"I TELL THEM WE ARE A BLESSED PEOPLE:"

AN ANALYSIS OF "ETHNICITY"

BY WAY OF

A CANADIAN DUTCH-CALVINIST COMMUNITY

By

BRADLEY GENE BREEMS

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Department of Anthropology and Sociology

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date April 20, 1992

ABSTRACT

This dissertation treats ethnicity as cultural construal and ethnic group as the maintenance of social boundaries. It finds that members of ethnic groups maintain institutions and boundaries between themselves and others by which they prescribe and proscribe ideas, behaviour and practice, as well as develop criteria by which they identify, evaluate and judge themselves and others. Members share aspects of culture, a presumed origin and worldview with one another.

People externalise their relationships and then maintain boundaries around themselves, using elements from the past, interpreting their present situation and contemplating effects on the future.

It also finds that both external opposition and internally generated worldview concepts are sufficient to bring about boundary maintenance and group solidarity and identity.

The research on which this work is based combines ethnographic and survey methods in a study of Canadian Dutch-Calvinists. It also incorporates a survey of theories of group phenomena.

It finds that theoretical treatments of ethnicity occur at different levels of the ethnic phenomenon, and it presents each of the analytic foci of these various levels. In so doing, it contends that people may belong to groups for varying reasons. In fact, using this case, a group which appears relatively homogeneous, is filled with tension. Some people derive their sense of community from looking to the past; others look forward. Some emphasize traits when trying to determine membership in the group. Others are more concerned about the relational value of the group, not as much with the specific features of membership. Such a group, while threatening to break apart, actually persists because of the mutual member interest in these variations, combined with a commonly maintained antithetical worldview.

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REFERENCE CODES FOR RESEARCH NOTES AND UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

I used a variety of sources. I list them here, together with the codes by which I refer to them throughout the dissertation.

B = Weekly church bulletins. In notations I cite them by referring to their date, with the month appearing first (e.g., B 06-25-87).

D = Document, referring to an official document or relatively short official publication. I have listed all of the documents by number in the bibliography section of this paper. The numbers (e.g., D10) refer to its placement in the document index.

FN = Field notes, which I jotted down in a notebook during or immediately after visits or observations. These overlap with what I call "personal observation notes," below. They tend to be of a more general, reflective character than the observation notes, however. Again I specify them by date (e.g., FN 06-25-87).

I = Interviews. This refers to the direct personal conversations with members, former members, attenders and close observers. Citations such as "I29," within the work refer to the number assigned to the interviews in the order in which they were conducted during the research. The alphanumeric combination following the interview number, such as A: 53, for example, refers to the position on my interview tape. "A" refers to side A of each casette tape, and the number refers to the counter position on my Sony Educator tape recorder. In each case, I transcribed either the entire interview or crucial portions of it. Researchers desiring expanded segments of these interviews may contact the author regarding their use.

CM = Minutes of a "congregational meeting." This is a church-wide meeting, open to all members. I also specify these by date of meeting.

M = Minutes. This designation refers to the minutes of consistory (church council) meetings. They are specified with reference to dates. They can be located in my Minutes files, which contain more than one thousand photocopied pages of minutes, going back to the original meeting of Riverside Christian Reformed Church in 1952. Due to the confidential nature of these documents, they are available only to the Ph.D. examining committee for verification.

MI = Miscellaneous documents. This includes documents from parallel institutions and Dutch-Calvinist churches other than Christian Reformed. A list of Miscellaneous documents appears in the bibliography, designated by number.

PON = Personal observation notes. These are often detailed notes, taken during or immediately after specific observations. Sometimes they tend to be evaluative of the situation in which I was observing. They are somewhat more restricted in scope than the field notes, but their role in my research and analysis is similar. They are designated by number, and a list of PONs appears in the bibliography section of this paper.

SN = Sermon notes. I took notes on more than 50 sermons preached on Sundays at the Riverside church. Reference is made to the dates on which the notes were made, with the month being the first number (e.g., SN 06-25-87).

N = Newsletter. This is the substituted name for the church's monthly newsletter, which reported on committees and groups, but also attempted to emphasize human interest concerns. It had an activity section for children and a pastor's comment section. (I used it to introduce and publicise myself and my project on two occasions.)

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To God: the mountain has moved to the sea. Laudamo Te.

CHAPTER ONE -- INTRODUCTION

A. Why Study Ethnicity Today?

In this dissertation, I present an overview of the state of ethnic group studies and of what has been reified as ethnicity in social science and in everyday understanding. I also show that ethnicity is a more complex phenomenon than has sometimes been presumed. The empirical aspect of this work uses ethnographic, documentary and survey methods to analyse a group of Canadian Dutch-Calvinists.

Some ethnic groups which are larger and whose members are bonded for different reasons than those of the Dutch-Calvinists described here, constitute factions that compete for interest in the larger social or global order, causing much of today's ethnocentric posturing. Other groups simply persist; "candidates for nationhood," as Clifford Geertz calls them (Geertz 1963: 111). Group members refuse to "subordinate ... specific and familiar identifications in favor of a generalized commitment to an overarching and somewhat alien civil order... risk[ing] a loss of definition as an autonomous person" (Geertz 1963: 109). They also gain power -- social economic, personal, psychological or religious -- by maintaining group membership (Petersen et al., 1982: 19, 23; Yinger 1981; Roosens 1989: 13-15, 159).

B. Four Research Questions

Both in this introduction and in the body of this dissertation, I elaborate four research questions which guide this work: 1) What are "ethnicity" and "ethnic group"? 2) What are the distinctions on which ethnicity and ethnic groups are predicated?[1] 3) Why do ethnic distinctions persist?[2] 4) What are the limits of ethnicity as a means of maintaining social distinctions?

C. Preview of This Study's Critique of Current Views of Ethnicity

We cannot understand today's world and its intersocietal conflicts without a fundamentally altered view of ethnicity. In response to the sentiments of the opening questions, Eugeen Roosens writes:

> .... [E]thnic groups are affirming themselves more and more. They promote their own, new cultural identity, even as their old identity is eroded. (Roosens 1989: 9)

We must come to recognise the multiple levels on which group formation and group member identification and action operate. Because ethnicity has been made into a thing, as in "ethnic group," or a quality similar to skin colour, sex, stature or place of birth, it is sometimes equated with "people from a particular place with particular traits and characteristics." Thus, one can "have ethnicity" ("be ethnic") or not have it.

The most recent example of this version of reification appears in Mary C. Waters' acclaimed work,[3] Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America. From her work, it appears that Waters would agree with Jonathan Serna, who holds that ethnic groups came over as immigrant cohorts; people became "ethnics" (Sarna 1978) and began an inexorable process of assimilation, blocked only by such factors as ignorance, discrimination, nostalgic memories or stubborn practices that lent identity to group members in the face of an otherwise alien, massive society. Waters takes Herbert Gans's "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans 1979, discussed

later in this thesis) to the extreme: for "white ethnics," "ethnicity is a voluntaristic, personal matter.... invok[ed] ... for the enjoyment of personality traits or rituals..." (Waters 1990: 164). This is the conclusion of one who fixes on the assimilation/symbolic vs. the pluralism/practised level of group formation and maintenance. In this version of ethnicity studies, the question of boundaries is largely irrelevant.

Charles Hirschman, in his emphatic endorsement of Waters' assertions, says,

> After reading these books,[4] ... I believe that the assimilation theory may have been dismissed prematurely. No, I am not arguing for the race relations cycle of Robert Park, much less the straight-line assimilation theory that only exists in the minds of the critics of the assimilation model. But over the course of the twentieth century, within the space of three or four generations, the very real ethnic differences of European immigrants seem to have survived only for a small fraction of their descendants. For the rest, "symbolic ethnicity" ... is all that is left. (Hirschman 1991: 183)

I find this assertion inconsistent with the conclusions of this dissertation. It is only remotely true in North America, where homogeneity is offered to those who can "pass" in the dominant culture and where dabbling in symbolic ethnicity has become somewhat fashionable. Even here, the luxuries of symbolic ethnicity and voluntary assimilation-or-pluralism is only superficially and selectively true. Ethnic distinctions, especially when colour is added to the mix, are both illusive and elusive. For most people who are labelled or who label themselves "ethnic," assimilation is not an option. Seldom has conflict been exploding around issues of peoplehood and boundary maintenance as it is today. The reader who has also read yesterday's newspaper or watched last night's television news can provide a dozen examples of ethnic conflict or distinction. For many of us, ethnicity is truly no more than the convenient selection of moods and feelings, like the specialty food we eat, the music we choose or the brands we wear. It has great expressive, but little instrumental, value.

D. Some Alternative Points

My thesis contends that ethnicity, even as a term, is dynamic. It is a construal of one's position in space and time. I attempt to bring into the North American context the works of Fredrik Barth and Charles F. Keyes, developed largely in South Asian settings. Although I criticise the reification of group formation into ethnicity, I continue to use the terms ethnicity and ethnic group. However, my definitions attempt to capture the dynamics by which people maintain distinctions and define themselves.

I can summarise four other points which this work makes, and which re-emerge throughout all of the research questions and levels of analysis. One is that ethnicity need not be currently national or geographic in character, although its origins may have been such. When one recognises and operates with the various levels of consideration regarding ethnicity and ethnic groups, then one notices another of my main points: people devise a variety of reasons to maintain distinctions between themselves and others. Frequently that reason is a particular worldview. The worldview to which Dutch-Calvinists of this study adhere is of a religious nature. I call this principle of group maintenance "faith-ethnicity."

A third theme that re-emerges throughout this research confronts an aspect of Barth's and Keyes's positions when they assert that there must be structural opposition in order for an ethnic group to persist. In this study, I find that group formation does not require structural opposition but may involve an internally generated antithesis instead.

As Roosens contends (1989: 13, 14), material gains may be sought, but equally significant is the assertion of uniqueness. People prefer, he says, to be known by their horizontal identity, as members of a particular group since

all people are members of one group or another. Hence, such groups are not easily ranked hierarchically. This is preferred over the vertical ranking of class position, in which some may be regarded as high and some low. Daniel Bell (1975) also points to the greater appeal of ethnic groups as social spaces within which people commune rather than classes or occupational or colour categories.

A fourth recurrent point is that outwardly homogeneous groups of people must be quite diverse internally in order to keep the interest and allegiance of their members.

Group formation and persistence occurs among Dutch-Calvinists, members of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church[5] in a major Canadian metropolitan region. This group is an ethnic community based on a particular faith confession. If these people maintain distinctions that they persistently regard as relevant between themselves and others, then anyone can. In choosing to investigate Dutch-Calvinist ethnicity, I challenge the existing orthodoxy which holds either, as Waters does, that ethnicity is primarily of national or geographic origin or, as does Keyes, that it requires structural opposition.

Against the tide of increasing assimilation into a secularised, industrialised world, members of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church have forged and maintained a strong community. This community rests on Dutch-Calvinist beliefs and practices which are defined neither by Dutchness nor Calvinism alone, but by the interaction of these two -- by what I call faith-ethnicity.[6] The centrality of faith rather than Dutch national origins in this community is evident from the study. The title I chose for this work, "I tell them, 'We are a blessed people,'" while aphoristic, is not unusual.[7] It locates the group's centre and raison d'etre in its worldview. This group exemplifies

the fact that, even in the face of modernity, some groups retain their traditional values -- not by resisting modernity, but by successfully integrating their social practices with that of the majority society even though national origins fade in significance and may disappear altogether. The interpretation of descent, combined with construals of the present and future, preserve relevant, often changing, elements of that heritage in dynamic relationship with principles of faith. Emergent bases for group solidarity or other non-national or geographic bases, such as faith confession, in this case, may occur (Barth 1981: 217-219; Gans 1979: 2, 3; Okamura 1981: 45f; Steinberg 1981: ix,x; Roosens 1989: 13, 14; Waldinger, et al 1990:179).

E. Divisions Within This Work

1) Chapter Two -- Theory

a) Theoretical Contributions

The thesis is divided into three parts. The first is the "Framework," of which this introduction is one chapter. The remainder of this part consists of Chapter Two in which I deal with theoretical issues. In locating the study of group formation, I refer to features of the works of Karl Marx, Max Weber, Ferdinand Toennies, Robert E. Park, Alfred Schutz, Thomas Luckmann and Peter Berger, Karl Mannheim and Jurgen Habermas. This foray into sociological theory is intended to demonstrate the fabrication of ethnicity in distinction from class. The phenomenologists among those just mentioned, and with the addition of Elvi Whittaker, provide a footing which I use in this study. People construct reality according to the situations they encounter. They experience life, seek to make sense of it and "objectivate" their experiences and explanations in terms that they can manage. Over time, these objectivations become external and familiar to them. Habermas and others, provide me with a

theoretical basis from which to argue that worldview is important in the constitution of groups. Whittaker's point is that ethnicity is a grammar or way of explaining a complex of relations, people and institutions. But people act as if ethnicity were the language, not merely the grammar. This leads me to discuss Fredrik Barth's point that, in the course of interaction, people maintain distinctions which he calls boundaries, that separate them from others. In this process, objectivation, mentioned earlier, extends to particular patterns of action and even becomes fixed in institutions.

b) Theoretical Consideration of Research Question One

At this point I discuss the first research question. For this introduction, I summarise my definitions of these terms; in Chapter Two, they are defined fully; in Chapter Five, I thoroughly test the parameters of these definitions.

Ethnicity may be seen as a cultural construal of descent (the past), the present and future: on the basis of one's situation (or the group's collective situation), one actively construes an identity in which givens from the past, from one's current situation, as well as one's projections for the future, serve as potential building materials for social roles and institutions. An ethnic group can be summarised as a social construal in which group members respond to surrounding conditions by creating and maintaining boundaries and institutions, using whatever distinctions they find available and effective. These boundaries and institutions allow members to prescribe some actions, proscribe others and provide criteria by which to identify, evaluate and judge themselves and others. Such social construal may also be imposed from outside the group. Boundaries (for example, pariah status or colour barriers) and structures (such as slavery) may be created by others. In other words, such boundaries may not be desired

by nor be profitable to a group itself, but may be imposed by a dominant group (cf. Patterson 1977).

c) Theoretical Considerations of Research Question Two

A major portion of Chapter Two treats the second research question: the distinctions on which this "grammar" ethnicity is predicated. In fact, although I use the findings of this analysis throughout the thesis, I do not re-present an argument for it anywhere else in the dissertation. This is a prominent thesis of my work: at least four analytical foci are distinguishable in the study of ethnic phenomena. First, some writers focus on the nature of intergroup relations, and they usually assert assimilation or pluralism, symbolic or practised ethnicity as the outcome of such relations. Other scholars investigate a second level: the nature of what they call ethnic feelings or the ethnic bond. They discuss whether ethnicity is a primordial given or a product of social circumstance. A third analytical level of ethnicity features queries about the criteria by which group membership is determined: are they objective traits or subjective interpretations and assertions? Finally, many scholars fix on determining whether ethnic groups originate in social or cultural sources.

Social scientists have struggled, often with each other, to explain ethnicity and ethnic group. In so doing, they have often misunderstood one another by working with different objects and at the different levels described above, when they assumed they were discussing the same thing. Criticism and comparison across these levels and debates has caused considerable confusion. Even worse is the assumption that ethnicity or ethnic group can be fully understood by acknowledging only one of these levels or foci. To demystify this elusive aspect of human social intercourse, I attempt to synthesize significant

insights from each level of debate.[8] One of the points of this thesis is that all four of these levels must be taken into account. Each level can become the focus of attention; each provides an important aspect of what we call ethnicity. But if one follows Waters' example and absolutises any single focus regarding assimilation-pluralism (following the eminent lead of Robert E. Park and a score of ethnicity scholars since him), then one misses the complexity of the dynamic human interactions that result in boundary formation among people who identify with some and exclude others.

d) Theoretical Considerations of Research Questions Three and Four

Each of the other research questions is theoretically examined and fortified in the remainder of Chapter Two. The reasons for ethnic group persistence, the focus of the third research question, are discussed in light of the theories of Keyes, Gans, Steinberg, Yancey, Yinger, Roosens, Isaacs and Epstein. Some of these reasons are instrumental: people perceive that groups provide advantages in social interaction. Other reasons are presumed to be innate. For example, Geertz and Isaacs contend that people grasp onto ethnicity because it is natural and irresistible for them to do so. A group of theorists contends that ethnicity is a hedge against alienation in an otherwise rational and heartless society (e.g. Yinger 1981). It is also regarded as a source of personal identity and stability (as Epstein, 1978, and Driedger 1975: 151; 1976: 131; 1988: 23-48; 201-208 have also found).

The theoretical position I find most convincing, however, is that groups are both conditioned by external forces and also shaped and selected by actors who choose to maintain boundaries and institutions between themselves and others. Such boundaries and institutions prescribe some actions, proscribe others and serve as criteria for identification, evaluation and judgment. While the

theoretical underpinnings of this third research question are discussed in Chapter Two, it is empirically investigated and challenged in great detail in Chapter Six.

The treatment in Chapter Two of the fourth and final research question of this thesis is examined primarily by referring to the theories of Barth, Gans and Breton. Barth aptly suggests that ethnicity serves as a criterion of distinction only as long as personal performance is not compromised (Barth 1981: 214). This is corroborated by Keyes, whose ethnographic research shows that loyalty to the ethnic group is dispensable in the face of changing circumstances. This point is considerably augmented by Raymond Breton's brilliant analysis of the effect of an institutional centre on groups' persistence. In Chapter Two, I acknowledge these theoretical contributions, awaiting the last part of Chapter Six for presenting empirical testing of them. This study also shows that Dutch-Calvinism appears to be accepted by some members because it affords stability and enhances characteristics that are generally well-rewarded in Canadian society.

2) Chapter Three -- Methods

Chapter Three treats the methodology and research strategies employed in this study. In it, I show how I combined nearly one hundred in-depth interviews; documentary analysis of meeting minutes, church bulletins and group histories; data collected from a community-wide survey questionnaire; participant observation over a period of nine months; and personal knowledge of the Dutch-Calvinist tradition. I contend that when one exhaustively studies a community with these multiple strategies, one encounters the levels of complexity about which I have been writing in this introduction. Boundary maintenance becomes evident; one notes that definitions of persons, actions,

community, and the general society are constantly being questioned, formed, confirmed and re-defined. I tap into the literature on ethnographic field-work, particularly that which involves attempts to re-construct the lifeworlds of people on the basis of ideas by which the people, themselves, live and interpret. Specifically, I profess and employ William Foote Whyte's practice of beginning a study with "social exploration" rather than a host of preconceptions. For this reason, I devised "research questions" rather than hypotheses, when I planned this study. I used my role as an "insider-stranger" to gain appreciation of aspects of the community which, I believe, helped me present features of this group which I would not have noticed if I had worked with another group. Here, I note Lofland and Lofland's (1984) point that one must learn to interpret words and phrases which people use in order to construct what they really mean. In this chapter I also refer to Zora Neale Hurston's point that an ethnographic analysis of a community with which one is familiar is like studying a garment one has worn. One can better analyse it when it is removed, but one understands it better for having worn it.

I moved between two levels: that of the Dutch-Calvinist community, in seeking to understand and present its worldview ,and that of the wider concern of the nature of ethnic groups as exemplified by that community.

3) Chapter Four -- Dutch-Calvinist History

This chapter begins Part Two, which contains a presentation of Dutch-Calvinist history and ideas, both in the Netherlands and in Canada.

Chapter Four provides a selective and specific historical analysis of Dutch-Calvinism, beginning in the Netherlands. In this chapter, I attempt to accent those features of Canadian Dutch-Calvinists' past by which they build their present orientation to their larger society. Especially important is the

development of a worldview which emphasized the separate and "antithetical" erection of parallel institutions. I include this rather extensive historical section to buttress my contention that ethnicity is a construal of the past in present and future-oriented terms. At least for these Dutch-Calvinists in Riverside, the past is not simply a nostalgic memory; it is the reservoir for concepts, doctrines, ideas and practices employed today, either in identical or adapted form.

Further in Chapter Four, I present a history of this particular congregation. Again, I assert that a dynamic and practised ethnicity prevails, gravitationally encircling the nucleus of faith. I intend this chapter to present a more credible model of the phenomenon of ethnicity and ethnic groups around the world today than does the presumed symbolic variety of Waters, Gans, Hirschman and their followers. If one asks people isolated and superficial questions, as does Waters, then one gets the impression that ethnicity is a smorgasbord. One must look deeply into a group's history and must not assume a literal or direct usage of cultural and social features. Rather, one must see ethnicity as the inheritance of principles by which to construe or interpret the past, present and future. Then one begins to understand the alternatively warming and chilling depth to which some will go to maintain distinctions that they consider important or indispensable. Ask a Croatian whether his or her ethnicity is symbolic or practised; ask a Kwakiutl, a Nishga or a Haida; ask a Mennonite; ask a Dutch-Calvinist. History, of the sort I present in Chapter Four, is not dead but alive in the creeds, institutions and distinctions today's members of the group maintain, re-tool and use.

4) Chapter Five -- Empirical Analysis of Research Question One

Chapter Five addresses research question one empirically. This is the longest, most complex single part of the thesis. Since most people, including scholars, regard ethnicity as pre-eminently deriving from the past, I decide that the past is a good place to start the investigation. I begin with Keyes' definition which holds that ethnicity is a cultural interpretation of descent. This is already a departure, of course, from those who simply hold to a direct historical lineage of ethnicity and ethnic group from some group of ancestors. However, as I scroll back over the Dutch-Calvinist past, both in the Netherlands and in Canada, I find that it is not only an interpretation of the past, but only those elements of the past that have relevance for the present, future or both. As it turns out, ethnicity is indeed a cultural interpretation. But more precisely, it interprets -- or construes, as I call it -- an inheritance from the past, an account of one's current status and one's endowment for the future and future generations. This again, as far as I can tell, kicks sand in the eyes of the more myopic view of ethnicity which portrays it as a symbolic gaiety which North Americans can doff or don at will.

Turning to the definition of ethnic group developed in Chapter Two, I analyse it more thoroughly in Chapter Five. I review the observations, questionnaires and interviews of members of Riverside Christian Reformed Church to find whether there is support for each element of that definition. First, regarding the existence of a common worldview, I look to assertions which I draw from Schutz, Berger and Luckmann, and Habermas in Chapter Two. I find that the Dutch-Calvinists' worldview is deeply rooted in their strong, pervasive faith. In fact, that faith qualifies their ethnicity to the point that it distinguishes it from other forms of ethnicity. I call this faith-ethnicity. There are many

forms of this faith-ethnicity. Some people are very exclusive in their adherence to Calvinism, while others believe that the essence of faith in this community is its willingness to reach beyond traditional membership roles and attempt to bring in people who have never heard the gospel -- at least not proclaimed in the urgent manner with which the Calvinist presses it. Nonetheless, faith-ethnicity thrives in either case.

The next part of Chapter Five considers the presence of community institutions, which my definition of ethnic group mentions. Using Raymond Breton's (1964) ideas about the importance of such structures, I show the deep connections among individuals, their institutions and ideals.

That leads to an extensive attention to Barth's and Keyes's emphasis on group boundaries. Since my definition cites boundaries as important, I test the Dutch-Calvinist case to determine whether they pay attention to them as Barth suggests. To the extent that they do, I provide such examples from interview, documents and tabulated data. The boundaries exist in the forms of practices, friendships, teachings, worship formats and interaction styles, for example.

5) Chapter Six -- Empirical Analysis of Research Questions Three and Four

Chapter Six combines the data gathered to answer two research questions: "Why do ethnic groups persist?" and "What is the limit of ethnic group persistence?" Here, I delve deeper into the world of the Dutch-Calvinists, uncovering and viewing their stories and practices. They told me that the group is both a focus and source of their faith; it serves as a place for support and contact; it provides a platform from which to view the world and to jump into its fray. In addition, it is a source of identity which they seek to maintain

as a wellspring. Finally, some members persistently uphold the community because they believe that is the "natural" or only option their lives have.

I find that structural and economic opposition are not the only forces that determine a group's limits. The Dutch-Calvinist worldview, with its vision of a covenant community of people who are faithful to God and who are "antithetical" to those who do not have faith in God and Calvinistically interpreted biblical injunctions, generates separation spontaneously. Boundaries exist: for example, persistent definitions of who is or is not a member, debates over ideological issues, and opposition to aspects of the general society. Those boundaries, institutions and ideas cannot all be traced to "structural opposition."

In the second portion of Chapter Six, I turn to the question of the ethnic group's limits. Here I engage the assertions of some fine scholars who opt for the social explanation of the origins of ethnic groups in their contention that structural opposition is essential for ethnic group continuation. Acknowledging that there is little externally applied opposition, I look to find if, in fact, Dutch-Calvinist institutions, boundaries and worldview are disappearing. I find that they are changing, not disappearing. That corroborates Barth's and the social constructionist position generally: precise traits are not as significant as members' perceptions and evaluations of self, others and society. It does this in the form of various beliefs, doctrines and institutions. In much the same way that adherents of Islam perceive the enemy embodied in those who live outside of Islamic obedience and submission, so the Dutch-Calvinists want to maintain purity by keeping out the evil influences and secular thought and practice of those who have neither time nor inclination for the ways of God.

6) Chapter Seven -- Conclusion

Part III contains only a single chapter. In it, I summarise the study and present what I consider one of its most important contributions (along with the assertion that ethnicity studies have various foci, the fact that groups exist by boundary construction, and the assertion that opposition can be generated internally, not only imposed from the outside).

From the data and analyses, I construct a typology of the various orientations to the ethnic boundaries, and the criteria by which ethnicity is defined. I suggest that, while some judge ethnicity by reference to traits and characteristics which the group is presumed to idealise (what I call diacritica), others judge it by the degree to which they are allowed to be or not to be a member of the group (what I call the communal criterion). Regarding their relationship to the ethnic boundary, including a relationship to Calvinism, some people have recourse to past interpretations and identities of the group. Others, although still maintaining their orientation to Dutch-Calvinism, try to adapt it to or interpret it in light of their present circumstances. They have discourse with the tradition rather than recourse. A third orientation to the ethnic boundary is one of ambiguity. Some people orient themselves to Dutch-Calvinism without seriously or continuously adopting it. I call this marginal group "excursive."

Thus, the typology presents diacritical and communal criteria of ethnic membership; and recursive, discursive and excursive orientations to the ethnic boundary. Combining criteria and orientations yields a 6-fold typology of possibilities for the Riverside Dutch-Calvinists -- and, by extension, to other groups which share sufficient similarities with them.

Members or marginal people debate and argue among each other; they invigorate and excite each other, but rather than leading to radical fracturing, this variety serves the ironic purpose of lending credibility, seriousness and purpose to the group. It occupies the member's attentions. Barring complete revocation or renunciation of Dutch-Calvinist ideals, such conflict strengthens and helps to preserve the group.

Although the bulk of this dissertation deals with the Dutch-Calvinist community, I urge the reader to note that much of my thought and effort was turned to the nature of ethnicity as I researched and wrote this material. Therefore, I consider the theoretical survey and observations treated in Chapter Two and throughout the work to be as important as the empirical aspects of the work. I consider the extended reference to Barth's and Keyes' works to be significant to my treatment of Dutch-Calvinists, since their venues and applications have been largely in anthropological writings, treating groups in less economically dominant societies. References to Habermas and others in connection with worldview and social understanding are intended to bring together my own perspective and a critical analysis of dominant societies.

Finally, the typology drawn from the community studied represents my desire to demonstrate that, even groups which share many features with dominant society and whose members are judged by outsiders to be homogeneous, differ in complex and internally significant ways.

I present a caveat before plunging into the body of this dissertation. When students of ethnicity probe the core of the subject, and the very meaning of ethnicity and ethnic relations, much can come apart. Like an over-stuffed sewing basket, if the lid is pried open, bits of its contents tend to go in all directions. Despite efforts at containment, this thesis shares some of this

problem. I choose consciously to not limit explorations of ethnicity to only one or two planes of thought, to one or two strands of theorising. As issues emerge and re-emerge, I explore them, often pursuing issues that might be seen as unrelated, even distractive. However, as anyone familiar with this literature will know, one theorist's tangent is another researcher's nucleus. I have found the needle, thread and thimble and have attempted to draw together the pieces of a fascinating garment, I believe.

ENDNOTES

1. This last question is treated only in Chapter Two, the theory section, since I am referring here mainly to the ways these concepts are treated by scholars. Theorists are dealing, of course, with relations in the world, but in one's everyday world, one does not usually make the explicit distinctions that I elaborate here.

2. Another way of phrasing this research question is to ask, "What are the criteria by which ethnic boundaries are recognised?"

3. In her 1990 book, Ethnic Options: Choosing Identities in America, although service is paid to the subjective and symbolic character of ethnicity, it is still equated with simple national origin, rather than viewed as a continual process of accomplishments of actors who choose ethnic identities in ongoing interaction with others like themselves and those whom they perceive to be and treat as different.

By "acclaim," I refer to the highly complimentary review of this work by Charles Hirschman in Contemporary Sociology 20 (2), March, 1991.

4. He also reviewed Richard D. Alba's 1990 work, Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America.

5. I have decided that I must use the official title of the denomination which I am studying, the Christian Reformed Church, since I am using official publications of the denomination as resources. However, Riverside and Riverside Christian Reformed Church are pseudonyms. I also use pseudonyms for all places and specific groups and institutions, as well as the names of all people mentioned as subjects in the study, unless otherwise specified. Any use of names of living people is coincidental; I have attempted to avoid such. To protect the confidentiality of minutes of meetings and of the persons whom I interviewed, I have numbered all notes and other sources and refer to them as such. I have also tried to avoid references to contexts which would directly lead to personal identification. However, in the historical sections of this study, this became difficult to do, and perhaps the intrepid reader with a knowledge of the situation may be able to identify general aspects of the community.

6. Harry Stout (1975: 205) refers to such a combination as "ethnoreligious," although he is referring to stages of religious development in America, not concentrating on the nature of belief as a social bond. Since I am dealing with particularistic beliefs in this study, I shall use the more restricted term "faith-ethnicity" instead of "ethnoreligious." Yinger (1966) also notes the close relationship of faith and ethnicity. He concludes that religion often serves as a distinguishing factor for groups which assimilate to the broader society in many other ways.

