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THE ROLE OF ETHNO-RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN
THE ASSIMILATION PROCESS OF DUTCH CHRISTIAN
REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH
WESTERN ONTARIO

BY

JOE GRAUMANS

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Department of Sociology and
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ABSTRACT

This study investigates problems related to the assimilation process of Dutch immigrants in South Western Ontario. The assimilation process of two groups of Dutch immigrants, a Christian Reformed and a Catholic group are compared with each other.

An historical sketch of the Dutch socio-religious structures and the immigration pattern is given to point out the importance of religious belonging in the Netherlands. The Christian Reformed and Catholic group form two completely separate, but similar, subcultures (pillars) in the Dutch Society.

The hypothesis that religion and its related organizations discourage involvement in Canadian formal and informal organizations for the Calvinists and stimulate the Catholics to do so was tested. It was found that assimilation takes place among both groups, but not to the same degree. Gordon's and Breton's theories were used to compare the two groups and it was found that the Calvinists build their own Church and Church related organizational structures in Canada, whereas the Catholics join existing Canadian Catholic organizations. The Calvinist group has a vast network of ethnic socio-religious structures and the Catholics have very few ethnic organizations. Ethnic structures (institutional completeness) keep the Calvinists within an ethno-religious sub-culture, whereas the Catholics join and participate in Canadian organizations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to compare the influence of religious belonging and ethnic socio-religious structures upon the assimilation process of Dutch Christian Reformed and Catholic immigrants in South Western Ontario.

My own experiences, being an immigrant from the Netherlands, and my interest in religion as a social force have led me to this study. Coming to Canada as an immigrant has been a most interesting experience for me. Leaving your homeland to settle in a new country makes you aware of the importance of cultural values and social connections. Leaving the familiar social setting and trying to find new roots in a completely new environment makes you aware of many values and social contacts which you always took for granted. Initially you are overwhelmed by the new people you meet and the surroundings and everything looks promising. After this initial stage you get back to the reality of life. You start to miss the security of the old country and you start to feel isolated because of language problems. At this point you start to compare the new customs and values with the ones you took for granted and you become very critical. Following this culture shock you start to settle down. Things do not look that bad after all and language problems start to disappear. In the years following you accept more and more of the new culture

and you start to forget about the old culture. You build up new social relationships and you feel more and more part of the new society. Briefly, these have been the most important experiences which I have had over the past seven years.

During these years of re-establishment I have had many contacts with other Dutch immigrants and members of other ethnic groups and had the opportunity to learn from their experiences. As a theology and sociology student I have been interested especially in the religious and social forces involved in the assimilation process. Religion plays an unique role in the assimilation of Dutch immigrants. Religious belonging, more than any other force, has shaped the Dutch Society (cf. Moberg, 1961). Later on I will discuss the socio-religious structures of the Netherlands. In observing the Dutch immigrants in South Western Ontario I came to the conclusion that religious belonging is the key factor in the assimilation process. There are three main religious groups of Dutch immigrants, the Orthodox Calvinists (Gereformeerde Kerk), the Liberal Calvinists (Nederlands Hervormde Kerk), and the Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic immigrants join the Catholic Church in Canada and the Liberal Calvinists join one of the major Protestant Churches (United Church of Canada, Presbyterian, Anglican or Baptist Church). The Orthodox Calvinists have founded their own Church in Canada, the Christian Reformed Church. The following table gives the religious affiliation of the Dutch immigrants in Ontario (Groenenberg, 1966: 58-59).

TABLE 1: CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF DUTCH IMMIGRANTS IN ONTARIO.

Denominations:	%
Protestant Churches	51
Catholic Church	23
Christian Reformed Church	26

The Orthodox Calvinists and the Catholics have an identical but totally separate network of socio-religious structures in the Netherlands. The Liberal Calvinists have socio-religious structures but these do not have the same control over the group as is the case for the two other groups. I was intrigued by the differences which I observed between the different groups of Dutch immigrants, especially by the differences between the Orthodox Calvinists and the Catholics. They have very similar socio-religious structures in the Netherlands but only the Calvinists have re-established this network of structures in Canada whereas the Catholics seem happy to join the Catholic Church in Canada which is much less organized than the Church they left behind in the Netherlands. These observations and a case study of Dutch Calvinist and Catholic immigrants who settled in the U. S. during the 19th century have focused my attention on the question of differential assimilation.

Migrants from one country, in this case the Netherlands, are assumed to be a more or less homogeneous group (Porter, 1965: 69). The host society develops most times a stereotyped idea about the different ethnic groups. My experiences indicate that it is impossible to make this generalization for the

Dutch immigrants. The aim of this study is to analyze the differences in the assimilation process of the Orthodox Calvinists, and the Catholics. I have left the Liberal Calvinists out of the picture because of the fact that their socio-religious structures are less rigidly defined in the Netherlands and I assume that their assimilation process is quite similar to that of the Catholics.

My search for studies dealing with the assimilation process of Dutch immigrants in Canada and other countries left me dissatisfied. H. S. Lucas (1955) makes clear in his study Netherlanders in America. Dutch Immigration to the United States and Canada, 1789 - 1950 that the Orthodox Calvinists and Catholics have a very different assimilation pattern. The Calvinists continued to exist as a distinct group whereas the Catholics have become part of the American Catholic Church. Lucas gives conclusions without describing the assimilation process. W. Petersen (1955) in Planned Migration. The Social Determinants of the Dutch-Canadian Movement gives a detailed demographic description of the religious groups in the Dutch Society, but he does not deal with the assimilation process of these groups in Canada. B. P. Hofstede (1964) gives a detailed analysis of the socio-religious groups in the Netherlands in his study Thwarted Exodus. Post-War Overseas Migration from the Netherlands, but he looks only at migration, its rise and decline in the Netherlands without looking at how these migrants re-establish themselves in immigration countries.

Several articles dealing with aspects of the assimilation process of Dutch immigrants note the importance of religious belonging but they do not see the uniqueness of this cultural heritage and its effects upon the assimilation process (Mol, 1965; Tuinman, 1956; Cavelaars, 1967; Rees-Powell, 1966). Some authors lump all Dutch immigrants together and overlook the religious differences (cf. Chimbos, 1971).

In my opinion there is a dimension lacking in these studies dealing with the assimilation process of Dutch immigrants. It is my thesis that there are differences between the Christian Reformed and Catholic immigrants and I will establish the importance of religious belonging and socio-religious structures of these two groups upon the assimilation process.

I will use Gordon's analysis of the assimilation process (1964:70-71) combined with Breton's concept of institutional completeness (1968:190-202). Gordon's and Breton's concepts will be discussed in more detail later on. Operationalization of their concepts makes it possible to compare the two groups and to measure the degree of assimilation and institutional completeness. The empirical data were collected by means of a questionnaire from a random sample of Christian Reformed immigrants in the Hamilton area and a sample of Catholic immigrants in the London area.

The term assimilation is being used to describe the process whereby the migrants discard their language and culture and adopt the language and customs of the host society.

Many social scientists have described the contact between ethnic groups in such terms as assimilation, integration and acculturation. Sometimes these terms are taken to mean the same and in other cases they overlap. Anthropologists use the term acculturation with regard to cultural behavior of a group (cf. Gordon, 1964:61). Assimilation, as being used by sociologists not only refers to cultural behavior but includes also social structural relationships.

Related to assimilation is the concept of institutional completeness. Ethnic groups vary in social organization. At the one end of the continuum is the group which exists essentially as a network of informal contacts. Members of this group seek each other's company in friendship groups, although they join the institutional structures of the host society. At the other end are the ethnic groups with formal structures, such as educational, political, social, professional, welfare and credit union organizations. These formal organizations help the immigrants to re-establish themselves in the new environment and usually these structures disappear when the immigrants begin to assimilate. However, these structures can continue to preserve the identity of an immigrant group and although partial assimilation will take place, structurally the group keeps its own identity.

In the following chapters I will deal with the historical development of Dutch social structures and emigration patterns in order to analyze the effects of the socio-religious structures upon the assimilation process of the two groups.

CHAPTER 2

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE DUTCH SOCIETY

The Netherlands, bounded by Germany in the East Belgium in the South and the North Sea in the West and North, is a small country. It covers an area of 13,000 square miles and it has a population of almost 13 million, making it one of the most densely populated countries in the world. Its geographical location has played an important role in the historical development of the country. The conditions under which the country came into being have had a lasting effect upon the social structure of the nation. The Netherlands emerged as a nation at the end of the sixteenth century. The Netherlands, a federation of 17 provinces which encompassed the present Benelux countries, was part of the Habsburg empire. Philip II, the king of Spain, ruled as an absolute monarch in the Netherlands. Spanish noblemen held the highest offices, taxes were high and the Inquisition ruled with iron hand. It was at this time that the Reformation gained foothold in the northern provinces under leadership of Willem of Orange Nassau. The resistance against Spanish domination and the Reformation became a unified force. The Union of Utrecht, 1579, marks the founding of the Republic of the Netherlands, a union of the 7 most northerly provinces (van Houte, 1955:59).

The Calvinists formed a small militant minority in the new Republic and they managed to convert most of the people.

Although Calvinism became the official religion in the Republic, it never gained complete political control and religious freedom was one of the basic rights for all citizens. Other religions were tolerated, but they did not have any political rights. Within the Calvinist Church there has been since the beginning a struggle between the orthodox group and the more liberal group. The rich merchant class formed the liberal group and the orthodox group was formed by the lower classes (Goudsblom, 1967:18). The rich merchants (colonial traders) formed a liberal worldly group and contrary to Max Weber's wellknown theory this group as a whole stood rather aloof from radical Calvinism. Wertheim (1964:150) states that,

"It is beyond doubt that the economic growth of the Dutch Republic during its Golden Age was largely due to forces other than the Protestant ethic as defined by Max Weber".

For 80 years the Spaniards and the Dutch were engaged in warfare. The Treaty of West Phalia, 1648, marked the official recognition of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands (Holland, Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Gelderland, Utrecht and Zeeland). The Republic had conquered two of the other provinces, North Brabant and Limburg. These provinces received neither autonomy nor the right of representation in the federal assembly, the Staten-General (Goudsblom, 1967:14). The population of the conquered provinces belonged to the Catholic Church, whereas the Reformation had taken control in the 7 northern provinces. The Catholics were treated as second class citizens and they gained complete equality only at the end of the 19th century.

This religious division still exists today and we find the following geographical division, the area north of the Rhine is mainly Protestant and south of the river is the Catholic area. A second important division in the Dutch Society is the class structure. The social stratification system finds its origin in the early stages of the Dutch Republic. The 17th century was the 'Golden Age' for the Dutch merchants. These people controlled the colonial trade in Europe and a small elite from the province of Holland had the political and economic power in their hands. Goudsblom (1967:16) argues that:

"It was they who controlled shipping and finance and who for many generations formed a self-contained oligarchy, sharing almost all important public offices among its own members".

The social situation in the Netherlands did not change substantially until the time of Napoleon. French rule brought centralization in government and after 1815, the Congress of Vienna, the Netherlands became a kingdom under the House of Orange. The Netherlands was very slow in industrialization and it was not until the 20th century that large scale industrialization took place. The German poet Heinrich Heine described the 19th century atmosphere in the Netherlands in his remark, that if the world should perish, he would go to the Netherlands, there everything happened 50 years later.

The depression and the Second World War brought about tremendous changes. P. van Houte states that:

"To a significant and often lasting extent, religious social and political differences were ignored in the

common effort to resist the occupation. Many of the cooperative institutions that appeared on the Dutch scene in the late forties were the direct result of this wartime cooperation".

The Netherlands is at present a modern industrial nation with many international contacts. The Dutch seem to have rejected nationalism in favour of European integration. The Dutch have played an important role in the formation of the Benelux, NATO, and the European Common Market.

The most important changes which took place in the Netherlands over the last century are industrialization, centralization and bureaucratization of the government, democratization and urbanization. These changes have not created uniformity and the Dutch Society continues to display many features which go back to the founding of the nation. Nøberg (1961:333) describes how the differentiation along religious and socio-economic lines shapes the life of the individual.

"A person may spend his entire life with very few contacts with persons and influences outside of his own 'column'. He may be born in a confessional hospital and educated through the trade school or university level in confessional schools. His employment will be found with someone of his own religious affiliation, for there is evidence that hiring of personnel is sometimes on a discriminatory basis by religion. He will join a trade union, a professional society, or occupational association for persons of his religion. His civic and social organizations and activities are likely to be organized along denominational lines, even if they center primarily around gymnastics, bird-watching, music-bands, or teetotalism. He will marry someone from his own religious denomination, read its daily newspaper and weekly or monthly magazines, listen to its radio broadcast, vote for its political candidates, rear his children in its schools, go on vacation trips sponsored by a confessional travel club for persons of his religious faith, attend only churches of his denomination, symbolically wear his wedding ring on his right

finger if he is a Protestant and on his left if he is a Catholic, and finally be buried in the churchyard".

