DUTCH ETHNICITY IN MONTREAL: ITS PERSISTENCE, MEANING, AND USES

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Introduction

This paper* is based on research done on the Dutch Community of Montreal as part of a larger comparative study of various ethnic groups in this region, presently in progress, under the auspices of the Montreal Ethnic Research Project at Concordia University, the purpose of which study is to analyse the interrelationships between three factors: a) the pattern of ethnic group institutions; b) the degree of concerted action by ethnic groups, and c) the maintenance of an affective ethnic identification.

The existence of a viable community is often considered to be a measure of the persistence of ethnicity in a given ethnic gorup. Without it how will ethnic identification be reinforced and passed on to subsequent generations? The most likely instrument, the family, cannot operate in a vacuum, while interaction with others from the same ethnic group generally leads to the formation of informal, then formal groups, hence a community is formed. In our study it soon became apparent, however, that the concept of an 'ethnic community' may not be applicable to the Dutch of Montreal, the possible causes of which will become clear in the analysis given below. Does the absence or relative weakness of an ethnic community spell disappearance of ethnic identification and thereby assimilation of the ethnic group?

There are signs that even among those Dutch who are not involved with their ethnic 'community' ethnicity lives on and is even quite strong in some cases. For instance, their homes may be full of symbols attesting to their ethnic identification, they may send their children to study in the country of origin, and so on. In search of explanations of this phenomenon, it was found that one agent of reinforcement of ethnicity has not been paid much attention to date, although it is mentioned in the literature now and then (Fishman, 1966, Porter, 1975), namely the relationship with the country of origin. Insofar as circumstances permit frequent contact, such reinforcement of ethnic identification fosters the maintenance of ethnicity independent of affiliation with a local ethnic community may be particularly attractive to the highly educated 'cosmopolites' in an ethnic group. It is postulated that in this way ethnicity can exist side by side with high levels of integration into the host society.

Regarding the meaning and uses of ethnicity it is speculated that emphasis or de-emphasis of ethnicity is governed by the stage in the life cycle as well as by the social situation one finds oneself in at a given moment. Thus, old age may bring on a renewed interest in the country of one's youth, but also, competition in the job market may mean emphasis on ascriptive characteristics including ethnicity. This suggests the continuing use of ethnicity in both affective and instrumental ways.

This paper will concentrate on post-war immigrants and their offspring as they account for the vast majority (an estimated 85%) of the Dutch-Canadian population of Montreal. Data were obtained from the literature referred to as well as a score of key informants in the Dutch community of Montreal.

Integration in Canadian Society

If by integration we mean the degree of economic, social and cultural involvement of the Dutch in Montreal in Canadian society, we must look not only at socio-economic characteristics of post-war immigrants, but also at the social-psychological ones, since both of those factors appear to be salient in the literature available. Involvement with Dutch ethnic institutions will be analysed to illustrate the degree of orientation toward the ethnic community.

Social-psychological characteristics of Dutch post-war immigrants

Many Dutch-Canadians, especially post-war immigrants, aimed at rapid integration into Canadian society and were rather successful at it. They often shied away from contact with other Dutch vely, because they wanted to make a clean break with their past, or passively, because they simply had no need for their former countrymen. The decision to emigrate was influenced by an existing emigration climate in post-war Netherlands, but beyond that a whole host of factors played a role in the final decision to leave. A study by Beijer et al (1961) shows that economic, social and cultural motives are all interrelated, and not any one appears to have had great single dynamic power. Nevertheless, one unique cultural motive, whereby "emigration is regarded as the liberation of an active personality from the shackles preventing its unrestricted development", comes to the fore rather

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frequently, but always in combination with other factors (pp. 309-10). For our purpose it is also interesting to know that the Beijer study found that good family relations were typical for their sample, but that group ties to parents and other social and cultural groups were, on the whole, not strong.

In sum, emigrants were found to display the following syndrome of characteristics: high work abilities, slight cultural intensity, a great deal of vitality, a strong urge for self-expression, active personality, individualistic attitude, slight social and cultural attachments. Significantly, this model applied to a majority of emigrants from different milieus and with different problems and motives. (Beijer, 1961: 243-4)

This is supported by the data: in 1971, 61% of Dutch husbands in Montreal were married to non-Dutch wives (Statistics Canada, Special Report No. 6001-213-1971).

Socio-economic characteristics of post-war immigrants

The majority of Dutch post-war immigrants were married couples in the prime of life. At this time they are middle-aged, their offspring are married or of marriageable age. Exogamy is said to be the rule rather than the exception, according to all our key-informants in the Dutch community.