7. The self-assurance of the Calvinist, denoted here by the first person singular "I" and the emphatic "telling" of a rationale of success, is a significant indication of the group's vitality. The belief that they have God's special favour -- they are "blessed" -- is another significant reason for group coherence and optimism. "Them" refers to anyone who is not Dutch and Calvinist and who cares to ask why members of this community fare well in Canada. There is pride in what "we" can tell "them" about peoplehood. The man who gave that phrase uttered it with the merry tone and chuckle of one who knew the secret to a baffling joke which may be escaping the attention of most.

8. The discussion regarding levels of analysis is confined to the theory chapter, although I employ it throughout the empirical analysis.

CHAPTER TWO -- THEORY

A. General Theoretical Perspective

Berger and Luckmann (1966: 45-50) argue that humans have so little instinct that we are vulnerable in the world. To survive, we create and maintain social order. Through association and habitualisation of experiences, we form particular worldviews or perspectives; patterns of behavior crystallise (Ibid.:50). As pragmatism contends (Stark 1958: 19,20), this crystallisation often occurs on the basis of performances that are successful or that have worked in the past for others with whom the present actors perceive some affinity. The patterns of action that people adopt are varied, but in each case, the social world that is formed to meet the needs of a group of people takes on an objective reality (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 57) and is regarded by successive generations as reality. According to phenomenological sociology, this social world is often perceived as objective, and as forceful as the natural order.

Although social order is a product and patterns of human action are not strictly and instinctually determined, humans abide by the principles of order with which they are familiar (Ibid.: 45, 49, 51, 92, 152). Elements of this order become fixed in people's lives as they reflect on the history from which

it originated and the legitimacy with which it is now endowed (Ibid.: 52, 58). Social control and legitimation (the process of establishing authority by appealing to aspects of life that the actors already accept and to which they conform) lend support to a group's way of life (Ibid.: 84). Through symbolisation, particular aspects of the culture and particular social roles are set apart to represent the social order (Ibid.: 92). This account reminds us of the social basis of group formation and the function of the group in maintaining a locus for identity and security. The position I, along with many other sociological explorations of ethnicity, adopt in this study assumes the active participation of knowledgeable and reflexive agents who attempt to choose the course of their actions and who create social structures that enhance their individual performances, provide a source of identity, and contribute to a more secure life. Communal groups may be organised in order to facilitate such choices for their members. Although these choices are affected by such external forces as biological realities, physical forces, emotions of people, group attitudes, economic features, competing religious claims, people still have a degree of freedom to choose to live in ways they consider optimal, given the situations that condition them.

Of course, there are many instances in which people are constrained to accept an ethnic ascription which they do not want (Patterson 1977; Schermerhorn [1970] 1978: 12, 13 and Ch. 3; Lal 1983: 158, 159; Van den Berghe [1967] 1978: 16, 26-27). This occurs in caste and slave societies, in colonial contexts, and is a factor in any unequal social system. Yet, even in the face of coercion and social inequality, groups tend to give their members a level of status and identity which they may not achieve in the general society (Lal 1983: 159; Petersen 1980: 23). Further, even in extreme situations of inequality, the

route to freedom frequently runs through the ethnic group as members seek collective liberation or status (Barth 1969; Nagata 1981: 107, 111; Banton 1979; Fox, Aull and Cimono 1979: 199, 201, 205, 207, 219; Lal 1983: 166, 167; Roosens 1989: 14; Yinger 1981: 258, 259; Yinger 1985: 161, 162; Ringer and Lawless 1989: 15, 131).[1] These situations of ethnic inequality do not negate the point that actors are reflexive and knowledgeable and, if they can, choose what is best for them and those about whom they care.

Karl Mannheim adds that "knowing is fundamentally collective knowing; it presupposes a community of experiencing..." (Mannheim 1936: 28). Thought and knowledge are always social possessions, and the more "organic or organised" they are in closed groups, the more likely they are to integrate ideas and bind people together in groups whose members are conscious of membership and who are moving to realise specific ends (Ibid.: 126-127).

Mannheim enhances understanding of groups and their significance for members by stating that the "living forces and actual attitudes [of the individual] are by no means of an individual nature.... Rather they arise out of the collective purposes of a group which underlie the thought of the individual and in the prescribed outlook in which he merely participates" (Ibid.:240-241). The group, says Mannheim, does not have a "group mind," but "expectations, purposes, and impulses arising out of [collective historical] experience" which underlie the way a person thinks (Ibid.). Through conflict (Ibid.: 186, 240-242) born of competing interests or outlook (Ibid.: 251), "diverse interpretations of the world" are revealed as "the intellectual expressions of conflicting groups struggling for power" (Ibid.: 241).

Thus, people encounter social-structural and natural forces in ways that become habitualised and externalised in actions and objectified in institutions;

they regard roles and practices as appropriate and recognise them as aspects of culture. In the spirit of W.I. Thomas, if people define these roles and practices to be real, they are real in their consequences (Thomas and Thomas [1928]: 572). Further, they internalise adherence to these institutions and the roles and practices attached to them as appropriate ways to act (using Berger's [1966] terms). This internalisation and the reasons by which they are legitimated and authorised are what I am calling worldview throughout this thesis.

Fredrik Barth contends that when the categories that arise from people's different experiences are used to regulate interaction, a boundary is erected and maintained.

Expressed in ethnic group terms, as Roosens does, this social interpretation of reality looks like this:

> If I see and experience myself as a member of an ethnic category or group, and others -- fellow members and outsiders -- recognize me as such, 'ways of being' become possible for me that set me apart from the outsiders. These ways of being contribute to the content of my self-perception. In this sense, I become my ethnic allegiance; I experience any attack on the symbols, emblems, or values (cultural elements) that define my ethnicity as an attack on myself. (Roosens 1989: 17-18)

On the basis of the preceding discussion, I make the following conclusion which is important for my analysis of Dutch-Calvinists in Chapters 5, 6 and 7: One makes choices regarding interaction options on the basis of some set of criteria which do not inhere in the options themselves, not as rational categories of the mind, but as taken-for-granted assumptions, which themselves are based on presuppositions that are not questioned regularly.

These criteria or presuppositions operate under the auspices of what I call worldview in this thesis.

B. Some Classical Perspectives on the Study of Ethnic Groups

Almost everything about ethnicity has been questioned by each of the major sociological perspectives. Most social theorists acknowledge that groups wield power or that power is expressed by the group. Although somewhat reluctantly, most will also acknowledge that such power is expressed in those groups which have been labelled "ethnic": those with lie between the kinship group and the general national society.

1) Karl Marx

Ethnicity is regarded by Marx and at least some Marxists (e.g., Marcuse, Wright, Filson) as contradictory to class interests since it crosscuts class distinctions and thus diverts energy from what they consider the essential social distinctions to one which perpetuates the physical boundaries on which inequality is presumed to depend as sources for cheap labour (Bonacich 1972; 1975; 1976) and as generative of social pariahs.

Marx, in The German Ideology, contends that

> the social structure and the state are continually evolving out of the life-process of definite individuals, but of individuals, not as they might appear in their own or other people's imaginations, but as they really are, i.e., as they operate, produce, materially.... (Marx and Engels [1844, 1957] 1970: 47)

He writes later in this work, "Consciousness is, therefore, from the very beginning a social product, and remains so as long as men exist" (Ibid.: 51), and again, "It shows that circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances" (Ibid.: 59). With regard to the question of ethnicity (which Marx does not address specifically), he is laying the groundwork for the point that all human institutions, relations and concepts are socially generated. One must then add the assumption that they are formed on the basis that "history is nothing but the activity of men in pursuit of their ends" (Marx in The Holy

Family, cited in Bottomore 1979: 19). Also, in this line, Marx asserts that all social life emerges from the "mode of production" in which people live.[2]

Finally, in this explanation of Marx's progression from material production to social divisions, one must remember that the only relevant social position consideration for Marx was one's relation to the control of this material production. And since this is true, all that really matters is whether all individuals in a given society have equal access to the means of production. If they do, but deprive others outside of their own group of access to them, it is not the consciousness of peoplehood such as that revolving around language, place or political division that is most significant, but the class position that an entire group assumes relative to those who are thus deprived. This is his point in Capital, when he points out that the "Christian colonial system" has universally deprived all less powerful peoples (he mentions East Indies, Africa, China, and the Americas) of their power and material (Burns 1982: 286-295).

At the same time as they exploited other peoples, the holders of land and capital reduced citizens of their own nations to "veiled slaves" as wage-labourers (Ibid.: 297). Thus, as Manifesto states, the true division of humanity is that of class -- or position relative to the material means of production. It is not the nation, group or tribe to which one belongs, since members of each are equally vulnerable to exploitation by those who control capital and production (Burns 1982: 22-59).

An example of the direct employment of Marx's ideas more recently is Oliver Cromwell Cox's position:

> ...racial exploitation is merely one aspect of the problem of the proletarianization of labor regardless of the color of the laborer.... The capitalist exploiter, being opportunistic and practical will utilize any convenience to keep his labor and other resources freely exploitable.... As a matter of fact, the white proletariat of early capitalism had to endure

> burdens of exploitation quite similar to those which many colored people must bear today. (Cox 1948: 333, quoted in Ringer 1989: 36)

This shows at least the potential within Marxist thought to relativise ethnic distinctions by making them a variant of class struggle and exploitation of whatever segment of a population is most vulnerable.

Although it may have been white Europeans who subjugated many people, they did so as "colonialist elites, consolidat[ing] their holds on political and economic power and monopolis[ing] the major instruments of control and coercion" (Ringer 1989: 120).

While this study is not arguing the validity of that position, it is clear that the concept "ethnic group" is subordinate to that of class in this position. Although greatly developed, echoes of this position re-emerge in Bonacich's treatment in which groups' opportunities and position relative to economic control determine their interests (see Bonacich 1972, 1975, 1976).

2) Max Weber

Weber opened the way for the subjective, actor-centered view of ethnicity which has proved fertile in ethnic studies of the past twenty years. He speaks of ethnicity as a "subjective belief" and "presumed identity" (Weber 1968: 389; Burgess 1978: 269). Obviously, one can see Weber recognising the ethnic groups in a way that Marx did not. Nevertheless, he also saw ethnicity as invariably associated with assignment of status and inequality in society.

Weber's main difference from Marx, of course, is in his belief that the economic complex of labour, the market and class does not constitute the exclusive line of conflict and competition in society. Rather, inequality and conflict can also occur on the basis of distinctions of race and ethnicity, status and occupation (Weber 1968: 40; 926-935). Cleavages can occur in society along racial and ethnic lines, not as Marx would have it: because of the economic

class differences, based on differential positions in relation to the means of production. For Weber, the different degrees of status attached to different ethnic groups can precede class position -- either dominance or subordination. For example, a group is likely to be degraded in terms of status-honour first, and then be exploited as a poorly paid worker (Parkin 1982: 68). Ethnicity has an "artificial origin" in the "subjective belief" in "common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration.... [It] does not matter whether or not an objective blood tie exists" (Weber 1968: 393). Group formation occurs, not because of an "objective foundation" (Ibid.), but in order to achieve "monopolistic closure," to sustain some " political action" (Ibid.: 393) or other social distinction. Weber also refers to the irrationality of communal relationships such as ethnicity. "If rationally regulated action is not widespread, almost any association, even the most rational one, creates an overarching communal consciousness; this takes the form of a brotherhood on the basis of belief in a common ethnicity" (Ibid.: 389).

Thus, while Marx contends that belief in a common peoplehood based on descent should be discouraged and represents a false consciousness, Weber acknowledges the ethnic group as a type of status group, which may, in turn, lend itself to political organisation or class domination/subordination. Since he contends that membership in such a group is subjective and not always rational, he also opens the door for those who, like Frederik Barth, argue that membership in ethnic groups is more about boundary maintenance than cultural content.

3) Ferdinand Toennies

Another classical approach to group formation, although not specifically directed at ethnic group formation, is Toennies' study of the nature of human relationships and their effect on social formations. Toennies has had an effect on sociological thinking about ethnicity in both the German (Weber and Simmel most prominently[3]) and American considerations of social order and group participation.[4]

Toennies' contrast between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft rests on the assumption that the social orders of non-Western, pre-modern, non-industrial societies (characterised as Gemeinschaft) and modern, industrial and bureaucratic societies (Gesellschaft) differ according to the popular "will" that underlies them. In the former, sentiment, understanding and tradition prevail (what Toennies called Wesenwille); in the latter, members want to achieve a particular end and have a "rational" will (Kurwille) to achieve it (Toennies 1963: 248). As society becomes more complex, more of its functions are taken over by people who do not establish rules and laws, but merely administer them, and social transactions occur on the basis of a rational money system. As these changes occur, personal bonds and relationships undergo a change. There is less personal contact and individual knowledge of one another's lives. Greater social distance and impersonality follow.

Society is ordered by law, which is administered rationally and on the basis of a kind of contract between its members and the overarching state, rather than by mores and folkways as was once the case (Poplin 1972: 118).

Whether or not Toennies' characterisation of modern life as impersonal, alienating and rationalistic as compared with the personal, intimate and emotionally based relations of past or simpler societies is true, it has had

some effect on the theories of sociologists and anthropologists of ethnicity, as I shall demonstrate below.

4) Robert E. Park and the Chicago School of Sociology

Heavily influenced by Weber, Simmel and Toennies and writing in an American context, R.E. Park, W.I. Thomas and Louis Wirth, set parameters implicitly for much of later North American reflection and writing on ethnicity. Most directly, this occurred through the major ethnic studies contributions of Wirth and Park. First, is Wirth's emphasis on four main types of immigrant groups -- assimilationist, pluralist, secessionist and militarist. Second, with his "race relations cycle," Park claimed to encompass all ethnic groups as they encounter dominant societies.

Commenting on Wirth's position on types of ethnic groups, Park suggested (1945: 354-363) that groups in an ethnic setting will attempt to assimilate if they possess the traits and qualities allowed by the majority society. Failing that, but still accepted at some levels in the society, members may seek pluralism: tolerance by the dominant society and some recognition of their rights. Secessionist and militant minorities did not figure large in Wirth's analysis, since the American scene at his time did not include large numbers of people who were concerned, aware, or empowered enough about their disadvantaged positions to secede or wage conflict. He limited his work to the American scene and so did those who followed him, effectively limiting analysis to assimilation and pluralism. Wirth held that the force of modernisation would eventually triumph over the desire to remain distinct and that, given opportunities, there would be no obstructions to immigrant or racial minority assimilation. (Ibid.)

Park took this assimilation assumption further. He observed that processes of communication, commerce and industrialisation were making themselves felt on

a massive scale, and he saw no way to resist them.[5] After reviewing the impact of world travel, exchange of ideas, the growth of global communication and dispersal of Western films all over the world, he wrote:

> .... the forces which have brought about the existing interpenetration of people are so vast and irresistible that the resulting changes assume the character of a cosmic process. New means of communication enforce new contacts and result in new forms of competition and of conflict. But out of this confusion and ferment, new and more intimate forms of association arise.
>
> In the relations of the races, there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself.... The race relations cycle which ... takes the form ... of contact, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible. (Park 1950: 149, 150)

He also allows that one might not morally accept this assimilation process. "It does not follow," he writes, "that because the tendencies to the assimilation and eventual amalgamation of the races exist, they should not be resisted and, if possible, altogether inhibited" (Ibid.: 151). Park followed Weber and Toennies in his analysis in viewing the rationalising tendencies of modern society to have such force that they could not be resisted. Nor would most people want to resist them. This did not mean that he favoured them, just as Weber sometimes did not.

The academic debate about racial and ethnic relations in the United States revolved around these two exclusive poles, assimilation and pluralism, for some years. That emphasis masked some of the deeper issues of identity, religious commitment and cultural adaptations to aspects of life. It also obscured the intervening factors of adverse discrimination and anti-assimilationist forces such as economic utility of racial/ethnic segregation, jealousy of status by one group over another and historical hostility between groups.

These latter are some of the issues addressed by the sociologists of the "new ethnicity" of the mid-1960s. They attacked Park's observations and

forecasts, but missed the subtlety of his treatment. For example, while Park had pointed out (1950: 353; republication of a 1928 journal article "Human Migration and the Marginal Man") that the "process of acculturation and assimilation and the accompanying amalgamation of racial stocks does not proceed with the same speed in all cases," all the new ethnicity people read in Park was the "inevitable and irreversible" part of his "cycle." They tended to miss the word "apparently" in his assertion.

In fact, he held that precisely the conflict and competition that emerges from the interaction of culturally different people are what make "the individual free for new adventures." That is the positive side to his observations. He was, however, not entirely sanguine about the effects of such assimilation, saying that they proceed "more or less without direction and control." He was simply impressed by the massiveness of the changes that he saw among the people of the world who were coming into contact with powerful ideas and technologically advanced cultures which they appeared determined or compelled to adopt or emulate. He felt that, generally, through conflict and competition, a stronger, assimilated but pluralistically originated society would emerge. Inevitably, the figure of the "marginal man" appears: one who is uneasy in his/her own, old society, but not assimilable into the new one either. Although tragic and unusual, Park holds that such a person has a "wider horizon,... keener intelligence, [and] more detached and rational viewpoint" than his ethnically pure contemporaries (Park 1950: 376). Thus, his "hero" is not the assimilated person, but the unique individual who forestalled both homogenisation and ethnic envelopment.

Also ignored by later scholars of ethnicity, is Park's assertion that the "superficial uniformity, a homogeneity in manners and fashions [is] associated

with relatively profound differences in individual opinions, sentiments and beliefs" (Ibid.: 205; originally published in 1913). The difference between Park and his later critics, then, is not so much the fact that Park thought everyone would be the same as everyone else; he did not. The difference is that the later scholars saw this diversity as at least partially group-inspired; Park tended to view it as precipitating in the individual.

He did point to physical rather than mental differences as the root of racial problems and the "chief obstacle to cultural assimilation." However, sociologists needed the realisation of the ugliness of racism in the 1950s and 1960s to bring them to question the origins of ethnic group differences and to closely investigate the distinctions between the social/structural and cultural origins of ethnic distinctions. Such considerations also brought to the foreground the distinction between subjective and objective dimensions of ethnicity, as well as questioning anew its origins in human society. These were issues that Park implied, but his occupation with culture rather than social structure left a gap that was bound to be filled, in spite of the energy with which he analysed the intergroup participation of the immigrants of his day. In summary, Park's and Wirth's treatments concentrate on the individual, rather than the group in the assimilation process, and on cultural rather than social features of interactions. This latter left open the problem of adverse discrimination preventing assimilation for some groups, unlike the observed experiences of the predominantly white ethnics of his day, who were busily integrating into the burgeoning industrial and market oriented society of that time.

C. Recent and Contemporary Perspectives on the Study of Ethnic Groups

Recent writing on ethnicity takes into account many of the contributions just mentioned. The present study draws together several of these strands and tests their strength on a case study of Dutch-Calvinists.

In canvassing theories of ethnicity, I give special attention to the recent strain of analysis which emphasizes ethnicity's variability and its socially generated character, and includes an acceptance of the position that ethnicity is a grammar, and not an "iron cage" entity.

Whittaker (1986: 191) writes about the problem of creating ethnicity as an entity. Rather than being assigned the status of a thing or an inevitable quality or datum of humanity, it should be regarded as a "language or a grammar," she maintains. Whittaker contends that we have given to ethnicity a force which it should not possess. It has come to be seen as a "given" itself, about which nothing can be done. It is assumed that one simply inherits the characteristics of a particular group of people and acts them out in an individual way. Ethnicity, as an object, destines one to a position in society and to particular actions as a person unless one is exceptional or successfully socialised away from one's ethnic group. Even then, some of its primordial or innate characteristics may crop through periodically, many assume.

A problem occurs when ethnicity is reified or hypostatised instead of being regarded hermeneutically -- interpretively. Then we witness the buildup of a body of literature and of social institutions and government agencies which attest to the corporeality and substantiveness of the construct: "ethnicity" (Ibid.). Without precision, ethnicity may become an end of explanation rather than an aspect of that which should be understood. As Whittaker indicates, it has served as a convenient way to project one's version of the world onto the

world of others and, thus, to maintain (or create) one's own impressions of reality under the guise of verification by those whom one projects as culturally (ethnically) distinct from oneself or one's group or class. This danger is imminent in the use of any socially constructed division -- many of which are based on genuine differences, but which are accoutered with folds of restrictive meanings.

Yet, in the name of this product of Western thought, much reflection on the nature of human association and differentiation has been done. One cannot ignore that, nor dismiss the phenomena of solidarity and power that the field of "ethnicity" and "ethnic relations" indicate and include.

Allow me to explain the reasons for my continued use of these terms. In our social interaction, we treat each other in such habitual and regular ways -- even making changes according to patterns -- that they begin to function for us as though they are real. They become "objectivated," using Berger's term. Alfred Schutz refers to "cultural patterns" (1944: 501-505) and "recipes" as regularised ways of acting, using knowledge that we, as actors, take for granted (Ibid.). "Ethnicity" fits into this sort of world: people treat each other as if others were completely different from themselves, and according to their own needs and assumptions. We make others into what we want them to be and accept their responses to what we want others to be, to the extent that they allow themselves to be shaped by our expectations. In both cases (we and they), ethnicity is a cultural construction, but it functions like any other such fabrication which is based on real differences, such as sex, economic inequality, occupational differences, varying amounts of prestige or power.[6]

In this case, ethnicity -- which is a grammar, a way of ordering some other set of phenomena, or a hermeneutic, a way of interpreting another world --

becomes the cultural interpretation of descent, present and future. With this concept, a person or a group works with the givens of descent: time and place of birth, one's ancestors, one's body, one's name and people. One also regards the circumstances of the present and consequences of action for the future. Agents, often as members of groups, construe an identity from these elements. This identity then takes on social significance for individuals as members of groups that bear the social/structural stamps of that construal. Therefore, I continue to use the terms ethnicity and ethnic group in this study, mindful of their cultural and social influences and the ever-present danger of reification.

As such, we must know and live as though ethnicity is one means of explaining social phenomena, particularly practices which differ from those of the explaining person, group or class.

Ethnic groups consist of people who are similar in regard to some set of circumstances or conditions and who attempt to respond to them in similar, socially agreed ways. What cannot be adequately explained by reference to other forms of distinction, such as class, sex, religion (in the sense of the compartmentalised form of it we know in rationalised societies), but can be accounted for by reference to a presumed common origin and boundaries: this more basic and general distinction has come to be known as ethnic group. One must take care, theoretically, that only the sense of peoplehood experienced by actors themselves and not the romanticised, liberal, scientistic, political, religious or other rationalised version is the one applied to the study of such groups.

In this chapter, I also present ethnic theorising which concentrates on social interaction and its implications for the group. This includes the facility of the person to act as a responsible, competent interactant with others while the group simultaneously provides a context within which one's life has

meaning. There is a "duality of structure" (Giddens 1976: 157, 158, inter alia) by which the actor both produces the social order and acts in accordance with it.

The works of both Gans and Yancey and Juliani, et al. (1976), in the American context, demonstrate such an approach to ethnicity. The latter show that the opportunities of employment, education, residence and power for late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries immigrants to the USA were so constrained that people tended to live in the same areas and work in similar occupations, as well maintaining a large array of institutions. The existence of these institutions is what Breton (1964) refers to as institutional completeness. Yancey, et al, and Breton link such proximity, interaction and institution-building with higher group solidarity. Ethnic communities, Yancey and his colleagues contend, thus became crystallised in American cities. Ethnicity did not become a salient factor for them until common conditions in their country of destination forced them to look to common understandings, meanings and sources of material and spiritual comfort to cope with their new situation. For some people, such as those in the emerging African nations which Cohen mentions,[7] ethnicity is regarded as a first-order way of noticing and acting on the basis of differences, and is part of a survival strategy.[8]

Thus, according to Gans and Yancey, while one's origins or religious heritage is not irrelevant, these features of one's community are only some of the factors in an individual's search for identity. Although they might be very powerful in some instances, they do not necessarily dictate a person's status in a new setting and situation.[9] This reinforces Daniel Bell's assertion:

> ... ethnicity, ...is best understood not as a primordial phenomenon in which deeply held identities have to reemerge, but as a strategic choice by individuals who, in other circumstances, would choose other

> group memberships as a means of gaining some power and privilege. (1975: 171)

In general, the point holds (Barth 1981: 214; Gans 1979: 9; Yancey et al 1976: 397) that, at least in Western countries,[10] people will bind to a group strongly if circumstances allow or induce it, but not in cases in which their individual positions are compromised.

However, while I wish to stress the prominence of agency, I also want to present theorising which treats the group identity side of ethnicity, because it serves as a contrast to Barth's strong emphasis on the boundary question, which leads to other oversights,[11] and also tends to diminish the importance of interaction and interdependence within the group.

Harold Isaacs (1974) writes about what he calls "basic group identity" which he says has a "tremendous power of survival and persistence" (Isaacs 1974: 26).

> To begin with, then, basic group identity consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications which every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he is born at that given time in that given place. (Ibid.)

In the case of people in a modern society who have no sense of certainty, these primordial[12] attachments, these "ready-made endowments," are the most secure sources of certainty and identity. According to Isaacs, the various elements of what he calls "shared sameness" begin with the shared physical characteristics, which one compares with one's body itself. Isaacs quotes Rene Dubos's phrase here: one's physical characteristics are "biological remembrances of things past." Isaacs goes on to list these elements of basic group identity:

> The baby acquires a name, an individual name, a family name, a group name. He acquires the history and origins of the group into which he is born. The group's culture-past automatically endows him, among other things, with his nationality or other condition of national, regional, or tribal affiliation, his language, religion, and value system -- the inherited clusters of mores, ethics, aesthetics, and the

> attributes that come out of the geography or topography of his birthplace itself, all shaping the outlook and way of life upon which the new individual enters from his first day.
>
> These legacies come to the child bearing the immense weight of the whole past as his family has received it. They shape the only reality in his existence and are made part of him before he has barely any consciousness at all.
>
> The new member of the group comes not only into his inheritance of the past but also into all the shaping circumstances of the present: the conditions of status that come or do not come with these legacies, his family's relative position in the larger group to which it belongs, and the group's position relative to other groups in its environment -- all the political-social-economic circumstances that impinge on the family and the group, with all the inward and outward effect these conditions have on the shaping of the individual's personality and the making of his life. (Ibid.: 27).

Isaacs then asks how these factors are observed in the art, literature, mythology, folklore, beliefs and practices with which one lives. What experiences does one have and how deeply embedded within the person do these experiences become? His attempt is to take ethnicity out of the realm of the abstract and to discuss it, by whatever name one chooses, as that level of life where the person inescapably meets the society at its first manifestation -- those immediate others with whom one lives and shares past, present and likely the future.

Whether one welcomes or regrets reference to one's basic identities, it is difficult to ignore them. The most it appears people can do is to minimise their importance and stress unifying values so that people no longer identify themselves exclusively according to them.

Isaacs points to two needs that he also finds characteristic of humans and which are served by the ready-made endowments of basic groups. They are a sense of belongingness and a need for self-esteem. Regarding the first of these, he suggests that everyone needs the feeling that he/she is not alone and that there are at least some people in the world to whom one can turn. There must be some group for whom nothing is more important than that one shares birth with them,

was adopted, shared the intimacy of religion, was from the region, or spoke the same language and, therefore, cannot be turned away.

Regarding self-esteem, Isaacs contends that a supporting measure of self-acceptance and self-respect is necessary for the individual to live a "tolerable existence." While it is possible for some people to obtain self-acceptance from their own lives without reference to those with whom they share intimacy, this is exceptional, writes Isaacs. As in the case of the lower castes in India, it may be that one can have self-esteem on the basis of the respect from one's own group even when he/she is denied such respect from the society in general. He does not justify such inequality, but he suggests that the person is supported most by the reference group to which he/she feels most closely attached and with whose members he shares most basic beliefs and experiences.

Isaacs intends this to be evidence of the ubiquity and social force of primary attachments which people inherit by birth. As is the contention of this thesis, ethnicity, or the sense of peoplehood, is not fixed; it is situational and can be accepted or rejected by any individual who chooses to do so, but it appears impossible to deny that there are shared experiences and histories which people experience and with which they must come to terms.

In a recent Canadian example, van den Hoonaard (1989) contends that, in cases of people such as the Dutch in New Brunswick (and indeed, he suggests, in all Canada; p. 161), "silent ethnicity" prevails. It turns out that it is not only silent, but invisible and non-symbolic also:

> ....[to clarify] the nature of such invisible groups as the Dutch [I take] on the working assumption that ethnic elements continue despite economic integration and without much conscious thought. Ethnicity remains whether or not one finds a symbolic ethnic attachment. (van den Hoonaard 1989: 8)

Van den Hoonaard suggests that he goes beyond Gans's symbolic ethnicity since "silent ethnicity adumbrates groups who express no outer ethnic expression and yet retain the inner and unconscious proclivities of ethnicity" (Ibid.: 10, 11). If this can be considered ethnicity at all, it would indeed be the slimmest version. Does ethnicity exist when people do not expressly practise or symbolise it but maintain an "inner and unconscious proclivity"?

Yancey and his colleagues' research centers on the experiences which immigrants shared of necessity and historical circumstances. They strip away some of the mystique of the origins of such basic identity. The specific aspects of group history and culture which are passed down are selected from among possible options. They are chosen subjectively, either by those who wish to impose a particular interpretation of history and peoplehood on a weaker group, or by people who freely choose from a cultural storehouse only those features which they perceive to be instrumental in achieving desired ends.

Thus, there are two sides to ethnicity: people rationally reacting to their circumstances as they choose their courses of action, and the weight of one's learned patterns and ascriptions which tend toward prescribed behaviour. I attempt to account for both of these observations, contending that they are complementary.