The religious composition of the Dutch Society plays an important role in all aspects of life. There are five major groups in the Dutch Society. The census figures of 1960 give the following breakdown: Roman Catholics 40.4%, Dutch Reformed (Liberal Calvinists) 28.3%, Gereformeerd (Orthodox Calvinists) 9.3%, other religions 3.6%, no religion 18.4%. The tendency for religious groups to penetrate all other non-religious institutions is called "Verzuiling". There is no English equivalent for this term. The literal translation would be "Pillarization". Pillarization can be described as a combination of subcultures, interest groups, pluralism based on ideological or religious positions. Moberg (1961: 333) describes the situation as vertical pluralism.

Each group, pillar, has a set of organizations which cover most aspects of life. The Catholics and the Orthodox Calvinists are the only groups with their own political party but for all other political parties there is also a definite relationship between religion and political affiliation. The major confessional parties are the Roman Catholic Party (K.V. P.), the Anti-Revolutionary Party (A.R.P.) a predominantly Orthodox Calvinist party and the Christian Historical Union (C.H.U.) the party of the Liberal Calvinists. The major non-confessional parties are the economically conservative liberal group (V.V.D.), the socialist party (P.V.D.A.) and the communist party (C.P.N.).

The educational system shows also the social structure of the Dutch Society. Students can make a choice between the public system and the confessionalschools. All school systems are under government control and they have to conform with government regulations. The introduction of financial parity in 1920 has benefited the confessional schools. In 1900 the public school system provided education for 69% of all students and the confessional schools for 31%. By 1920 the share of the confessional schools was 45% and in 1962 the public school had 26% of the students and the confessional schools 74%. (Goudsblom, 1967:103).

In the field of organized labour we find also the results of pillarization. There are three major labour unions in the Netherlands: the Socialist Netherlands Federation of Trade Unions (N.V.V.), the Netherlands Catholic Federation of Trade Unions (N.K.V.), and the Protestant National Christian Federation of Trade Unions (C.N.V.). There are also three employer's organizations organized along religious lines.

The mass media, newspapers and magazines, radio and t.v., reflect the pillars of the Dutch Society. In 1965 there were 88 daily newspapers in the Netherlands. The twelve major national newspapers are affiliated with the following groups: two are socialist, two Catholic, one is Protestant, three are liberal, three are independent and one is communist. A very similar affiliation can be observed with the 78 provincial papers. More than 95% of the papers are sold by subscription. Not only the religious structure but also the class structure is reflected in the media. The upper class tends

to read two of the liberal affiliated newspapers, 'Algemeen Dagblad' and 'De Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant'. The middle classes tend to read the other national papers and the lower classes read the provincial and local papers (Goudsblom, 1967: 118). There are two national t.v. stations and three national radio stations. The government controls these stations and it grants licences to five non-commercial corporations (a socialist one, a Catholic, an Orthodox Protestant, a Liberal Protestant and a neutral group), representing the different pillars of the Dutch Society. The corporations share the broadcast time (time is divided according to the size of the groups), but unlike the newspapers the radio and t.v. programs try to appeal to a nationwide audience and in this way they counteract the pillarization process.

It is possible to analyze in a similar manner all other aspects of the Dutch Society. Cultural, scientific, recreational, youth clubs, professional organizations, etc. are all organized along religious lines. Outsiders will be amazed and wonder what the difference can be between the Catholic and Protestant Goat Breeders Association, but such organizations exist.

Pillarization (vertical pluralism), which plays an important role in all aspects of the Dutch Society, has its positive and negative sides. Everybody in the Netherlands has the feeling of belonging and the pillar-structure prevents alienation. On the other hand, vertical pluralism has a number of manifest and latent consequences in as far as it increases

the spatial and ideological isolation of the different groups. Moberg (1961:334-337) lists a number of the most obvious consequences:

- solidarity of religious groups is increased.
- unique values of the religious groups are protected and socialization within the group prevents defection.
- individuals receive an ideological identity through group-membership.
- scientific work (social sciences) is influenced by ideology.
- duplications of many services can create a shortage of personnel.
- duplication of services is expensive and can lead to decrease in quality of the services.
- vertical pluralism (religious beliefs) contributes to population pressure.
- pluralism contributes to tension and diminishes national solidarity.
- democratic and religious values can conflict and political principles have to be sacrificed.
- personal liberty and initiative is reduced.
- personal difficulties can arise from conflicts between political and religious issues.

The social structure of the Netherlands is at present undergoing many changes. Secularization and ecumenism are key factors in this process and it is very difficult to predict what will happen. The Dutch Society is characterized by continuity and the division along religious and class

lines has coloured all aspects of the social structure and culture for more than three centuries. Continuity does not imply the absence of change. The industrial revolution, the two World Wars, secularism and ecumenism have modified the traditional social structure. The Dutch national unity has never been threatened by the internal divisions and recent developments (mass media, industrialisation) have strengthened national unity. W. Verkade (1965:24) points at the continuity in the following statement:

"The relative strength of Catholic, Protestant, Socialist and Liberal Parties in the Netherlands has scarcely changed over the past 30 years, but developments in the socio-economic and cultural outlook have led to considerable changes in government and party policies and in party leadership".

The underlying theme of the Dutch political structure seems to be harmony and cooperation. There is little disagreement about the main issue, the need to improve society, and the struggle deals mainly with how to achieve the common goal. J. Goudsblom (1967:153) describes the cooperation between the groups as follows:

"In the process of 'segmented integration' religious differences and economic inequalities have been jointly incorporated in the institutional pattern of the Dutch Society, safeguarding unity as well as diversity. Indeed, the conscious commitment to values of both unity and diversity seems to be the key aspect of the Dutch Society; expressed in ideas of tolerance, this twofold commitment has always been a prominent tenet of the national ideology".

Many modern developments are attacking the traditional social divisions. The secularization process, ecumenism, and the renewal within the Catholic Church (VaticanII) and the

Calvinist Churches have important consequences for the religious parties and their social structures. Several new political parties have come on the scene during the last decade. The Democrats '66, a party of progressive intellectuals want to reform the whole political structure. The confessional parties lost a significant number of votes during the national elections in April of 1972, and at present there is a movement developing toward the formation of a Christian Democratic Party in which all christian parties could cooperate. Changes are taking place, but a recent national study dealing with the importance of religious belonging indicates clearly that the traditional divisions are still very strong and seen as desirable by many people. One of the tables in this study, called 'God in Nederland', indicates what percentage of the Dutch people is in favor of certain organized activities in affiliation with the Church. Table 2, p. 17, shows this table. The table makes clear that several groups have a strong desire for Church affiliated social structures. The Orthodox Calvinists (Gereformeerde Kerk) take the most extreme position. They are in favor of Church affiliated structures for all activities. It is surprising that even people who are not affiliated with a Church consider Church affiliated structures as desirable. The study contains also a table which shows how the population in general perceives the different groups which make up the Dutch Society. The study used two sets of characteristics and people were asked which were most appropriate and which were least appropriate for the different

TABLE 2: ADVOCATES OF CHURCH AFFILIATED ACTIVITIES (IN PERCENTAGES). (God in

Nederland, 1967:292)

Activities	Denominations:			Persons without affiliations:	
	R.C.	Dutch Ref.	Christ. Ref.	With rel. ed.	Without rel. ed.
Elem. school	86	54	96	8	19
Youth organization	67	67	93	23	35
Broadcasting org.	50	47	88	15	17
Political parties	35	36	80	14	19
Labor unions	41	33	79	12	13
Sports organisations	27	21	61	7	9

groups. In this way we have a picture of the stereotypes which the Dutch population has of each group. The Dutch Reformed (Liberal Calvinists) are seen as progressive, dependable, not rigid, tolerant, not hypocritical, and not narrow-minded. The Catholics are seen as progressive, determined, dependable, not rigid and not gloomy. The Christian Reformed (Orthodox Calvinists) group is characterized as not progressive, not tolerant, rigid, gloomy, and not superficial. The Jews are progressive, determined, tolerant and not dependable. Persons without a Church affiliation are progressive, tolerant, not rigid, not hypocritical, not gloomy, not narrow-minded and superficial. (God in Nederland, 1967:292,296-297).

We have seen in the foregoing pages that the Dutch social structure is characterized by vertical pluralism. This situation can be understood only in its historical setting. Modern developments have slightly changed the structures, but there continues to exist a strong desire among a majority of the Dutch people for consistency between their faith and their relationships with the world. The situation is changing, but the natural resistance of social organizations toward change and the historical vested interests in these structures, and the values of the Dutch people make it difficult for major changes to take place. Vertical pluralism and religious values reinforce one another and the two most orthodox groups, the Christian Reformed and the Catholics will most likely continue to make changes which are in accordance with their religious ideology. In the following chapter I will discuss the Dutch

emigration patterns and show in what way the socio-religious structure of the Dutch Society influenced the area of emigration.

CHAPTER 3

THE DUTCH EMIGRATION PATTERN

It is very difficult to compare the Dutch emigration pattern with that of other European countries, because up to 1946 the Dutch have had a very modest share in the overseas migration. Early emigration statistics are inadequate, but they show that over the century from 1840 to 1940 emigration from the Netherlands totaled no more than a quarter of a million. A comparison with the Scandinavian countries for the period from 1900 to 1930 illustrates the absence of emigration fever in the Netherlands. Denmark produced 115,000 emigrants over the thirty year period, Norway 258,000 and Sweden 361,000, and the Netherlands with a similar sized population as the Scandinavian countries produced only 27,000 emigrants (Hofstede, 1964:19-32). The pre-World War I emigration was under private auspices and only during the interwar years was there a gradual shift to semi-official and later on to government sponsored migration in the Netherlands.

Petersen (1955:42-65) has made a study of the possible causes of the limited urge to emigrate among the Dutch population. He mentions several economic, social, cultural and historical factors, but he concludes that neither the fact that the Netherlands possessed colonies (East and West Indies) nor any of the other factors can provide an adequate explanation of the fact that emigration never developed into a mass movement before the end of World War II.

The Second World War brought about a radical change in the migration climate. World War II destroyed the peaceful life of Europe and the Netherlands, which was untouched by the horrors of the First World War. Millions of people were killed and a much larger number lost all their possessions and were forced to relocate. The war produced unrest in the mind of all Europeans. The pre-war mentality of the Dutch people was destroyed by the war, Nazism and the economic crisis of the depression time. Hofstede (1964:19-32) mentions in his book the following factors which increased the urge to migrate. The Netherlands was impoverished because the Nazis used all the valuable resources and materials during the war, and most valuable materials and equipment were transported to Germany. What stayed behind in the Netherlands had been destroyed during the last years of the war. The prosperity of overseas countries looked very attractive, because it seemed almost impossible to rebuild a prosperous society out of the post war chaos. The Canadians liberated the Netherlands and friendly relationships with the liberators led to the establishment of contacts with Canada. After the war the Dutch people became also more aware of their population problem. These experiences and a number of events which happened during the years following the war increased the emigration urge. There was the fear of World War III, created by such events as the communist revolution in Czechoslovakia and the blockade of Berlin in 1948. During the post war years the Netherlands also got into troubles in Indonesia. This colony wanted sovereignty.

The United Nations forced the Netherlands to give sovereignty to this colony which produced 16% of the Dutch national income. Between 1946 and 1953 the Netherlands had to absorb 120,000 repatriates from Indonesia.

All these events strengthened the feeling that it was impossible to rebuild a normal society and many people saw more future in emigration than in staying in the Netherlands. For seven years in succession, 1948-1952, the 'Netherlands Institute of Public Opinion' gave the following question to a cross section of the Dutch population: "If you had a choice, would you prefer to stay in Holland or would you rather go and live in another country?" The results indicate that in some years almost one third of the population thought about emigration (Hofstede, 1964:16-17). These results are supported by a government study on emigration in 1957 (Frijda, 1960:88). This study shows that in the past 32% of the population had seriously considered emigration and in addition another 17% had toyed with the idea from time to time.

The possibilities to emigrate were limited during the first post-war years, because of difficulties in leaving the country, of transportation and of admission difficulties. The high time for emigration in the Netherlands were the years between 1948 and 1953. After that year the numbers started to decrease and stabilized around 1960. Between 1946 and 1958 more than 330,000 emigrants left the country. The following ten years, 1959-1968, show a drastic drop, and only 125,000 emigrants left the country during this period,

The economic situation changed rapidly after the war and industrialization created jobs for many people. At present the Netherlands is a highly industrialized country with a relatively high standard of living and economic reasons to settle permanently in a new country no longer exist. However, all problems are not solved in the Netherlands. The natural population increase is approximately 140,000 annually and the emigrant group (10,000-15,000 annually) is by far not large enough to solve the population problem. The Netherlands, with a population density of 1,000 people per square mile, has a large number of potential emigrants and a drastic change in social and economic conditions could again increase the urge to emigrate.