Dutch immigrants originated primarily in the lower-middle class and upper-lower class strata. Dutch emigration "bears not a proletarian, but a petit-bourgeois stamp." (Beijer, 1961:189) In the Beijer study sample of 200 emigrants, only 15 (7.5%) belonged to the two highest categories: university graduates and students, entrepreneurs, top-bracket civil servants, engineers (near university level), factory managers. (p. 189) A quarter of a century later we find the Dutch of Montreal to be highly educated (see table I) with almost 20% in the two top groups: occupations of engineering, natural science, managerial or top administrative nature. The city may have attracted a larger share of higher educated immigrants, but it is likely, considering their social-psychological characteristics, that there has been a great deal of upward mobility too.

High level of education for the Dutch is linked to a high level of income. (see table III) This stands in stark contrast with the much lower average income of West-Indians who have an equally high level of education. The fact that, as a group, the Dutch were on the list of preferred immigrants, and that they had high ethnic prestige (Pineo 1977), must have helped them in obtaining employment relatively quickly upon arrival, and realize their potential in subsequent years.

An exceedingly important factor in the successful integration of any immigrant is his knowledge of the language of the host-country. In the Beijer study quoted earlier, a follow-up study was done on Dutch immigrants in the late 50's. The question asked in retrospect was: "Could you make yourself understood upon arrival?" 75% of the married men and 83% of the single men answered positively. Married women were not interviewed. Single women answered positively in 57% of the cases. In some couples the man could not make himself understood, but the woman could. Again, we may assume that the city attracted a higher proportion of those who could make themselves understood. Altogether then, only a minor proportion of Montreal Dutch are expected to have had language difficulties. This is not surprising considering that, until recently, at least four languages were routinely taught in Dutch high schools except for vocational schools (and even there English was often on the curriculum). For such people there is, on the whole, no pressing need to obtain services in their mother tongue which has some effect on the formation of an ethnic community, as will be seen later.

Although about 40% of all Dutch post-war immigrants to Canada were orthodox Calvinist, most of these people were agriculturalists who had no intention to settle in urban areas. As a consequence the Christian Reformed Church has never had a large following in Montreal. At the moment its membership amount to less than 5% of the population. Most young people marry into the church but exogamy is responsible for the fact that about one third of the congregation represents a dozen or so ethnic groups other than Dutch. The only other church of Dutch origin, the Dutch Reformed Church, has an even smaller membership and has recently converted its building to a community church serving various denominations. Dutch Catholic immigrants accounted for about a quarter of the total post-war flow, but are overrepresented in Montreal (see Table IV), possibly because Quebec is essentially a Catholic province, or else as a by-product of the underrepresentation of orthodox Calvinists. The policy of the Catholic church was to integrate immigrants as soon as possible into existing parishes, and this is what happened to the Dutch. Another group that accounts for close to 40% of the Dutch population in Montreal are those that chose to affiliate themselves with the Anglican and United Churches. The assumption is that the two available Dutch churches were too orthodox for these immigrants. Moreover, we do not know how religious these people are. Perhaps they have just listed themselves as belonging to some denomination to meet Canadian expectations. During the period 1948-52 some 19% of sponsored immigrants to Canada declared not to, or were not known to, belong to a church. (Petersen, 1955:187). We could expect them to be overrepresented in urban areas, presumably sending their children to protestant schools and hence thinking of themselves as protestants in the Canadian context.

In summary we can say that first generation Dutch in Montreal at this time are largely middle-aged and middle-class, have contributed their skills and their labour and have made good use of their personality characteristics and their favoured entrance status and good reputation to better themselves and to integrate in Canadian society.

Table I

Education of population, 15 years and over, not attending school full-time

Ethnic origin (Montreal MCA)	One or more of university degree	From 6 to 13 years of schooling	Less than 6 years of schooling
Greek	8.3%	73.4%	18.3%
Italian	5.2	47.4	47.4
Jewish	25.0	67.0	8.0
Netherlands	27.2	71.1	1.7
Portuguese	4.0	51.1	44.9
Negro/West Indian	26.4	70.4	3.2

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Report No. 6001-00175AC-2B-1971

Table II

Population of Dutch origin, aged 15 years and over, by occupation, Montreal 1971

Occupation	Total Number	%
All occupations	4445	100
Managerial, administrative	460	10.3
Nat. science, engineering, maths	410	9.2
Teaching	205	4.6
Medicine, health	195	4.4
Clerical	870	19.6
Sales	480	10.8
Service	370	8.3
Production, fabrication, repair	275	6.2
Construction	80	1.8
Not stated	410	9.2
All others	690	15.6

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Report No. 6001-00175 AC-2B-1971

*) Figures apply to Greeks living in the Province of Quebec, of whom about 98% live in the Montreal area.

Quebec average income: $4,969
Canada average income: $5,043

Table III

Total average income of population aged 15 years and over - Montreal 1971

Ethnic Origin	Total Population	Average Total Income
Greek *)	29,005	$ 3,291
Italian	110,460	3,638
Jewish	91,065	5,733
Netherlands	6,345	5,581
Portuguese	9,470	3,182
Negro/West Indian	6,975	3,787

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Report No. 6001-00175 AC-2B-1971.

