either in Kingston or the city. Those who held these 'hiring and firing' positions could, and often did, employ members of their own community. Through this practice, community networks were extended into the host society although they involved only a few individuals.

Links with the host community were also created through marriage. These were limited in number, however, and rather tenuous often leading to the withdrawal of the individual from the 'ethnic' community. It occurred in the early stages of settlement among a few Dutch migrants whose social networks included native-born Australians. These networks were created through involvement in common contexts such as sporting activities. Once the organizational development of the community increased, however, intermarriage became much less common.

Religion also provided a context in which links were created between the 'ethnic' and host community. Some of those who were part of the closed interpersonal networks established during settlement had been members of the Hervormde Kerk rather than the more orthodox Gereformeerde Kerken in the Netherlands. Most chose to join the Reformed Churches of Australia. Here, among their friends and familiar traditions, they felt comfortable and after a time became increasingly orthodox in their beliefs. Others preferred to join more liberal Protestant denominations in the host community, mainly Presbyterian and Baptist. While maintaining social ties with members of the Reformed Church they provided an important link between the 'ethnic' and host communities.
Individuals who, through marriage or church membership had become part of social networks which included both Reformed Church members and native-born Australians, typically differed from the majority of those in the community in some important characteristic. These included status, province of origin, language, residential location, mode of migration, time of migration, stage of life-cycle, children's schooling or religious orthodoxy.

Links with the host community also existed in the context of education. Prior to the establishment of the Calvin Christian School the children of Reformed Dutch migrants attended the local state schools. Even when the Calvin Christian School opened it initially only educated primary students who were then required to attend the state high school to complete their education. Although the social networks of these high school students were characterized by a high degree of closure some students deviated from this pattern. Interaction with native-born Australians in this context sometimes led to rebellion and eventual withdrawal from the Reformed Church community.

Residential dispersion occurred along with the process of organizational development taking place in the 'ethnic' community. It was caused, in part, by the parallel processes of occupational mobility and dispersion. The establishment of the Hobart Reformed Church in 1960 both reflected and, in turn, assisted in the residential dispersion of its members. Thus, the establishment of a second Reformed Church in southern Tasmania served to further strengthen the structural base of this community. This process of institutional completeness had reached a point at which geographical isolation was no longer necessary for the maintenance of group cohesion.

The nature of the links with the receiving society altered over time. In short, the process of increased organizational development led to increased closure in the social networks of community members. At
the same time, however, occupational and residential dispersion increased.

The Identification of Self and Others

Identification processes are grounded in social structure. Identities are socially created and sustained and thus do not vary independently of interaction patterns. The identification of self and others can therefore be analyzed by focussing on the process through which boundaries are delineated and perceived by both in-group members and 'outsiders'.

The religious world-view of the Reformed Dutch migrants who settled in Kingborough was one characteristic which differentiated them from other members of the receiving society. It led to the following of behavioural norms which were not conducive to the development of social ties with 'outsiders'. In order to maintain the purity of their religious beliefs they established a community with a high degree of institutional completeness which was eventually able to maintain itself without the constraint of geographical isolation.

The community was characterized by the existence of a wide range of formal organizations and voluntary associations and the closure of social networks. The density, durability and intensity of social ties in this network increased over time as relatively specific role relationships were transformed into diffuse quasi-kinship ties. As a result, the community's boundaries were clearly defined by a variety of factors including nationality, regionality, dialect and religion. When applied in this situation, the concept of 'ethnicity' encompasses all of these shared characteristics and the 'we-feeling' felt by community members. For these migrants, religious commitment was part of their ethnic heritage. Religion and ethnicity overlapped and reinforced each other.

The overlap in ethnicity and religion is clearly illustrated by an analysis of Reformed Church membership. In theory, one could join the
Reformed Churches of Australia irrespective of ethnic origin. The only requirement was a strong commitment to the tenets of orthodox Reformed theology. In reality, however, this world-view was shared by very few conservative Calvinist denominations none of which was represented in Tasmania prior to the establishment of the Kingston Reformed Church. Since commitment to such a unique world-view is typically acquired through a long-term socialization programme it becomes clear why membership in the Reformed Church was, in practice, confined to Dutch migrants of Reformed background.

A similar process occurred in relation to involvement in the Calvin Christian School. Although officially interdenominational and, like the church, non-ethnic, its unique educational creed produced a situation where, in practice, those involved in the school were predominantly Dutch migrants of Reformed background.

Initially, the most significant differentiating characteristic of these migrants had been their religious world-view. It was this characteristic which had motivated them to embark on the process of 'social engineering' which culminated in the development of an institutionally-complete community functioning as a 'plausibility structure' for Reformed orthodoxy. However, an unintended consequence of this process was the maintenance of 'ethnicity' as a salient feature of social interaction among community members.

Just as the 'culture' of the community established by Reformed Dutch migrants was both ethnic and religious in nature, so were the social ties between members. The closed social networks and diffuse relationships among members can be described as ethno-religious. Thus, in each social context in which members were consciously expressing their religious world-view, they were also consciously and unconsciously expressing their 'ethnicity' in a shared and taken-for-granted common reality. In the same way, the salience of ethnicity was
transmitted to the second generation through both formal and informal socialization processes.

The community boundaries were thus defined by both religion and ethnicity. However, the relative salience of ethnicity or religion in the process of the identification of self and others varied across situational contexts and over time.

On their arrival in Tasmania, these Reformed Dutch migrants accepted the assimilationist orientation which had been presented to them by both the Australian and the Netherlands governments. Their desire to 'become Australian' is illustrated by their high rate of naturalization as soon as possible after meeting residential requirements. It is also evident in the foreword to the 1961 *Yearbook of the Reformed Churches of Australia*. Written by a prominent Reformed Church minister it represents the official viewpoint of the church:

"We are warned against making overhasted (sic) statements. Immigration is a process, and its results are not to be judged after ten years, but rather after generations....Nevertheless....compared with Canada we surely have the favourite (sic) conditions of smaller congregations, with the advantage of getting integrated sooner" (VanderBom, 1961:7; italics added).

In the same publication, in which he surveys the history of the church from 1959 -1961, VanderBom again emphasises religious over and above ethnic considerations:

"It is true that some Australians have become interested in our cause, but there are only the very few that have joined hands with us to serve the common cause, and make our churches more fit to fulfill their earnest desire to become Reformed Churches of Australia. Our name is clear enough. At every suitable occasion it is advertised that we have our Australian and New Zealand
born ministers ....However, the stigma that we are so Dutch, so foreign, still torments us (VanderBom, 1961:5-6; italics added).

The members of this community defined themselves as a religious rather than an ethnic group. They attempted to demonstrate their identification with Australian society by stressing that the church was established on purely religious grounds and that the school was interdenominational and non-ethnic. During this period, religious identity took precedence over ethnic identity in the presentation of self.

In some contexts, however, ethnic identification was significant. This is apparent during the initial stages of settlement when migrants were attempting to create a support network within the receiving society. The fact that they initially attended the meetings of Dutch migrants of varying backgrounds is indicative of the salience of ethnicity in the process of self-identification. The anxieties created by the naturalization ceremony is another indicator of the significance of ethnicity. This process required Dutch migrants to renounce their allegiance to Queen Juliana who was an extremely popular monarch at the time.

Ethnic identification was even stronger among those who had lived in the Dutch East Indies where their Dutch identity had been significant in social interaction. It had conferred status on them in the colonial social structure and was one of the criteria for membership into the elite. Once in Tasmania, the social networks of these migrants typically included a greater proportion of non-Reformed Dutch migrants than was true for the majority of Reformed Church members.

This process in which the relative salience of ethnicity and religion altered across situations demonstrates the dynamic nature of community boundaries. Group identity was thus negotiable and dependent upon the situational context.
Native-born Australians interpreted the desire of Reformed Dutch migrants to establish their own organizations and to interact predominantly with each other as a consequence of their ethnicity. The religious differences were not meaningful to them and therefore were not recognized as a significant basis for categorization. On the other hand, 'ethnic' differences in the form of language and folkways, were visible. Furthermore, the dominant ideology and political rhetoric of the post-war era legitimated the process of labelling groups on the basis of their ethnicity (cf. Martin, 1978: 207-210).

While this chapter has presented an analytical description of the development of a Dutch 'community' in southern Tasmania it has been necessary to oversimplify the situation for ease of exposition. In reality, a complex set of links exists between members of the ethno-religious community and others in the receiving society which constantly alter the context within which adaptation occurs thereby affecting the very process of adaptation itself. The complexity of this process will become evident in the next chapter which describes and analyzes the adaptation of Dutch migrants who were not members of the Reformed Church.
CHAPTER FIVE: THE DUTCH IN TASMANIA: TYPE 2 -
INDIVIDUAL MIGRATION AND DISPERSION

Dutch migration to Tasmania began in the late 1940s and continued throughout the 1950s and '60s. The category of Dutch migrants included a significant proportion whose social characteristics differed from those of Reformed background described in the previous chapter. The present chapter describes and analyzes the process of adaptation which characterizes the remaining members of this category.

These migrants constituted an heterogenous category in terms of background characteristics. They emigrated from a number of different provinces in the Netherlands and spoke various dialects of which the language of Frieslanders was the most distinctive. They varied in terms of religious affiliation and included a significant proportion of both Catholics and those declaring themselves as non-religious. They varied in terms of class, marital status, age, stage of life-cycle, year and mode of migration. In addition, some had spent a considerable period of time in the Netherlands Indies prior to migrating to Australia.

The decision to migrate was made by individual families so that many were unaware of acquaintances who had made similar decisions. This is clearly illustrated through an incident which occurred in 1983 recorded in the writer's field notes:

Mr. de Witte attended a function recently and, to his very great surprise, met an old school friend from the Netherlands. He was obviously delighted and asked him why he was visiting Australia. He then discovered that his old school friend had been living in Australia for twenty-five years. In the course of the conversation he further discovered that they had both migrated on the same ship.
Gereformeerde stream is extremely low and thus points to a very different pattern of adaptation among non-Reformed Dutch migrants. Migration was clearly an individual rather than a 'group' phenomenon and was followed by a variety of adaptive strategies in the receiving society.

**Migration from the Netherlands**

Many of these Dutch migrants emigrated from large city centres such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. Those from rural areas typically travelled to the city to inquire about emigrating. In these cities information about migration was available from a number of different agencies representing the governments of receiving societies and the 'social blocs' comprising the basis of Netherlands' society.

Overberg (1981) has succinctly outlined the ideologies of the different bloc organizations and demonstrated how these influenced the level of assistance provided for migrants in the receiving society. In this way, the particular organization chosen by the migrant became an important factor directly affecting the process of settlement in the receiving society. Three bloc organizations can be distinguished: the secular government, the Catholic and the Protestant.

The Dutch government consciously encouraged those emigrating to Australia to strive towards the goal of assimilation. It stressed that the migrant was "personally responsible for his migration" (Overberg, 1981:20) and therefore should not expect (and indeed should not desire) any structural accommodations by the receiving society. Acting in accordance with this view, the Dutch authorities did not establish any organizations in Australia to assist migrants during settlement and believed it was unnecessary for the Australian government to do so. A publication for post-war emigrants to Australia clearly stated the Dutch government's viewpoint:

"It should not need any explanation that the reality of
migration rests completely on the do-it-yourself mentality of the migrant. Here and there a helping hand may be useful, in rare cases of exceptional need. The mentality of the migrant must be exclusively directed to himself solving his own problems. With such an attitude, good results in Australia, that splendid immigration country whose people are such good friends of the Dutch, are virtually assured" (Emigratie, 1956 cited in Overberg, 1981:21).

Once the migrant had left the Netherlands he was clearly of no concern to the Dutch government. He would be left alone to solve his own problems in Australia, ideally by assimilating. To achieve this goal he was encouraged, prior to departure, to begin abandoning his uniquely Dutch traits so that he could quickly become 'an Australian'.

Although Dutch migrants who utilized the government migration agencies constituted an heterogenous category they were predominantly single males or young couples, many of whom were already independent of close family and friendship networks in the Netherlands. Some had been sponsored by relatives or family acquaintances residing in Australia. Unlike members of the Reformed Church the existence of these ties was not a significant factor in providing the initial motivation to emigrate or in determining the choice of destination. They were typically very distant ties which were only mobilized during the initial settlement period for the purpose of finding accommodation and/or employment. Recognizing the need to assimilate, however, the majority soon turned away from dependence on such ties.

These migrants strongly believed that they would become assimilated through their own individual effort. On their arrival in Australia they typically put a great deal of effort into learning the English language so that it could become the 'normal' medium of
communication in the home. They recall spending many hours attempting to read newspapers and magazines and listening intently to the radio. They consciously chose not to teach their children to speak the Dutch language and sought opportunities to interact with native-born Australians rather than other Dutch migrants.

The ideologies of the religious agencies involved in emigration were also assimilationist in orientation. However, unlike the government organizations, they were concerned to follow up the migrants and assist them in achieving a satisfactory level of adjustment in their adopted country. The links established between the *Gereformeerde Kerken* in the Netherlands and the Reformed Churches of Australia were detailed in the previous chapter. Significantly, those links were mainly established on an informal and personal basis between members of the two churches. On the other hand, the assistance provided by the Catholic Church was more formalized than that provided by Reformed Church members.

At the national level, Dutch Catholics in Australia were the official responsibility of the Dutch Catholic Migration Office (DDCMA). This organization was established to maintain continuity in the migration experience of Dutch Catholics through the assistance of a number of Dutch chaplains working in the migrant reception centres and the capital cities (Overberg, 1981:22). The functioning of this organization needs to be viewed within the overall context of the Australian Catholic Church which included within its hierarchy a number of bodies with responsibility for the welfare of migrants.

Lewins (1978:8) has demonstrated that Rome's ideology concerning migrants was universalistic. In other words, religion was viewed as encompassing the whole of man's life such that ethnic diversity was subsumed within the religious realm (Lewins, 1978:8). Rome thus supported a process of 'integration' which involved "a
mutual sharing of the qualities of both the host and migrant culture" (Lewins, 1978:12). Nevertheless, the onus to adapt lay on the migrant rather than the receiving society and it was believed that 'integration' should not occur "at the expense of natural rights and with harm to the religious and moral values of the migrants" (Lewins, 1978:12). Rome therefore declared that migrants had an obligation to learn the language of the receiving society. At the same time, however, they had:

"not only the right, but also the duty of preserving whatever is sacred and precious in their own language, in their own culture, in their traditions and in the history of the country of origin" (Lewins, 1978:12).

According to Rome's ideology migrants had special needs which required special care until religious integration had been achieved. The Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia* (EF) dated 1st August 1952 was the first major document issued by Rome concerning migrants. With reference to these special needs it stated that:

"migrants in foreign lands should be given spiritual assistance by 'priests .... of the same language or nationality' (11(4)33)" (Lewins, 1978:14).

*Exsul Familia* gave local ordinaries two alternative methods of providing spiritual care for Catholic migrants: national parishes or missions with the care of souls.

Lewins defines national parishes as "juridically instituted, non-territorial parishes containing all members of a particular national group scattered over a defined area, with their own ethnic priest who has full parochial powers" (1978:53). A mission with the care of souls was an alternative method of providing pastoral care for the migrant in his own language. It involved a missionary priest who remained attached to his own diocese in the emigrant country while he worked in the immigration country. His power was cumulative with that of the pastor of the territorial parish in which the mission was located (Lewins,
Statements emanating from Rome concerning migrants, in particular those in *Exsul Familia* which can be regarded as legislation, clearly encouraged local ordinaries to develop special arrangements for the pastoral care of migrants in Australia. However, the Australian Catholic hierarchy did not respond by implementing either of the alternative methods suggested in *Exsul Familia*. By the time *Exsul Familia* appeared the Australian bishops had already "reached a policy decision toward migrants: to minimize national differences and 'accelerate as much as possible the complete Australianisation of the immigrant' " (Lewins, 1978:53). Migrant settlement was viewed as a process in which the migrant, not the Australian Catholic Church, had to change (Lewins, 1978:36). Furthermore, migrant chaplains were viewed as auxiliaries to the parish priest and consistent with this view, a decision was made in the early 1950s "not to give migrant chaplains parochial powers" (Lewins, 1978:55). This decision automatically precluded the possibility of establishing the alternative, a mission with the care of souls.

The Australian bishops believed that the existing parish structure should remain intact. They thus established a system of organizations within the existing church structure to cope specifically with migration questions. The structure with the widest frame of reference was the Federal Catholic Immigration Committee (FCIC) established in 1947 by the Australian Episcopal Conference. Its function was to:

"attend to .... all matters concerning Catholic Migration; in particular, to provide spiritual care for all Catholic immigrants; to assist in their integration into parochial and community life; to act in liaison with governmental and other organizations in the interests of Catholic immigrants" (Lewins, 1978:43; emphasis added)

An additional function of the FCIC was to act as agent for the
International Catholic Migrant Loan Fund (ICMLF). The original aim of this fund was "to arrange loans so as to unite families, and in particular to provide assistance for potential immigrants who were unable to find assisted passage to Australia. Between 1952 and 1971 it made interest free loans to 45,000 migrants, an amount totalling $13 million" (Lewins, 1978:44).1

The FCIC thus formed a link between the Catholic Church and the federal and state immigration departments. In particular, it supplemented the government's official immigration programme by sponsoring 'difficult cases' and arranging for the admission of migrant chaplains into Australia. These so-called 'difficult cases' included 'unaccompanied minors' and 'single women' who were not covered by the Australian Government's migration assistance (Lewins, 1978:43). Importantly, in accordance with the policy of the bishops, the FCIC opposed migrants having their own structures for pastoral care and saw the assimilation of migrants as the responsibility of the bishop and the parish priest, not the migrant chaplain (Lewins, 1978:44). In short, the FCIC strongly supported the parish-centred nature of the status quo.

The day-to-day problems associated with migration were handled by the diocesan immigration offices (DIO) which were established in all capital cities between 1946 and 1950. These DIOs were not branch offices of the FCIC. They functioned independently of each other and their directors were responsible only to their respective diocesan bishops (Lewins, 1978:45-46). However, despite this independence they shared a similar view on Catholic migration and, like the bishops and the FCIC, regarded "the territorial parish as the structure into which the migrant should be integrated" (Lewins, 1978:48).

The Dutch Catholic Central Migration Office (DDCMA) functioned overall repayment rate for these loans (Lewins, 1978:25-26).
as part of the overall system of structures established by the Catholic Church and adopted a similar perspective on church-migrant relationships. Dutch chaplains were responsible to both the DDCMA and the Australian Catholic hierarchy which opposed the concept of a Dutch national parish. They believed that the existing structure should remain intact; that migrants were assimilable and that care for Catholic migrants must be seen as a temporary measure and Dutch priests merely as auxiliaries to the parish priest (Overberg, 1981:22).

Lewins (1978) argues that the manner in which the Australian Catholic Church responded to the issue of special care for migrants was Australian rather than Catholic in nature. That is to say, it reflected Australian cultural attitudes of the time, in particular the value of assimilation. Despite this orientation, the Australian Catholic bishops were bound, in accordance with Rome's universalistic ideology, to accept and support Catholic immigration to Australia. Thus, in the post-war years, the bishops firmly articulated their commitment to migration and their belief that migration developed Australia economically. At the same time, however, they attempted to play down the effect of cultural diversity among Catholic migrants in order to speed up the process of Australianisation.

This perspective is reflected in the Australian bishops' support for the rural settlement of migrants. Specifically, they pointed to the advantages of "wedding migration to land settlement" (Lewins, 1978:38). Lewins suggests, however, that this support for the rural settlement of migrants and its economic advantages was:

"aided by the bishops' awareness of the then prevailing prejudice of Australians towards migrants and the fear that migrants would threaten Australian jobs. Although not explicitly stated, it was implied more than once that the rural settlement of migrants was an 'out of sight, out of mind' solution to the potential
problem of large numbers of migrants settling in hostile Australian cities" (Lewins, 1978:38).

In other words, support for rural settlement can be viewed as an example of accommodation to the sentiments of the Australian public. As such it further illustrates the *Australian* nature of the bishops' response to migrants.

Support for the rural settlement of migrants was widespread in the Australian Catholic Church. Among its proponents was a Dutch chaplain located in Melbourne during the 1950s, Father Leo Maas, who in addition to his pastoral work, became well-known for the support he gave to Dutch migrants settling in rural areas. He initiated the Father Maas Scheme for Rural Settlement which predominantly attracted farmhands with large families, a category for whom immigration was generally discouraged by the Australian government (Overberg, 1981:21).

Among the Catholics of Dutch origin in Tasmania there are some who migrated through the assistance of the Father Maas Scheme for Rural Settlement. The majority spent their early years of settlement in Victoria where initial employment was provided. Typically, the decision to move to Tasmania was made at a later stage as a result of changing employment opportunities. Those who borrowed money from the ICMLF to migrate to Australia were careful to distinguish themselves from those who had arrived under the Assisted Passage Scheme. They did not define themselves as 'migrants', preferring to reserve this derogatory term for those who had not paid their own passage. Despite experiencing difficulties during initial settlement, they believed that they were much 'luckier' than 'migrants' who had had to endure worse conditions in migrant camps such as Bonegilla.2

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2 Bonegilla, near Albury-Wodonga on the border of New South Wales and Victoria, was one of the migrant reception centres established by the Australian government in the early post-war years.
The decision to emigrate under this rural settlement scheme was typically made by those with no relatives or friends in Australia who could sponsor them or by those 'difficult cases' who were ineligible for government assistance. The majority, therefore, had no kinship or friendship networks in Australia on whom they could depend for support. This led them to continue to rely on assistance from the Catholic Church and its migrant bodies for a longer period of time than was typical of other Dutch Catholics. Among these others, assistance from migrant bodies was rejected very soon after arrival since they believed that rapid assimilation was the goal they should be striving to achieve at all cost. These attitudes were further reinforced and legitimated by the attitudes and responses of both Australian Catholics (clergy and laity) and the host community as a whole.

For those emigrating from the Netherlands, the major motivation was the desire to achieve occupational success, particularly when opportunities were limited in the society of origin. The major goal was thus to improve one's economic and/or social status. The importance of the latter goal is reflected in the present attitude of those who are financially secure but whose social status has not improved dramatically since emigrating thirty years ago. They tend to describe themselves as 'unsuccessful' and may even define themselves as 'failures'. For those with professional careers (for example, engineers and musicians), experience overseas was perceived as advantageous in developing skills which would improve career prospects. Still others were searching for 'adventure', 'wide open spaces' or 'freedom' from crowds and overbearing family responsibilities. The latter category included many who were attracted by the provision in the Assisted Passage Scheme for free return passage to the Netherlands within two years of emigrating.

Migration from Indonesia

The category of Dutch migrants in Tasmania includes some who migrated from Indonesia (formerly the Netherlands Indies), a process
which began in the late 1940s and continued through to the late 1950s.

Many of those who emigrated to Australia had financial, religious or kinship ties with the country and had been resident in Indonesia for an extended period of time. They included colonial administrators and 'merchant princes' who initially migrated to the major business centres of Sydney and Melbourne. Those without contacts in Australia included army personnel who had been posted to Indonesia between 1945 and 1949 when the country was suffering from civil unrest before sovereignty was formally transferred to Indonesia. On their return to the Netherlands these soldiers had received an unexpectedly hostile response from the Dutch people which motivated them to emigrate.

The migration of Dutch nationals from Indonesia was politically motivated. Many of these 'political refugees' had resided for so long in Indonesia that they identified themselves as Dutch 'colonials' rather than Dutch. Consequently, repatriation did not appeal to them and they chose to emigrate to Australia. The Indonesian government had 'frozen' all material assets owned by Dutch nationals so that the majority had limited personal resources to rely on during the process of settlement. Nevertheless, they were in a position to mobilize economic and social ties which had been established earlier.

Migration and Settlement

Regardless of the particular point of departure or the migration agency employed, the Dutch migrants arriving in Australia can be divided into four categories on the basis of two important variables relating to mode of migration: government assistance and sponsorship (see Figure 5.1, below).

Government assistance and sponsorship significantly influence the process of settlement by determining the availability and nature of resources which the immigrant can mobilize to satisfy immediate
accommodation and employment needs. The four categories cross-cut the religious, regional and class differentiation described earlier thus leading to an even greater range of adaptive strategies in the receiving society.

Despite this diversity, patterns of adaptation can be identified which result from characteristics relating to the nature and timing of government assistance and sponsorship. The government assistance scheme was available during a particular time period and affected the size of Dutch migration to Australia in various years. In addition, the mode of transport utilised by this scheme and the nature and location of accommodation provided by the government directly affected the nature of ties among Dutch migrants and their access to members of the receiving society. Government assistance also affected the immigrant's financial status on arrival. However, the immediate effect of this assistance varied according to the requirements of the migration agreement with reference to cost of transport and asset limits.

Sponsorship affects settlement patterns by structuring the immigrant's social networks on arrival. The nature of these ethnic ties (e.g. kinship, friendship, religious) determines their strength and durability while the geographical and social location of sponsors determines access to both other migrants and members of the host community. Sponsors are an important resource during settlement since
they can provide assistance in meeting initial accommodation and employment needs. As a result, the existence of ethnic social networks can have a more permanent effect on the process of adaptation in the receiving society.

**Government assisted migration**

The main 'wave' of assisted migration from the Netherlands occurred between 1951 and 1962. Single men, married couples and families with children travelled by sea and, after arriving at the major ports of Perth, Sydney or Melbourne, were placed in migrant reception centres located in rural areas on the mainland. Accommodation at these 'migrant camps' was basic and often inferior to that which the migrants had left in the Netherlands. Many were shocked and disappointed at these conditions, particularly as the propaganda to which they had been exposed prior to emigrating had created high expectations of life in Australia.

The geographical concentration of assisted migrants during the early settlement period led to the development of ethnic friendship ties, some of which had been established on board the 'migrant ships'. At the same time, access to members of the receiving society was limited to interaction with those working at the migrant camps and brief encounters with 'locals' when shopping in the nearby towns. The attitude of Australian-born locals in these towns was typically xenophobic such that interaction between migrants and 'locals' was often a negative experience. It did little to improve the English language skills of migrants and, at the same time, the early residential concentration of the Dutch reinforced the use of the Dutch language.

Migrants were expected to gain employment during the six week period they were in the reception centres. While the Australian government was responsible for assisting in the placement of migrants, many report that they found work through their own efforts. The
limited financial resources of migrants and lack of available transport facilities meant that many acquired work in the immediate vicinity of the reception centres, typically in work which did not make use of the skills they possessed. The migrant reception centres also became recruiting grounds for private employers such that Dutch migrants quickly became geographically dispersed throughout Australia.

As a result of these settlement procedures the government-assisted migrants who currently reside in Tasmania arrived after varying periods of residence on the mainland. Their experiences of migration and settlement thus varied as dramatically as did their background characteristics. Some came to Tasmania after experiencing a number of job changes on the mainland over an extended period of time. Others were recruited by Tasmanian employers either from the migrant reception centres or from the migrant ships prior to placement in these centres. The majority worked with native-born Australians although the recruitment of more than one Dutch couple or family by the same employer was not uncommon. This situation led to the establishment of close friendship ties among migrants of the same nationality.

Those who migrated in the 1960s experienced conditions of a higher standard; however, they too were often disappointed. The image of Australia which they had received from the Australian Embassy in the Netherlands was of 'the outback': wide open spaces with very few people. However, those without pre-arranged employment or accommodation were directed to Sydney or Melbourne by the Immigration department. Here they unexpectedly found cities which were even larger and more densely populated than those from which they had emigrated.

In these capital cities the Australian Government provided migrants with accommodation in the form of hostels. Although an improvement on the conditions in the migrant 'camps', for those
migrating in the 1960s it was below the standard to which they were accustomed. Migrant units, typically located in inner-city suburbs with high migrant densities, provided accommodation of a better quality. The maximum period of residence in a migrant unit was six months by which time the majority had gained employment and private accommodation in the immediate vicinity of the units. Those with limited financial resources remained in the area while those with more adequate financial resources were able to move from these cities to other parts of the country, including Tasmania.

Those who migrated after the main 'wave' of Dutch migration thus experienced very different conditions to the earlier migrants. By the 1960s stories of the success of Dutch migrants in Australia had reached the Netherlands. Those who migrated during this decade had been used to a high standard of living in the Netherlands and came to Australia with extremely high expectations. Some experienced downward mobility and many were disappointed by their situations. These experiences of relative deprivation led to a high rate of return migration or, among those who remained in Australia, numerous family visits to the Netherlands. The expense of these visits often contributed to the lack of upward mobility in the receiving society thus further reinforcing existing feelings of disappointment.

The assisted migration of Dutch nationals from Indonesia occurred between 1947 and 1951. These migrants were predominantly successful businessmen who emigrated to the major financial centres of Sydney and Melbourne. They were often immediately employed by agencies of the companies for whom they had worked in Indonesia such that their migration took the form of a job transfer. These middle and upper-middle class migrants who had been members of the colonial elite in Indonesia soon became integrated into corresponding social circles in Australia. They spoke fluent English, their children received an expensive private school education and they lived in the elite suburbs of
Sydney, Perth and Melbourne. They kept in regular contact with each other through organizations such as the Australian-Netherlands Association in Sydney which eventually became more like a men’s club in which conversation focussed on the world of business.

Sponsorship was a significant factor affecting the migrant’s level of resources on arrival in the receiving society. Government-assisted migrants who were sponsored did not go to the migrant reception centres. Their initial accommodation was provided by sponsors who also assisted the migrant to gain employment. As a result, the limited financial resources of these migrants were not depleted at the same rate as those without sponsors. Furthermore, sponsors provided social and psychological support for the migrant thus creating a greater degree of continuity in the migration experience.

Sponsors were particularly valuable through the assistance they provided in acquiring work. Some sponsors had arranged employment prior to the migrant’s departure from the Netherlands so that the migrant could begin work immediately on arrival in the receiving society. Other migrants were required to search for work but their sponsors’ familiarity with and contacts in the receiving society were of assistance here. Sponsored migrants were able to use employment agencies more successfully and had greater access to employers in the receiving society than those without sponsors. As a result, they were much more likely to find work in their area of skill. Nevertheless, the limited acceptance of overseas qualifications meant that many were not being paid a salary consistent with their skill level.

Sponsored migrants mobilized kinship and friendship ties for the purposes of satisfying accommodation and employment needs. Migrants were often employed by sponsors or friends of sponsors either permanently if they possessed appropriate skills or on a temporary basis until more suitable work was found. Sponsorship thus reinforced ethnic
ties in the receiving society although they were not necessarily maintained after these immediate settlement needs were met. The durability of these ties was problematic and varied according to the nature of their instrumental value. For example, non-Reformed migrants who were sponsored by relatives who were Reformed Church members tended not to mobilize these ties after the initial settlement period. A similar process occurred among those who were sponsored by distant relatives or acquaintances with whom they had very little in common. On the other hand, the sponsorship of immediate kin typically led to the maintenance of long-term ties.

The sponsorship of assisted Dutch migrants during the 1950s led to the development of small 'clusters' of relatives and/or friends throughout Australia. A particularly important case for an explanation of later adaptive strategies was the settlement of four families at Cygnet in southern Tasmania (see Appendix C: Map 5.1) who were linked by kinship ties. The group comprised three sisters with their immediate families and an aunt who arrived in Tasmania through a limited process of 'chain migration'. They were all Catholic and through the local parish they became acquainted with a number of single Dutch men living in Cygnet with whom they became close friends. The men met regularly to play Dutch card games and Dutch billiards. In addition, they gathered as family groups to celebrate important occasions such as St.Nicolaas Day, Queen Juliana's Birthday, birthday parties and New Year's Eve, all of which were celebrated in the traditional Dutch way. These occasions provided opportunities for children, as well as adults, to engage in regular interaction with others of Dutch origin.

**Unassisted Migration**

Dutch migrants without assisted passages have been arriving in Australia since 1945 at a relatively steady rate (see Appendix B: Table 3.16). The financial situations of migrants in this category varied considerably at the time of arrival and was mainly dependent upon class
background and period of migration.

The payment of travel expenses was a drain on the already limited resources of those who migrated during the 1950s. However, unassisted migrants who arrived after the main 'wave' of Dutch migration were predominantly drawn from middle and upper-middle class backgrounds and were typically in a more satisfactory financial situation on arrival. They were keen to leave the crowded conditions in the Netherlands but expected to maintain the high standard of living to which they had become accustomed. Some had arrived to take up employment aimed at advancing their professional careers; others established their own small businesses or undertook further study to change their careers. The relationship between unassisted migration and the initial settlement process thus varied across time and was further influenced by sponsorship patterns.

For unassisted migrants who were not sponsored the settlement process was largely determined by the availability of accommodation and the structure of employment opportunities in the receiving society. These conditions varied considerably across time so that a wide range of settlement experiences is evident among the members of this category.

Early post-war migrants had some difficulty acquiring suitable accommodation because of the tight housing market which existed in the late 1940s and 1950s. Although employment opportunities varied over time, Dutch migrants typically acquired work soon after arrival. The type of work acquired depended largely on marketable skills and whether the migrant's overseas qualifications were accepted or not. English language ability also became a mediating factor in the acquisition of work in the receiving society.

3. A slightly higher frequency in the years 1950 - 1957 and 1980 - 1982 does not alter this overall pattern (see Appendix B: Table 3.16).
During the 1950s Dutch migrants were much more likely to be working as skilled labourers or tradesmen, (although they were not necessarily being paid accordingly), than is true of later migrants. This results, in part, from the fact that fewer overseas qualifications were accepted during the 1950s and that fewer migrants had a good command of the English language than is true of later migrants. For the same reasons there is a relatively high proportion of Dutch migrants in the self-employed category regardless of the particular time of migration.

Having paid their own fares to Australia and with no apparent links with members of the receiving society, these unassisted, non-sponsored migrants were likely, in theory, to experience the greatest difficulty during settlement. However, in practice, settlement experiences varied according to an immigrant’s employment situation and the nature of his financial and social resources.

Some migrants had pre-arranged employment prior to departure from the Netherlands. Some had friends and relatives in the receiving society who had not sponsored them but on whom they could rely for support if necessary. Some were provided with financial assistance and social support by members of church groups. Dutch migrants had also established "welcoming committees" at various ports in Australia. For example, a Dutch couple who lived at Blackman’s Bay regularly met any migrant ships berthing in Hobart in order to welcome new arrivals and to offer assistance during settlement. Those who experienced the greatest level of difficulty during settlement were married couples who had not arranged employment prior to departure and had no contacts in the receiving society.

Unassisted, non-sponsored Dutch migrants who came directly to Tasmania had typically arranged employment prior to departing the Netherlands. This included only a few early post-war migrants as there were limited employment opportunities in Tasmania during the
immediate post-war years. Direct migration to Tasmania was more common among Dutch migrants after the 1960s and thus included a greater proportion of professional and skilled migrants.

The majority of the unassisted, non-sponsored Dutch migrants in Tasmania initially resided on the mainland and came to Tasmania through inter-state migration later. Most had initially been sent by the Immigration Department to migrant hostels in Sydney or Melbourne where employment opportunities were greatest. Others had left Indonesia by ship and arrived at one of the major ports of Perth, Sydney or Melbourne where they gained work.

The decision to move to Tasmania was made for a variety of reasons including dissatisfaction with the way of life in large cities on the mainland and better job opportunities. Many of these migrants mobilized distant kinship or friendship ties but, unlike sponsored migrants, these ties were typically mobilized some time after arrival in the receiving society. Furthermore, these ties were typically maintained on a short-term instrumental basis only. For example, this was true of those who mobilized distant ties with Reformed Church members. They typically found the members of the Reformed Church to be very helpful initially but these ties lapsed once the migrant had settled in Tasmania and it was clear that he was not intending to join the church.

Dutch migrants who were sponsored by the Catholic Church during the 1950s typically settled on the mainland. Those who migrated under the rural settlement or Father Maas Schemes had pre-arranged employment but had to find accommodation. This was difficult at a time when the housing market was tight. The problem was further complicated by the fact that these families tended to be very large and the breadwinner was often on low wages while repaying the migration loan. Typically, the accommodation found was of a low standard. In an attempt to ease these difficulties, the eldest children of these families...
often joined the workforce rather than complete their secondary education. They contributed part of their wages to the family income and often acquired private board near their place of employment.

Unassisted migrants who were sponsored by relatives or friends had the advantage of a support structure in the receiving society. Sponsors typically provided accommodation on arrival and were of assistance in gaining employment. The majority of those who came directly to Tasmania migrated from the Netherlands rather than Indonesia. They were sponsored by relatives or friends who had migrated earlier, often through the Assisted Passage Scheme, or were more recent migrants who had met and married native-born Australians overseas and were sponsored by their affinal relatives.