Nineteenth century Dutch immigrants in America.

Several thousand Dutch immigrants settled in the U. S. during the 19th century. The economic situation was grim at that time in the Netherlands and this led to the emigration of thousands of people. The economic situation alone does not appear to have been the decisive factor, because Lucas (1955:472) notes that the majority of these immigrants were seceders.

The Secession in the Calvinist Church took place in 1834. Kromminga (1957:12) states that:

"The seceders did not view themselves as departing from the Reformed Church in any sense of the term. They maintained that they were defending Reformed Church organization over against reorganization imposed upon the Dutch church by royal command".

The seceders were persecuted by the official state Church, the Netherlands Reformed Church (liberal Calvinists), and many decided to emigrate for the sake of religious freedom. Ministers, such as van Raalte and Scholte were not only the spiritual leaders of the seceders, but they also took care of economic, social and educational needs of their emigrant flock (Lucas, 1955:497). A large group of the seceders settled in Western Michigan. In 1850 the seceders joined the Reformed Church in America, a Church founded by Seventeenth century Dutch settlers in New York (New Amsterdam) in 1626. This union lasted only until 1857 and at that time the seceders formed their own Church, the True Dutch Reformed Church, but this name was changed in 1890 into the Christian Reformed Church. This Church is very much alive today and still exists as a distinct socio-religious group in Western Michigan and many other places in the U. S. and Canada. The Christian Reformed immigrants in Canada are affiliated with this group in the U. S. Current statistics show that the Christian Reformed Church has 629 congregations with a membership of 275,530 in the U. S. In Canada, they have 149 congregations with a membership of nearly 58,000, of which 90 are located in Ontario with nearly 35,000 members. (Hardon, 1969:390; Yearbook 1969). The Canadian branch of the Church developed strongly after the Second World War when many Orthodox Calvinists from the Netherlands settled in Canada. In this study we will deal in particular with this group and the history of the settlement in Western

Michigan might provide us with some ideas about the assimilation of Christian Reformed immigrants. Kromminga(1957: 36), president of CALvin Seminary , Grand Rapids, Michigan, described at the occasion of the centennial celebration of the Christian Reformed Church in the U. S. how his Church has viewed assimilation into the American Society.

"Although it is true that both the perils and opportunities of Americanization were recognized by some for many years, the Christian Reformed Church has throughout most of her history been far more concerned with the dangers than with the benefits of the process. The Church carried on a defensive action against the process of alteration..... The overmastering reason for seeking isolation was the feeling that the old faith would be lost or altered beyond recognition by Americanization".

The Christian Reformed Church of America provided field workers for the post-war immigrants in Canada. The Canadian Christian Reformed Church is affiliated with the American Christian Reformed Church, but there are marked differences between the two. Whereas the American group does not have close ties with the mother country, the Canadian group is made up of recent immigrants who have many contact with the mother country. At present the Christian Reformed Church is well established in Canada, especially in Ontario, and the Church has a wide range of educational, charitable and social organizations. Religion seems to play an important role in keeping a cultural heritage alive and in Western Michigan (Holland, Grand Rapids) we find numerous expressions of the Dutch heritage, such as the tulip festival, a wooden shoe factory and ethnic festivals. It is interesting to note

that the names of most ministers of local congregations are typical Dutch names (cf. Yearbook 1969). The nineteenth century Calvinist immigrants have kept their own identity. Culturally they have become Americanized, but structurally they have kept their own identity. It will be interesting to see whether or not a similar process is taking place in Canada.

During the 19th century a substantial number of Roman Catholic Dutch immigrants settled in the Green Bay area and Fox River valley in Wisconsin (Lucas, 1955:472). Many Dutch priests came along to take care of the spiritual needs of these immigrants and several religious congregations, the Crusade Fathers, Premonstratensians and four orders of women established branches in the U. S. All these congregations are still active in the U. S., but they have become part of the American Catholic Church and there is hardly a trace left of the Dutch heritage. The Catholic immigrants are no longer an identifiable group and they have been assimilated into the American Catholic Church. At present this same process seems to be taking place in Canada, and in this study we will draw a parallel between the 19th century developments in the U. S. and the assimilation of Dutch Calvinist and Catholic immigrants at present in Canada.

Dutch immigrants in Canada

There are no statistics available of Dutch immigrants in Canada before 1900. During the last years of the 19th century

and the first years of the 20th century a small number of Dutch immigrants settled in the Canadian West. The Dutch colony in Winnipeg in 1913 was estimated to number 1,000 persons. The Canadian Pacific Railway maintained a special agent in the Netherlands to attract Dutch farmers to the prairies in the beginning of this century. The advertisements distributed by some companies were not always trustworthy and agents of the C. P. R. and the C. N. R., for example, competed for settlers (Petersen, 1955:167-170). The first emigrants who left for Canada were mainly farmers from the northern part of the Netherlands. Most of them belonged to Orthodox Calvinist Church and as soon as possible they established their own Church in Canada. The first congregation was established in Toronto in 1925 and the same year another congregation was formed in Chatham. These congregations were followed by Hamilton in 1929, Sarnia in 1934 and Holland Marsh in 1938. The number of immigrants increased rapidly after the Second World War and many new congregations were founded in Canada.

The majority of the early immigrants after the Second World War were farmers. In 1948 54% of the immigrants were farmers, this number decreased to 20% in 1952, to 8% in 1958, and to 5% in 1962 (Hofstede, 1964:164). Over the period of 1948-1962 31% of all Dutch immigrants were farmers and over the same period only 17% of all emigrants leaving the Netherlands belonged to this category (Hofstede, 1964:164). The Dutch immigrants who went into farming were successful in

Canada, because of their skills and diligence. Most of them settled in Ontario and Alberta. These immigrants left the Netherlands because there was no future for them in agriculture. All available land in the Netherlands was occupied and at that time Dutch farmers and their sons wanted to be independent and working for wages was still looked upon as a social degradation by this group (Groenman, 1958:52). Many farmers had to settle for manual jobs when they arrived in Canada, but they accepted here what they would not accept in the Netherlands. Cavelaars (1967:43) in his study of Dutch immigrants in the Fraser Valley notes the following about changes in values among Dutch farmers.

"Departure from the Dutch environment liberated the respondents from social control and the traditional aversion against factories also disappeared".

At present farmers and their sons see less future in emigration and consider it more risky than transferring to another sector of work in the Netherlands.

The number of Dutch immigrants coming into Canada decreased after 1955. The average number of immigrants between 1946 and 1955 was 12,000 yearly; between 1956 and 1962 it was 6,000 and since that time the average is between 3,000 and 4,000 yearly. The Dutch immigrants form the fifth largest group of immigrants in Canada in the post World War II period. The English with 562,405 are the largest group, followed by the Italians with 406,600, the Germans with 318,055, the Scottish with 202,282 and the Dutch with 174,343. These figures are for the period 1946-1966 (Immigration Statistics, 1966).

Emigration organizations.

In the previous chapter we have seen how all aspects of the Dutch Society are influenced by religious affiliation. It is not surprising that the area of emigration would be influenced by the system of vertical pluralism.

Before the Second World War the government of the Netherlands showed little or no interest in emigration. It was seen as a matter of personal initiative and private enterprises. During the last quarter of the 19th century there was transmigration in the Netherlands, because Poles, Germans, Swiss, Norwegian and Swedish emigrants left Europe via Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In order to supervise the flow of migrants and to prevent abuse the "Netherland Migration Society" was formed in 1918. In 1924 the "Dutch Emigration Centre" was founded by the "Netherlands Society for Trade and Industry". This organization arranged transport accommodation and protected the interest of emigrants because it feared large scale unemployment. In 1931 the two bodies merged to form the "Netherlands Migration Foundation". This organization became part of the newly created government body, the "Netherlands Emigration Office", in 1953.

The different religious groups in the Netherland tried to control their share of the emigration scene. The "Catholic Emigration Foundation" was founded in order to, "provide Roman Catholic emigrants with information and to help them from religious and economic point of view" (Hofstede, 1964:33)

The clergy in general was against emigration because of the risks involved. In 1927 the "Calvinist Emigration Society" was founded with a similar purpose in mind. The name of this organization was changed to "Christian Emigration Centre" in 1938. The two organizations fulfilled an important task in preparing numerous emigrants after World War II for the move abroad. The emigration organizations have offices all over the Netherlands to serve prospective emigrants.

At present their importance is on the decline because most immigrants at the moment are highly trained people. They are more independent and do not rely on denominational organizations to the same extent as the earlier emigrants (Prijda, 1960:86). The importance of the emigration organizations is also noticeable in the countries of destination of the emigrants. Hofstede (1964: 96) indicates that the Catholics are overrepresented in Australia and New Zealand, the Orthodox Calvinists in Canada and the Liberal Calvinists in South-Africa. The emigration organizations paid special attention to prepare emigrants for future assimilation and the denominational organizations stressed the missionary aspect of emigration.

In these last two chapters we have seen the cultural background of the Dutch immigrants and it is clear that religion and socio-religious organizations are the most important aspect in their heritage. It is impossible to study Dutch immigrants without taking this heritage into account.

Before dealing with the assimilation process of the two groups of Dutch immigrants I will analyze different ideologies

and conceptualizations of assimilation. The term assimilation has evolved in the social sciences over the last hundred years and a clear understanding of this development will help to focus this study. In the following chapter I will deal in general with some early assimilation ideologies and discuss briefly some of the more important conceptualizations of the assimilation process. Following this I will outline the model of assimilation and structural completeness which I will use to analyze and compare the Christian Reformed and Catholic Dutch immigrants.

CHAPTER 4

ASSIMILATION IDEOLOGIES AND CONCEPTUALIZATIONS

Over the last hundred years much has been written about migration and assimilation by social scientists. One can say that the development of sociology in North America is closely related to the history of migration. E. A. Shils (1948: 25), in reviewing the achievements and trends of American Sociology, says:

"The study of the life of the immigrants was indeed one of the original justifications for the existence of American Sociology; it was in part because no other social scientists dealt with the problem created by immigration that sociologists were able to legitimate their emergence as a separate academic department".

The U. S. was the first nation to receive millions of immigrants, mainly between 1840 and 1920. More recently, Canada, Australia, Israel, Latin America, the United Kingdom and Western Europe have received numerous settlers, especially after the Second World War.

Eisenstadt defines migration as, "the physical transition of an individual or group from one society to another" (1954:1). The process of migration effects the mother country and the receiving society, but the most important changes take place on the individual and small group level. The migration process can be approached from many different angles and all will give relevant sociological insights. The social contacts and processes which follow migration have been described under

such terms as assimilation, acculturation, integration and absorption, and many social scientists have tried to construct a satisfactory theory or system of analysis to deal with the migration process.

M. M. Gordon (1964:93) describes some of the most important sets of assumptions and theories which have been very influential in shaping the thinking of the masses and have been, in some cases, the cause of discriminatory action. The Native American movement of the 1830's and 1840's and the American or Know-Nothing Party of the 1850's with their anti-Catholic orientation demanded restrictive immigration laws. Many Americans worried about the effects mass migration would have, and the Anglo-conformists expected immigrants to accept the customs and language of the new country and to forget their cultural heritage. Anglo-conformity reached its fullest expression in the so-called Americanization Movement which gained importance during the First World War. Many private organizations, and later on also the government agencies, initiated special programs for the Americanizations of immigrants. Higham (1955:247) describes their methods as follows:

"By threat and rhetoric 100% Americans opened a frontal assault on foreign influences in American life. They set about to stampede immigrants into citizenship, into adoption of the English language, and into an unquestioning reverence for existing American Institutions. They made them abandon entirely their Old World loyalties, customs, and memories. They used high pressure steamroller tactics. They cajoled and commanded".

Anglo-conformity contained some racial aspects. The earliest settlers were the British and later on people from North-

Western Europe. The new immigrants came mainly from Southern and Eastern Europe, and it was assumed that these immigrants were racially inferior and very difficult to assimilate. Hostility toward these new immigrants grew and resulted in the 1920's in important changes in the U. S. immigration policies (cf. Huthmacher, 1967:11). In 1921, the 'Emergency Immigration Restriction Law' was passed and it marks the beginning of a quota system heavily weighted in favour of countries of Northern and Western Europe. The 'National Origins Act' of 1924 established a discriminatory immigration quota system as permanent policy. It prohibited immigration from Asian countries altogether. The goal of Anglo-conformity was acculturation, acceptance of language and customs, and rejection of the ethnic cultures. Looking at the present situation one has to conclude that acculturation has been achieved, but acculturation did not lead to uniformity on the structural level. Glazer's and Moynihan's (1963) work and Huthmacher's study (1967) indicate that ethnic and religious divisions are still very much alive on the structural level in the U. S.