In this thesis, I am dealing with another matter as I approach the lifeworld of the people about whom I am studying. This is the problem of reification, or what Whittaker (1986: 189ff) calls the treatment of ethnicity as a lingua franca. This is a process by which, notably, sociologists and anthropologists, but also ordinary observers attribute an entire range of presumed explanations for social interaction to the effects of ascriptive group

characteristics, which combine to form a catalog of presumed traits, roles, norms, values, behaviors and institutions.

The approach that I have adopted regarding groups which form in the social terrain midway between family/kinship groups and general society in multi-group contexts takes its starting point in some of the seminal work of Moerman, Barth and Keyes. It attempts to preclude reification by looking to people themselves, both in facing the world individually, and in consort with others as members of a group. As people deal with their worlds and intersect with others, there is a discernibly greater amount of affiliation, agreement, mutual understanding and sharing with some people than others. Relationships, although there is always the possibility of varying them, tend to follow established lines of practice and to result in similarity with regard to various aspects of life. Barth's threefold point of theoretical departure, however, is an attempt to convince us that ethnicity is nothing more than the name we give to the most general and basic social description of a person; it distinguishes him/her from all others in a larger society or nation.

> First, we give primary emphasis to the fact that ethnic groups are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves, and thus have the characteristic of organizing interaction between people. We attempt to relate other characteristics of ethnic groups to this primary feature. Second, [this approach] appl[ies] a generative viewpoint to the analysis: rather than working through a typology of forms of ethnic groups and relations, we attempt to explore the different processes that seem to be involved in generating and maintaining ethnic groups. Third, to observe these processes we shift the focus of investigation from internal constitution and history of separate groups to ethnic boundaries and boundary maintenance. (Barth 1981: 199)

The matter of regarding ethnicity as a "thing" (or reified fact) or <u>lingua franca</u> (an unquestioned common knowledge which every participant in an interchange is supposed to understand) is first addressed by asserting that ethnicity is <u>never</u> accepted as static, but as enacted. Groups are first of all

categories -- but categories of identification and ascription constructed and maintained by people themselves in the courses of their everyday lives. Then one is not judged in terms of the "morphological characteristics of the culture of which [one] is a bearer" (Ibid.201), but in terms of how one deals with others around him/her over time, in a particular place and with specific choices of social closeness and distance. The concentration is on "what is socially effective" (Ibid.: 202), which Barth places in two categories: (1) overt signs and signals ("the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity") and (2) basic value orientations ("the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged"). It is important to note, in this connection, that accepting these two categories does not determine which of these signs, signals and values will be used by people. In Barth's words,

> ethnic categories provide an organizational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems. They may be of great relevance to behaviour, but they need not be; they may pervade all social life, or they may be relevant only in limited sectors of activity. (Ibid.: 205; 1969: 14)

Another way to avoid treating ethnicity as lingua franca is to use what Barth calls the "generative approach." That is, one ensures that the ways people themselves generate and maintain differences are the bases for the analysis of groups. In this way, the distinctions between groups are not manufactured by those who stand to gain by keeping people separate from each other nor by theorists who assume that every person must possess the property, ethnicity. Rather, by looking carefully at people, at what is important in their lives and how the world looks to them, the analyst sketches the boundaries of distinctions which emerge from these accounts.

The final point in the theoretical position outlined above to counter the reification problem is the emphasis away from group constitution and history

(what Barth refers to as the "culture-bearing unit" approach) and toward the boundaries that seem relevant to people; it is another attempt to focus on the relevant issues that are at the cutting edge of actor-generated social distinctions. Here, issues such as feelings of similarity or familiarity and kinship with some and dissimilarity, unfamiliarity and alienation regarding others; the sharing of criteria of judgment; and the different degrees of contact are all issues that emerge from close observation of people's lives. In such observation, one begins to see what Barth calls "canalizing" or organisation of behavior in patterns of expectations rendered habitual and culturally established. People do not live without establishing criteria for their actions and those of the people around them. These organised ways of looking at life, then, become the bases for the culturally differentiated diacritica which are associated with the we/they dichotomisation, according to which groups of people could be categorised. The difference between the two approaches is that in the case of the culture-bearing unit approach the types are determinative, while in the case of the boundary-generative approach they are diagnostic of similar responses to situations.

This leads to the matter of reflexivity, or "duality of structure," to use Giddens' term (e.g., in 1976: 157, 158, inter alia). With this concept, one discusses the power of the social actor, but also the reciprocal influence which the society then exerts on the individual actor in the form of structural constraints on the person within the social order. While such an order changes and evolves, it is not arbitrary. The position I have outlined at the beginning of my treatment of theory basically holds that there is an origin of all human possibilities that must somehow be taken into account in the origins of society. Even if one is not prepared to acknowledge such an origin, it is

unlikely that a position of complete arbitrariness of social action is tenable. The actor both produces the social order and acts in accordance and agreement with it. As Giddens writes in Central Problems in Social Theory ...:

> The notion of the duality of structure, ... involves recognizing that the reflexive monitoring of action both draws upon and reconstitutes the institutional organization of society. The recognition that to be a ('competent') member of society, every individual must know a great deal about the workings of that society, is precisely the main basis of the concept of the duality of structure. (Giddens 1979: 255)

This is the necessary correlate of the observation that there is a group character to ethnicity. Still, individual responses certainly underlie the social, directive character of commonly held assumptions.

Finally, in this section on "recent and contemporary perspectives," I will deal with the social structure side of the agency-structure dichotomy. In my definition of ethnic group, I presume that members of such groups share a common worldview. This is the level at which I discuss structure, since a worldview is a collectively generated and held picture of society which members carry around with them and on the basis of which they act. In treating this topic as a foundation for our later search for the evidence of a common worldview among Dutch-Calvinists, I will use the reflections of Habermas. We join him where he writes about social organising principles, of which worldviews are constituted.

Habermas discusses such principles of societal development in Legitimation Crisis when he writes:

> The formation of a society is, at any given time, determined by a fundamental principle of organization, which delimits in the abstract the possibilities for alterations of social states. By'principles of organization' I understand highly abstract regulations arising as emergent properties in improbable evolutionary steps and characterizing, at each stage, a new level of development. Organizational principles limit the capacity of a society to learn without losing its identity. (1973: 7)

The level at which such organising principles emerge or operate is an open question, of course and by no means must one assume that they do so at the level of organisation which we are calling ethnic. (Habermas is obviously discussing it at the level of a larger society than an ethnic group, but I see nothing in principle preventing its application to an ethnic group.)

Barth's position, from which I adopt the element of social agency in this thesis, is open to the criticism that, due to his emphasis on the actor as subjective and cognitive, he may excise culture as a set of rules and principles which organises action within society. I introduce this discussion because, indeed, I consider Barth's boundary-generative position, with its strengths, to be weak in this area. While agency is eminent, a group's culture does not begin de novo. Rather, one tends to believe in those ideals and values with which he/she is familiar from birth.

First, speaking of worldviews, Habermas compares them to a series of portraits of various poses; they cannot be said to be true or false relative to one another. Each portrait reveals something about the subject which is true to life although not complete by itself nor negating other perspectives.

> In this respect [worldviews] are like a portrait that claims to represent a person as a whole. A portrait is neither a mapping that can be exact or inexact, nor a rendering of facts in the sense or a proposition that can be true or false. A portrait offers rather an angle of vision from which the person represented appears in a certain way. Thus there can be numerous portraits of the same person; they can make the character appear in quite different aspects, and yet they can all be experienced as accurate, authentic, or adequate. Similarly, worldviews lay down the framework of fundamental concepts within which we interpret everything that appears in the world in a specific way as something. (Habermas 1984, I: 58)

Worldviews are those pictures of reality which people use to understand what they encounter in their lives, and on the basis of which they act. Using the example of language, Habermas writes: "In the framework of their worldview

the members of a language community come to an understanding on central themes of their personal and social lives.... They throw light on existential themes recurrent in every culture -- birth and death, sickness and need, guilt, love, solidarity and loneliness. They open equally primordial possibilities of 'making sense of human life'" (Ibid.: 58). The importance of being able to live in the face of the aspects of life that are not easy to explain or accept is one of the primary functions of such presentations of a priori, pre-theoretical assumptions. They allow for the provision of answers which are understandable to all who know the worldview, and the on basis of which "validity claims" can be made. But that is not all that Habermas -- and many others -- see as the function of such presupposition-generating total view of life and the world

> .... worldviews are constitutive not only for processes of reaching understanding but for the social integration and the socialization of individuals as well. They function in the formation and stabilization of identities, supplying individuals with a core of basic concepts and assumptions that cannot be revised without affecting the identity of individuals and social groups. (1984, I: 69, 70; see also 1987: 87-89)

While Barth's understanding of ethnicity and ethnic group is important, it is one-sided. To be useable it requires constant reinforcement and balancing. Such is Habermas's positing of the power of worldviews to provide a set of understandable common assumptions and to provide "integration" and "socialization" of the society's individuals which give them identities which they individualise and use in reference to others. He is not particularly concerned, of course, with the matter of ethnicity, but he is clearly speaking of communities of people who share some significant reasons for interaction and even cooperation.

In his discussion of Piaget's concept of "decentration," Habermas gets around to the point of the source of understanding and the basis for action in

the world. His contention is that people act on the basis of worldviews that furnish the "cultural stock of knowledge"[13] and that communication among such people is essential to effect agreed action.

> In their interpretive accomplishments the members of a communication community demarcate the one objective world and their inter-subjectively shared social world from the subjective worlds of individuals and (other) collectives. The world-concepts and the corresponding validity claims provide the formal scaffolding with which those acting communicatively order problematic contexts of situations, that is, those requiring agreement, in their lifeworld, which is perceived as unproblematic. (Habermas, 1984, I: 70)

From worldview as constitutive of systems of understanding, to worldview as stabilising, integrative and socialising, he proceeds to a discussion of the lifeworld of the individual in which the worldview, with its world concepts and organising or steering principles, comes to expression in the lives of the people who live in community with each other. Habermas contends that there must be an assumption that meanings and understandings of people do not suffer problems in their usage. People's perceptions of the unproblematic nature of shared assumptions is essential to the establishment of community. If one's everyday actions and relations are to be satisfying and tolerable, they must be relatively free of question on the level of meaning. One must be able to communicate and act on the basis of claims to the validity of action which shield one from the risk of misunderstanding and possible adverse consequences of perpetual misunderstanding. There is another element: that of history and its ordering and patterning:

> The lifeworld also stores the interpretive work of preceding generations. It is the conservative counterweight to the risk of disagreement that arises with every actual process of reaching understanding ... The more the worldview that furnishes the cultural stock of knowledge is decentered, the less the need for understanding is covered <u>in advance</u> by an interpreted lifeworld immune from critique, and the more this need has to be met by the interpretive accomplishments of the participants themselves, that is, by way of risky (because rationally motivated) agreement, the more frequently

> we can expect rational action orientations. Thus for the time being we can characterize the rationalization of the lifeworld in the dimension "normatively ascribed agreement" versus "communicatively achieved understanding. (Habermas 1984, I: 70)[14]

Obviously, much of the import of Habermas's ideas here is to express his particular belief in the significance of communication as a means to achieve rationality, a mark of true humanity. However, the important aspect of this discussion for this dissertation is the way worldview and the lifeworld within which it is individuated and expressed affect the lives of the individual members of a community. Worldview has the potential capacity to control the lives of people in a way that is important to consider in light of Barth's comments that ethnic categories are "organizational vessels" and that the contents are not as significant as the fact of the boundaries and the interactions that maintain them. Certainly worldview is central in the Dutch-Calvinist case. In Habermas's terms, normative agreement is a large part of the Dutch-Calvinist experience. However, in spite of the fact that there are specific doctrines and issues which are beyond discussion for some Dutch-Calvinists, this does not prevent them from discussion and communication in general: the other possibility in Habermas's discussion of rationalisation by means of worldview. In fact, Dutch-Calvinists seem to thrive on their provisions to deal with differences according to carefully laid-out rules which are designed to facilitate discussion and communication. Exclusion of a member from debate is almost impossible, even when one's position is unpopular or appears to violate the Church Order.

These apparently paradoxical juxtapositions of norm and dialogue, tradition and innovation, agreement and understanding generally deepen the interest of Dutch-Calvinists in the issues involved. This, too, has limits, of course. In recent months, two Canadian congregations have broken from the denomination over

Synodical decisions regarding eligibility for church office-holding. Usually, however, membership has remained stable during doctrinal crises.[15] Moerman's (1965: 1222, 1225) assertion may be true here: the best way to identify whether or not someone belongs to an ethnic group is for one to ask or observe the person. If one labels him-/herself as a member of a particular group and believes him-/herself to be such, and then validates this membership by acting in ways that accord with the group's perceptions and definitions, then the observer must accept that person's identity as such. Obviously this sort of definition has some shortcomings. Who defines the validating acts, for example? One way to attempt to answer that question is to fall back on Habermas's suggestion that claims to validity are often based on the worldview which in turn is defined on that imperfect means of community certification and communication. As long as people can still talk with and understand each other according to a common set of meanings, and people are willing to be evaluated by that common set of understood meanings which are governed by the general worldview, then one can be considered a member of the group which holds that particular worldview.

D. Theoretical Amplification of the Research Questions

In the Introduction, four research questions were posed: 1) What are "ethnicity" and "ethnic group"? 2) What are the distinctions on which ethnicity and ethnic groups are predicated? 3) Why do ethnic distinctions persist? 4) What are the limits of ethnicity as a means of maintaining social distinctions? Having treated some sociological perspectives regarding ethnicity in this section, I will review the work of ethnicity scholars and trace the development of my own interpretations and positioning regarding ethnicity. This section has been shaped in response to the foregoing theoretical material and in dialogue

with the writers and researchers treated here and in the course of the research for this thesis.

1) What are "Ethnicity" and "Ethnic Group"?

I single out an extremely important new book by Urmila Phadnis on "ethnicity and nation building in South Asia" (Phadnis [1989] 1990: 9). Her definitions of ethnicity and ethnic group are corroborative of the definitions I provide immediately below.

Phadnis tackles the problem of the subjective-objective debate in defining ethnic group and identity. She points to strengths and weaknesses of both those who define membership by referring only to cultural markers (such as race, language and descent) as well as subjectivists, who emphasize "the self as well as group related feelings of identity distinctiveness and its recognition by others" (Phadnis [1989] 1990: 14).

She arrives at the conclusion:

> Thus, it is not the pre-eminence of the subjective over the objective or vice versa but the linkage between the two, the complementarity of one with the other that facilitates an understanding of the processes of the evolution and growth of an ethnic group, characterised by continuity, adaptation, or change (Ibid.).

She points out that an ethnic group has an element of "kindred feeling" or relatedness and a set of common understandings. "Nevertheless, it is not a monolith," she writes.[16] Diacritica can change, boundaries change, the hierarchy of peoples interacting with each other change (Ibid.: 15).

She also distinguishes "ethnicity" from "ethnic group" in a way very similar to my distinction.

> Closely related to the structural dimensions of identity formation, compression and persistence of the ethnic group is the notion of ethnicity. Providing the group a "quality and a character" ethnicity is the summation of its impulses and motivations for power and recognition. It is determined by a complex interaction of social forces. Thus, ethnicity may be viewed as a device as much as a focus for group mobilisation by its

> leadership through the select use of ethnic symbols for socio-cultural and politico-economic purposes. In the process, it has been the driving force in the emergence of ethnic movements. (Ibid.: 15, 16)

The elements that Phadnis's definition of ethnic group share with mine include: a) subjective belief in a group origin, b) shared meanings and elements of culture, c) criteria of identification and judgment, and d) identification by others.

She also makes the point that "ethnic group" is a structural matter ("identity formation, compression and persistence") and "ethnicity" is cultural. The terms she uses for it are "providing a quality and character," "impulses and motivations ... determined by a complex interaction of social forces" (Ibid.: 16).

Ethnicity is the term I apply to the cultural construal of descent (Keyes 1976, 1979, 1981), the present and future, which provides a consciousness of the distinction or peoplehood of a human group or its members, occurring in the context of a general society or in contact with other, similarly distinct groups.

An ethnic group is a conditioned social group within a larger society whose members maintain institutions and boundaries between themselves and others, through which members prescribe some actions, proscribe others and provide criteria for self- and other-identification, evaluation and judgment. These members are thought by themselves and others to have a common origin, to share a common worldview and important aspects of a common culture.[17]

People maintain boundaries around the groups of which they believe themselves a part, or from which they want to be separated (Barth 1981). They do this on the basis of interpretations of their positions and opportunities both in the broader setting and their specific situations.

Perhaps we should note some characteristics of ethnicity. In spite of obvious differences in the ways humans live as distinct peoples, ethnicity is a cultural construal: it is a human product, subject to the conditions of its production. At the root of ethnicity is the human capability of distinguishing. There are many human attributes on which cultural distinctions can rely, such as body, locale, and customs, to name a few. But ethnicity itself is a grammar, a way of ordering distinctions. Is it objective: identifiable as a characteristic outside of personal volition and measurable in terms of traits; or is it subjective: felt by the person as a way of approaching life? Is it rational and purposive or instinctual and innate?

To answer these questions, one must first recognise the temptation to confuse "ethnicity" and "ethnic group."[18] Of course, there is no ethnicity if there is no ethnic group, but there are at least two senses or uses for the term ethnicity. In the first sense, one can refer to it as the quality or condition of belonging to an ethnic group, as in: "Her ethnicity is Polish," or "What did you expect? Consider his ethnicity." In this case, one is referring to a whole spate of characteristics presumed to emanate from the ethnic group.

Ethnicity in the second sense is an intellectual attempt to allow us to describe more than characteristics of groups. It is in some way independent of the particulars of the group and refers to choices one makes in relating to those who think, act and believe as "I" do, on one hand, and those who are different, on the other. It is construal -- "constructing" or making up, in an active way, the elements of one's personality at the individual level and one's peoplehood at the group level. Since one does this on the basis of available possibilities, what one has been taught and known from an early age is important. One's closest associates, most likely ethnic cohorts if one is

raised in an ethnic group, offer the first, most accessible and convenient models. From this emerges a sense of self -- of ego-identity, as Erik Erikson calls it (Erikson 1963: 261, 262) -- and a sense of peoplehood, a consciousness of kind.[19] With ethnicity of this second kind, one takes elements of his/her descent and applies them to current situations: that is what I mean by construal. In this, there is a purposive, active side and a usage of what some have called the "givens" of life. In this case, as Keyes claims, the most significant given with which ethnicity works is descent: one's peoples' past and the status that it has left them (Keyes 1976: 205; 1981: 5).

Ethnicity may be seen as a cultural construal of descent, present and future: on the basis of one's situation (or the group's collective situation) an active construal[20] occurs, in which givens from the past serve as potential building materials for the social roles and institutions of the present and endowments to the future. An ethnic group can be summarised from my definition as a social construal, in which cultural interpretations are crucial, but in which group members respond to surrounding conditions by creating and maintaining boundaries and structures.

2) What are the Distinctions on Which Ethnicity and Ethnic Group are Predicated?[21]

When people make social distinctions, they do so with a purpose. Distinctions, therefore, vary with their purposes. Ethnicity as the cultural construal of descent, and ethnic groups as socially construed and bounded collectivities, imply various distinctions. Just as people use any of their characteristics (such as sex, skills, region of residence, body type, colour) to make a variety of distinctions, so people with interests -- analysts and members of groups alike -- use the facts of their descent differently. Theories of ethnicity vary widely, partly because they are often interest-based, partly

because they each look at different aspects of a complex sociocultural phenomenon. Before I can fruitfully discuss the data of this study, I want to analyze some of the levels of analysis that are found throughout the serious treatment of ethnicity.

I begin by simply listing some of these levels of analysis. While they may overlap, they still present different realms of discourse about ethnicity. I believe it is important to be aware of the considerations and debates that flow from the various foci and levels of analysis of ethnicity and ethnic groups.

FIGURE A

Levels of Analysis or Foci on Ethnicity or Ethnic Groups

Focus A	The Nature of Intergroup Relations
Assimilation	Pluralism
Symbolic ethnicity	Practiced or instrumental ethnicity

Focus B	The Nature of the "Ethnic Bond"
Primordial	Circumstantial or Purposive
Innate	Achieved or socialised
Non-rational	Rational

Focus C	Criteria for Defining and Recognising Ethnicity
Subjective	Objective

Focus D	Origins of Group Distinctions
Cultural	Social

a) Focus A: Nature of Intergroup Relations -- Assimilation or Pluralism

Scholars of ethnic phenomena who write about this level of distinction concentrate on the polar positions regarding the possibility of maintaining group boundaries in multi-ethnic societies. This distinction emerges, for example, in Schermerhorn's discussion of dominant and minority groups. The former is a collectivity within a society which guards and sustains the dominant value system and allocates rewards (1970: 12-13). The latter is any collectivity that has neither the size nor power to either sustain dominant values or give significant enough social rewards to retain its membership. In this model, the "central question is: 'What are the conditions that foster or prevent the integration of ethnic groups into their environing societies?'" (Schermerhorn 1970: 14).[22]

The term assimilation as originally used by Park in this context refers both to the process of people becoming more like one another and also the biotic connotation: nutrients are assimilated into a plant by the process of absorbing them into a liquid, which then becomes indistinguishably incorporated into the plant. Likewise, various people are essential to the whole and become incorporated into a new totality that bears the distinct characteristics of none of the constituents. An assimilated society is not the sum of its parts because there are no parts left. "The nature of intergroup relations" eventually becomes moot.

Glazer and Moynihan (1975), Greeley (1971, 1974), Novak (1971: 22-26, 55-57, 201-231), and other writers of the "new ethnicity" are also concerned about this level of analysis.[23] They wonder whether diversity will ever disappear; they see evidence that it cannot: groups will persist in spite of leveling tendencies in modern society. Generally, these writers are not as concerned about

power relations as are Schermerhorn, Banton (e.g., 1967), van den Berghe (1974), Keyes (especially 1981), and Marxist writers.

Yinger summarises this analytical focus in various writings (e.g., 1981, 1985) and demonstrates that the other foci which I distinguish are inevitably brought into this discussion. He refers to assimilation and "dissimilation" as two processes.[24] The former consists of four sub-processes: acculturation (cultural level), integration (social level), identification (psychological level) and amalgamation (biological). Citing Gordon (1964), who also was addressing this distinction, Yinger suggests that assimilation is not uniform. Some people may be accepted at the structural or social level (integration) by working at occupations in the general society and becoming members of some of its organisations while remaining culturally unassimilated, for example. Some may never fully identify, in a psychological sense, with the majority society. Yinger points out that there are also powerful reasons why some distinct groups of people will not assimilate. He calls the counter-tendency dissimilation, and lists three reasons why this may occur. First, some people attach great significance to their countries of origin. This tendency may be fueled by fresh influxes of immigrants, or by powerfully evocative events occurring there. Second, in a mass society, one's ethnic group may be a haven and a hedge against alienation and anomie. Third, there may be instrumental reasons why people whose ethnic group may be already somewhat stigmatised, may see that maintaining distinctions is in their interest in obtaining special status from the state or the other groups in society for whom they perform specific services.

"Silent ethnicity" is the term van den Hoonaard uses to describe Dutch-Canadian ethnicity as he encountered it in New Brunswick (van den Hoonaard 1989: 8). He suggests that Gans's "symbolic ethnicity" does not apply to Dutch-

Canadians because they do not even demonstrate those minimal, selective and expedient displays of nostalgic commemoration that symbolic communities do. He says the Dutch-Canadians are not only silent, but invisible also and that "ethnic elements continue despite economic integration and without much conscious thought. Ethnicity remains without much conscious thought" (Ibid.: 8).

He finds, for example, that "more than half showed a familiar, but unobserving approach to these cultural events [date of liberation of Holland after World War II, St. Nikolaas Day, Dutch customs in observance of Christmas, birthdays and New Year's Day] (Ibid.: 112, 113). Table 4.16 of van den Hoonaard's study "suggests that even in the area of informal friendships, there is a striking bias in favor of non-Dutch friends" (Ibid.: 119). In addition, his evidence shows "there is a low desire to either live in ethnically-prescribed neighbourhood, or to keep contact with other Dutch" (Ibid.: 122).

Thus, throughout his study, van den Hoonaard contends that although the Dutch are invisible (i.e., indistinguishable from other Canadians) there is relevance in their ethnicity. There are residual but important Dutch characteristics and attitudes that must be somehow recognised by Canadian multicultural policy. He writes:

> It is silent ethnicity that eludes current multicultural policies; yet, silent ethnicity constitutes the actual challenge. This silent ethnicity is critical because it deals with matters that do not easily come out into the open, and because it deals with beliefs and unconscious attitudes. Can we honestly speak of a multicultural society if these silent dimensions are missing from the equation? (Ibid.: 161)

The only social setting in which an active promotion of ethnicity and generation of boundaries occurred, according to this study, appeared to be in the Dutch-Calvinist church similar to the Riverside group described in this dissertation. In the overall study, however, that fact does not play a large role, since it is not isolated as a significant, separate factor.

This position represents an extreme variant of the pluralist position. Should a group of immigrants be considered an ethnic group who, on balance, are found to be "invisible," many of whom do not want to retain Dutch culture as exemplified by the man who asks, "What's the sense of keeping [Dutch culture] all up here [in Canada]" (Ibid.: 113)?

In Gans's version of this debate between assimilation and pluralism, he concentrates on the kind of symbols people use to assert their uniqueness. He claims that what passes for pluralism is simply a phase in the nearly inevitable movement toward assimilation. He adds the twist that the apparent resurgence of ethnicity in America is due to the visibility and prosperity of formerly practising ethnic groups rather than to any fresh developments of uniqueness. As particular practices of a national-origin or racial group become less necessary for survival, less functional, ethnicity takes on a more expressive role. One identifies with an ethnic group in order to borrow from its past glories some pride and distinction for oneself in today's mass society. In this expressive role, the group's symbols, not its really believed myths or assistance in earning a living, become relevant.

For those who practice "symbolic ethnicity," the group's members are virtually assimilated into the dominant society already and are simply selecting convenient and safe ways of expressing ethnicity: "they may retain American forms of the religions their ancestors brought to America, but their secular cultures will be only a dim memory, and their identity will bear only the minutest trace, if that, of their national origins" (Gans 1979: 18). Pluralism, for Gans, will only last if there are instrumental reasons for it. Otherwise, Park's predictions of assimilation will "hit very close to zero" (Ibid.). This,

of course, phases into Focus D, opting for social rather than cultural causes for the march toward assimilation or exclusion.

In general, those who focus on this level of the discussion concentrate on the degree to which historically distinct groups relate to each other. Society is usually seen as the site of movements of these groups toward or away from each other.

b) Focus B: The Nature of the "Ethnic Bond"

Another group of scholars of ethnicity and ethnic groups concentrates on that apparent force which holds people together in groups -- what Elaine Burgess (1978: 266) calls the "source of ethnicity in human life." In fact, Burgess, in an article claiming to summarise and explain ethnicity studies, suggests that this distinction, which she calls the rational/non-rational, is one around which most differences between definitions of ethnicity revolve. Is ethnicity (using the term here to refer to that sense of peoplehood experienced by actors themselves) a primordial, innate, cultural-determinative force or is it purposive and rational? Is it primordial, ineffable, involuntary and a relatively permanent possession, or circumstantial, describable, voluntary and situationally changing?[25]

Some of the "new ethnicity" writers -- for example, Andrew Greeley (1971, 1974), Nathan Glazer (1970), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (1970), Wsevolod Isajiw (1977), John W. Bennett (1975), along with Harold Abrahamson and Harold Isaacs -- hold versions of the "primordialist" school.[26]

Most current users of the term[27] refer to Clifford Geertz's 1963 discussion in which he notes the difficulties of attaining integration in new multi-ethnic states.[28] He contends that there are two motives behind the oppositions among "peoples of the new states."

> The one aim is to be noticed; it is a search for an identity and a demand that that identity be publicly acknowledged... a social assertion of the self as "being somebody in the world." The other aim is practical: it is a demand for progress, for a rising standard of living, more effective political order, greater social justice.... (Geertz 1963: 108; emphasis mine)

While these two motives may be present in the same society, they "tend to diverge" according to Geertz, and people are unwilling to "subordinate these specific and familiar identifications in favor of a generalised commitment to an overarching and somewhat alien civil order [which is to risk] a loss of definition as an autonomous person ... through absorption into a culturally undifferentiated mass..." (Ibid.: 109). Geertz refers to the basis of the aim of identity as primordial attachments. Because of the impact of this concept, I quote at length from his work:

> By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the "givens" -- or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed "givens" -- of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsman, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, ipso facto; as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation, but at least in part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself. The general strength of such primordial bonds, and the types of them that are important, differ from person to person, from society to society, and from time to time. But for virtually every person, in every society, at almost all times, some attachments seem to flow more from a sense of natural -- some would say spiritual -- affinity than from social interaction (Geertz 1963: 109, 110; emphases mine).

Regarded this way, ethnicity is a force deeply embedded in the person and fortified by the group. To call this "instinctive" may be too much, because Geertz is careful to state that culture is at the root of ethnicity, but he explicitly prefers the primordiality of ethnicity as opposed to its origins in "social interaction."

Something "in the tie itself" draws people to one another, "more from a sense of natural affinity ... than from social interaction." Here, he appears to be speaking of individual interaction, for surely this affinity would not develop if there had not been some intense interaction among people in a group's past. That is the shortcoming of his approach. An individual Dutch-Calvinist, Mennonite, Filipino or Jew may not experience structural opposition personally and may remain with "his/her people" because of some ineffable affinity, but such an explanation hardly accounts for the existence of the ethnic group in the first place, and its continued existence or rejuvenation today. This is why there is a debate between the primordialists and rational, purposive situationalists; each side has its valid points and must account for the counterpoint.

In one way or another, Greeley's "natural affinity" (1971, 1974); Moynihan and Glazer's ethnicity "beyond the melting pot" (1963, 1975); Isaacs' "basic group identity" (1974); Isajiw's "involuntary" ethnicity (1974) and Epstein's "identity" (1978) each treat ethnicity as innate or primordial.[29] Keyes uses Geertz's concept of "primordial givens" also, but in consort with cultural interpretation and social/structural considerations.