*) Includes 2% of Greek population of Prov. of Quebec living outside Montreal.

Table IV

Religious affiliation of Dutch-Canadians - Montreal 1961

Religious affiliation	% of population
Roman Catholic	37.6
United Church	25.4
Anglican	12.0
Presbyterian	6.8
Baptist	1.6
Mennonite	-
Other	16.2

Source: R.C.B. & B. Book IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups, p. 320

The Dutch 'Community' of Montreal

If by 'community' we mean an ethnic group that is more or less spatially concentrated, has a number of ethnic institutions, and whose members have a sense of belonging, a 'we-feeling', then we must conclude that the Dutch community of Montreal can at best be called a very weak one. In 1971 the 9000 members of this ethnic group had their greatest concentration on the West Island (3000), while the rest was spread over other anglophone areas of town (LaSalle, Verdun, St. Laurent, and Westmount mainly), and some off-island areas (Laval and the South Shore).

Institutions include the afore-mentioned orthodox Calvinist churches: the Christian Reformed Church (C.R.C.) with about 400 members, two thirds of them Dutch-Canadian, and the much smaller Dutch-Reformed Church whose minister has recently been called upon to coordinate a largely C.R.C.-supported seminary in Quebec City.

The C.R.C. is well attended, and has its own active social life for adherents of all ages. This includes the Sunday school, denominational school groups, etc. This institution is also actively involved with a French-oriented evangelical movement in this province. The C.R.C. maintains links as well with its sister churches in Ontario and the United States. In both churches services have been held in the English language for many years,

and an attempt may be made soon to introduce some French services. In fact, a small C.R.C. mission on the South shore with a Dutch-born pastor, operates entirely in French.

A Roman Catholic chaplain who used to carry the title "Director of the Dutch Mission" and held regular services in the Dutch language, no longer does so. His status is reduced to "being on call" for the Dutch while working full time as a hospital chaplain.

Two social clubs each organize one major event per year: a dance to celebrate the Dutch queen's birthday, and a dance for adults to celebrate the Feast of St. Nicholas. The children's party for that event is no longer being given due to lack of participation by children of Dutch origin. Only one club has an active executive and puts on other events as well, such as occasional film showings or a special dinner. They also send out a bulletin four times a year. The major social events are generally attended by 200-300 people. Activities are emceed in three languages: English, Dutch and French.

The media are not well represented. Only the above mentioned bulletin is published in Montreal. However, Ontario and Vancouver based newspapers have between them about 400 subscribers in the Montreal region, and since families often share Dutch reading matter, it is estimated that perhaps half the population is reached this way. CFMB 1410 broadcasts a 30-minute weekly radio program in the Dutch language to the Dutch and Flemish communities on alternate Sundays. Furthermore, plans are underway to start a Dutch language T.V. programme on cable stations soon.

Informal institutions reportedly include the Borrelclub, a group of businessmen and professionals who get together every other month savouring Dutch delicacies for the purpose of keeping in friendly contact. Suburban Beaconsfield's Municipal Library has a sort of women's auxiliary that raises funds to enlarge the collection of Dutch books; various groups celebrate St. Nicholas informally in their own communities aided by the use of a KLM-owned St. Nicholas costume; alumni from the University of Leiden get together annually. There are a number of Dutch-owned businesses that are active within the community. A delicatessen carries Dutch specialties which, during the month of December, are probably savoured by about a third of the Dutch population, most of whom are incidental customers. A real estate agent does only a minor part of his business with Dutch people but by virtue of his position is a good source of information in the community. A Dutch-owned travel agency, on the other hand, has no Dutch customers to speak of and no Dutch personnel, even though all the directors are of Dutch origin. There are a number of Dutch firms such as Philips, Hughes-Owens, de Kuyper Distilleries, who lend distinction to the community, and some of whom are members of the Netherlands-Canada Chamber of Commerce (Quebec Chapter). Although the latter is not strictly a Dutch institution, it does offer a meeting place for Dutch businessmen where they may strengthen ethnic bonds.

The Consulate is another institution of importance in maintaining a link with Dutch culture and customs. The Consul-General holds several receptions annually where people of Dutch descent meet, and he or his representative is on hand at any major event organized in the community. The only other institution that has a similar involvement in the Dutch community is KLM Royal Dutch Airlines. It is the airline's policy to maintain contact with Dutch communities around the world and it can generally be counted on for moral and tangible support.

Artists and intellectuals had heretofore not been catered to, but this was rectified recently by the establishment of two new institutions. The year-old Montreal Chapter of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies (CAANS) is officially not an ethnic organization but its 40-odd members are nevertheless mostly of Dutch and Flemish origin. It sponsors a number of lectures and workshops annually, and has organized a Dutch language course for adults. These public activities draw participants from various ethnic backgrounds. In addition, CAANS Montreal held a conference in the fall which enabled it to establish firm contacts inside as well as outside the ethnic group.