Anglo-conformity has probably been the most important assimilation ideology, but the melting pot theory is certainly the more idealistic one. The melting pot theory arose early in North American history. J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur (1925: 55) expressed as early as 1782 the melting pot idea. He wrote:

"Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world".

The melting pot theory assumes that out of the mixture of

many ethnic groups a new people will arise characterized by all the good elements present in the founding groups.

F. J. Jackson Turner's (1920) study of the frontier melting pot presents the thesis that the frontier environment acted as a solvent for the ethnic groups who moved to the West. The melting pot theory was brought to the masses by I. Zangwill's play "The Melting Pot". First produced in 1918, it became a popular success in the following years. America is seen as the crucible in which all ethnic groups lose their differences and become one new people. America became the symbol of brotherhood. More recent studies have destroyed this dream of brotherhood. Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy's study (1944:331-339) "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage trends in New Haven, 1870-1940", and W. Herberg's study (1960) "Protestant - Catholic - Jew" indicate that the melting pot theory had some merit, but that especially the religious differences have not been melted down. Within the religious denominations the the melting pot concept has brought different ethnic groups together, but it is impossible to apply the melting pot concept to all ethnic contacts in the U. S.

The Anglo-conformity ideology and the melting pot theory do not describe the developments which took place in the U. S. and the present situation can best be described as a multiple melting pot or as a pluralistic situation. In the U. S. we find at present three main religious groups, the Protestants, Catholics and Jews and within these groups we find ethnic sub-groups with their own structural networks.

Horace M. Kallen coined the term cultural pluralism to describe the social structure of the U. S. Gordon(1964:144-159) summarized the main themes in Kallen's work. The first theme deals with the nature of the ethnic group and its relationship to the individual. In the normal situation an individual participates in social clubs, political organizations, educational institutions, etc., on voluntary basis. In case of the ethnic group participation is based upon ancestry and is involuntary. Kallen's second main theme is that cultural pluralism is written into the traditional American political and social ideas. The Declaration of Independence affirms the right to be different. The third theme deals with the positive value of the co-existence and interaction of ethnic cultures. Ethnic elements enrich the national culture.

These assumptions and theories have produced a wealth of studies about migration and the assimilation processes in the U. S., especially the theory of cultural pluralism.

There is no similar ideological development in the Canadian thinking about ethnic groups. Traditionally the Canadian immigration policies have accepted the idea of cultural pluralism. Canada is a bi-lingual and bi-cultural country by definition and the overall policy has been to encourage the cultural expressions and contributions of the ethnic groups. Being a bi-lingual and bi-cultural country and the recognition of ethnic cultural expressions imply that all migrants were equally welcome. However this was not the case. D. C. Corbett (1957) points in his study at the common assumption under-

lying the immigration policies until 1962, that the British will make good immigrants because the absence of language difficulties would speed up the assimilation process. The Canadian policy of accepting ethnic cultures has led to a situation which is described by J. Porter (1965:63) as a 'vertical mosaic'. He sees the Canadian social structure as a vertical mosaic because of the relationship between ethnicity and social class. He describes in his study, The Vertical Mosaic. An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada, how most immigrant groups appropriate certain roles and designate other less preferred roles to other groups.

These general remarks about the American and Canadian social structure form the background for sociological studies dealing with the assimilation process. Assimilation no longer implies the total disappearance of ethnic characteristics and conformity with the national culture of the receiving society. The UNESCO Conference in Havana, 1956, adopted the term integration in place of assimilation, because of the misleading biological connotations and the implied one way direction in group relations connected with the term. The Conference (Borrie, 1956:96) defined integration as:

"a dynamic process in which values are enriched through mutual acquaintance, accommodation and understanding. It is a process in which both the immigrants and their new compatriots find an opportunity to make their own distinctive contributions. To achieve this goal of integration requires the joint effort of men and women of good will, of all levels of government, and of voluntary citizens' groups, in addition to the positive efforts of the immigrants themselves".

Sociological studies dealing with the assimilation process analyze aspects of this dynamic process taking place between immigrants and members of the receiving society. Some areas deserve special attention in this process because of their importance. Factors such as religion, economics, language, time required for adjustment, political philosophy and membership of groups are important aspects in the adjustment process. Jackson (1969:192-237) classifies assimilation studies in three main groups, the descriptive studies, classification systems and sociological theories proper. Descriptive studies describe the experiences of individual immigrants and groups from the time of immigration up to the second or third generation. Classification systems compare different immigrant groups and different cultural settings and attempt to draw some general conclusions. The third group of studies present a sociological theory and try to verify the theoretical concepts. These studies abstract from specific situations and try to formulate a framework of analysis which can be applied in all situations.

Descriptive studies

Descriptive studies deal often with a specific group or some individuals and the studies try to describe the characteristics of the immigrants and the forces which they encounter in the integration process. H. Gans' (1962) study The Urban Villager is a good example of this type of study. K. Norel's novel Hollanders in Canada describes the life of Dutch Christian

Reformed immigrants, and the problems which they encounter in settling in a new environment.

Classification studies

Classifications of sociological data on ethnic groups appear in many forms. Classifications run from simple categories defining characteristics of immigrants to complex studies dealing with the relationships between different categories. One of the simplest classification systems is the typology, a division of migrants and migrations in different types.

H. P. Fairchild (1925) makes a fourfold division of migrations into invasion, conquest, colonisation and immigration.

W. Petersen (1958) builds his typology around two main criteria. He defines migration on the basis of being a move to preserve a way of life (conservation) or a move to improve conditions (innovation), and on the migratory force, political force, ecological conditions, search for better conditions or social pressure created by a mass movement. Another type of classification deals with classifying customs and characteristics of ethnic groups and the host societies. These studies focus on specific aspects, e.g. demographic structure, economic assimilation, intermarriage and religion (Mol, 1961). The classification of differences helps to understand the assimilation process, but they do not explain causal relationships and why specific changes take place. Sequential classifications deal with the successive stages of the assimilation process.

The simplest sequential classification deals with the process of settling in a new country, re-establishment of social contacts, finding a job, and after a number of years identification with the receiving society. Another type of sequential classification is the sequence of generation study. The classification systems have been very helpful in clarifying the issues involved in assimilation, but they do not provide a coherent system or explain causal relationships.

Assimilation theories

A formal theory provides a set of laws which hold true under different conditions. Several social theorists have tried to construct sociological theories which could explain and predict the social processes and their relationships involved in the assimilation process. One of the earliest works in this field was The Polish Peasant in Europe and America by W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki (1918-1920). The central idea in this work is the interrelationship between personality and social order. They studied the immigrant by defining the situation, the set of values (objective cultural elements of social life), and the attitudes (the subjective characteristics of the individuals). In studying the Polish immigrants they examined both the old and the new situation and the social disorganization which resulted from moving from one situation to another one. The most important contribution of Thomas and Znaniecki is that they showed that sociology was not limited

to social philosophy or descriptive studies, but that empirical data (life history studies) could be placed in the conceptual framework of symbolic interactionism.

Another one of the early theories is Park's and Burgess' analysis of the processes which will take place when two or more ethnic groups come to share the same territory. Their race relations theory presents the following sequence of social processes. The first process is the contact between two groups and the peaceful exploration of each other. Competition for jobs and housing is the next process and this leads to conflict. Conflict is the result of competition and is expressed in events such as riots and discrimination. Finally the groups come to a level of co-existence or accommodation. Certain areas and occupations are being occupied by the different groups. Over an extended period of time progressive intermixture and intermarriage take place and the group will become one group. The term assimilation is used to describe the final stage of ethnic relations (Park and Burgess, 1921:507-511). Many objections have been raised against this theory. Major criticisms deal with the fact that the theory is presented as an inevitable and irreversible process; with biological overtones (social Darwinism); with the use of the terms accommodation and assimilation in a very wide sense and with the fact that the cycle does not fit all the facts. Park (1950) himself in Race and Culture has modified the theory in some areas to make it fit existing social conditions. The race relations theory has stimulated a great deal of research in the area of ethnic

contacts and assimilation. During the last decades social scientists have come to realize that more attention should be paid to areas such as group membership, role expectation, community relations, socialization and psychological aspects. The race relation theory and the classification systems have little to say about these areas.

Zubrzycki (1961) divides the more recent immigration studies into two main groups, the demographic and the frame of reference studies. The demographic studies are concerned with the examination of the population as a social order. Demographic and ecological conceptualizations such as Tonnies' distinction between 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft', Redfield's and Wirth's concepts of folk and urban societies, and Cooley's concept of primary and secondary groups are important in this approach. However, few studies are explicitly concerned with this approach (cf. Borrie, 1954; Petersen, 1955). Zubrzycki (1961) sees two approaches in the area of demographic studies. First, he envisages the study of conditions (numbers and pattern of distribution) which make it possible to retain or rebuild the system of primary groups. Secondly, the study of the receiving group as a social system and the examination of the interaction between the old and new members with respect to stratification, social control and group goals.

The second type of studies described by Zubrzycki are the frame of reference studies which place special emphasis on the psychological aspects of immigrant adjustment. He argues that most studies of assimilation do not deal with the

true unit of ethnic relations, namely the membership of primary groups. He stresses the importance of the smallest unit of social interaction, the primary group. This unit gives the individual the understanding of and the attitudes for dealing with larger group structures. Homans (1950:457) has described the importance of the primary group in his book The Human Group.

"Membership in a primary group sustains a man enables him to maintain his equilibrium under the ordinary shocks of life and helps him to bring up children who will in turn be happy and resilient. If his group is shattered around him, if he leaves a group in which he was a valued member, and if, above all, he finds no new group to which he can relate himself, he will, under stress, develop disorders of thought, feeling and behavior. His thinking will be obsessive, elaborated without sufficient reference to reality; he will be anxious or angry, destructive to himself and others; his behavior will be compulsive, not controlled; and if the process of education that makes a man easily able to relate himself to others is itself social, he will, as a lonely man, bring up children who have a lowered social capacity. The cycle is vicious; loss of group-membership in one generation make men less capable of group membership in the next. The civilization that, by its very process of growth shatters small group life will leave men and women lonely and unhappy".

Zubrzycki's frame of reference approach requires the analysis of the numerous primary groups among the immigrant group and the receiving society. The host society has to be examined as a sociological system which has a set of values governing the behavior of the members (frame of reference) and finally the the social equilibrium has to be studied. A new social system will be created as the result of the contact between two or more groups. He uses the frame of reference concept to measure social integration, because it is possible to

see the above mentioned areas as three stages of a chronological process which provides orderly means to study the process of assimilation by going from the primary group level to the level of a new emerging social system.

Eisenstadt (1954) in his study of absorption of Jewish immigrants in Israel was one of the first sociologists who used the frame of reference concept. He summarizes the process of absorption as follows(1954:9):

"from the point of view of the individual immigrant's behavior, it entails the learning of new roles, the transformation of primary group values and the extension of participation beyond the primary group in the main spheres of the social system".

Eisenstadt studied how the successive waves of Jewish immigrants have absorbed the values of the Jewish community in Israel. He examined the different rates of absorption for the groups coming from different countries and relates these to their predisposition to adopt the values of the Palestinian Jews.

R. Taft (1953:45-55) used the frame of reference concept in his study of assimilation orientations. He defines assimilation as follows (1953:49):

"the process by means of which persons originally possessing heterogeneous frames of reference converge toward common frames of reference as the result of social interaction".

He describes three orientations toward assimilation. Monism represents the position that the immigrant has to forget his heritage and has to absorb the culture and social structures of the receiving society as soon as possible. Pluralism implies mutual tolerance and preservation of the ethnic culture. Only

a limited number of national values have to be accepted by the immigrant group. The third orientation is interactionism. It implies mutual recognition of cultural differences with the expectation that social interaction between immigrant and culture of the receiving society will gradually lead to shared norms and behavioral patterns. Taft stresses the importance of multiple frames of reference because people derive their values from different frames of reference. The approach outlined by Taft offers many possibilities for research. The degree of assimilation of immigrant groups can be examined by measuring to what degree they share the same frame(s) of reference with the receiving society. The relationship between degree of assimilation and factors such as ethnic origin, demographic factors (age, sex, area), length of residence, occupation, education and many other characteristics can be established.