**Adaptation to the Receiving Society**

**Accommodation and Work**

The previous section has described how Dutch migrants, regardless of assistance and/or sponsorship typically acquired employment a short time after arrival although this was not necessarily in their area of skill. Frequent job changes were common during the first few years before they settled into a more permanent work context. They possessed marketable skills so that the majority were employed in host society organizations in which the majority of the workforce was Australia-born. Some settled in Tasmania soon after arrival while others lived for varying periods of time on the mainland prior to moving to Tasmania. Occupational and residential dispersion, together with a high rate of geographical mobility during the initial settlement period, was thus characteristic of this category of Dutch migrants. The following section describes how this affected subsequent patterns of interaction with members of the host society.

Once employment and accommodation needs have been met, the
strategies employed to satisfy religious, educational and recreational needs are significant in understanding processes of adaptation in the receiving society. The voluntary organizations to which the migrant belonged, including the church, sporting and social organizations, and the schools which his children attended all had a significant influence on the nature of the immigrant's interaction patterns. As such they were important contexts affecting the process of adaptation.

Religion
Dutch migrants arriving during the 1950s and 1960s joined churches in the receiving society which were similar in doctrine to those they had belonged to in the Netherlands (Mol, 1965). The majority of these Dutch migrants in Hobart are members of the Catholic, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches. The membership of other host community churches such as the Christian Science, Methodist and Wesley Churches includes one or two families of Dutch origin.

As was true for the Australian mainland, the Catholic Church in Tasmania had no official Dutch parish. Dutch Catholics were expected to join their own local parishes where they met and interacted with other Catholics. The basis for interaction was membership in the Catholic Church and the ethnic nature of these social relationships depended on the level of ethnic concentration in the local parish. Dutch Catholics were residentially dispersed throughout the Hobart suburbs. The majority of Dutch Catholics interviewed in this study thus reported that the acquaintances and friends they had made through the church and other religious organizations were predominantly native-born Australians. The exceptions to this pattern consisted of those who were members of the Kingston parish which had a small concentration of Dutch members during the 1950s and 1960s. Dutch members of the Kingston parish note that although they have many Australian-born acquaintances, their closest friends are of Dutch origin.
Although there was no Dutch national Catholic parish in Hobart, there was a Dutch chaplain from Melbourne who made frequent trips to Hobart. He visited Hobart every couple of months to conduct a service, in the Dutch language, at St. Joseph's church in the city. Some Dutch Catholics from various local parishes attended these services. They served a social function, particularly for those without contacts in Hobart, in that they provided an opportunity for Dutch migrants to meet others with similar backgrounds. The friendships established, however, were typically maintained for only a short period of time. Many other Dutch Catholics in Hobart believed that the Dutch services were unnecessary and therefore did not attend. With such limited support, the Dutch services soon disappeared.

The Hobart Baptist and St. John's Presbyterian Churches also had small concentrations of Dutch migrants among whom long-term friendships were established. Of these the majority had been members of the Hervormde Kerk in the Netherlands but, on arrival in Tasmania, they had chosen not to join the Reformed Churches of Australia. Some had withdrawn from membership in the Reformed Church in the Netherlands prior to migrating to Australia. Others were aware that the Reformed Church of Australia was perceived as an ethnic organization by members of the host society. They did not wish to jeopardise their acceptance by Australians through membership of an 'ethnic' church and therefore chose to join a church in the host community.4

Some Dutch migrants who had no religious affiliation on arrival in Hobart became members of the Reformed Church. This was usually after they had experienced a difficult settlement process and had developed friendships, through residential proximity or shared work

4. Those with the prerequisites for membership in the Reformed Churches of Australia who chose to join a host community church typically varied from most Reformed Church members in some important characteristics such as social class, regional origin and dialect, age or time of migration.
environments, with Reformed Church members. However, these migrants were ambivalent about their Reformed Church membership and often withdrew.

**Education**

Knowledge of the patterns of integration into the educational structures of the host society is particularly significant for understanding the adaptive strategies of these Dutch migrants. The 1954 census indicates the existence of a relatively small number of Netherlands-born school-age children in Tasmania (713 aged between 5 and 15 from a total Dutch population of 2345; see Appendix B: Table 5.1) who were attending either government or non-government (mainly Catholic) schools.

One of the most significant features of the state school attendance of Dutch children during the 1950s and 1960s was their dispersion. This educational dispersion was a direct result of the interaction of two sets of factors: the residential dispersion of Dutch migrants and the Tasmanian Education Department's policy of giving preference to students residing within a specified distance of particular schools.\(^5\)

Some Dutch migrants were not aware of this zoning policy. They sent their children to schools outside their residential area only to be informed that they must be moved to their 'local' school. Mr. and Mrs. Koolstra, for example, who were residents of Blackman's Bay decided to send their children to Albeura St. Primary School in Sandy Bay rather than the local Kingston Primary School. This decision was made on the basis of two facts: first that Albeura St. School had an excellent reputation at the time and secondly, they had heard that the headmaster at Kingston Primary School "was dreadful". Despite the time spent in travelling between their home and Albeura St. School, the Koolstra's emphasized

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\(^5\) While this policy was perceived by migrants as denying access to those residing outside the specified distance, it was possible to formally request entry into any school.
that "the children were very happy there". Nevertheless, they received a letter from the Education Department informing them that they would have to transfer their children to Kingston Primary School. While attending Kingston Primary the Koolstra children were unhappy because of the reportedly discriminatory treatment Dutch children received from the headmaster. Thus, when the Blackman's Bay Primary School was opened a few years later the Koolstra's immediately transferred their children so that they could complete their primary education in a more congenial environment.6

Apart from Kingston Primary and Taroona High Schools which had a disproportionate Dutch population, the number of Dutch children attending any single government school was very small. Thus, in relation to the Dutch, there was no visible 'migrant problem' at these schools. Nevertheless, this lack of visibility does not preclude its existence. Interviews with Dutch migrants who attended these schools demonstrate that the transition from the Dutch educational system to an Australian school in the 1950s was a relatively difficult process.

Dutch migrants whose primary schooling was interrupted through migration vividly recall the distress they experienced upon entering an Australian school. Recollections of these school days include memories of the lack of facilities aimed at assisting migrant children. For example, they received no special instruction in the English language but were expected to 'fit into' the class as well as they could. This sometimes led to the development of social and academic problems which affected later career opportunities.

6. The problems experienced by Dutch children attending Kingston Primary School were discussed in the previous chapter. It is important to recognise that the situation at this particular school was unique in that its student population included a significant proportion of Dutch children. This situation was a direct consequence of the residential concentration of Reformed Dutch migrants in the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area at this time. The severity of the problems reported by these children, apparently due to overt discrimination practices, were not therefore representative of the experiences of the majority of Dutch children attending government schools in the 1950s.
The interviews conducted in this study indicate that Dutch migrants entering the Australian school system during the 1950s encountered adjustment problems. These problems were, in large part, due to discontinuities brought about by the migration experience. For example, schooling was often missed because of the length of time required to travel by ship from Europe to Australia. The transition from one school system to another was itself a highly disruptive experience for Dutch students, exacerbated by a lack of knowledge of the English language and a high rate of geographical mobility during the early stages of settlement. Another problem-creating factor was the migrants' perceptions of a lack of competence among teachers and the school system in general in their ad hoc attempts to respond to the needs of migrant students.

National studies (Cox, 1975; Australian Department of Education, 1975; Martin, 1978) on the education of migrant children have noted that the limited and largely ineffective responses made by Australian educational institutions in the 1950s was particularly apparent in the area of language learning. Although English language classes were established for adult migrants in the post-war years:

"teaching English to immigrant children was completely ignored until the mid-1960s. Presumably, it was commonly believed that migrant children quickly fitted into society without special assistance." (Cox, 1975:14).

Furthermore, the view has been expressed that although economic

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7. Sea travel was the dominant mode of transportation at that time and the only mode available to those migrating under the Assisted Passage Scheme.
8. More recent reports on the education of migrant children (Martin, 1978; Cox, 1975; Australian Department of Education, 1975) lend support to the views expressed by Dutch migrants that adjusting to Australian schools in the 1950s was a relatively difficult process. These studies have suggested that many of the difficulties could have been overcome if educational institutions had attempted to respond in an organized manner to the presence of migrant students. However, this would have required a prior recognition of their problems as unique and migrant-related, an approach which did not emerge in Australia until the 1960s (cf. Martin, 1978).
pressures do adversely affect the educational opportunities of a substantial proportion of some migrant categories:

"there can be also be little doubt that non-English speaking arrivals of all ages are severely disadvantaged in learning English unless positive discrimination is exercised at least in the area of language training".

(Cox,1975:15).

In the absence of any positive discrimination in the area of English language learning, Martin (1978:90) has shown that non-English speaking migrant children tended to be labelled 'slow learners'. As such they were often 'left to their own devices' in large classes, a situation which led to "the danger of children developing 'bad work habits' and settling into patterns of idleness" (Martin, 1978:92). Alternatively, they were placed in a grade level well below their age level or possibly segregated for their schooling (either for all classes or for English lessons only) until they had achieved a standard of competence in English which would enable them to cope with normal classes (Martin,1978:91). The potential for a self-fulfilling prophecy is obvious under conditions where teachers, who typically had no special training for this kind of work, adapted to the problem by lowering their expectations of those children (Australian Department of Education,1975:11).

In short, during the 1950s neither Australian educational institutions nor educationalists were competent to deal with the specific difficulties, both academic and social, encountered by non-English speaking migrant children.10

9. The inaccuracy of this belief is supported by more recent research (Cox,1975) which emphasizes the disadvantages of an initial (and often continuing) language disability, particularly in relation to educational opportunities which may limit occupational mobility regardless of the migrant's socio-economic status.
10. Martin (1978) has demonstrated that knowledge of and competence in this field of education did increase by the late 1960s as people became aware of the uniqueness of the migrant situation but only in schools of high migrant density.
Given the relatively low migrant population in Tasmania during the 1950s (Farmer, 1980:211) and the lack of training and experience on the part of teachers in dealing with the problems of non-English-speaking children (Martin, 1978) it can be safely concluded that the response from Tasmanian educational institutions was negligible when compared with that (however meagre) of mainland schools. The academic and social problems reported by those interviewed in this study can thus be viewed as typical of those experienced by non-English-speaking children in the Tasmanian state school system. The fact that the great majority of these schools were characterized by extremely low migrant densities is therefore particularly significant for understanding processes of adaptation.

Low migrant densities meant a lack of trained assistance from teachers and a lack of support from other migrants experiencing similar difficulties. While this situation created feelings of frustration and anxiety among non-English speaking children and their parents the strategies employed to deal with these problems are particularly significant. The majority of the Dutch children quickly established close friendships with Australian-born schoolmates. Thus while initial language difficulties may have caused individual trauma, and possibly academic problems, this did not necessarily have a negative effect on the social integration of Dutch children into the school community.

In addition, schools provide a context for social interaction among parents. Many Dutch migrants, particularly women, recall that their first friendships in Australia were established with other parents once their children had begun school. These friendships with native-born Australians were maintained and strengthened through regular interaction during their children's school life. In many cases, such friendships were extended beyond the school context when, for example, mothers were invited to join tennis and card groups.
Dutch Catholics had a choice of educational organizations in the receiving society: they could either send their children to the local state school or to a private Catholic school. Those interviewed in this study reported a preference for a Catholic education although financial constraints pressed many to send their children to the local state school. This was particularly true for those repaying ICMLF loans for passage to Australia and those without relatives or friends in Tasmania from whom they could seek assistance and support. Given the norm of individual (or nuclear family) migration among Dutch Catholics this was a common predicament. As a result, the settlement experiences of these migrants and their children were not significantly different from those of non-Catholic Dutch migrants.

Nevertheless, a preference for the Catholic education system is evident among Dutch Catholics. Many began by sending their children to the local state school for their primary education, later transferring them to a Catholic secondary school as the family's financial status improved. Others were able to send their eldest child to a Catholic school for both primary and secondary education while younger children attended the local state school. Mr. and Mrs. Van Smaalen, for example, explained that although their eldest son attended St. Virgil's College, the other five children had attended state schools "because we couldn't afford to send them all to Catholic schools". However, in 1983 when five of the children had completed their education, they were able to send their youngest daughter to Dominic College for the final year of her education.

Cases such as these suggest that financial constraints aside, the preference among Dutch Catholics was for their children to receive a Catholic education. This would be expected since this type of education was consistent with parent's own socialization experiences. Access to Catholic educational organizations was widespread in the Netherlands due to the provision of numerous parochial schools throughout the country. This situation resulted from and further reinforced the
'pillarised' institutional structure of Dutch society. Until the 1960s it was typical for a member of the Catholic 'bloc' to meet his children's educational needs within the Catholic system. Upon his arrival in Australia this norm was strongly supported and reinforced by both the Catholic hierarchy and the laity.

The problems experienced by Dutch children attending Catholic schools were similar to those attending state schools. Consistent with the attitudes towards migrants of the Australian Catholic hierarchy, no parochial schools were established for migrants in Australia, so that Catholic children were equally exposed to the assimilationist-oriented educational institutions of the host society. As with the state education system, those involved in the Catholic education system were inexperienced in dealing with the situation of a steadily increasing migrant population. This was especially true in Tasmania during the 1950s when the post-war Catholic migrant population was small and Protestant immigration from northern Europe and the United Kingdom was predominant.

In the early 1950s there were a number of Catholic schools in the Hobart area, the majority providing a primary education only. A Catholic secondary education was provided by two boys' schools, St.Virgill's and Savio, and three girls' schools, St.Mary's, Sacred Heart and Mt.Carmel. All five schools were located on the western shore of the Derwent River between Sandy Bay and Glenorchy (see Appendix C: Map 4.1). The children of Dutch Catholics were not concentrated at any one of these schools and therefore had the opportunity to interact with Australian-born children of their own ages. The majority of Dutch Catholics interviewed in this study stated that almost all of their children's school friends were Australian-born; this was true regardless of whether their children had attended state or Catholic schools.

Any problems experienced by the children of Catholic migrants in
adjusting to the host society's educational system (whether state or Catholic) were typically justified by parents in terms of their own assimilationist orientation. Parents strongly believed that an Australian education was essential for their children in that it provided them with a context in which they could learn the nuances of the Australian way of life. Thus, despite the trauma associated with the transition from one educational system to another, parents felt reassured by the fact that their children were acquiring skills which were essential for future success in Australia.

For Dutch Catholics, however, two important factors helped to alleviate the severity of these inevitable adjustment problems. One factor was the parents' familiarity with the Catholic education system. Dutch Catholics were not sending their children to a totally alien educational system. Thus, although Catholic schools were also assimilationist in orientation, parents generally felt confident in the knowledge that their children were learning to adjust successfully to the Australian way of life within a familiar social and moral context.

A more important factor influencing the way in which problems of adjustment were handled by Dutch Catholics relates to the fact that schools also provide a context for social interaction among parents. The ethnic concentration at particular schools thus has a potential influence on the nature of parents' social networks. During the 1950s each of the Catholic schools in the Hobart area had a small concentration of Dutch students. This resulted from the fact that there were fewer Catholic than state schools in Hobart and there was a preference among Dutch Catholics for their children to receive a Catholic education. In addition, these schools were small and family-oriented. They expected a high level of parental involvement in extra-curricular activities ranging from 'working bees' to maintain the school facilities through to coaching sports teams and manning the tuck shops. This situation gave rise to a relatively high frequency of interaction among parents.
Dutch migrants whose children attended Catholic schools were thus much more likely to interact with other Dutch migrants than those whose children attended state schools. Although the children at Catholic schools tended to have Australian-born friends, their parents often established friendships with other Dutch migrants. The Catholic schools thus provided a context in which an ethnic support structure could be established.

If interaction between Dutch parents was confined to the school context, the social ties between them did not tend to be intimate, nor were they long-term. Importantly, however, if ethnic relationships within the school context were reinforced through interaction in other social contexts they increased in intensity and durability. For example, close friendships were often established among Dutch migrants whose children attended the same Catholic school if they lived in the same residential area and thus attended the same local parish. Thus, small networks of Dutch friends existed among Dutch Catholics in Hobart during the 1950s.

Recreation

The variation in background among Dutch migrants in Hobart, together with their residential, occupational, religious and educational dispersion in the host society, was not conducive to the development of an extensive network of ethnic interpersonal relationships. In most social contexts these migrants interacted with members of the host community. Access to other Dutch migrants was limited and, as result of their differences, did not necessarily lead to the development of friendships. Interpersonal networks were thus predominantly Australian in nature although the size of these networks was problematic.

Due to the social differentiation which characterized this category of Dutch migrants there existed no readily identifiable clientele for the
development of a Dutch social club. During the main 'wave' of Dutch migration a club was established in Hobart but was short-lived. It provided some Dutch migrants with support from others in similar situations during the initial period of settlement but the need for such a group was limited. The assimilationist orientation which Dutch migrants had adopted was assisting their process of integration into the host community. They believed that membership in an ethnic organization would jeopardise the precarious level of acceptance they had already achieved and were thus not committed to maintaining it. Traditional social differences soon became apparent which eventually led to conflict and the eventual closure of the club.

The recreational activities in which Dutch migrants were involved varied as much as did their social backgrounds. The majority found that their leisure activities could be successfully pursued either individually or by joining voluntary organizations already established by members of the host community. Dutch migrants thus became members of tennis, golf, soccer, basketball and volleyball clubs; theatre groups and musical societies; the Returned Servicemen's League (RSL), Jaycees, Lions and Rotary; Red Cross and Country Womens' Associations; and business organizations such as the Master Builders' Association.

Their length of membership in these clubs varied as did their level of acceptance by other members. Through such activities many Dutch migrants established an extensive network of interpersonal relationships with members of the host community. However, others found that their life experiences had differed so dramatically from Australian-born members that few friendships were established. For example, a war veteran who had joined the RSL in the belief that common experiences would assist in the development of friendships, was soon disappointed. He explained that the Australian-born veterans were not interested in his 'war stories' and he found their experiences limited and superficial.
Limited ethnic interpersonal networks developed as a consequence of the sponsorship programme which reinforced kinship or friendship ties and led to residential concentration. They also developed where more than one Dutch migrant worked for the same employer, attended the same church or where the migrants' children attended the same school. Where these networks existed, recreational activities were often pursued by small informal groups of Dutch migrants. The regularity of interaction among members of the ethnic network was problematic. Those who lived near each other and worked or prayed together interacted on a regular basis. Others who had developed friendships during the early stages of settlement but who had later followed different 'paths' in the receiving society met on an irregular basis.

Significantly, among one of these informal groups the context in which recreational activities were pursued slowly evolved into a more formal context. The informal social gatherings of the small group of predominantly Dutch Catholics at Cygnet eventually developed into the Dutch Card Club which was still in existence at the time of the study. The club's transformation into a more formal association occurred very slowly over a period of thirty years. In the 1950s, Dutch card games were held on a weekly basis in people's homes until they began to attract the attention of other Dutch migrants, particularly those without support structures in the receiving society. A larger venue was required and at the time of the study was meeting every Tuesday evening at the Migrant Resource Centre in Hobart. Attendance was free and open to anyone who possessed the appropriate card skills. In practice, however, the majority of the club's members were elderly Dutch Catholics who had known each other since the 1950s. The majority of players were men although a few women accompanied their husbands and, on occasions, daughters attended with their fathers. Elderly relatives from the Netherlands or the mainland provided a steady stream of visiting players and new friendships were often established in this manner.
Among those for whom interaction with Dutch friends occurred on an irregular basis, ethnic ties were strengthened by the support they provided each other during periods of crisis. While interaction occurred on a daily basis with members of the receiving society, under conditions of crisis the ethnic interpersonal network was often mobilized.

For example, one couple who lived and worked in an isolated mining town with two other Dutch couples during the early settlement period established very close ethnic friendships. The three couples eventually moved to various parts of the state and were involved in different activities. However, when the wife had an accident while pregnant and their child was stillborn she recuperated at the home of one of these Dutch couples. When they later were evicted from their rented home, the other Dutch couple provided them with free accommodation at their holiday home. Ethnic relationships such as these which are maintained despite irregular contact are relatively common among Dutch migrants in Tasmania. Such families "keep in touch" but have typically established extensive relationships with members of the host community.

Some Dutch migrants have found it extremely difficult to establish close relationships with members of the host community. They describe the native-born Australian population as prejudiced and envious of the economic success which many Dutch migrants have achieved in the receiving society. For those who have also had limited or no access to other Dutch migrants interpersonal networks are severely limited. Some will openly state that they have no friends at all in Australia and are typically disappointed with the outcome of their migration experience. For this reason, it is important to consider the high rate of return migration among Dutch migrants in terms of the nature of their interpersonal networks rather than the level of their economic success in the receiving society.
The Process of Adaptation - Type 2

A major theme can be identified from this descriptive account of the settlement patterns of non-Reformed Dutch migrants: individual variation. It is this variation in adaptive strategies which visibly distinguishes this category of Dutch migrants from those in the previous chapter among whom individual biographies were markedly similar.

To explain this differentiation within the larger category of Dutch migrants in Australia an analysis of the process of adaptation followed by non-Reformed Dutch migrants will be made. Following the approach presented in Chapter Two, the focus will be on processes of migration and settlement and the relationship between social location, social networks and identification processes.

By employing the same analytic framework as in the previous chapter it is possible to construct a picture of the 'collective reality' which is the outcome of various individual adaptive strategies. A process of adaptation can thus be identified which represents a different type to that described in the previous chapter. This process of adaptation is typical of that undertaken by migrants from a relatively modern society.

In general, these Dutch migrants emigrated from a social context characterized by a differentiated social structure and thus constituted an heterogenous category. Furthermore, they had marketable skills which were utilized successfully so that they quickly became dispersed throughout the organizational structure of the receiving society.

Within this overall pattern there were marked variations in individual adaptive strategies. The variables affecting such strategies included the country from which the individual emigrated and the migration agency employed; mode of migration (particularly in relation to sponsorship and assisted passage which affected the degree of continuity in the migration experience); year of migration (which
directly affected mode of migration and determined conditions in the receiving society at the time of arrival); personal characteristics such as regional origin, religion, class, the nature of marketable skills, age, sex, marital status, stage of life-cycle; and 'chance' factors.

Individual adaptive strategies are determined by social location, past experiences and access to resources. The relative level of modernity in the receiving society is thus an important factor to be considered when analyzing processes of adaptation. In this case, it is important to recognize that during the 1950s and 1960s Tasmania was relatively less modern than the central provinces of the Netherlands. As a consequence, the Dutch became economically successful very quickly but this success was not necessarily reflected in social integration. The xenophobia which was typical of members of the host community during the 1950s acted as a barrier to the development of inter-ethnic friendship ties.

Migration and Settlement

Despite the variation across individual non-Reformed Dutch migrants, it is possible to identify important characteristics which typified the members of this category. They were typically drawn from urban areas in the central provinces of the Netherlands where the population was neither predominantly secular nor predominantly religious (either Protestant or Catholic). They had typically completed at least a secondary education with some exposure to the English language and were predominantly skilled workers.

Individual migration typifies these migrants. Marital status and family size varied but no large-scale pattern of chain migration emerged. The majority arrived in Australia during the 1950s when a 'wave' of Dutch immigration can be identified. Nevertheless, the decision to emigrate was made by individuals and only involved members of the nuclear family. The motivation to emigrate was typically economic
They were therefore able to compete successfully on the labour market and typically gained employment soon after arrival. Barriers such as those created by a non-acceptance of qualifications and limited English language ability were soon overcome. As a result, high rates of occupational and geographical mobility were characteristic of these migrants during the initial settlement stage.

Adaptation Through Dispersion - The Problematic Nature of Social Networks

No ethnic organizational development existed for these Dutch migrants which could provide them with assistance in the task of satisfying their immediate needs. On their arrival in the receiving society they became dispersed throughout the institutional structure of the receiving society. The size and ethnic nature of interpersonal networks was problematic and dependent upon the immigrant's location in the receiving society. This dispersion and variation in the nature of interpersonal networks led to a high degree of variation in adaptive strategies.

While the majority of these migrants were able to acquire employment relatively quickly, there was wide variation in employment strategies and occupational careers. They possessed marketable skills which enabled them to compete successfully in the labour market and acquire financial security relatively soon after arrival. Those whose educational qualifications were not accepted in Australia felt they were being exploited by not being paid a wage or salary commensurate with their skill level. However, as a result of expertise acquired in Europe many who began working for a company in the lowest ranks eventually worked their way to top management positions. Some assisted this process by upgrading their qualifications in Australia while others dealt with the situation by searching for alternative work. Occupational mobility, both upward and downward, was thus a significant characteristic of these Dutch migrants which reflected the wide variation
in the level of economic success achieved in the receiving society.\textsuperscript{11}

Many established their own private businesses and became self-employed. Those who followed this strategy were typically successful as a result of their knowledge of and experience in the competitive European markets. Their entrepreneurial endeavours were particularly successful in Tasmania during the 1950s when industrialization programmes were being introduced. The rational behaviour of these Dutch migrants in the business world was superior to the outmoded traditional business activities of the local Tasmanian population. In the minds of Tasmanians Dutch migrants thus became synonymous with economic success though this belief was based on a few extremely successful entrepreneurs.

The occupational dispersion of these Dutch migrants had a direct effect on the nature of their social networks. They were working with native-born Australians rather than other Dutch migrants but this did not necessarily lead to the development of inter-ethnic friendships. The work context often created hostility rather than companionship between the Dutch migrants and the native-born Australians. This was, in part, a consequence of the skills and expertise possessed by the Dutch which often led them to overtake native-born Australians in their rapid promotions to management positions. This situation reinforced the already existing prejudice among many of the native-born Australians making the development of work-based friendships problematic. Thus where Dutch migrants were working together friendships often flourished.

Consistent with a high level of occupational dispersion and social mobility was a high level of residential dispersion and geographical mobility. Non-Reformed Dutch migrants were dispersed throughout the

\textsuperscript{11} This variability in economic success distinguishes these Dutch migrants from the Reformed Dutch most of whom were visibly successful in their economic activities.
states of Australia and were not concentrated in any particular areas in capital cities. The ratio of non-Reformed Dutch to Reformed Dutch was lower in Tasmania than on the mainland since they typically arrived at mainland ports. In short, residential dispersion is a major characteristic of the non-Reformed Dutch migrants living in Tasmania. Thus, at the neighbourhood level, Dutch migrants have access to Australian social relationships although these do not necessarily develop into friendship ties. Within this general pattern of dispersion, however, residential proximity has occurred among small pockets of Dutch migrants as a result of migration through sponsorship. Among these migrants, ethnic interpersonal networks are often maintained alongside relationships with the Australian-born population.

Religious and educational dispersion was also characteristic of these Dutch migrants. Catholics, however, were provided with an extensive bureaucratic structure within which they could satisfy their needs. As Overberg (1981) recognizes, there was for Dutch Catholics a "readily identifiable Australian institution capable of fulfilling the dual role of migrant reception organization and spiritual church" (1981:24-25). The Catholic Church was a host community organization which provided migrants with access to the Australian-born population. In practice, however, the structure of the Catholic parishes and schools, and in Tasmania their small number, led to the development of ethnic interpersonal relationships among migrants.

As a result of individual migration and dispersion into the institutional structure of the receiving society extensive kinship ties did not exist among these Dutch migrants. Where they did exist they were limited to the immediate members of the nuclear family who migrated together or were sponsored to Australia. Many of these Dutch migrants were single and there was, and still is, a high rate of inter-marriage with the Australian-born population.
Language patterns reflect the high rate of dispersion and limited ethnic networks among these Dutch migrants. The 1981 census data demonstrate that 96.5% of the Netherlands-born population of Tasmania speak English well and 48.7% of the same population speak English only (see Appendix B: Table 3.43).\textsuperscript{12}

Recreational activities were also conducted in host community organizations with the major exception being the Dutch Card Club. This particular organization attracted a maximum of about 40 members, however, so that in the pursuit of leisure activities the majority were interacting with native-born Australians.

\textit{Social Networks and Support Structures}

This category of Dutch migrants is clearly characterized by variation. It is an heterogeneous category the members of which have followed a wide range of adaptive strategies in the receiving society. A common characteristic, however, is that all have had wide access to members of the host community as a result of their dispersion into the institutional structures of the receiving society. Access to other Dutch migrants, however, is variable. Social location thus structures access to potential friendship networks and support structures. Past experiences and present orientation determine the eventual nature of the immigrant's interpersonal networks.

A closer examination of the relationship between social location and the nature of the immigrant's interpersonal networks helps to explain the variation in adaptive strategies which characterizes this category of Dutch migrants. Variation in the nature of interpersonal networks exists on the basis of two variables: ethnicity and degree of intimacy. Dutch migrants may thus establish social relationships with the Australian-born population, with other Dutch migrants or with

\textsuperscript{12} Given that these figures include the Reformed Dutch migrants, most of whom speak Dutch, the percentage of non-Reformed Dutch migrants who speak only English would probably be well over 50%.
both. Intimate relationships can be categorized as 'friends' while non-intimate relationships can be described as 'acquaintances'. On the basis of these variables a typology of the nature of the immigrant's interpersonal networks can be developed and analyzed (see Figure 5.2, below).

**FIGURE 5.2 - THE NATURE OF INTERPERSONAL NETWORKS**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Friends</th>
<th>Acquaintances</th>
<th>None</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friends</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintances</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Empirical examples of Types A to F exist among the members of this category of Dutch migrants but Types G to I, while theoretically possible, cannot exist empirically. This is because in the absence of an institutionally-complete ethnic community some minimal interaction with members of the host community must occur in order for the individual to function.

Social location structures access to social relationships. Since the members of this category are dispersed throughout the host community, they all have access to the Australian-born population. Variation occurs, however, in the degree of intimacy of these relationships. This is determined by the individual's past experiences and present orientation. Friendships with the Australian-born population are most likely to occur among those whose spouse is Australian-born. Whether these individuals maintain Dutch social relationships at the same time depends on their social location *vis-a-vis* other Dutch migrants, as well as their past experiences and present orientation.

Access to other Dutch migrants varies considerably among
members of this category. No ethnic community exists to provide greater access to Dutch relationships than to members of the host community. Access to Dutch relationships thus depends on the individual’s location in host community organizations with Dutch members. The degree of intimacy in these relationships is determined, in part, by common membership in a range of host community organizations.

In addition, the nature of the immigrant’s interpersonal networks alters over time and corresponds with the stages of the life-cycle. The individual’s social location alters over the life-cycle thus affecting access to Dutch migrants. Periods of vulnerability and thus need for support also alter over the life-cycle. During vulnerable periods when support is crucial, individuals may choose to mobilize ethnic ties particularly if they have not established friendships with members of the host community.

The nature of the immigrant’s interpersonal network thus varies according to religion, age, nationality of spouse, stage of life-cycle, nature of kin ties in the receiving society and children’s school. Predominantly Dutch interpersonal networks were most common among Dutch Catholics with school-age children during the early stages of settlement. Through the regular Dutch masses and the Catholic schools with small concentrations of Dutch students, Catholic migrants had access to other Dutch migrants experiencing similar adjustment problems. Friendships were established which were reinforced through residential proximity and thus attendance at the same local parish. Where recreational activities were also pursued together, particularly in a context such as the Dutch Card Club, ethnic interpersonal networks became increasingly durable.

For the majority, however, access to Dutch relationships was limited to one or two social contexts. Choice of interpersonal networks varied across individuals and was largely influenced by past experiences,
present orientation and crisis situations. Many of those with some Dutch ties chose not to mobilize them because of their assimilationist orientation. Of these some were able to slowly develop interpersonal relationships with members of the host community while a few were forced to do so through experiencing a common crisis. Others who have tried have found it difficult to establish friendships with members of the host community as a result of markedly different life experiences. A few who did not necessarily wish to mobilize ethnic ties became dependent on these ties for support in a crisis. Such ties were typically mobilized on a temporary basis to satisfy immediate needs but were not maintained over the long-term.

One of the major problems for migrants is access to support. Support networks affect the degree of continuity in the migration experience and thus largely determine the degree of trauma associated with the process of adaptation and the level of satisfaction experienced by the migrant in the receiving society. Host community organizations established to assist migrants were usually not utilized by the Dutch so that those without established social networks experienced difficulties during the adaptive process.

Regardless of the degree of trauma they experienced, these migrants have adapted successfully to the receiving society. Variation exists in the nature of the immigrants' interpersonal networks which has affected the degree of continuity in the process of adaptation. Despite this variation the children of these migrants typically maintain interpersonal relationships with members of the Australian-born population.

The migrants, however, are never totally assimilated. Their status is 'marginal' in that they are located between two cultures but are secure in neither. They have ambivalent feelings about their migration which is often highlighted by their experience of a growing separation between
themselves and their children. These ambivalent feelings are often handled by a family trip to the Netherlands when they discover that 'home' is not what it used to be. They typically return to Australia where their children feel comfortable and the migrants' lives become focussed on their families.

In summary, during the process of adaptation the major concerns of these migrants centred on meeting their most pressing needs: for jobs, accommodation, religious well-being and children's education. These immediate needs were satisfied within the existing institutional structures of the receiving society, a pattern supported by the assimilationist ideology predominant among both members of the host community and the Dutch migrants themselves. They had been told, and came to believe, that rapid assimilation into the receiving society would produce long-term benefits despite the possibility of initial (but minimal) adjustment difficulties. They strongly believed that through their 'hard work and effort' they would each become assimilated and accepted by fellow Australians.

This was the ideal held by these Dutch migrants. However, it was based on the assumption that integration into the existing institutional structure would be automatically followed by acceptance from members of the receiving society. On the contrary, while socialization in a modern industrial society provided them with marketable skills enabling them to perform occupational roles in the receiving society successfully, the process of assimilation was problematic. The literature which cites the overwhelming similarities between the 'modern' societies of Australia and the Netherlands as an explanation for the assumed assimilation of Dutch migrants clearly overlooks important differences. In the 1950s Australia and the Netherlands differed significantly from each other, both structurally and culturally, and these differences had a profound effect on the nature of immigrants' interpersonal networks.\textsuperscript{13}
Unlike the Reformed Dutch, the settlement of the Dutch migrants described in this chapter took the form of dispersion into the residential, occupational, religious and educational institutions of the host community, a pattern resulting from the characteristic individual mode of migration. These Dutch migrants had no unique characteristic in common differentiating them from members of the host community, other than ethnic origin, which could have motivated them to establish alternative formal organizations in the receiving society. In addition, there was no network of ethnic social relationships extending across the majority in this category and the creation of ethnic networks on a smaller scale was problematic.

This pattern of adaptation raises important questions about the causal role given to 'ethnicity' in most theories of immigrant adaptation. The mobilization of 'ethnicity' among these Dutch migrants will now be directly addressed in order to shed some light on this issue.

The Identification of Self and Others

The discussion thus far has demonstrated a process of adaptation characterized by dispersion into the institutional structure of the receiving society. Among the members of this category there was variation in the nature of interpersonal networks and a wide range of adaptive strategies. In contrast to the situation among Reformed Dutch migrants, no ethnic community developed within which diffuse social relationships could maintain traditional notions of 'ethnicity'. There was no clearly-defined boundary which delineated these migrants from the host community. They were therefore not perceived by others as an 'ethnic' community nor as a cohesive 'ethnic' group. Furthermore, individuals within this category were not necessarily identified in terms of their ethnic origin. This type of adaptation clearly illustrates the

13. See Kaplan's (1986) paper which discusses the differences between Australian and German cultures at the level of daily interaction which, she demonstrates, leads to problems in inter-cultural communication. A similar situation exists for the Dutch in Australia making the development of inter-ethnic interpersonal networks problematic.
nature of ethnic mobilization under conditions of relative modernity.

For these migrants, 'ethnicity' was one resource which could be mobilized, if necessary, to satisfy particular needs. The mobilization of ethnicity was thus dependent upon social location and the nature of the immigrant's interpersonal networks. The decision to mobilize ethnic relationships was made on the basis of the immigrant's past experiences and present needs and was situationally specific.

This is evident in the relationship between non-Reformed and Reformed Dutch immigrants. Most non-Reformed Dutch migrants identified the community of Reformed migrants as a minority religious group. They continued to employ the system of categorization with which they had been familiar in the Netherlands recognizing significant differences in lifestyle which distinguished them from Reformed Church members. This perception usually created and reinforced a pattern of relatively segregated social networks which further emphasized the significance of religion, rather than ethnicity, in the delineation of the community's boundaries.

Whether the defining characteristic of the community of Reformed Dutch migrants is identified as ethnicity or religion depends on two factors: social location and situational context. Members of the Australian host community typically perceived 'ethnicity' as its defining characteristic. This led them to wrongly assume that all Dutch migrants were part of this community. Among Dutch migrants, on the other hand, the community was perceived predominantly in terms of its religious identity.

This led to an ambivalence in the process of identification. Social relationships existed across the two types of Dutch migrants which, although ephemeral in nature, were mobilized in certain situational contexts. Thus in certain situations it was clearly useful to emphasize a
common ethnic identity. For example, some individuals who were not of a Reformed background attempted to manage the problems of adaptation by creating ethnic support networks in the Reformed Church community. Those who had not been socialized in such a community, however, soon discovered that its members required a greater level of commitment than they were prepared to give. Rather than establishing bonds based on common experiences with Reformed Dutch migrants as they had expected, they typically discovered significant differences which led them to withdraw from the community. Clearly, the meaning of 'ethnicity' varies significantly across the two types of adaptation.