In contrast, many scholars have pointed to ethnicity as a means to an end; as rational and purposive. Yancey (1976) strongly argues that new forms of ethnicity emerge specifically to encounter new circumstances and depend much more on common reactions to common residence and common, available occupations than to heritage or a previous set of attachments. Heribert Adam (1971) refers to the use of ethnic group power as the "collective mobilisation by the underprivileged" and only cursorily refers to previous attachments and history. Orlando Patterson (1974) opposes the very idea of ethnicity and suggests that it is never present without some mission of domination or interest. It is

cultic, chauvinistic, ethnocentric; it represents a specific, often secular faith or ideology leading to the exclusion of some from power and the ascendancy of others. It is always applied rationally and instrumentally in each new situation (Patterson 1974: 10, 43, 44, 102, 104, 276). Schermerhorn, although his primary concern is with the nature of intergroup relations (Figure A, Focus A), also pays attention to this level of discussion. He holds that groups have great collective power in determining which positions others will be able to attain in society and, hence, the degree to which they can collectively assimilate (1974: 80-83).

Steinberg's point regarding the primacy of rational, purposive factors in determining the nature of the bond that keeps people in groups is that ethnic groups are maintained so that a dominant group can exploit groups that have been maintained as separate and inferior. He scoffs at the vaunted "ineffable" nature of ethnic phenomena (Steinberg [1981] 1989: x, 49-51). Ties with a group's ethnic past are cut by individuals as soon as they can be, not because people are eager to forget their past, but because the structural assimilative activities in which they engage, such as employment in general society, attendance at public school, and living in a convenient neighborhood are their most promising chances to a better life (Ibid.: 55).

Daniel Bell, although often considered in the "new ethnicity" camp, which tends toward primordialism, argues strongly that there are solid historical reasons for this resurgence, such as "the tendency toward more inclusive identity," a change from market-level to political-level decision making; the rise of a post-industrial society with greater need for technical skills and the "rise of an external proletariat" (1975: 143-146).

For Marxists, ethnicity surely is not unchangeable, but is one of the means used by the dominant social class to create divisions. To the extent that people accept this delineation, they have been convinced to accept a false consciousness which obstructs the acknowledgment of segregation and oppression.

Using Eric Olin Wright's construction of the existence of groups, for example, one finds that ethnicity hardly ranks at all. Group identity forms along lines of common position in the economic order. As such, group (read: class) identity and membership cannot be innate or primordial. He writes:

> The commonality of material interests within a class helps to explain the inherent tendency towards conflict between classes; the commonality of lived experience is essential for explaining why members of class tend to develop common identities, without which there would be no inherent tendency for solidary action and class struggle. (Wright 1989: 207)

An important point to note is that, even though ethnicity may "flow from a sense of natural affinity," it may still lead to some very real and bloody divisions in the world. In that sense, the primordialist and circumstantialist positions regarding the "nature of the ethnic bond" are merely polar positions in explaining the same result: distinction. One emerges from the ineffable and natural and results in deeply bonded groups who maintain their distinctions as matters of right or nature or a combination of them (as in "natural law" or "manifest destiny" or Volksgeist). In the other, people who are collectively grouped for any of a variety of reasons encounter common social experiences and form bonds as a result of that commonality. These bonds reinforce the solidarity and lead to common, justified responses to the opportunities and equality or inequality around them. Positions, identity and solidarity result in recognition of divisions and groups, either imposed or welcomed.

c) Focus C: Subjective or Objective Criteria for Defining and Recognising Ethnicity

Here analysis focuses on the nature of the distinguishing factors which people employ in noting ethnic differences. Scholars who emphasise objective ties, regard ethnicity as a condition of belonging to a group by exhibiting particular characteristics which are visible or symbolic indications of a particular group. If one speaks a particular language or dialect, wears certain clothes, enjoys a particular diet, worships a certain way, believes in the rightness of certain values, traces biological origins to specific people, for example, then one is a member of a particular group. Sometimes these objective characteristics are emblematic or symbolic as in the case of special festivals or ceremonial clothing, but they are, nevertheless, regarded as real and really distinguishing, say the theorists who hold to the objective criteria of ethnicity.[30]

Those who focus on this aspect (Figure A, Focus C) of the ethnic phenomenon on the subjective side follow Weber who wrote, as noted above, that ethnic groups "entertain a subjective belief in their common descent; ... it does not matter whether an objective blood relationship exists" (Ibid.: 389). Although objective marks such as language or custom may be involved, the subjective theorist of ethnicity sees actors as concerned about their identities, or as experiencing a consciousness of kind more than about specific diacritica or objective markers of ethnicity.

The leading exponent of the subjective point of view is Fredrik Barth whose 1969 "Introduction" to Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: the Social Organization of Culture Difference is a classic statement to which many scholars of ethnicity react or return. The following discussion about subjective and objective criteria for defining and recognising ethnicity and ethnic group membership

revolves around Barth's work because of both his effect on ethnicity studies and his work's importance for this study, with its questions about group distinctions from the members' points of view. Barth emphasizes a subjective approach to defining ethnicity and its criteria. However, his work is obviously important also on the social-cultural (Focus D here) and primordial-situational (Focus B) levels. This treatment of Barth must be understood as crossing analytical levels of the study of ethnicity and ethnic groups.

Regarding the mission of much of his work on ethnicity and the importance of the subjective point of view, Barth says:

> Much of my writing ... focused on the task of developing a perspective on the subjective and goal-pursuing actor ....
>
> I hold that we must acknowledge that most of the phenomena we study are shaped by human consciousness and purpose. Since social acts are thus not simply 'caused' but 'intended,' we must consider these intentions and understandings of actors if we wish to capture the essential contexts of acts. I see little possibility, and no desirability, in defining our object of study so as to eliminate by exclusion this subjectivity of human actors. (Barth 1981: 2, 3)

Being part of a group, <u>per se</u>, may be essential to life itself, but membership in a <u>particular</u> group is a matter of choice and intention. The particular <u>way</u> one behaves in a group ultimately determines the place one will have in it; whether he/she will (or will be allowed to) stay in it is, likewise, a matter of intention.

The interplay between the codes and values and the interpretations of them in people's actions is what makes ethnicity interesting. That is what Barth refers to in the following comment:

> Finally, I see a dialectic -- albeit between entities on conceptually distinct macro- and micro-levels -- between these codes, values, and knowledge on the one hand and human acts on the other. Not only do the former provide premises and constraints for particular acts, but acts also affect codes, values and knowledge by increments and so can change and modify their own preconditions.

> Within this comprehensive perspective, most of my discussion ...has focused on actors' strategies of instrumentality and the aggregate social consequences of such strategies. (Ibid.)

This has great significance for our consideration of ethnicity also since individual performance is most effective when one can be assured of the consequences of action and intentions. Such assurance is greater when people are acting according to mutually understood, stably codified meanings such as those that are common in groups and tends to make such stability a value.[31] In subjective-objective terms, one notes that Barth refers to the dialectic between values, codes and knowledge on one side, and acts on the other. Obviously there are objects: the values etc. and the acts can become objectivated. But they are controlled by the subject, the actor, the group. For me, Barth's emphases on reciprocity between an act's course and values, codes and knowledge; his stress on actor involvement; and his notice of cognitive and conative flex, indicate the preeminence of subjectivity.

Barth sets out to make problematic that mechanism by which ethnic groups maintain and perceive their difference and, particularly, their boundaries. He argues that the content of the group and its diacritica are not as significant as the boundaries themselves. At the same time, there must be some content, either symbolic or practiced. Members of an ethnic group seem to know what a boundary is and when they are in- or outside it. Members may do this by using or searching for particular cultural modes or devices to recognise their own or others' ethnicity. Barth does not deny the existence of such characteristics, although his general emphasis downplays some of his explicit comments about the importance of regularity and cultural products that serve as identifiers for people in groups. His main point is that it is not the precise characteristic, or mode or device that is important, but, rather, its significance.

In the study of ethnicity, an objectivist assumption has emerged: social and geographic isolation have led to the formation of specific cultures and those distant or past cultures still persist in the living or recorded memory of people. Allegiance to this memory translates into ethnic group solidarity and the perpetuation of the group as long as the memory can be kept alive. Although Barth does not specifically say this, one can extrapolate that groups that have this vision of themselves will seek ways to maintain the cultural memories.[32]

Arguably Barth's most important point is that "the features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant" (Barth 1981: 203; emphasis mine). For the two "orders" of "cultural content": "(i) overt signals or signs -- the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to indicate identity, ...and (ii) basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged," Barth argues, "ethnic categories provide an organizational vessel that may be given varying amounts and forms of content in different socio-cultural systems" (Barth 1981: 203).

Likewise, Barth's theoretical position aims at the matter of group continuity. It is a plausible alternative to the static cultural traits inventory approach employed by the multiculturalism model of the Canadian government and by many scholars of ethnicity as well. Barth's approach does not require ingenious explanations of discontinuity arising from variable historical forms. Instead, the ethnic boundary becomes the focus of importance, and the precise events, dress, language, values, creeds, etc. that constitute the discernible features of the boundary recede in importance. Variation poses no threat to the group's continuity, but only provides an alternate drawing of the boundary.

In connection with the focus on subjective boundaries, three areas need attention, according to Barth. The first of these is recognising the continual expression and validation of acts and ideas that are distinct from the rest of society. This must occur if ethnic group identity is to be maintained in spite of changes of personnel and their behavior and accession to the contents of the ethnic dichotomies. Secondly, although the subjective, interactionist perspective holds that ethnic group membership cannot be determined by adherence to specific cultural materials or values, one cannot deny that specific criteria exist by which such decisions of validation or exclusion are made. While content is not predominant and absolute, one cannot avoid it. Barth's language here is that the

> ethnic boundary canalizes social life -- it entails a frequently quite complex organization of behaviour and social relations. The identification of another person as a fellow member of an ethnic group implies a sharing of criteria for evaluation and judgment" (Barth 1981: 204).[33]

Barth's third area of attention regarding boundary maintenance is that of the effects of interaction with members of other groups. When such interaction occurs, the differences between them become relevant and people are forced to decide whether they shall remain relevant or whether some of them should be erased. After all, interaction requires a great deal of agreement and congruence. If everything were to be agreed upon, then nothing would remain to separate groups from each other -- in effect, there would be no groups. Barth cites Goffman (1959) here to the effect that all organised social encounters require that relevant interaction must be prescribed -- it does not happen autogenetically after an action's first occurrence. Limits are placed by the actors on the areas that will be covered by the prescriptions. "Codes and values need not extend beyond that which is relevant to the social situations in which they interact" (Barth 1981: 205). Thus, although there may be agreed

behavior in some areas, this does not mean that all boundaries are eradicated and all values and codes congruent. Barth also refers to proscriptions which regulate those areas in which interaction and communication do not usually occur.

Both cultural and social factors are judged from the perspective of the effects they will have on the actor's performance in the world: will he/she be able to live in the world the way he/she desires to, maintaining boundaries within which he/she can feel certain and secure?

Regarding ethnicity, however, Barth points out that usually cultural criteria, not social structures, are seen as indicative of group membership. He regards social interaction as the scene of actors' decisions. His debate, however, is more about whether objective or subjective determinations and intentions define ethnicity than about whether its origin is in social or cultural markers. Whether the actor is forming a cultural product or living within a social relationship, Barth's point is that it is consciousness, intention and distinction that is important, not the particular product or relationship.

Understanding this is one of the important reasons for this dissertation's attempt to clearly note the various levels of analysis. Barth is only peripherally concerned with what I call the origins of group distinctions at the cultural or structural level (see point 4 below). Barth is primarily concerned with the actor's freedom.[34]

Barth covers all the important areas which the objective or cultural diacritica position holds: changing customs; standardised behavior, customs and values; mutual recognition of differences and standards of interrelations. He does it, however, by accenting the subjective side, such as position of actors

in the drama of life and suggesting that they make continuing choices on the basis of criteria that are meaningful to them.

To summarise, this level of analysis probes the criteria by which ethnicity is recognised as relevant by actors: What makes one a member of an ethnic group? What are the characteristics that make a group unique? When one wants to be back with or to imitate his/her "people," for what does he/she long? Objective criteria are social and cultural emblems and traits: diacritica that one can identify and describe to others outside the group. They are used to measure the degree of affinity and identification with a group and to determine who is and is not a member.

Subjective criteria are social-psychic, affective ties and feelings that one identifies with ethnic group membership, sometimes employing objective traits to do so.

d) Focus D: Origins of Group Distinctions: Social or Cultural?

I am progressing through these various foci or levels of analysis because, as noted earlier, ethnicity is studied differently by different people and it has different meanings in each context. This particular level of analysis (Figure A, Focus D), like assimilation-pluralism, is a social scientist's device. It only has meaning for the actor, in the sense that he/she may reflect upon the reasons for differences in status, worldview, class, ability to assimilate and identify with the dominant society if he/she wanted to.

Each of these levels of analysis overlaps the others, of course. In this case, the discussion of assimilation-or-pluralism (Focus A) necessarily involves consideration of the cultural and social/structural aspects of either option. However, the two foci cannot be telescoped into each other because both assimilation and pluralism have both social and cultural dimensions.

In the sense that "primordial attachments" in Geertz and Isaacs's sense are cultural interpretations of the "givens" with which one is born, one also may be tempted to combine "nature of the ethnic bond" (Focus B) with "origins of group distinctions" (Focus D). However, the match is imperfect. The primordial-circumstantial distinction accents the degree of rationality and purpose a person or group attaches to the ethnic bond that holds them together. That is not what social scientists who focus on the culture/structural problem are primarily interested in. They want to assert that the reasons for particular ethnic group configurations originate in one's culture or in the social structure of which one is a part.

The cultural position locates the origins of difference in the values, norms, standards and adaptability of ethnic groups. It suggests that some cultures produce more or less adaptable people than others and encourage or discourage ambition and success. The social/structural explanation for the origin of group differentiation holds that culture is secondary to the influence of social structure on people and groups. For example, people are included in or excluded from the political process, occupational positions, access to education, wealth held in family or group hands, on the basis of social and structural factors such as place, educational level, job and occupation, wealth and power.

Let me illustrate the difference between a cultural and social/structural emphasis. A cultural explanation of the relative economic success of Jews in America, for example, may point to their middle-class values, thriftiness, longsuffering nature, desire for education, or ambition, as Milton Gordon does (Gordon 1964: 186-87). He writes: "...These cultural values ... account for the rapid rise of the Jewish group in occupational status and economic

affluence" (Ibid.). However, many groups (and, if one is culturally relative, all groups) have versions of thriftiness, ambition, and longsuffering. Most groups are, likewise, susceptible to adopting "middle-class values" if they have a realistic chance of attaining them. Although Jews were not well-treated in the early stages of their American experience, the structural conditions were more favourable for them. This was so because their urban experience and particular trade skills were better suited for urban living than those of many other groups. In this example, it is not the values of Jews and Africans that separated their destinies; it is the social conditions and structures that did so, Steinberg argues.

Stephen Steinberg's consistently social-structural emphasis contends that ethnicity is relevant as opportunities are seen and seized.[35] In situations of group success or group exploitation in which race or origin can be readily recognised or maintained, ethnicity flourishes and cultural expressions develop. However, not the culture but the social structures must be seen as causative. A selection from the preface to The Ethnic Myth will illustrate Steinberg's position, and that of the social structuralist orientation.

> Issue arises only when ethnicity is taken out of historical context and assumed to have independent explanatory power. The problem is fundamentally one involving the reification of culture. Reification occurs whenever culture is treated as though it is a thing unto itself, independent of other spheres of life. The reification of ethnic values has made a mystique of ethnicity, creating the illusion that there is something ineffable about ethnic phenomena that does not lend itself to rational explanation. This is especially the case when ethnic groups are assumed to be endowed with a given set of cultural values, and no attempt is made to understand these values in terms of their material sources. Thus, to demystify ethnicity requires an exploration of how social forces influence the form and content of ethnicity; and an examination of the specific relationships between ethnic factors on the one hand, and a broad array of historical, economic, political, and social factors on the other (Steinberg 1981: x; emphases mine).

The cultural explanation rests on values; the social rests on the effects of structures on opportunities and people, all of whom are assumed to hold values.

Charles Keyes combines the social and cultural in a fruitful way. He defines ethnicity, as we have seen, as a cultural construal of descent. However, he adds that people must share a common interest situation and also experience a form of structural opposition, or at least a perception of it, before ethnicity will flower and grow as a distinct ethnic group.[36]

e) Restatement of Issues Regarding Levels of Analysis of Ethnicity and Conclusions Drawn from It

Each of these four distinct, but interpenetrating, levels or foci in the analysis of ethnicity has its own limitations and contributions. From those who engage in the assimilationist-pluralist level of analysis, one can recognise that some groups, either because of their place in the social structure, their skills, or a host of other factors, tend toward homogenising with or differentiating from the dominant group. Further, they do this in a variety of ways: cultural, political, ideological/normative, social/structural (Schermerhorn 1970: 123-28). In this connection, one must also be aware that what one group of theorists takes to be an example of pluralism -- as in claims of an ethnic resurgence by Novak, Bell, Glazer and Moynihan, Stack and Greeley -- is seen by the likes of Steinberg and Gans as the "dying gasp" (Steinberg [1981] 1989: 51) of a once-instrumental-now-sentimental ethnicity.

Regarding this debate, Yinger's points (1981, 1985) are appropriate: assimilation and pluralism occur at various levels, which include those of Schermerhorn mentioned above. Yinger also describes four areas: social, cultural, psychological, and biological. For assimilation to occur completely, some group and individual resolution must occur on all fronts. Further,

fundamental aspects of the person remain unfulfilled in a modern, rational and multi-originated society. Ethnicity remains a ready option to fulfill these needs (Yinger 1981: 258; 1985: 161-63; Isaacs 1975: 43; Stack 1986: 3, 5).

From the "nature of the ethnic bond" or primordialist vs. rational-purposive discussion (Figure A, Focus B), one can note that ethnicity cannot be adequately explained scientifically. From Keyes' incorporation of primordialist assumptions, one sees how the raw material of one's birth assets can be manipulated and used in many ways, including the social uses of cultural interpretations.

The focus on subjective-objective criteria of ethnic group membership (Figure A, Focus C) raises the question of whether ethnicity and the embrace or rejection of it depends on one's feelings and identifications first, or on the force of objective symbols and practices which come to characterise particular groups of people. I resolve the antinomy of the two poles by acknowledging that the actor is knowledgeable and selective regarding descent, present and future, and the actions and ideas flowing from that. One relies on an affective appreciation of distinct group traits, characteristics and features to assemble a worldview that appears congruent in his/her circumstances.

Finally, summarising the fourth level of analysis, the culture-social/structural distinction (Focus D), I again acknowledge Barth's disagreement with those who make ethnicity entirely a matter of the practices of distinct "cultunits" (using Narroll's 1964 term for distinctive culture-bearing groups of people). However, the balance of writing about ethnicity shows that, in the process of social/structural differentiation (stratification, for example), particular aspects of collective culture become important for reasons usually associated with relative power in social or economic exchanges (Keyes [1979,

1981], Steinberg [1981, 1989], Yancey et al [1979], Okamura [1981], Barth [1969]). Thus, while ethnic group distinctions, and the characteristics of individuals who operate in society, are not exclusively or primarily caused by cultural traits inherited from the past, such traits can be mobilised in social intercourse in response to the demands of the social structure in which people live.

I have delineated, summarised and explained the various levels of analysis on which ethnicity scholars focus so that we can be aware of the variety and shades of meaning ethnicity possesses to those who study and experience it.

In the course of the study of Dutch-Calvinists and the concept of ethnicity and ethnic groups which follows, I assume these facets of the issue and the many slants from which theorists approach ethnicity. As often as necessary, I refer to these theoretical issues to guide the analysis of the data.

3) Why Do Ethnic Distinctions Persist?[37]

Along with most serious scholars of ethnicity, I assert that ethnicity is only relevant in a multiethnic context. In relation to others, groups are relative and assert themselves with equity, symbiosis or hierarchy.

a) Ethnic Groups are Social

Each ethnic group comes to the multiethnic society with its own set of characteristics that give its members an inventory of skills strategically applied by each individual as he/she approaches the general society. As Barth (1969), Steinberg (1981), Gans (1979), Yancey (1976) and Keyes (1976, 1979, 1981) have all observed, <u>ethnic groups</u> are social, not cultural, products in distinction from "ethnicity," which is a cultural construal. That is, usually people group themselves or are grouped according to similar circumstances such as: immigration time, available occupations, possession of specific skills,

similar placement in a racial order, caste or class assignment or common residential location. Faced with these varying conditions, people adopt strategies to enhance their positions within them. If group action is advantageous, then all those with a particular relationship to the society in general draw boundaries around themselves, prescribe certain actions or observances that mark membership and proscribe others to indicate who is and is not a member.

b) Social Critique of "Multiculturalism"

By holding that ethnic groups are social groups and alluding almost exclusively to the factors just listed, many writers have attempted to correct the theorists of the "new ethnicity" who concentrated on the resurgence in ethnic observances of historical immigration periods and symbolically retained parts of it. On a North American scale, the "new ethnicity" approach has resulted in praising cultural diversity -- the unofficial "unmeltable ethnics" of the United States and the government policy of multiculturalism in Canada. Such an emphasis on cultural features of ethnicity which are abstracted from the social conditions in which the culture formed, leads to a distorted view of ethnicity, claim those who emphasize the social-structural factors. Features of ethnicity are then regarded as quaint, but irrelevant customs that are displayed in public settings, frequently under the rubric of a mosaic or rainbow of peoples dedicated to a common vision for a unified "multicultural" nation. The social-structural position points out that, not surprisingly, such a nation generally subscribes almost exclusively to the worldview of the dominant society. The multiplicity of cultures does little to challenge the basic structure of the nation, its laws or practices. A policy such as Canada's multiculturalism programme ignores social structures and practices. As such, it

can allow cultural diversity but ignore the fact that culture is an expression of a social group. If that group cannot maintain structural uniqueness, the culture eventually withers or becomes only a hollow shell which may be admired for its quaint beauty, but ceases to possess body and soul.

c) Global How and Why of Ethnic Groups

Worldwide, ethnic groups appear to be breaking out all over. Like flowers after a rain (or weeds, depending on one's position), Lithuanians, Georgians, Latvians, Estonians, Armenians and Azeris are emerging as "candidates for nationhood" (Geertz 1963) in the USSR. Krahns and Mandingos fight Gios and Manos in Liberia. Tamils attack Sinhalese and other Tamils in Sri Lanka. Tibetans chafe under Chinese rule. Many groups press for freedom in South Africa. Nishga, Haida, Gitksan and many others in British Columbia and Mohawks in Quebec struggle for recognition. Black Muslims assumed power and held hostage the president of Trinidad/Tobago in 1990. The Kurds and Shi'ites in Iraq suffer greatly under Saddam Hussein, a Sunni Muslim. Of course, there is also the seething ethnic tension in Yugoslavia, pitting Serbs against Croatians and forcing the country close to internal balkanisation, based on venerated interpretations of descent and continuous recognition of uniqueness and differences. The Soviet Union's one hundred ethnic groups and "breakaway republics" use construals of their positions which more than eighty years of communism have not erased. Palestinian Arabs and Jews refuse to forget their animosities and threaten each others' lives and holiest shrines in their struggles for peoplehood and survival.

Undoubtedly, each of these groups presses for structural change which would allow full social status and opportunity in these respective states. The basis on which they claim peoplehood is not a figment of their imaginations; they want

freedom to vote and earn a fair wage -- that is, structural changes. They also want to be recognised for who they are: people with a history and culture.[38]

Here, another of Roosens' points also applies: in situations of inequality, where some people may be subordinated by others, one option would be for the subordinates to emphasize their common economic status in a class. Since class, however, is a vertical categorisation, with one group regarded as superior and another inferior, many people may seize the option of group membership. Such an option affords them legitimacy and status. Within the group they can be respected and, if they can carve out a successful social niche as a group, they may also be afforded respect from outside the group (Roosens 1989: 14).

d) The Social Implications of Cultural Factors

Social scientists who point to the fundamental inequalities in the society and the price people pay if they are not willing or able to conform to the majority society or the dominant multinational system (in the case of entire countries being affected) are profoundly relevant. However, recognising that social factors create or maintain ethnic groups should not undercut the point that people in ethnic groups do not relate to an abstraction called "my people"; they can pick out their people by features with which they themselves identify. They continue to belong to such groups for specific reasons and to recognise boundaries which separate them and which encircle particular cultural practices -- by choice or imposition.

I accept the point that ethnic groups exist on the basis of some structural forces. However, in some cases -- of which Dutch-Calvinism is one -- religious beliefs can also compel distinctive action and become a factor in boundary maintenance. One of the points this study makes is that ethnicity is a cultural

construal. Ethnic groups are social divisions with cultural characteristics, including religious beliefs.

Further, cultural characteristics can come to have such strong significance that they can sustain some of the group's separation along with the structural reasons for such grouping. Cultural elements -- values, norms, language, technology, belief system -- qualify the interpretation and experience of members of the group.[39] As Keyes finds, there is often tension between the social and cultural components of ethnic groups, such that one may prevent the other from allowing a group to adapt to the society, as in the case of a religious proscription that forbids members of a group from certain occupations or pursuits that they may otherwise perform.

Religious belief is a particularly strong cultural force in uniting groups because it claims origins in ultimate sources and provides a complete cosmology in which the group usually has prominence. In the case of Calvinism, both the absolute power of God and the responsibility of humans to serve as God's representatives are stressed.

I have chosen to use the term "faith-ethnic" or "faith-ethnicity" to refer to the specific type of ethnicity that Dutch-Calvinists employ. I do this to call attention to the fact that ethnicity is not always and everywhere the same. For the French in Quebec and the Basques in Spain, it may be language and cultural control; political recognition and autonomy for the ethnic groups of the USSR. For Dutch-Calvinists, faith distinguishes them, as it does for Canadian Sikhs, Hutterites, Amish and Mennonites (Bratt [1984], Peetoom [1983], Van Ginkel [1982], Hofman [1983]. Surely ethnicity, like class, lies behind much of the social disturbance in today's world. Clearly religious belief,

along with other factors usually related to ethnic and class inequality, is an important factor to consider in relation to ethnicity and ethnic groups.

e) Ethnicity as Identity of Group and Self

Even if ethnicity and ethnic groups were not the cauldron in which the struggle for freedom boils, they are still the pot in which pride, loyalty, identity and sense of peoplehood simmer, as Roosens indicates in these words:

> Those who do identify with an ethnic category, network or group can find psychological security in this identification, a feeling of belonging, a certainty that one knows one's origin, that one can live on in the younger generations of one's people. One can commit oneself to a 'cause,' fulfill oneself, realize oneself to be unique, original irreplaceable as a member of an ethnic group and irreducible from the outside to someone else. After all, no one can change 'the past' from which one descends. (Roosens 1989: 16)

Alfred Schutz (1940: 502) wrote: "Graves and reminiscences can be neither transferred nor conquered." When one identifies with a past that he/she shares with some, but not others, one has a distinction that cannot be removed. Of course, as noted here several times, ethnicity need not become the way people distinguish themselves from each other. Epstein (1978: xiii) writes: "Ethnic identity, no more than ego-identity, is neither given nor innate; the way in which it is generated is always a psycho-social process." He explains that, in some cases, social structures and roles are so rigid that one has little choice in accepting an ethnic identity. In others, where there is greater freedom, there is a "second set of constraints: the various elements, particularly unconscious ones, that have entered into the building up of one's self" (Ibid.: 14). One's sense of esteem and worthiness are defined by the group to which one presumes to belong. Often such esteem is higher within the group than outside it and, therefore, one prefers its identity to the one he/she possesses in the general society.[40]

Epstein accepts the work of Barth and others who point to ethnicity as a system of social classification, within which people in a multiethnic social system place each other. However, he wants to present the "other side of the coin: every act of identification implies a 'we' as well as a 'they'" (Ibid.: xii). Harold Isaacs refers to a "basic group identity" derived from belonging to an ethnic group. He borrows from Erik Erikson's concept of ego-identity, but also heavily from Clifford Geertz (1963) who discusses primordial qualities as those with which one is born and which condition one throughout life. Basic group identity, according to Isaacs, "consists of the ready-made set of endowments and identifications which every individual shares with others from the moment of birth by the chance of the family into which he[/she] is born at that given time in that given place" (1974: 26). He lists body, name, group history and origins, culture, language, religion, value system, geography and topography of one's region of birth -- all of which contribute, he says, to one's identity.

Particularly one's sense of belongingness and self-esteem are defined in terms of the relations one has early in one's development and within the context of the group into which he/she is born. One belongs: one is not alone in the world; there is a place where he/she cannot be denied access. One is accepted by some who value him/her and this lends self-esteem: what one, in turn thinks of oneself.

Also in connection with the relationship between ethnicity and the person, George DeVos approaches ethnicity as one way to fill the human need for "closure and self-consistency" (DeVos 1975: 374-378). He acknowledges that there are many ways for he person to develop him-/herself, but

> ... society ... expects a person to maintain some behavioral consistency. He must remain recognizable or social interaction is impossible.... Ethnic

> identity, like any form of identity, is not only a question of knowing who one is subjectively, but also how one is seen from the outside. Ethnic identity requires the maintenance of sufficiently consistent behavior to enable others to place an individual or a group in some given social category, thus permitting appropriate interactive behavior. (Ibid.: 374)

Also in DeVos's version of society, there are many ways that one can obtain identity, consistency and "closure." Ethnicity is only one of these. However, in the present world there is a tendency to what Daniel Bell calls "more inclusive identities" and a borrowing of ideas, narrowing of language choices for many purposes, multinational corporations, mass communication in which expectations and patterns of behaviour are conformed. Against that, a counter-tendency toward smaller group identification has emerged, in which people are able to feel secure and assert a distinctiveness in the face of a massive and alienating world using characteristics that they have learned as children and which places them within a tradition they can understand and presumably trust (Bell 1975: 143, 144; Yinger 1981: 259; Petersen 1982: 17-19; Marger 1985: 7; Schutz 1940). The ethnic group is well adapted as a place of security, identity and familiar, recipe-like ways of acting. Alfred Schutz, noting William James' comments on language, notes that words and phrases have "fringes" of meaning that convey the history and origins of those words and which connect the speaker with both the past and the present community of speakers. The group is " mirrored in its way of saying things" so that, even if members of the group speak the language of the general society, there are adumbrations and codes which give the members of the group the unmistakable knowledge that they belong -- and remind the outsider that he/she does not (Schutz 1940: 504-505). In addition, it gives a sense of place, order and history to the individual who might otherwise feel him-/herself a cipher in a mass society.

f) Summary of this Sub-point, "Why do Ethnic Groups Persist?"