Le Comité Neerland Art Québec was established for the express purpose of organizing exhibitions of Quebec artists of Dutch origin. It finally went beyond that by offering an ambitious cultural programme surrounding their first exhibition (held simultaneously with the CAANS conference.

The attraction of both organizations extends beyond the ethnic community. They also depend more on government grants than any of the other institutions mentioned (excepting the Consulate).

It is estimated that perhaps 15 to 20 percent of the population interacts through the medium of formal or informal institutions (other than the family). This includes passive membership. Nevertheless, for some of thse people the continued existence of a 'community' is important enough that they are willing to spend much time and energy on its upkeep. These people do have a sense of belonging. KLM and the Consulate seem to play an exceedingly important role in supporting the community. At the same time they may be the main integrating forces. The orthodox Calvinist church, although the recipient of Consular invitations and in that sense part of the community, has few if any other links. It must also be noted that, other than in the church, there is very little involvement of second generation Dutch in community institutions.

Summary

For the Dutch, emigration was, on the whole, a free choice. They were not fleeing religious or political persecution, severe economic distress, or racial discrimination. As a group they were clearly in pursuit of a better future rather than escaping an intolerable present. The majority arrived with at least some knowledge of one of the official languages, with anywhere from moderate to outstanding occupational skills (Beijer, 1961:166),

and the sort of personal characteristics that were highly appreciated in Canada. In addition, their Nordic racial background and their presumed easy assimilability gave them a favourable entrance status in Canada. On the other hand, with the exception of the orthodox Calvinists, they did not have strong attachments to any 'ethnic' church or other group. Their individualistic attitude did not facilitate the growth of a strong ethnic community. The above mentioned attributes go a long way in explaining why the Dutch have integrated so well in Canadian society. Of these the total or near absence of racial and language barriers must be rated among the most important.

PERSISTENCE OF ETHNICITY

The most salient dichotomy in the case of integration of the Dutch, social-psychological and socio-economic characteristics, exerts equal influence on the persistence of ethnicity, but other aspects must be considered as well. Among others there are arguments for and against the voluntary nature of ethnicity. Breton and Pinard (1960) state the former position most succinctly: "A person does not belong to an ethnic category by choice. He is born into it and becomes related to it through emotional and symbolic ties." (pp. 465-77). This seems applicable enough to first generation Dutch immigrants, but does not fully express ethnicity for subsequent generations. They have normally acquired an intimate familiarity with Canadian culture and no distinguishing Dutch accent is left in their speech. Physically too, they can hardly be said to stand out. In Montreal their concentration geographically, occupationally, or in religious denominations, is so light as to be hardly noticeable. Thus, it becomes very easy for them to emphasize or de-emphasize their ethnicity at will.

In this regard Isajiw's definition of an ethnic group is useful: "An involuntary group of people who share the same culture or the descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or who are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group." (Isajiw, 1977). The author points out the two dimensions of ethnicity suggested here: on the one hand, people share a distinct culture through the primary process of socialization in one culture only; on the other hand, for the descendants of this group the main link of sharing is not culture, but a feeling of identity. The voluntary aspect is brought in by the addition of the word 'or'.

Some hold that identification by others is the crucial variable in ethnicity. However, identification by others in turn usually stimulates self-identification. Hence, ethnicity is a matter of double boundaries: socialization process - within, and inter-group relations - without. (Isajiw, 1977).

This chapter will deal with the various factors, both external and internal, that may help maintain Dutch ethnicity on a voluntary and/or involuntary basis. This process is influenced throughout by individualistic attitudes, achievement orientation, and a relatively favourable socio-economic status.

A. External Factors in the Maintenance of Ethnicity

Political Factors

a) As mentioned earlier, when the bulk of Dutch post-war immigrants arrived, immigration regulations favoured their entrance. They were mostly based on political decisions to maintain a certain racial homogeneity, i.e. Western European characteristics, among the Canadian population. This favoured entrance status may have combined with objective observations of reliability and industriousness and skills to lead to the high ethnic prestige reported. Example: immigrants who said they intended to farm did just that and stayed on the land to become successful farmers, instead of moving to the city as soon as possible. This is a form of labelling advantageous to the maintenance of ethnicity since it is useful to the bestower, for instance the employer, as well as the recipient.

b) Another form of labelling initiated by the government is the requirement that one state ethnic origin for census purposes. Even those who would sooner forget their origin are reminded of their ethnic background once every ten years. Subsequently these statistics, whenever they are being used, perpetuate ethnic distinctions irrespective of the desires of the 'ethnic' individuals.

c) The policy of multiculturalism further aids in maintaining ethnic boundaries by means of incorporating multicultural concerns into policy statements and administrative practices and by encouraging many ethno-cultural communities to expand their role in Canadian society. (Cassidy, 1980)

d) Political parties may find it expedient at times to consider ethnic groups as a 'third force' alongside the English and French charter groups. They will then include the Dutch in their appeal for contributions or votes the same as any other ethnic group, regardless of subjective feelings of ethnic identity by individual members of these groups, or the level of integration of the gorup.

e) Conflict outside the community may serve to strengthen it. (Driedger & Church, 1974). There is no evidence of this in the Dutch community in Montreal. The most obvious recent conflict, the Quebec language question, found the Dutch on the side of the English-speaking community, but rather as part of them, and not as a separate entity. This may in part be due to numbers. Had there been more or stronger Dutch institutions, they might have used them.