On their arrival in the receiving society the significance of ethnicity varied among members of this category of Dutch migrants. For those who emigrated from the Netherlands, regional, religious and class identities were more significant than an 'ethnic' identity. An assimilationist orientation further weakened the significance of ethnicity which was reflected in a high rate of naturalization and the not uncommon decision to anglicize Dutch names. On the other hand, for those who emigrated from Indonesia ethnicity had become central to the process of self-identification. This was reflected in the relatively closed social networks which they maintained after arrival in the receiving society.

Alterations in the relative salience of ethnicity are dependent upon the immigrant's social location and are reflected in the nature of interpersonal networks. Ethnicity is more significant for the individual who is a member of an ethnic interpersonal network than for the individual who is not since it is through such relationships that ethnicity is mobilized. The ethnic nature of interpersonal networks depends on social location and varies over the life-cycle. Furthermore, decisions made at important transitional periods in the life-cycle, such as choice of marital partner, children's schooling and church membership, significantly affect the ethnic nature of such networks. The salience of
ethnicity as a basis for the identification of self and others thus varies over time.

In relation to identification processes, the long-term trend among members of this category is towards assimilation. Either through choice or necessity, the adaptive strategies followed by these migrants, although variable, typically led to ethnicity becoming increasingly peripheral as an identity construct.

For some migrants the decision to emigrate was associated with an equally conscious decision to reject a Dutch identity in favour of cultivating either an Australian identity or a more 'cosmopolitan' identity. A conscious decision to alter one's reference groups was made. This involved an awareness of the necessary resocialization process which would require breaking ties with the 'home country' and those people who were associated with it.

For some, the rejection of ethnic identity is associated with the significance (or lack of significance) attached to religious identity. Due to the all-embracing nature of the ethno-religious community developed by members of the Reformed Church, with its characteristically closed social networks, a situation arose for non-practising or ex-Reformed Church members which precluded the importance of ethnic identity. That is to say, ethnicity became an increasingly peripheral identity construct as a consequence of non-involvement in the ethno-religious community. Thus, just as the maintenance of the Reformed religion led to the maintenance of ethnicity, the opposite has also been true for those who rejected the religion.

For other migrants, ethnicity was not so much rejected consciously as a basis for self-identification in conjunction with the decision to emigrate. Rather this situation marked the final stage of a gradual process in which ethnicity became increasingly less significant.
due to a series of situational factors through which the migrant passed. The social location of these migrants changed over time which involved a shift in the nature of the immigrant's interpersonal networks. Typically, these individuals' interpersonal networks became increasingly Australian in nature until very few, if any, ethnic relationships were maintained at all.

The absence of an ethnic interpersonal network has a paradoxical effect on the process of adaptation in the receiving society. It can make adjustment more traumatic, particularly during a crisis, unless the migrant has established an alternative support structure in the host community. On the other hand, since an ethnic interpersonal network is the mechanism through which ethnic traits are maintained, the absence of such a network serves to gradually reduce the salience of ethnicity in the process of self-identification. This provides the migrant with the motivation to establish new reference groups in the receiving society and to become increasingly involved in interaction with the Australian-born population among whom new support structures can develop. The potential for successful adjustment is thereby enhanced.

This is the typical pattern of adaptation among the members of this category of Dutch migrants. It is the outcome of a set of multipliers including an assimilationist orientation, marketable skills which enabled integration into the receiving society, high rates of mobility and periods of vulnerability requiring the establishment of support structures which eventually led to the development of interpersonal relationships with members of the host community. The majority of these migrants thus no longer identify themselves as Dutch but as Australian. Variation exists in the nature of interpersonal networks, however, which affects the frequency with which ethnicity is mobilized and thus the degree of centrality attached to ethnicity in the process of

14. This process was clearly illustrated by the hostility expressed by many of the subjects if told they were contributing to a study on "Dutch migrants".
self-identification.

In this and the preceding chapter the typical processes of adaptation among both Reformed Church members and non-Reformed Church members have been described and analyzed. Such descriptions of necessity miss the richness and complexity of individual biographies. To give adequate weight to that richness, and to illustrate the nexus between individual and group processes of adaptation, the next chapter will look in some detail at such biographies before proceeding, in the following chapter, to further analysis of the process of adaptation.
CHAPTER SIX: THE MIGRANT'S WORLD

Chapters Four and Five have presented two ideal type processes of adaptation in the receiving society: community development and individual dispersion. Although recognizing the significance of individual adaptive strategies, these chapters have focussed on these processes at the macro-level. As a consequence, they have not accurately represented the complexity of personal biography from the migrant's perspective.

In reality, individuals do not fit neatly into one type or the other but are constantly assessing their situation and choosing strategies characteristic of either type. Links exists between members of the ethno-religious community and others of Dutch origin in the receiving society. Furthermore, the nature of these links is not static but continually changing as a function of the adaptive process itself. This chapter will demonstrate the complexity of this process from the migrant's perspective by illustrating how individuals make 'choices' which are constrained by their social location and past experiences.

11 Brief Case Histories

The following brief case histories have been selected from field notes for the purpose of illustrating the adaptive strategies of Dutch migrants in Tasmania. To maintain anonymity the names used are fictional. Each case is presented here without analysis. Some interpretive comments are made, however, to bring into relief certain aspects which will be used for analytical purposes in Chapter Seven.

The cases illustrate the process of immigrant adaptation, indicating the significance of changes in the migrant's resources and social location. In each case the unit of analysis is the family, thereby enabling the importance of both life-cycle processes and intergenerational changes to be noted. Individual adaptive strategies are
the focus of concern and these are shown to be affected by transitional stages in the life-cycle. Furthermore, the cumulative effect of such strategies is such that it directly affects the range of 'choices' available to subsequent generations.

The cases have been chosen to demonstrate variation in the 'choice' of adaptive strategies making it possible to analyze later the factors influencing opportunity structures, interaction patterns and the process of self-identification. They are not examples of extreme cases but represent a cross-section of the adaptive strategies characteristic of Dutch migrants.

CASE NO. 1: Maintaining the centrality of a religious identity

Dirk Hoving and his wife, Elly have been married for 12 years. Elly was 20 when they married and they now have 4 sons aged between 3 and 10, two of whom attend the Calvin Christian School. They live at Kingston in the house that John and Elly bought for $11,000 when they were first married and which they have extended since. The Hovings are highly committed members of the Reformed Church as are both families of origin. Dirk and Elly were both raised in Reformed families and religion is extremely important to them. It provides meaning to their personal lives and acts as a focal point in their family life. They define themselves first and foremost as Christians, perceiving similarities between themselves and other Christians but clearly distinguishing themselves from non-Christians.

Dirk migrated from Groningen in the 1950s as a young child accompanying his parents. The Hovings were sponsored by friends who lived at Sulphur Creek in northern Tasmania, an area to which a number of Reformed Dutch had migrated. Mr.Hoving established a painting business in which he worked for a number of years before deciding to move to Hobart. There he joined a building company which had been established earlier by two Reformed Dutch migrants, Mr.van
Deenik and Mr. Swarts, both formerly of Sulphur Creek. The Hovings became staunch members of the Kingston Reformed Church as are their friends. Their commitment to the Reformed Church and its members has meant that they have had limited access to the native-born Australian population. One consequence is that today, after a thirty year period of residence in Australia, Mrs. Hoving speaks very little English. Dirk, who speaks Dutch fluently, attended Kingston Primary and Taroona High Schools because the Calvin School had not been established at that time.

In 1951, at the age of one and a half, Elly de Feyter migrated from Groningen with her parents and two older sisters. They were sponsored by, and initially stayed with, a Reformed family in Blackman's Bay with whom they were not previously acquainted but whom they now call friends. As early members of the 'community' of Reformed migrants at Kingston/Blackman's Bay they were involved in establishing the Kingston Reformed Church in 1952.

Within three days of arriving in Hobart Elly's father applied for employment at a large zinc works and was accepted subject to a successful medical examination. The job would pay well but the lack of public transport between Blackman's Bay and the zinc works meant that he would have to live at the Hobart YMCA and return home to his family on the weekends. By chance, as he wandered around the city prior to his medical appointment, he 'stumbled across' the Metropolitan Transport Trust (MTT) where, despite his inability to speak English, he was able to indicate that he was looking for work. He was offered work commencing 10 days later. The pay would be less than that at the zinc works but he accepted because he would be able to live with his family.

Later that day he passed his medical examination and, not wanting to be considered rude or unappreciative, he accepted the position at the zinc works with the intention of resigning after the first
week. He found the work to be 'rough and dirty', his workmates to be too 'ockerish' and he did not appreciate their 'lazy' attitude towards work. He recalled that of the eight hours they were present they only worked for about 4 or 5; the rest of the time they played cards. During his week at the company he did not have to stay at the YMCA, as he said: "thanks to the Dutch community". A member of this community, Mr.Diehl, having heard of his predicament, arranged for him to be collected outside the Kingston Hotel at 7 a.m. and driven to work by another community member.

He began at the MTT a week later, working on the underground lines. A year later he was promoted to a position on the overhead lines where he worked for the next ten years. He recalled that during this time he and other members of the community usually worked six days a week. He often volunteered for over-time at the MTT or he would look for private work on Saturdays. Mr.de Feyter emphasized that they all saved their money carefully so that today most members of the community are "pretty well-off". He suggested that this is the reason so many are able to make regular trips to the Netherlands.

Mr. and Mrs. deFeyter were naturalized exactly five years after arriving in Australia. They recalled that it was a very proud day for them although Mrs.de Feyter remembered that it had been very difficult to give up her allegiance to the Dutch queen. She said: "You never forget about Holland....You always feel a little bit Dutch".

Later, while on long-service leave from the MTT, Mr.deFeyter decided to establish his own drapery business. He began as a 'hawker' selling from a mobile unit and later bought a shop at the Kingborough Shopping Centre. The business, he recalled, was very successful. The deFeyter's friends are all Dutch members of the Reformed Church. Mrs.deFeyter regularly attends a Dutch Ladies Guild arranged by members of the Reformed Church at which Dutch is normally spoken.
Dirk's mother, Mrs. Hoving, is a member of this guild as are a number of other women of this generation who do not speak English very well.

Elly attended Grade 6 at Calvin Christian School, the year it opened, after which she went to Taroona High School where, she recalled, "the Dutchies stuck together". Despite the opportunity to make friends with native-born Australians she, like many others of the same background, selected her friends from among the Reformed students. She and Dirk 'met' at the Reformed Church Youth Club with which they are now very much involved as organizers, regularly volunteering as supervisors for statewide Youth Camps. They suggest that the primary function of such camps lies in assisting young people to find a partner of the same religion. Elly noted that although marriage is never easy, the potential for a successful marriage is increased if both partners are committed to the same religion.

Their religious world-view pervades every aspect of their lives and, outside working hours, their activities revolve around the church and its members. Apart from the Youth Club, they attend church twice on Sundays. In addition, Elly belongs to the Ladies Guild and attends women's Bible study classes in the mornings. Dirk is a member of one of the 'Little Churches' and plays in a Youth Club basketball team. On the evening of the interview, their eldest son attended his first Cadets' meeting.

Dirk and Elly's childhood memories suggest a lifestyle which differed from that of Australians at the time and their own children today. On Sundays they were not allowed to go swimming or ride their bikes and they would go on family walks dressed in their 'Sunday best': the boys in white shirts and ties and the girls in pretty dresses. They recall being ridiculed by local children playing on the beach. Today, however, Dirk attends church in an open-necked shirt and the children are not so "dressed up". They go swimming at the beach on Sundays but
make sure that they are at home in time to be ready for church in the
evening.

In comparing their own upbringing with that of their children,
Dirk noted that the biggest difference is that they are now "better off".
They can afford to give their children the things for which Dirk, as a
child, had had to work and save for years. They believe that this makes it
all the more important to teach children the important values of hard
work and family unity which they perceive to be disappearing from
today's society. Elly works voluntarily at the Pregnancy Support Centre
and strongly believes that the social problem of unmarried mothers
would not arise if people provided standards for their children to live by.
It is these values and standards which are central to their lives and
which they are consciously attempting to pass on to their children. They
perceive a commitment to the Reformed faith and frequent contact with
others who share this faith as the best way of achieving their goals.

CASE NO. 2: Maintaining religious commitment under pressure

Mr. and Mrs.Van Burgel migrated from Rotterdam in 1956 and
now live at Kingston. They are members of the Reformed Church and
have 7 children all of whom were born in Tasmania. In the Netherlands,
Mr.Van Burgel had been a bank manager prior to his two years military
service in Indonesia and Mrs.VanBurgel had been a teacher. They left
the Netherlands to "get away from the rat-race" and because of what they
perceived as poor treatment of returned servicemen. The government
was unwilling to sponsor Mr.VanBurgel through tertiary education.

They chose Tasmania as their destination after reading a
pamphlet, distributed by the Reformed Church, outlining the
sponsorship programme and giving the name of a contact in Hobart.
They came on assisted passages and on their arrival were looked after by
members of the Kingston Reformed Church. Mr. and Mrs.Van Burgel
both spoke English relatively well, having studied it at high school,
although they experienced some difficulty with the Australian accent.

Mr. Van Burgel applied for a position at a Hobart bank to which he was appointed, subject to the approval of the Melbourne head office. He was told this would be a 'mere formality' but three weeks later was informed that he did not have the job. No reason was given. He then saw a newspaper advertisement for a shift worker at a large zinc works which employed many migrants. He applied for the position, thinking that it would allow him to develop his keen interest in scientific research. When he arrived, however, he discovered the position was in the leeching works. He commented that he "had never seen a place like it before". Nevertheless, he was prepared to accept the work and inquired as to the meaning of "shift work". Once he learned that it would require working three out of every four Sundays he explained that he would not be able to accept because it went against his Christian beliefs. Three days later he received a letter from the company offering him a position in the research department which did not require weekend work.

He stayed in this position for 12 years, during which time he completed a part-time Technical College course in physics and chemistry. He enjoyed the work although it was extremely easy and complained that when he worked hard he was criticized by fellow workmates. He felt that, in general, Australians have a negative attitude towards the Dutch because they do not understand why they place such importance on hard work and success. His major criticism of the company was that he believed it had an informal policy of not promoting migrant employees. It was for this reason that he eventually left to establish his own business. He bought a shop at the Kingborough Shopping Centre, from which he first sold shoes, then toys and sporting goods, and later established a travel agency on Channel Highway. He now does accountancy work from home on a private contractual basis.

Mr. Van Burgel's brother migrated two years later and his sister a
few years later still. The brother, also married to a Reformed Church member, now owns an electrical company located at the Kingborough Shopping Centre and has 6 children. The sister married a member of the Reformed Church and now lives with her husband and four children in South Australia.

Mrs. Van Burgel being a full-time mother and housekeeper has not worked in Tasmania. They are very involved in the Reformed Church and Mr. Van Burgel’s accountancy skills were utilized in the development of the church, the Calvin Christian School and more recently, in establishing an inter-denominational Christian Home for the Aged at Kingston. They speak Dutch with most of their friends; their children can understand Dutch and speak it relatively well. The majority of their friends are Dutch members of the Reformed Church. Mrs. Van Burgel believes that this is because their involvement in the church has isolated them from the native-born Australian population. Mr. Van Burgel disagreed, however, pointing to people he knew who had left the church because of their perception of its isolating effect but had still not been totally accepted in the Australian community. He believed that this lack of acceptance was due to their Dutch origin rather than their religious background. Mr. Van Burgel’s experiences led him to perceive ethnicity and class background as significant factors in the development of interpersonal relationships. Although highly committed to the Reformed faith he does not identify with the majority of other members in Tasmania who are predominantly tradesmen. He described himself as a white-collar worker which he believed created a clear distinction between his family and other Reformed families.

The Van Burgel children have a much wider range of friends and acquaintances than do their parents although their "closest" friends are Reformed Church members. They all attended the Calvin Christian School for at least part of their education and most of their activities revolve around the church and its associated clubs. They are not as
interested in sport as most Australian children. Mr. Van Burgel believes that Australians place too much emphasis on sport and suggests that Australian children are forced to play and made to feel guilty if they do not. He believes that it has been necessary for his children to look outside the Reformed Church community to meet others from white-collar backgrounds with similar intellectual interests and aspirations. He is very proud of his eldest son, George, who unlike the majority of the children of Reformed migrants continued his education through to postgraduate level at university.

While attending university George was exposed to various world-views, some of which were directly opposed to the Reformed faith. Opportunities to interact with people outside the Reformed community also increased. George responded to his situation by increasing his commitment to Christianity in general and the Reformed faith in particular. He became actively involved in a Christian youth group on campus through which he met his future wife, Mary. An education student and a native-born Australian, she is a committed Christian from a Brethren background. Prior to their marriage Mary became a member of the Reformed Church. Soon afterwards they transferred from the Kingston to the Hobart congregation because they believed the former was becoming too large and "Americanized". The Hobart congregation, on the other hand, is more conservative in its orientation. George became an elder at this church and Mary committed herself to Sunday School teaching.

After completing university George became a government employee which required an interstate move. He and Mary transferred to the Reformed Church in the city where they now reside. Here they renewed their friendships with members whom they had previously met through national Reformed Church organizations. They now have two children and Mary's life revolves around her home and the church. They keep in regular contact with family and church members in Hobart
and have made a number of trips home since their departure two years ago. George's involvement in activities outside the church and his separation from the community within which he was raised has coincided with Mary's increased involvement in the church. As a result, it has been possible for them to maintain a high degree of religious commitment for the present, despite the disruptive effects of their mobility.

CASE NO. 3: "Giving up the old ways" - a modern couple adjusting to local conditions

Mr. and Mrs. Aanholt migrated from Amsterdam in 1954 as a young married couple. Mr. Aanholt, having just completed a civil engineering course, decided that gaining practical experience in either Canada or Australia would be of benefit to him. They chose Tasmania as their destination because Mr. Aanholt's aunt who had migrated three years earlier was able to arrange a job for him with the Public Works Department in Hobart. They migrated under the assisted passage scheme and, having learned English at school, taught it to others on the migrant ship.

For a short period of time they stayed with Mr. Aanholt's aunt at Kingston and then rented a house at Blackman's Bay. Two months after their arrival Mrs. Aanholt began work as a shop assistant at a department store in the city. She recalls that because she was European she was frequently called upon to sort out communication problems with migrants, whether they were Russian, Italian or German. She found this amusing and indicative of the naive attitude Australians had towards migrants at that time. After about twelve months she took a secretarial position at the university where she worked until the arrival of her first child in 1957. The Aanholts now have four children all of whom have attended the local state schools. The eldest three have matriculated and the youngest was completing high school at the time of the interview.
Mr. and Mrs. Aanholt do not belong to a church and Mr. Aanholt has not joined any voluntary organizations in Hobart. He was asked to join the Lions Club but declined because he was not interested in joining a club for social purposes. Mrs. Aanholt, on the other hand, has belonged to numerous organizations since leaving full-time employment. She has been on various school committees as her children have moved from pre-school through to high school, frequently taking on the position of secretary of the Parents and Friends Association. She has been involved in Red Cross for many years and was instrumental in establishing the National Volleyball Association. She has belonged to other organizations from time to time and emphasized that "none of them were ethnic organizations". Now that they only have one son remaining at home Mrs. Aanholt has returned to work, on a part-time basis, at a local bank.

The Aanholt's bought their first home at Kingston in 1961. In 1964 they sold it and moved to Kingston Beach because they "wanted to get away from the Reformed Church". They described the members of this church as "backward" pointing out that their way of life resembles that of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands twenty years ago. Most of the Aanholt's friends are Australian although they have a couple of Dutch friends with whom they occasionally speak Dutch. They have made about four return visits to the Netherlands and both their mothers have visited Hobart regularly.

They do not think it has been difficult to settle in Tasmania and claim that this is because they have had the "right" attitude. That is to say, they have been prepared to "give up their old ways" and have wanted to fit into the Australian way of life. During the early years they found that Australians would accept them easily as long as they never compared Tasmania unfavourably with the Netherlands.

Apart from their eldest daughter, who completed Dutch as a
Higher School Certificate subject, the Aanholt children do not speak Dutch. The children define themselves as Australian and all their friends are Australian. The second eldest child has been to the Netherlands on a holiday and the others have said that they would like to visit "one day".

**CASE NO. 4: Memories of a past identity - the diminution of ethnicity**

Anton Lieshout came to Australia via Indonesia in 1953 and now owns a successful small business specializing in food. He and his native-born Australian wife, Helen, a nursing sister, have four children. His eldest daughter lives in Canberra and is a member of the Australian Federal Police Force; the second eldest daughter works in her father's shop and the youngest daughter and son attend local Catholic schools. Anton declares himself to be atheist and Helen, who was raised as a Presbyterian, described herself as 'not very religious'.

Anton was an only child raised by his mother and journalist step-father in a small town near Arnhem. After finishing high school he volunteered for the Dutch Marines, an elite army corps in the Netherlands for which he was trained in Scotland and the United States. He was posted to Japan but the war ended while he was in transit so he was re-routed to join the occupation forces in Indonesia.

His return to the Netherlands in 1948 was marked by an unexpected hostility on the part of the Dutch people. To explain this reaction he recalled that during his absence from the Netherlands the United Nations had embarked on a propaganda campaign which turned the tide of public opinion against the occupation forces in Indonesia. Having been informed about the nature of the guerilla warfare and of the various atrocities allegedly performed by military personnel, the Dutch people came to believe that Indonesia should be given its independence. They came to perceive the members of the occupation forces (especially those who had volunteered) as inhumane murderers
of innocent women and children who deserved the public abuse they received on their return. Anton immediately applied to return to Indonesia as a civilian. He got a job as a supervisor on a rubber plantation outside Jakarta. The work was hard and the conditions were difficult due to the political instability and continuing guerilla warfare in the area. Every month, however, the plantation workers would go to Jakarta and "get drunk for four days".

In 1953 when the Indonesian government was pursuing a policy of replacing Dutch with Indonesian workers, Anton was given three weeks' notice to leave the country. He did not wish to return to the Netherlands and by chance, in his "regular" bar in Jakarta, he met an Australian Embassy employee who arranged a visa for him to Australia. Anton's employers paid his passage on a cargo ship and advanced him six months pay. After six weeks on the ship which stopped at Perth, Darwin, Brisbane and Sydney, he arrived in Melbourne where he spent the next 3 months "just enjoying himself".

While in Melbourne he accidentally "bumped into" a Dutch professor of agriculture with whom he had worked in Indonesia. The professor, his Indonesian wife and two children were on their way to Tasmania to join the professor's brother who had recently purchased about 250 acres of farming land near Scottsdale. They planned to grow vegetables and asked Anton to work for them.

There were three Dutch families living in the area all of whom became very close friends. After 6 months Anton became concerned because he had not learned any English during this time. So, he "packed his bags" and moved to Hobart where he rented a room at the YMCA which was located near the central railway station and the general hospital. During this time Anton met many people from all kinds of backgrounds including other residents, many of whom were university students from overseas, as well as travellers and hospital visitors who
ate at the YMCA’s public dining room. Within two days of arriving in Hobart he found work as a labourer on a city construction site. He mixed socially with university students and nurses many of whom had come from the mainland to complete the twelve month midwifery course which had a very good national reputation at that time. Anton recalls that his English improved rapidly during this period of time.

When his labouring job terminated Anton found employment at a large local zinc works and also started working as a volunteer in the outpatients section of the general hospital. He enjoyed the work and decided to enrol in a geriatric nursing course at a nearby public nursing home. When this course was finished he took a position at a psychiatric hospital and gained a certificate in psychiatric nursing. He and a friend had a flat in Bathurst St. at the time and enjoyed a very active social life. They drank regularly at a local hotel which had the only cocktail bar in Hobart frequented by both male and female clientele. He had many friends, including a number of Dutch and German bachelors. All of them, including himself, have now become “very Australian”. They all married native-born Australian girls and no longer keep in touch with each other. Anton described himself and his friends as having “melted into the crowd”.

During his first year in Hobart Anton belonged to a Dutch ‘club’ which met regularly in a function room in the city. Initially, Dutch people of varying backgrounds attended but Anton recalls that it did not take long for hostilities to arise and splits to develop. The club established a soccer team which played in a local roster but it soon folded because games were often postponed to Sunday and members of the Reformed Church refused to play. Anton eventually stopped going to the club and joined a soccer team at the local zinc works instead.

During this time he completed his general nursing training and married a nursing sister who came from Newcastle in New South
Wales. After a few years' employment as a nurse, he and a business partner took over the lease of a small suburban shop. They were very successful and they have since bought the business and the building in which it is located.

About 12 years ago Anton's step-father died and his mother came to live in Hobart. She initially lived in the flat above his shop but after suffering a stroke moved into a unit at Kingston which, they discovered later, was managed by members of the Reformed Church. She was visited often by other Dutch people living in the area and although she had never been religious, she became a member of the Reformed Church and remained with the church until her death in 1983.

Today, Anton rarely speaks Dutch. When his mother died and he had to speak with people in the Netherlands he found it extremely difficult. His children do not speak Dutch and none of the family have any desire to visit the Netherlands in the future. He says he no longer "feels Dutch" and has stronger feelings for Indonesia than for the Netherlands. His wife and his friends are all native-born Australians and he defines himself as Australian.

CASE NO. 5: A family business - adjusting through commitment to work

Mr. and Mrs. de Neeff migrated from South Holland in 1949. Mr. de Neeff had been a radio operator during the war and spoke fluent English. Mrs. de Neeff's parents had strongly opposed her decision to migrate, believing that it was "beneath her" because only lower class people migrated. The assisted passage scheme had not yet been established and the de Neeffs spent "all their money" flying to Australia. Through the Australian embassy in the Netherlands a job had been arranged for Mr. de Neeff at Scottsdale in northern Tasmania. They initially stayed at Penguin with a Dutch person with whom they had been vaguely acquainted. Because of his English ability Mr. de Neeff was
immediately offered a foreman's position at a local cannery in Penguin which employed a large number of Dutch migrants. He remained in this job for a few years despite the long hours and the poor salary.

The de Neeffs eventually decided to move to Hobart where, with the financial backing of an Englishman, they established a market garden. The business was unsuccessful and they then took out a loan to buy some land and establish a nursery. Through hard work, reinvesting profits and purchasing expensive modern technology, the business became very successful. The deNeeffs now have 4 sons and a daughter all of whom are employed in the business.

The de Neeffs are Catholic and during the 1950s as well as attending their own local parish they also attended the regular Dutch masses held at St.Joseph's in the city where they met a few Dutch people. The children attended local Catholic schools through which Mr. and Mrs.de Neeff met other Dutch parents and they have also established Dutch contacts through the business. However, none of these people have remained close friends. Today, the few friends they have are Australian and Catholic. It is to these friends that they have turned in times of crisis. When they were burnt out during the 1967 bushfire Mr. and Mrs.de Neeff lived in a caravan on their property but the 5 children stayed with school friends.

Mr. and Mrs.de Neeff joined the Dutch Australian Society when it was first established in the 1970s but did not remain members for very long. Mrs.de Neeff joined a Bowls Club for a short period of time but says she now prefers to stay at home. Mr. de Neeff's hobby is radios and this also keeps him at home most of the time. They rarely speak Dutch which Mrs.de Neeff says she has virtually forgotten. The children do not speak Dutch. They define themselves as Australian and have all married Australians. The deNeeffs have minimal contact with their families in the Netherlands and have no desire to visit there.
CASE NO. 6: Living in two worlds - managing an ethnic identity

In 1955, at the age of 23, Hans Van Smaalen left the Netherlands on a working holiday. He decided to visit his uncle who lived in Melbourne and, in accordance with the conditions of the assisted passage scheme, told his parents he would return in two years. He had completed his apprenticeship as a chef in the Dutch army and his uncle arranged a job for him as a cook at a Catholic residential college in Melbourne. He recalled that the salary was not very good but, as a "continental chef", he was treated with respect. His high school English improved through working with Australians at this time.

Hans is Catholic and attended mass at the local parish where the parishioners were predominantly Australian. He made some good friends through the church and through one of them he met a Dutch girl, Margriet, whom he married in the late 1950s.

Margriet had migrated to Melbourne from Amsterdam with her family in the mid-1950s. They had received assistance through the Catholic sponsorship scheme organized by Father Maas and for this reason Margriet claimed that they were not 'migrants'. Margriet was 17 at the time and was unable to complete her high school education because, as the eldest of 8 children, her parents expected her to work. With the church's assistance she acquired a position as an auxiliary nurse in a Catholic hospital. The pay was poor but she was able to live in the nurses' home and therefore did not have to burden her parents. She too found that her high school English improved rapidly at work.

Margriet recalls that the early years in Australia were very difficult for her family, describing it as "a real struggle". Her father never really felt comfortable in Australia and returned to the Netherlands when her mother died. He has since remarried and now lives happily in Amsterdam with his Dutch wife. Margriet's brothers and sisters have all remained in Australia, settling in either Melbourne or Brisbane, and
have all married Australians.

After Hans and Margriet were married they worked very hard and managed to save enough money to put a deposit on a house. Soon afterward Margriet became pregnant and left work which meant that Hans had to "work a bit on the side" to meet the mortgage repayments. They had six children over the next few years and according to Margriet were doing fairly well financially at that time.

In 1969, however, Hans' mother, whom he had not seen since he left home in 1955, became very ill and died. This kindled a sense of loss and isolation which led the Van Smaalens to rent out their house and return to the Netherlands. While they were there Hans took on a lecturing position in catering at a technical college, Margriet got on very well with Hans' family and after about 6 months the children had settled into their schools.

In 1974 Hans decided that he would like to return to Australia to live. So they re-emigrated, staying first with Margriet's brother in Melbourne and then moving to Hobart where Hans had been appointed as chef in a new motel. Margriet believed that this move had been "a step backward" for them. She felt that they had had to start all over again and that the children's schooling had been disrupted.

The Van Smaalens live at Moonah and are members of the local Catholic parish. They belong to a local tennis club and have a number of Australian friends. In addition, they are very involved in the Dutch Australian Society and have many Dutch friends whom they see regularly. They speak Dutch with each other especially now that their children have left home. They returned to the Netherlands for a holiday in 1975 and Hans would like to return for a longer period of time at some stage.
Their two eldest boys attended a Catholic college but the Van Smaalens could not afford to send their other four children there. After completing high school, however, the youngest daughter decided to continue her education to Higher School Certificate level and since the other children were financially independent at this stage, they were able to send her to a Catholic college for her final year. The children quickly forgot the Dutch language after returning to Australia, although two chose Dutch as a Higher School Certificate subject.

The children define themselves as Australian and all their friends are Australian. The two eldest daughters occasionally attend Dutch Australian Society (DAS) functions. The eldest daughter is married to an Australian and has two children. Hans and Margriet would like to see the young people become more involved in the DAS but are aware that it offers nothing to attract their interest.

CASE NO. 7: Choosing a path - a family divided

In 1951, at the age of 18, Jan van Deenik migrated from Groningen with his parents and younger siblings. Mr.van Deenik (senior) had owned a small building company but had found success difficult to achieve after the war with a socialist government in power. He claimed that a substantial proportion of his profits "disappeared" in taxes and financial benefits to his employees. He decided that he and his family could achieve greater success elsewhere.

As members of the Reformed Church the van Deenik family were already aware of other church members who had migrated to Tasmania, a fact which influenced their decision to migrate and their choice of destination. They were sponsored by members of the Reformed Church at Penguin on the north-west coast of Tasmania. On their arrival, Jan and his father experienced no difficulty in obtaining work as they immediately began building homes for other Dutch migrants in the area.
The van Deenik family became members of a growing community of Reformed Dutch migrants who settled on Tasmania's north-west coast during the 1950s.1 Within a couple of years Jan married Beatrix Swarts, a Reformed Church member who had also migrated as a teenager with her family. The Swarts' had left the Netherlands in search of better opportunities for their children. Together with two of his brothers, Mr.Swarts had owned a market garden in the Netherlands. Due to a lack of space the potential for expanding the business was limited so that it would not provide future employment opportunities for his eight children. Mr.Swarts decided that migration would be a better alternative and therefore arranged, through his church, for members at Penguin to sponsor his family to Australia.

Jan van Deenik recalls that building opportunities on the north-west coast began to decline in the 1960s.2 Perceiving greater opportunities in Hobart the van Deeniks and the Swarts' decided to move to Kingston where they were already acquainted with Reformed Church members. Jan van Deenik and Mr.Swarts immediately gained employment with the Australian Construction Company for whom they worked prior to establishing their own building company approximately a year later.

As highly committed Reformed Church members with a young family, Jan and Beatrix van Deenik became involved in establishing the Calvin Christian School. They assisted in fund- raising activities, were part of the voluntary labour force which built the school and when interviewed twenty years later, Jan was a member of the School Board.

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1. As a result of this chain migration two Reformed Churches were instituted on 13th October 1951, one at Penguin and the other at nearby Ulverstone. Total membership in 1955 was 107 and 164 respectively. On 8th February 1958 an additional Reformed Church was instituted at Devonport with a membership of 98. By 1961 membership had grown to 146 at Penguin, 219 at Ulverstone and 125 at Devonport. (Reformed Churches Yearbooks, 1961-1982) (see Appendix C: Map 5.1).

2. During the 1960s there was a decline in the rate of growth of Reformed Churches on the north-west coast while the growth of the Reformed Churches at Kingston and Hobart continued (see Reformed Churches Yearbooks).
He was also on the committee of Reformed Church members which was responsible for establishing a Christian Home for the Aged at Kingston.

The majority of Beatrix and Jan's friends are Dutch as are approximately 50% of Jan's employees. He explained that this was "purely coincidental" resulting from the fact that since the church takes up most of his time and the members of the church are mostly Dutch, then most of the people he knows are Dutch. He explained that he would rather employ people he knew than those he did not. As he said: "Better the evil that you know than the evil that you don't know". He speaks Dutch with his friends and finds he uses the Dutch language more and more as he gets older. The fact that his parents, who now live with him, speak very little English has contributed to the increased frequency of Dutch language use around the home. As a result, the van Deenik children speak Dutch although they define themselves as Australian. The family now call themselves simply 'Deenik' which highlights their identification with the host society.

Two of the Deenik's five children are currently active members of the Reformed Church. All five completed their primary schooling at Calvin but the four eldest attended Taroona High School because the secondary school had not yet been established. At the time of the interview, the youngest daughter, Melinda, was a Grade 10 student at Calvin.

As students at Taroona High School, the four eldest children had the opportunity to establish friendships outside the Reformed Church community. Nevertheless, the eldest daughter, Marijke, recalls that the majority of her school friends were chosen from among the many Reformed students at the school. Marijke trained as an infant teacher and after meeting the requirements of her bond with the Education Department, was personally invited to join the staff at the Calvin
Christian School by the headmaster. While teaching at Calvin she married a Reformed Church member, Henk Klooster, whose father was employed by Jan Deenik. Marijke and Henk initially met at a church youth camp and began dating at college where Henk studied surveying. Henk is currently a government employee and at the time of the interview was an elder at the Kingston Reformed Church. Both Henk and Marijke are highly committed to the Reformed faith and are involved in numerous church-related activities.

The Deenik's son, Peter, and two other daughters, Ingrid and Alison, do not attend the Reformed Church. At Taroona High School Peter joined the football team and mixed socially with other players. After leaving school he worked in the city office of a local Australian company and moved out of home. He continued to play amateur football and engaged in the active social life associated with the sport. This affected his relationship with his parents who did not approve of his life-style. Unofficially he has withdrawn from the Reformed Church. Apart from his family whom he sees infrequently, he no longer maintains friendships within the Reformed community and is not involved in any church-related activities. Church members, on the other hand, continue to perceive him as a member whose involvement has lapsed temporarily. Peter's recent decision to move to Western Australia and his subsequent marriage to a native-born Australian, however, suggests that he has chosen to make a more complete break from his Reformed Church background.

While attending Taroona High School Ingrid and Alison chose friends from among the native-born Australian students. After leaving school Ingrid began work in a city pharmacy and currently has a native-born boyfriend. Alison began, but did not complete, her nursing training during which time she lived at the nurses' home. She currently shares a flat with a nursing colleague, has many friends of Australian origin and leads an active social life.
Certain aspects of her life-style do not sit comfortably with the Reformed faith and this has created problems for her, both personally and in her family relationships. In an attempt to "sort herself out" she travelled on the Australian mainland, working in Darwin for some time. When she returned she began working for her father as a receptionist in his business. She decided to withdraw from the Reformed Church and joined the Baptist Church. She felt that this would enable her to maintain her religious commitment without the constraints imposed on her life-style by the Reformed faith. This decision created conflicts with her family and has been made more difficult by regular visits from church elders. The fact that she works with her father makes the process of withdrawal even more difficult since she frequently comes into contact with Reformed Church members at work. They perceive her membership as having lapsed temporarily and believe that she is in need of advice and forgiveness. On the other hand, she is attempting to create an alternative identity for herself. Her present position is clearly one in which she is caught between two worlds.