1) Ethnicity has an instrumental potential: groups can mobilise it to assert dominance or to advance collective positions; 2) it has a primordial quality, since it is based on presumed "givens" with which the individual is born or which he/she acquires; 3) it can be a hedge against alienation and loneliness in the context of a massive and rationally directed society.

Thus, while other divisions in society such as class and national characteristics continue to be important, sociology should continue to be concerned also about the conditions in modern society which underlie the development of ethnic loyalties. One way to do so is to look at existing ethnic groups in various contexts to understand more about this complex human phenomenon.

Studying Dutch-Calvinists as an ethnic group which distinguishes itself by applying its religious principles to its position in the world provides opportunity to broaden the scope of ethnicity as a means of consciousness of uniqueness in multiethnic societies.

4) What are the Limits of Ethnicity as a Means of Maintaining Social Distinctions?

For ethnicity to continue, both as a description of ethnic group characteristics and as a consciousness of distinction, two conditions must hold. First, situational differences must be socially reflected in the establishment of group boundaries, which are known and observed by members and outsiders alike. These limits channel behaviour and allow classification of members. Second, boundaries also must delimit a social and cultural space in which particular institutions and cultural traits are reinforced and lived. These institutions and traits are the materials from which the sense of peoplehood and identity spring and which, in turn, encourage boundary maintenance.

Here, Herbert Gans's point is essential: if people are less instrumentally interested in ethnic culture and organisations than they are in ethnic identity abstractly, to that extent ethnicity will wane. For example, if ethnicity no longer serves as a means to train for and work in occupations, as a pattern by which to nurture children, as sources for spouses and closest friends, as the living root of ideas and values, as the instruments by which to participate in the public life, as the way to health, as the source of status, and many more vital functions, then it will not last. This study tests that theory.

This too is where one would want to discuss the viability of van den Hoonaard's "silent ethnicity," which is neither culturally nor socially expressed (1989: 8, 9, 10, and 161) or at least which are "covert features of ethnicity that are largely unconscious cultural remnants" (Ibid.: 11).

Another of Gans's points is that the transition from instrumental to expressive ethnicity is more or less an inevitable process, given that ethnic groups in multicultural settings are not all equally effective in equipping people to compete successfully for the variety of scarce resources. As long as a dominant group sets the standards for success, ethnic attempts will usually be secondary. This part of Gans's theory assumes that ethnic groups are all existing for social and economic reasons -- an assumption that I also test in this thesis.

5) Raymond Breton's Concept of "Institutional Completeness"

An earlier and somewhat related work in this regard is that of Raymond Breton (1964). His work deals with the degree to which an ethnic group's institutions parallel or substitute for those of the general society, and the degree to which one can conduct one's life in the context of those parallel structures. It is important for this thesis since he is posing a question about

the effects of social structures and related cultural practices on the life of an ethnic community. I summarise his important article here so that I can refer to and use it in the further analysis of Dutch-Calvinists.[41]

As he begins his research, Breton assumes that "some of the most crucial factors in the absorption of immigrants would be the local organisations of the communities which the immigrant contacts in the receiving country" (1964: 193).

"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" (Ibid.).[42] The range of institutional options extends from no formal organisations at all to a situation in which the immigrant community supplies all its own institutions.

Breton suggests that people must have a "field of interpersonal relations" in order to do the very ordinary things necessary to live in society. One must join some group to meet needs, but which one: native, own ethnic or some other ethnic group? To what extent does the availability of institutions affect this direction?

Breton uses the number of churches, welfare organisations, newspapers and periodicals in the immigrant community to calculate the amount of "institutional completeness." The direction of affiliations is determined by the ethnicity of the people with whom one associated (Ibid.: 195). People are then categorised according to the communities with which they have most of their contact. Breton finds that the most powerful type of institution for an ethnic community is one which substitutes completely for a parallel one in the majority society (Ibid.: 198). If relationships are established in the ethnic community, then there is a good chance of more relationships forming beyond them. Breton

finds that, whether or not an individual is an active member of such an institution, as long as that institution exists and is supported by many of his/her associates, the degree of ethnic interpersonal relations increases for all individuals who associate with each other (Ibid.: 199).

Breton found that of the three institutions he surveyed (churches, publications/periodicals and ethnic welfare agencies), religious institutions have more effect than any others in fostering interpersonal contact and account for the highest proportion of the difference between groups with and without formal institutions (Ibid.: 200). He also tested immigrants in one-and-a-half-year intervals and found that those groups which have formal institutions are more likely to shift from having either no or only a few relations initially with ethnic group members to having most of their association with them (Ibid.: 201,202).

Breton established several factors associated positively with the establishment of parallel institutions in a society. First, the possession of some distinguishing features such as religion, language or colour correlates with the presence of institutions. Second, institutional presence varies with the level of resources in the ethnic communities: if they possess few, the chances are that someone will attempt to develop them. He finds a strong correlation between groups with high percentages of manual workers and strong institutions. Third, the pattern of migration: if groups are replenished in waves of great numbers, they will maintain strong institutions, particularly if previous immigrants sponsor new ones.

Finally, Breton subscribes to the idea that assimilation will eventually occur in spite of present institutional completeness. He cites the attempts of "ethnic entrepreneurs," people who stand to gain personally in maintaining

strong ethnicity, at maintaining groups such as the Italians and Poles who eventually assimilated anyway. Still, the overwhelming evidence of his study is that strong parallel institutions are effective and essential in maintaining group distinction. Without them, there is no long-term group life. Additionally important for this study is the fact that these institutions must remain vital and relevant to the people who consider themselves a member of the group. If the dominant society of which they are a part provides more satisfaction for them than the group's institutions, then they and the people they served will both disappear.

A counterveiling stream of opinion contests Breton's assertion that there are <u>always</u> significant areas of society that are not available equally to all its members. Therefore, instrumental means to obtain what scarce social, economic and other resources are left over will be necessary. Further, there are always expressive needs that can be met better by smaller, associative groups than the mass society. In recent work, Roosens again found that the number of ethnic groups with strong support is proliferating. If that were always true, ethnic groups would always be numerous and strong.

The answer, I believe, lies between these two positions. If, for whatever reason, consciousness of kind and instrumental effectiveness are strong, obviously a group will last a long time. On the other hand, if there is great structural opposition toward a number of people who can find some elements of common descent, present circumstance or clearly defined future benefits from which to construe solidarity, such a group may emerge precisely because of that opposition. There are many reasons besides high social status and economic success which may be desirable. It may be, as in the case of Dutch-Calvinists, an interpretation of faith; it may be fishing and hunting rights and

preservation of a related way of life, as it is for many aboriginal peoples in industrialised societies. It may be the right to be called Lithuanians (or any of a hundred ethnic names in the former Soviet Union) again and practise a life of faith and traditional work and art. The limit of ethnicity is one of social and cultural definition. When, for whichever of many reasons people no longer are excited by the maintenance of an ethnic boundary, it will eventually be removed and assimilation will occur.

In this chapter on Theory, I have ranged from a consideration of various classical analyses of group formation to Giddens, Habermas's and phenomenological contributions to an understanding of ethnic group constitution.

Further, I have identified four levels of consideration which ethnicity and ethnic group scholars and members of groups focus upon. I have attempted to show the natures of these foci and the importance of recognising the time and place for utilising each of them in analysis.

I have also led through the derivation and application of the four research questions with which this thesis operates. In that connection, again, I have considered and commented on various theoretical contributions to this field of study, alluding to my own position, as I explained the derivation of that position. This includes definitions of ethnicity and ethnic group.

Some of the middle range theorists whose work I treated in this chapter have included Charles Keyes, Herbert Gans, Fredrik Barth, Barbara Ballis Lal, J.M. Yinger, Raymond Breton and Will C. van den Hoonaard, representing a recent Canadian theoretical study of Dutch-Calvinists.

I will now turn my attention to the empirical aspect of this dissertation, beginning with a historical account of Dutch-Calvinists, particularly on that small branch located in Riverside.

ENDNOTES

1. One of Barbara Ballis Lal's points is that, even in the case of "compulsory ethnicity," one may be able to "procure a satisfying personal identity." Lest it appear that I want to romanticise or legitimate enforced ethnic ascription on the basis of power inequality, I want to add that, in many cases, a much more satisfying overall identity may be available outside the forced enclave.

2. The familiar passage from "A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy" shows the relation between "productive relations" and the origins of society:

> In the social production of their means of existence men enter into definite, necessary relations which are, independent of their will, productive relationships.... The aggregate of these productive relationships constitutes the economic structure of society, the real basis on which a juridical and political superstructure arises, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond. The mode of production of the material means of existence conditions the whole process of social, political and intellectual life. (Burns 1982: 267, 268)

3. Weber's distinction between communal and associative relationships is close to Toennies', although Weber uses them as poles of a continuum, not as dichotomous (Weber 1968: 40-43; 56). By the former, he refers to social action which is based on "subjective feelings that [the actors] belong together." An associative social relationship fosters social action which "rests on a rationally motivated adjustment of interests or similarly motivated agreements" (Ibid.).

Regarding Simmel's use of Toennies' ideas, see "The Metropolis in Mental Life," in which the impersonality and rationality of Gesellschaft-like relations leads people to social discomfort and alienation.

4. This influence occurred first in the works of the Chicago School, which treated the emergence of what those sociologists perceived to be a new social order in the city. Some that apply specifically to matters of ethnicity are Harvey Zorbaugh's Gold Coast and Slum (1929); Louis Wirth's The Ghetto (1928); Wirth's "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938); Robert E. Park's Human Communities (1952); Park's Race and Culture (1950).

Toennies' influence continued in the work of Robert Redfield: The Folk Culture of the Yucatan (1941) and in the various community studies that were done in the American sociological studies of the 1920s and -30s, such as Helen and Robert Lynd's Middletown (1929) and Middletown in Transition (1937). Further, much of present writing on ethnicity presumes that there is an attempt by people today to realize community and intimacy through membership in human groups with which they share common understandings, which are expressive rather than strictly instrumental, and which are characterized by ascription rather than achievement. This theme, of course, looms large in Talcott Parsons' work, particularly in his "pattern variables." It also plays a role in the works of Herbert Gans, William Yancey, et al, Milton Yinger, Stephen Steinberg, Michael

Novak, Andrew Greeley, Daniel Bell, Robert Bellah et al, and others cited in this study.

5. This is reminiscent of Weber's ambivalence abut the iron cage of rationality, bureaucracy and disenchantment that would lead to the "polar darkness" of a world without religion and mystery.

6. Sex is culturally interpreted as gender; unequal economic assets as class; different occupations in terms of an occupational hierarchy; levels of prestige as status; different amounts of power as interest group or political party.

7. This applies not only to those in the emerging African nations which Abner Cohen (1969) mentions, but also to people in other locations referred to by M.G. Smith in the West Indies [1965]; A. Southall in Nigeria [1976]; L. Despres [1975]; H. Gans regarding Boston [1962]; C.F. Keyes, the people of Thailand [1979] and of South and Southeast Asia in general [1981] and M. Moerman regarding the Lue in Thailand [1965]

8. Yancey, et al., refer to Gans's work in Boston (The Urban Villagers, 1962) in which he showed how the Italians there retained only aspects of their Italian traditions which they considered to be appropriate to their success in America. Likewise that which was irrelevant to their perceived success they also kept (customs such as observing birthdays with a large group of families, religious observances, etc.), but they discarded whatever of their heritage they thought would get in their way. (Gans refers to changing names from Italian to those which people thought would "sound nicer" to Americans, and to the fact that the Italian language was generally not taught to the third generation children [Gans 1962: 33,34]). Among most immigrants to America, there was a selective process involved in the interaction among: a) the nature of the local community; b) available economic opportunities; and c) national or religious heritage of the group.

9. Jonathan Okamura (1981: 453-5) uses these two terms to apply to the micro-level (situation) in which actors exercise cognition to attempt to better themselves and macro-level (setting) in which the external societal factors may structurally assist or prevent them in obtaining their desires.

10. This also apparently holds for other settings also, cf. the list presented in footnote 7, above.

11. I deal with Fredrik Barth's ideas more extensively later in this chapter. Briefly, these "oversights" are: a) the lack of appreciation of the larger social setting which may lead to structural constraints over which the group or the individual who may want to assert an aspect of ethnicity has no control or insufficient attention to the inertia and momentum of institutions and practices in the bounded group and b) the pride and sense of unity, peoplehood or we-ness that is associated with long and historic membership in a group -- be that a family, nation, religion, or those groups designated religious -- deeper, I believe, than Barth implies by holding that ethnicity is largely a matter of "ecological interdependence" (1981: 208).

12. Clifford Geertz has written that ethnicity originates in a "primordial attachment" which "stems from the 'givens' -- or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens' of social existence" (Geertz 1963: 109). These "givens" are "immediate continuity and kin connection, mainly, but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices." Participating in such groups, held Geertz, makes one a part of the group in a way that no other sort of bond can accomplish because "of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself," differing from other types of bonds such as class, party, business, union profession, etc. These latter are not "candidates for nationhood" while the other, primordial ones are. These primordial attachments include, according to Geertz: "assumed blood ties, race, language, region, custom" (Ibid.).

While I do not accept Geertz's central premise outlined here, nonetheless, as Isaacs qualifies it, it serves the point that one is born into a particular set of circumstances.

13. One will immediately notice the similarity between this language and emphasis and that of Alfred Schutz, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, whose position I already alluded to above. In the specific regard with which I am using Habermas in this thesis, I see him as expanding the phenomenological tradition.

14. From the report on the Riverside community, one can readily see this occurring. There is more disagreement because gradually more people are decentring the worldview. That is, they are questioning authority; interpreting Scripture and the creeds in light of daily understandings; relativizing the power of the church over them; fearlessly applying (sometimes limited) hermeneutic understanding; losing their awe of offices within the community; questioning denominational policy as they come to understand the nature of bureaucracy. The needs of some are being met by way of "interpretive accomplishments," but others want to stay with the stock of knowledge that is essentially immune from criticism. Still others are innovating interpretive frameworks within the community. In light of all this, agreement is not always possible, and neither is "achieved understanding." The community stands at a pivotal point, a realisation elicited by reading Habermas.

15. In the Church Order, an elaborate set of provisions is available to the individual member and to the local council (consistory) or the regional body (classis) to appeal decisions to or discuss doctrines at "the assembly next in order" (Brink and DeRidder 1979:121). The only regulation is the provision that each office-bearer must sign a "Form of Subscription" in which he promises to:

> "Cheerfully submit to the judgment of the consistory,
> classis or synod upon sufficient grounds of suspicion
> and to preserve the uniformity and purity of doctrine."
> (Ibid:44. see also Ibid:115 and 121-128)

16. Her definition is:

> an ethnic group can be defined as a historically formed aggregate of people having a real or imaginary association with a specified territory, a shared

> cluster of beliefs and values connoting its distinctiveness in relation to similar groups and recognised as such by others. (Phadnis [1989] 1990: 14)

17. This definition of ethnic group combines elements of Barth (1969: 10), Yinger (1985: 159) and my own additions.

18. Cf. Burgess 1978: 266 re. this. Isajiw (1974) and Marger (1985) are examples of this confusion in which ethnicity is seen exclusively as a quality exhibited by ethnic groups, equivalent to consciousness of being a member of an ethnic group. I want to say that ethnicity also refers to a way of dealing with the world in which one construes elements of one's descent, co-descendants, of one's present situation and projections to the future in order to do so.

19. This is analogous in some ways to the distinction Marx attempted regarding class with the distinction Klass an sich and Klass fur sich. An ethnic group, like a "class in itself," does not presume high levels of rational, purposive perpetuation. It adapts to environments according to recipes from its past. Members use these recipes until they encounter problems they cannot solve. Ethnicity in the second sense makes ethnic group membership apparent and problematic. Ethnicity, then, is analogous to Marx's conscious, self-aware "class for itself" -- no longer only a social division, but a way of thinking and acting that presumes upon and identifies with the conditions in which its members live.

20. This construal is what Schutz and Berger and Luckmann refer to as social construction, which the latter further break down into externalization, objectivation and internalization. It also parallels Giddens' term "structuration" (Giddens 1979: 62ff and 69-73; Giddens 1976: 120-122, 161) and Levi-Strauss's "fabrication."

I have avoided using the more popular possibility, "construction," to avoid an identical usage to Giddens' "structuration theory." Construction implies structure. While structure is a possible outcome of construal, it is not the only one.

In Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary, the following senses of "construe" convey what I wish here: (as a transitive verb) to translate; to explain or deduce the meaning of, to interpret; to infer or deduce.

In these senses, construal is a bringing together of disjointed materials into a new meaning configuration. That better suits what I see ethnicity doing than the building of an edifice which tends to be monumental and less corrigible, less in need of reconstrual, maintenance, refurbishing, reinterpretation.

21. The term "distinctions" here does not apply to the difference between "ethnicity" and "ethnic group." Rather, in this section, I discuss the various social and cultural features that people, including analysts of groups, use to define, delineate or distinguish the concepts "ethnicity" and "ethnic group" from other rubrics or categories.

22. Schermerhorn distinguishes four uses of pluralism: (1) Ideological or normative pluralism in which ethnic groups assert the desirability of maintaining their way of life on the basis of a "doctrinal belief" that their ways are morally superior to others with whom they live in society. (2) Political pluralism refers to a society of various interest groups, each of which attempts

to influence the direction of the society according to their own interests. (3) Cultural pluralism (Ibid.: 123) occurs when distinct cultures, each with its own language, religion, values, kinship forms, etc., coexist. Schermerhorn notes that this is usually associated, in some way with normative and political pluralism also. However, it is always intricately linked with structural pluralism. (4) Structural pluralism (Ibid.: 124) occurs when different structural institutions are erected to recognize the cultural variations "which assures that members of each ethnic group [can play] roles within their own institutions..." with infrequent contact -- perhaps only in the marketplace, as Furnivall (1948) suggests. Schermerhorn also points to the degree of separation among groups He calls this the degree of enclosure (Ibid.: 125): the scope and strength of the boundaries around and practices within a group which allow or prevent interaction. Although structural and cultural pluralism are distinct -- one referring to values, the other to the structures within which these values are practiced -- the relationship, he says, is "dialectical." He criticises the emphasis of "Park, Znaniecki and the Chicago School" for their undue emphasis on the cultural aspects, and consequent ignoring of features of power and conflict which appear in societies whose structural features have been maximally different" (Ibid.: 127).

23. The descriptive titles are testimony to their position: Beyond the Melting Pot; Why Can't They Be Like Us?; The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics.

24. Also see Banton (1967) in which assimilation is "a process of boundary reduction."

25. Is it like the spider's web I saw while contemplating this distinction: intricate and instrumental, representing an organism's adapted means of achieving an end, and "spun out" in the natural course of living? Or is it like the manufactured fly trap: simple, purposive, rational, strategically conceived for the same purpose as the web, but only one option among many?

26. More recently a number of people, including Cynthia Enloe, Michael Hechter and John Stack, Jr., have been paying more attention to the primordialist position and have accepted some of its assertions. See Stack's (1986) The Primordial Challenge for writings by each of these scholars.

27. Edward Shils used the term "primordial" in his 1957 work. He is the first of whom I am aware to use the term in its present sense.

28. This formulation of primordiality occurred in Geertz's edited volume, Old Societies, New States, (1963) in which he contributes a chapter entitled "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in New States." I believe that some of the contenders for a Geertzian primordialism do not sufficiently account for Geertz's context and intent in collating that volume. Geertz wanted to make post-colonial Westerners acutely aware of the complexities of states which emerged after decolonization. He wanted to emphasize that frequently ethnocentric (perhaps Euro- or Anglo- or America-centric) assumptions about the ease of the transition/imposition of western democratic structures on former colonies were simplistic and ill-informed. As an example, he used the "parochialism" and "sub-nationalism" of India after 1948 to begin his discussion of profound and ancient "narrow loyalties, petty jealousies, and ignorant

prejudices," using Nehru's own words. Geertz was trying to make Westerners aware that "new states" face "very serious and intractable problems:"

> Here we have not just competing loyalties, but competing loyalties of the same general order, on the same level of integration. There are many other competing loyalties in the new states, as in any state--ties to class, party, business, union, profession, or whatever. But groups formed of such ties are virtually never considered as possible self-standing, maximal social unites, as candidates for nationhood (Geertz 1963:111).

Applying primordiality to ethnic groups in Western democracies, such as Dutch-Calvinists in Canada may not be allowed by Geertz's usage here, but that would require more careful scholarship than I have employed here.

29. Oscar Lewis's (1966) "culture of poverty" thesis is an example of this approach. William Petersen (1971) in his book Japanese Americans, provides another stellar example: "Japanese Americans have all the civic virtues--education, diligence, honesty, competence; if they apply these admirable qualities to public problems, the whole community gains thereby" (Petersen 1971: 225). Andrew Greeley refers to an "ethnic miracle" in taking advantage of opportunities by some, but not all, ethnic groups (Steinberg [1981] 1989: 87). Thomas Sowell is perhaps the most forthright current advocate of the cultural explanation. He writes:

> Groups today plagued by absenteeism, tardiness, and a need for constant supervision at work or in school are typically descendants of the same people with the same habits a century ago. The cultural inheritance can be more important than biological inheritance... (Sowell 1981: 284).

Stephen Steinberg calls attention to another writing by Sowell: "Whether in an ethnic context or among peoples and nations in general, much depends on the whole constellation of values, attitudes, skills, and contacts that many call a culture... (Steinberg 1989: 98).

Finally, I refer to perhaps the best known cultural position of the 1960s, that of Glazer and Moynihan:

> There is little question where the major part of the answer may be found: in the home and family and community.... It is there that the heritage of two hundred years of slavery and a hundred years of discrimination is concentrated; and it is there that we find the serious obstacles to the ability to make use of a free educational system to advance into higher occupations and to eliminate the massive social problems that afflict colored Americans and the city (Glazer and Moynihan 1970: 49-50).

30. Narroll (1964: 286-89 and summarised by Barth 1969: 10,11) lists a number of these characteristics held by what he calls cultunits. Martin Marger (1990) lists 'unique cultural traits as one of the primary criteria for determining ethnicity. Peterson (1982) also holds to the importance of an inventory of traits

and characteristics to mark a group, as do Shibutani and Kwam, Dreidger and the writers for the Canadian government in their multiculturalism literature (e.g. Royal Commission on Bilinqualism and Biculturalism Report 1965: 126,127;1970).

31. Applied to Dutch-Calvinists, they too are likely to act in ways that reflect the general society and its culture. Therefore their goals, values and knowledge are likely to change somewhat according to these new actions. This is especially true since Dutch-Calvinists are so involved in the dominant society's middle class income and occupation strata. Since social structures tend to be embodiments of particular worldviews, some new and different ideals may begin to characterize Dutch-Calvinists' subjective apprehension of themselves.

32. In fact, this is one of the underlying motives and assumptions of the Canadian government's "Multiculturalism" program, which attempts to keep alive traditions of the various ethnic groups from their past in order to keep Canada a "mosaic" of cultures. Such a view ignores the fact that ethnicity can be kept alive genuinely only when there is reason to do so and when the boundaries to which ethnicity refers make sense in the context of the culture. Without reinvigoration, groups simply and literally stop making sense -- to group members and outsiders, alike.

33. In his zeal to eschew the dominance of content, he leaves himself vulnerable to the question "evaluation and judgment of what?" Although people's behavior and manners may be variable from time to time, they are obviously also patterned, constrained, habitual, meaningful and structured. Perhaps Barth's concentration on the criteria of ethnicity should be augmented by a consideration of the origins of ethnic group distinctions, the focus we shall consider next, which treats social structure more explicitly. (The definition of ethnic group which I formulate and present in this thesis, addresses this concern).

34. While it is precisely at this level that I am critical of Barth, I acknowledge his contribution to the understanding of the definition and recognition of ethnicity from the actor's point of view.

35. In a thorough study of the conditions prior to and during the Jewish immigration, Steinberg radically disagrees with the cultural effects position. His social-structural explanation shows how the Jews, although poor and discriminated against in Russia, for example, were forced to urbanize there. They were heavily concentrated in manufacturing, commercial and craft occupations in Russia. Many of them had experience in the clothing industry there also, simple as it was. They immigrated at a time when these skills were demanded in America. Neither European peasants, nor African and Afro-American freed slaves, nor American farmers possessed these skills as did the Jews. Although the jobs were poorly paid and not identical to those they had in Russia, nevertheless, they were in a better position to do them than most others around them (Steinberg [1981] 1989: 82-105). Perhaps they were ambitious, but so were almost all others in their circumstances. The Jews found ways to exercise this desire, others did not have the skills or opportunities to succeed (Ibid.: 103, 221). Using the Jews as an example in evaluating success in America shows the contrast. It was a conjunction of skills, opportunities and timing that combined felicitously for Jews and dismally for Africans in America. According to this position, cultural elements were secondary.

36. In my definition of ethnicity, I incorporate this point by referring to it as a cultural construal of descent, present and future. This avoids the position that ethnicity requires opposition, although it does require interpretation and construal of one's position and potential within society.

37. Essentially, I am referring to ways that social scientists see distinct groups of people as exhibiting uniqueness. While this should certainly be based on the images people have of themselves, that is not my major focus here.

38. This is one of the features noted prominently by Geertz: people want to be noticed; they want identity. He suggests this is more important than political or practical gains. In fact, if recognition could be gained via prosperity, this would more than offset the desire for cultural recognition without prosperity. Economics aside, simple recognition and the ability to freely practice their beliefs -- in short, power -- would surely alleviate most of what is now occurring primarily as the "collective mobilization of the underprivileged" (Adam 1971) and the suffering under domination (Steinberg 1981; Patterson 1977; Schermerhorn [1970] 1978).

39. When social roles are forced on people in cases such as slavery, caste, class roles, rigidly defined "estates," etc., culture may not be allowed expression by the dominant group. Conversely, in free social intercourse, such as many groups experience in Canada, cultural factors may play a large role in maintaining group uniqueness.

40. The work of Leo Driedger on ethnic identification often includes a reference to Kurt Lewin's 1948 study of social conflict in which he proposes that "individuals need a firm clear sense of identification with the heritage and culture of their ingroup in order to find a secure basis for a sense of well-being, and that insufficient ingroup security results in self-hatred and ingroup denial" (Driedger 1976: 131). This assertion is extreme, but indicates some of the work that has been done regarding ethnic identity in multiethnic societies.

41. Breton is discussing immigrant communities. Although the Dutch-Calvinist community is partially immigrant, it includes large numbers of people who are born in Canada. Breton's thesis, of course, has relevance for communities that go beyond the immigrant stage. In this case, the faith-community of RCRC, like any other distinct community, is affected by factors such as those Breton discusses in his article.

42. There are three such communities from which the immigrant can choose: the community of one's own ethnicity; the native, or receiving community; the other communities in the general society to which one emigrates. Today, one would add other possibilities, given the greater number of bases on which institutions are grounded. The state provides immigration services; feminist groups provide orientation; businesses are conscious of the need to provide some services; communities and educational institutions provide courses and services. However, even now, the ethnic community continues to serve both recent and past immigrants.

CHAPTER THREE -- RESEARCH METHODS

A. General Introduction to this Research

1) Research Orientation

William Foote Whyte observes that the first part of an ethnographic study "should be considered a social exploration." "[We must] establish a social base from which we can continue our exploration until we are able to study some aspects of that territory systematically" (Whyte 1984: 34). The planning process is begun but not completed before the researcher enters the field, he contends (Whyte 1984: 35). To make a study richer than one may be able to plan in abstraction, one should not be "fixated on previously prepared and detailed research designs" which would make one miss the details that emerge as important during the investigation. Therefore, he recommends seizing the opportunities that present themselves (Whyte 1984: 36, 37). As far as research methods are concerned, I used what has been referred to as "multiple strategies" (Burgess 1984: 143-65) or "methodological triangulation" (Denzin 1970; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 198-206; Burgess 1984: 144-46). I used analysis of statistics regarding matters of general practice, such as church attendance, full membership, "leaving the church," excommunication and certain member preferences

and attitudes. Much of this information is available from church and denominational records; some of it was obtained through distributed questionnaires. I engaged in participant observation of many public functions, such as worship services, congregational meetings and other events. I selectively interviewed members, particularly people in various leadership positions in the various areas of the church's ministry. Documents, in the form of organizing and planning meeting minutes, minutes of regular meetings, and membership statistics, were analysed. The most important, basic and central aspect of this work was the ethnography of the Dutch-Calvinist community itself. People tell their own stories as forthrightly as possible.[1]

Sociologically, such description is significant in that it sheds light on the general question of the social bond, of the very existence of society and on the reasons for maintaining specific social forms as opposed to other possible ones. The Weberian notion of rational and conscious choice of social configurations is implicit in this work. But what underlies it more fundamentally is the desire to understand the phenomenon of human association in the unique ways of a particular sub-culture in a pluralistic society.

2) Research Foci

This dissertation works at two levels of analysis: on one level, it attempts to deal with the larger issue of the nature of ethnicity and ethnic group; on another, it seeks to present the lifeworld of one group: the Dutch-Calvinists in a Canadian suburb pseudo-named Riverside. These two levels merge as I show some features of ethnicity in general by referring to this specific group.