Economic Factors

a) From a recent study of Dutch-Canadians in Toronto it is clear that ethnicity is perceived as a more important influence in the stratification of Canadian society than is class. (Cassidy, 1980:4) Membership in the anglo-saxon group in particular was seen as an attribute associated with influence and importance. Thus, upwardly mobile Dutch have traditionally aspired to integration into the anglophone bloc. However, this does not necessarily entail rejection of their own ethnicity.

The ability of the Urban Dutch to hold, on the whole, well paid jobs not only helps to integrate them faster (less need for ethnic 'protectionism') in Canadian society, which, in itself should augur against the persistence of ethnicity. On the other hand, as Isajiw (1978) points out, occupational mobility, especially on higher levels, is connected with increased competition, and this will lead to an increased awareness of ascriptive characteristics. Elsewhere in Canada it may simply mean reference to the reputation of Dutch solidity. In the present ethnically charged climate in Quebec it could ostensibly come to mean a conscious distantiation from the English Canadian reputation of 'conqueror'.

b) Business firms make judicious use of the favourable reputation of the Dutch. KLM used the slogan "the punctual, reliable Dutch" in their advertising. In the Netherlands-Canada Chamber of Commerce proud reference is made to multilingualism among Dutch-Canadians.

Social Factors

In his study of post-war immigrants in Canada, Richmond (1967) observes that "immigrants who had to adapt themselves least were also less likely to undergo those experiences, sometimes in themselves traumatic, which would sever their attachment to the former country and lead to a closer identification with Canada." (p. 27) In comparison to many other ethnic groups the Dutch had an easy time in adapting themselves to Canadian society. Their language is virtually the same, they easily fitted into Canadian religious institutions at least in Montreal, and their individualism and achievement orientation is not unlike the prevailing attitude in North America. One indicator of continued attachment to the country of origin is the propensity to retain Dutch citizenship. Richmond quotes percentages of applications for Canadian citizenship among immigrants who arrived in the early 50's as follows: British citizens (including Commonwealth): 10%, Dutch: 25%; German: 30%; Italian: 35%; Polish: 38%. (Richmond, 1967:25).

While on the one hand their similarity to the host society apparently causes the Dutch to maintain some attachment to their country of origin, that same host society is convinced of their ethnic differences and will perpetuate these in various ways. The effect of the census has already been mentioned, but private enterprise makes its contribution too. Ethnic institutions are asked to furnish folk dance groups or choirs for festivals, a commercial radio station solicits their business for an ethnic program, etc.

Summary

External factors that aid in the maintenance of ethnic identification include post-war immigration regulations, various sorts of labelling (the census, public opinion, business interest), multiculturalism, political parties' interest in a 'third force', conflict outside the ethnic community, the perception by an achievement-oriented group that ethnicity influences one's place in the economic order and, finally, similarity to the host society which facilitates continued attachment to the country of origin.

B. Internal Factors in the Maintenance of Ethnicity

Ethnicity has to be passed on through interaction with others, most likely with others from the same ethnic group. Four avenues of interaction are isolated:

The Family

The family plays perhaps the most important role in this process, since it is normally responsible for the primary socialization of the individual. The family is the focal point in Dutch social life. Ishwaran (1959), in his study of family life in the Netherlands, found it still much more cohesive than might be expected in an urban area. This may have carried over into the receiving society. Certain symbols in the home would be an indication of at least an attempt at continuing these values. For example, family cohesion is aided by maintaining "gezelligheid" at home, that is, an atmosphere of ambiance, of coziness. The word "gezellig" permeates the Dutch language, and the sense of security engendered by a grandfather clock ticking away in a corner, the warmth of an oriental rug (usually an imitation) on the table, and the cheerfulness of flowers and plants everywhere, have for many generations aided in drawing family members to the home for security and satisfaction.

They are still the distinguishing marks of many Dutch-Canadian homes. We have no empirical data on the extent to which these symbols, and the values which they presumably represent, are maintained in Dutch homes, let alone in ethnically mixed marriages. Limited personal observation of the latter leads to speculation that other factors such as the relative dominance of the Dutch partner in such a relationship has an important bearing on it.