CASE NO. 8: Exploring the ethnic option

Mr. and Mrs.VanDerHout migrated from The Hague in 1960 where Mr.VanDerHout had been a diesel mechanic and Mrs.VanDerHout an office worker. They came to Australia on assisted passages and arrived in Hobart "by accident". They were supposed to go to Bonegilla Migrant Camp in New South Wales but when they arrived in Melbourne Mr.VanDerHout was mistaken for another man with the same name and was sent to Hobart. The other Mr.VanDerHout had been a motor mechanic who had a garage job and accommodation pre-arranged. Mr.VanDerHout was not qualified to do the work and the flat which they were to live in was already occupied by a British couple who had nowhere else to go. The VanDerHouts took one room in the flat and approached the Dutch Consul for assistance.

The Dutch Consul found the VanDerHouts a live-in
housekeeping job caring for a Dutch family while the wife was in hospital with T.B. This provided them with food and accommodation but no income so Mr.VanDerHout successfully applied for work at the central post office. He stayed in this job for about four years and then worked as a builder's labourer for a few years. During this time the VanDerHouts became live-in-housekeepers to another Dutch family. This family had acquaintances who were members of the Reformed Church and the VanDerHouts made some friends among them. Mrs.VanDerHout, however, recalls that she was very lonely during the first few years in Australia. She missed her family, as she still does, and feels guilty that she has not been with them to take on family responsibilities when her brother had a stroke and when her mother died.

In 1965 the VanDerHouts joined the Reformed Church and remained members for 12 years. During this time they purchased a house in an inner-city suburb and had four children all of whom attended the local state schools. In 1970 Mr.VanDerHout joined the Fire Brigade where he worked two days and two nights per week. This enabled him to do some casual labouring the rest of the week. They joined the Dutch Australian Society for a few years when it was first established and became members of the Dutch Card Club when Mrs.VanDerHout's father was visiting them. Mrs.VanDerHout visited her family in the Netherlands in 1977 but found it to be so different from when she had left that she decided that she would not like to return.

The VanDerHouts left the Reformed Church in 1978 and joined the Baptist Church where some close Dutch friends were members. Mr.VanDerHout wanted to leave the Reformed Church because he felt they were "hounded" if they missed church one week. Mrs.VanDerHout attends the Baptist Church regularly but Mr.VanDerHout only goes occasionally. The children rarely attend church. The four children define themselves as Australian and their schoolfriends are all Australian.
They do not speak any Dutch and the family does not maintain any Dutch customs.

In 1983, at the time of the interview, Mrs. VanDerHout said that she and her husband did not have a very active social life. Mr. VanDerHout belonged to a pigeon club but they had very few friends. Mrs. VanDerHout recalled that they went to a few parties when her husband had first joined the Fire Brigade but she did not enjoy them. Mr. VanDerHout, on the other hand, said he had many Australian friends and was very happy with his social life.

In 1985 the VanDerHouts renewed a friendship with another Dutch couple, the VanRaaks, when their son became an apprentice plumber in Mr. VanRaak's firm. During 1986, both the VanDerHouts and the VanRaaks have become more involved in the Dutch Australian Society and now attend functions and meetings regularly.

CASE NO. 9: From Reformed Dutch migrant to secular Australian

Mr. and Mrs. Suurmond migrated from The Hague in 1951 with two young daughters. A son was born in Tasmania a few years later. Mr. Suurmond had owned a successful small business, a 'mixed store', which he sold before leaving the Netherlands. The Suurmonds were members of the Reformed Church and Mr. Suurmond's brother had already migrated to Launceston. Mr. Suurmond, dissatisfied with the post-war socialist government and concerned by a perceived threat of economic recession and communism, decided that his family should join his brother in Tasmania.

The Suurmonds arrived on assisted passages, staying initially with their relatives in Launceston. During this time Mr. Suurmond, who spoke very little English, worked as a sweeper with the railways. Here he gained his first impression of Australian workers as "very lazy". Furthermore, he was dissatisfied with his own employment situation
because it did not provide him with the opportunity to work hard.

A few months later Mr. Suurmond bought a gift shop at Beauty Point, a small port where migrant ships berthed regularly. Mrs. Suurmond worked in the shop and the girls attended the local state primary school. Mr. Suurmond described Tasmania as "backward" and viewed his previous business experience in a more advanced country as largely responsible for the success of his shop. Such experience, he claimed, enabled him to predict which items were likely to sell as Tasmania "caught up" to the Netherlands. The girls found their lack of English to be a problem during their first few months at school after which they settled in well.

The Suurmonds were strict Calvinists and, in the absence of a Reformed Church in the area, attended a Presbyterian Church. Bible readings were a regular family activity during their first few years in Tasmania. These were read in Dutch until their son eventually complained that he could not understand them. Sunday rules disallowing work, study or frivolous activities such as bike-riding were also strictly enforced. Sunday activities were restricted to reading and visits to the homes of other church members, the latter increasing as they established close friendships with other church members. Native-born Australians thus dominated their interpersonal relationships although, on occasions, they would travel to Launceston to visit their relatives. Hanneke, the eldest daughter, recalls that as children they were raised in a very strict and disciplined environment. Mr. and Mrs. Suurmond had very high expectations of their children, rarely praising them for their achievements. A frugal life-style was highly valued and strictly enforced.

Over the years the family's life-style gradually changed. Hanneke recalls that her father became more relaxed in his attitude toward religious observances. He would allow them to buy ice-creams while on
Sunday drives, to study on Sundays once they had reached matriculation standard and eventually he would even call in to work on the way home from church. She recalled that this relaxation of standards occurred along with a perceived liberalization process within the church and an increase in the family’s relationships with native-born Australians. The family Bible readings became less frequent until they were no longer held. English became the predominant language in the home and regular church attendance eventually disappeared.

All three children married native-born Australians and define themselves as Australian. Hanneke, now a secondary teacher, has visited the Netherlands and was surprised to find her relatives, many of whom had withdrawn from the Reformed Church, to be so “modern” and “forward-looking”. She had received the impression from Dutch migrants in Tasmania that Holland was a very staid society. Her brother, who has travelled extensively, has no interest in his Dutch heritage and no desire to visit the Netherlands. They have no friends of Dutch origin and the only reminder of their Dutch heritage comes each winter when Mrs. Suurmond bakes oliebollen, the traditional New Year’s Eve fare.

CASE NO. 10: Creating an ethnic support structure

Cees and Hermina Beusekom migrated from Amsterdam in 1960. Aged 20 and 18 respectively, they had recently married. Hermina’s father had been a member of the Reformed Church but she had no religious affiliation. She had completed her teacher training but, being below the minimum teaching age of 19, had not yet gained any employment experience. Cees was a carpenter who had recently returned from Indonesia where he had served as an officer in the Dutch army. He came from a large and very close family and also had no religious affiliation.

The Beusekoms migrated under the assisted passage scheme, travelling on a migrant ship which took them to Melbourne. On their arrival, Cees and two other Dutch carpenters were employed by a Dutch
contractor working for Tasmania’s Hydro-Electric Commission. During the 1950s this company was building a number of power stations in remote areas of Tasmania’s western highlands. The majority of its employees were migrants who lived in ‘villages’ established by the company. The Beusekom, together with the other Dutch carpenters and their wives, were sent to one of these ‘villages’ Hermina had learnt English at school but Cees had not and, since he worked mainly with Dutch migrants, he found little opportunity to learn. During their first few years in Tasmania they had two sons and moved between company ‘villages’ on a regular basis. Hermina was not happy with their situation recalling that there was very little in the way of entertainment in these villages, she did not make many friends and the cost of living was high.

Their situation improved somewhat when they were transferred to a small rural town in the north of the state. Access to native-born Australians increased so that they did not feel as isolated and Cees’ ability to speak English improved dramatically. During this time the Beusekom experienced a couple of crises. Their third child was stillborn and a little later their rented house and belongings were destroyed by fire. They received support, emotionally and materially, from the two other Dutch families with whom they had arrived in Tasmania. As a result, these friendships were strengthened and have been maintained up to the present time despite the now infrequent contact between the families.

By the mid-1960s the Beusekom had managed to save some money. Cees decided to resign from the Hydro Electric Commission and they moved to Launceston where Cees worked as a private contractor. When their younger child began school Hermina began part-time work which she continued for a number of years. In the late 1970s she completed a college degree and in the 1980s was employed by the government in the field of migrant welfare. To establish contact with the communities from which potential clients would be drawn she joined a
number of ethnic organizations, including the Dutch Australian Society. She prefers to define herself as Australian, does not maintain any Dutch customs and emphasizes that the majority of her friends are native-born Australians. Cees, on the other hand, enjoys the regular company of a number of Dutch friends. They both enjoy attending Dutch Australian Society functions, Hermina finding that it provides the opportunity for her to see the two Dutch couples whom she defines as close friends.

The Beusekom's elder son has become a medical practitioner and the younger son had just completed high school at the time of the interview. Neither of them speak Dutch, they define themselves as Australian and are not particularly interested in their Dutch heritage.

**CASE NO. 11: Searching for ethnic "roots"**

Tieneke Jones was born in Delft, is married to a native-born Australian and has three children. She migrated in 1952 at the age of 9, together with her parents and elder sister who had completed school. Her father was a saw-miller and, like many others who migrated in the early 1950s, was dissatisfied with the post-war Dutch government. Tieneke recalls that her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Vandepeer, always said they chose Tasmania as their destination, rather than Canada or some other Australian state, because the climate appealed to them. When they left the Netherlands they were unsure of how long they would remain overseas.

The Vandepeers were assisted migrants who spent their first three weeks in Australia at Bonegilla migrant camp in New South Wales. They then moved to a small town in southern Tasmania where Mr. Vandepeer worked for a saw-miller who had employed a series of migrants over a number of years. They were paid very little, treated with little respect and none had stayed very long. Tieneke did not attend school regularly because it was located some distance from their home. As a consequence, she believes that she did not ever learn to write
competently, either in Dutch or in English. Her elder sister, who was employed as an apple-picker, was writing to a young Dutchman whom she had met on the migrant ship coming to Australia. They were later married and she joined him in South Australia.

Some time later, Mr. Vandepeer acquired a position with a large timber company in Hobart. The family moved to the city where they attended the Christian Science church. They became friendly with a church member who owned a relatively large department store and he helped Mr. Vandepeer buy a block of land and build a house on it. Two more daughters were later born in Hobart.

The Vandepgers did not have many friends. Tieneke described her father as rather anti-social, a person who was happy with the limited company he had at work and at home. Nor did he keep in contact with any relatives in the Netherlands. As a result, Mrs. Vandepeer was very lonely and isolated. She had no close friends in Hobart, missed her family terribly and would have liked very much to return to the Netherlands. Tieneke and her younger sisters attended the local state school and spoke English at home. The three younger girls have all married native-born Australians. Tieneke's husband runs trainee computer courses for a large company and Tieneke is employed in the public service.

Tieneke's interest in her Dutch origin was rekindled when her mother died. She recalls feeling as though she had lost a part of her heritage. The Dutch language was being offered as a Higher School Certificate subject at the time so she enrolled in the course. At about this time, she and her husband met a Dutch couple, the VanSmaalens who had recently arrived in Tasmania, and they became very close friends. The VanSmaalens were involved in the Dutch Australian Society and Tieneke also decided to join. She is now an active member of the club and her husband regularly attends functions with her. They have many
other interests, however, and the majority of their friends are native-born Australians.

The two eldest Jones' children are in the workforce while their youngest son attends a local private school. Tieneke describes her children as "definitely Australian" noting that of the three, only the eldest has shown even a slight interest in her Dutch heritage. Tieneke's father has never returned to the Netherlands and in the late 1970s married a widow of Australian origin whom he had met at church. They do not lead a very active social life but they regularly attend Dutch Australian Society functions which Mr.Vandepeer's new wife finds interesting. Such functions also provide an opportunity for Tieneke and her husband to socialize with Mr. and Mrs.Vandepeer outside the family context.

Conclusion

The case histories presented in this chapter demonstrate that at any point in time the individual has a finite set of available resources which are structured by social location. Past experiences, particularly the nature of primary socialization, predispose him to choose one alternative strategy rather than another in the process of adaptation. Each choice acts as a confirmation of identity thus further influencing subsequent choices. Similarly each choice made thereby directly affects the available range of further choices. The adaptive process is thus viewed as one in which the individual manages his situation by choosing among alternative courses of action in an attempt to maximize his advantages. Through such a process the direction of adaptation is selected by the migrant although the range of available choices is structured by social location. Furthermore, individual adaptive strategies have a cumulative effect. In so far as they determine the social location of the family they directly affect the range of choices available to the second generation.
The brief case histories presented here have shown the individual's range of alternative courses of action to be structured by labour market position, religious affiliation, choice of marital partner, friendship choices, membership in voluntary associations, children's education, children's marriage and retirement. Such factors define the nature of the individual's links to the 'ethnic' and host communities, thereby structuring orientations and access to opportunities. Through a synthesis of the material presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six the following chapter will present a comprehensive analysis of individual adaptive strategies in terms of the alternative processes of community development and dispersion.
CHAPTER SEVEN: THE ANALYSIS OF ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES

In this chapter the process of immigrant adaptation is analyzed by drawing upon the descriptions of the ideal-typical patterns of adaptation set out in Chapters Four and Five and upon the detailed biographies set out in Chapter Six.

The Adaptive Strategy as Process

The individual's social location provides him with a repertoire of roles and identity options. Roles are performed through interaction with others and can involve the mobilization of ethnicity. The range of contexts within which ethnicity is mobilized and the intensity of ties within each context determines the centrality of ethnicity in the process of self-identification. Individual variation occurs and is dependent upon: (a) the individual's location in ethnic and host community structures and (b) the nature of the interaction patterns within these contexts.

Social location can be viewed in terms of a continuum with total absorption in the ethnic community at one end and dispersion into host community structures at the other.

Membership in the ethnic community tends to block opportunities in the host community; limits access to members of the host community; increases the probability that the spouse will be chosen from within the ethnic community. The diffuse nature of ties between members provides the individual with advantages in maintaining ethnic identification; increases the probability that ethnic ties will be mobilized for support and in the achievement of instrumental goals; reinforces the salience of ethnicity and increases its centrality as a basis for the identification of self and others. It thereby decreases motivation to search for alternative patterns of involvement in the receiving society.

On the other hand, location in the host community increases
access to opportunities in the receiving society; increases access to host community members; produces a situation where the disadvantages of ethnicity outweigh the advantages; decreases the probability that ethnic ties will be mobilized; increases the probability that the spouse will be chosen from within the host community; decreases the centrality of ethnicity in the process of self-identification; increases motivation for further involvement in the host community and decreases motivation to establish and/or maintain ethnic relationships.

Most individuals and families are located somewhere along this continuum through the process of differential association. That is to say, some roles provide links to the ethnic community while others link the individual to the host community. The overall direction of adaptation is determined by the location of formal roles, the nature of interaction patterns and the adaptive strategies 'chosen' in the past. Variation in structural location thus leads to the existence of differential biographical trajectories through social space; that is, differential life histories.

The salience of ethnicity as an identity construct 'directs' the individual in his choices and each 'choice' acts as a confirmation of identity. Past experiences and present social location constrain the 'choices' available to the individual as he adapts to new situations. Furthermore, the ethnic nature of interaction patterns in one social context has an interactional effect on the individual's location in other social contexts. Thus, it cannot be assumed that ethnicity is always salient nor that it will be mobilized if the opportunity arises. This process explains the variation evident in the patterns of adaptation among members of a single ethnic category.

**Group Processes: The Structure of Ethnic Relations**

Adaptive strategies can be understood in terms of the individual's social location in the receiving society; that is, his location *vis-a-vis* the ethnic and/or host community structure. At the individual level, the
direction of adaptation has been explained by focussing on the changing nature of patterns of differential association which link the individual to these communities.

At the group level, ethnic structures can be analyzed in terms of:
(a) the level of organizational development;
(b) the nature of interaction patterns among members as well as between members and the host community and
(c) the characteristics which define the boundaries between ethnic structures and the host community.

Variations in type of ethnic structure can be located on a continuum. At one end there are institutionally-complete ethnic communities and at the other there are dispersed members of the ethnic category.

Characteristics of the institutionally-complete ethnic community include:
(a) a high degree of formal organizational development across a wide range of institutional spheres;
(b) members of these communities belong to a wide range of these organizations;
(c) ties between members are diffuse;
(d) social networks are characterized by a high degree of closure;
(e) there is a high degree of segregation between the ethnic and host communities.

Such communities tend to develop under conditions of group or chain migration from relatively less modern to relatively more modern societies. The community structures and diffuse social relationships characteristic of relatively less modern societies are recreated in the receiving society. Members of such communities mobilize ethnicity across a wide range of activities and do so frequently. In such contexts,
'ethnicity' is a multi-dimensional concept reflecting the quasi-kinship nature of social ties. The pseudo-kinship nature of ethnicity carries with it certain advantages so that it is salient in everyday life and likely to be maintained over an extended period of time. As a result ethnicity becomes central in the process of self-identification.

On the other hand, dispersed members of the ethnic category do not interact with each other in any ethnically-defined social context. There is no ethnic organizational development and ethnic interaction patterns are absent. This outcome tends to be the result of individual migration from one relatively modern society to another. These individuals are totally absorbed into the organizational structure of the host community as individuals. If ethnicity is given any significance at all in the process of self-identification, it is peripheral. In this context, 'ethnicity' refers to any one or more of the many variables the concept subsumes and is thus a resource which is mobilized situationally.

Various types of ethnic structures lie between these two extremes. Ethnic communities may be more or less institutionally-complete i.e. ethnic organizational development varies in terms of the range of institutional spheres involved. As a result, ties between members of the ethnic 'community' vary in their level of diffuseness. The intensity of these ties also varies depending on the type of ethnic organization which exists. Where only a small range of ethnic organizational development exists, members of the ethnic community also establish relationships with members of the host community. For these individuals, ethnicity becomes one identity option among many and is mobilized in specific social contexts. Furthermore, where no ethnic organizational development exists ethnic interpersonal networks can still develop among immigrants who interact with each other within the organizational structure of the host community. They tend to develop and maintain such ethnic ties for expressive reasons (e.g. the recognition of common migration experiences). These expressive ties are unlikely to
extend into the next generation.

Ethnic structures develop as individuals manage their situations in the receiving society. Thus, the type of structure which develops for any particular 'group' is the result of the various adaptive strategies 'chosen' by its members. Through this process of structural change immigrants transform their social contexts and thereby further influence individual adaptive strategies.

'Ethnicity' is an umbrella term which subsumes a number of variables. Any one or more of these variables may lead to the development of an 'ethnic' organization or 'ethnic' interpersonal network if it is shared by two or more people with access to each other. Members of an ethnic category establish personal relationships with each other if they share common characteristics such as language, religion, socio-economic status. The more of these characteristics they share and the greater the frequency of interaction with each other, the more likely it is that they will establish interpersonal relationships of a 'communal' nature.

Members of an ethnic category establish an 'ethnic' organization when a common characteristic is shared by a large enough number to provide a clientele. Thus an 'ethnic' organization may be established among members of an ethnic category who share language, religion, socio-economic status or recreational interests. This is most likely to occur if the needs of these members cannot be met by host community organizations or if they are denied access to these organizations.

A single ethnic category can include a variety of distinct and/or overlapping 'ethnic' structures. These include ethnic communities, cohesive ethnic groups, amorphous ethnic 'groups' and ephemeral ethnic relationships. Ethnicity is clearly not the causal factor in the development of these structures. Thus the existence of an institutionally-
complete ethnic community does not mean that all those who nominally belong to the ethnic category are members. Ethnicity *per se* is not the most important criterion for membership in such communities. Similarly, the existence of an 'ethnic' organization does not mean that all those in the ethnic category meet the criteria for membership. Furthermore, interpersonal networks do not always develop among members of an ethnic category even where that potential exists. The characteristics which differentiate the members of an ethnic category from one another may be more numerous and more significant than that characteristic which they have in common, namely, ethnic origin.

**The Complexity of Process**

Distinguishing the process of individual adaptation from the group processes involved in creating a structure of ethnic relations makes for ease of exposition but fails to deal adequately with the complexity of the actual process. In reality, immigrant adaptation involves both individual and structural factors in a complex interactive process.

This can be demonstrated by delineating the major factors which are central to understanding the process of adaptation:

(1) social location in the society of origin
(2) opportunity structures in the receiving society
(3) the relationship between ethnic structures and the host community
(4) the meaning of ethnicity and the availability of adaptation trajectories.

Structural conditions in the society of origin and the individual's social location determine the nature of the emigrant's resources and structure the availability of migration channels. Such factors have a direct effect on the individual's initial social location in the receiving society. This is a particularly important point in the process of individual
adaptation since it largely determines access to opportunities and the nature of interaction patterns.

Ethnic structures develop as a consequence of the aggregation of such individual processes of adaptation. The nature of these structures depends on the social and demographic characteristics of the ethnic category and the structural conditions pertaining in the receiving society. The latter is particularly important since it determines the immigrants' access to dominant structural arrangements thereby determining the level of motivation to establish alternative structures. The former is important in determining the characteristics and extent of potential clientele and thus the overall nature of such ethnic structures.

The dynamic relationship between these ethnic structures and the host community provides the context for ethnic-host interaction patterns. More specifically, it determines the range of contexts within which ethnicity can be mobilized, the frequency of ethnic mobilization and the intensity of ethnic interaction patterns. The individual's location in terms of ethnic and host community structures determines both the centrality of ethnicity in the process of self-identification and the availability of adaptation trajectories. Both factors are particularly significant for understanding variations in the 'choice' of adaptive strategies since they determine the nature of the individual's instrumental and expressive goals and access to the means of achieving them.

The dynamic process in which strategies are selected during the individual's life-cycle must also be understood in terms of the significant changes in social location occurring for all individuals as societies modernize. The nature of social participation alters as societies modernize such that the more modern the society, the more likely it is that social participation will be partial and situational. The consequences for the process of self-identification are significant in that the individual
in such a society is likely to maintain a repertoire of identity options from which he selects those to be expressed in specific situations.

**Factors Affecting Immigrant Adaptation**

(1) **Social Location in the Society of Origin**

In many studies of immigrant adaptation the analysis begins in the receiving society and immigrants are classified in terms of 'ethnic origin'. Ethnicity is thus employed either implicitly or explicitly as an explanatory variable in the process of immigrant adaptation. It is argued here that this use of the concept is inappropriate.

There are two important assumptions which lie behind this inappropriate use of the concept. First the concept of 'ethnicity', when employed as an explanatory variable, assumes a level of homogeneity in the society of origin which rarely exists and typically declines the more modern that society is \(^1\). Secondly it assumes that ethnicity is always significant for the immigrants under investigation. Both assumptions require empirical investigation to determine their validity in the analysis of the adaptive strategies evident within any specific category of immigrants.

Pre-migration factors must therefore be analyzed more closely in order to understand processes of adaptation in the receiving society. They determine the immigrant's resources on arrival as well as his past experiences. Both are significant factors constraining any future 'choices'.

\(^1\) The level of modernity in the society of origin is a variable which has been neglected in past studies. One explanation for this is that historically, migrants have tended to come from relatively less modern societies where the degree of structural differentiation is relatively low. Assumptions of homogeneity do not lead to gross distortions when analyzing these cases. Following this line of argument it is evident that statements about 'migrants' as a social type have often been based on the implicit assumption that they come from similar social structures. As a result, the 'explanation' of differences between migrants has relied upon the analysis of variations in cultural background. It is argued here, however, that structural processes are much more useful in developing an adequate explanation of the process of immigrant adaptation.
the immigrant makes as he adapts to his situation in the receiving society.

Significant pre-migration factors include:

a. the degree and nature of structural differentiation in the society of origin;
b. the structure of migration channels;
c. the social location of the immigrant's family in the society of origin.

a. **Degree and nature of structural differentiation in the society of origin**

Aspects of the social structure which are of particular importance include the relative level of modernity *vis-a-vis* the receiving society and the institutionalized bases of differentiation in the society of origin (e.g. class, religion, region, language, political affiliation). Both factors are important because they affect the nature of interaction patterns and identity constructs among members of the emigrant category. That is to say, they determine the degree of centrality attached to factors such as religion, class, region, and ethnicity in the process of the identification of self and others. This will affect the patterns of adaptation in the receiving society by determining which set of characteristics define the boundaries of 'ethnic' structures.

b. **Structure of migration channels**

Migration channels are established as a result of political (e.g. emigration and immigration policies), historical (e.g. colonization) and economic processes (e.g. recession, depression) in both the society of origin and the receiving society.

The existence of structured migration "paths" is a determining factor in the emigrants' 'choice' of destination and in the characteristics of the immigrant category. Important characteristics of the immigrant category affecting adaptation in the receiving society include the number of immigrants, motivation to emigrate, mode of migration...
(i.e. individual, group, chain) and social composition (i.e. degree of
differentiation in terms of class, religion, region, dialect, marital status,
stage of life-cycle, political affiliation, rural/urban background,
educational level, occupation). These factors are of particular significance
because they determine the structure of interaction patterns among
members of the immigrant category \(^2\) and thus the availability of
clientele for the establishment of ethnic organizations.

c. Social location of immigrant’s family in the society of origin

Knowledge of the individual's location (and/or his family's
location) within the social structure of the society of origin is particularly
important for understanding any variation in adaptive strategies among
the members of an ethnic category. Social location is defined in terms of
class, religion, rural-urban background, region (especially level of
modernity and therefore nature of social networks), educational level,
occupation, marital status and stage of life-cycle. Significant variation can
occur within the ethnic category in terms of these variables. This
emphasises the point made here that 'ethnic origin' is too broad a
category for adequate analysis of adaptive strategies in the receiving
society. The concept of 'ethnicity' obscures important variations within
the immigrant category.

Knowledge of the immigrant's social location in the society of
origin is important for a number of reasons. First it provides some

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1. Studies of Vietnamese (Lewins & Ly,1985) and Polish (Pakulski,1988) immigration to
Australia have demonstrated that time of migration (which correlates with many other
factors such as educational level, occupation etc) is an important basis of differentiation
within the 'ethnic' category. Lewins and Ly's study demonstrates that the 'first wave' of
Vietnamese migrants differ markedly from later Vietnamese migrants particularly in
terms of class background. They suggest that this leads to different patterns of adaptation
in Australia. Pakulski has suggested that the close network of interaction among post-
war Polish migrants does not extend to include more recent Polish migrants. The latter
'group' appear to be establishing a distinct social network based on more recent shared
experiences in Poland with particular emphasis on involvement in the solidarity
movement. While both 'waves' of Polish migrants can be described as political refugees,
their motivation, political orientation and personal experiences differentiate the two
groups rather than provide a basis for cohesion in the process of adaptation.
understanding of the individual's biography (including reference groups, identity constructs and social network patterns) prior to emigration. These constitute an important part of the immigrant's "cultural baggage" and as such have a significant impact on his settlement experiences in the receiving society. In particular, the nature of his social relationships in the society of origin (i.e. particularistic vs. universalistic; ascribed vs. achieved; orientation towards the collectivity vs. self-orientation) affects the manner in which he attempts to achieve goals in the receiving society. It affects his level of competency to establish social relationships with members of the host community and his level of motivation to maintain and/or establish quasi-kinship (e.g. ethnic, religious) ties in the receiving society.

Secondly, it provides insights into the motivation to emigrate (e.g. economic, religious, political) which influences the immigrant's expectations of the receiving society. This is important in determining the immigrant's level of satisfaction with his position in the receiving society and level of motivation to search for alternative patterns of involvement in it.

Thirdly, the individual's social location in the society of origin determines his access to alternative migration channels. This determines both 'choice' of destination and mode of migration.

Fourthly, the individual's social location in the society of origin determines the nature of the resources the immigrant brings with him to the receiving society. These include marketable skills, occupational experiences and life-style factors (i.e. cultural norms and values, interpersonal network and kinship patterns).

3. The concept of 'relative deprivation' (Theordorson, 1969 cited in Vallee, 1975: 192-193) is useful here. It has been employed in past studies to explain variations in the rate of return migration across various ethnic categories. It can be employed here to help explain the variation in adaptive strategies within the ethnic category.
All these factors associated with the individual's social location in the society of origin are significant in determining his initial social location in the receiving society and the nature of his settlement experiences. In particular they affect the nature of interaction patterns in the receiving society; that is, both within the ethnic category and with members of the host community. They also affect the level of motivation to establish alternative structures to those already in existence in the receiving society and availability of clientele.

(2) Opportunity Structures in the Receiving Society

The distribution of opportunities is determined first and foremost by the relative level of modernity and the institutionalized bases of differentiation in the receiving society (e.g. class, religion, language, race, ethnicity, gender). Together with the degree of xenophobia expressed by members of the host community, these factors determine the bases of role allocation in the receiving society. While in theory, the range of opportunities available to the individual increases the more modern the society, in practice the immigrant's access to opportunities is structured by these processes.

It is important to note that these characteristics can vary within the receiving society. Thus, opportunity structures may vary for immigrants who share similar social backgrounds. By determining the structure of interaction patterns in the receiving society these factors also determine the immigrant's initial social location vis-a-vis members of the host community as well as the salience of ethnicity in the interactive process.

In Australian society the immigrant's opportunities are largely structured by the market through which options are created in the areas

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4. It is important to note that ethnicity is not necessarily significant as a basis for structural differentiation in the receiving society. Furthermore, in theory, its significance is likely to decline the more modern that society is.
of employment, residential location, religious affiliation, political affiliation, marriage, kinship and leisure activities. Employment opportunities and career mobility in the receiving society are further affected by legislation surrounding the acceptance of educational and/or occupational qualifications, English language requirements and the availability of (re)training facilities. Opportunities for religious involvement are affected by the degree of similarity between the immigrant's religious background and the dominant religious structures in the receiving society. Residential opportunities are further influenced by the nature of and rules surrounding government-assisted accommodation for immigrants. Marital opportunities are affected by the norms of exogamy and endogamy among members of the host community. Opportunities to be involved in leisure activities and voluntary organizations are affected by normative recruitment patterns and the degree of prejudice and xenophobia expressed by members of the host community.

(3) Ethnic-Host Interaction Patterns

The pattern of interaction established between ethnic structures and the host community provides the immediate context within which adaptive strategies are chosen.

The nature of the ethnic structures which develop in the receiving society is determined by characteristics of the immigrant category (discussed earlier) and the structure of opportunities in the receiving society (discussed earlier). Ethnic structures develop as part of the continual process of structural change occurring in the receiving society. They are created through a process of interaction between members of the ethnic category and members of the host community. The underlying structural changes associated with the process of modernization provide the dynamic context in which ethnic structures develop thereby determining, to a large extent, the nature of those structures.
Members of a single 'ethnic' category can develop a number of alternative ethnic structures in the receiving society. They vary in terms of:
(a) the level of organizational development and the nature of interaction patterns within the ethnic structure (i.e. the degree of institutional completeness) and
(b) the nature of boundaries delineating 'group' membership and thus its relationship to the host community.

The nature of the ethnic structures which develop within the receiving society affect the bases of self-identification for members i.e. the degree of centrality attached to factors such as ethnicity, religion, language, residence and occupation.

Ethnic structures function to assist immigrants in the achievement of instrumental and/or expressive goals. These functions may be religious, social, political, economic or educational. The nature of the ethnic structures (e.g. a single voluntary organization or an institutionally-complete 'ethnic' community) determine the function(s) they perform and therefore the nature of their links with the host community. An 'ethnic' community functions as a marketing, public relations, employment and welfare agency. In doing so, it develops its own contacts with dominant structural arrangements.

Ethnic-host interaction patterns vary both across and within ethnic categories. The distribution of opportunities available to the immigrant must therefore be analyzed in terms of his location vis-a-vis the variety of ethnic structures which exist in the receiving society and the host community.

(4) The Meaning of Ethnicity and the Availability of Adaptation Trajectories

Individuals are differentially located in terms of a variety of
'ethnic' communities, a variety of ethnic structures developed among members of a single 'ethnic' category and the host community. Knowledge of the individual's social location vis-a-vis all these structures is important for understanding the immigrant's choice of adaptive strategies and thus the existence of differential biographical trajectories.

Initial social location in the receiving society determines the individual's access to information and opportunities for achieving instrumental and/or expressive goals and profoundly influences the process of self-identification. This can be illustrated in the spheres of work and stratification, residence, education, religion, leisure and kinship.

**Work and Stratification**

Initial labour market position structures access to further occupational opportunities in the 'ethnic' and host communities. It is an important determinant of occupational career. It determines the extent to which new skills and behaviour patterns are acquired and the extent to which previously acquired skills and behaviour patterns (such as language and work patterns) are reinforced and maintained or lost (i.e. de-skilling).

Furthermore, initial labour market position structures interaction patterns at work and access to potential friendship networks. In so doing, it determines the relative advantage/disadvantage of ethnic mobilization thereby influencing the salience of ethnicity in the process of self-identification. This determines the level of motivation to search for alternative occupational roles in the host community thus determining the 'ethnic' nature of the individual's occupational career.

This is particularly obvious where an ethnic group and/or community exists whose members share the same social class position.
The immigrant who is drawn into this group or community (e.g. through pre-existing kinship ties or chain migration) may be ascribed a similar occupational class position regardless of his achieved characteristics. The development of such groups and communities, however, is dependent upon factors other than ethnicity per se, as is membership in them.

The immigrant's position in the stratification system is an important factor influencing 'choice' of adaptive strategies since it structures access to opportunities and social rewards in the receiving society. The immigrant has access to at least two alternative stratification subsystems in the receiving society: one in the ethnic group or community and the other in the host community. The degree to which these two analytically distinct positions coincide empirically depends on the nature of the relationship between the ethnic structure(s) and the host community. Where there is a high degree of segregation between the ethnic community and the host community the two positions are likely to be empirically distinct, thereby allowing for a lack of consistency in their levels. This has important consequences for adaptive strategies in that the individual will distinguish between his 'ethnic' and his host community roles.

For the immigrant with access to power, prestige and/or property within the ethnic community, ethnicity will be salient. Ethnic ties are mobilized and ethnicity is significant in the process of self-identification. The salience of ethnicity is likely to be greatest for those who occupy a lower position in the stratification system of the host community compared to that which they occupy in the ethnic community. Thus, those who are denied high status in the host community but who are able to achieve this within the ethnic community tend to choose strategies which have the effect of maintaining and reinforcing the salience of ethnicity. On the other hand, those who have access to high status within the host community tend not to choose the ethnic option. This understanding helps to explain the tensions and conflicts which
exist across generations in the ethnic community. The two generations are differentially located in terms of opportunities for mobility and goal achievement in the host community.

For those who are located within the middle ranges of both stratification subsystems ethnicity becomes one identity option among many alternative options. Among these migrants and their children ethnicity is mobilized situationally. That is to say, ethnicity is mobilized when and if it provides advantages in the process of goal achievement.

**Residence**

The nature of the residential area in which the immigrant initially settles has a significant effect on later residential patterns (see Burnley, 1980). Residential location structures access to members of the host community and other members of the ethnic category. Important factors determining the effect of residential location on adaptive strategies include the degree to which the residential area is represented by others from the same ethnic category, the extent to which the area is geographically isolated from members of the host community and the extent to which needs can be met by local organizations.

As a causal factor in the process of adaptation, the significance of residential location is greatest for those individuals whose daily activities do not take them outside the boundaries of the local community. In practice, this particularly applies to non-working wives and/or mothers.

**Education**

Both the immigrant's own educational background and his children's location within the educational system in the receiving society are important factors influencing the adaptive strategies of migrants and their children.

The individual's educational background structures access to
employment opportunities in the receiving society. Because educational background correlates highly with English language ability on arrival it is also a factor in the ease with which relationships are established with members of the host community.

English language ability and the salience of the native language as a cultural value have been identified in many studies as significant factors in the process of immigrant adaptation (e.g., Smolicz, 1979). The native language category to which the individual nominally belongs has also been considered as significant in explaining the process (see Clyne, 1979, 1986). The present study demonstrates, however, that language use is not an important causal factor determining the individual's initial social location in the receiving society. It is argued here that language use, as one aspect of the mobilization of ethnicity, is a function of the individual's social location (see Julian, 1980).

The native language category to which the immigrant belongs is an important factor in the analysis of adaptive strategies if, and only if, the native language is mobilized through interaction with others. This determines the degree to which the native language remains salient and influences the immigrant's level of motivation to establish further ethnic relationships. Regional dialects as well as national languages must be considered in such analysis.

English language ability affects the ease with which relationships are established with members of the host community but is not the most important factor structuring access to these members. Lack of English language ability acts as a barrier to developing interpersonal relationships with members of the host community thereby further influencing future interaction patterns.

Interaction patterns are further influenced by the immigrant's educational level through its effect on lifestyle. That is to say, educational
background determines access to alternative status groups in the receiving society.