Commensurately, several agendas were operating in the development of this research and dissertation. At the level of the larger question of the nature

of ethnicity and ethnic group, I have canvassed a wide range of literature and traced some of its roots to larger philosophical issues. Also in this connection, I have shown how a sociology of knowledge approach can be fruitful in providing questions and answers regarding social groups such as those we call ethnic. This has resulted in an analysis of approaches to ethnicity and to an assertion, noted in the chapter on theory, that ethnicity studies focus on different aspects of the phenomenon we have come to call ethnicity. The method used in this level of the thesis was straightforward: begin with several classical statements and studies of ethnicity; bring in several phenomenological writings which treat the issue of worldview and the social construction of reality; compare various analyses of the phenomena ethnicity and ethnic group. This yielded several insights which I could then use in my analysis of the Dutch-Calvinists who constituted the empirical focus of my work.

B. How the Study Was Done

Here I will discuss the inception and social relations implicit in the project, personal research involvement, a description of the methods of data gathering and the focussing and analysis of the data.[2]

1) Inception and Personal Relation to the Empirical Data

No aspect of social intercourse intrigues me as much as intimate, bounded social groups which lie between the immediate kinship relations and the larger social order imposed by political-jural structures or the accidents of geography. Such groups range in size from the clan or tribe -- see for example, Durkheim ([1915] 1947: 102-109; [1903] 1963, passim), Malinowski ([1948] 1954: 21-28) Roosens (1989) -- to the size of a nation, as the current attention on the Baltic "republics" in the USSR and the Serbs and Croatians in Yugoslavia, each claiming nation-status attest.[3] Many sociological explanations for the existence of such

groups have been made. They range from Herbert Spencer and Lester Ward's assertions that groups represent various levels of evolutionary or adaptive accomplishment and, as such, can best be seen as groups in a hierarchy of development and progress. Others have seen groups as repositories of cultural attributes. This position was explained well by Naroll (1964) in which he suggested the term "cultunit" to be applied to groups which are grouped according to the criteria of trait distribution, placement in a territory and relation to other territorial groups, political organization, language, adjustment to ecology, and structure of local communities (Naroll 1964: 284, 286).[4] Others emphasize the inherent political impact of such groups and refer to them as "subnations" to distinguish religious from non-religious groups and racial from non-racial ones (Petersen: 1975: 177-208). Following Donald Horowitz (1985: 39, 40), Phadnis suggests that ethnic groups are affected by their relation to a centrally controlling dominant group and by inter-relations among other similar groups which compete for resources which the dominant society makes available to the subordinate groups (Phadnis 1991: 45-49).

Religious groups frequently are kept in categories of their own and not referred to as ethnic groups because of the non-genetic character of their rationales for existence.[5] In the definition of ethnicity and ethnic group that I adopt in this study, there is no reason to make such a distinction. Whatever the precise characterization or nomenclature of groups which lie midway between kinship and massive society, I am interested in them.

In trying to understand more about such groups, I decided to begin close at hand. I am a member of the Christian Reformed Church denomination and, although individual congregations vary substantially, the network of denominational affiliation was accessible to me in ways that most other

researchers would not experience. I wanted to closely investigate the lifeworld of a group which is similar to the dominant society in many ways, but which still maintains what it considers to be meaningful distinctions between them. I assumed that in dealing with such a group I would reveal reasons for distinctions that may go beyond those conventionally offered as conditions for ethnic group distinctions. Since they are close to the Anglo-Canadian dominant majority, I assumed that Dutch-Calvinists would be a good choice from which to distil unique reasons for group distinctions.

Also, I determined that I wanted to look at the ways people construct their reasons for the maintenance of their associations and to test the thesis which Barth asserts regarding the existence of ethnic boundaries and which I feel Breton parallels in his work on institutions' effects on group viability. In order to do that, I felt it important to work directly with a limited number of people rather than conducting a sweeping and less intimate study of a number of groups whose conditions, assumptions and boundaries I could not easily determine. Therefore, I decided to use formal interviewing of individuals in their homes as my primary instrument, using a survey questionnaire as a way of revisiting some of my observations. I decided to amplify my knowledge about the people whom I was studying by referring to their publications, documents, internal records and regularly scheduled meetings as ways to determine what they thought about reality and how they constructed their world outside of the influence of my presence. These research requirements which I imposed on myself further directed me to do a study with a limited-size group.

2) Employment of Ethnographic and Other Research Modes as an "Insider-Stranger"

I chose to study a group that was both accessible and of which I was not directly a member. I believed it should be a group in which I was enough a native to gain access into and be comfortable in the homes, to enable me to have access to material with whom complete outsiders would not be privy, to be able to understand the Dutch language phrases and expressions many still use, to be aware in an intimate way of the doctrines, practices, denominational structures and agencies, as well as current issues which this community lives. Prior knowledge of doctrinal issues also allowed me to understand the often convoluted reasons for which people assumed their positions or reacted to others in the church. I felt that I could gain the confidence of the members of this church.

This assumption counters the established position of Robert Merton (1972: 30-36), for example, who contends that one should not study the group of which he or she is a part because, as Samuel Heilman says of Merton's position, "insiders have a structurally imposed incapacity to comprehend their own group... (Heilman 1980: 101).[6]

Heilman, however, points to the equally pernicious problem of inadequate understanding or knowledge of the deep ways of the groups which the ethnographer studies. He notes that, "as long as few natives ever read or publicly comment" on research, there is no problem, but if people cannot find themselves in the reports of others, that is a problem worthy of note (Ibid.: 103). He states, "Certain observations and the insights they provide seem possible precisely and only because I am informed as an insider" (Ibid.: 105). He gives examples of how this could occur with the use of terms which cannot be translated straight across from one language to another.

Heilman suggests an approach which I have used all along in this study, that is to combine "familiarity with detachment, [one can] "discover" something [one] has always "known." Only the insider/outsider, stranger has access to this sort of information" (Ibid.).

In support of this position he cites Everett Hughes, who said, "It is doubtful whether one can become a good social reporter unless he is able to look, in a reporting mood, at the social world in which he was reared" (Heilman 1980: 107). This is a similar point to ones made by Everett C. Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston on separate occasions.[7]

It is fair to say that the dangers of not knowing one's community of analysis is as great as knowing it too intimately. In either case, one must ensure that it is the lifeworld of the community which one is reporting, not a distorted and prominently subjective version of it.[8]

In spite of the perils of insider-stranger status, therefore, I chose the Riverside Christian Reformed Church community as a field. Aware of the problems, I felt I would be able to understand and report their lifeworld in ways that would not be forthcoming to a total stranger. This hunch was confirmed by one of the pastors after I had obtained permission to have access to the congregation. He told me that, in the meeting in which my study was approved, "Some [members of the ruling body of the church] wanted to know who you were. When they found out, they approved." When I asked him if they would have allowed this if I were not a member of the Christian Reformed denomination and known to some of the members of this church's council, he told me that he doubted so. He said that the people want to be known and understood, but they may not reveal much about themselves to someone whom they do not perceive as sympathetic or capable of understanding them (FN 02-26-87). I was certain that I would be able

to balance the responsibility to avoid learning or reporting too much with the advantages of partially shared status and access which I possess. Preliminary discussions with pastors of the denomination in the region within which I contemplated this study also showed me that I should restrict my attention to one congregation. The difficulties of obtaining general permission and access on an even basis across several congregations would be either daunting or impossible.[9]

Amicable conversations with officials of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church, on the other hand, encouraged me to believe that I could gain access to this congregation and that I would be well-accepted by the members (FN 08-12-86, FN 09-04-86, FN 05-01-87).[10] In this process, I also became increasingly convinced of the ethnic character of this group and intrigued by the reference to the group's faith as the grounds for such ethnic retention.[11]

Obviously, there are also dangers involved with observing that with which one is already familiar. Robert Merton's point that the native can never give an objective portrayal of his or her own group (referred to in an earlier endnote) may have a ring of truth. This is another reason why I studied only a local congregation of Dutch-Calvinists, and not the denomination as a whole or even my own church congregation. Indeed, I feel that it would have been impossible to study the Riverside Christian Reformed Church for the research purposes of this sort if I were a member there. We would have had too many preconceptions of each other. My previous roles and positions within the community would have made some people reluctant to talk to me and others would perhaps expect me to take their position relative to others in the community.

Attempting to be aware of the importance of acknowledging power and hierarchy in the community (Whyte 1984: 37; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 54-76;

Lofland 1984: 85; Burgess 1984: Ch. 2), permission to study the group was sought from the ruling body of the church, known as the consistory (M 02-25-87). In the case of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church, this body is composed entirely of men, elected from among the congregational membership. I wrote a formal letter of request, explaining the purpose of my study and clearly identifying myself as a member of the denomination. I also appealed to my long-term goals of serving the denomination[12] and making a contribution to the better understanding of pluralism.[13] After deliberation on this request, and the support of several prominent people within the community who were on the council, I was granted the approval I needed.[14]

Later, when I asked for the minutes of the church council's meetings back to the founding of the church, Rev. Petersen told me that they had not specifically given me permission to do that close scrutiny.[15] He informed me that those minutes were confidential, and that I should take this matter up with Rev. Vermeer, an emeritus pastor, for his opinion (FN 05-15-87a). After conversing with Rev. Vermeer, I wrote letters to the pastors and council, requesting specific permission for such copying, which was subsequently granted (FN 05-15-87a; D32, 33).[16] Again, I am certain that access to this vital and essentially closed information would not have been unrestrictedly available to "outsiders."

In many of the interviews, we became engaged in discussions which one would have to possess broad knowledge of Dutch-Calvinist history or mentality before one would be able to understand the meaning of the comments and observations.[17]

Further, there were many observation and participation opportunities that came only because I was perceived as Dutch-Calvinist. I was, for example, invited to a 50th Wedding Anniversary celebration at which nearly all the other

guests were from Riverside Christian Reformed Church; those who were not were either neighbours or members of other Christian Reformed Churches (MI16, PON13). I also received invitations to the closed receptions of several weddings (PON8, 18). I was a participant in many of the meetings which I attended. For example, I was allowed to speak at a congregational meeting to explain my study, on the basis of my letter of request for permission to study the group. In that letter, I had emphasized this study's intention to present an accurate and thorough analysis of the church.[18] I was invited to the coordinator's meetings of the Family Circle program, which is the church's endeavour to provide intimate groupings of congregation members who might not otherwise associate with each other (PON4, 16). My opinions were solicited as eagerly as those of the members present. Similarly, when a group of leaders of all of the church's programs came together to draft a mission statement, I was invited to observe. My opinion was directly sought regarding the wording of the proposals, although I was not asked about the substance of the proposals they were making (PON19).

At a Men's Society meeting, which consisted of a discussion of Biblical concepts and passages, not only was I invited to read a passage of Scripture as the men took turns reading around the circle, but I was also asked to make comments. In addition, my presence was used by one of the members as an arbitrator in a disagreement which appeared to be ongoing (PON17).[19] At the conclusion of that meeting, the leader asked me to close the meeting in prayer, which was an obvious sign of acceptance.[20]

In another example of acceptance by the group, I was given opportunity to talk about my study and encourage people to participate in it during one of the congregational meetings, which occur only twice each year. Here, I emphasized, for the first time, the importance of doing such a sociological study. The

people were cordial, with some of them speaking to me during the coffee break. One woman suggested a study of a Dutch community in Holland Marsh to me and encouraged my work.[21] Another man supplied the punch line to a joke I told about the Dutch-Canadian equivalent to Alex Haley's book, Roots. (The answer is Bulbs, or as this man replied, Wortels, in Dutch.) The meeting included a special presentation to a church volunteer and did not end until 10:30 p.m. In spite of the hour, a prominent member of the group talked to me for at least half an hour afterward about the nature and history of this church. In fact, this conversation yielded one of my first interviews (PON1 and FN 03-18-87). While perhaps any researcher could have attended the many funerals and weddings that I did, I am not certain that they would have been equally well received.[22]

The role I came to occupy in this community was one of scribe and local preserver of the saga of the Riverside community. On several occasions, people telephoned me to tell me of their availability for an interview, or to inform me of events that I should know about. At a meeting that I attended with my ubiquitous tape recorder, one of the people present made reference to "that famous tape recorder" and several other members joked about some of their comments which "Brad will play back to someone someday" (I65, PON19, FN 11-19-87). I think that I became an accepted curiosity after attendance at almost every worship service twice each Sunday, every wedding, funeral, church event, meeting (except for council meetings, which I never attended), and visits at people or their friends and relatives for nine months. In fact, I began to possess more current and intimate information than most of the people in the church, since my visits cut across factional, ideological, family, age and doctrinal lines. Although I never disclosed names of members to other members, I would freely share with them ideas that their fellow members were voicing to

me. This usually initiated comments from the people with whom I was visiting. If that failed, reference to a sermon, a comment at a recent meeting, a denominational doctrinal position or dispute would serve as an entrance into a conversation. I made a practice of engaging the people with whom I spoke in discussion rather than simply asking them questions. In this, I was frequently also guided by the questions and tabulated responses of the questionnaire that I distributed and which many of my visit hosts had already worked through and completed. Thus, in addition to the role of scribe in which I was perceived, I also became a questioner of the tradition and the community. Finally, since I was intimate with the congregation and a member of the Christian Reformed Church, but not a member of this congregation, I became a safe person with whom to discuss issues that were perhaps risky to discuss with other members. Thus, the role of confidante for personal, doctrinal, liturgical, social issues was also thrust on me.

Far from being a snoopy, disinterested and suspected intruder, I had the feeling that many regarded me as filling a service in the group. For that reason, later in my research interviews, it became increasingly difficult to ask many of the specific questions that I originally intended. Frequently, my visits would become three and four hours in length (see Burgess 1984, especially 103ff)[23]. On many occasions, I attempted to leave earlier, and people would make such comments as: "You don't have to leave for our sakes"; "Would you like another cup of coffee?"; "This is interesting"; "You are making us think, you don't have to rush off." A variant on this is the fact that, increasingly, I was regarded as a regular participant in the church meetings I attended. On only a few visits was I aware that people simply wanted to get rid of me and have the interview completed. Usually, coffee, cake or cookies, a cold drink or wine was

served during my interview visits. I received many more after-church coffee invitations than I could accept, with many people asking if my wife would also come along.[24]

Scribe, observer, commentator, confidante: these are some of the roles I came to play. They reduced the suspicion and reticence of my hosts, respondents and participants, and allowed me to view the community in full and unreserved action, I believe.[25]

Of course, this is a somewhat one-sided picture. There were some people whom I knew were holding back information. There were others who suspected my orthodoxy or who may have thought I was not trustworthy. However, due to the large number of people with whom I was regularly talking, I would generally be able to check on the veracity and sincerity of most of the people with whom I was visiting at one point or another. Frequently, I knew more about people when I entered their houses than they may have thought. I always tried not to leave these preconceived ideas intact or untried, but attempted to adopt a line of questioning or observing that would allow me to verify or falsify opinions with which I entered the visit or observation experience. Usually, my knowledge of sociology: awareness of interaction strategies, the nature of social structures, of ideologies, and group dynamics, served me well in understanding situations that may otherwise have been inscrutable.

I tried to get around potential blocks by going through official channels first, thus using "gatekeepers" (Whyte 1984: 37-40; Burgess 1984: 48-49), and by using all channels open to me. For example, the pastors consented to send a covering letter along with the questionnaire I distributed in church. In it, they encouraged the people to respond and referred to the study's value for the church, as well as reminding the people that I was a member of a Christian

Reformed Church, and that their council had approved the study. They concluded, "...please do what you can to ensure a full response, either by yourself, your spouse, your children or friends" (D29). In addition, I made many announcements in the weekly bulletin and wrote articles for the monthly church Newsletter.[26] If I found out in an interview that a particular person was influential in a specific area of the community or held a crucial position in a group faction, I would attempt to visit such a person, establish rapport, and go on from him or her to other people who may have been more difficult to visit otherwise.[27] Lofland and Lofland (1984: 83-90) discuss the various realisations and strategies which the researcher must employ to contact information and gain access to people. They make the point, facilitated by references to Fred Davis (1961: 120-132) that one must learn to interpret the words, phrases and "transactional terms" that people use in order to begin thinking and interpreting like they do. I have already alluded to my advantage in this research in that most of the terms and transactional strategies which these Dutch-Calvinists use were familiar to me. Still, there were local understandings which had to be reached. Lofland and Lofland also refer to Murray Davis (1973, Ch. 8) who points to the intricacies of relationships and the necessity, in establishing relationships, of "meeting, constructing, reviving and dismantling" such relationships in order to make one's own place among the people one is seeking to understand. This is precisely what I tried to do in this community by going back and forth among the various people, roles, hierarchies, positions, age groups and even among various forms of data (bulletins, histories, membership statistics, denominational disputes, history and influence on the local group, to confiding or seeking counsel from members with whom I had intimacy, rapport and confidence).

Another strategy in successfully working one's way into such a community for intensive ethnographic research is to establish relationships on various levels (Burgess 1984: 39-51). In this research I employed this, for example, in this situation: In order to distribute letters, questionnaires and other information through the church's internal mail system, I frequently had to get into the building. It was of little use to have the general permission from the council. Therefore, an important and working relationship was established with the custodian who was generally cordial in this regard (PON24).

3) Data Gathering

Having decided to pursue research in the nature of ethnicity, established a theoretical perspective and set of social group literature from which to draw insights and foci of analysis and having selected a specific group of Dutch-Calvinists within which to collect data, I crafted a set of methods to obtain the opportunities I required to frame a full view of this lifeworld. I chose to adopt several such strategies to enable me to check my observations and other data against each other.[28]

My first and most important method was the in-depth, personal interview with members of the community. I began by interviewing a few people whom I knew from other contexts, and asked them a number of general questions about the community before allowing them to engage in a free-flowing discussion. During each of these initial interviews, I asked about other people who might be helpful for me with regard to specific topics, and representing specific points of view on selected issues. In addition, from the directory, the weekly church bulletins and from conversations with pastors, I noticed who were in charge of the various church committees and activities. I attempted to secure interviews with such people. Also those who were founders or leaders in the earlier years of the

community were important targets of my requests for interviews. In all, I conducted ninety interviews, some of them with groups of people who had a common interest, perspective or position.[29] The strategy I adopted in these interviews was essentially that of William F. Whyte, whose summaries of his many years of successful observation experiences suggested that when one has established a position or credibility in the community, it is often unnecessary to ask questions. If one converses long enough and steers the discussion in a desired direction, Whyte found, people will eventually provide the information the researcher wants. In fact, he suggested, direct asking of sensitive questions sometimes leads to personal withdrawal and destroys the possibility of an answer. I found this to be true.[30]

In each such interview, we always discussed the background of the people and what is the most important aspect of their lives. I also sought what they considered to be the greatest strengths and weaknesses of the Christian Reformed Church and their church in particular. In the course of each conversation, I would elicit a discussion on one or more of the current controversies raging within the group, and in this community in order to determine the nature of the boundary for the people. Central to this line of questioning was an attempt to find if and why members wanted to maintain distinctions between themselves and the rest of Canadian society. In that connection, I also asked them about the importance of the church's and their own Dutch heritage, relative to other considerations in their lives. Once I had determined the place of faith in their lives -- a finding that occurred sooner or later in all of the interviews in which the people actually claimed allegiance or membership in the group, I let them tell me what this faith meant to them, sometimes interjecting with comments or questions that forced them to sharpen their positions. In most cases, my

hosts allowed me to use a tape recorder; in the several in which I was not, I took notes during the visits and transcribed them later.[31]

The second most important form of information gathering was the various forms of observation in which I engaged. As specified elsewhere, I attended virtually every meeting, public gathering, celebration and funeral that occurred within this community between February and December, 1987.[32]

My role as an observer in the community is described above. Olesen and Whittaker's observation that one must develop a stable role that can be sustained within the community (1967: 276-78) was one that I certainly lived in this study. As I stated earlier, I came to fill roles which I think were partially created by my own presence, demeanor and suggested purposes in the community, but also partly created by the people themselves. They appeared to welcome the observation, comments and scrutiny of a friendly insider/stranger in their community and allowed me to conduct my work in an unrestricted and welcomed manner.[33]

Collection and analysis of documents and historical material was also a part of the process of coming to know this specific church and the denomination of which it is a part. In the latter category, there are several good historical accounts available of varying quality and aspects of the community, some of which are quite recent.[34] Of the former, there are several types. The most valuable and unusual are the minutes of the consistory or local church council. These contain records of all discussions which are of importance to the church, including personal grievances against the church or among members, instances in which the church finds it necessary to discipline members, doctrinal or life-practice matters, disputes between the local congregation and the denomination, financial expenditures and priorities, decisions about the use of

educational materials, decisions about the continued use of the Dutch language in community functions, relations between this community and the general society. In addition, there are matters which relate to the development of the larger Reformed witness in the province and in Canada, via proposals from this church to the provincial body, known as the classis, and to the international Synod, which meets yearly in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and to which delegates from each classis, sometimes from Riverside, are sent. These minutes represent as complete a picture of the community as one could get. Until 1965 they were written largely in Dutch, and so are inaccessible to many people.[35] Other forms of documentation included pamphlets, brochures and historical commemorative material. The one which proved most helpful was the 1952-1977 twenty-five-year commemorative book (D1), which capsulised the history of the church to that point. In addition, an array of position papers and booklets on church teachings were available.[36] In addition to these relatively official documents, I collected a number of minor and ephemeral pieces of information, including brochures for various community institutions such as the school, the association for the mentally handicapped, the retirement home association, Sunday School and elementary school programmes, newsletters from the Christian Labour Association of Canada and the Citizens for Public Justice, bulletins and tracts from some of the more conservative Reformed or Calvinistic churches to which some of the Riverside members migrated in recent years.[37]

Another important instrument was the questionnaire which I devised and administered (MI27 and Appendix B). In it, I asked a number of standard socioeconomic questions: age, sex, occupation, country/province of birth, political preference, church membership history and length of time which one was a member of this church. In addition, I asked a series of open-ended

questions about what the respondents thought about the church's strengths and weaknesses, why they are members and retain membership in this church, who they are and would like to be known as a group and the people with whom members have friendships, acquaintances and memberships. I asked what issues they thought most important, facing the society in general and this church specifically. I also attempted to find the degree of concordance between these people and the denomination as a whole by asking them to comment on issues and indicate if they agreed with the denomination's and Riverside Christian Reformed Church's position on them. Finally, I also asked some questions about the members' children: whether they thought their children would remain in the Dutch-Calvinist tradition and which schools, elementary through university, they attended, attend or will likely attend. In addition, I presented a similar, but slightly amended, version of this questionnaire to the 15-18-year-olds. I presented trial versions of the questions to members of the community whom I had known previously or had gotten to know in my initial forays into the community. On the basis of comments from them, I amended several of the questions. After they were submitted, I wrote repeated announcements for the weekly bulletin and the monthly paper and also sent numerous reminders via the church internal mail system.[38]

The foregoing is a summary of the methods and instruments used in researching and obtaining information within and about the community.

4) Data Focussing and Analysis

Interviews and observations were conducted for two months before the questionnaires were distributed; information derived by these means was employed to devise the questionnaire. After distribution, I had to coax and prompt for approximately six weeks before I cut off receipt.[39]

When all questionnaires had been returned, I grouped the open-ended responses into as few categories as I could, labelled and coded them, then analysed by SPSS-X,[40] and finally represented the responses in tabular form.[41]

Regarding the taped interviews, each of those which were used in the analysis were transcribed for analysis purposes. Following the transcription, I then broke down each research question into components.[42] After that I closely scrutinized each interview line-by-line and wrote in the research question number or sub-category by each comment, as to its application to such questions. In doing this, I indicated whether the interview statement supported or detracted from the assertions of my research questions. Using the questions and sub-categories, as headings, I then read the transcriptions, lifted out each comment by number and placed them under the appropriate headings. I identified each citation with the tape recorder cue number along with a several-word cue to assist in recall reference.

In the next step, I again went through each of the "packages" I had just created. These consisted of a) a research question, b) the categories of response to that question which emerged as I analysed the data, and c) all of the interview responses and other citations relevant to each category. During this process, I rearranged the information, allowed new categories to emerge, and amended the former ones if necessary. In this way, the interviews came to form and inform the categories of analysis which I used.[43]

These categories emerged more or less from the material developed by the interviews. The other forms of data then were fit into these categories. I combed the minutes for information relating to the support and reasons for support for Christian institutions such as the school and other causes, as well as for the proscription of "worldly activity" and Christian organisations that

were deemed to have become "liberal." In addition, I attempted to find if there is evidence that the sense of identity of the group has changed over the years.

Church bulletins and sermon notes served to track the weekly pursuits of the community and to give this thesis a grip on the reality of people's lives. The documents which I collected served as countless ways of "checking out" the people's stories and commitments.[44]

Also in that vein, participant observation at meetings and events gave opportunity to see the ideology, institutions and boundary maintenance in progress.

ENDNOTES

1. For code references, please see "Reference Codes for Research Notes and Unpublished Sources" at p. xii.

2. I am using the approach suggested by Lofland and Lofland (1984: 147-48) for reporting qualitative data. Such observation was used in analysing the claims regarding ethnicity and ethnic groups which the research questions asked. This describes the various modes of analysis and research methods which I used here and seeks to provide a rationale for their use. In general, I have attempted to get as close as possible to the people of the community in order to present their own version of their community.

In doing this, of course, I have been working under the guidance of a number of assumptions which I have laid out in Chapter Two and to which I allude repeatedly as I move through this study. But the overriding concern was to use methods which would furnish the rich detail of the community in the belief that if, in fact, no community exists, that would become obvious. If the community is changing, the contours of change would emerge. If there is adaptation, one could note its course. If there are prescriptions, proscriptions and boundaries, they too would be noticed.

3. For a recent treatment of the complexity of ethnicity, see Phadnis (1991). At pages 44 and 45, she discusses Joseph Rothchild's (1981) categorisation of ethnic groups, which show the immense range and types of such groups. Some of these are politically dominant majorities, others subordinate minorities; coalitions of formerly distinct groups, some bipolar and others with cores of the largest of several ethnic groups, serving that function; some politically strong, but economically vulnerable, others with the converse strengths and weaknesses. This, of course, is reminiscent of the same attempt to categorise which Richard Schermerhorn engaged in during the early 1970s. The point here is not the categories themselves, but the variety of forms in which groups of people appear.

4. Barth summarizes Naroll's type of approach as follows (1981: 200):

> ... a population which: 1) is largely biologically self-perpetuating; 2) shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unity in cultural forms; 3) makes up a field of communication and interaction; 4) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. (Barth 1969: 10,11)

5. A recent example of this is the study of Mennonites by Leo Dreidger, in which he consistently refers to this group as a minority, but not as an ethnic group. Instead, he refers to ethnicity as one of the "stakes" which hold up the "sacred canopy" of the Mennonite system. The other three are biblical theology, community of believers and a territorial land base. The ethnic stake is equated with "Germanic culture" which they derived from the "Dutch Renaissance" and carried

with them to Danzig (Gdansk) and, later, to the steppes of the Ukraine. Thus, ethnicity appears to be an aspect of Mennonites, not their identity.

6. Heilman continues to describe Merton's position thus:

> ...having been socialized into its way of life, they no longer are capable of being sensitive to the grammar of its conduct and nuances of its cultural idiom in any objective way. The insider's understanding is empathic, but therefore cannot be translated into terms outsiders could comprehend. Insiders can be advocates but never commentators and analysts. (Heilman 1980: 101, 102)

7. Hughes, in an address to the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology, said,

> One important prerequisite of entering any social system is to know something about it in advance. This we can achieve by our own social experience, by our use of language, by the social gestures we have seen, and by our knowledge of the meaning of whole, vast systems of symbols.
> ... We learn more by applying what we already know. (Hughes 1974: 331)

While this is not a direct advocation of insider research, it certainly does not preclude it, especially taking into consideration his point in this address, namely that most early anthropology occurred in a colonial context, in which British or Western European investigators pretended to know intimately about another society, simply by observing its ways for a time. We must be more concerned about understanding and experience of those whom we describe, not their relationship to us. That problem is equally important for the person observing strangers and acquaintances (Ibid.: 331).

In a somewhat unlikely place -- Zora Neale Hurston's Mules and Men -- one finds an example of the perils and benefits of intimate insider knowledge. Describing her struggle with the choice of precise topic for anthropological study with Professor Franz Boas, she wrote:

> When I pitched headforemost into the world I landed in the crib of negroism. From the earliest rocking of my cradle, I had known about the capers Brer Rabbit is apt to cut and what the Squinch Owl says from the house top. But it was fitting me like a tight chemise. I couldn't see for wearing it. It was only when I was off in college, away from my native surroundings, that I could see myself like somebody else and stand off and look at my garment. Then I had to have the spy-glass of Anthropology to look through at that. (Hurston [1935] 1990: 1)

Beginning, as Hughes suggests, with deep knowledge, access to material hidden from white researchers, the trust of most African-American storytellers and perception of the language, Hurston added the analytical distance and scrutiny ("spy-glass") of ethnography. She augmented collection with reflection to create a revealing and complex analysis of a people.

Although I did not "wear the garment" as tightly as Hurston, perhaps, I also knew the feeling of the cloth and feel enabled to discuss its texture, colour, variation, reasons for wearing and its changing styles.

8. With regard to Dutch-Calvinists, if one wishes an example of a work which purports to portray the lifeworld of a similar community -- this one in Holland Marsh, Ontario -- but which distorts it fundamentally at crucial points due to inadequate interpretive understanding, one can read K. Ishwaran's 1977 work. While I do not have time to adequately analyse that work to substantiate any claim conclusively, I provide several examples. At page 79, Ishwaran asserts that the "pastor's role is that of a mediator between the individual and God." He claims that is the "reality of his role" in spite of the fact that "the official doctrine of Calvinism is individualistic." This particular community, he says, "accepts the mediator and justifies the office." He bases this on several responses to his question of whether one can "get to heaven" (itself a fairly minor consideration among Calvinists) without the aid of a clergyman. Responses indicate that, while one could "get to heaven" alone, they would be assisted by going to church and listening to the minister's preaching. This, deduces Ishwaran, makes the minister a "religious specialist whose services are necessary for a proper spiritual life" (op.cit.: 81). For one thing, such a teaching is no different in Holland Marsh than in Riverside. The same comment could be made there, or in the denomination's seminary, for that matter, without implying that the minister is a mediator in the sense that he has some special power to intercede with God on a parishioner's behalf. Ishwaran is correct in stating that this position is highly respected, but his lack of familiarity with the community causes him to draw the conclusion that the community he is studying is somehow uniquely unorthodox in the powers they attribute to the preacher, and that that power includes the ability to improve one's chances of "getting into heaven." In the same vein, he writes that the Holland Marsh church also departs from the denomination and "like the Catholic Church can technically forgive sin and punish the unrepentant to the extent of excommunicating them" (Ibid.). All Calvinistic churches have an excommunication provision. None, including the one in Holland Marsh, believes it has the "technical" power to "forgive sin." Because of his limited understanding of Calvinism, he errs in interpretation.