A. Richardson (1967:3-30) presents another social psychological conceptualization for the study of assimilation. He analyzes the psychological adjustment of the immigrant. He sees a threefold sequence in the adjustment process. After the initial period of adjustment, there will be the following sequence of satisfaction, identification, and acculturation. Satisfaction with the new way of life is the result of successful re-settlement. A feeling of belonging develops and this will result in identification with the receiving society, and complete identification with attitudes, values and behavioral patterns of the receiving society can be described as acculturation. Richardson has designed scales to measure satisfaction,

identification and acculturation. His studies and other studies in Australia which used his conceptualizations indicate that assimilation of immigrants can be conceptually and operationally defined as the sequence in which measurable levels of satisfaction are the pre-requisite for a measurable level of identification, and this in turn is a pre-requisite for a measurable level of acculturation. These studies indicate that the three levels are not arbitrary but have significant relationships with other variables.

The above review of assimilation literature shows the refinement which has taken place in this area. Some of the findings offer insights which are useful for this study. The importance of religion in the assimilation process was brought out by Kennedy (1944) and Herberg (1960). The frame of reference theory places emphasis upon the group membership and in our study this aspect takes an important place (cf. Zubrzycki, 1961; Eisenstadt, 1954). The socio-psychological studies indicate that satisfaction is a key aspect because it leads to identification and in the end to assimilation (Taft, 1953; 1966; Richardson, 1967). In this study I will compare the degree of satisfaction of the two groups and I will use Taft's assimilation variables to measure the differences between the two groups. The major conceptualizations which I will use are Gordon's (1964:70-71) model of assimilation and Breton's concept of institutional completeness. In the following chapter I will discuss these concepts and outline how I will apply them to the study of Christian Reformed and Catholic immigrants.

CHAPTER 5

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF DUTCH IMMIGRANTS

I will use M. M. Gordon's ideal type of assimilation for the analysis of the assimilation process of the two groups (cf. Gordon, 1964:68-71), and in addition I will use Breton's concept of institutional completeness of the ethnic group (Breton, 1968:190-202). Gordon formulated his ideal type after a careful analysis of the American social structure, and he has made use in his analysis of the primary group and the frame of reference concepts. According to Gordon the basic subgroup in American Society is the ethclass. It is (Gordon, 1964: 51):

"the subsociety created by the intersection of the vertical stratifications of ethnicity with the horizontal stratifications of social class".

The key items for classifying people into ethclasses are, regional residence, rural-urban residence, social class and ethnicity (race, religion and national origin).

To formulate his model of assimilation, Gordon starts out with a hypothetical situation in which a host country (Sylvania) is made up of people belonging to the same national, religious and cultural group. An immigrant group, the Mundovians, with a different national, religious and cultural background enter Sylvania. The ideal form of assimilation is the result of the following seven subprocesses. The end result is the disappearance of the Mundovians, because

they have taken on the Sylvania national, religious and cultural values. Gordon(1964:70) states that the Mundovians:

1. have changed their cultural pattern (including religious belief and observance) to those of the Sylvania;
2. have taken on large scale primary group relations with the Sylvania, i.e., have entered fully into the societal network of groups and institutions, or societal structures of the Sylvania;
3. have intermarried and interbred fully with the Sylvania;
4. have developed a Sylvania, in place of a Mudovian, sense of peoplehood, or ethnicity;
5. have reached a point where they encounter no discriminatory behavior;
6. have reached a point where they encounter no prejudiced attitudes;
7. do not raise by their demands concerning the nature of Sylvania public or civic life any issues involving value and power conflict with the original Sylvania (for example, the issue of birth control).

Each of these subprocesses constitutes a stage in the assimilation process. The subprocesses take place to a varying degree and Gordon has constructed the following table of assimilation variables to be used as analytical tools.

The assimilation variables are (Gordon, 1964:71):

<u>Subprocess or condition</u>	<u>Type or stage of assimilation</u>
1. Change of cultural patterns to those of the host society.	Cultural or behavioral assimilation (acculturation).

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 2. Large-scale entrance into cliques, clubs, and institutions of the host society, on primary group level. | Structural assimilation |
| 3. Large scale intermarriage | Marital assimilation (amalgamation). |
| 4. Development of sense of peoplehood based exclusively on the host society. | Identificational assimilation. |
| 5. Absence of prejudice. | Attitude receptional assimilation. |
| 6. Absence of discrimination | Behavior receptional assimilation. |
| 7. Absence of value and power conflict. | Civic assimilation. |

The task of sociological theory is not only to identify the variables involved but also to hypothesize how the variables may be related to each other. Gordon (1964:77-81) states the relationship between the assimilation variables in the following three hypotheses:

- a. 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.
- b. Cultural assimilation, or acculturation, of the minority group may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation occurs simultaneously or later, and this condition of 'acculturation' may continue indefinitely.
- c. Once structural assimilation has occurred, either simultaneously with or subsequent to acculturation, all other types of assimilation will follow.

Gordon's conceptual framework stands up well in explaining the American ethnic development. However, there are some points in the framework which are not clearly defined. It is not exactly clear where Gordon deals with an important area such as economic absorption. He does not indicate what causes different levels of assimilation for different groups. He does not imply the possibility of regression, because he states that structural assimilation results in assimilation on all other levels. Finally, he does not take into account that the host society can be heterogeneous, made up of different economic, political and religious groups. Assimilation is a two way stream and Gordon's ideal type of assimilation does not account for changes within the host society. However, Gordon's conceptualization is flexible and many other variables could be taken into account without changing his basic framework. I will use his assimilation variables to test the degree of assimilation of the Dutch Christian Reformed and the Catholic immigrants.

In addition to Gordon's model I will use R. Breton's (1965:74-88; 1968:190-202) concept of institutional completeness. Institutional completeness is a major aspect in the comparison of the two groups. Breton's concept does not add a new model to our analysis but it refines the aspect of structural assimilation in Gordon's model. Breton (1968:190) distinguishes three communities in the assimilation process, the ethnic community of the immigrant, the receiving society, and other ethnic groups.

He argues that (1968:191):

"the direction of the immigrant's integration will to a large extent result from the forces of attraction (positive and negative) stemming from the various communities. These forces are generated by the social organization of the communities".

In chapter two I have discussed the Dutch social structure, and it became clear that the two groups arrive in Canada with identical but totally separated cultural heritages. They settle in the same receiving community, the Canadian 'Mosaic'. According to Breton assimilation can take place into three different directions, into the Canadian structures, into other ethnic groups, or into a Dutch socio-religious ethnic culture. Ethnic communities can vary in completeness of social organization. Some groups build up an elaborate network of organizations whereas other groups have only informal friendship groups, and the members of this group join the organizations of the receiving society. Ethnic groups can develop organizational structures of various kinds: religious, political, educational, social, cultural, media, welfare, professional and credit union organizations. Institutional completeness would be perfect when the ethnic group provides all the services required by the members of the group. When the Dutch immigrants settle in Canada they have to rebuild a network of personal contacts and organizational affiliations to satisfy their physical, economic, psychological and religious needs. The rebuilding can take place in the above mentioned directions. Breton's study indicates that the more complete the organizational structure of an ethnic group the higher the degree

of integration of the immigrant into his own ethnic group. Religious organizations seem to play a powerful role in the ethnic community and Breton states that (1968:197):

"Religious institutions have the greatest effect in keeping the immigrant's personal associations within the boundaries of the ethnic community".

The aim of this study is to compare the influence of religious belonging and the ethnic socio-religious network upon the assimilation process of Dutch Christian Reformed and Catholic immigrants in South Western Ontario. Gordon's model of assimilation and Breton's concept of institutional completeness will be used to compare and measure the degree of assimilation of the two groups.

The focus of the research is formulated in the following hypotheses.

1. The greater the degree of institutional completeness of a religiously identified ethnic group the lower the degree of assimilation of that group into the Canadian Society.
2. Following the assumption that there are differences in the institutional completeness of the Christian Reformed and Catholic group, I predict, that :
 - a. the greater the religious commitment of a member of the more highly institutional complete group (Christian Reformed) the lower will be his degree of assimilation;
 - b. and, the greater the religious commitment of a member of the less institutional complete group, (Catholic), the higher will be his degree of assimilation.

CHAPTER 6

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS FOR COLLECTING THE DATA

The following null hypotheses will be used to test the theoretical propositions of this study.

1. There is no difference between the two groups in the use of English.
2. There is no difference in the reading habits of the two groups.
3. The two groups do not differ in the speaking and teaching of Dutch to their children.
4. The two groups have the same type of ethno-religious organizations.
5. Members of the two groups participate to the same extent in their ethnic organizations.
6. Members of both groups participate to the same extent in Canadian organizations.
7. Members of the two groups do not differ in their number of informal contacts with other Dutch immigrants.
8. Members of the two groups do not differ in their number of informal contacts with Canadians or members of other groups.
9. The two groups do not differ in their preference of marriage partners for their children.
10. There is no difference between the two groups as far as the acceptance of Canadian Citizenship is concerned.

11. There is no difference in the assimilation orientation of the two groups.
12. There is no difference in perception of Canada and Canadians between the two groups.
13. There is no difference in the level of satisfaction between the two groups.
14. There is no difference in the perception of status before immigration and at present between the two groups.
15. There is no difference in the degree of religious commitment between the two groups.
16. The amount of informal contacts within the religious group is the same for both groups.
17. Religion takes the same place in the life of the immigrants at present as it did before immigration for the two groups.
18. The degree of religious commitment has no relationship with the degree of assimilation for the two groups.

Testing of these null hypotheses involves operationalizing empirical indicators for the concepts mentioned in the theoretical propositions. The main concepts are assimilation (acculturation, structural assimilation, amalgamation, identificational assimilation, civic assimilation, attitude and behavior receptional assimilation) and religious commitment. As stated earlier, the concept of institutional completeness will be considered under structural assimilation. In most of the null hypotheses I will compare the total group of Christian Reformed immigrants with the total Catholic group, but in some case I will use subgroups of the two main groups.

I will, for example, compare the highly religious committed in each group with the less highly committed.

Acculturation will be measured by measuring the use of English, reading habits and the speaking and teaching of Dutch to the children. The first three hypotheses will test this area. Structural assimilation will be measured by analyzing formal and informal participation in Canadian organizations. The institutional completeness of the groups will be measured by measuring the number and types of institutions and the participation in these organizations. Null hypotheses 4-7 provide the tests for this area. Amalgamation will be measured by analyzing the preferences of the immigrants with regard to marriage partners for their children. Null hypothesis 8 will test this area. Identificational and civic assimilation will be measured by measuring the citizenship of the immigrants, and null hypothesis 9 provides the test. Attitude and behavior receptional assimilation will be measured by measuring the perception (positive and negative) of the immigrants of Canada and Canadians and by measuring the satisfaction with life in Canada. This area will be tested by null hypotheses 10-14. The degree of religious commitment will be measured by measuring the importance of religion in the daily life of the immigrant, and by measuring participation in ethno-religious organizations. This area will be tested in null hypotheses 15-18.

Data and methods used for collecting the data.

The data were obtained by means of a questionnaire. Questionnaires were mailed, together with an explanatory letter in English and Dutch to 250 members of each group. The Christian Reformed sample was drawn at random from the membership list of the congregations in the Classis of Hamilton, Ontario. The Catholic sample was drawn from the subscription list of "Compass-Onder Ons", a magazine for Catholic Dutch immigrants. This sample was taken in the London, Ontario, area. An attempt was made to balance the number of people in the rural and urban areas for both samples. I have taken the Hamilton and London areas, because these areas attracted more Dutch immigrants than any other area in Canada. The majority of the immigrants in the Hamilton area belong to the Christian Reformed Church and the majority of the immigrants in the London area to the Catholic Church. More than 50% of the Christian Reformed sample (126) and 40% of the Catholics (101) returned the questionnaire. The questionnaire contained 38 questions dealing with seven major areas (see supplement). The seven areas dealt with:

- a. Personal information (motive for migration, sponsorship, urban or rural, education and occupation).
- b. Religious affiliation (degree of commitment and participation).
- c. Organizational participation (membership and types of formal and informal organizations, religious structures, degree of institutional completeness of the group).
- d. Degree of satisfaction (with life and job in Canada,

status before immigration and now).

e. Use of language (use of Dutch and English, reading habits, teaching and speaking of Dutch to children).

f. Children (expectations and chances for children in Canada compared with chances in the Netherlands, marriage partner, type of school).

g. Views on assimilation.

The information provided by these questions gave a wealth of material for comparing the assimilation process of the two groups and the importance of religious belonging and ethno-religious organizations. In the following chapter I will deal with the personal characteristics of the two groups and following this description I will test the theoretical propositions.

CHAPTER 7

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

OF THE DUTCH CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS

Before testing the null hypotheses I will describe the general characteristics of the two groups. The research data provided a wealth of information about characteristics of the two groups which are not directly relevant to the theoretical propositions, but which will help to get a more complete picture of the two groups. The two groups fit the Dutch emigration pattern. In chapter 3 we have seen that the high time for post war emigration was between 1948 and 1956. In table 3 we see that the sample for this study (126 Christian Reformed and 101 Catholic immigrants) fits into that pattern.