The location of the immigrant's children within the educational system of the receiving society structures access to both host community members and other members of the ethnic category. This determines the level of advantage associated with maintaining ethnic skills and relationships within this institutional context thereby structuring access to future opportunities within the ethnic community.

The children of immigrants, socialized within the educational system of the receiving society, are likely to have greater access to links with the host community. Their social locations thus differ significantly from adult immigrants, with significant consequences for the meaning of ethnicity. Among these children ethnicity is mobilized situationally such that it becomes less central in the process of self-identification.

Religion

The significance of religion as a causal factor in the process of immigrant adaptation is problematic. It is only significant where religion is important in the process of self-identification such that it motivates people to locate themselves within the religious structure of the receiving society.

The individual's location within the religious structure of the receiving society structures the nature of interaction patterns thereby determining the degree to which previously-held norms and values are maintained and/or changed. The ethnic composition of the 'church' and the level of religious organizational development are the most significant factors determining the degree to which ethnicity is mobilized and therefore maintained as central in the process of self-identification. By determining the relative salience of ethnicity vis-a-vis alternative bases for mobilization and identification it can thereby function as a
significant factor in the adaptive process.

**Kinship and Marriage**

Marriage is a critical stage in the process of immigrant adaptation. It influences the direction of adaptation by locating the individual within a particular network of kinship ties and largely determines the degree to which ethnicity is central in the self-identification process.

In particular, the ethnic origin of the spouse has a significant effect on the direction of adaptation. By locating the individual within a pre-existing network of interpersonal relationships it structures access to opportunities and support within the ethnic and host communities. Furthermore, to a large extent it determines the degree to which ethnicity is maintained as, or becomes, central in the process of self-identification thereby determining the nature of interaction patterns and the individual's level of motivation to establish interpersonal relationships with members of the host community.

**Leisure**

The development of ethnic voluntary organizations alters the structure of the ethnic 'group'. It is part of the process of structural change referred to earlier. Such a change may produce increased access to scarce resources within the receiving society. Alternatively, it may block access to social rewards.

Ethnic organizational development increases the 'group's' ability to attract new members. Furthermore, the type of ethnic voluntary organization established affects the frequency and intensity of ties among members as well as the degree to which it is visible to members of the host community.

Membership in an ethnic voluntary organization increases access to other members of the ethnic category and provides a social context
within which ethnicity can be mobilized. The salience of ethnicity is thereby increased among members.

It is clear from the above discussion that ethnic structures may either provide access to opportunities in the receiving society or they can block such access. This depends on the nature of the ethnic structure, the characteristics which delineate the boundaries of the ethnic structure and the criteria for recruitment into various sectors of the receiving society.

Alternative adaptive strategies are available to the immigrant in the receiving society. At any point in time he 'chooses' that strategy which affords him the greatest advantage and the highest level of satisfaction in terms of the achievement of both instrumental and expressive goals. 'Choices' are constrained by social location, past experiences, the nature of available resources and the bases for self-identification. Each 'choice' acts as a confirmation of identity and thus directs future choices.

Social location is not static. It alters in relation to stage of life cycle and immigrant generation. The distribution of alternative adaptation trajectories changes as part of this process. Furthermore, the relationship between reference groups and membership groups alters over time influencing the level of motivation to search for alternative patterns of involvement in the receiving society. In short, it influences the individual's choice of strategy in the adaptation process.

Alternative adaptation trajectories have various consequences for the meaning of ethnicity. Successful adaptation in the receiving society may involve maintaining one's location in the ethnic community for a long period of time. Alternatively, successful adaptation may involve withdrawal from the ethnic community and a process of assimilation. Thus, the salience of ethnicity may increase, remain at the same level or decline as the individual adapts to the receiving society. The long-term
trend depends on the functions of the ethnic community and the nature of its links to the receiving society. Theoretically, however, it is likely that the process of modernization will lead to an increase in the links between the ethnic and host communities as individuals participate in a wider range of social relationships. Under such conditions, ethnicity becomes one identity option in a repertoire of available identity options, this repertoire being structured by social location.

Conclusion: The Role of Ethnicity in the Process of Immigrant Adaptation

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the previous analysis. First it is clear that ethnicity is not a useful explanatory concept in the analysis of immigrant adaptation. It does not explain and/or predict the direction of adaptation followed by the individual or 'group' in the receiving society. In this case, the fact that the migrants are of "Dutch origin" provides very little useful information and certainly does not explain the variation in adaptive strategies evident among members of this category.

Secondly, 'ethnicity' is an umbrella term which subsumes a variety of factors including class, religion, regional origin and language. A variety of ethnic structures can develop among the members of a single ethnic category and the causal factors in the development of these structures vary. Thus the meaning of ethnicity varies across ethnic categories but more importantly, the present analysis has demonstrated that it can vary within the ethnic category. This is demonstrated by the fact that members of a single ethnic category follow a variety of adaptive strategies, both as individuals and as groups. To explain the process of immigrant adaptation it is therefore necessary to 'unpack' the concept of ethnicity and identify the causal factors it subsumes.

Thirdly, ethnicity is a situationally-specific resource. The mobilization of ethnicity is problematic and ethnicity is not always
significant to the individual or group. Ethnic structures vary in their level of organizational development, the nature of interaction patterns within them and the type of links they develop with the host community. This variation affects the structure of opportunities available to members of the ethnic category such that in some situations ethnicity will be mobilized and in others it will not. Thus ethnicity becomes one identity option which the individual can choose from a range of alternatives.

The ways in which individuals manage their situations and adapt to the receiving society determine group processes of adaptation. By transforming the structural conditions within which individuals 'choose' adaptive strategies and altering their social location vis-a-vis the ethnic and host communities, such group processes influence individual adaptive strategies. The individual's social location determines the opportunities available to him to mobilize ethnicity and the extent to which he finds it advantageous to do so, thereby determining the centrality or otherwise of ethnicity in the process of self-identification. Most importantly, this will then influence the individual's level of motivation to establish relationships with members of the host community. It is here that ethnicity (in the form of ethnic identification) influences the process of immigrant adaptation. Ethnicity becomes a central aspect of an individual's identity by being mobilized and given meaning. Thus, it develops as a consequence of the individual's social location and the nature of interaction patterns. If, and only if, it becomes salient is it a significant causal factor in the ongoing process of immigrant adaptation.

This chapter has presented a substantive analysis of the process of immigrant adaptation which encompasses both macro and micro levels of analysis. It has demonstrated that the meaning of 'ethnicity' can and does vary across individuals and groups such that the concept needs to be 'unpacked' in order to delineate the causal factors involved in
immigrant adaptation. It has further demonstrated that group processes of adaptation arise out of individual adaptive strategies and provide the context within which adaptive 'choices' are made. Variation in individual life histories can therefore be explained by focussing analysis on the conditions leading to differential biographical trajectories through social space. By drawing on these insights, the following chapter will analyze the more recent situation among Dutch immigrants in southern Tasmania and will suggest the future direction of adaptation.
CHAPTER EIGHT: DIRECTIONS OF CHANGE

With the understanding of the dynamic nature of the process of immigrant adaptation gained from the preceding chapter it is now possible to look, once again, at the Dutch in Tasmania to explore the manner in which their adaptation changed over time.

During the 1970s and 1980s economic, political and social changes in both the society of origin and the receiving society influenced the processes of adaptation among Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania. Although the two categories identified earlier responded differently to these changes, in both cases the general direction of adaptation is towards assimilation.

The 1970s saw a reduction in the overall level of migrant intake in Australia brought about mainly by difficult economic and employment conditions. This was reflected in Australia's changing immigration policy which became increasingly restrictive after 1966 (APIC, 1976:50) until, in 1974, occupational restrictions were imposed on the entry of all migrants other than immediate dependent relatives and special humanitarian cases (APIC, 1976:28).

The 1960s and 1970s saw the Netherlands enter a period of economic prosperity as compared with conditions in the traditional emigration countries of Australia, Canada and South Africa. The rate of emigration from the Netherlands fell dramatically and the country was dealing with the effects of high rates of immigration, particularly with the problem of 'guestworkers'. Despite a new migration agreement established between the Netherlands and Australia in 1965, Dutch nationals were reluctant to leave.

As a consequence of these changes, Dutch immigration to Australia declined dramatically from 2,330 in 1971-72 to 1,662 in 1972-73.
and did not recover until 1980-81 when it rose again to 2,700 (see Appendix B: Table 3.16). A sudden drop in the number of assisted Dutch migrants, from 1,324 in 1971-72 to less than half that number (642) in 1972-73 was largely responsible for this decline.

Ideological responses to the 'migrant presence' in Australia were also changing and the early 1970s saw "the adoption of multiculturalism as the official policies of both major political parties" (ACPEA, 1982:10). In the 1970s however multiculturalism was a vague and ill-defined concept limited to the sphere of political rhetoric (Chipman, 1978; Jakubowicz, 1981) It began as an appeal to native-born Australians for greater tolerance of the cultural diversity in Australian society at the time and was thus directed at the level of attitudinal change. The report on Multiculturalism and its Implications for Immigration Policy records that:

"In a Policy Statement of August 1975, the Liberal and National Country Parties affirmed their commitment to 'a culturally diversified but socially cohesive Australian society free of racial tensions and offering security, well-being and equality of opportunity to all those living here' ...... This commitment was reaffirmed in the Prime Minister's policy speech of 21 November 1977 ...... Similarly, the Australian Labor party in its 1977 Platform affirmed its recognition of 'the reality of a multi-cultural Australia' and welcomed 'the cultural diversity and richness that the existence of ethnic communities bring to our society'."

(APIC/AEAC, 1979:11)

Political policies have thus tended to change in response to articulated community attitudes: from assimilation to integration, to tolerance of migrant cultures, to recognition of ethnic cultural identity and finally to active support for ethnic identification (APIC/AEAC, 1979:11). Nevertheless, evidence of these changes is confined largely to
the field of political rhetoric and ideological debate rather than policy implementation. Consequently, four years after 'multiculturalism' was officially introduced into Australia this same paper could still point to the ambiguity surrounding its meaning and policy implications:

"The aims of this (multicultural) movement have tended to be diffuse and there has been some uncertainty about the extent to which the promotion of ethnic cultures should be taken" (APIC/AEAC, 1979:10).

In an attempt to specify more clearly the meaning of 'multiculturalism' the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council drew up a charter for contemporary Australian multiculturalism. It highlighted three key principles viewed as essential for a successful multicultural society: social cohesion, cultural identity and equality of opportunity and access (AEAC, 1978). In a later paper entitled *Multiculturalism for all Australians* (1982) the Australian Council on Population and Ethnic Affairs added a fourth principle: equal responsibility for, commitment to and participation in society. It was only in these later papers that issues relating to the structural basis of a multicultural society were addressed and practical suggestions made for its achievement.

In the late 1970s and '80s the practical development of multicultural policies at all levels of government focussed predominantly on the principles of cultural identity and equality. The Report of the Review of Post-arrival Programs and Services for Migrants (Australia, Review of Post Arrival Programs and Services, 1978) stated that:

"we are convinced that migrants have the right to maintain their cultural and racial identity" (1978:104).

The report went on to suggest that ethnic organizations were the most appropriate bodies to be involved in the preservation and fostering of culture (APIC/AEAC, 1979) thereby legitimating their existence in terms of the common value of individual rights.
At the same time, however, studies of unassimilated migrants were typically concluding that migrants who lacked the ability to speak English and were 'trapped' in their particular ethnic communities were clearly disadvantaged in the competition for scarce resources. The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1978) found these disadvantages to be particularly evident in the area of employment since:

"considerations that are not intrinsic to the job in hand but are the concomitants of migrant/non-English-speaking status interfere with the individual's access to employment" (AEAC, 1978:8).

Similarly in the area of education:

"The weight of evidence...suggests that large numbers of children from non-English speaking background under-achieve at school and leave school without the knowledge of English or other basic skills necessary for tertiary training.....we can say that, in terms of our yardstick of equality, children are being disadvantaged for reasons that intrinsically have nothing to do with their capacity to achieve at school" (AEAC, 1978:10).

In attempting to redress these inequalities, a number of programmes were mooted, some of which have been implemented during the last decade. Proposals such as those presented by the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council (1978: 8-12) are typical of those adopted by government bodies. They mainly involve the expansion of multilingual services, the provision of financial incentives to employees and schools which encourage the further education of migrants and their children and support for the development of ethnic media (see Appendix A).

As part of this overall process, government bodies have increasingly given recognition to ethnic organizations particularly in the field of social welfare (APIC/AEAC, 1979:12). In 1973, to complement its
welfare services, the Australian Government decided to make recurrent grants-in-aid to ethnic organizations which provide direct welfare services to migrants, thus enabling such community agencies to employ qualified social workers. Between January and September 1974 seven such grants were approved (Australia, Department of Labour and Immigration, 1975: 21) and the number of these grants continued to increase until the mid-1980s (APIC/AEAC, 1979:12).

To assist communication between government departments and ethnic communities, a detailed list of ethnic organizations throughout Australia was compiled between 1970 and 1972 and published the following year. The information was gained from interviews with leaders of more than 900 organizations about their activities and services as well as secondary information gathered on another 1,000 organizations recognized as fulfilling similar functions. The existence of this list, which is updated regularly and published in a directory form for each Australian state (Australia, Dept. of Labor and Immigration, 1975:20-21), provides further legitimation for ethnic organizations by recognizing them as part of the institutional structure of Australian society.

"Multiculturalism" clearly made an impact on Australian society in the late 1970s and early 1980s through the allocation of funding for welfare, employment and educational assistance in the form of grants, subsidies and financial incentives which were explicitly based on the mobilization of 'ethnicity' among individuals, groups and organizations in the community. Political and economic changes such as these have important implications for patterns of adaptation among migrants and their children by providing 'ethnicity' with an instrumental value.

The ideology of 'multiculturalism' impinges on native-born Australians' perceptions of migrants by providing new definitions of social groups and the actions of their members, these being operationalized, legitimized and institutionalized through bureaucratic
structures. Furthermore, the implementation of such policies in the areas of welfare, education and employment alters the range of opportunity structures available to the migrant, thus affecting the individual's 'choice' of adaptive strategies.

Recent alterations in the adaptive strategies of Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania are evident and suggest possible shifts in the overall direction of adaptation. These changes can be understood more clearly however, if they are analyzed as responses to the demographic, ideological, political, economic and social changes which dramatically altered the context of adaptation during the 1970s.

**Type 1 - Decline of the Ethno-Religious Community**

From the late 1960s some important economic and social changes began which had a marked effect on the nature of the ethno-religious community established by Dutch migrants of the Reformed faith. These included changes which can be viewed as external to the ethno-religious community since they originated in the society at large. Nevertheless, these changes impinged on community members, altering the nature of social interaction patterns and affecting the development of the community's organizational structure. In addition, there were changes which can be described as internal to the ethno-religious community in that they occurred within its own organizations (notably the Reformed Church and the Calvin Christian School). These too can be viewed as responses to external pressures such as changing immigration patterns and policy alterations. Both sets of changes resulted in tensions and conflicts over boundary transactions and ultimately influenced the process of self-identification among community members.

Demographic and economic changes were particularly significant in their impact on the ethno-religious community. The decline in Dutch immigration to Australia as a whole was reflected in the changing patterns of immigration in Tasmania. Job opportunities in Tasmania
declined rapidly after the 1960s as its economic situation weakened (Farmer, 1980) so that the number of assisted migrants settling in the state decreased. The sponsorship of Dutch migrants also declined because, by 1970, the Australian Construction Company had reached its desired quota of tradesmen and sponsors could no longer guarantee employment.

Since the growth of the ethno-religious community was largely dependent upon a continual flow of Dutch immigrants, this rapid decline in Dutch immigration in the 1970s had a considerable impact on the subsequent pattern of adaptation. The consistent pattern of growth which had been characteristic of the community since the 1950s suddenly became problematic. In addition, declining Dutch immigration significantly altered the demographic and social characteristics of the community. The changing age structure produced alterations in community interests as the majority of its members entered new phases of the life-cycle. Many of the early migrants were reaching retirement age and becoming less involved in the economic and educational activities of the community. Furthermore, as the average length of residence increased, the typical socialization experiences of its members changed. By the 1980s the children of the original migrants, socialized in the receiving society, reached adulthood and faced some important decisions with regard to changes taking place in the ethno-religious community.

During the 1970s the ethno-religious community became less geographically isolated. In the early 1970s a highway was constructed creating a direct link between Hobart and Kingston so that it was no longer necessary to follow the narrow, winding coastal road (see Appendix C: Map 4.1). The travelling time between the city centre and Kingston was reduced to an average of ten minutes and the area saw a gradual increase in the proportion of Australian-born residents. They were typically middle-class couples with young families who preferred the life-style associated with commuting from a semi-rural area.
This trend was accelerated dramatically by an accident on Hobart's Derwent River early in 1975 in which a freighter hit a pylon of the Tasman Bridge causing a section to collapse. Since this was the only bridge connecting the central business district, in which the majority of Hobart's workforce was located, with its eastern shore suburbs (see Appendix B: Map 4.1) the city was split in two. Residents of the eastern shore were severely handicapped because few businesses were located on that side of the river.

As a consequence, dramatic changes took place in the traditional residential distribution of Hobart's population. More specifically, there was a population shift towards the Channel District (being on the same side of the river as the CBD) and the population of the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area increased at an unprecedented rate producing an associated 'building boom' in the area. With an increase in the proportion of native-born Australians residing in the Kingston-Blackman's Bay area, opportunities for interaction between Reformed Dutch migrants and members of the host community increased.

Host community involvement in the Kingborough district also increased as the number of businesses and shops in the area grew along with the population. As the economic basis of Kingston changed from predominantly rural to urban, suburban branches of city-centred businesses were opened with Australian-born managers and employees. The Kingborough Shopping Centre expanded as new shops were built, many being owned or managed by Australian-born members of the host community. Eventually a large Coles New World Supermarket was built, taking trade away from some of the smaller shops and in the late 1970s a new shopping complex, Kingston Town, was built on a site some distance from the established shopping centre. The business activities in Kingston thus became increasingly differentiated and geographically dispersed so that the Kingborough Shopping Centre was no longer the focal point of the Kingston business community.
The declining level of social closure among members of the ethno-religious community was not only dependent upon the influx of native-born Australians into the Kingston area but on the outward movement of the Dutch themselves. As the level of economic security among Dutch migrants and their families increased some moved into the more elite suburbs of Taroona and Sandy Bay on the western shore and Lindisfarne, Bellerive and Howrah on the eastern shore. This was particularly true of some of the younger migrants and many of the second generation who had established a wider range of contacts with members of the host community through their educational and employment experiences. The extent of this residential mobility was reflected in the comments made in 1983 by the Session Clerk of the Kingston Reformed Church. The incumbent of this position is responsible for maintaining a current membership and address list, a task which he was finding increasingly difficult because, as he noted, "the young people move around so much these days!".

Other Dutch migrants moved out of Kingston in response to the relocation of the Hobart Reformed Church. In the late 1970s this congregation moved into a new building in Howrah.Shortly afterward another Christian Parent Controlled school, the Emmanuel Christian School, was established at nearby Rokeby (see Appendix C: Map 4.1). As had become the tradition, both organizations on the eastern shore were financially backed and built by Reformed Church members and once established attracted more members to the area.

The degree of occupational differentiation among members of the ethno-religious community was increasing during this period. Increased female participation in the workforce was consistent with the trend in the receiving society as a whole. More importantly, there was a steady decline in the occupational concentration of male members of the community in terms of both location and type of employment. Initially, the majority of the workforce had been tradesmen employed by the
Australian Construction Company but by the 1980s this pattern had changed dramatically.

During the 1970s the proportion of Australian employees in the Australian Construction Company increased. This occurred as a result of the loss of many of its original employees, most through retirement although some resigned to established their own small businesses in the Kingston-Blackman’s Bay area. These businesses were generally very successful and growing rapidly while, following the retirement of its original board members, the Australian Construction Company was experiencing a period of financial struggle. It was eventually dissolved in 1984 as the result of a financial over-commitment in the construction of a shopping complex. Among the second generation, who were still predominantly tradesmen, there was thus a greater range of employment opportunities and, prior to its dissolution, the majority chose to work for companies other then the Australian Construction Company.

There is evidence of occupational mobility among the second generation in the ethno-religious community. During the 1970s there was still a predominance of tradesmen but many were becoming financial partners in, or establishing their own, small businesses such that the proportion of self-employed increased. Although involvement in tertiary education has increased only marginally there has been a steady increase in the proportion of white-collar workers.

Thus while building, and its associated trades, remains the most common occupation among members of the ethno-religious community there has been a significant decline in the degree of occupational specialization and increased social mobility. Many tradesmen are no longer employed in businesses dominated by Dutch employees; many are either self-employed or occupy management positions in previously established companies; and there is a higher degree of occupational
diversification as an increasing proportion of the second- and third-generation choose white-collar employment in unrelated fields. As these Dutch migrants and their descendants became increasingly occupationally dispersed, their level of exposure to members of the host community increased dramatically.

This is particularly true of those who are currently in the stage of adolescence or early adulthood. The members of this age cohort attended Taroona High School and a few continued into tertiary education. Here they were exposed to alternative world-views and the potential existed to develop relationships with individuals from a wider range of social backgrounds. The interpersonal networks of the members of this age cohort vary in terms of their social characteristics. Some chose to 'open up' their interpersonal networks to include native-born Australians with differing world-views. The interpersonal networks of others were extended to include native-born Australians but were restricted to members of other Christian youth groups. Many of these, as a result of their tertiary education and increased contacts with native-born Australians, gained employment in host community organizations.

These Dutch migrants and their children who, until the 1970s, had been relatively isolated from outside influences, both geographically and socially, were clearly experiencing a dramatic change resulting from increased opportunities for interaction with members of the host community. There is evidence of a concomitant decline in conformity to the traditional norms of the ethno-religious community. Members express concern about the perceived increase in adolescent rebellion, declining church attendance among the young people and an increase in marriages outside the Reformed Church. As this trend became typical of an increasing number of Reformed Church members, particularly among the second generation, its effects became apparent at an organizational level.
In the 1970s the traditional sources of growth in the Reformed Church disappeared, namely, Dutch immigration and high birth rates among members. Dutch immigration had virtually ceased, birth rates among the second generation were dropping to a rate coinciding with the norms of the host community and the previously low rate of withdrawal from the church was no longer being maintained. The decline in church membership was evident at Kingston but not at the Hobart Reformed Church. The latter was not yet faced with this problem since membership here was increasing as a result of the residential mobility of existing members. Added to this was a high rate of natural increase consistent with the demographic characteristics of its membership, in particular the high proportion of young married couples.

As a result of these changing conditions it became abundantly clear that the church could only continue to strengthen if alternative sources of growth were tapped. The increased interaction with members of the host community revealed, however, that the Reformed religion was misunderstood by a population which had no knowledge of its fundamental beliefs. Members of the host community typically viewed the Reformed Church as an ethnic organization and treated its members with a high degree of suspicion.

In an attempt to alter the attitudes of the host community the members of the Reformed Church embarked on an 'advertising campaign'. The 'education' of the host community was initially begun by the minister during the 1960s. His attempt to improve communication and understanding between the two communities involved contacting ministers of other denominations, speaking in their churches and making comments in the newspaper. More recently, church elders have become involved in advertising services and other church-related activities in an attempt to explicitly encourage new members from outside the ethno-religious community.
During this period, the Reformed Church of Australia was consciously attempting to alter the image it presented to the host community. Characteristics which reinforced the host community's perception of the church as an ethnic organization were downplayed and displays of its 'openness' to non-Dutch members were encouraged. As evidence of this attitude the majority of church services were held in the English language. The 1968 Yearbook of the Reformed Churches of Australia advertised that all services at the Hobart Reformed Church were "in English, except first evening service of the month which is in Dutch". It addition, at the Kingston Reformed Church "A Dutch service is held every Sunday at 11 a.m., except on the first Sunday of the month". By 1982 these regular Dutch services had disappeared although at Kingston an occasional service was held in the Dutch language.

Indicative of these changes has been the change in ministers at the Kingston Reformed Church. Until 1977 the ministers had been Dutch migrants but the more recently appointed ministers have been Australian-born, although of Dutch origin. One in particular is typically described, by himself and others, as "very Australian". He encouraged the development of outreach programmes so that members of the Reformed Church became actively involved in improving the spiritual and socio-economic welfare of local residents. Combined services have been held with other Protestant churches in the Kingborough municipality as part of this mission.

The Kingston Reformed Church has managed the problem of declining membership via the same methods, explanations and rationalizations employed by the majority of Christian churches as they respond to the secularizing influences of modernity. The responses of the Reformed Church have led it to become involved in the worldwide evangelical, charismatic and ecumenical movement. The consequences of these responses for both the Reformed Church and the ethno-religious community as a whole are important for understanding the
pattern of adaptation followed by these Dutch migrants.

Evangelism and ecumenism are not traditional characteristics of the Reformed Church which was concerned with maintaining the purity of its members through clearly-defined boundaries. A strict adherence to the Canons of Dordt is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Reformed faith and this body of doctrine includes a belief in the concept of the 'elect'. According to this belief system one can only become a member of the Reformed Church by being born into it, socialized to accept and understand its beliefs and to eventually become a full adult member by proclaiming this faith at a 'Profession of Faith' ceremony. As a result of the changing social conditions, however, it became clear to some members that continued adherence to this method of recruitment reinforced the problem of declining membership.

The management of change introduced by the charismatic movement is central to the developments taking place in the Reformed Church because it alters traditional recruitment procedures. The criterion for membership becomes conversion rather than knowledge of doctrine with the effect that members can be recruited from outside the established ethno-religious community. Evangelism and ecumenical services are viewed as the means by which this goal of strengthening church membership can be achieved.

Changes such as these, however, have invited criticism from orthodox church members who believe that the new recruitment procedures violate the traditional and fundamental beliefs of the Reformed faith. Conflicts have arisen, particularly in the Kingston congregation where support for the charismatic movement is stronger. Because membership continues to increase at the Hobart Reformed Church recruitment is not as problematic and a stricter adherence to orthodox practices can be maintained. While the changes at Kingston can be viewed as functional by making recruitment less restrictive they have,
paradoxically, contributed to the very decline in membership they have attempted to combat. Many orthodox members of the Kingston congregation have responded to the changes by transferring to the Hobart Reformed Church.

The conflict between the 'liberal' and 'orthodox' members of the Kingston congregation reached a peak in the early 1980s when some supporters of the charismatic movement split from the Reformed Church. They established their own church known as the Christian Evangelistic Retreat Community. Its pastor is a former elder of the Reformed Church who, as the owner of a local business, was in a key position in relation to the social networks of members of the ethno-religious community. The Christian Community has grown steadily and in 1984 erected a chapel and accommodation in Redwood Rd., Kingston. Nevertheless, this split has not resolved the conflicts which continue to divide the Reformed Church congregation.

Attempts to increase church membership by recruiting 'outsiders' have not been particularly successful. Most of those who join as adults stay for only a short period of time and then withdraw. Discussions with the few native-born Australian members indicate that the church's principal attraction to 'outsiders' lies in the close friendship and kinship ties of its members. The quasi-kinship nature of the church appeals to isolated individuals searching for a sense of security. To illustrate, one native-born Australian recalls sitting at the back of the church one Sunday in her wheelchair when a young girl and an old man unexpectedly gave her a bunch of flowers. Newcomers are regularly invited to people's homes for coffee and biscuits when the services are over. Weddings, christenings and funerals are public events to which all members of the congregation are automatically invited. At christenings, the whole congregation is charged with the responsibility for the child's spiritual welfare. It is not the duty of the godparents alone as it is in other (e.g. Anglican) churches.
While the church provides a context in which people can feel a sense of belonging it also places extremely high behavioural expectations on members. These result from the general expectation that the whole of one's life be conducted within a religious framework. In practice, a high degree of involvement in and commitment to church-related activities is expected and achieved through strong mechanisms of social control. Conformity to these behavioural expectations can become a problem, however, for those who have not already internalized these expectations through their primary socialization experiences. They begin to feel "hounded and pressured" rather than simply accepted. Furthermore, the ethnic nature of most social relationships can lead the newcomer to feel excluded through a lack of understanding of certain taken-for-granted behavioural norms.

For most newcomers these disadvantages eventually come to outweigh the initial advantages of the communal atmosphere. The retention of 'outsiders' who became members of the Reformed Church during adulthood is therefore relatively rare. Marriage is the most significant factor determining long-term membership. It appears that for 'outsiders' who marry a Reformed Church member the courtship process is a crucial socializing experience. It provides an opportunity for them to become accustomed to, and accepted by, the close-knit community and allows them to come to terms with the high behavioural expectations of its members.

Membership patterns in one of the other major organizations of the ethno-religious community, the Calvin Christian School, also began to change during the 1970s leading to an increased proportion of students from the host community. Paralleling developments in the Reformed Church, tensions have arisen within the school's Parents Association, and the ethno-religious community more generally, over the management of these changes.
The changing student profile at the Calvin Christian School was primarily a response to the declining number of school-age children among Reformed Church families. This occurred as a result of declining Dutch immigration and the movement of Reformed Church members from Kingston to Howrah. The establishment of the Emmanuel Christian School on the eastern shore further contributed to the declining rate of growth at the Calvin Christian School.

The Calvin Christian School was established as a non-denominational school so that, in principle, children from any Protestant denominations were eligible for enrolment. In practice, however, the school's Educational Creed effectively excluded members of all religious denominations other than those with a similar doctrine to the Reformed Church; namely Armenians, Baptists and Lutherans. In 1976, the Educational Creed was altered, enabling members from a wider range of Protestant churches to become members of the School Board. This change was a significant factor encouraging enrolments from outside the ethno-religious community. It invited criticism from some members of the Reformed Church, however, who interpreted it as a further departure from orthodox doctrine which contributed to the liberalizing trend evident in the church.

During the 1970s and 1980s there has been an increase in the proportion of both native-born Australian and non-Reformed students and teachers at the Calvin Christian School. When the three-roomed school was opened in 1962 with 77 students, all enrolments were from the Reformed Church and only one Australian family was included. However in 1981 the school's headmaster, a native-born Australian who belonged to the Baptist Church, estimated that between 40 and 45 percent of his students were members of the Reformed Church.¹

¹ The relationship between Dutch descent and Reformed faith is not a direct correlation. There are some native-born Australian students who are Reformed Church members and there are some students of Dutch descent who attend churches other than the Reformed Church.
The inclusion of students from a variety of Protestant denominations led to further changes in the structure and functioning of the school. In particular, it became necessary to alter the school's traditional method of financing. Following the pattern which was typical of developments within the ethno-religious community, parents and other Reformed Church members were totally responsible for the school's financial situation through a method of voluntary funding. This method functioned efficiently, while the school educated only the children of Reformed Church members. However, funding levels were not maintained as student numbers grew with an increasing proportion from outside the ethno-religious community. It became increasingly apparent that there were insufficient funds to enable the school to expand its facilities in line with student demand and the School Board reluctantly made the decision to introduce fees.

When compared with other independent schools in the Hobart area, the fees at the Calvin Christian School are relatively low and comparable to those of Catholic Schools. Since it was the only independent school in the Kingborough municipality during the 1970s it attracted enrolments from members of the host community who were searching for a school which emphasized traditional values and strict disciplinary measures. This trend became even more apparent when the Calvin Christian School expanded to include a secondary section. By this time, a state high school had been established at Kingston in response to the rapid population growth in the area. It was open-plan, however, and quickly developed a reputation for lacking discipline and "letting the kids run wild". Members of the host community who chose to send their children to the Calvin Christian School for their secondary education thus identify its emphasis on discipline as an important factor influencing their choice.

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2. A Catholic Primary School was established in Blackman's Bay in the early 1980s.
The school's enrolment figures illustrate the changes taking place from the late 1960s. By 1968, increasing enrolments made extensions necessary. A classroom and activity room were added to the original building and the construction of two more classrooms was completed in 1970. Between 1978 and 1981 there was a period of rapid growth with the total school population expanding from 280 to 360. This increase coincides with a change in the social characteristics of the student body demonstrating that students were being recruited from a wider category than in the previous decade. Most notable was the growth in the proportion of native-born Australians and in their place of residence. In 1981, while the majority of students lived in the Channel District (mostly in Kingston and Blackman's Bay), about 80 students were drawn from other areas including the eastern shore suburbs, Taroona and Sandy Bay.

To summarise, the major changes in the ethno-religious community from the late 1960s led to an increase in the proportion of native-born Australian members in the organizations which formed its structural base. This had important consequences for the direction of adaptation followed by its members.

**Type 2 - Assimilation and 'Symbolic' Ethnicity**

Declining levels of Dutch immigration influenced the process of adaptation among non-Reformed Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania. As the average length of residence among the socially dispersed members of this category increased there was a corresponding decline in their visibility. The second generation became indistinguishable from members of the host community and, for the first generation, the salience of ethnicity declined as a result of having minimal value as an adaptive strategy. Reliance on ethnic support structures declined as the level of economic and social security among migrants increased. The difficult stages of the family cycle had been managed and were now in the past. A corresponding change in the age structure of this category led to new concerns focusing on the problems
of old age but these were only beginning to become apparent in the late 1980s. During the 1970s and 1980s the typical situation of these Dutch migrants and their children was non-problematic with respect to the process of adaptation. Their Dutch background did not differentiate them from members of the host community nor did it create any particularly unique problems for them or their families.

Despite this path of assimilation, certain events and changes taking place in the host society impinged on the members of this category. These influenced the process of adaptation by altering the level of organizational development and the structure of social relationships within the category, thereby increasing the opportunities for individuals to express their ethnicity.

The first of these changes, the visit to Hobart of a Royal Dutch Naval vessel, was an event which took place in the late 1960s. Activities surrounding this event provided Dutch migrants of varying background with the opportunity to meet each other. Initially, the honorary Dutch Consul was approached by government officials and asked to arrange a welcoming function for those on board the ship. He did not approach the members of the Reformed Church for assistance because, in the context of the Netherlands and Dutch foreign relations they were a minority religious group rather than representatives of the Dutch people in southern Tasmania. However, the Consul was aware of the existence of a relatively loose-knit network of Dutch Catholics and hoped that they might wish to be involved. He contacted the Dutch Chaplain in Hobart and together they encouraged his parishioners and the members of the Card Club to organize a welcoming function. To engage the assistance of other individuals of Dutch descent, acquaintances central to other small scale Dutch social networks were contacted.

The members of this loose-knit network of Dutch migrants of varying backgrounds, together with a few native-born Australian
friends, held a ball to officially welcome the Royal Dutch Navy to Hobart. It attracted many people of Dutch descent who enjoyed the opportunity to speak their native language and to participate in Dutch dancing. It was not a financial success, however, and organizers were obliged to cover costs with a payment of $25.00 each. Nevertheless, as a consequence of its social success, and partly to recoup losses, a similar function was organized at a later date. This time guests were charged $2.00 each and a profit was made.

The success of these functions indicated the viability of organizing activities on a regular basis for people of Dutch descent. With this goal in mind, one of the original organizers sent a letter to thirteen Dutch couples inviting them to attend a meeting at which a social committee would be established (see Appendix A). The meeting was held in July 1970 at a city hotel owned by a Dutch expatriate and was attended by Dutch migrants of various backgrounds, including some Reformed Church members.

A decision was made at this meeting to establish a Dutch club. The first general meeting of this club, known as the 'Abel Tasman Association', was held on 19th August, 1970. Seventy-five people attended and a committee of ten was elected. The group met monthly, initially in each other's homes and later at the Community Hall in Battery Point. Its main function was to organize social events, notably the Koninginne Ball held in April/May to celebrate Queen Juliana's Birthday, the St. Nicolaas Party held in December and occasional activities such as dinner dances, fishing trips, barbecues and an Australia Day car rally.

At the club's fourth meeting held in September 1970 a constitution was drafted and, after considerable discussion, it was decided to amend the name of the association to the 'Dutch Australian Society Abel Tasman' (D.A.S.). In addition, the committee approved a proposal that
the Catholic Dutch chaplain and the minister at the Kingston Reformed Church be made non-paying members of the society. A decision was also made to establish a Ladies Club which met a couple of weeks later to elect a committee of five members.

Until 1987 the average annual membership of the D.A.S. was 100, comprising about 4% of the total population of first and second-generation Dutch residents in Hobart. Apart from a 'core' of about 25 people who have belonged to the club for 10 or more years, there is a high turnover of members. The majority remain financial members for only one or two years although they often continue to attend functions on an irregular basis.

While almost all D.A.S. members are of Dutch origin, they vary in terms of other characteristics such as age, length of residence, ethnic origin of spouse, occupation, residential location, social class, religion, province of origin, language spoken at home, citizenship and stage of life-cycle. The majority, however, are middle-class Dutch-born Australian citizens who migrated during the 1950s as young married couples or with young families and who are not members of the Reformed Church. They typically belong to other social clubs in the host community and their level of commitment to the D.A.S. is relatively low. Very few attend social functions regularly; the Annual General Meeting is typically poorly attended (in 1986 there were 29 members present, including the committee members and their spouses); and membership subscriptions usually have to be solicited in a blunt and forthright manner. The high rate of lapsed financial membership has been one of the committee's major concerns since the club was established.