Nevertheless, Ishwaran, as a sociologist, is appropriate in attempting to uncover the lifeworld of these people and to demonstrate the practical implications of them -- something he does reasonably well in spite of doctrinal misunderstandings.

I take issue with Ishwaran not to suggest the illegitimacy of outsider-stranger ethnography, but to contend that both it and the insider-stranger have problems of which to be aware.

9. Particularly a conversation with two Christian Reformed pastors from the same classis, or regional denominational body, convinced me that this would not be feasible. In one case, the pastor pointed to some of the difficulties of consistency among the various churches and the pressures of the pastors' schedules, their relative autonomy from one another (FN 08-12-91).

10. In addition to these fieldnotes, I had several informal conversations with these and other members of the group, which I did not note because the formal study was not underway.

11. These experiences together with reading theological accounts eventually convinced me to propose faith as the characteristic of the Dutch-Calvinist worldview and to suggest faith-ethnicity as a particular instance of ethnicity.

12. My letter of request for permission to have access to the congregation elaborately explained my connections with the Christian Reformed Church and related agencies, and my reasons for doing the study which would be beneficial to this community. The spirit of this letter is contained in the following excerpt:

> The purpose would be to accurately reflect our identity and character and to reflect on our strengths and weaknesses, with an eye toward a better understanding, both of our own community and the general nature of value-communities like ours in the Canadian society. (D31)

After several conversations with them in which I canvassed the proposal to them, both pastors assured me that they would present it in the best possible light during the meeting in which my request would be discussed (FN 02-06-87, 02-18-87, 02-19-87). I also spoke to individual members of the local church council who knew me (FN 02-20-87).

13. The concept of pluralism is dear to the heart of the Dutch-Calvinist, since it was during the political career of the founder of the current Calvinist party in The Netherlands that the present Dutch political structure, known as "pillarization" was instituted. Also in Canada, Dutch-Calvinists continue to hold strongly to a separate Christian school system, the ideal of a Christian political party and labour unions. For a relatively recent discussion of the school issue, see Peetoom 1983. He notes, for example, that for the Dutch-Calvinist, "deep in their bones resided an alternative to whatever school they did not like.... School was not simply the place you sent your children, it was a symbol for what you really were as people and for what you had achieved in the past" (Peetoom 1983: 112). Various books have been devoted to the treatment of the Dutch political system. Among them are, Goudsblom (1967), Kruijt (1959) Lijpart (1968, 1977) and Post (1989).

14. The entry in the official minutes of the consistory meeting (M 02-25-87, Article 8) reads:

> Mr. Brad Breems was given permission to write his thesis on the Riverside congregation. He may attend congregational meeting and interview members on a voluntary and confidential basis. We will receive a copy.

15. I suggested that my original letter had requested permission to use "historical documents," which I assumed covered the minutes. Rev. Petersen said that this was not his interpretation. I referred to the work of Bratt (1984) and Hofman (1983) as example of people whose work was clearly based on such material. Later, when I spoke to the Rev. Vermeer, the emeritus pastor whom Rev. Petersen suggested, these were the precise examples he also used.

16. Rev. Vermeer said, "I believe that, for the sake of a study, one could apply to a consistory and they should see their way to approve it, if it is for legitimate study." He further suggested that many congregational minutes are available from the library of the denomination's seminary in Grand Rapids, Michigan, particularly organizing minutes. As such, there is precedence for such investigation. He further cautioned discretion in the use of material about people who are still alive. In this regard, he said that any church board or

council would want to know and trust the person to whom they grant access (FN 05-15-87b).

17. Although one is never certain what issues would arise before a stranger, I am fairly confident that at least specific slants on some of the information I received would not have emerged if I had not known or had the confidence of the people, or if I had no prior knowledge of the position or terminology and doctrines used. In a final type of case, at least some knowledge of Dutch language was essential in understanding phrases or even entire passages of conversation.

I list the interviews in which my position as a partial insider was important in allowing me information or understanding: I1, 2, 3, 6, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 38, 54, 64, 66, 68, 71, 73, 80, 81, 82, 84.

This is not to say that all of the information in these interviews would only have been told to someone whom these people could trust, nor that they all trusted me completely. However, in many cases, I was able to understand and empathise in ways that I believe elicited continuing response and disclosure about the nature of the community.

18. As indicated above, the study was approved only after the pastors and several other people spoke in favour of it. On the basis of this, I was allowed to speak at the congregational meeting. Article 12 of the Minutes of the March 18, 1987 read: "Mr. Brad Breems was given an opportunity to introduce his study and the planned involvement of our congregation." At that meeting, I made a plea for cooperation in interviews, filling questionnaires, and attendance at all of the group's public functions.

19. This was an uncomfortable situation which most of the other members appeared to dislike. I declined to take a side in the issue.

20. This is significant, since the men who attend this voluntary issue-oriented study group tend to be among the spiritual leaders in the church -- although there are many strong members who do not attend this group.

21. After some description, it turned out to be Ishwaran's 1977 study Family, Kinship and Identity.

22. Being known by a number of the people present at each of these functions, and having been endorsed and having appeared before the congregation under the endorsement of the council, served to alleviate that suspicion and uneasiness which may otherwise have resulted in some modification of behaviour. In addition, at such events, I would often be in the company of one of the pastors or some other male member who was also present without his wife. This added to the propriety and inconspicuousness of my presence. Notes, observations and printed material gathered at weddings and funerals include: PON1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15, 18.

23. Burgess (1984, Chapter 5) advocates the importance of establishing friendly relations in one's interviews and in allowing them partially to take the course which the interviewee wants. In suggesting this, he cites several researchers who have developed strategies of this sort. They are Corbin's (1971) discussion, "Problems and procedures of interviewing," in Pahl and Pahl's Managers and Their

Wives, pp. 286-306; A. Oakley (1981) "Interviewing Women: a Contradiction in Terms," in Roberts, Doing Feminist Research, pp. 30-61. Burgess points out from his own and these cited experiences that "it is impossible to control the relationship between the researcher and the researched but... it is vital to develop the trust and confidence of those with whom interviews are used" (Burgess 1984: 103). I strove for that attitude.

24. On only one or two occasions did my family get involved with an observation or interview, but I frequently talked about them, since some of the people knew or knew of my wife. I felt that this established rapport and familiarity. In addition, in many instances, I had genuine friendships with members of this church, some which continue to this day.

25. In the preceding section, I have been aware of Olesen and Whittaker's (1967) treatment of the process involved in establishing a place within a community. In meeting with people, certainly there was the proffering of advice and coaching suggestions as to what I should seek, find and write. Elsewhere in this thesis, I give at least two examples of disgruntled members who told me to "put that in your report!" obviously wanting to present another side of the community than the harmonious one they assumed I saw. Those comments also bespoke the role they thought I had. Invitations to participate were rampant. My comments in this section make clear that I accepted some of these invitations, establishing a niche for myself which allowed me free access to most homes and meetings but which did not commit me to precise interpretations, since it was widely known that I was researching and writing for a university dissertation. My standard response to questions about results was a version of: "I must present this material in a way that is understandable to a committee at a public secular university, and which gives a picture of the whole community, not what anyone in particular might want it to look like." This gave me both acceptance and latitude. Accepting the roles that were thrust upon me, I believe, gave me credibility in the community.

26. The Newsletter articles were only indirectly associated with my study. One dealt with the status of Christian belief in Canada today, citing material from Reginal Bibby's Fragmented Gods (1987), a new book at that time. Another dealt with the importance to me of their filling in the questionnaires which I distributed. However, I also tried to explain how studies such as mine are important for them. A third article which I wrote was a "farewell," as I left the Riverside area for my present appointment.

27. Melville Dalton, whose work the Loflands report (1984: 85-86) points to the webs of information that weave their way through the informal groups and cliques of an organisation or community (cf. Dalton 1959: 57-65). This was certainly important for me to keep in mind, since many people were reluctant to speak unless they were certain that I had cleared the scrutiny of others. This occurred with particular force with some of the people who had recently left the community for a more conservative church elsewhere. I never did get into the homes of this rather homogeneous and interwoven group because several of the most prominent members were suspicious of me. I did, however, conduct telephone interviews and met one of them in his business establishment, where he conveyed most of the sentiments he perhaps would have in his home. However, this was still insufficient contact to establish the kind of entry I enjoyed in the main body

of the community where I successfully worked with gatekeepers and individuals to establish rapport and trust.

28. This approach has been variously termed. William Whyte refers to this approach as the "integration of methods" and particularly refers to the synthesizing of local history, questionnaire distribution within survey research, semistructured interviews and participant observation (Whyte 1984: 12, 20). This kind of integration is almost exactly what I did. Another term that has attained some currency is Denzin's "methodological triangulation" (Denzin 1970, Babbie 1989: 99). Burgess (1984: 143-46) discusses the importance of "flexibility in relation to the theoretical and substantive problems." He writes, "I use the term multiple strategies to allow the researcher to use a range of methods, data, investigators and theories within any study and so overcome any problems of bias" (Burgess 1984: 146). He also refers to Douglas's (1976) work in which the term "mixed strategies" is used. Douglas holds that:

> First, researchers should keep their options open at the start of a project. Secondly, flexibility should be maintained and, finally, uncontrolled methods should be used to determine how controlled methods can be used. (Burgess 1984: 145)

One should begin, says Douglas, with as natural an interaction as possible and then move into areas that one's contacts and observations imply.

Essentially, this is what I have done in regard to the Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside. For example, I would read in the bulletin about a particular organisation over several weeks. Seeing its significance, I would then ask some people about it during interviews, or try to meet with a local representative of the organization or church committee. When analysing the church minutes in the later stages of research, I would then also look for information relating to this organisation, as uncovered in my previous investigations.

29. For example, a group of leaders of all of the important committees of the church gathered and talked with me. On another occasion the current leaders of the Young Peoples Society spoke with me after a dinner meeting at the house of the Youth Coordinator. Former leaders of that group also met with me. On two occasions, groups of young people who were not formally associated with the Society met with me.

In a limited number of cases, I could not arrange a face-to-face meeting and had to be content with a telephone interview. In several other instances, I met in a restaurant (complete with a tape recorder perched on the table), and on two occasions at an interviewee's office. Most other interviews were conducted in kitchens, living rooms, porches, decks or suites.

30. I only asked a direct question after I had determined where I stood with regard to the person being interviewed and after I had established a rapport and had reconnoitered the scene well enough to be able to know what angle of conversation to take to get to the areas I wanted to cover. Questions which I considered innocuous or which I knew were so much a part of everyday discussions and debate that their controversial qualities would not offend people, I would ask. Others, I would allow to emerge or only ask them at the end of an interview when less would be lost if I gave offense. However, as Whyte also observed (1984:67-69), once one has established rapport, most questions either will be

answered without being asked, will not be offensive, or will not be offensively posed.

31. In all, I estimate that I spent around three hundred hours conducting these ninety interviews. They ranged in length from twenty minutes in the cases of the two shortest telephone interviews, to several lasting four hours. For each hour interview, I spent two or three in transcription, and several more in analysing the material and deciding where the quotations would fit. In this way, each interview represented between six and nine hours of work. Most of the interviews occurred from June through October, 1987, with several each in April, May, November and December, 1987. Six were conducted in the summer of 1991, as I was analysing data and found the need to amplify several points. In addition to these more formalised interviews with note pad or tape recorder, numerous informal chats and conversations occurred at meetings and by telephone, particularly in connection with completing or urging people to complete the questionnaires.

32. Scanning the Personal Observation Notes, Documents and Miscellaneous lists in the bibliography section of this thesis will give an idea of the range of meetings attended. In addition, my field notes, which are not printed in full in this thesis, contain information of other meetings. In some cases, information from these meetings has found its way into the thesis as citations in support of a point made in the presentation of the data.

33. While an estimate of an amount of time to the observation aspect of this work is difficult, looking over my calendar and notes, I place the figure of an average of eight hours per week from February through December, 1987, or approximately 350 hours in total. This, of course, does not include the time spent planning for and driving to these events.

34. Bratt (1984); Ganzevoort (1985, 1988); Swierenga (1985, 1987); McCarthy et al (1981), regarding the matter of pluralism; Peetoom (1983); ten Zythoff (1987); Van Ginkel (1982); Zwaanstra (1973).

35. In fact, due to the Dutch script in which they were often written, I had difficulty reading them with great accuracy. Thus, members of the church council graciously consented to translate these minutes for me. I relied on those translations to cover the material but, in all cases in which I actually used such material, I read the Dutch version as well to insure my understanding of these passages.

36. See D18, which deals with the question of the movement of the Holy Spirit in the church and which asks what is the future of this community; D19, which deals with the question of the denomination's position on lodge membership; D20 and D21, which deal with the church's position on film arts and "sabbath observance," respectively; D23a and 23b, which cover this specific congregation's position on film arts and fasting, respectively; D24, which gives marriage guidelines, used in pre-marital counselling by the pastors; D26 and 27, which both present a Calvinistic, biblical analysis of trade unions and the propriety of trade union membership for Dutch-Calvinists; D28, which details the denomination's position regarding a range of ethical and doctrinal issues, including Christian school attendance, union membership, the lodge and films;

D29 and 30, which are the admissions form and Constitution and By-Laws of the local Christian elementary school.

37. The foregoing are only a sample of the incidental material collected. I refer you to the Miscellaneous Documents (MI) section of the bibliography of this thesis for a complete list of such documents.

38. See MI28 for samples of such reminder notices.

39. The response rate on the questionnaires was 43%, with 235 respondents from 554 distributed. This number is the total of adult communicant members. I distributed two to each couple, expecting to get one back from each, of course. In cases in which an adult son or daughter was living at home, I included a questionnaire for each of them also.

In fact, sometimes one spouse or family member completed a questionnaire and the rest of the members assumed that was enough to register their family's opinions, in spite of reminders to the contrary.

40. SPSS-X analysis was done by Datex Services Ltd.

41. Many of these tables appear in Appendix A of this study. In addition, I distributed a questionnaire to all young people ages 15-18. Due to inadequate returns, I have not tabulated or deeply analysed those responses. I have only used them in an exploratory way and as pilots in asking questions of young people. In addition, in the analysis, with regard to comments made by some young people about other youths, particularly with regard to drinking behaviour, I scanned these responses for confirming evidence. Other than those uses, I did not use this material.

42. Following is the specification of research questions which I used:
USING RESEARCH QUESTIONS TO FOCUS THE INTERVIEWS TO REVEAL ASPECTS OF THE LIFE-WORLD OF THE DUTCH-CALVINISTS

RQ 1 -- What is ethnicity and ethnic group?
- 1.1 Evidence of a cultural interpretation of descent
- 1.2 Evidence of a common worldview -- faith
- 1.3 Evidence of ethnic group institutions
- 1.4 Evidence of ethnic group boundaries

RQ 2 -- The presumed distinctions on which ethnicity and ethnic group are based
- 2.1 Nature of Intergroup Relations
  - Assimilation -- pluralism
  - symbolic -- practised
- 2.2 Nature of the Ethnic Bond
  - primordial -- circumstantial
  - non-rational -- rational
  - innate -- achieved
- 2.3 Criteria for Defining and Recognizing Ethnicity
- 2.4 Origins of Ethnic Group Distinctions

RQ 3 -- Why do ethnic groups persist?
- 3.1 Why is one a member of this group? or

3.2 Why does this group persist? or
3.3 What is unique about this group?

RQ 4 -- What is the limit of ethnic group persistence?
1) What is the limit for this group?
a) for your participation in it?
b) for the group's persistence?

There is one major caveat which I must make regarding the above categories. During my analysis, I decided to treat what appears as RQ 2 above -- the presumed distinctions on which ethnicity and ethnic group are based -- entirely in the context of the theory chapter. Therefore, in spite of the fact that I noted what I thought were examples of each level or focus of analysis when I combed through the interviews, I did not include them in this thesis's empirical section. In addition the numbering of these research questions has changed in the actual text. RQ 1 here remains research question one. RQ 2 has become research question four, and is dealt with in Chapter two only; RQ 3 has become research question two; RQ 4 has become research question three in the thesis.

43. This is the spirit of what has been termed "grounded theory" by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and by Glaser (1978), and also discussed in Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 18, 174) and Schwartz and Jacobs (1979: 26-33). However, to my knowledge, the specific approach as outlined in the immediately preceding text has not been used or described.

44. For example, it is important to know, from budget statements, how much money is committed to the ongoing operations and what percentage of the church's collections go toward local, as opposed to mission and outreach.

PART II -- EMPIRICAL STUDY

CHAPTER FOUR -- THE DUTCH-CALVINIST COMMUNITY

A. History, Description and Composition of Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside

1) Brief History of Dutch-Calvinism, As It Pertains to This Study

The preface to the saga of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church goes back to John Calvin (1509-1564), from which this conception of Christianity originates. For Calvin, "the Biblical message is cosmic in scope ... and redemption is the restoration of a fallen creation. All societal life, therefore, is religion..." (McCarthy et al 1981: 41). Armed with this view of the restorative and global task of working within society as the grounds on which to practice religion, Calvinists have always had social agendas.[1] Important related agenda items taken over by the Dutch-Calvinists of Riverside Christian Reformed Church is that of the possibility to serve God through one's calling and social institutions. As McCarthy notes,

> ... Calvin introduced a radical break with the old order: God's Word is no less normative for the state than for the church, though the nature of its claim is different for each institution.... Every institution in society -- home, academy, the marketplace, and industry, as well as the church and the state -- offers an arena in which Christians fulfill their earthly callings. (Ibid.)

The Calvinist will leave no stone unturned in finding an area in which God can be served. Life is religion.

One may begin the story of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church in The Netherlands, the year 1834.[2] Here the Dutch predecessor of the Christian Reformed Church began as a group of staunch Calvinists split from the state church of the Netherlands Hervormde Kerk der Nederlanden. Although the latter was itself of Calvinistic stock, the influences of the Enlightenment had made it a faint version of the church of the Reformation that had flourished in this country at one time. Throughout the 17th century, house groups had been meeting throughout Holland, similar to those which gathered in other European countries in which the Reformation had occurred. These "conventicles" stressed a high degree of personal piety, including a daily regimen of Bible reading and prayer, mutual censure for sinful deeds which were measured according to extremely exacting standards. The trinity of evil deeds: card-playing, drinking and dancing, along with other evils such as attendance at plays and other forms of "worldly amusement" were strictly avoided. Those pious people who attended such conventicles were also members of the state church. However, a series of events led to the secession of 1834. Perhaps the most significant of these was the banning of all such house meetings by the House of Orange and the government of the day. The preeminent leaders were warned to stop their "unorthodox" teaching on the basis of the fact that they were not preaching officially sanctioned doctrines and were inciting the people to disobedience. One young radical minister, along with his congregation in Ulrum, the province of Groningen, sent a letter of separation to the Department of Religion (the very name of which was displeasing to separatists), informing the officials that they would no longer abide by the laws under which they were supposed to operate. Although the repression was considerable, the movement to secede spread to the point that the government was eventually forced to recognize the movement and release the

pressures to conform. Nonetheless, the scrutiny of the small groups was of the nature that some of the leaders felt uncomfortable in the Netherlands and eventually emigrated to the U.S. in 1846-47. After the initial move there, many other Secederes joined the small U.S. groups and constituted an inordinately large percentage of the Dutch emigration. The churches of the Secession flourished in Holland, however, also and established their own seminary in the town of Kampen in 1854.

In 1886, another splinter from the Hervormde Kerk (the state church) occurred, this time led substantially by the Calvinist philosopher, theologian, editor, and political activist, Abraham Kuyper (1837-1920). Known as the Doleantie, or weeping ones, this group also decried the moral and intellectual decline that they perceived to be occurring in the state church. Kuyper, as the man who started the Free University of Amsterdam, encouraged and personally was involved in beginning the Christian school movement in Holland, formed the Antirevolutionary (AR) Party and was prime minister of Holland from 1901 to 1905 as an AR member, founded the Free University of Amsterdam, began a Christian labour movement and trade union, edited two newspapers and wrote scores of political and theological books, put his stamp on the Dutch church from which the Christian Reformed Church originated.[3]

In the strand of Calvinism which prevailed at the inception of Riverside Christian Reformed Church, the assumptions of Abraham Kuyper played heavily. He developed a concept which he called the "antithesis" to describe the radical struggle between the principles of good and evil in the world. "The redeemed lived out of one principle -- love for God -- and everyone else lived out of the opposite, whatever that may be," is the way James D. Bratt describes this concept in Kuyper's writing (Bratt 1984: 18). In the Netherlands,

> The Reformed applied themselves to this task with a vengeance, establishing within twenty years a Calvinistic university and elementary schools, Calvinistic newspapers, a Calvinistic political party and labor union, Calvinistic hospitals, social welfare agencies, trade associations, study groups, and a "purified" Reformed church. (Ibid.: 18)

One of Kuyper's main concerns regarded the state, which he contended received far too much power. He attributed this acquisition of power to the French Revolution, in which the power of people increased beyond that which the monarchies and oligarchies had possessed before them. The state, he believed, has a tendency to control all other institutions, legislating how they should perform and by what principles they should operate. In a theoretical position, which he called "sphere sovereignty,"

> he led a crusade to break the stranglehold of a secular state over the various institutions of society. He held that the natural line of demarcation between the authority of the state and that of the various spheres of society, established in the creation order, must be faithfully maintained if freedom and justice are to prevail. The rights of families, churches, schools, the press, and other associations must be defended against the encroachments of the modern state, for each social institution has its own God-given, inalienable reason for existence and right to existence. (McCarthy, et al 1981: 47)

Each institution, or "sphere," must be free to operate on its own, without state intervention. Further, each religious or value community should be able to erect institutions based on its own convictions. The state's only task would be to insure fairness and justice for each of these institutions to carry out its tasks. He felt, therefore, that a state-run educational system would ruin the unique responsibilities of more fundamental communties. Thus, he called for developing unique, Christian schools, an idea that caught on in Holland, and was transferred to Dutch-Calvinists in the United States and Canada.[4] This concept, and the implied limitation and fear of the state, played a large role in the

development of Dutch-Calvinism in Canada[5] and of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

By 1894, the 1834 Secessionist group and the 1886 group joined forces in the Christlijke Gereformeerde Kerk der Nederland, or the Christian Reformed Church of the Netherlands. In the U.S., meanwhile, controversies were also going on, first of all with the established Reformed Church in America, which (under another name) went back to the original Dutch settlers of the early 17th century in New Netherlands, and which had been infused with many new immigrants of Hervormde Kerk backgrounds in the early 19th century. The question was whether to join forces with this more established church or to maintain the distinction that had been relevant in the Netherlands. In short, that question was answered variously by different groups of new Seceder immigrants, often on the basis of the degree and nature of their differences with the state church back home. Eventually, the Christian Reformed Church in America was established in 1857 and began to grow alongside the Reformed Church. By the time immigrants began arriving who were influenced by Kuyper's Doleantie, most of the "orthodox" immigrants were going to the CRC.

The Reformed churches in Canada, of which the Riverside group is one, generally consisted of people who had come from the more conservative Gereformeerde Kerk in Holland. The U.S. Christian Reformed Church established sister churches in Canada, and these affiliated with the parent, sending delegates to its major body, the Synod, which meets yearly in Grand Rapids, Michigan, on the same basis as the U.S. churches. In fact, in the early days of Dutch immigration into Canada, the Canadian congregations were so sparse and small in numbers that they would join American regional groups (called classes).

One factor that should be mentioned here is that the earlier Seceder churches continued to be somewhat distinct from the later Kuyperian Doleantie congregations in their approach to society and culture and in some theological emphases. While the Kuyperian strain of Dutch churches advocated involvement in culture, albeit from a distinctly Christian perspective, the Secession churches were more prone to ignore or withdraw from society and cultural pursuits altogether. While the Kuyperian groups were eager to become politically involved with the establishment of a Christian political party and labour union, the others were willing to vote for the people they felt represented their material interests most favourably and thereby avoid direct political participation. While the U.S. churches in the Christian Reformed denomination tended to consist mainly of those immigrants who had come during the Secessionist emigration from Holland, the Canadian churches tended to be populated by the Kuyperian strand, causing some internal discord from time to time. Furthermore, within the churches in Holland, the rural churches and those from smaller towns were more likely to have split from the state church in the earlier Secession, while the city congregations that had split would likely have done so after the 1886 break-away with Abraham Kuyper. Thus, when Canadian churches were begun, unless one was founded entirely by people from the same village, it is likely that some of the differences would appear in the Canadian church also. Invariably, this is what happened -- as it did to some degree in the church which is the object of this study too.

2) History of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church

Although some Reformed Protestant Dutch-Americans and immigrants from Holland had come to Canada and established Christian Reformed churches in Alberta as early as 1903-04 (Hofman 1983: 16-18), Dutch settlement in Eagleton,

the larger city nearest to Riverside, did not occur until 1926 (Yearbook of the Christian Reformed Church, 1982: 16). The Christian Reformed Church of Eagleton was relatively small and experienced modest growth until the influx of new immigrants from Holland after the end of the Second World War. This was a period of high immigration from Holland, beginning in 1951 when the Netherlands Emigration Foundation (later, Society) began its linkage work with communities in Canada. The "first private organization ... in the placement and settlement of Dutch immigrants was the Immigration Committee for Canada of the Christian Reformed Church" which began in 1947. "Fieldmen" were placed in many CRC communities, including Eagleton, for the purpose of overseeing the immigration procedures and estimating the number of people who could be accommodated in each area (Ganzevoort 1989: 69-71).[6]

The denomination placed a "home missionary" in the province to minister to the needs of the burgeoning Dutch immigrant Reformed churches here in the early 1950s. In 1952 this pastor, Rev. Paul Bakker, called together a number of families who had been attending the Eagleton CRC's services and asked them to begin a church in Riverside. Using the meeting facilities of a Methodist church, and later an Anglican one, the group organised itself into a congregation in October, 1952. Thirty-eight families made up this early congregation. In 1954, the first minister who accepted their invitation (the term used in the CRC is "to call" a pastor) to become their pastor was installed. This pastor was from the Gereformeerde Kerk in The Hague and spoke little English. After only two months in Canada, he already preached his first English sermon -- which he had written in Dutch and was translated by a female teacher. (The fact that a woman could do such a task is somewhat remarkable, in view of the position regarding women in teaching and authoritative positions in the church at that time.)[7]

In the CRC, much emphasis traditionally has been placed on the Sunday gatherings at which preaching from Scripture is primary. As long as the group used other facilities,[8] two Sunday worship services -- the norm in the Christian Reformed Church and in the Gereformeerde churches of that time in Holland -- were not possible due to the schedules of the host churches. For this and other reasons, by June, 1954 (M-06-22-54), the topic at every meeting of the local ruling body, the "consistory," was the need for a building of their own. Another feature of the Calvinistic mind is the necessity for separate education for the children. A Christian school already existed in a larger nearby city, but the long bus ride from Riverside prevented most of them from attending that school. Therefore, the hope was that a school may be started in the new church, if one were to be built. On immigrant wages, even one building seemed out of the question. However, eventually the group decided to first build the school and use it as a Sunday meeting hall as well. In June, 1954, only two years after the group began meeting, property was bought and a fairly large one-room structure was erected. During the week, three classrooms were made by placing moveable partitions; each Sunday the congregation worshipped there twice.[9]

When the school opened, September, 1955, the church membership was at eighty families, up from thirty-eight in October, 1952. By March, 1961, the ground was broken for a permanent church building. A young building contractor from the group supervised the free labour that was used to construct a large structure which still serves as the core of the church's facilities today.

Shortly after the building was completed, the immigration of other Dutch families had swelled membership to 160 families, some of whom lived in a town about twelve miles away and travelled to Riverside for worship services and mid-week activities. In 1962, a sister CRC was formed and given money from the

Riverside group to begin a building project of its own. Thirty-five families were involved in this move. Eight years later, property was bought for another church in yet another small community several miles from Riverside and another 35 families left to begin that congregation. In 1965, with the first minister having accepted a call to a congregation in another province, a new parsonage (minister's residence) was built and another minister called.

Growth via both immigration and migration of Dutch-Calvinist families accelerated in the late '60s, with 120 people being added in each year from 1966-'68. By 1969, there were 270 families and a second minister was added in 1970.

In the twenty-one years since that time another educational building has been added, and a meeting hall in addition to the church building has been constructed, with many additional meeting rooms as well.

The Christian school has expanded many times and presently has a small gym, six classrooms, several other facilities. It has seven grades, fully staffed, serving children from the church congregation and from many other Christian denominations. With around 200 students, it is one of the largest Christian schools in the province.

As will become evident in other sections of this paper, the Dutch character of the church is now changing somewhat, with the conscious attempt to attract people from the neighbourhood to the group as well. Growth in this area, however, seems limited.