Exogamy among the Dutch, at least among the second generation, is very high. Even among the orthodox Calvinists the dozen or so different ethnic origins represented in their Montreal congregation are largely due to intermarriage. Among the rest of the population intermarriage is bound to be much higher. There are several explanations for this: a) in Montreal the Dutch language is spoken in at most 15% of the homes. (1971 census). With fluent command of English and/or French second generation Dutch can and do interact with Canadians of varied ethnic backgrounds resulting in many mixed relationships. (b) Parental concern does not seem to be a great obstacle. Faith and class have traditionally carried greater weight than ethnicity. For centuries there has been a great deal of intermarriage in the former Dutch colonies (Bagley, 1973: 43,48,121) and in the Netherlands with refugee Portuguese Jews and French Huguenots. It is perhaps of interest to mention here that a UNESCO survey in nine different countries conducted in 1948, found not only a high degree of class cleavage in the Netherlands but it was also

the only country where class allegiance outweighed national allegiance. (Lijphart, 1968: 21-22). (c) Small numbers can lead to less in-group interaction. This would appear to be the case for the Dutch who are most heavily concentrated in Ontario and the western provinces, while their concentration in the rest of Quebec is even lighter than in Montreal. This pattern is directly reflected in intermarriage rates across Canada (see table V).

With regard to intermarriage and ethnicity, Greeley (1974) points out that there is no evidence to support the assertion that an ethnic group vanishes after intermarriage. He found persistence of ethnically linked behavior in Italian and Irish Americans, after many generations, and ethnic identification even after substantial intermarriage. (Greeley, 1974)

priorities are not with residential proximity or protection of customs and language through ethnic friendships. This is underscored by Breton (1968) who found that the magnitude of the informal friendship network is directly related to the degree of institutional completeness of a given ethnic group. In ethnic groups with few or no formal organizations, which would include the Dutch of Montreal, only 21% of members had most relations in own ethnic group. This is in line with the above findings.

Ethnic Institutions

As mentioned before, there is limited involvement of the Dutch in their ethnic institutions, and there is, reportedly, very little involvement on the part of the second generation, except for those belonging to the orthodox Calvinist church. Exe-

TABLE V

Dutch intermarriage statistics - 1971

	MONTREAL		QUEBEC LESS MONTREAL		ONTARIO		CANADA LESS ONTARIO AND QUEBEC		TOTAL CANADA	
Dutch husbands married to	Number of families	%	Number of families	%	Number of families	%	Number of families	%	Number of families	%
Wives of Dutch origin	835	39.1	310	36.5	26,395	56.4	22,870	49.4	50,410	52.5
Wives of non-Dutch origin	1,300	60.9	545	64.1	20,375	43.6	23,475	50.6	45,680	47.4

Source: Statistics Canada, Special Report No. 6001-213-1971

Informal Friendship Network

Interaction with persons from the same ethnic background aids in retaining language, customs, and values. Geographical concentration, lack of knowledge of the language(s) of the host country, working for an ethnic employer, and the presence of relatives all facilitate such interaction on an informal basis. During the period of 1948-1954 about 97% of all Dutch immigrants to Canada were sponsored immigrants. This implies that many of them had relatives or friends waiting for them. On the other hand, their individualism, skills, and knowledge of the dominant language combined in focussing on finding suitable employment without being restricted to an ethnic neighbourhood. In a study of an unspecified Canadian community, Chimbos (1972) found that 21.5% of Dutch immigrants invited only Canadians, and 18.5% invited only Dutch to their parties, while 56.9% invited mixed groups. A majority of those who invited only Dutch did so because close friends were Dutch (53.6%), while 25% mentioned shared customs and traditions, and 17.9% mentioned same language. As can be expected, informal visiting involved greater percentages of either Dutch (27.7%) or Canadian (27.7%), and less mixed (41.5%). The above points suggest that Dutch

cutives of the two social clubs complain of apathetic and dwindling membership. Even the church has lost many Dutch members,but that seems to be largely due to economic and political reasons. Financial support from Dutch businesses for ethnic group activities is in many cases meagre or non-existent.

Conflict outside an ethnic community may serve to strengthen it and call into being institutions for which there had been no need previously. However, such concerted group action has not been observed here. The only events of some significance that ever managed to evoke a response among all Dutch-Canadian institutions had something to do with the House of Orange, symbol of national unity in the Netherlands, and with the liberation of Holland at the end of World War II by Canadian troops. The birthday of the Dutch queen is celebrated annually, and special anniversaries in her life are also special events for Dutch-Canadians. The 25th anniversary of Holland's liberation culminated here in the action "Thank you Canada!" and the donation of an organ to the National Arts Center. These events symbolized pride in the country of origin, shared memories of a time of misery and subsequent elation at newly won freedom, as well as a special bond between the two countries. However, wartime memories are not a part of the second generation's heritage, and the

Dutch queen probably means even less to them than the queen of Canada. The existing institutions (except the church) and symbols used by them, seem little suited to perpetuate ethnicity among second generation Dutch-Canadians.