The few native-born Australian members consist of spouses and children of Dutch-born members, one close friend of a member who was prepared to become involved as the club's treasurer, politicians and public servants with an occupational interest in meeting representatives
of Tasmania's ethnic 'communities'. The few Reformed Church members who belong to the D.A.S. are first-generation Dutch migrants who, although officially financial members, rarely attend any social functions. The main exception is the Honorary Consul who, with his wife, attends most functions as the representative of the Dutch government.

The social characteristics of the core members of the D.A.S. vary along the same lines as the total membership. These people are not 'isolated' individuals who require a support structure. They can be described as successfully adapted and typically maintain a wide range of social relationships with members of the host community. Nevertheless, they are distinguished by the fact that they have maintained strong kinship and friendship ties with the Netherlands, make frequent trips to the country of origin and have been members of ethnic interpersonal networks in the receiving society since their arrival.

Total membership of the D.A.S declined considerably in the first half of the 1980s. A membership of about 62 in 1983 had dropped to about 40 by 1985 and a corresponding decline in attendance at D.A.S. functions was causing the committee some concern. The only exception was the annual St. Nicolaas Day barbeque at which the average attendance was about 200. Despite numerous membership drives the club has been unable to attract members from a number of potential sources such as: those migrants who arrived in the 1950s but have never been members, new arrivals, members of the Reformed Church and the second generation.

In the 1980s some serious questioning of the club's viability began. The 1983 A.G.M. was dominated by a discussion of the decline in membership and how the D.A.S. (described by the then treasurer as "presently rudderless") should respond to this problem. A number of suggestions were made, one solution proferred was that the club should
"fold up". Not surprisingly this suggestion was not well received by those who were committed enough to attend the meeting.

Alternatively, it was suggested that the club should determine new goals and provide different types of activities. These should be aimed at maintaining the membership of the elderly and attracting the second generation. In recognizing that the second generation were 'assimilated' it was suggested that activities should become more Australian in nature; the creation of a basketball team was one suggestion. Another possible solution was that the society should change its name to the Australian-Dutch Society and try to encourage native-born Australians to become members.

The problem of declining membership typically led to a discussion about the limited involvement of Reformed Church members. Some D.A.S members identified this large category of people of Dutch origin as a potential source of members. They encouraged overt recruitment drives among these people and suggested that D.A.S. functions should be modified to suit the lifestyles of Reformed Church members. However, other members did not perceive the members of this ethno-religious community as a viable membership source. Some did not believe that Reformed Church members should be encouraged to join the D.A.S. while others simply stated that any attempts to do so would be "a waste of time and effort" since they would inevitably fail.

The attempt to define new goals revived a recurring debate over what the society's goals had been in the past. The problem of identifying common goals first arose at a special meeting called to discuss the 'aims' of the society in March 1975. A similar special meeting was called in May 1986 at which it was decided to send a questionnaire to all current members asking them to identify the club's goals. They were asked for their perceptions of the club's achievements, what types of activities they would be most likely to support and whether they perceived a need for
the club at all. An extremely low response rate was interpreted by committee members as indicative of a lack of commitment to the club at the present time only.

On the issue of club goals, the attitudes of committee members were divided. Some believed that the goals should remain predominantly social in nature but that they should be defined more clearly so that the means of achieving a viable club could be clearly identified. These members believed that the club should adjust its activities to suit the composition of its clientele. Since 1984 an attempt has been made to achieve this goal by dividing social activities into two categories: those for the elderly and those for the young. Thus, on the one hand, a dinner was held each year which specifically catered for first-generation migrants. Committee members did not expect to make a profit at the Senior Citizens' Dinner but felt that it was their responsibility to provide a social context in which elderly Dutch migrants could enjoy each other's company. On the other hand, functions were held which aimed to attract family groups and at which it was hoped a small profit would be made.

Other D.A.S. members believe that the club was unable to compete successfully with other social clubs in the receiving society and therefore should modify its goals accordingly. One view was that the D.A.S should concentrate on issues which were specifically of interest to Dutch migrants in Tasmania. This led to the identification of welfare goals, in particular the needs of the elderly among an ageing Dutch population. This orientation was part of the motivation behind the club's incorporation in 1985. One committee member in particular recognized that this would enable the club to apply more successfully for government funding to deal with any specific problems which could arise in the future. This was the path followed by many of the Dutch clubs on the mainland (Overberg,1984) most of which are relatively large and financially successful organizations. However, there was some
opposition to this suggestion from other committee members who believed that by improving social functions and building a clubhouse the D.A.S. could remain viable by attracting new younger members.

Apart from the D.A.S. there are three other Dutch associations in existence in the late 1980s. They are the Hobart Branch of the Netherlands Ex-Servicemen's and Women's Association, the Dutch Card Club and the Dutch Dance Group. The Netherlands Ex-Servicemen's and Women's Association has a small but stable membership whereas the history of the Dance Group has been characterized by short periods of activity and enthusiasm, disappearance and revival as members join and withdraw. The Card Club has maintained a membership of about forty over the past decade although this is slowly declining as the population ages. The majority of the members of these associations are financial members of the D.A.S. but only those in the Dance Group tend to be actively involved in D.A.S. activities.

The Analysis of Current Trends

When added to the analysis of settlement processes in Chapters Four and Five, analysis of the current situation among Dutch migrants and their descendants sheds further light on both the process of adaptation and the likely directions of change.

For Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania, one of the most important consequences of the changing social and economic conditions in the society of origin was the decline in Dutch emigration. When compounded with the effects of changing social and economic conditions in Australia, this led to a significant change in traditional migration 'channels' in terms of both numbers and point of destination.

The decline in Dutch immigration in Australia, at a time when the political climate was changing in response to 'the migrant presence',
signifies the changing social context in which Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania were adapting. These and other changes affected the nature of interaction patterns and the structure of opportunities in the receiving society, as well as the attitudes and responses of host community members towards migrants and their children. This changing social context had significant consequences for individual adaptive strategies by altering the range of behavioural 'choices' available to migrants thereby influencing the process of self-identification. The cumulative effect of these changes in adaptation trajectories is the alteration of processes of adaptation at the macro level.

Type 1: From ethno-religious community to religious group - the declining centrality of ethnicity

From the mid-1960s the social context in which members of the ethno-religious community were adapting changed as a result of processes both external and internal to the community. The organizations within the ethno-religious community responded to declining levels of Dutch immigration by altering recruitment procedures so that members could be drawn from a larger category of people. The demarcation boundaries between the ethno-religious community and the host community became less clearly defined as Reformed Dutch migrants located themselves within the structures of the host community and ethno-religious organizations began to include native-born Australian members.

This process is initially evident in the changing spatial context of adaptation. Increased residential dispersion among members of the ethno-religious community occurred along with the influx of native-born Australians into the previously isolated area in which the Reformed Dutch migrants had been highly visible. The boundaries of the ethno-religious community thus became less clearly defined as the community became less geographically isolated. These same processes of differentiation within the ethno-religious community, increased levels
of social interaction with members of the host community and a consequent weakening of community boundaries is evident in all institutional spheres.

The economic context was marked by increased levels of occupational differentiation among community members. As the occupational dispersion of both the first and second-generation Dutch migrants increased so did their level of exposure to host community members. This led to the development of social relationships which crossed the previously clearly-defined boundary of the ethno-religious community so that this boundary began to weaken.

The economic success of some of the original Dutch migrants together with the social mobility of the second generation led to an increase in the degree of class differentiation within the ethno-religious community. Members of the ethno-religious community no longer shared a common location in the receiving society's system of social stratification. Individual social mobility also tends to coincide with withdrawal from other community organizations thereby further weakening the boundaries of the ethno-religious community. It is important to note here that high rates of social mobility have been identified by Bouma (1984) as a potential threat to the vitality of organizations such as the Reformed Church by reducing commitment to Conservative Calvinist doctrines.3

The religious context of adaptation is marked by a decline in the degree of segregation between the Reformed Church and other Christian churches and a corresponding increase in the development of social relationships between Reformed Church members and people of various

3. In a comparison of those who had left the C.R.C. in North America with those who had chosen to stay, Bouma (1984:31) discovered that: "Former members were....more likely (than remaining members) to have been below thirty years of age....more highly educated....more likely to have had a professional occupation....and more likely to have been divorced..."
religious (although typically Christian) backgrounds. Increased religious differentiation is also evident in the ethno-religious community's educational organizations. The traditional overlap between ethnicity and religion was thus slowly declining within the Reformed Church and the Christian Schools established by its members. Furthermore, some of those who had been socialized within the boundaries of the ethno-religious community were choosing to withdraw from membership in the Reformed Church.

The organizations which formed the basis of an institutionally-complete ethno-religious community during the 1950s were undergoing significant transformations during the 1970s and '80s. As their membership characteristics altered so did the role of these organizations in the functioning of the community. The eventual collapse of the Australian Construction Company was a significant factor in the decline of the ethno-religious community. Reitz (1980) has shown that the existence of ethnically based economic organizations leads to greater levels of cohesion among members of an ethnic community than does the existence of any other type of ethnic organization. This suggests that the weakening of the boundaries of the ethno-religious community is in large part a consequence of the declining importance of the Australian Construction Company as an employer of Reformed Dutch migrants and their resultant economic dispersion.

Similar changes in status are evident in the Calvin Christian School and the Reformed Church itself. The conflict which developed over the introduction of fees at the Calvin School symbolises the shift in the school's social location. It was no longer an organization central to the ethno-religious community but became a legitimate organization in the educational structure of the receiving society as a whole. Similarly, there was a shift in the Reformed Church's position from being the focal point of a relatively segregated ethno-religious community to being one of a range of organizations in the religious structure of the receiving
society.

As these changes occurred in its organizational structure in the late 1960s, '70s and '80s, the level of social closure in the ethno-religious community was clearly declining. The community was becoming increasingly differentiated in terms of occupation, religion, class, educational achievement and ethnic background such that the boundaries of the ethno-religious community were becoming blurred. Furthermore, the frequency of interaction between members of the ethno-religious community declined as a result of these processes of differentiation and dispersion. Interaction over a wide range of social contexts became increasingly problematic. Given these changes, and as a result of increased opportunities within the host community, there was an increasing proportion of members whose interpersonal networks were not ethno-religious in nature. In short, more people were interacting with people outside the ethno-religious community and thus choosing their friends and spouses from within the host community.

This trend was particularly apparent among those of the second generation who had attended a secular school, many of whom were working in white-collar occupations in host community organizations. Their past experiences had provided them with an increased awareness of the range of options available in the receiving society and during adolescence they were under pressure to make choices which would ultimately locate them in either the ethno-religious community or the host community. Marriage was a crucial step in this process since it largely determined the individual's location vis-a-vis the ethno-religious and host communities. The traditional mechanisms of social control had been weakened by the declining level of social closure however, such that an increasing proportion chose to violate the norm of endogamy and marry outside the ethno-religious community.

As the boundaries of the ethno-religious community became less
clearly defined and individuals had access to a wider range of options, variation in the nature of interpersonal networks became apparent. The nature of these social networks had consequences for the centrality of ethnicity in the process of self-identification and thus had a significant effect on the process of adaptation. Some chose interpersonal networks which were predominantly Australian in nature while others maintained predominantly ethnic interpersonal networks. Some withdrew from membership in the ethno-religious community while others chose to become increasingly involved in the ethno-religious community in all activities not undertaken in the host community (e.g. work).

The difficulties surrounding the definition of community boundaries corresponds with changes taking place within the processes of identification. The declining segregation led to an increase in the host community's exposure to the ethno-religious community so that the visibility of the Reformed Dutch community increased. Given the host community's lack of knowledge of the religious basis of the community, they identified and labelled the community in terms of the common ethnic background of its members. It was defined as a Dutch community and people responded to its members in terms of this definition. On the basis of their own experiences members of the host community started to develop generalizations such as "The Dutch don't assimilate very well" and "Dutchies always stick together " thus implying that ethnicity was the major characteristic differentiating them from members of the host community.

At the same time, however, given the desire of the members of the ethno-religious community to assimilate and be accepted by the members of the host society, they found themselves in a position in which their unique norms and values had to be explained and justified. They did so within a framework which was acceptable both to them and the host community; that is, within an assimilationist orientation. They
defined themselves as a unique religious group and not an ethnic group.

The acceptance of this definition of the situation became even more crucial when the traditional sources of growth within the community's main organizations were no longer reliable. In order that these organizations remained viable it became essential to widen recruitment to include more members of the host society. Thus it became advantageous for members of this community to mobilize their religious identities rather than their ethnic identities. By defining the boundaries of the community in terms of a Christian religion which was not ethno-specific, the size of the potential clientele increased considerably. As a corollary, the centrality of ethnicity declined as a basis for the identification of self and others. This process was enhanced by the increasing proportion of native-born Australians entering the community's organizations which meant that the taken-for-granted nature of ethnicity among members of the community was disrupted. Once members were made conscious of it they then attempted not to mobilize specifically ethnic norms and values.

For members of this community it is evident that the centrality of ethnicity declined as a basis for the identification of self and others during the 1970s and 1980s. Nevertheless, ethnicity is still recognized as a resource which can be mobilized for instrumental purposes. This explains the Calvin School Board's decision to introduce the study of Dutch from Grade 5 through to Grade 10 in the late 1970s, while at the same time insisting that it was not a 'Dutch School'. The impetus behind this was the fact that the federal committee for Multicultural Education established funding for migrant languages to be taught at ethnic schools. The proportion of students of Dutch origin who attended the Calvin School fitted bureaucratic guidelines of the definition of an 'ethnic school' and they successfully applied for funding to teach the language.
At the individual level, ethnic ties are often mobilized to achieve goals such as employment, financial loans and accommodation while travelling in the Netherlands, while at the same time individuals do not place much importance on ethnicity as a basis for self-identification. The existence of such 'symbolic' ethnicity is also evident in festivities such as the Oliebollen Fair at the Calvin School and the desire of some Reformed Church members to become involved in the activities surrounding the building of the Abel Tasman Fountain. This is a Bicentennial gift to Tasmania from "the Dutch community" and was unveiled in October 1988 by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands.

Thus ethnicity is clearly a resource which is mobilized situationally. Its centrality in the process of identification has been declining as the ethnic backgrounds of members in community organizations become more diversified and as those of Dutch origin become increasingly dispersed within the host society with the effect that interpersonal networks become less ethnic in nature.

Type 2: Ethnic 'events' and the celebration of ethnicity

Non-Reformed Dutch migrants and their children in southern Tasmania were not part of the chain migration which led to the development of an ethno-religious community. They constituted an heterogenous category of people who had migrated on an individual basis and became occupationally and residentially dispersed on arrival in the receiving society. The skills and background experiences they brought with them from the Netherlands enabled them to become integrated into the host community to the extent that their children were indistinguishable from native-born Australians. Nevertheless, for some of the migrants ethnicity remained significant in their personal lives. A loose-knit network of ethnic interpersonal relationships was maintained among those who had had access to an ethnic support structure during the early stages of settlement or during times of crisis.
Since no ethnic community developed among these Dutch migrants, analysis of the social context in which these people were adapting from the late 1960s must focus on changes taking place within the host community.

The decline in Dutch immigration did not have a significant impact on a community which was predominantly Anglo-Saxon in origin and into which Dutch migrants had successfully integrated. However, once a Dutch club had been established in the 1970s the small number of recently arrived migrants from the Netherlands limited the size of the potential clientele and limited the range of activities in which the club could become involved. More specifically, the option of functioning as a support group for new arrivals did not exist. Thus, the decline in Dutch immigration reduced the range of goals available to the club. By removing an activity that would be perceived by the majority as valid and important it also further added to the lack of cohesion among club members.

For the majority of these migrants the changing political climate was equally insignificant as a factor affecting adaptive strategies. The recognition of their Dutch origin had not provided them with any advantages during the process of adaptation and ethnicity had become peripheral in the process of self-identification. Community support for a vague concept of 'multiculturalism' thus made little impact on their everyday lives and government policies aimed at promoting cultural diversity did not provide them with any real advantages in mobilizing ethnicity. As a result, during the 1970s and '80s the majority of these Dutch migrants continued to choose adaptive strategies which followed the same pattern as those which they had chosen in the past. Despite the celebration of 'multiculturalism' in the sphere of political rhetoric, the social context within which they were adapting had changed very little and the processes of integration and assimilation thus continued.
Among those Dutch migrants who had become part of a loose-knit network of ethnic interpersonal relationships, however, adaptive strategies were affected by the changing political and attitudinal climate. During the 1950s and early 1960s the existence of ethnic interpersonal relationships had been perceived as evidence of the migrant's failure to assimilate. During the 1970s, however, the concept of 'multiculturalism' provided these relationships with a legitimate status. Schools began to receive federal grants for the teaching of migrant languages and Dutch was introduced as a Higher School Certificate subject in Tasmania. Changing community attitudes, when combined with the provision of funding to ethnic 'groups,' created the appropriate conditions and incentives for formalizing the existing loose-knit network of ethnic relationships among Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania.

In short, the social context had altered to the extent that the establishment of a Dutch club was perceived as legitimate in terms of the values of the host community and did not threaten the level of acceptance which these migrants had already achieved within the receiving society. Indeed, as a concrete expression of the value of 'multiculturalism', it actually provided these Dutch migrants with rewards for conformity to the changing host community norms.

A specific event in the late 1960s produced a legitimate reason for recognizing the existence of a loosely structured ethnic network and provided the particular context in which these ethnic relationships could be reinforced. A 'clientele' for the establishment of an ethnic organization had been created and, since this was perceived as an appropriate and potentially advantageous strategy, a Dutch club was begun. Its activities were purely social in nature, a fact that is significant for understanding this development as part of a long-term process of adaptation.

The members of the D.A.S. were successfully-adapted Australian
residents of Dutch origin. Ethnicity had retained some significance for them during the process of adaptation through the existence of ethnic support structures in the receiving society and the fact that ethnic social relationships in the society of origin had been maintained. For many, the latter had been mobilized through relatively frequent return trips to the Netherlands.

For these migrants ethnicity had clearly had an instrumental value during the process of adaptation but was typically mobilized in the private sphere. Ethnicity had not been mobilized to gain advantages in the host community and was less central in the process of self-identification than were other resources. The development of a Dutch club with purely social goals did nothing to alter the fact that ethnicity was peripheral in the process of self-identification. It simply transformed a loose-knit network of ethnic relationships into a more formal structure. However, these ethnic relationships were still confined to the recreational sphere so that the development of a Dutch club did not increase the range or frequency of ethnic mobilization among members.

The D.A.S. provided a social milieu within which existing ethnic relationships could be maintained. The salience of ethnicity was thus increased through the 'organizational momentum' provided by the club's existence. This was particularly true for committee members because these positions provided their ethnic identities with official status. Membership on the D.A.S. Committee provided rewards such as individual social recognition, prestige and access to more powerful positions in the receiving society.

For example, the D.A.S. has delegates on politically influential national bodies such as the Ethnic Communities Council. In addition, D.A.S. Committee members are invited to Parliament House for an annual reception where they meet parliamentarians and community
leaders. In May 1985, committee members were invited to Government House after a ceremony at the cenotaph for the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of V.E.Day and in October 1988, at a reception after the opening of the Tasman Fountain members were privileged to meet Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands personally. Events such as these are perceived by these Dutch migrants as symbolic of their successful adaptation in the receiving society. They are interpreted as contexts in which the Dutch are finally given recognition for the valuable economic and social contribution they have made to Tasmanian society.

The development of the D.A.S served to strengthen ethnic cohesion among a network of very loosely connected Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania. It provided a context in which migrants could display their 'successful adaptation' to other Dutch migrants and to others in the receiving society. At the same time, however, it provided the means by which a degree of individuality could be expressed through the recognition of their ethnic origin. Although seemingly paradoxical, the D.A.S had a peculiar ability to achieve both goals because the explorer who discovered Tasmania and after whom the state was named was a Dutchman. By appealing to their relationship with Abel Tasman these Dutch migrants were able to simultaneously express both their assimilation to the culture of the receiving society and their unique importance as an ethnic category. Hence the official name of the club is the "Dutch Australian Society Abel Tasman", symbolizing the importance of this connection.

The provision of grants to ethnic organizations provided further legitimacy and instrumental value to the club's existence. Furthermore, during the 1970s and '80s ethnic organizations were increasingly invited to attend national celebrations and community events. For example, the D.A.S has been asked to become involved in federal, state and local government activities which involve the celebration of Australia's cultural diversity. These include Australia Day celebrations, Tasmania
Day activities, Arts Festivals and New Year's Eve festivities.

The viability of a Dutch club such as the D.A.S is clearly dependent upon two conditions. First, the existence of regular 'events' which provide opportunities for the expression of 'symbolic' ethnicity and give the club a series of short-term goals. Secondly, since the D.A.S serves a cohesive function, it is dependent upon the prior existence of ethnic social networks as these provide the clientele for the ethnic organization. The first condition is achieved through the host community's support for 'multiculturalism' which is expressed through a desire to have ethnic groups represented at community functions. However, the decline in Dutch immigration, together with the fact that Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania have followed a process of assimilation, seriously threatens the existence of a clientele for the D.A.S.

Through the process of adaptation followed by Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania, ethnic social networks are disappearing and the centrality of ethnicity in the process of self-identification is declining. The ageing of the Dutch-born population limits the size of active ethnic networks and the second generation shows little interest in its ethnic background. As a purely social club the D.A.S. has difficulty meeting the needs of an ageing population with declining levels of physical mobility. Furthermore, the D.A.S. while performing a cohesive function for pre-existing ethnic relationships does not provide a context in which ethnic social relationships can be created among individuals for whom ethnicity is relatively insignificant.

The viability of the D.A.S. is threatened by a declining clientele and an inability to meet the needs of people of Dutch origin in southern Tasmania. The second generation, who typically define themselves as Australian, perceive no need for an ethnic organization. Ethnicity has very little significance for them: they were educated in Australian schools, encouraged to speak English at home and their friends are
predominantly drawn from the host community. Their primary socialization occurred within the assimilationist climate of the receiving society and the conformist-oriented subculture of the school. As a consequence, their ethnic background had little meaning for them while they were adapting, except perhaps as an embarrassment; the norm developed that they should not be seen in public with their 'foreign' parents. Thus their past experiences and the social context in which they were adapting led them to choose strategies which did not involve the mobilization of ethnicity.

The D.A.S. has from time to time responded to the problem of declining membership by attempting to recruit members of the Reformed Church with a Dutch background. This is not a consistent strategy because the perception of Reformed Dutch migrants varies among D.A.S. members. Some define them as part of the Dutch 'community' in southern Tasmania while others regard them as a unique religious minority whose members are not representative of Dutch migrants and their children. In general, the limited involvement of Reformed Church members of Dutch origin is not perceived as a problem by D.A.S. members until fund-raising activities are undertaken. At these times discussions typically arise which revolve around the lack of support for the D.A.S from Reformed Church members. This process demonstrates the fluidity of the boundaries which delineate the ethnic 'community' from the host community and one 'ethnic' group from another within the same ethnic category. The definitions of boundaries through the specification of distinguishing criteria (such as birthplace, language spoken, religion, citizenship) are not static but vary situationally.

Attempts to recruit Reformed Church members typically fail for two main reasons. First, the significance of ethnicity among the second generation is limited so that appeals to their ethnic background are typically unsuccessful in motivating them to join a purely ethnic
organization. Secondly, among those Reformed Dutch migrants for whom ethnicity remains salient in all aspects of their everyday lives, ethnicity and religion are inter-related. Thus a purely ethnic organization does not meet their needs while the ethnically based organizations of the Reformed Church do. In short, the D.A.S. is unable to compete with ethno-religious organizations to recruit members from the ethno-religious community and is also unable to compete with host community organizations to recruit the second and third generation.

In addition to the problems of recruitment, the D.A.S. has difficulty maintaining high levels of commitment among its present members. This is due in part to the heterogeneity of members and to the fact that ethnicity is not central to their identities. The dominant orientation among members is towards the host community and they have joined the D.A.S for a wide variety of reasons. The D.A.S thus has difficulty in establishing any common goals which could generate a high level of commitment from all members and debate arises as to whether such goals should be more or less ethno-specific. A lack of identifiable goals is thus an additional factor limiting the club's ability to recruit new members.

The functioning of the D.A.S. and the Dutch Card Club raise some interesting issues in relation to Breton's analysis of the effects of organizational development in an ethnic community. Breton (1964) has shown that the existence of a formal ethnic organization sets out 'forces of attraction' among members of the ethnic category. He identifies two important and related effects; first, the existence of an ethnic organization reinforces the cohesiveness of already existing ethnic networks and secondly, it expands these networks by attracting new members from within the ethnic category. The Dutch Card Club and the D.A.S. successfully perform the former function but fail to recruit new members. This suggests that the functions of an ethnic organization vary across ethnic categories and will largely depend on the process of
adaptation which characterizes the members of this category.

There was an apparent revitalization of the D.A.S. in 1988 which can be understood in terms of the identification of a common goal which motivated a wide variety of people with a Dutch background to mobilize ethnicity. As part of the Bicentennial Celebrations the D.A.S decided to erect, in a prominent position on Hobart's waterfront, a monument to Abel Tasman which was designed and built by an internationally renowned Tasmanian sculptor. The fact that other groups and organizations in the receiving society had competed for this site over a long period of time was interpreted as symbolising the acceptance of the Dutch by the host community and the status they have achieved in the receiving society. Furthermore, the monument was expensive, a fact which symbolised the economic success of Dutch migrants in Tasmania.

Such a symbol of successful adaptation appeals to all Dutch migrants regardless of their different experiences in adapting to the receiving society. Support for the project, both moral and financial, came from all over the state and the fact that the monument was to be unveiled by Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands in October 1988 created high levels of commitment among those involved.

This apparent 'ethnic revival' among Dutch migrants in Tasmania must be analyzed carefully if conclusions are to be drawn about the direction of adaptation. Commitment to the construction of a monument has not altered the salience of ethnicity in their everyday lives. It represents the 'symbolic' expression of ethnicity which, in terms of its functions, is no different from eating oliebollen at the annual Calvin School fair. The only difference is that the importance of this particular event has motivated more people of Dutch origin to become involved in this expression of 'symbolic' ethnicity. Like other similar events however, it is unlikely to have any significant effect on the overall direction of adaptation among Dutch migrants in southern
Future Trends

Although the process of adaptation varies somewhat across the two types identified in the present study, the direction of adaptation for all Dutch migrants in southern Tasmania is clearly towards assimilation. The rate of assimilation varies and can be explained by focusing on the nature of the social context and variations in the individual's social location which affect decisions relating to the mobilization of ethnicity. These two alternative processes are represented in Figure 8.1, below.

In both types of adaptation identified in the present study, the instrumental value of ethnicity is declining. The maintenance of ethnic relationships in the ethno-religious community, however, means that the rate of this decline is slower in Type 1 than in Type 2. For a community with numerous ethnically-based organizations, the provision of funding to 'ethnic' organizations increases the instrumental value of ethnicity in the short-term. However, since members are no longer recruited into the community through the chain migration of Reformed Dutch migrants, it is likely that the long term trend will continue to be towards increased emphasis on religion as a basis for common membership and a corresponding decline in the salience of ethnicity.

Type 2 was identified as a process involving the decline of 'ethnicity' as a functionally significant phenomenon in everyday behaviour. Where ethnic relationships exist in the receiving society, ethnicity is likely to continue to be mobilized for instrumental purposes while at the same time bearing little relationship to identity formation. However, the process of assimilation and the decline in Dutch immigration will continue to reduce the potential for such ethnic relationships to develop. 'Symbolic' ethnicity remains which, being a minor basis for the identification of self and others, makes few
**FIGURE 8.1: ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION**

**DUTCH MIGRATION**

- Religious minority
  - Chain Migration
  - Residential, religious and occupational concentration
    - ethno-religious minority identity
      - Institutional Completeness
      - Tensions and Conflicts
        - boundary transactions
        - changes in organizational structure, interaction patterns and identification
  - closed, dense social networks
- Heterogeneous category
  - Migration
  - Settlement
  - First Generation
    - residential, religious and occupational dispersion
      - no ethnic organizational development
      - weakening ethnic identity
      - Ethnic support structure
    - Second Generation
      - ASSIMILATION
- Individual Migration
  - Residential, religious and occupational dispersion
  - loose-knit social networks
  - weakening ethnic identity

**TYPE 1**

**TYPE 2**
behavioural demands on individuals and is therefore not important in determining the future direction of adaptation.

The presentation of 'symbolic' ethnicity, however, is largely dependent upon the existence of a relatively stable ethnic social network. The D.A.S exists largely because committee members are prepared to maintain this ethnic organization through some personal effort. Without this core ethnic network it is likely that the D.A.S. will fold up thus removing the major social context in which these Dutch migrants and their descendants are able to mobilize ethnicity. For the second generation ethnicity is a peripheral aspect of their identities. As a result they are unlikely to become involved in the organizational aspects of the D.A.S. Thus, as these ethnic networks disappear and ethnic kin ties weaken, the salience of ethnicity as a basis for group formation will continue to decline.

In conclusion, it is apparent that the existence of an 'ethnicity' which has any behavioural significance is largely dependent upon the existence of ethnic social networks. The structure and nature of these networks is determined by factors such as occupational status, educational level, mode of migration, religion and residential distribution and not, as is often purported, on the cohesive nature of ethnicity per se. The existence of an ethnic category is thus a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for the development of an 'ethnic' group or community nor does its existence demonstrate that ethnicity constitutes a central aspect of self-identification among its members.

The salience of ethnicity for individuals, groups or communities is determined by the processes through which members of the ethnic category adapt to conditions in the receiving society. The process of adaptation varies within the ethnic category and is dependent upon variables such as the process of immigration, the social and economic conditions in the receiving society, the attitudes of host community
members towards members of various ethnic categories and the social and demographic characteristics of the ethnic category. The latter is particularly important in that it is these characteristics which either provide a basis for common membership in ethnic organizations or create conditions for the differentiation and dispersion of members of an ethnic category.

By locating this analysis within the wider context of modernization processes it becomes possible to distinguish a general trend in the nature of ethnic mobilization consistent with both types of adaptation identified here. Current events can then be understood as indicative of the fact that social change takes place as individuals manage their situations in the context of these more pervasive societal processes.

The recent changes associated with Type 1 demonstrate that the ethno-religious community established during the 1950s is adapting to changing conditions in the wider society by becoming less isolated. The level of closure in social relationships has been steadily declining such that a shared and taken-for-granted notion of 'ethnicity' is no longer apparent. The traditional way of life of the original members of the ethno-religious community is clearly threatened by the recent changes brought about by increased contact with members of the wider society. This has created tensions and conflicts among members of the ethno-religious organizations as they attempt to manage the changes taking place.

Some members have responded to this threat by attempting to strengthen the traditional system. They have attempted to maintain a high degree of closure in social relationships by strengthening traditional methods of social control and supporting the strict adherence to traditional recruitment methods. The choice of these strategies is then legitimated by reference to orthodox Reformed theology. Others have chosen alternative strategies which urge for, and support, the
introduction of modifications to the traditional system so that it can remain viable in a modern social context. Since such strategies can be interpreted as deviating from orthodox Reformed theology, this situation produces conflicts and tensions among members of the Reformed Church.

The analysis of current trends presented here suggests that the latter course of action is typical of the second and third generation. Indeed, it would appear that a process of adaptation is taking place which will lead to the disappearance of the traditional undifferentiated social structure which once characterized the ethno-religious community. Members of the Reformed Church will thereby come to participate in the wider society in much the same way as other individuals in a relatively modern, differentiated society. This has significant implications for the nature and meaning of 'ethnicity' among later generations. There is a shift away from a 'behavioural' ethnicity which is central to the process of self-identification towards a 'symbolic' ethnicity which is peripheral in this process.

It becomes clear therefore that second and third generation Dutch, regardless of the pattern of adaptation of which they are a part, are converging on a common pattern of participation in the wider society. Unlike their parents, these individuals have not been influenced by socialization in the Netherlands where religious, regional and class differences are significant aspects of the social structure and the identification of self and others. Among the second and third generation ethnicity is peripheral as an identity construct and expressed situationally through behaviours such as eating ethnic cuisine and participating in ethnic dancing. They do not perceive significant differences between individuals within the ethnic category and are therefore much more likely than were their parents to join together in occasional and infrequent 'ethnic' events.
Such events are likely to be those in which ethnicity is mobilized to support the values of pluralism and cultural diversity now developing in the receiving society. The development of these values at this point in time can be seen as the result of not only Australia's immigration history, but more importantly the increasing degree of structural complexity characterizing the process of modernization.
CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION

Ethnicity and the Process of Immigrant Adaptation

The present work seeks to make an empirical and theoretical contribution to the understanding of Australian ethnic relations through a substantive analysis of the adaptation of Dutch immigrants in southern Tasmania. By adopting a general sociological perspective on this issue, the approach developed in the study enabled the writer to extend the predominantly structural and cultural or psychological analyses in the current literature by integrating analysis at the macro and micro level. The analysis of ethnic relations was further enhanced by being grounded in the real experiences of social actors which enabled the meaning of ethnicity to be examined. Further, by adopting a perspective which made it possible to link theory with research, both substantive and theoretical issues could be explored. This allowed an examination of the concept of ethnicity to be undertaken so that its utility in a theory of immigrant adaptation could be determined.

The descriptive utility of the thesis is evident in the richness of an ethnography which is informed by the life experiences of real actors. The paucity of empirical research on Dutch immigrants and their descendants in Australia has been noted by numerous writers in the field of ethnic relations (e.g. de Lepervanche, 1984a). The empirical account presented here is a step towards alleviating this problem. Furthermore the qualitative methodology employed produced an ethnography based on a rich variety of both objective and subjective material. As a consequence, however, much of the empirical data relating to the minutiae of everyday life, which was acquired through interaction with these migrants and their children over an extended period of time, could not be formally presented. Nevertheless, the ethnographic approach, being organized on the basis of an analytical rather than purely descriptive framework, provided a basis for exploring the interface between theory and research. Research data could be woven
back into the theoretical literature so that problematic issues could be re-examined. It is this approach which enables the thesis to contribute to the process of developing a 'grounded' formal theory of ethnicity.

Empirically, the most significant finding involves the identification of two alternative patterns of adaptation within a single ethnic category. Type 1 was identified as a process of chain migration and 'ethnic' community development undertaken by migrants from a relatively non-modern social context. Type 2 was identified as a process of individual migration and subsequent dispersion in the receiving society, undertaken by migrants from a relatively modern social context.

The community resulting from the former process of adaptation was created through a process of chain migration which brought people from an isolated region in the Netherlands to an isolated geographical location in southern Tasmania. Here they developed an 'ethnic' community with boundaries clearly demarcated on the basis of a range of shared characteristics including national origin, regional identity, religion, dialect, skill level and nature of work activity. Thus these migrants recreated the relatively non-modern structural conditions within which they had been located in a part of the Netherlands. This traditional community structure was then maintained for over a decade through the continued chain migration of people from the same region, the geographical isolation of the ethno-religious community and the closure of members' social networks.

For these Dutch migrants, 'ethnicity' encompassed a wide range of characteristics comprising the basis for communal relationships and common membership in a variety of ethnically-based organizations. Along with a similar location in the social structure of the receiving society, they shared a unique world-view which differentiated them from the members of the host community and provided a strong basis for cohesion among community members. The existence of a wide range
of ethnically-homogenous organizations and the closure of social networks within this community therefore led to the maintenance of 'ethnic' characteristics such as language and other traditional norms and values. Thus, ethnicity was salient in a wide range of activities in everyday life, expressed regularly through social relationships and was therefore a central construct in the identification of self and others.

The alternative process of adaptation was undertaken by individuals from a relatively modern social structure. They constituted an heterogeneous category in terms of a wide variety of background characteristics such as class, religion, dialect, time of migration, age, marital status, stage of the life-cycle and whether they came to Australia after a period of residence in Indonesia. Despite their diversity all these individuals had marketable skills which led to their subsequent dispersion into the receiving society. Among members of this category the maintenance of ethnic characteristics, where it occurred at all, was dependent upon the existence of ethnic social relationships. Since access to such relationships was available only to a minority, the majority became rapidly acculturated and indistinguishable from members of the host community. For these migrants, 'ethnicity' became increasingly peripheral in the process of self-identification.

The identification of these alternative processes of adaptation among members of a single 'ethnic' category has important implications. It is significant first, for interpreting empirical data gathered previously on Dutch immigrants in Australia and secondly, for our understanding of the process of immigrant adaptation, the meaning of ethnicity and the relationship between ethnicity and adaptation.