TABLE 3: YEAR OF IMMIGRATION OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC DUTCH IMMIGRANTS

	before 1949	1949-1958	1959-1968	1969-
Christian Ref.	9%	85%	6%	0%
Catholics	2%	87%	10%	1%

Very few Dutch immigrants settled in Canada prior to World War II. A small group of Dutch Christian Reformed immigrants settled in Canada during the 1920's, but the period between 1948 and 1956 was the high-time for immigration from the Netherlands. The two groups are similar in having friends or rela-

tives in Canada prior to immigration. Fifty five percent of the Christian Reformed group had friends or relatives in Canada and fifty nine percent of the Catholics. The age structure of the groups shows some differences.

TABLE 4: AGE STRUCTURE OF THE TWO IMMIGRANT GROUPS AT TIME OF IMMIGRATION

Age:	1-12	13-18	19-30	31-40	41-
Christian Reformed	17%	16%	38%	18%	12%
Catholics	4%	6%	59%	16%	15%

One third of the Christian Reformed group was below 18 years of age at time of immigration whereas only 10% of the Catholic group belonged to that age group. This is an important difference because it means that a substantial number of the Christian Reformed immigrants received part or all their formal education in Canada. However, the age difference does not seem to have any important consequences. For each of the two groups the group who was 18 or over at time of immigration has been compared with the rest of the group on several variables (importance of religion, marriage preference, speaking and teaching of Dutch to the children, organizational participation, satisfaction and use of English and Dutch), and only minor differences were found. I assume that that the differences in age at time of immigration does not account for any major differences between the two groups.

In describing the nature of the Dutch Society the importance of religious belonging and subcultures was emphasized.

One type of religious organization closely connected with the emigration process is the emigration organization, both groups have their own organizations which help emigrants. More than two third (67%) of the Catholics and more than half (59%) of the Christian Reformed immigrants made use of these organizations. Both groups show a similar attachment to their denominational organization. In the area of citizenship there is no difference between the two groups. Immigrants have to be five years in Canada before they can apply for Canadian Citizenship. Of the Christian Reformed group 89% has become Canadian Citizen and 86% of the Catholics. Two third of the remaining group for both the Catholics and Christian Reformed group have been long enough in Canada to take out Canadian Citizenship. The two groups are also well matched on the urban-rural distribution. The urban group includes 65% of the Christian Reformed and 60% of the Catholic group. A comparison between the urban and rural group within the two groups indicates that the differences between urban and rural run parallel in both groups. The Catholic group shows one important difference in the area of importance of religion. In the Christian Reformed group the importance of religion is the same for the urban and rural group. In the Catholic group there is a marked difference. Of the urban group 25% states that religion does not play a role in their daily life, whereas only 7% of the rural people take this position. In the area of preference of marriage partner for their children the rural groups of both religious groups score higher than the urban groups (rural Catholics 82% -urban 73% versus 93% and 85% for the Calvinists).

In teaching and speaking of Dutch to the children the two groups show a similar difference between the urban and rural group, but the Catholics as a group score higher in both areas. Table 5 illustrates this area. (in percentage of the groups)

TABLE 5: TEACHING AND SPEAKING OF DUTCH BY URBAN AND RURAL CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS.

	Teaching		Speaking	
	Christ. Ref.	Catholic	Christ.Ref	Catholic
Urban	26%	41%	42%	70%
Rural	6%	15%	35%	52%

The urban groups score higher for both teaching and speaking of Dutch to their children. These figure agree with the language used in the homes. Both rural groups score higher for the use of English. Of the rural Catholics 18% use only English versus 7% of the urban group, and 32% of the rural Christian Reformed immigrants use English only versus 18% of the urban group. The urban groups see more opportunities here for their children than in the Netherlands. The score is 67% for the urban Catholics versus 50% of the rural group, and 61% versus 47% for the Christian Reformed groups. The Christian Reformed have more of their informal contact with other Dutch immigrants, but the rural group of both religious groups have more contacts with other Dutch immigrants than do the urban groups. The following table shows what proportion of best friends

are Dutch immigrants. (in percentage)

TABLE 6: PROPORTION OF BEST FRIENDS AMONG DUTCH IMMIGRANTS FOR THE RURAL AND URBAN CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS.

		Christian Ref.	Catholic
URBAN	most	74%	51%
	some	22%	44%
	none	4%	5%
RURAL	most	84%	73%
	some	14%	27%
	none	2%	0%

These comparisons indicate that urban and rural residence are important factors in the assimilation process. However, both groups in this study are well matched, and it will be possible to compare both groups as such. I assume that the urban - rural representation within both groups does not influence the comparison between the two groups as such. The figures for formal education indicate that 38% of the Christian Reformed and 48% of the Catholics have a high school certificate or more. More members of the Christian Reformed group (40%) received part or all their schooling in Canada than of the Catholic group (25%). Richmond (1968:33) states that immigrants with a low level of education are more likely to belong to ethnic organizations, and that the key to successful economic, cultural and social integration

appears to be the level of education on entry. The results of this study agree with Richmond's statement. However, the differences in educational level between the two groups are small and I assume that they do not have important consequences for this study. The marital status of the two groups does not differ significantly. The large majority of both groups is married to a Dutch spouse, the figures are 88% for the Christian Reformed and 90% for the Catholic group. Only 7% of both groups are married to a Canadian spouse or a member of another ethnic group.

Economic integration plays an important role in the assimilation process. In the following table I will compare the occupations of the immigrants prior to immigration with the present occupations.

TABLE 7. OCCUPATIONS OF THE DUTCH IMMIGRANTS PRIOR TO IMMIGRATION AND AT THE PRESENT TIME.

Occupation:	Christian Reformed		Catholic	
	prior to	/at present	prior to	/at present
Student	18%	0%	9%	0%
Blue collar	37%	30%	34%	28%
White collar	14%	22%	12%	25%
Professional	7%	13%	5%	4%
Owner of a business	5%	11%	3%	9%
Farmer	12%	19%	35%	30%
Retired/no answer	8%	5%	2%	4%

Although the table indicates some slight differences between the two groups, the blue collar group is approximately the same and has decreased by the same amount in both groups. The situation for the white collar and owner of a business shows great similarities. The categories for professional, farmers and students show some differences. The number of professionals and farmers has increased among the Christian Reformed immigrants and decreased among the Catholics. In general we can say that the differences in occupational distribution are minor and that they do not seem to influence the assimilation pattern of the two groups .

The final item in the area of personal characteristics deals with the motives for emigration. The motives of the Christian Reformed group, ranked in order of importance, are: future of the children, desire to own a business or farm, adventure, housing problems, relatives in Canada, unemployment, financial problems and religious reasons. It is surprising to see that the Catholic gave the same reasons in the same order, except for the top two choices which were reversed.

In conclusion we have to state that in the area of personal characteristics there are not many differences between the two groups. The differences in degree of assimilation which will be measured in the following chapter must be based on other factors than the ones discussed above. Religious belonging and socio-religious ethnic structures are the cause of differential assimilation.

CHAPTER 8

TESTING OF THE NULL HYPOTHESES

The theoretical propositions will be tested by testing the null hypotheses. A number of variables were tested for statistically significant relationships (chi-square). Some of these relationships are used in the testing of the null hypotheses. Only a few relationships were significant. Many of the differences between the two groups are minor, and they might not be statistically significant. However, all minor differences seem to be consistent and the differences between the two groups might be more important than the significance tests indicate.

The first three null hypotheses deal with language usage and they are used to test the level of acculturation of the two groups. The first null hypothesis tests the use of English in the home. Table 8 shows the use of English and Dutch in the homes of the immigrants. (in percentage of the groups)

TABLE 8: THE USE OF ENGLISH AND DUTCH BY THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS

	Christ. Ref.	Catholic
English only	23%	11%
Most English/some Dutch	56%	68%
English and Dutch equal	7%	12%
Most Dutch/some English	9%	7%
Dutch only	5%	2%
No answer	0%	2%

The Christian Reformed score slightly higher, both for the use of English only and Dutch only, but the overall picture does not indicate any marked differences. When we take the two top categories, English only and Most English/some Dutch, together than we get identical scores, 79% for both groups. The reading habits of the two groups (null hypothesis two) shows a very similar picture. For regular reading of English and Dutch materials we get the following figures. Of the Christian Reformed group 60% reads regularly English books, 80% magazines and 92% newspapers. The figures for the Catholic group are, 44% for English books, 80% for magazines and 93% for Newspapers. These figures show that the Christian Reformed group reads more books in English, but the groups have almost identical scores for magazines and newspapers. The Calvinists score higher in all three classes of reading in Dutch. Of the Calvinists 12 % reads regularly Dutch books, 12% magazines and 13% newspapers. Of the Catholics only 5% read regularly Dutch books, 10% magazines and 4% newspapers. These figures are verified by the number of subscriptions to 'Dutch' or Dutch-Canadian' magazines and newspapers. The Christian Reformed group has a total of of 147 subscriptions (1.2 per individual) and the Catholics have 49 (0.5 per individual) subscriptions. The Calvinist group has 476 subscription to English magazines and newspapers (3.7 per individual) and the Catholics have 429 subscriptions (4.2 per individual). The Calvinists have an ethnic press whereas the Catholic group does no longer have similar publications. The higher score for the use of

Dutch only and for reading Dutch materials can be partly explained by the existence of an ethnic press. The third null hypothesis deals with the teaching and speaking of Dutch to the children. Table 9 shows the percentages of both groups who speak or teach Dutch to their children.

TABLE 9: THE PERCENTAGE OF CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS WHO SPEAK AND TEACH DUTCH TO THEIR CHILDREN

		Christ. Ref.	Catholics
Speaking:	yes	40%	63%
	no	51%	31%
	no answer	9%	6%
Teaching:	yes	17%	30%
	no	75%	64%
	no answer	8%	6%

The Catholic group scores higher both in speaking and teaching of Dutch to the children.

In summary, the first three null hypotheses measure the level of acculturation of the two groups. They do not indicate a consistent pattern. The first null hypothesis, dealing with the use of English, will be accepted, because by taking the top two categories together we get an identical score. The second null hypothesis can be accepted only partly. The reading of English and the number of subscription to English magazines and newspapers do not show important differences. The reading of Dutch indicates a much higher score for the Christian

Reformed group. The third null hypothesis deals with speaking and teaching of Dutch to the children. This hypothesis has to be rejected because the Catholic group scores much higher in both areas. These measurements for acculturation do not show a consistent pattern of differences between the two groups. In some cases the Calvinists use more Dutch (reading) in other cases the Catholics use more Dutch (speaking and teaching to their children). We have to place the two groups at the same level of acculturation, because the differences between the two groups are minor in nature and not consistent.

The following five (4-8) null hypotheses deal with the organizational structures of the two groups and their participation in ethnic and Canadian organizations (structural assimilation and institutional completeness). Null hypothesis four states that the two groups have the same type of ethno-religious organizations. Table 10 indicates what percentage of each group has access to the listed Church affiliated organizational structures.

TABLE 10: TYPES OF CHURCH AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS IN THE AREA OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS

Organization:	Christ. Ref.	Catholics
Elementary education	86%	74%
Secondary education	82%	33%
Mass media (t.v., radio, papers)	44%	22%
Service clubs	20%	31%
Welfare agencies	15%	20%
Youth clubs	64%	46%
Credit unions	33%	75%
Labour unions	56%	0%
Recreational clubs	34%	32%

The Calvinists have a highly developed network of ethno-religious organizations. In case of the Catholics, they have a less developed but similar network. However the main difference between the two networks is the fact that only in case of the Calvinists can we speak about ethnic structures. Of the Catholics only 8% states that they belong to a parish community that is predominantly Dutch, whereas 93% of the Christian Reformed belong to congregations which are predominantly Dutch. It is impossible to speak about a network of ethno-religious organizations in case of the Catholic immigrants. There are some Catholic ethnic structures, such as the Dutch Catholic credit union, and there are some social clubs. These organizations include a large area and are not limited to the parish level. The congregation can be considered as an ethnic structure and all affiliated organizations are ethnic organizations. The parish communities are of mixed nature and can not be considered as ethnic Dutch organizations. Null hypothesis four has to be rejected. The Christian Reformed group has a vast network of ethno-religious organizations, and the Catholic has only one or two truly ethnic organizations. This implies also the rejection of null hypothesis five. Only the Christian Reformed immigrants participate in a network of ethno-religious organizations, and there is no similar network of organizations in which the Catholics participate. Null hypothesis six deals with participation in Canadian organizations. The hypothesis was tested by measuring the number of memberships in Canadian organizations. The Christian Reformed

group has 71 memberships (0.6 per member) whereas the Catholics have 91 memberships (0.9 per member). Null hypothesis six has to be rejected, because the Catholics participate in Canadian organizations to a much higher degree. Null hypotheses seven and eight were tested by measuring the informal contact of the two groups. Table 11 illustrates the primary contacts of the Christian Reformed and Catholic immigrants.