By contrast one can point to the rising interest in Dutch language courses across Canada and the establishment in 1971 of the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies which now has chapters not only in Montreal but also in various urban centers in Ontario and the western provinces. The Netherlands-Canada Chamber of Commerce (Quebec Chapter) was established in Montreal just a few years ago. Strictly speaking none of these institutions are exclusively Dutch. But they are generally initiated by Dutch-Canadians, attract a large number of Dutch members and focus on Dutch-Canadian interests and concerns. Insofar as they help strengthen ethnic bonds they must be considered part of the Dutch community. These examples serve to show that ethnicity has survived to the extent that new, interest-specific institutions can arise even among the Dutch who are so often regarded as well-nigh assimilated. In turn, these institutions will have the effect of maintaining ethnic identification and perpetuating ethnicity.

Relations with Country of Origin

Immigrants are visiting back and forth regularly, encouraged by the relatively recent phenomenon of fast and frequent transatlantic flights. At present the eastbound travel rate of an estimated 10 to 15% is apparently matched by an equal or higher rate of westbound traffic of relatives and friends. This means that annually about a third of the Dutch population is in contact with persons from the country of origin, either here or overseas, often for periods of several months. This method of ethnic reinforcement is of particular interest because it has been given so little attention in the literature. Only occasionally is reference made to its influence; for example, Porter sees a possibly lower commitment to the receiving society as compared to the situation sixty or seventy years ago, however, he comments further:

> The social status of permanent stranger is something new for modern societies. But where the status of citizenship can be acquired, as in the United States and Canada, social mobility and achievement, almost imply a commitment to the values of modernism and a movement away from the ethnic communtiy, with each succeeding generation. (Porter, 1975:302

Although this sounds plausible it does not take into account:

a) the possibility that both the host society **and** the society of origin are committed to the same values of modernism;
b) increased awareness of ascriptive characteristics connected especially with increased competition at the higher occupational levels (Isajiw, 1978);
c) the availability of dual citizenship to children of immigrants.

All three points seem to apply to the Dutch of Montreal, with the proviso that children retain Dutch citizenship only if their father held the Dutch nationality at the time of their birth. This induces a number of them to work or study in the Netherlands.

It seems that, for a proportion of the Dutch at least, conditions are right for them to remain 'permanent strangers'. On the other hand, it seems not impossible that frequent contact with the country of origin can lead to dual ethnicity much as some people have a dual mother tongue. First generation immigrants in Toronto on the whole expressed feelings of ambiguity; they could not identify completely with Canada, but neither did they feel at home anymore in Holland. (Cassidy, 1980) There is some indication from our own interviews that some second generation Dutch-Canadians, as a result of frequent or prolonged contact with the Netherlands, feel a sense of belonging in both countries. It must be emphasized that systematic research on this question has yet to be done.

Maintaining contacts for the purposes of business, study, work, or leisure, with the country of origin, may be seen as particularly useful by those whose social horizon goes beyond the local community. International travel is still not affordable for everyone, and as such remains a status symbol. The immigrant with a **pied-à-terre** in Europe is at a real advantage, and the Dutch with their relatively high income level apparently make use of this advantage. Although we know of no systematic study of the travel habits of ethnic groups, and figures are difficult to come by, there is some indication that other groups with a significantly lower average income, for example the Greeks, travel at least at the same rate as the Dutch, to a country that is farther away and therefore more expensive to get to. This might tell us something about differences in intensity of motivation but not about possible different kinds of motives. Could there be mainly affective reasons for travelling in one case, and instrumental reasons in the other? What about status, family ties, business contacts? This will be a fruitful area for further research.

The least we can assume is that regular travel to and from country of origin has a positive effect on the maintenance or rediscovery of ethnic identity, probably proportionately to the frequency and extent of interaction between immigrant and overseas relatives and friends. Especially stays in the country of origin, but also long-term visits from relatives will help language retention, even if the immigrant family has long since given up speaking the mother tongue regularly at home. Indeed for many children travel or overseas visitors may be the only contact with Dutch culture outside of the family context, since they are rarely involved in ethnic institutions except for the orthodox Calvinist group. The desire to please house guests and the necessity to conform to Dutch standards while visiting the country, reinforces certain aspects of ethnicity, values and customs.

Summary

Of the internal factors mentioned, the family is

expected to still be the main carrier of culture and tradition. The Dutch language is not maintained in the home on a large scale, and there is a great deal of exogamy among the Dutch. In the face of this the family requires outside aid if ethnicity is to be maintained. The informal friendship network is important but the Dutch are on the low end of the scale in interacting with other Dutch at the local level. Just the same, in one study, those who mixed with Canadians only were in the minority. There are few formal organizations and participation is low and decreasing. The orthodox Calvinist church is an exception but even there membership is decreasing and emphasis is on the religious rather than the ethnic nature of the institution. The picture of general demise of Dutch ethnic institutions with the church holding out longest, is somewhat tempered by the formation of new interest-specific institutions: Language courses and Chapters of CAANS (Canadian Association for the Advancement of Netherlandic Studies) all across the country, and a Canada-Netherlands Chamber of Commerce in Montreal.