To begin with, the empirical results demonstrate the inadequacy of large-scale studies which are unable to analyze differences within an ethnic category. Studies of ethnic 'groups' in Australia have typically concluded that the Dutch are assimilated and indistinguishable from
members of the host community. Attempts are then made to distinguish a process of assimilation through an analysis of statistical characteristics of this category of immigrants. However, the findings of the present study suggest that these conclusions are spurious. Furthermore, since processes of adaptation vary within the ethnic category the findings also suggest that the process of assimilation must be analyzed through studies which are smaller in scale.

Further, the present work suggests that it is inappropriate to divide immigrants into English-speaking and non-English-speaking categories. This has been, and continues to be, a common method for drawing gross distinctions between types of immigrants in Australia and the patterns of adaptation which they typically follow. Continued adherence to this practice stems from the statistical fact that non-English-speaking migrants have not assimilated as well as English-speaking migrants. The inaccurate deduction is then made that it is ability to speak English which is the primary factor in the process of adaptation.

Misleading and inaccurate conclusions such as these stem from an inadequate examination of the causal factors leading to different patterns of adaptation among English and non-English speaking migrants. The identification of a process of rapid assimilation as one of two types of adaptation within a category of non-English speaking migrants, demonstrates the need for a closer examination of the relationship between language and adaptation at an empirical and a theoretical level. Empirically, first language maintenance and second language acquisition are processes dependent upon the immigrant's social location in the receiving society. They are thus consequences of, rather than causal factors in, the direction of adaptation.

The relationship between English language ability and assimilation can be explained more fully, however, by examining the categories of English-speaking and non-English speaking migrants
within the context of modernization theory. Empirically, the majority of Australian immigrants who fall into the category of non-English speakers (e.g. southern Europeans) have come from relatively non-modern societies whereas English speakers (e.g. British, North American) have typically hailed from relatively modern societies. Thus a statistical correlation exists between ability to speak English and the relative level of modernity which characterizes the society of origin. Given the empirical relationship between language and adaptation discussed above, it becomes clear that it is factors relating to the level of modernity in the society of origin, and not language use, which determine patterns of adaptation in the receiving society.

The confusion surrounding this relationship has resulted, in part, from an over emphasis on research into non-English-speaking migrants from relatively non-modernized societies who tend not to follow a process of rapid assimilation in the receiving society. The causal factors in the process of adaptation cannot be determined through the analysis of such cases alone. Comparative analysis needs to be undertaken so that the importance of the immigrant's ability to speak English can be adequately assessed.

Other confusions arise from the spurious results of such research, particularly in relation to the role of 'ethnicity' in the process of immigrant adaptation. In the empirical investigation of immigrants from relatively non-modern societies a correlation exists between a number of characteristics but the relationship between them cannot be analyzed. These characteristics include ethnicity, English-language ability, level of modernity in society of origin and the immigrant's skills and resources. If empirical research focusses on immigrants from relatively non-modern societies, the low level of differentiation characteristic of these societies means that there is a high degree of homogeneity in the ethnic category. In other words, it is likely that all those who nominally belong to the same ethnic category have had
similar life experiences and share similar levels of skill and resources. This leads to a tendency to assume that 'ethnicity' is the significant variable in the process of adaptation in the receiving society when, in reality, the causal factors are the skills and resources which the concept of 'ethnicity' subsumes.

The analysis of immigrants from relatively modern societies provides a methodological framework for demonstrating the relationship between ethnicity and adaptation. Immigrants from a structurally differentiated society do not necessarily share similar life experiences. Their social locations in the society of origin can differ dramatically so that, although they share nominal membership in the same ethnic category, they can differ significantly in terms of the skills, resources, interests and access to opportunities in the receiving society. If the latter variables are more significant than ethnicity *per se* in the process of adaptation then research into such categories should demonstrate variation in this process. By adopting this methodological framework this study has identified the existence of this type of variation, and has thereby demonstrated the limited role of ethnicity *per se* in the process of immigrant adaptation.

Ethnicity is not a useful explanatory concept but a purely descriptive term. It can be employed to describe a category of people who share a common cultural heritage or to describe the various structures created in the receiving society by members of such a category during the process of adaptation. However, the coincidence of ethnicity and a particular pattern of adaptation *in some cases* should not be confused with a causal relationship. To determine the causal factors in the process of immigrant adaptation it is necessary to 'unpack' the concept of ethnicity. In other words, the causal variables must be disaggregated from the all-encompassing umbrella term.

Ethnicity is a descriptive umbrella term used to refer to any
characteristic or characteristics shared by at least some members of an ethnic category which distinguishes them from other members of the society; for example, race, religion, class, language or any other unique norms and values. As a consequence, the meaning of ethnicity varies between and within ethnic categories since the particular characteristics it subsumes vary. Thus, for any immigrant 'group', the determination of the specific causal variables in the process of adaptation is an empirical problem.

This study has employed a framework which enables the disaggregation of 'ethnicity' to be undertaken. Through the identification of specific causal variables in the adaptation of Dutch immigrants, it has been possible to explain the development of a variety of 'ethnic' structures (i.e. 'ethnic' interpersonal networks, 'ethnic' organizations and an 'ethnic' community) within a single 'ethnic' category and to make sense of variations in the choice of adaptive strategies among its members.

Through its analysis of the process of immigrant adaptation the relationship between ethnicity and the process of identification has been explored. In many previous studies the significance of ethnicity as a basis for the identification of self and others has been assumed but not systematically examined. Such studies typically assert that ethnicity is a salient (if latent) identity construct among all members of an ethnic category. However, in a structurally differentiated society the relative salience of ethnicity vis-a-vis alternative bases for the identification of self and others is a matter for empirical investigation not assertion.

In a relatively modern, structurally differentiated society 'ethnicity' is one possible basis for the delineation of group boundaries and one possible basis for identification which can be chosen from a repertoire of identity options. Theoretically, its significance as a structural element of society is believed to decline as societies modernize.
and there is a trend away from an emphasis on ascription towards an emphasis on achievement. Ethnicity, however, can be either ascribed or achieved. The decision to present oneself as 'ethnic' by increasing the visibility of one's identification with an ethnic group or community is an expression of the achievement of ethnicity. This dual nature of 'ethnicity' means that it is not possible to make a simplistic universal statement about the relationship between the salience of 'ethnicity' and modernization. Whether ethnicity is a significant structural feature of any relatively modern society is an empirical problem.

At the level of the individual, the relative salience of ethnicity vis-à-vis alternative bases for self-identification varies situationally and is also an empirical problem. Ethnicity is a resource which can be mobilized to achieve both instrumental and expressive goals. Since the instrumental value of ethnicity depends in part upon the structure and nature of ethnic social networks, the likelihood of it being mobilized will vary across individuals and over time. The likelihood of ethnicity being mobilized will also depend on the value placed on ethnicity in the receiving society. Where a claim to ethnicity produces rewards (as it does in some contexts in a society which maintains a policy of multiculturalism) then ethnicity is more likely to be mobilized as an identity option. Indeed, it can be argued that it is a characteristic of modernity that previously accepted notions of homogeneity are superseded by conceptions of pluralism and diversity. In such contexts, the mobilization of ethnicity acquires a positive value.

Furthermore, the expressive value of ethnicity is also dependent upon the individual's social location. Ethnicity is central in the process of self-identification when the individual's interpersonal networks are predominantly ethnic in nature. Once again, this is a problem for empirical research. However, it can be argued that the more structurally-differentiated the society, the more likely it is that social participation will be situational, partial and limited in scope. In such societies
individuals encounter a wide range of persons in their everyday lives such that interpersonal networks are less likely to be predominantly ethnic in nature. Ethnicity is likely to be mobilized situationally and thus becomes increasingly peripheral in the process of self-identification.

By exploring the relationship between ethnicity and identification the study also demonstrates the importance of recognizing that all members of society, and not only immigrants, are potentially able to mobilize ethnicity. It is on the basis of this understanding that we can begin to explain the mobilization of ethnicity among the second and third generation whose biographical trajectories are significantly different to those of the first generation. Individuals who are not part of specifically ethnic social networks may respond to the homogenizing influences of modernization by choosing to mobilize ethnicity as an expression of individualism. However, since identities are grounded in the nature of social relationships, such expressions of 'symbolic' ethnicity do not mean that ethnicity is a central component of identification. Thus, at the level of the individual, it is clear that differential biographical trajectories lead to differences in the meaning of ethnicity.

Variation in the nature and meaning of ethnic mobilization have been further illuminated by locating the two patterns of adaptation identified here within the wider framework of modernization processes. Types 1 and 2 are static representations of processes as they have occurred at a particular moment in history. Nevertheless, they demonstrate that the mobilization of ethnicity is in a constant state of flux as individuals adapt to changes in their social location. These alternative processes can therefore be employed to illuminate the long-term trends in the nature of ethnic mobilization as societies modernize.

Type 1 was identified as a process of ethnic community development and decline. The traditional social system which was re-
created in the receiving society by immigrants from a relatively non-modern social context was shown to have undergone a dynamic process of adaptation to the changing structural conditions of the wider society. Links with the wider society increased over time so that, in the 1980s, a distinct and isolated 'ethnic' community was no longer as apparent as it had been in the 1960s. The descendents of the original immigrants thus occupy distinctly different social locations in the receiving society to those initially occupied by their parents and grandparents, a fact which has important implications for the mobilization of ethnicity.

The second and third generation belong to a relatively cohesive religious 'group' which is an integrated part of a relatively complex, structurally differentiated society in which notions of homogeneity have been replaced by notions of diversity and pluralism. These individuals are linked to the wider society through a complex network of social relationships which are no longer predominantly 'ethnic' in nature. 'Ethnicity' is thus no longer a shared and taken-for-granted aspect of all or most social relationships and as a consequence it has become peripheral in the process of self-identification.

Such second and third generation individuals of Dutch origin occupy similar social locations to many of the immigrants in Type 2 and certainly to their descendents. Thus, while the personal biographies of immigrants in Type 1 and Type 2 differed significantly, the present study has demonstrated that later generations in both categories are converging on a pattern of societal membership and participation which is increasingly typical of all members of modern society.

Immigrants from relatively non-modern social contexts are likely to adapt to conditions in a relatively modern receiving society by adopting strategies consistent with Type 1. Such strategies involve the frequent mobilization of ethnicity across a range of personal relationships such that ethnicity becomes central in the process of self-
identification. On the other hand, immigrants from relatively modern social contexts are likely to follow the pattern of adaptation identified in this study as Type 2. These individuals are likely to possess the skills and resources which will enable them to occupy social locations similar to those of the native-born population. This is also true of members of the second and third generation who have been socialized in the receiving society.

Thus, for immigrants from relatively modern social contexts and for the second and third generation, ethnicity is likely to be incorporated as a peripheral component of identity. Ethnic identification is therefore likely to be expressed symbolically through activities such as eating 'ethnic' cuisine, wearing 'ethnic' costumes and learning 'ethnic' dances. Since this type of ethnic identification does not make behavioural demands on the individual which would serve to differentiate him from others in the society, it produces advantage at no cost. The mobilization of ethnicity thus becomes a popular, even fashionable, strategy chosen by a wide variety of individuals in modern societies. Collectively, this phenomenon has been termed the 'ethnic revival' and is a process of change consistent with the structural and cultural changes brought about by modernization.

In summary, variations in the mobilization of ethnicity can only be understood by analyzing the complex structural conditions which lead to the choice of a such a strategy. Thus, an explanation of the process of immigrant adaptation must be located within an analysis of the changing structural context within which the individual is adapting. Such an analysis must focus on structural characteristics of the society of origin and the individual's location within it, the mode of migration and the nature of migration 'channels'. It also must focus on aspects of the receiving society including the dynamic relationship between the nature of social networks, the structure of organizational development in the receiving society and the degree of centrality given to ethnicity in
the process of the identification of self and others.

By employing such an analytical framework, the meaning of the concept of 'ethnicity' and the role it plays in the process of immigrant adaptation is illuminated. The specific findings of the study and the general understandings gained from this approach can now be used to reflect upon the ethnic relations literature.

Revisiting the literature on immigrant adaptation

The review of studies on immigrant adaptation presented in Chapter Two demonstrated the way in which the value orientations of specific researchers influenced the theories they developed and thus the conclusions they reached. When added to the profusion of new sociological and psychological concepts developed specifically to deal with issues in the field of ethnic relations, confusion rather than clarity has been the result.

This study has attempted to move the discussion away from the realm of ideological debate into the field of structural analysis by locating the discussion of processes of immigrant adaptation within a more general sociological framework. It has provided an analytic framework in which immigrant adaptation can be analyzed as a process with reference to the structural conditions underlying intergroup relations. The dynamic nature of these structural conditions has been emphasized through an approach which recognizes that the immigrant transforms his social context through the process of adaptation thereby altering the conditions which determine his selection of adaptive strategies.

The utility of this approach demonstrates the inadequacy of attempting to understand immigrant adaptation at the level of the individual without reference to his social context. Concepts such as identification, satisfaction, acculturation and maladjustment have little meaning when they are separated from the individual's social situation.
Furthermore, the empirical and theoretical relationships between them are difficult to identify when isolated from the structural conditions within which adaptation takes place. Such concepts are only meaningful when located within a framework which focusses on the individual's changing social location. The structured opportunities available to the individual direct the 'choices' he makes from a limited range of options and thereby determine the direction of adaptation.

In addition, this approach demonstrates the inadequacy of purely cultural explanations of immigrant adaptation. Many writers during the 1950s and 60s, whether adopting an assimilationist or a cultural pluralist approach, conceived both the receiving society and the ethnic 'group' as cultural phenomena. Explanations of immigrant adaptation were thus located at the level of values: whether the two alternative sets of cultural values were compatible, and if not, how they could change to become so. However, a simplistic notion of the relationship between values and action underlies such an approach thereby rendering the analysis inadequate. This thesis suggests that viewing values as a set of higher-order preferences which direct, rather than determine, the individual's choice of adaptive strategies leads to a more fruitful analysis of immigrant adaptation. Furthermore, analysis of structural conditions in the receiving society, where it occurred at all, was limited to concepts such as 'economic absorption' (Price, 1966: A40). There has been a conspicuous absence of any systematic analysis of the institutional structures of the receiving society and the differential access of immigrants to them, outside a Marxist approach, and the present study is an attempt to fill this gap.

More specifically, this study adds to our understanding of the process of immigrant adaptation by analyzing opportunity structures in both the ethnic and host communities. All too often, when writers have adopted a structural analysis they have tended to focus on the immigrant's location either in the 'ethnic' community or in the host
community. While such writers recognize that immigrants have differential access to opportunities in the host community there is a tendency to assume that all members of an ethnic category have equal access to opportunities in the ethnic community. Since this problem has partly resulted from the structural focus of these studies the approach of the present study is able to avoid this problem. Thus a synthesis of macro and micro analysis that is informed by the real life experiences of actors produces an account which is more closely related to social reality.

The approach taken here has demonstrated that individuals are differentially located in terms of both the ethnic and the host communities. Thus, just as it is essential to analyze the bases of differentiation within the host community which lead individuals to have differential access to opportunities within it, it is equally essential to analyze the bases of differentiation within the ethnic 'community'. Through their uncritical use of the concept of ethnicity, previous studies have tended to assume that 'ethnicity' delineates the boundary of the 'ethnic' community such that all members of an ethnic category have equal access to membership in the community. Through a critique of the concept of 'ethnicity' the present study has demonstrated that any number of shared characteristics can be used to delineate the boundaries of an 'ethnic' network, group or community. As a consequence, members of an ethnic category have differential access to the variety of ethnic structures which can develop among its members.

Furthermore, through the analysis of 'ethnic' structures developed by members of an ethnic category who are typically described as "successfully adapted, well-adjusted and assimilated", the fact that ethnic communities are differentially linked to the receiving society has been highlighted. Thus, it is evident that the maintenance of ethnic relationships and the existence of ethnic organizations do not necessarily act as a barrier to membership in the host community. In fact, ethnic relationships and/or ethnic organizations may function as the means by
which the individual's position in the host community can be improved.

The previous discussion has outlined some of the advantages of adopting a multidimensional approach to the process of immigrant adaptation in which analysis is grounded in social structure and informed by real life experiences. It emphasizes that the mobilization of ethnicity must be understood in terms of a number of inter-related factors including the individual's changing social location with respect to interpersonal networks, the nature of ethnic structures, the relationship between ethnic structures and the host community and the underlying structural conditions in the receiving society.

In line with this approach, the study also adopts a multidimensional notion of identity. It is understood that the individual has a repertoire of identity options from which he can choose those which provide advantages in any specific situation. Identity is thus conceived as fluid. It is through the analysis of these variables that it is possible to explain the individual's choice of adaptive strategy and how the cumulation of such strategies alters the immigrant's social context thereby further influencing the process of adaptation.

By adopting this multidimensional approach the findings of the study provide a greater understanding of phenomena identified, but inadequately explained, in previous studies. In particular, this applies to the concepts of "uneven" assimilation, "regression" and the "ethnic revival". Unidimensional approaches to adaptation either have difficulty explaining these processes or tend to view them as signs of 'maladjustment'. However, all these processes can be clearly explained if the mobilization of ethnicity is viewed as situational and dependent upon the individual's social context.

The concept of "uneven" assimilation has been used to describe
the situation in which an immigrant appears to be following a general path of assimilation to the host culture (i.e. becoming more and more 'like' members of the receiving society) but maintains a few ethnic traits at the same time. If adaptation is understood in terms of a unidimensional continuum based on similarity to the host culture, such a situation is difficult to explain. However, employing the multi-dimensional, structurally-based approach adopted here an explanation of this phenomenon becomes straightforward. It refers to the relatively common situation in which the individual chooses to mobilize ethnicity in some social contexts and not in others and can be explained through a careful analysis of his social location and past experiences. If the existence of 'partial' identities is also assumed, then the situation does not point to a condition of 'maladjustment', but indicates a particular pattern of successful adaptation.

The phenomena of "regression" and the "ethnic revival" can also be explained by focussing on changes in the individual's social context which alter his 'choice' of adaptive strategies. Regression is typically identified among immigrants who have successfully reached a stable level of assimilation but at a later stage reassert their ethnicity. A unidimensional approach to immigrant adaptation which focusses analysis on the individual tends to explain this regression in the assimilation process in terms of personal inadequacies or psychological problems. It is thus viewed as a form of maladjustment. However, by focussing analysis on the immigrant's changing social context, and thus changing interests, we can explain the reassertion of ethnicity as part of a continuing process of successful adaptation in which individuals mobilize resources in an attempt to maximize advantage while reducing costs.

The celebration of ethnicity among non-immigrants, a phenomenon recently identified and labelled "the ethnic revival", is also difficult to explain within a unidimensional framework which
tends to assume ethnic identification goes hand in hand with immigrant status. From this perspective, the logical explanation for the ethnic revival is that ethnicity is a primordial sentiment which 'naturally' reasserts itself among the descendants of immigrants.

Alternatively, the 'ethnic revival' can be explained in terms of changes in the structural conditions affecting the mobilization of resources. The mobilization of ethnicity among non-immigrants can thus be viewed as a result of economic affluence in the context of changing structural conditions associated with modernization processes. In short, relatively affluent individuals in a modern society, whether recent immigrants or not, can afford the luxury of indulging in expressions of individuality which cut across the homogenising influences of modernity. Furthermore, ethnicity is the resource chosen to achieve this expressive goal not because it is primordial but precisely because its significance in determining the individual's social location has declined through the process of modernization. Thus, the relatively secure middle-class individual can safely express his individuality through the mobilization of ethnicity without threatening his overall status in society.

Employing this approach it can be argued that the mobilization of ethnicity, as is expressed in the 'ethnic revival', is a distinctly different phenomenon to that expressed by immigrants. This is supported by the research data which indicate that the 'ethnic revival' is a second and third generation phenomenon; empirically, it is evident among a distinctly different cohort than that of immigrants in the receiving society. In the two situations, ethnicity is mobilized for different purposes and in different ways.

In the process of immigrant adaptation, ethnicity is mobilized for both instrumental and expressive purposes and is dependent upon the existence of ethnic social relationships. Depending on the nature of the
individual's interpersonal networks, ethnicity is a relatively central component of the individual's identity. On the other hand, in the 'ethnic revival', ethnicity is mobilized to achieve different expressive goals. This expression of 'symbolic' ethnicity has very little meaning since it does not place behavioural demands on the individual. Furthermore, in this context, ethnicity has no structural support nor does it have a significant role to play in the process of self-identification. It is simply one available resource which can be mobilized situationally if the individual perceives any advantages in choosing such a strategy. Thus the meaning of ethnicity differs significantly across the two situations, the latter phenomenon being a process consistent with the structural and cultural changes brought about by modernization.

As well as feeding back into general issues stemming from research into ethnicity and immigrant adaptation, the study's findings contribute to knowledge on more specific aspects of the process of immigrant adaptation. Breton (1964) recognized the importance of the fact that, in theory, the immigrant may locate himself within a number of communities in the receiving society: his own ethnic community, other ethnic communities and the host community. He demonstrates that, in practice, the direction of adaptation is largely determined by the social organization of the communities within which the immigrant comes into contact.

Through empirical analysis of a number of ethnic communities in North America, Breton concludes that the most important aspect of social organization in the ethnic community is its level of institutional completeness. He states that the existence of a range of ethnic organizations generates "forces of attraction" which draw immigrants into the ethnic community and provides the social conditions for individuals to live out their lives within its boundaries. Through an empirical investigation of various organizations within an ethnic community he concludes that the "forces of attraction" are greatest in the
first ethnic organization established and in the ethnic church. However in a later study, following a similar methodology, Reitz (1980) concluded that the existence of ethnic economic organizations leads to greater levels of cohesion among members of an ethnic community than does the existence of any other type of ethnic organization.

Through an empirical examination of the development of various 'ethnic' organizations this study adds to the findings of Breton and Reitz and contributes to our understanding of the role of such organizations in the process of immigrant adaptation. Furthermore, it becomes clear that the disaggregation of the concept of 'ethnicity' is the key to resolving the apparent contradiction in the conclusions reached by Breton and Reitz. Given that 'ethnicity' is an umbrella term subsuming a wide range of characteristics which provide symbolic meaning and a basis for common membership then, in practice, the significant variables in the process of community development will differ across ethnic communities. This determines which organizations in any existing 'ethnic' community generate the most powerful "forces of attraction". The problem with the analyses of both Breton and Reitz is that by assuming the prior existence of the ethnic community they also assume that 'ethnicity' is the basis for cohesion in it. However, the significant variables creating cohesion within the community can be identified by locating the analysis within a framework which focusses on the process of community formation.

In summary, the findings indicate that identifying the role of various types of ethnic organizations in the process of immigrant adaptation is an empirical problem. It depends on the nature of the boundaries delineating the 'ethnic' community, the extent to which a clientele exists for organizations within this community and the nature of the links between the ethnic organization and the host community.

Finally, the study has demonstrated, through a critique of the
concept of ethnicity and an empirical investigation of the adaptive strategies of members of a specific ethnic category, that it is not possible to identify a uniform pattern of adaptation which could be applied to all immigrant 'groups' in all societies. In doing so, it demonstrates the inadequacy of generational and stage theories, particularly those which focus on adaptation as a predominantly cultural phenomenon. Nevertheless, by locating the analysis of individual adaptive strategies within the wider context of large-scale structural changes, it has illuminated the process of immigrant adaptation. In addition, by illustrating that the meaning and significance of 'ethnicity' varies empirically, it explains the problems Australian researchers have faced in their attempts to adopt, relatively uncritically, various theories of immigrant adaptation developed in the North American context in an earlier historical period.

Major theoretical issues in the ethnic relations literature

Primordialists and Mobilizationists - the meaning of ethnic identification

By including analysis at the micro-level through focussing on differential biographical trajectories, this study has explored the process of identification more fully than many previous studies in the field of ethnic relations. It has taken the view that identity is socially constructed, maintained and transformed and is thus dependent upon the individual's social location, particularly the nature of his interpersonal networks. By viewing ethnicity as one of a repertoire of identity options in a modern social context, the analytic framework employed has enabled the writer to explain variations in the salience of ethnicity at the level of the individual, the group and the community. The study has thus demonstrated the utility of the mobilizationist approach over that of the primordialists, the latter being an approach which asserts rather than explains the salience of ethnicity in the process of the identification of self and others.
Ethnicity and Social Cohesion

In the Australian ethnic relations literature the relationship between ethnicity and social cohesion has been discussed within a predominantly cultural framework. This study has demonstrated that this issue cannot be adequately addressed without a systematic analysis of the structural conditions underlying the process of intergroup relations.

Ethnic structures vary considerably both across and within ethnic categories as do the nature of their links with the dominant structures of the receiving society. In particular, it has been demonstrated that the existence of institutionally-complete ethnic communities which maintain diffuse communal relationships between members is a relatively non-modern phenomenon. Thus, in theory, the development of such communities is likely to decrease as the society becomes more differentiated and specialized through the process of modernization. In practice, therefore, the development of ethnic communities among immigrants is problematic and largely dependent upon the level of modernity which characterizes the source countries and the mode of migration followed.

This study has demonstrated the limited role of ethnicity per se in the development and maintenance of various 'ethnic' structures. Its conclusions provide some insights into the current emphasis on the celebration of ethnicity and cultural diversity (as expressed in the term 'multiculturalism') in Australian society by viewing it as consistent with the process of modernization. Furthermore, the findings suggest that an attitude of cultural relativism per se, even if adopted by the majority of the Australian population, will have little effect on the level of social cohesion since there is no direct causal link between values and individual behaviour. Values provide a set of parameters influencing the selection of strategies from a repertoire of available strategies which are constrained by social location.
In this thesis the utility, for the purpose of sociological analysis, of vague concepts such as 'multiculturalism' and 'cultural pluralism' have been questioned. The celebration of ethnicity through the mobilization of these vague concepts in the field of political rhetoric does not alter the structural context within which immigration adaptation takes place and intergroup relationship are developed. Furthermore, while people's attitudes may change, their behavioural responses are largely determined by their structural location; that is, in terms of varying 'interests', past socialization experiences and access to information, resources and opportunities in the society. Thus the use of concepts such as 'multiculturalism', when isolated from underlying structural conditions, obscures rather than clarifies the nature of the phenomena which are the objects of sociological inquiry. In short, the issue of ethnicity and social cohesion requires a structural analysis informed by actual social processes.

**Ethnicity and Social Inequality**

In the Australian ethnic relations literature, most of the studies which adopt a structural framework also adopt a Marxist theoretical orientation. The predominant view among these writers is that ethnic relations and ethnic diversity, while not reducible to class practices, can only be understood within a class perspective. Such writers typically conclude that the mobilization of ethnicity obscures the underlying structural causes of inequality, namely the class structure of the capitalist society. According to these writers, concepts such as 'multiculturalism' are ideological creations of the ruling class which aim to maintain hegemony and thus the bases of inequality.

However, on the basis of the findings of this study, the writer argues that while Marxist writers assert that class is the most significant variable affecting ethnic relations, this has yet to be demonstrated empirically. Furthermore, the assertion of such a fact leads to an avoidance of the major issue, that is the need to explain the existence of
ethnic structures in a modern capitalist society. This is the result of the fact that the Marxist perspective dictates what is relevant, and what is not, prior to any empirical investigation.

Most of the research which attempts to demonstrate the overriding significance of class has relied on empirical data which support a labour segmentation theory (e.g. Lever-Tracy, 1983) or indicate the 'fragmentation of the working class' (e.g. Collins, 1978) through the creation of ethnic cleavages. Thus, such writers conclude that the assertion of ethnicity simply obscures the underlying class structure thereby diminishing the capacity of the working class to recognize its true class interests.

It is important to recognize, however, that the empirical data mobilized to support these conclusions is drawn mainly from research into the formation of ethnic structures within the working class. In the Australian context, it is among working class immigrants that ethnic communities have predominantly developed and among whom ethnic identification is a relatively common phenomenon. Research of this kind has thus demonstrated the overlap of ethnicity and class in this category of immigrants.

The research which employs this Marxist theoretical framework demonstrates that, among these immigrants, the mobilization of ethnicity serves to maintain their location in the working class. It shows that the existence of ethnic communities and the individual's adherence to ethnic norms and values function as barriers to social mobility thereby maintaining the nature of inequality in society.

Using such data for support, Marxist writers perceive ethnicity and class as alternative bases for identification. They view ethnic identification as invalid, however, because it hinders the development of class identification and thus leads to all kinds of long-term
disadvantages for the immigrant. This conclusion is reached by employing a theoretical framework which forces the researcher to focus on the negative consequences of ethnic identification. These researchers do not analyze the positive effects of ethnic mobilization to any great extent, except in a limited sense among the working class for whom the mobilization of ethnicity is perceived as an expression of resistance to capitalist exploitation. In fact, analyzing any positive effects of ethnic mobilization would not fit comfortably with a Marxist framework. To do so would imply that ethnic identification is important when a basic assumption of the Marxist approach is that it is not.

The major problem with employing a Marxist approach for sociological analysis in the field of ethnic relations is that it assumes precisely that which it should be examining; namely, the degree to which ethnicity is a significant variable for explaining behaviour in a modern capitalist society. As a consequence, Marxist writers cannot adequately explain the development of ethnic structures in such a society. The attempt to 'explain' the mobilization of ethnicity by demonstrating that it suits the interests of the ruling class is inadequate. It does not give immigrants credit as social actors with the capacity to choose adaptive strategies. Certainly, the class structure is an important aspect of the context in which such choices are made but it is not sufficient as an explanation of them. In addition, the 'explanations' of Marxists writers are further weakened through an 'wholistic' approach to identification and an uncritical acceptance of the concept of 'ethnicity'.

An adequate explanation of the development of ethnic structures requires a critical examination of the meaning of 'ethnicity'. Ethnicity must be recognized as an umbrella term which needs to be disaggregated to determine the causal factors in the formation of any particular 'ethnic' structure. This requires a framework which explains the process of immigrant adaptation through analysis of the society of origin, the mode of migration and settlement patterns which determine the nature of the
immigrants’ skills and resources in the receiving society. Such an approach allows for an examination of the meaning of ‘ethnicity’ in the receiving society for various members of an ethnic category. Only then is the researcher in a position to begin to explain why ethnicity is mobilized as an adaptive strategy.

Furthermore, ethnicity needs to be viewed as a resource which is mobilized situationally and thus as one possible basis for identification which the individual is able to choose from a repertoire of roles. From this perspective, ethnic identification and class identification are not perceived as mutually exclusive. Ethnic mobilization does not necessarily obscure class identification; the two alternative bases of identification can coexist and will be mobilized situationally.

The concept of ‘ethnicity’ needs to be ‘unpacked’ so that more precise relationships are identified between class and those variables subsumed by the concept of ‘ethnicity’. This approach suggests that the relationship between ethnicity and inequality varies empirically. In some cases, ethnicity may include common class membership such that the mobilization of ethnicity may block access to opportunities in the receiving society. On the other hand, where common class membership is not a component of ethnicity, the mobilization of the latter may not function as a barrier to social mobility.

In summary, ethnicity per se is not a significant causal factor in the immigrant’s location in the stratification system. The dominant empirical coincidence of ‘ethnic’ origin and working class status among Australian immigrants is a consequence of the social and historical context of immigration. Since the majority of Australia’s post-war immigrants were recruited from relatively non-modern societies, their lack of marketable skills and the nature of the resources they brought with them determined their location in the receiving society. The limited research undertaken on those immigrants who did not become
part of 'the industrial reserve army' supports this conclusion. More importantly, recent data showing rates of mobility among second generation immigrants which are much higher than the native-born population (e.g. Zubrzycki, 1984) demonstrate that the acquisition of marketable skills is a more significant factor in the process of adaptation than is ethnicity per se.

Limitations and Implications

This thesis has developed a framework for the analysis of ethnicity and immigrant adaptation which has the potential to be generalized through further comparative analysis. It comprises a step in the process of advancing from substantive to formal theory which is grounded in actual social processes. While the theoretical and methodological framework employed suggests a number of important implications and directions for further research, its limitations also need to be discussed.

The major limitations of the study stem from its exploratory nature and qualitative methodology. Chapter One explained the appropriateness of the methodology in achieving the aim of the study, namely to explore the role of ethnicity in the process of immigrant adaptation and to address some of the problematic issues in the literature.

Since the material presented is not drawn from a representative sample of Dutch in Tasmania the reader will not find quantitative data on this category of immigrants. Nevertheless, the study produces some significant conclusions in relation to the adaptation of Dutch immigrants in Australian society with important existential implications for the future. In particular, the common belief that the Dutch assimilated successfully suggested that there would be no need to address any 'ethnic' problems among members of this category in the future. This study has demonstrated, however, that patterns of
adaptation within ethnic categories need to be understood in order to anticipate future trends. On a specific point, the study suggests that as the proportion of the Netherlands-born population who are aged increases, there may well be some serious problems encountered by those who have not assimilated.

Although the empirical investigation is limited in that it focusses on only one immigrant category, the generality of the analysis can be applied to other immigrants and even to non-immigrants. In particular, the study emphasizes the need to examine more closely the processes of categorization employed by Australians, both academics and service providers, when explaining immigrant adaptation. Within the present context of increased Asian immigration to Australia, this is particularly pertinent to categories such as "Asian" and "Indo-Chinese" 1, both of which deny the significant variation which exists within them.

By examining the factors involved in the mobilization of 'ethnicity' the analytic framework presented in this study can be employed to explore the recent creation and mobilization of 'aboriginality' among Australian aborigines. It also provides possibilities for comparative analysis through an examination of the specific factors influencing ethnic mobilization in other societies. For example, rather than explaining the recent "Celtic revival" in Wales and Britain in terms of latent primordial sentiments (Price,1986), the study suggests the utility of examining the meaning of 'ethnicity' in that context and of delineating the changing conditions which have led to the selection of ethnic mobilization as a strategy in goal achievement.

Comparative analysis of this kind would hope to provide further support for the utility of the analytic framework developed here. It

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1. The inaccurate conclusions and inappropriate provision of services which arise from the use of the category "Indo-Chinese" are discussed in detail by P. Julian (1982).
would provide further empirical evidence of the variety of shared characteristics which can constitute the package labelled 'ethnicity'. In doing so, it would support the conclusion that ethnicity is an umbrella term which needs to be 'unpacked' for the purpose of precise sociological analysis. Further, the study has demonstrated that *a priori* assumptions about the salience of ethnicity in modern societies are invalid thereby indicating the need to empirically examine the role of 'ethnicity' in substantive areas such as stratification.

One of the most important implications of the present work is that it demonstrates that analysis at the micro-level needs to be located firmly in the macro analysis of comparative social structure. Thus, there is a need to locate the analysis of adaptive strategies within the general framework of modernization processes so that the changing nature of ethnic mobilization can be adequately understood.

The approach of this thesis has therefore involved a move away from the trend toward specialization which is evident in the field of ethnic relations. Rather than advancing our understanding of ethnic relations such specialization, it is argued, has led to a lack of conceptual clarity and the development of analytical frameworks which are limited in scope, generalizability and predictive capacity. It is argued here that the return to more general sociological frameworks, which can accommodate analysis of social processes at both macro and micro levels, is a more fruitful path to adopt.

By adopting such a framework to analyze the process of immigrant adaptation, the present study has demonstrated that the mobilization of ethnicity is in a constant state of flux. At the same time, however, since this framework has enabled us to understand these fluctuations in terms of the underlying direction of social change associated with the process of modernization, it also enables predictions of future trends to be suggested. In light of this analysis, it becomes
apparent that previous static theories and explanations of ethnicity in modern society are now irrelevant and will become increasingly so in the future.

In summary, the thesis has made a significant contribution to the cumulation of knowledge and theory in the area of ethnicity and immigrant adaptation. By linking research data and 'grounded' theory it has demonstrated the need for conceptual clarity and has provided initial direction in the development of relevant explanatory concepts. As applies to any analysis, however, the framework developed here would benefit from comparative investigation of, not only other immigrant categories but, any category of individuals in modern society among whom there exists a potential to mobilize a variety of identity options. In this way, the conclusions in this study can be extended in order to build a cumulative body of theory, not only of ethnicity but of social relations in modern society more generally.

**Directions for Further Research**

The previous discussion of the implications of the present work have already suggested some possibilities for further research. Three main areas for future research may be indicated, all of which provide opportunities for further examination of the theoretical and empirical issues discussed here. These areas are (a) at the level of the specific immigrant category chosen in this study, namely individuals of Dutch origin; (b) at the level of all immigrants and their descendants in a relatively modern receiving society; and (c) comparative analysis aimed at illuminating the changes which take place in the process of the identification of self and others in societies as a result of the structural and cultural changes associated with modernization.

(a) Dutch immigrants and their descendants

The present study has developed an analytic framework for examining the role of ethnicity in the process of immigrant adaptation.
The assessment of an analytic framework involves the question of its utility in explaining the phenomenon on which it is focussed, its capacity to generate hypotheses and predictions and its applicability for the purpose of comparative analysis.

The analytic framework presented in this study was developed through an empirical investigation of a specific category of immigrants in a particular socio-historical context. It is not surprising, therefore, that the study has demonstrated the utility of this framework for understanding the adaptive strategies of Dutch immigrants in southern Tasmania between the 1950s and 1980s. Studies of these Dutch immigrants and their descendants over time, as well as similar studies of Dutch immigrants in other parts of the receiving society, would appear to be necessary additional research to allow for assessment of the analytic framework.