TABLE 11: INFORMAL CONTACTS OF THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC IMMIGRANTS

Best friends are:	Most		Some		None	
	C.R./Cath.	C.R./Cath.	C.R./Cath.	C.R./Cath.	C.R./Cath.	C.R./Cath.
Dutch immigrants	77%	60%	19%	37%	2%	3%
Canadians	4%	11%	61%	71%	33%	18%
Other groups	0%	1%	29%	47%	69%	52%
No answer	2%	0%	2%	0%	2%	0%

Null hypothesis seven has to be rejected. Of the Christian Reformed group 77% have most of their contact with other Dutch immigrants, and 60% of the Catholics have most of their contacts with other Dutch immigrants. Null hypothesis eight has to be rejected on similar grounds. Only 4% of the Christian Reformed group has most of their contacts with Canadians or members of other groups, whereas 12% of the Catholics have most of their contacts with Canadians or members of other groups.

In summary, in the area of structural assimilation

(institutional completeness) there is a marked difference between the two groups. The Christian Reformed group has a vast network of ethnic organization whereas the Catholic group has only very few truly ethnic organizations. Catholics participate more in Canadian organizations and the Christian Reformed immigrants more in the ethnic organizations. In the area of informal contact we saw that the Catholics have more contact with Canadians and members of other groups and that the Christian Reformed immigrants have more contacts with other Dutch immigrants.

Null hypothesis nine tests amalgamation. The Christian Reformed group scores slightly higher in this area than the Catholic group. Of the Calvinists, 88% prefers a marriage partner of the same religion for their children, 6% has no preference and 6% did not express their opinion. The figures for the Catholics are 77% for a partner of the same religion, 14% no preference and 9% expressed no opinion. This hypothesis has to be rejected. The Christian Reformed group expresses a higher degree of preference. Identificational and civic assimilation were measured by comparing the acceptance of Canadian Citizenship among the two groups. Null hypothesis ten test this area. I will accept this null hypothesis because 88% of the Christian Reformed and 86% of the Catholic immigrants have become Canadian Citizens. Of the remaining groups, two thirds of the Catholics and two thirds of the Christian Reformed group have been in Canada for more than five years, the required period for being able to apply for citizenship.

Attitude and behavioral assimilation will be tested in null hypotheses 11 - 12 - 13 - 14. Null hypothesis 11 tests the assimilation orientation of the two groups (Taft, 1966:129-142). Monism (becoming totally Canadian and forgetting about the cultural heritage) is seen as the ideal by 23% of the Catholics and 16% of the Christian Reformed immigrants. Pluralism (mutual respect for each other's culture and preservation of the ethnic culture) is seen as the ideal by 1% of the Christian Reformed and none of the Catholics. Interactionism (Mutual respect for cultural differences, but with the expectation that social contacts will lead in the future to assimilation) is seen as the ideal by 79% of the Christian Reformed and 76% of the Catholics. There is a slight difference between the two groups. Catholics score higher on monism. A monistic attitude might be the result of a higher degree of assimilation. This null hypothesis has to be rejected because of the slight difference in orientations. Null hypothesis 12 tests the perception of Canada and Canadians of the two groups. The following table is based on two open-ended unstructured questions which asked for what the immigrants liked and disliked about Canada and Canadians. The table indicates what percentage of the groups expressed certain likes or dislikes.

TABLE 12 A : THE LIKES OF DUTCH IMMIGRANTS ABOUT CANADA AND CANADIANS

	C.Ref.	Cath.
Beauty of the country and its spaciousness	42%	54%
Canadians are friendly and helpful	31%	48%
Opportunities for study and business	26%	26%

General Freedom of 'red tape'	26%	36%
No strong class differences	7%	8%
Mixture of ethnic groups	4%	2%

TABLE 12 B : THE DISLIKES OF DUTCH IMMIGRANTS ABOUT CANADA AND CANADIANS

	C. Ref.	Cath.
Weak political structure	29%	39%
No support for Christian schools	20%	0%
Unemployment and unions too powerful	19%	11%
Lack of social legislation	11%	27%
Superficiality of friendship	11%	22%
General passivity of the people	9%	13%
Drinking laws too strict	0%	10%
Weakness of family life	0%	6%

It is surprising to see that the two groups come up with the same items under likes and almost in the same order. Comparing the likes it seems that the Catholics are more generous in their praise. Their higher score for friendliness and helpfulness of Canadians might indicate a higher degree of assimilation. The question of dislikes shows much more differentiation. Both groups are critical of the weakness of the political system (weak political structure, unemployment and power of the unions, lack of social legislation, general passivity of the people). In chapter two we have seen the political structure of the Dutch Society. Each religious group plays an important role in that society and the critical view on the Canadian political structure could be characteristic for Dutch immigrants only. Other dislikes are typical of the Christian Reformed or the Catholic group only. The criticism of no support for Christian schools and power of the unions was to be

expected from the Christian Reformed group. They carry the burden for the Christian school and they have their own Christian labor unions. Strictness of drinking laws is a typical Catholic criticism. The high score on lack of social legislation is also typical Catholic, because in the Netherlands the Catholic party is a leader in the field of social legislation, whereas the Christian Reformed party takes a more individualistic point of view. The higher score for superficiality of friendship for the Catholics might be a sign of a higher degree of assimilation and the same counts for the score on weakness of the family life. The Catholics as a group have more contacts with Canadians. Null hypothesis 12 has to be rejected. The area of likes shows many similarities, but in the area of dislikes there are important differences. The following null hypothesis deals with satisfaction with life in Canada. Null hypothesis 13 is tested by comparing the degree of satisfaction among the two groups. The majority of the Christian Reformed (91%) immigrants is satisfied with life in Canada, 6% is undecided and 3% is dissatisfied. Of the Catholics 83% is satisfied, 12% undecided and 5% dissatisfied. There is a significant relationship for the Christian Reformed group between the degree of satisfaction and the proportion of best friends among Dutch immigrants. The same relationship is not significant for the Catholic group, but there is a significant relationship between satisfaction and the proportion of Canadian members of the parish or congregation for the Catholic group. There is no significant relationship between these two

variables for the Christian Reformed group. The following tables show the significant relationships.

TABLE 13 A : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEGREE OF SATISFACTION AND PROPORTION OF BEST FRIENDS AMONG DUTCH IMMIGRANTS FOR THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED GROUP (IN %)

Degree of satisfaction:	Proportion of best friends		
	Most	Some	None
Satisfied	74	18.7	.8
Undecided	2.4	.8	.8
Dissatisfied	2.4	0	0

chi-square = 11.83; d.f. = 4; P. = .02.

The relationship is significant at .05 level. The same relationship is not significant for the Catholic group.

TABLE 13 B : RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEGREE OF SATISFACTION AND THE PROPORTION OF CANADIANS IN THE PARISH COMMUNITY. (IN %)

Degree of satisfaction:	Proportion of Canadians		
	Most	Some	None
Satisfied	63.3	17.3	3.1
Undecided	6.1	6.1	0
Dissatisfied	2	1	1

chi-square = 9.70; d.f. = 4; P. = .05

The relationship is significant at .05 level. There is no significant relationship for the Christian Reformed group between these variables.

These two tables confirm the results of the previously discussed area of structural assimilation. The two tables indicate that the Christian Reformed group has most of their contacts within their own group and that these contacts influence the degree of satisfaction. The Catholics have more contacts with Canadians and there is a significant relationship between their degree of satisfaction and the number of contacts with Canadians. There is only a slight difference in degree of satisfaction between the two groups and I will accept null hypothesis 13. Null hypothesis 14 deals with perception of status. The hypothesis was tested by comparing the perception of status before immigration and at present for the two groups. Of the Christian Reformed group 54% indicates a rise in status, 29% stayed at the same level, 9% perceived a loss in status and 13% did not answer the question. The figures for the Catholic group are 63% for a rise, 25% stayed at the same level, 10% perceived a loss and 2% did not answer the question. I will accept this null hypothesis because the differences are of minor nature. The area of attitude and behavior receptional assimilation indicates only minor differences between the two groups. There is a slight difference in the assimilation orientation and in the area of dislikes of Canada and Canadians. All differences in this area seem to indicate a slightly higher degree of assimilation of the Catholic group.

The final set of null hypotheses deal with the area of religious commitment of the immigrants and the influence of religious commitment upon the assimilation process. Null hypothesis 15 tests the degree of religious commitment of the groups.

Religious commitment was measured by establishing the importance of religion in the daily life of the immigrants. Of the Christian Reformed group 86% states that most of their behavior is influenced by religion, another 12% states that some of it is and only 2% states that religion does not influence their life. The figures are 43%, 38% and 19% respectively for the Catholics. This null hypothesis has to be rejected because religion takes a much more important place in the life of the Christian Reformed immigrants. Null hypothesis 16 deals with informal contacts with persons within the same religious denomination. The closest friends of 80% of the Christian Reformed group belong to the same Church whereas only 66% of the closest friends of the Catholics belong to the Catholic Church. Null hypothesis 16 has to be rejected because of the marked differences between the two groups. There is a significant relationship for the Christian Reformed group between the importance of religion and the number of contacts with other Dutch immigrants. The relationship is not significant for the Catholic group. Table 14, page 78, illustrates this relationship for both groups. Null hypothesis 17 deals with the place of religion now as compared with its place before immigration. Religion takes a more important place at present for 40% of the Christian Reformed group and for only 17% of the Catholics. It takes the same place for 53% of the Calvinists and 67% of the Catholics, and it has become less important for 2% of the Calvinists and 16% of the Catholics. This null hypothesis has to be rejected because there are important differences.

TABLE 14 : THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND THE PROPORTION OF BEST FRIENDS AMONG DUTCH IMMIGRANTS FOR THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED AND CATHOLIC DUTCH IMMIGRANTS (IN %)

Religion:	Proportion of friends among Dutch immigrants		
	Most	Some	None
	C.Ref./Cath.	C.Ref./Cath.	C.Ref./Cath.
Influences most behavior	69.1	25.7	16.3
Influences some behavior	8.1	23.8	2.4
Influences no behavior	.8	10.9	.8

Christian Reformed group: chi-square = 9.81; d.f. = 4; P. = .05
 Catholic group: chi-square = 5.11; d.f. = 4; P. is not significant.
 The relationship is significant at .05 level.

The last null hypothesis deals with the degree of religious commitment and the degree of assimilation. In order to test this hypothesis the scores of the highly committed and the scores of the less committed of each group were compared with each other on a number of assimilation variables. The area of acculturation shows only slight differences. Of the highly committed Catholics 82 % use mainly English, and 75% of the less committed group. The figures are 75% for the highly committed Christian Reformed and 88% for the less committed group. These figures show that the highly committed Catholics are more assimilated than the less committed group, and that the highly committed Calvinists are lower in the degree of assimilation than the less committed group. In the area of membership of Canadian organizations we find a similar pattern. Of the highly committed Catholics 53% belongs to one or more Canadian organizations and only 37% of the less committed belong to such organizations. The figures for the Christian Reformed group are 25% for the highly committed and 39% for the less committed. In the area of informal contacts we find that 58% of the highly committed Catholics have best friends who are Dutch immigrants and the figure is 63% for the less committed. Of the Christian Reformed group 78% of the highly committed group have best friends who are Dutch immigrants and the figure is 67% for the less committed group. The highly committed Catholics have the least number of contacts with other Dutch immigrants, and the highly committed Calvinists have most contacts with other Dutch immigrants.

In the area of amalgamation we find that both highly committed groups score high on preference for a marriage partner of the same religion. Of the highly committed Catholics 84% and of the highly committed Calvinists 91% expressed preference. Of both less committed groups 72 % had preference for a partner of the same religion. The area of satisfaction shows only small differences between the four groups. The scores for satisfaction and dissatisfaction are 82% and 1% for the highly committed Catholics and 83% and 7% for the less committed. The score for the highly committed Christian Reformed group is 92% and 1%, and 82% and 12% for the less committed group. The highly committed Catholics have been assimilated to a higher degree than any of the other groups according to the above analyzed assimilation variables. The highly committed group of the Christian Reformed has been assimilated the least of all groups. A high degree of religious commitment seems to speed up the assimilation process for the Catholics and to slow down the assimilation process for the Christian Reformed immigrants. I have to reject null hypothesis 18, because there are small but consistent differences between the highly committed and less committed immigrants within both groups.