Relations with country of origin are comparatively strong with about a third of the population exposed to such interaction either in Canada or in the Netherlands. For some this may lead to the position of 'permanent stranger' as Porter calls it, for Canadian-born Dutch it may lead to dual ethnic identification. In either case the frequent or long-term exposure to Dutch culture here or abroad must have some positive effect on the maintenance of ethnic identification.

There is some indication that other ethnic groups are travelling at the same rate which, considering their often lower socio-economic status, may mean higher motivation. It is not clear what motivates people to maintain contact with the country of origin, but in the case of the Dutch economic and social usefulness are expected to take an important place alongside affectiver reasons.

IV. MEANING AND USE OF ETHNICITY

Glazer and Moynihan in their Introduction to *Ethnicity* (1975) advance the possibility that ethnicity has or will come to eclipse class. They point at "the steady expansion of the term 'ethnic group' from minority and marginal subgroups at the edges of society - groups expected to assimilate, to disappear, to continue as survivals, exotic or troublesome - to major elements of a society." (p. 5) They argue that *interest* is pursued effectively by *ethnic* groups today as well as by *interest-defined* groups." (p. 7) However, if there is no common problem such as discrimination or poverty that would make concerted group action desirable, then ethnicity at the group level will not be emphasized. But that does not rule out the importance of ethnicity at the personal level. This seems particularly applicable for the Dutch of Montreal who show such a high level of integration in Canadian society. An important aspect of the complex motives for emigration was to liberate themselves from the narrow confines of deep class cleavages which existed in their country of origin. This individualistic attitude helped the integration process along, no doubt. But at the same time their similarity to the host society made it less necessary to cut all ties with the homeland. These two, apparently paradoxical forces would seem to lead to a position whereby one attempts to make use of resources and opportunities in both countries. Why limit one's options?

For those who wish to maintain their cultural identity at the private level and/or maintain or expand their array of options there is always the opportunity to do so by contact with the country of origin. This does not interfere with social mobility in Canada, to the contrary, travel lends an air of distinction and cosmopolitanism. It does not contradict their individualistic nature: one does not have to belong to an ethnic community to visit Holland and vice versa: when one maintains contacts with the country of origin, one does not require local institutions to keep in touch with one's culture. The relatively high socio-economic status of the Dutch of Montreal encourages interaction with the country of origin, on the one hand by making it financially possibly for many, and on the other hand by the attraction of instrumental use of ethnicity for middle class and upper middle class people, for purposes of business interests, work, study, and so on.

While some emphasize the instrumental use of ethnicity (Glazer & Moynihan, 1975, Bell, 1975), others stress the 'affective' attribute of ethnicity (Weinfeld, 1974, Greeley, 1974) whereby an ethnic identity links an individual to a past, a history, a heritage, and lends "...distinctiveness to individual identity when most roads to achievement and social acceptance seem those of conformity and convention." (Weinfeld, 1978:18) It is not clear at this point to what extent the Dutch of Montreal stress the instrumental and affective dimensions of ethnicity. Both may actually be equally important or one may lead to the other.

There is however, reason to believe that at certain stages in life ethnicity takes on increased or different meaning. For example,

- New immigrants need practical and emotional support. Result: more involvement in institutions and stronger ethnic bonds.
- At a later stage families tend to be busy creating their own lifestyle. They are more concerned with social mobility and security for their offspring.
- In times of strong competition for employment, the immigrant may see fit to stress 'Dutch qualities' of reliability, industriousness, multilingualism.
- The 'midlife crisis' may include a rethinking of ethnic background and renewed interest in the homeland and/or the local community. Structural reasons, such as greater financial security and freedom from child care, may encourage visits to the country of origin.
- As adolescents or young adults offspring may become more interested in their heritage as part of their search for identity. Or they may use dual

citizenship for work or study purposes.
- When they get married and have children themselves, ethnicity may once again become of importance, either because it emphasizes a bond with the past, or because they wish to show off the child to relatives overseas.
- Elderly or retired persons may become nostalgic for their youth, or they may consider returning to the country of origin for practical purposes, e.g. better social security.

Although to our knowledge no systematic study has been made of intragenerational differences in meaning and use of ethnicity, it could be a fruitful area of research.

In conclusion we can say that for the Dutch of Montreal ethnicity seems to be largely a matter of private significance. While external circumstances remind them from time to time of their Dutch heritage, they tend to be able to submerge themselves in Canadian society or, as it was put in a report to the R.C.B.&B. on the cultural contributions of the Dutch: they tend to 'evaporate' (Diening, 1966). This allows them to invoke their ethnicity in a voluntary manner, when and if they want to. Social-psychological and socio-economic characterisitcs of Dutch immigrants would perhaps lead us to think that the instrumental use of ethnicity might be stressed, but there is no evidence that affective attributes do not play an important role too.

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