This would involve examining variations in the nature and meaning of ethnic mobilization in different social situations over time through the use of case studies and ethnographies, whereas the majority of existing studies on Dutch immigrants take the form of large-scale statistical analyses. Further studies of the kind undertaken here would enable the causal variables in the process of adaptation among Dutch immigrants in Australian society to be examined more carefully so that greater precision can be developed. This process is seen as crucial in the development of comparative studies.

(b) Other 'ethnic' categories

The framework developed in the present study emphasized the importance of analyzing structural conditions in both the society of origin and the receiving society in order to achieve an adequate explanation of various patterns of immigrant adaptation. It is argued that the relative level of modernity in the society of origin is of fundamental significance since this largely determines the nature of the
skills and resources the immigrants bring with them to the receiving society.

Comparative analysis of a variety of immigrant categories whose members are drawn from societies of origin which vary in their relative levels of modernity may be seen as a valuable extension of the present research. This would enable delineation of the causal variables leading to a variety of ethnic structures in the receiving society, such as ethnic 'groups', ethnic communities and ethnic interpersonal networks. It is argued that through such analysis of various ethnic categories a more complete understanding of ethnicity in modern societies can be achieved which would ultimately lead to the possibility of developing a general theory of ethnicity.

(c) Comparative analysis

Although the framework presented in this study has specific relevance for understanding ethnicity and immigrant adaptation, since it was informed by a general body of sociological knowledge related to processes of modernization, it may also be useful for examining areas other than the mobilization of ethnicity.

In the course of the present analysis, the point has frequently been made that ethnicity is one of a repertoire of identity options available to individuals in a modern society. This raises interesting theoretical questions about changes in the nature and structure of identification as the complexity of social structure increases through the process of modernization. Systematic comparative analysis of a variety of contexts in which 'choices' are made about the mobilization of identity options in modern societies is therefore seen as a promising area for future research. Research such as this would enable the development of sociological theory which can bridge the gap between micro and macro levels of analysis.
The present study, in developing an analytic framework which enables the concept of ethnicity to be 'unpacked' so that the causal variables in the process of immigrant adaptation can be identified, provides for the possibility of further research of a comparative nature.
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APPENDICES

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Interview Guide - Dutch Organizations
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Map 4.3: Kingston and kingston Beach, 1976
Map 5.1: Tasmania
# INTERVIEW GUIDE - DUTCH IMMIGRANTS

**Interview No.:**

**Address:**

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## 1. Household Information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Relation to Head</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Birth Country/Province (Neth.)</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age finished F.T. educ.</th>
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**No. of Children:**
2. Departure/Migration
   A. decision to migrate
   B. choice of destination
   C. involvement of friends and family
   D. occupation in Netherlands
   E. regrets about leaving

3. Settlement
   A. feelings on arrival
   B. problems encountered
   C. choice of residential location

4. Current Situation
   A. changes in situation since migrating
   B. occupation (career history)
   C. data on spouse or boyfriend/girlfriend: employment, length of acquaintance, where and how met, place of origin
   D. importance of religion
   E. advantages of living in Tasmania
   F. differences between children's upbringing and own
5. Organizational Involvement
   A. which organizations
   B. type of activity
   C. friends involved
   D. frequency of attendance
   E. role in organization

6. Friendship Networks
   A. closest friends: ethnic origin, occupation, place of residence, religious affiliation, where met, spouse's friends
   B. who assists in times of crisis

7. Future Prospects
   A. plans for return migration
   B. difference between children's family and own
   C. kind of future for children

8. Ethnic Identification
   A. importance of Dutch language
   B. children's attitudes towards having Dutch parents
   C. own attitudes toward Dutch community
   D. perception of Australians' attitudes toward Dutch immigrants
   E. definition of self
9. 'Snowball' Sample

A.

B.

C.

D.

E.

F.
INTERVIEW GUIDE - DUTCH ORGANIZATIONS

Name of Organization:
Respondent's Role in Organization:

1. History of Organization
   A. when founded and by whom
   B. initial aims of organization
   C. original membership

2. Changes on Organization since founded
   A. nature and no. of members
   B. involvement in wider community
   C. nature and no. of activities
   D. general aims of organization

3. Current Activities
   A. no. and variety
   B. when begun
   C. who involved in these activities
   D. advertising of activities/recruitment of members
   E. relationships with other organizations
4. Involvement in Welfare of Members

A. Areas: e.g. housing and accommodation
- financial assistance
- employment
- English teaching
- child care
- care of elderly
- health care
- assistance in dealing with govt. depts.
- others

B. how often involved/how successfully

C. who qualifies for assistance

5. Involvement in Community, State or National Issues

A. Areas: community e.g. housing and rates, sewage, street beautification
- state e.g. education and religion
- national e.g. multicultural education, religious education, immigration policies, refugees

B. in what ways and how successfully

6. Fund-raising Activities

7. Future Prospects

A. changes in aims, structure etc.
Extracts from *Australia as a Multicultural Society* (AEAC, 1978)

The Australian Ethnic Affairs Council’s report entitled *Australia as a Multicultural Society* proposed a number of methods through which ‘multicultural’ policies could redress past imbalances by giving greater recognition to the existence of ethnic communities and their claims to be heard. These included the following proposals:

- that "government institutions and services should expand their multilingual capacity .... so that people of non-English speaking background can gain more effective access to the established institutions which are intended for everybody ....(and) that this expansion should go on concurrently with the expansion of services specifically designed for people of non-English speaking background (e.g. the Telephone Interpreter Service) and concurrently also with the more systematic incorporation of ethnic communities and media into the settlement process" (AEAC, 1978: 8-9).

- with regard to the education of adults of non-English speaking origin there should be "a substantial increase in the availability of part-time and full-time courses for both residents and new arrivals" (AEAC, 1978: 9).

- there should be "a substantial increase in financial incentives to non-English speaking adults to attend full-time courses" (AEAC, 1978: 9).

- employers "should be given financial incentives to encourage employees to take leave to attend full-time courses or to attend part-time courses while in employment" (AEAC, 1978: 10).

- with regard to the education of migrant children, schools (operating individually or in conjunction with other schools) should "be given incentives to develop bilingual education for students who enter the school system fluent only in a language other than English" (AEAC, 1978: 11).

- schools (individually or in conjunction with others) should also "be given incentives to develop community language education for children of non-English speaking origin who wish to become or remain fluent in their mother-tongue and for children of English-speaking origin who wish to learn another language as a community language in its own right or as preparation for later academic study of that language" (AEAC, 1978: 11-12).
schools should also be "given incentives to develop ethnic studies programs and to infuse the curriculum in general with the reality of the pluralist nature of Australian society, with the object both of enhancing the self-esteem of students of ethnic origin and giving all children a more authentic view of the nature of the society than the present monocultural education provides" (AEAC, 1978: 12).

The report went on to state that "it is important to note the interdependence of these two processes: the sense of identity of ethnic children will be defensive and inward-looking unless other children accept the validity of ethnic cultures and identities" (AEAC, 1978: 12).

- the ethnic press and ethnic radio should be encouraged to provide a forum for the individual point of view (AEAC, 1978: 12).
Hobart, 23 Juli 1970
11 Canning Court
Mt. Stuart - 7000

Geachte Heer en Mevrouw,

zoals U waarschijnlijk reeds hebt vernomen is er op de elfde dag een danavond geweest met het doel uit te vinden of er genoeg belangstelling bestaat om in Hobart een Nederlandse vereniging op te richten. Er bleek voldoende animo te bestaan.

Om te voorkomen dat deze poging zoals vorige keren mislukt, wenst het organiserend comité een vergadering te houden om van gedachten te wisselen en na te gaan wie eenvoudig in het voorlopig bestuur zou kunnen plaatsnemen. De voor- naamste taak van dit voorlopig bestuur bestaat uit het samenstellen van statuten en reglementen.

Zodra deze zijn aangenomen kan een definitief bestuur gekozen worden. De mensen die we zoeken behoeven dus maar een korte tijd in functie te blijven.

Bij de laatste vergadering van het comité is ook Uw naam genoemd. Het is echter zeer goed mogelijk dat U ook andere Nederlanders kent van wie U denkt dat ze voor dit werk geschikt zijn. Ook deze personen zijn van harte welkom op deze vergadering, die gehouden zal worden op

Donderdag, 30 Juli a.s. in het Black Prince Hotel, Elizabeth Street om 8 uur 's avonds.

Indien U, of iemand die U denkt dat daarvoor in aanmerking komt aan die vergadering wenst deel te nemen, wil U mij daar telefonisch berichten?
(deutonde de dag Phone 204804 of 's avonds Phone 85138)

Met vriendelijke groeten

Hoogachtend,
G. Dobber
### TABLE 3.1 - DENSITY OF POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Inhabitants per km²</th>
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<td>Netherlands (1967)</td>
<td>379</td>
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<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>90</td>
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<tr>
<td>West Germany</td>
<td>232</td>
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### TABLE 3.5 - THE PILLARISATION OF DUTCH SOCIETY c 1960

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>PILLAR</th>
<th>INSTITUTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>RC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ORTHODOX CALVINIST Protestant (Rereformed and strict DR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3a</td>
<td>GENERAL: mainly BOURGEOIS LIBERAL/CONSERVATIVE (liberal DR &amp; no religion)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>SOCIALIST (liberal DR &amp; no religion)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bryant (1981: 57)
### TABLE 3.6 - THE NETHERLANDS: RELIGION AND LABOR-UNION MEMBERSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Socialist union (209)</th>
<th>Catholic union (108)</th>
<th>Protestant union (109)</th>
<th>Other unions (162)</th>
<th>Total sample (1,570)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (regular)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (irregular)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed (regular)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed (irregular)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic bloc</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular bloc</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvinist bloc</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968:37)

### TABLE 3.7 - THE NETHERLANDS: PARTY PREFERENCE AND LABOR-UNION MEMBERSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Socialist union (211)</th>
<th>Catholic union (110)</th>
<th>Protestant union (111)</th>
<th>Other unions (165)</th>
<th>Total sample (1,600)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Revolutionary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Historical Union</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968:38)
### TABLE 3.8 - THE NETHERLANDS: RELIGION AND THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

(In per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Catholic (86)</th>
<th>Calvinist (60)</th>
<th>Socialist (223)</th>
<th>Liberal (123)</th>
<th>Independent (187)</th>
<th>Total (1,570)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (regular)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (irregular)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-reformed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed (regular)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed (irregular)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic bloc</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular bloc</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvinist bloc</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968: 44)

### TABLE 3.9 - THE NETHERLANDS: PARTY PREFERENCE AND THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPERS

(In per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Catholic (89)</th>
<th>Calvinist (60)</th>
<th>Socialist (223)</th>
<th>Liberal (125)</th>
<th>Independent (195)</th>
<th>Total (1,600)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Revolutionary</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Historical Union</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968: 46)
### TABLE 3.10 - THE NETHERLANDS: RELIGION AND MEMBERSHIP IN RADIO-TELEVISION ASSOCIATIONS
(in per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Catholic (250)</th>
<th>Calvinist (224)</th>
<th>Socialist (207)</th>
<th>Liberal (185)</th>
<th>Liberal-Protestant (63)</th>
<th>Total (1,570)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (regular)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic (irregular)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-Reformed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed (regular)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed (irregular)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic bloc</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular bloc</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvinist bloc</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968: 49)

### TABLE 3.11 - THE NETHERLANDS: PARTY PREFERENCE AND MEMBERSHIP IN RADIO-TELEVISION ASSOCIATIONS
(in per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Catholic (252)</th>
<th>Calvinist (227)</th>
<th>Socialist (209)</th>
<th>Liberal (190)</th>
<th>Liberal-Protestants (63)</th>
<th>Total (1,600)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Revolutionary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Historical Union</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1986: 50)
### TABLE 3.12 - THE NETHERLANDS: RELIGION AND MEMBERSHIP IN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>Dutch Reformed</th>
<th>Other Religious</th>
<th>General</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total sample</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968: 51)

### TABLE 3.13 - THE NETHERLANDS: INTERMARRIAGE AND INTRAMARRIAGE, 1947 and 1960

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Intramarriage</th>
<th>Intermarriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>93.6</td>
<td>94.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch Reformed</td>
<td>87.4</td>
<td>89.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-Reformed</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>93.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other religions</td>
<td>60.7</td>
<td>71.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No religion</td>
<td>81.9</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968: 191)
TABLE 3.14 - THE NETHERLANDS: RELIGIOUS BLOCS AND INCOME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income (in thousands of guilders)</th>
<th>Catholic (389)</th>
<th>Secular (873)</th>
<th>Calvinist (308)</th>
<th>Total (1,600)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More than 15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 - 15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6 - 12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.8 - 9.6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 - 7.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.6 - 7.2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 - 6.6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 - 5.4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than 4.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lijphart (1968:90)

TABLE 3.15 - THE NETHERLANDS: EMMIGRATION 1956 - 1963 TO COUNTRIES OF DESTINATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>Brazil</th>
<th>Canada</th>
<th>New Zealand</th>
<th>USA</th>
<th>South Africa</th>
<th>Other countries</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-1953</td>
<td>46,007</td>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>82,510</td>
<td>11,044</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>16,635</td>
<td>16,789</td>
<td>2,476</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>10,906</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>15,859</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>2,708</td>
<td>3,275</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>13,731</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>6,654</td>
<td>1,266</td>
<td>449</td>
<td>4,012</td>
<td>2,839</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>10,959</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>7,651</td>
<td>1,335</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>9,220</td>
<td>1,819</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>6,731</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>11,724</td>
<td>1,065</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>9,074</td>
<td>1,224</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>7,458</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>7,284</td>
<td>1,733</td>
<td>583</td>
<td>3,745</td>
<td>1,956</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>8,319</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>5,323</td>
<td>1,338</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>5,332</td>
<td>1,689</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>8,060</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>5,457</td>
<td>1,158</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>8,700</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>4,210</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>1,799</td>
<td>1,375</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>6,045</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>2,027</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1,553</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>6,176</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,930</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>1,701</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1,572</td>
<td>631</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120,338</td>
<td>4,899</td>
<td>147,515</td>
<td>22,620</td>
<td>2,505</td>
<td>76,219</td>
<td>31,538</td>
<td>4,106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: International Migration (1965), 3, 1/2, 93.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>ASSISTED</th>
<th>OTHER</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945-48</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,872</td>
<td>1,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-49</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>1,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td>2,185</td>
<td>1,823</td>
<td>4,008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>6,144</td>
<td>8,719</td>
<td>16,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-52</td>
<td>5,657</td>
<td>4,471</td>
<td>10,128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>7,740</td>
<td>6,256</td>
<td>13,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>3,634</td>
<td>6,188</td>
<td>9,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>4,695</td>
<td>6,884</td>
<td>11,579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>11,088</td>
<td>3,038</td>
<td>14,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
<td>7,666</td>
<td>3,038</td>
<td>9,557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>5,370</td>
<td>1,506</td>
<td>6,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>7,189</td>
<td>1,256</td>
<td>8,445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>8,808</td>
<td>1,335</td>
<td>10,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>5,817</td>
<td>1,315</td>
<td>7,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>1,379</td>
<td>3,753</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>1,347</td>
<td>1,221</td>
<td>2,568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>1,606</td>
<td>1,727</td>
<td>3,328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>1,587</td>
<td>1,353</td>
<td>2,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>1,655</td>
<td>1,529</td>
<td>3,184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sub-Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>87,239</strong></td>
<td><strong>55,550</strong></td>
<td><strong>141,616</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>1,416</td>
<td>1,494</td>
<td>2,910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>1,617</td>
<td>1,477</td>
<td>3,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>2,440</td>
<td>1,291</td>
<td>3,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-70</td>
<td>2,550</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>3,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>1,894</td>
<td>1,022</td>
<td>2,916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-72</td>
<td>1,324</td>
<td>1,006</td>
<td>2,330</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>642</td>
<td>1,020</td>
<td>1,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973-74</td>
<td>835</td>
<td>940</td>
<td>1,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974-75</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>601</td>
<td>1,106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>934</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-77</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>1,071</td>
<td>1,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-78</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>1,303</td>
<td>1,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-79</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>1,221</td>
<td>1,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979-80</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1,696</td>
<td>1,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>2,560</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981-82</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>3,062</td>
<td>3,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>101,584</strong></td>
<td><strong>75,949</strong></td>
<td><strong>177,533</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Adapted from Cox (1975:97) and DIEA (1984:36)
### TABLE 3.17 - AUSTRALIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>% OF TOTAL POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>594</td>
<td>0.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1,391</td>
<td>0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1,274</td>
<td>0.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>2,174</td>
<td>0.028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>52,035</td>
<td>0.579</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>102,083</td>
<td>0.972</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>99,295</td>
<td>0.778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>92,110</td>
<td>0.680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>96,044</td>
<td>0.659</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from DIEA (1984:12)

### TABLE 3.18 - RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF DUTCH-BORN IN AUSTRALIA, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>NO.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CATHOLIC</td>
<td>39,412</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTESTANT</td>
<td>14,919</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER CHRISTIAN</td>
<td>1,149</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON-CHRISTIAN</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO RELIGION</td>
<td>5,625</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NO REPLY</td>
<td>21,638</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| TOTAL               | 83,013| 100.0 |

Source: Cox (1975:99)
### TABLE 3.19 - OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF DUTCH IN AUSTRALIA, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical and related workers</td>
<td>3,201</td>
<td>1,721</td>
<td>4,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative, executive and managerial workers</td>
<td>3,177</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>3,528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical workers</td>
<td>2,585</td>
<td>3,408</td>
<td>5,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales workers</td>
<td>2,265</td>
<td>2,425</td>
<td>4,690</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers, fishermen and related workers</td>
<td>3,255</td>
<td>573</td>
<td>3,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miners, quarrymen and related workers</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and communications workers</td>
<td>2,637</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>2,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craftsmen, production process workers and labourers</td>
<td>25,180</td>
<td>2,587</td>
<td>27,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service, sport and recreation workers</td>
<td>1,084</td>
<td>2,979</td>
<td>4,963</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Members of armed forces</td>
<td>620</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation inadequately described or not stated</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>563</td>
<td>803</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>45,409</td>
<td>14,857</td>
<td>60,266</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cox (1975:99)

### TABLE 3.20 - OCCUPATIONS OF DUTCH AND AUSTRALIAN (MALES) IN SYDNEY, 1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>NETHERLANDS</th>
<th>AUSTRALIAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Manual</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service and unskilled manual</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graziers</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm workers</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Burnley (1971:67)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace of family head</th>
<th>Family heads with recognized qualifications 000's</th>
<th>Total family heads with overseas qualifications 000's</th>
<th>Recognition rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France and Switzerland</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany, Federal Republic</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia (b)</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain and Portugal</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom and Ireland</td>
<td>51.5</td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other eastern European countries (c)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other European countries</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States of America</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other American countries</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Middle East countries</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>95.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>167.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>57</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Heads of migrant families with post-school qualifications obtained overseas
(b) Denmark, Finland, Greenland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden
(c) Albania, Bulgaria, German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Roumania, Soviet Union (Including Republics in Asia)

* Data from a scientifically-selected sample of an estimated 360,000 migrant households, which contained over 1.1 million persons, headed by migrants who had arrived in Australia since 1963 and living in the five mainland State capital cities and Wollongong.

Source: APIC (1976.52)
**TABLE 3.23**  -  PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF DUTCH IN METROPOLITAN SYDNEY AND MELBOURNE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RESIDENTIAL AREA</th>
<th>SYDNEY</th>
<th>MELBOURNE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inner Metropolitan</td>
<td>4.02</td>
<td>2.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older residential inner suburbs</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>1.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle distance suburbs</td>
<td>27.44</td>
<td>22.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer suburbs and rural-urban fringe</td>
<td>63.18</td>
<td>73.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Burnley (1971:62)

**TABLE 3.24**  -  AUSTRALIA : PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES BY INDUSTRY GROUPS FOR SELECTED BIRTHPLACES, CENSUS 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>INDUSTRY GROUPS</th>
<th>NETHERLANDS</th>
<th>AUSTRALASIA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary production</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, gas, water &amp; sanitary services</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and construction</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and storage</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, property, business services</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public auth. and professional activities</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amusement, hotels, cafes, personal service etc.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other, inadequately described or not stated</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in workforce</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zubrzycki (1960: 90)
### TABLE 3.25 - AUSTRALIA: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MALES BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS FOR SPECIFIED BIRTHPLACES, CENSUS 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Self-employed</th>
<th>Employee</th>
<th>Helper</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Not at work</th>
<th>at work</th>
<th>Total in force</th>
<th>Percentage Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>82.6</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>98.4</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>86.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>78.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>98.8</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>85.9</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Eastern Europe</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>84.0</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>77.6</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>98.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:104)

### TABLE 3.26 - AUSTRALIA: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RELIGION IN SELECTED BIRTHPLACE GROUPS, CENSUS 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>Total Christian</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Other Non-Christian</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
<th>No Religion</th>
<th>No Reply</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>90.0</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>72.8</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>89.9</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>93.4</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>94.2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>245.1</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>91.0</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>75.5</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.6</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>75.2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>.3</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>89.1</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.5</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:60 - 61)
TABLE 3.27 - AUSTRALIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN FEMALES BY INDUSTRY, CENSUS 1954
(Percentage distribution)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDUSTRY</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary Production</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining and Quarrying</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Founding, engineering etc.</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships, vehicles etc.</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile and fibrous materials (not dress)</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing and knitted goods, boots etc.</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, drink, tobacco</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saw-milling and wood products</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paper printing etc.</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Manufacturing</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, Gas, Water etc.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and Construction</td>
<td>.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport and Storage</td>
<td>.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance and Property etc.</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Authority and professional</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amusement, Hotels etc.</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in the workforce</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:98-99)

TABLE 3.28 - TASMANIA: NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY GROUPED BIRTHPLACES, 1947 AND 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1954</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>247,379</td>
<td>282,433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Australasia</td>
<td>1,045</td>
<td>1,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>7,109</td>
<td>14,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental Europe</td>
<td>587</td>
<td>9,656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>958</td>
<td>1,362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>257,078</td>
<td>308,752</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:65)
TABLE 3.29 - TASMANIA: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY GROUPED BIRTHPLACES, 1947 AND 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1954</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>96.2</td>
<td>91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Australasia</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continental Europe</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>.4</td>
<td>.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:65)

TABLE 3.30 - AUSTRALIA: STATES AND TERRITORIES RANKED ACCORDING TO PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF SPECIFIED BIRTHPLACES, CENSUS 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RANK</th>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>British Isles</th>
<th>North-western Europe</th>
<th>Southern Europe</th>
<th>Central and Eastern Europe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>W.A.</td>
<td>W.A.</td>
<td>W.A.</td>
<td>A.C.T.</td>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>A.C.T.</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>Vic.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>A.C.T.</td>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>W.A.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
<td>Qld.</td>
<td>Tas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY: Tasmania (Tas.), Western Australia (W.A.), Australian Capital Territory (A.C.T.); Queensland (Qld.); Northern Territory (N.T.); South Australia (S.A.); Victoria (Vic.)

New South Wales (N.S.W.)

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:66)
TABLE 3.31 - TASMANIA: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SETTLERS FROM SELECTED BIRTHPLACE GROUPS, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK and Ireland (Rep.)</td>
<td>54.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Europe</strong></td>
<td><strong>82.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Asia</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total America</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Africa</strong></td>
<td><strong>2.3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>New Zealand</strong></td>
<td><strong>5.7</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Oceania</strong></td>
<td><strong>7.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total overseas born</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Hugo (1986:94)

TABLE 3.32 - AUSTRALIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION BY STATE, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>State Population</th>
<th>Netherlands-born Population</th>
<th>% of State Population</th>
<th>% of Total Netherlands-born Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>5,126,217</td>
<td>25,130</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>26.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>3,832,443</td>
<td>30,710</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>2,295,123</td>
<td>12,914</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.A.</td>
<td>1,285,033</td>
<td>10,646</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.A.</td>
<td>1,273,624</td>
<td>11,279</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>418,957</td>
<td>3,008</td>
<td>0.71</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>123,324</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.T.</td>
<td>221,609</td>
<td>1,714</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,576,330</strong></td>
<td><strong>96,044</strong></td>
<td><strong>0.66</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from DIEA (1984:14)
### TABLE 3.33 - AUSTRALIA : NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION IN CENTRE, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Capital Cities</th>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>As a % of Population in Centre</th>
<th>As a % of Netherlands-born Population in Centre</th>
<th>As a % of Netherlands-born Population in Australia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sydney</td>
<td>14,423</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>57.4</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne</td>
<td>18,430</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brisbane</td>
<td>6,310</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelaide</td>
<td>7,560</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perth</td>
<td>7,829</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobart</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darwin</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canberra</td>
<td>1,702</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>99.3</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from DIEA (undated:90)

### TABLE 3.34 - TASMANIA : PERCENTAGES, URBAN, OF THE POPULATION BY BIRTHPLACE, CENSUS 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTHPLACE</th>
<th>Metropolitan</th>
<th>Other Urban</th>
<th>Total Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australasia</td>
<td>30.3</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>65.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>75.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>63.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>62.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>54.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>67.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>58.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czechoslovakia</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>78.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>61.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>83.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>79.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>70.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukraine</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>74.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSR</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>73.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Countries in Europe</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>47.3</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>73.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>77.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other parts of the World</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>77.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total born outside Australasia</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>72.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>65.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:75)
### TABLE 3.35 - PERIOD OF RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA BY STATE, 1981
(Percentage of Netherlands-born Population)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period of Residence</th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Vic.</th>
<th>Qld.</th>
<th>S.A.</th>
<th>W.A.</th>
<th>Tas.</th>
<th>N.T.</th>
<th>A.C.T.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than 1 year</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 years</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-9 years</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14 years</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-21 years</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22-28 years</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29+ years</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>38.6</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from DIEA (undated: 12)

### TABLE 3.36 - TASMANIA AND AUSTRALIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION BY AGE, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE GROUPS</th>
<th>TASMANIA</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>AUSTRALIA</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4 years</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 14 years</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1,960</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19 years</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1,884</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 29 years</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>11,910</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 54 years</td>
<td>1,824</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>55,410</td>
<td>57.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 64 years</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>14,983</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+ years</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>9,469</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>3,009</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>96,044</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from DIEA (undated: 11)
### Table 3.37 - Netherlands-born Population of Tasmania: Occupational Status by Marital Status (a) by Sex, 1981
(Persons aged 15 years and over)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational and Marital Status</th>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>In the Labour Force</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Males</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>95.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>433</td>
<td>95.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Females</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>86.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Employed</strong></td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>95.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Males</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Females</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Unemployed</strong></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Labour Force</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Males</td>
<td>1,286</td>
<td>84.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>40.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Females</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,841</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Not in the Labour Force</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Males</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married Females</td>
<td>675</td>
<td>59.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Females</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>60.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total**                      | 2,921| 100.0|

**Notes:**
(a) Marital Status abbreviated, i.e. Total Males, Married Females and Other Females
(b) Figures above this point refer to % of total labour force in that category.
Figures below refer to % of total persons aged 15 years and over in that category.

Source: DEIA (undated:18)
### TABLE 3.38 - AUSTRALIA: INDEX NUMBER OF DISTRIBUTION AMONG INDUSTRIES FOR NETHERLANDS-BORN MALES BY STATE, CENSUS 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDUSTRY</th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Vic.</th>
<th>Qld.</th>
<th>S.A.</th>
<th>W.A.</th>
<th>Tas.</th>
<th>C'wealth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Primary production</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Mining and quarrying</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Manufacturing</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Electricity, gas, water, sanitary services, etc.</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Building and Construction</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Transport and storage</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Communication</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Finance and property: Business services</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Commerce</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Public authority and professional activities</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Amusements, hotels, cafes, personal service, etc.</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL** 100 100 100 100 100 100 100

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:96)

### TABLE 3.39 - NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION OF TASMANIA: INDUSTRY BY SEX, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDUSTRY</th>
<th>MALES Nos.</th>
<th>MALES %</th>
<th>FEMALES Nos.</th>
<th>FEMALES %</th>
<th>PERSONS Nos.</th>
<th>PERSONS %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricity, Gas, Water, Construction</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale, Retail Trade</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport, Storage</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance, Property and Business</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Admin., Defence</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community Services</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreational, Personal, Other Services</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>332</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Classifiable or Not Stated</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,233</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>521</td>
<td>101.0</td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DIEA (undated:20)
### TABLE 3.40 - AUSTRALIA: INDEX NUMBERS OF OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY STATES: NETHERLANDS-BORN MALES, CENSUS 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Status</th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Vic.</th>
<th>Qld.</th>
<th>S.A.</th>
<th>W.A.</th>
<th>Tas.</th>
<th>C’wealth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-employed</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helper</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 100 100 100 100 100 100 100

Source: Zubrzycki (1960:107)

### TABLE 3.41 - NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION OF TASMANIA (15 and over): AGE LEFT SCHOOL BY SEX, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Left School (Years)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th></th>
<th>Females</th>
<th></th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nos.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Nos.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Nos.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 or less</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>291</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>664</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 and over</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not attend</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Still attend</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 1,557 99.9 1,312 100.0 2,869 99.8

Source: ABS (1976a: 6)
### TABLE 3.42 - TASMANIA AND AUSTRALIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION: HIGHEST QUALIFICATION OBTAINED SINCE LEAVING SCHOOL, 1976

(Population aged 15 years and over)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Qualification</th>
<th>Tasmania (a)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Australia (b)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Higher Degree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>494</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grad. Diploma</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor Degree</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,890</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3,600</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade Certificate</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>15,856</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technician</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>8,968</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Class. By level</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequately described</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Qualified</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>31,764</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Qualification</td>
<td>1,560</td>
<td>54.4</td>
<td>54,810</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>6,363</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 2,869 100.0 TOTAL 93,660 100.0

**Note:** + greater than zero but less than 0.05%
(a) ABS (1976a:7)
(b) DIEA (undated: 17)

---

### TABLE 3.43 - AUSTRALIA: LANGUAGE USE AT HOME BY STATE, 1981

(% of Netherlands-born Population aged 15 years and over)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Use</th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Vic.</th>
<th>Qld.</th>
<th>S.A.</th>
<th>W.A.</th>
<th>Tas.</th>
<th>N.T.</th>
<th>A.C.T.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Speaks English only:</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>48.4</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>50.3</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaks Dutch and English:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- very well</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>33.5</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>33.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- well</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- not well</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- not at all</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- not stated</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Other Language:</td>
<td>48.9</td>
<td>49.1</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>50.1</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>49.2</td>
<td>49.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TOTAL 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0

**Speak some English:**

- 98.4 98.3 98.1 98.2 98.6 98.3 98.9 98.3

**Speak English well:**

- 97.0 96.8 96.5 96.5 97.0 96.5 97.5 96.8

**Speak Dutch only:**

- 0.2 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.2 0.1 - 0.2 0.3

**Source:** DIEA (undated: 15)
### TABLE 3.44 - AUSTRALIA: DUTCH CITIZENSHIP BY STATE, 1981

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Dutch Citizenship (no.)</th>
<th>Netherlands-born in State (no.)</th>
<th>Dutch Citizens as % of Netherlands-born in State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N.S.W.</td>
<td>4,002</td>
<td>25,130</td>
<td>15.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>3,935</td>
<td>30,710</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>1,944</td>
<td>12,914</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Australia</td>
<td>1,406</td>
<td>10,646</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. Australia</td>
<td>1,462</td>
<td>11,279</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>3,008</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N.T.</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.T.</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>1,714</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>13,256</td>
<td>96,044</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: DIEA (1984: 16)

### TABLE 3.45 - AUSTRALIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION: RELIGION BY STATE (in per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Vic.</th>
<th>Qld.</th>
<th>S.A.</th>
<th>W.A.</th>
<th>Tas.</th>
<th>N.T.</th>
<th>A.C.T.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>63.4</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>72.0</td>
<td>56.4</td>
<td>60.1</td>
<td>61.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddhist</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebrew</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other (a)</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>38.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>99.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: (a) Includes Non-Christian NEI, Inadequately Described, No Religion So Described, Not Stated
+ greater than zero but less than 0.05%
- zero

Source: DIEA (undated: 16)

### TABLE 4.1 - TASMANIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION, 1947-1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Intercensal Change</th>
<th>Proportion of Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>2,345</td>
<td>1947-1954: 2,332</td>
<td>0.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>3,556</td>
<td>1954-1961: 1,211</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>3,367</td>
<td>1961-1966: -189</td>
<td>0.91</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Adapted from ABS (1966a:42) and ABS (1966b:11)
### TABLE 4.3 - TASMANIA: MALE AND FEMALE NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION BY OCCUPATION, 1961

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>MALES (a)</th>
<th>FEMALES (b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Professional, Technical and Related Workers</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Administrative, Executive and Managerial Workers</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Clerical Workers</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sales Workers</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Farmers, Fishermen, Hunters, Timber Getters and Related Workers</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Miners, Quarrymen and Related Workers</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Workers in Transport and Communication Occupations</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Craftsmen, Production-Process Workers and Labourers</td>
<td>723</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Service, Sport and Recreation Workers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Members of Armed Services, Enlisted Personnel</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Occupation Inadequately Described or Not Stated</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Total In Work Force</td>
<td>1,361</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Not In Work Force</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>1,312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>14. GRAND TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,903</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,653</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: (a) ABS (1961: 186-187)  
(b) ABS (1961: 190-191)

### TABLE 4.4 - TASMANIA: EVER MARRIED WOMEN BY SELECTED BIRTHPLACE BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN FROM ALL MARRIAGES, 1976

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Netherlands No.</th>
<th>Netherlands %</th>
<th>Australia No.</th>
<th>Australia %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10,431</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>13,579</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>24,975</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>19,403</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>11,805</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>6,196</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>3,345</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1,906</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 or more</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2,763</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>5,472</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,227</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
<td><strong>99,876</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.9</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ABS (1976a:8)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4.5  -  REFORMED CHURCHES OF AUSTRALIA: MEMBERSHIP FIGURES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>No. of Members as at:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7.66  1.3.67  1.4.75  1.4.76  1.4.77  1.4.78  1.4.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Increase:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Received with Certificate of Membership from within the denomination or from a sister church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Received from other Denominations and through Evangelism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Children of Members Baptized</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Re-admitted (after Withdrawal, Excommunication etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUB-TOTAL A</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8,206  8,451  9,241  9,499  9,383  9,571  10,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decrease:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Left with Certificate of Membership for within the Denomination or a sister church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Joined a non-sister church or sect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Withdrawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Excommunicated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Deceased</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUB-TOTAL B</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>635  519  525  787  502  592  642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MEMBERSHIP</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.7.66  1.1.68  31.3.76  31.3.77  31.3.78  31.3.79  31.3.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(SubTotal A - SubTotal B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7,571  7,932  8,716  8,712  8,881  8,979  9,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources: Adapted from <em>Reformed Church Yearbooks</em>, 1966–1982.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 4.6 - REFORMED CHURCHES OF AUSTRALIA: MARRIAGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1.7.64-</th>
<th>1.7.65-</th>
<th>1.1.67-</th>
<th>1.4.75-</th>
<th>1.4.76-</th>
<th>1.4.78-</th>
<th>1.4.81-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marriages of which at the date of marriage:</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.6.65</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.1.66</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL MARRIAGES:</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Reformed Church Yearbooks, 1966-1982.

### TABLE 5.1 - TASMANIA: NETHERLANDS-BORN POPULATION BY AGE BY SEX, 1954

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Last Birthday (Years)</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 4</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 9</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 14</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 29</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 - 34</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35 - 39</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 - 44</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 - 49</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 - 54</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55 - 59</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 - 64</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 - 69</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 - 74</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75 - 79</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 - 84</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 - 89</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 - 94</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 and over</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 21 years</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 years and over</td>
<td>702</td>
<td>548</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,262</td>
<td>1,083</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ABS (1954: 22-27)
APPENDIX C

MAPS
MAP 1.1 - AUSTRALIA

MAP 3.1 - THE NETHERLANDS AND ITS PROVINCES

Source: Geographic Documentation Centre of the State University of Utrecht (1970)
A Compact Geography of the Netherlands. The Hague: N.V. Cartografisch Instituut
Bootsma (p. 5).
KEY:

- Highway between Hobart and Kingston

- Original coastal road between Hobart and Kingston

1. "Little Groningen"
2. Tasman Bridge
3. Rokeby

Source: Hobart, Southern Metropolitan Master Planning Authority (1976)
Section from Map of Hobart Metropolitan Area.
Map 4.2 - Kingston and Kingston Beach, 1954

Source: Collings, L. and Durrant, L.L. *Tasmania*. North Sydney: Jack Pollard Pty. Ltd. (p.125)