In conclusion we have to state that in the area of religious commitment there are marked differences between the two groups. The Christian Reformed as a group are more highly committed than the Catholics, and a high degree of commitment encourages assimilation among the Catholics and acts as a limiting factor for the Christian Reformed group.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

The theoretical propositions have been examined by testing the null hypotheses. The first theoretical proposition (page 52) has to be accepted because of the evidence provided by the first fourteen null hypotheses. The levels of acculturation (null hypotheses 1-2-3), and identificational and civic assimilation (null hypothesis 10) of the two groups are very similar, but on the levels of structural assimilation (null hypotheses 4-5-6-7-8), amalgamation (null hypothesis 9), and attitude and behavior receptional assimilation (null hypotheses 11-12-13-14) there are marked differences. The Catholic has been assimilated to a higher degree than the Christian Reformed group. The Christian Reformed group has a vast network of of socio-religious organizations, whereas the Catholics have only a few truly ethnic socio-religious organizations. In most cases the differences in degree of assimilation are rather small, but the overall picture leaves no doubt that the Catholics have been assimilated to a higher degree, especially in the area of structural assimilation.

The second theoretical proposition (page 52) states that the higher the degree of religious commitment the lower the degree of assimilation for the highly institutionalized group and the higher the degree of assimilation for less institutionalized group. A comparison between the highly committed Christian

Reformed and Catholic immigrants provides sufficient evidence to accept this proposition. All null hypotheses were used to test this proposition, but especially the last hypothesis tests this area. The findings indicate slight but consistent differences between the the two groups. High commitment leads to contact with Canadians (assimilation into Canadian Society) for the Catholics and to contact with other Dutch immigrants (assimilation into Dutch ethno-religious culture) for the Christian Reformed group. In general we can state that the research data support the theoretical propositions.

The differences between the two groups were often small and significance tests indicated only a couple significant relationships between variables used in the study. The size of the sample and the distribution of the variables (age at time of entry, education, period of residence, degree of religious commitment) might have been such that the differences did not appear to be statistically significant. However, the overall picture indicates that we are dealing with two distinct groups. The discussion of the Dutch socio-religious structure made already clear that we can not consider Dutch Calvinists and Catholics as groups with the same cultural heritage. The most important differences between the two groups are the degree of religious commitment and the completeness of the ethnic socio-religious organizational network.

The data support the propositions of Gordon (see pages 48-49-50) and of Breton (see pages 50-51-52). Breton has pointed at the importance of religion in the assimilation process

and at the importance of the institutional network of an ethnic community. The Christian Reformed group has a high degree of institutional completeness and assimilation of the Christian Reformed immigrants takes place into the Christian Reformed ethno-religious community. This leads to isolation and lack of contacts with the receiving society. Acculturation takes place but assimilation does not take place on structural level. Gordon states that acculturation may take place even when none of the other types of assimilation take place. This study proves that possibility. The Christian Reformed group has been acculturated, but structurally they stay within an ethnic socio-religious culture. Gordon, also states that once structural assimilation takes place all other forms of assimilation will follow. The processes within the Catholic group prove this point. They arrive in Canada and join the Canadian Catholic organizations. Organizational participation leads to assimilation in all other areas.

In the review of the Dutch emigration patterns I have referred to the assimilation process of Christian Reformed and Catholic Dutch immigrants who settled in Michigan and Wisconsin during the 19th century. (see pages 23-24-25-26) The 19th century Catholic immigrants joined the American Catholic Church and they have been completely assimilated into the American, Catholic culture. They are no longer an identifiable group. The Christian Reformed immigrants have been acculturated, but they continue to exist as a distinct entity in the American Society. The data collected for this study indicate that

a similar process is taking place in Canada at the present time. The Catholic group is rapidly becoming part of the Canadian Catholic organizational structure. The Christian Reformed group on the other hand is still in the process of building a complete set of institutions. They have already an elaborate network of organizations and they are trying to enlarge their network. At present they are trying to build up the Christian Labor Union Organization in Canada and they are working on the establishment of a Christian College affiliated with the University of Toronto. The data of this study indicate that the Christian Reformed group has been acculturated to the same extent as the Catholic group but structurally they form an independent entity. Most of their formal and informal organizational contacts are within a Christian Reformed sub-culture. It seems wrong to call their structures a Dutch ethno-religious sub-culture. The Dutch cultural aspects do not play an important role. The Christian Reformed identity is mainly based on religious convictions, but it is also true that the large majority of this group is of Dutch origin. It will be interesting to observe the development of this group in Canada. It is impossible to predict that the same thing will take place as happened in the U. S. during the 19th century. The assimilation process is now placed in an urban technological society and not in a rural frontier situation. The religious convictions are faced with forces of secularism and materialism and it will be interesting to study second and third generation

Christian Reformed immigrants. Such a study will indicate whether or not the Christian Reformed Church can defend itself against the forces of secularism, materialism and the mass media. The results of this study indicate that among the Calvinists many more people experienced religious growth than did among the Catholics. Of the Calvinists 40% indicated that religion had become more important after migration, and only 17% of the Catholics indicated a similar growth. Only 2% of the Calvinists stated that religion takes a less important place at present and 16% of the Catholics stated that religion had become less important. The organizational structure of the Christian Reformed Church seems to play a role in improving the degree of religious commitment. This opens up a whole new area of study. Isolation seems a necessity for survival of the Christian Reformed Church as a structural entity.

A comparative study between second and third generation Dutch Catholic and Calvinist immigrants will provide answers to the above stated questions. Catholic immigrants and their descendants are rapidly Canadianized, both on cultural and structural level. The Christian Reformed immigrants are acculturated, but they have their own network of organizations, and become a sub-cultural group in the Canadian Society. In the past the Christian Reformed Church has found ways (isolation) to preserve its identity. It has to be seen whether or not the same development can take place in a urbanized technological society.

Appendix A

University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario
February, 1971.

Dear Sir/Madam,

We are greatly interested in how newcomers to Canada have adjusted, and we would very much appreciate if you would help us with our research project on the assimilation of Dutch immigrants in Ontario.

One of the aims of this study is to find out what relationship exists between immigrant adjustment and religious values.

In order to obtain this information we are distributing a questionnaire to a sample of Dutch people in Ontario. We ask the head of the family to fill out the enclosed questionnaire. The questions are easy to answer. In most cases it is sufficient to check (✓) the appropriate answer. When you are asked to explain your experiences, you are free to use English or Dutch. Use the language which you prefer.

We think that it will be interesting for you to review your experiences in Canada and that you will be able to provide us with essential information for this study. We like to emphasize that your reply is strictly confidential.

When you have completed the questionnaire, mail it in the envelope which was enclosed for this purpose. We would appreciate it if you would do this as promptly as possible.

We thank you in advance for your co-operation which makes this study possible.

Yours very truly,

J. Graumans
J. Graumans
University of Windsor
Sociology Department
Windsor, Ontario.

9. What was your occupation before immigration?
10. What is your occupation at the moment?
11. What were your most important motives for immigration? Please check your three most important motives; indicate first, second and third choice.
- Relatives in Canada
 - Desire to have your own business or farm
 - Future of your children
 - Financial problems
 - Housing problems
 - Unemployment in the Netherlands
 - Family problems
 - Religious reasons
 - Adventure
 - Other reasons. (Please specify).....
12. What is your religious affiliation? Christian Ref. Church
- Reformed Church
 - Roman Catholic Church
 - Other
13. How do your religious beliefs influence your way of life?
- Religion influences most of my behavior
 - Religion influences some of my behavior
 - Religion does not influence my behavior
14. Do you take part in any of the activities or organizations of your Church other than attending services? yes.... no....
15. If you take part in any of the activities or organizations of your Church, what kind of activities or organizations are these?
- Service clubs
 - Teaching religion
 - Study clubs
 - Consistory or Church Board....
 - Other (specify).....
16. What place does religion take in your life now as compared with the place of religion in your life before you came to Canada?
- Religion has a more important place in your life now....
 - Religion has the same place now as it did before
 - Religion has now a less important place

17. Do you have children? yes.... no....
- (note: If the answer to question 17 is no, continue with question 22 and skip questions 18, 19, 20 and 21)
18. If you had a choice, to which type of school would you send your children?
- | | |
|------------------|------|
| Christian school | .... |
| Public school | .... |
| Separate school | .... |
19. Do you prefer that your children marry a member of the same religious Denomination?
- | | |
|---------------|------|
| yes | .... |
| no preference | .... |
20. Do you teach your children Dutch? yes.... no....
- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|--------|
| Do you speak Dutch to your children? | yes.... | no.... |
|--------------------------------------|---------|--------|
21. What do you think about your children's chances (educational, occupational and religious) for their future in Canada as compared with the chances which they would have had in Holland?
- | | |
|------------------------------------|------|
| Their chances are better in Canada | .... |
| Their chances are about the same | .... |
| Their chances are less in Canada | .... |
22. Which of the following organizations are associated with your religious Denomination in your area?
- | | |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| Elementary education | .... |
| Higher education | .... |
| Mass media (newspapers, radio, etc.) | .... |
| Service clubs | .... |
| Welfare agencies | .... |
| Youth clubs | .... |
| Credit unions | .... |
| Labor unions | .... |
| Recreational clubs | .... |
23. Thinking about your closest friends, what proportion belongs to the same religious Denomination as you belong to?
- | | |
|--------------|------|
| Most of them | .... |
| Some of them | .... |
| None of them | .... |

24. What proportion of your best friends belongs to the following groups?

	most	some	none
Dutch immigrants
Born Canadians
Other groups

25. Of how many Dutch Canadian clubs are you a member?
 How many of these are associated with your Church?

26. Of how many other (non Dutch Canadian) clubs are you a member?
 How many of these are associated with your Church?

27. What proportion of the congregation or parish, of which you are a member, belongs to the following groups?

	most	some	none
Dutch immigrants
Born Canadians
Other groups

28. When you consider your life and job in Canada at the present, would you say that you are:

- Satisfied
- Undecided
- Disatisfied

29. Compared with your status before immigration, do you consider that your status at the moment has: Risen

Remained the same..

Fallen

30. Which of the following three possibilities do you consider to be the best in Canada?

In the long run it would be best in Canada if all immigrants gave up their old ways of acting and thinking and tried to take on the Canadian way of life as quickly as they can.

In the long run it would be best in Canada if all immigrants keep their own way of acting and thinking and Canadians keep their way of acting and thinking

In the long run it would be best in Canada if all immigrants could act and think as Canadians in some ways and if Canadians could act and think like immigrants in some ways so that eventually the differerces between them would disappear.

31. What language do you normally use at home?

- English only
 - Most English - some Dutch
 - English and Dutch equal
 - Most Dutch - some English
 - Dutch only

32. To how many English newspapers and magazines do you subscribe?

33. To how many Dutch or 'Dutch Canadian' newspapers and magazines do you subscribe?

34. Indicate which of the following you read:

		Books	Magazines	Newspapers
In English:	Regularly	.....	.....	.....
	Once in a while	.....	.....	.....
	Never	.....	.....	.....
In Dutch	Regularly	.....	.....	.....
	Once in a while	.....	.....	.....
	Never	.....	.....	.....

35. Would you comment on what you like in particular about Canada and Canadians. Please explain.

36. Is there something you dislike about Canada and Canadians? If so, please explain.

37. Do you think that you as an immigrant can contribute something special to the Canadian society. If so, please explain what you can contribute and how you go about doing this.

38. If you wish to make any further remarks, observations, questions or additions, please feel free to do so.

Thanks very much for your co-operation.

Appendix B

The following articles out of the Constitution of the Christian Emigration Centre will give a clear idea of the philosophy, goals and means of this type of organization.

Article 2.

Basis.

The Holy Bible, being the infallible Word of God, is the basis of the Christian Emigration Centre; guideline for faith and life.

Article 3.

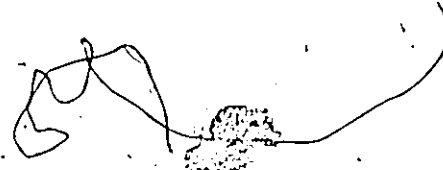
Goals.

- a. The Christian Emigration Centre has as its goal the promotion of responsible emigration and it looks after the interests of emigrants and refugees.
- b. In case emigration takes place to countries where religion and/or life style differ considerably from the Netherlands group settlement will be promoted.
- c. In order to achieve the above goals the Organization can, both on national and international level cooperate with and assist institutions, organizations or individuals, who in one way or other try to achieve the same goal.

Article 4.

Means.

The Christian Emigration Organization has to realize her goals by:

- a. Instituting and maintaining a central office.
 - b. Instituting and maintaining provincial and regional offices. Added to these offices are committees of Assistance.
 - c. Establishing and maintaining contact with Churches, institutions and persons in immigration countries, who deal with the placement and aftercare of Dutch immigrants.
 - d. To conduct different activities which guarantee good information, preparation and selection of prospective emigrants and promote the success of the emigrant.
 - e. Other legal means to promote the above.
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