3) Description of Riverside Christian Reformed Church Community

a) Church Structure and Government

As a church within the Christian Reformed denomination, the Riverside Christian Reformed Church is governed according to the presbyterian system,

originating in the works of John Calvin. This means that several "offices" or positions are set apart for service within the church, and the individual members, although technically free to live according to their own consciences, agree to submit themselves to the "admonition and discipline of the church" ("Public Profession of Faith," Form Number 1, Psalter Hymnal, 1976, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, Inc.). It also means that each local congregation chooses its own elected officials (in this case, usually for three-year periods) and calls its own ministers. Those who are chosen into the positions of elders and deacons, together with the ministers, compose the "council." The elders and ministers convene without the deacons from time to time in a meeting known now as the "consistory." These local councils are governed in their deliberations and discussions of doctrinal matters and ecclesiastical policy by several historic confessions and a Reformed church order. Of the former, there are three: The Heidelberg Catechism (1563), The Belgic Confession (1561) and the Canons of Dort, subtitled The Five Articles Against the Remonstrants (1618-19). The "Church Order" is a document which is frequently amended to reflect major social and church changes, but which has its origins in the split from the state church in the Netherlands of 1834. Before assuming office for the first of what may become many 3-year terms, separated by at least a year's release between each term, each "office-bearer" must sign a "Form of Subscription" in which he pledges to agree with and uphold the doctrines and modes of government of the church. The council has the duty of overseeing the operation and adherence to biblical teachings of the local congregation, as well as the supervision of the local worship services and administration of the church's two sacraments: baptism and the celebration of the Communion (usually known as the Lord's Supper).

The local congregations and their consistories are loosely affiliated with others in the geographic area in what is known as a classis (plural, classes), which usually meets twice per year, and which elects pro tem officers for each such session, with only an elected, non-paid secretary serving as a residual officer in the interim between meetings. Once a year, these classes send delegates to a general "Synod" held in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the headquarter city of the denomination. At these gatherings, issues of common interest are discussed, and policies for all the churches are formulated. All matters are subject to the voting of the delegates before they become binding on the congregations. The penalty for non-compliance of a congregation with synodical decisions is not explicitly stated, but the church order makes clear that all the decisions of the assemblies are binding (Art. 29), implying that non-compliance will lead to disaffiliation. Article 27 states:

> a. Each assembly exercises, in keeping with its own character and domain, the ecclesiastical authority entrusted to the church by Christ; the authority of consistories being original, that of major assemblies being delegated.
>
> b. The classis has the same authority over the consistory as the synod has over the classis. (DeRidder 1979: 111)

Therefore, the local consistory and council -- in effect, the congregation through its officials -- has considerable power to effect the sort of atmosphere and community it wants, but it does so within the context of rather tightly prescribed rules. Added to this is the practice of visits of local council meetings by appointed delegates from the classis. In such visits, adherence to general Reformed principles and practices are discussed and ascertained. All of this points to the fundamental ideal of Calvinism, namely the tension between the freedom of the individual (whether the person, congregation or classis) and the larger body. The very organisational structure of the church reflects this

tension. The member of the local church is free to act, but there are the overlaying rules of the church which surround him or her to the extent that individual action may become only the individual refraction of the Body of Christ, as interpreted Calvinistically.

The weekly preaching of the Word, Sunday School instruction in the faith and, particularly, weekly teaching of youth from the Heidelberg Catechism are designed to advocate a conformity with the spirit of the Bible and to encourage a Christian life. One of the duties of the elders is to ensure that the members' lives conform with the profession of faith which each of them makes, voluntarily, upon making a personal decision to become a full member of the church and to participate in all of the sacraments of the church, especially the participation in the Lord's Supper celebration. Failure of the member to do so can bring that person under the discipline of the church in such a way that he or she is asked to conform to the standards as understood by the church, to confess sins, if necessary, and to begin to "walk a godly life." It is in this area that one of the uniquenesses of the local congregation can be displayed. Some churches are more diligent than others in pursuing members who may be straying from the perceived right paths. The Riverside church is diligent in its task of maintaining orthodoxy. (References to the "Church Order" refer to the version found in the 1976 edition of the Psalter Hymnal, pp. 192-208.)

b) Relationships and Family Ties within the Church

In addition to the fact that the church I have chosen to study is a relatively orthodox example of Dutch-Calvinism, it is also one in which family ties play a large role and in which at least three generations of such families are involved in church activities. Within covenant theology as it is practiced in the Reformed churches, the family is regarded as the primary unit in society

and as the most important source of nurture in the faith. As Adam and Eve are regarded as the first parents and representatives of all, as Abraham is the "father of all believers," as God is regarded as the Father of all humanity, and Christ as the elder brother of all believers, so also, the biotic parents of the family are regarded in a representative and responsible capacity. Through the belief of the parents, in fact, the newly born and young children are recognised as members of the body of those who are redeemed. Until they reach an age of greater maturity (this is variable, but generally in this church, it occurs in the late teen or early twenties years), when they are expected to make up their own minds regarding the acceptance of the faith, they are incorporated into the church and "heirs of salvation in Christ" on the strength of their parents' confession.[10] This importance ascribed to the family and the role of the parents obviously results in extremely strong family units.

In addition, although the parents of the families are not regarded generally as possessing power or authority over their children's families, there is a respect for older members of the family and, in cases in which several generations of the same family live in the area, there is frequent visiting and care for each other. The Christian Reformed churches in the area support a home for the aged in a city about forty miles away -- although none of the elderly people from Riverside live there. Due to the great degree of intergenerational contact, the influence of the former ways of thought on the present life and direction of the congregation is considerable. Until recently, many of the elders elected into the church council were of the older generation -- that which immigrated to Canada. Thus, policies and attitudes of the church were particularly flavoured by the Calvinism of Holland of the pre-World war II period -- a time of relative fluorescence of Dutch-Calvinism in Holland.

Recently, however, a change appears to be occurring, in which control of the local family networks and of the church itself is in the hands of a generation of people who were either in their early twenties (or younger) when they immigrated with their parents, or who were born in Canada. This has not resulted in drastic changes in the family relationships and in the weakening of family ties, but it has changed the character of the relationships somewhat, and has certainly changed the degree of rigidity of observance of doctrines and practices in the church and family.

c) The Range of Activities within the Church

From the informal interviews and the returned questionnaires, I know that most of the members of this church form almost all their close associations with other people from within the church and spend almost all their free time attending events and working on projects originating in the church. A summary of regularly scheduled, strictly church-related events follows:

SUNDAY -- Church school at 9:30 a.m., including Bible Study and Sunday School for all ages from Kindergarten through adult; worship services at 10:30 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. (typically all members will attend the morning service and perhaps 80% -- representing perhaps 90% of the families -- attend the evening one); a hospital service by congregation members at a local hospital (conducted by only a few of the people, along with a small choir); "Friendship Service" (conducted at various CRC churches in the Vancouver area for mentally handicapped people in residence at various care facilities); "Young Peoples' Society meeting, after the evening service (attended by a fraction of those between the ages of 16 and 25).

MONDAY--"Counting Committee," consisting of several deacons and other people who have volunteered to count the money collected during the various

offerings in the church, for a variety of causes, including the budgeted operations of the church; "Men's Society" (a group of several men who meet regularly to discuss various theological topics and to study the Bible in a somewhat formal manner); "Mozarteum Choir" (a choral group consisting of people from both the congregation and outside it; the group rehearses and performs a variety of major chorale works and usually a musical each year; consists of approximately 80 voices, conducted by a hired musician from outside the community).

TUESDAY -- Church school for people in Grades 10, 11, and 12 (these classes usually consist of doctrinal instruction, typically a study of the Heidelberg Catechism, some other historic documents and of the tenets of the Reformed faith); "Ladies' Society," a group of several women studying various parts of the Scripture in a semiformal manner; Adult Bible Study, led by retired minister, Rev. Vermeer; "Inquirers' class," led by one of the pastors, Rev. Huizenga, designed for those who are just beginning to learn about the Christian faith, primarily for young people; "Discipleship Training Course," led by the paid youth worker and intended for young people who are serious about applying the principles of the Scripture and of Calvinism in contemporary society, and in a way which helps the society in general.

WEDNESDAY -- Coffee Break Bible Study, at 10:00 a.m., led by lay women in the church, primarily for the women in the surrounding area who are not members of this church; babysitting and children's story hour is provided; this is an attempt to present the message of the church to the outside community; it is perhaps the most effective and explicit way in which this church is attempting to reach beyond the Dutch ethnic boundaries and to provide a

service for women; much of what happens in this group is directed at providing a friendly atmosphere in a non-demanding setting for women; Christian High School Ladies' Circle, a group of women whose purpose it is to make handicrafts and other materials that can be sold for the benefit of the Christian high school which the church indirectly supports; other fund-raising events are planned here too for the school; youth choir, a small group of people who are practicing to sing at various events and special services; church council meetings, consisting of one meeting each per month for the following: executive of the council, deacons, elders, full council; this is the "ruling body" of the church;

THURSDAY -- Calvinettes, the young girls' group, consisting of all girls from 9-13; girls study the Bible, engage in games and discussions and learn handicrafting skills; meets on alternate Thursdays; Cadets, the boys' club for ages 9-13; essentially the same as the Calvinettes for the girls; also engage in camp-outs and in camps with Cadets from similar clubs throughout the area; both Calvinettes and Cadets are open for any child who wants to join; they are staffed by numerous volunteers from the congregation (approximately 10 for each club); Praise Singers practice-- this male chorus group, which hires a director, sings for enjoyment, but also participates in the worship services on rare occasions.

In addition to these regularly scheduled meetings, the church is divided into what are known as "Family Circles." Depending on the group and its chosen mandate, they meet periodically also. A number of group Bible studies consisting of members of the church who are each others' friends, meet on regular bases.

Large numbers of the people come out for all sorts of special events in the lives of the people of the church. These events include weddings, funerals,

and anniversary celebrations. Musical programs, sports evenings, games nights, and talent shows are sponsored from time to time by the various groups.

Besides all the church activities, most of the families are also members of the two main independent school associations: the John Calvin Christian School and the Regional Christian High School (located in a suburb some 15 miles from Riverside). Membership on the board or education committee of either of these institutions is common. Of course, a full range of events associated with these schools occupies many evenings each year, too.

A wide range of other Christian causes, not directly associated with the church but encouraged by its teachings and preaching, include the Christian Labour Association of Canada; the Citizens for Public Justice (a group which seeks a Christian political option, with particular emphasis on rights for minorities and oppressed in Canadian and world society); the Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto, the local chapter of which sponsors a lecture series in the church hall each year; the Simeon Home for the Aged requires a contact person in each CRC church, as does the Oaks Christian Counselling Service and Shalom Centre for the Developmentally Disabled in two cities in the region; and various right-to-life associations, especially Pro-Life, which has an extremely active contingent in this church.[11]

Several people are also involved in "local evangelism" through the church's Evangelism Committee. Their tasks are to find and implement ways to make contacts with the wider society, particularly the immediate geographic neighbourhood and present the teachings of the Scriptures to them, and provide them with other services which they may require. One person regularly visits transient workers who come to the area in connection with their employment. At Christmas time, he coordinates a gift parcel delivery for these workers. Several

retired women in the church wrap all these gifts as well as make Christmas cards for hundreds of workers, most of whom will not be with their families at Christmas.

Several standing committees of the church also require much of the people's time. These would include the deacons, whose work involves the sponsorship of projects to provide relief to those nearby and in distant places who may be in poverty or stress. They are also charged with the task of ensuring that those who require financial aid in the church get it. The Worship Committee exists to provide liturgical support for the worship services and to ensure the publication of liturgies for special services and songs for the congregation to sing in addition to the official denominational song book.

In spite of all these church-related activities in which various people are engaged, most of the recreational and social life of the members also occurs with fellow members. One of the outstanding examples of this is the matter of team sports. A church softball team and several relatively formal hockey groups are formed of church members. From a preliminary study of the returned questionnaires, I know that approximately 75% of the members have friends exclusively from this church, and 90-95% have their best friends within it. Typically, after the morning service, for example, members will visit each others' homes, which frequently occupies much of the afternoon as well.

Obviously, a sense of community and intellectual or ideological conformity pervades this group whose members live and work together so closely. In the interviews, I attempted to discover the reasons for this extremely close network of associations and the ways in which it is sustained -- also from the point of view of the cognitive, psychic, social, economic and faith aspects of the relationships. An elaborate set of rationales exists, generally originating in

the theological framework of Calvinism and in the character of the Dutch people, who have for many years worked within a specific form of pluralism. This is referred to by Lijphart (1968), Goudsblom (1967), Bagley (1973), Post (1989), Ganzevoort (1989: 69) and others as the principle of verzuiling or "pillarization," in which each of several ideologically motivated segments of the society possess a more or less complete set of social institutions and political structures. Each of these contributes to the national character and welfare of the nation, but the members of each "pillar" or ideological community do not interact with each other frequently or intimately. Even this system has its basis in Calvinistic movements of both the 17th and late 19th centuries. The accounts of the members of the community give valuable insight into the maintenance of radical distinction from the Canadian majority society even though there is a simultaneous participation and prospering within it.[12]

4) Relationship of This Church to Other Churches and Service Organisations

As mentioned in the previous section, this church has affiliations with others of the same denomination. Such relations are conducted at the level of the classis, in which official cooperation is maintained. On a fairly regular basis, particularly if there has been a classis meeting or some other event in which all the Christian Reformed Church ministers have been involved, a minister from another church may be asked to "exchange pulpits" for a Sunday and preach the sermon instead of the church's own pastor.

As far as other churches which are not affiliated with the Christian Reformed Church denomination are concerned, practically the only contact is that which is maintained by the pastors in their professional relations with pastors from other churches. The primary vehicle for this is the Ministerial Association, which holds regular monthly meetings and may engage in an

occasional shared project in the community. One of the Christian Reformed Church's pastors is presently on the executive committee of this association. According to him, not all of the eligible Christian church ministers participate in this association. While exchange of preaching duties does not occur, an annual "unity worship service" is held at various member churches. According to personal communication with one of the pastors of the Christian Reformed Church, attendance is usually poor at this event, with the Riverside Christian Reformed Church members attending at a higher rate than those from the other member churches. Also via the Ministerial Association, one of the Christian Reformed Church's pastors takes his turn in conducting a worship service for the patients at the extended care facilities of two local hospitals (three times per year at each) and, on a rotating basis, the other pastor presents a Sunday morning meditation on a local radio station. Membership in the Association is based on regular attendance and the payment of minimal dues by each of the pastors and their churches. Another shared service of this organisation is the provision of an annual scholarship to a graduating student. Both through this association and the church's own council, the ministers participate in the annual municipal Remembrance Day ceremonies.

Regarding other contacts with groups outside of the church, some of the members participate in an inter-denominational prisoner-visiting effort known as M2-W2. The church's large "fellowship hall" is used by neighbourhood groups from time to time, an example being the hosting of all-candidates meetings there during election campaigns at various levels. Another of the church's buildings, which is used for its own educational program on Sundays, was rented on a "break-even basis" to a local preschool association for their use during the

week. Presently, the church operates a preschool program there itself. This is done for community development purposes, according to one of the pastors.

While these contacts appear extensive, they represent a small part of the actual work of the church in terms of money, time, and energy. Again, a tension exists between the obligations of service to the world which is enjoined in the demands of God's covenant, and the other focus of the covenant, namely the contemplation and enjoyment of the relationship with God. This tension is resolved in the Christian Reformed Church by the extensive relief and service programs funded by the denomination and by the provincial Diaconal Conference.[13] Contact with community service organisations and other churches, therefore, is minimal, but the efforts in external service is considerable. This is justified in at least two ways by the members with whom I spoke and by the church council's positions on this matter. First, they contend that each group bears its own degree of responsibility to those around them, according to the "measure to which God has blessed them." This means that this congregation -- or at least the denomination -- should not rely on the good works of others, but should show its thankfulness to God and should fulfill its own covenant obligations by engaging in such activities itself. Second, the point is made that the church may not approve of the motives and means used by other organisations which assist others. "Giving a cup of cold water in Christ's name" is different from acting according to strictly humanitarian motives, according to the Dutch-Calvinist. The only efforts in which the church will cooperate with other groups are those of which it can be sure that precisely the same assumptions and motives underlie the effort. (One of the pastors told me that he does not approve personally of the participation in the ministerial association's scholarship program. He only goes along with it because he does

not want to "make an issue" of so minor a point, and he feels his reasons for not wanting to engage in this program would be misunderstood.) This summarises the manner in which the Riverside Christian Reformed Church cooperates with other organisations with similar purposes and aims.

5) Composition of This Dutch-Calvinist Community

a) Socioeconomic Characteristics

Table 23 groups responses regarding occupation.[14] While this obviously is not an index of socioeconomic status, yet it presents the community's occupational configuration.

While I do not pretend a full analysis of the Table 23 data here, it points unmistakably to the middle and perhaps upper class position of most of the members. Certainly, in terms of wealth, several members of this congregation are well-off. There are, for example, a number of well-placed executives; there are construction company owners and several large wholesale flower growers who have done well financially.

This is more remarkable when one notes the occupations listed of the 22 men whose names appear as "charter members" of the church, dated December 14, 1953:

Millworker	6
Salesman	3
Florist	5
Labourer	2
Teacher	1
Cement worker	1
Barber	1
Medical Doctor	1
Farmer	2

Not only is the Dutch-Calvinist community highly represented by the middle class but generational mobility is remarkable. In fact, several of the people

whose names appear on the charter member list either retired as wealthy men or left prospering businesses to their sons who are now financially well-off.

There are no obvious cases of poverty in the church, although some of the people are not as economically secure as the norm. The deacons of the church do from time to time offer economic assistance to families in special circumstances, but there are no long-term cases of welfare of "benevolence" (the term used for this phenomenon in ecclesiastical language) within this church.

In fact, according to a recent issue of The Banner, the official publication of the Christian Reformed Church in North America, a news article about this particular church indicates that it has supported over 200 Vietnamese families, sponsoring them to come to Canada and supporting them financially until they become able to do so themselves.[15]

The implications of ethnicity and the causality of ethnicity regarding this remain to be analyzed below. I only note these characteristics here.

b) Political Characteristics

Analysing Table 22, "Respondents' Political Preferences," shows the overwhelming tendency of members of Riverside Christian Reformed Church to support those parties which advocate free enterprise and less government involvement, generally referred to as "conservative."

Only 1.3% of the questionnaire's respondents indicated membership in the New Democratic Party, which is the only socialist party mentioned at all in the open-ended responses. Only slightly more -- 2% -- preferred the Liberal Party.

More surprising in light of this group's Calvinism and the rhetoric regarding Christian social action, is the low support for the Citizens for Public Justice, which, while it is not a political party, is a an active political voice from a Reformed perspective. Only 10% of the respondents

selected CPJ as their political preference. Another 2.6% named it in combination with the Social Credit Party.

Either alone (4%) or in combination with the Social Credit Party (4.3%), a total of just over 8% mentioned the Christian Heritage Party. Thus, a total of nearly 21% chose an alternative option.

Fifteen percent chose the Conservative Party; a full 30% selected the Social Credit Party. Another 26% selected it in combination with other options. A total of 64% opted for the two traditionally conservative parties, with 7% more choosing them in combination with non-traditional options.

Positions on abortion, closed-shop trade unionism, government involvement in the economy and party position regarding support for alternative education are the main reasons for these choices that emerged in interviews and observation.

Regarding the paucity of support for CPJ, several of the interviews and comments during observations indicate that, CPJ's pro-life stance is not hard enough according to some members of this community.[16]

For whatever reasons, then, the political position of the majority of Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside Christian Reformed Church tends toward the conservative. One must not ignore, however, the presence of alternative perspectives chosen by more than 20% of the respondents.

c) Spatial Distribution of the Members

Regarding this point, I only note that a very high percentage, around 35%, of the people live within walking distance of the church and school complex. Another 35% live within less than a ten-minute drive from it. The remaining 30% of the members live beyond ten-minutes' driving time from the church. Generally, they have chosen this church over other Christian churches --

sometimes specifically Reformed, Presbyterian, or other Christian Reformed -- in order to attend and affiliate with this particular one.

B. General Dutch-Calvinist Customs, Practices and Doctrines

In effect, the Dutch-Calvinist community is engaged in a struggle to drop or retain some of their ideals. These ideals include supporting political policies that take into account issues not strictly pragmatic, such as support for a Christian school on the grounds that each value community should be able to approach learning and education from the basis of its own worldview. Some of them also support the existence of a Christian labour union and advocate the amending of Canadian or provincial labour laws to allow for the choice of one's union affiliation along lines of worldview and perspective. The pressure exists to assimilate to the point of joining major Canadian political parties, clubs, business or professional associations, labour unions, attending public schools, adopting lifestyle practices which accord with their social class and neighborhood standards. In some cases, members of the groups perceive that dropping such ethnic ideals would afford them better chances in the general society in the form of better jobs or opportunities. Examples frequently cited in the interviews include joining (or consideration of joining) major trade unions so that there would be better access to a wider range of jobs; working on Sundays so that employment in particular areas, such as retail sales, would be open to them; sending their children to a public rather than a Christian school.[17]

The way Dutch-Calvinists decide in such matters is, in effect, a test of whether or not class, status or power supersedes religious faith in determining how people live and what they do with their time, money and occupations. While the class, status and power have a considerable effect (and this research points

to those who have succeeded and who have adapted their Calvinism to their statuses), Dutch-Calvinism attempts to put faith first. The Riverside community bears some of the stamp of that. However, what remains an open question is whether the theology and worldview truly influenced practice, or simply: a) provide legitimation for concessions to class-, status- and power-appropriate behaviour; or b) allow for a sort of false consciousness in which the elegance and grandeur of the church's position allows one to confessionally participate in equality and magnanimity (including the payments of large amounts of money to worthy endeavours which they sometimes criticise for suspected liberal or socialist activities and alliances) while practically living in the mainstream. Even if either of these possibilities is the case, however, membership in the group is still maintained by most of the people whom I interviewed. The group has ways of tolerating such people while simultaneously condemning the categories of living and action in which they engage. This is accomplished, at least in part, through the doctrines of unconditional election,[18] salvation,[19] and perseverance of the saints[20] whereby all are considered sinful but which also proclaim that "no sin is too big for God to forgive." Obviously, the purpose of such doctrines is the assurance of the member that he/she is not despised and rejected by the group despite individual lapses. Yet the tendency toward individualism also exists in the sense that responsibility for general evils in society can be avoided on the basis that one is unable to serve God and humanity perfectly at any rate. Many of the interviews, in fact, indicated little awareness of macro-social structures and the effects of individual actions on them. In spite of its general incompatibility with Calvinism, a restriction of morality to its personal dimensions and an emphasis on intentions rather than actions seem to be important in this community. The possibility and

potency of systemic inequality which results from people acting according to their own standards rather than God's is not universally recognised within the group.

Thus, one sees ambivalence in the community regarding the degree to which it and its members should be unique and distinct from the society and the economic class to which they may belong. On the one hand, Reformed theology encourages obedience to God's ways of concern and compassion with suffering humanity and of temperance and moderation in the use of the earth's resources. On the other, the symbols of God's favour often are temptingly material and may lead to the adoption of cultural and moral standards which allow for the legitimation and enjoyment of these standards. The former would lead to the prominence of unique faith practices and to a continuation of Dutch-Calvinist ethnicity. The latter may eventually lead to an assimilation of the community in crucial matters of identity, and to the predominance of class, status or power as the most significant factors in developing the people who are now members of this community.

In an intriguing cross-generational study, Harry Van Belle has found that the approach to Canadian society varies considerably according to generation. He has found that first- and second-generation Dutch in Canada diligently set up Christian institutions, particularly Christian schools. They attempted, each generation for different reasons, to keep these somewhat distinct from dominant Canadian society, preserving their uniqueness (Van Belle [undated]:7-13; 1991:25; 1991b:30-32).

Surely there is generational development of these Calvinistic ideals. However, at the present time, the general structure of the community remains intact.

ENDNOTES

1. Writing about American Dutch-Calvinists of a century prior to the Riverside group's beginnings, James D. Bratt says:

> Their cultural record is hardly truncated on this account, however, for if there is one thing these people have insisted on, it is that religion includes all of life, that it stands as the source and judge of all other human activity. Consequently, the group has for decades applied the lens of its faith to American society and culture, to political events and social theories, to art, science, and scholarship. (Bratt 1984: ix, x)

Ganzevoort (1989: 100-101, 105-107, 126) also refers to this social message of Dutch-Calvinism:

> The belief that all activity must "heed the normative direction of God's word, acknowledge his law to which creation in all its spheres is subject and will bow before Christ's Kingship," had led proponents of this idea into new directions in Canadian society. They have established the Christian Labour Association of Canada,... The Christian Farmers Association [correctly: Federation], and the Citizens for Public Justice. (1989: 100)
>
> ....Orthodox Calvinists have regarded such social outreach as true Christian service to the Canadian society and have encouraged it at all levels. (Ibid.: 126)

Finally, this point is also made and supported by Zwaanstra (1973). Although he points to three different strands (confessional, separatist and "American" Calvinists) in America, "the lordship of Christ over the whole life of believers was warmly and enthusiastically endorsed by all" (op cit.: 68). Further, he writes of "a pronounced consciousness of the Christian's positive task and responsibility in political and social life" in America during the early 20th century and extending, in pockets, beyond that (Ibid.: 193). The particular branch of Calvinism of which many members of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church are part, certainly endorse such activity even today.

2. For a complete and thorough account of this secession, see Gerrit ten Zythoff's The Sources of Secession, in which he analyzes the differences among the several Reformed churches and the controversies and events which led to the split of 1834, and the consequent establishment of the Christian Reformed denomination in the United States in 1857. Although the Canadian branch of the Christian Reformed Church is part of the North American denomination, many of the Canadian members (including nearly all of those in Riverside) are later immigrants. As such, they experienced other developments in the Dutch Reformed church scene which also affected their beliefs.

3. Only one English biography of Abraham Kuyper is available. It is a highly subjective and uncritical account of the work of this man. Perhaps his two best-known English-translated works are Lectures in Calvinism (1931), and Principles of Sacred Theology (1898).

According to Dooyeweerd (1979: 68), "the antirevolutionary movement had been in existence in Holland for several decades under the leadership of Groen Van Prinsterer, before Abraham Kuyper founded the Antirevolutionary Party in 1879."

Abraham Kuyper wrote in 1897, the twenty-fifth anniversary of his editorship of the Dutch newspaper, De Standaard,

> One desire has been the ruling passion of my life. One high motive has acted like a spur upon my mind and soul. And sooner than that I should seek escape from the sacred necessity that is laid upon me, let the breath of life fail me. It is this: that in spite of all worldly opposition, God's holy ordinances shall be established again in the home, in the school and in the State for the good of the people; to carve as it were into the conscience of the nation the ordinances of the Lord, to which the Bible and the Creation bear witness.... ("Biographical Note" by John Hendrik de Vries, to Kuyper's Lectures on Calvinism, p.iii)

4. Another quotation from Abraham Kuyper augments this treatment of his theory, which so influenced the community at Riverside.

> Family, business, science, art, and so forth are all social spheres which do not owe their existence to the State, and do not derive the law of their life from the superiority of the State, but obey a higher authority within their own bosom, an authority which rules by the grace of God, just as the sovereignty of the State does. (Kuyper 1931: 90)

The development of separate institutions based on ideological principles has come to characterize the Dutch political and social scene. This is the idea which Lijphart (1968, 1977) has referred to as "pillarization" and McCrae (1974) has called "consociational democracy." Both acknowledge the Calvinist, Kuyperian origins of this social ordering principle, and remark on the complete set of institutions and set of social relations that have been developed in The Netherlands. Small wonder that the Dutch-Calvinists, who more eagerly accepted this system than some other Dutch folk, should see this as the only way of social organization for them in Canada as well. (Substantially more material regarding Abraham Kuyper, his legacy and the presence of Kuyperian ideas in the Riverside community are elaborated in notes attached to relevant points in Chapters 5 and 6 below.)

5. This is a point recognised by Prof. Harry Van Dyke in his summary of Kuyperian influence in Canada. He says:

> From Kuyper they [Dutch-Calvinists] had learned that Christ's kingdom is as broad as creation, that God's law holds even for the institutions of society.... Therefore, Christians, as the body of the "new humanity" are called to level an architectonic critique of society.... (Van Dyke 1988: 34)

6. Also see Hofstede, whose statistics show that from 1949 through 1952 the rates of emigration to Canada soared upward: 1949 (13,963), 1950 (21,330), 1951 (37,605), 1952 (48,690). They continued above 20,000 until 1961 when the rates plunged to 14,155 (1964: 5, Table 2).

7. While this information was gained from many sources, the most reliable is from Rev. Kuipers's widow, with whom I spoke (I2) and from the consistory minutes of that period (1954).

8. The minutes of October 15, 1952, record the use of an Anglican church hall. By November 26, another hall was rented. By January, 1954 (M-01-22-54, p. 30), a parsonage was purchased.

9. The property, with a house already on it, was purchased for $6500 (M-07-25-54), with the school paying $1200 per month for rent.

10. These ideas are elaborated in the three "forms" for the "Baptism of Infants," pp. 123-131 in the 1976 edition of the Psalter Hymnal.

11. The names of all of these local organizations have been changed, in accordance with the general policy of this study. This does not apply to national organizations with branches in Riverside, such as the Christian Labour Association of Canada and the Citizens for Public Justice.

12. The most recent and thorough treatment of the concept of pillarization occurs in Harry Post's 1989 work in which he presents the history of the concept as well as the present status of pluralism in Holland. These pillars were, at least originally, erected by people who held rigid distinctions between themselves and other members of society. Post (1989: 24-27) shows how the Dutch-Calvinists' most prominent thinker, Abraham Kuyper, developed a concept known as "sphere sovereignty," which is amenable to the pillarization or ideological division of Dutch society.

13. This is the term given to the combined deacons councils of all the Christian Reformed churches in the classis, or regional body. In the CRC, the work of the deacons includes looking after the needy and offering relief to victims of poverty or natural disaster, both of members and non-members of the CRC.

14. The questions read, 25a, "What is your occupation? (Use general terms if your occupation would identify you against your wishes.)"; 25b, "If you are not employed outside of the home, indicate your spouse's employment."

Since I conducted these interviews myself, whenever I interviewed a retiree I would note the person's (or spouse's) occupation at the time of retirement.

15. In an interview conducted in August, 1991, with the director of this effort within Riverside Christian Reformed Church, I was told that "just over 800 people" have been sponsored from Vietnam by this group (I86:1).

16. A quotation from one of its brochures indicates the CPJ position on abortion:

> CPJ believes that one step in protecting life is made by supporting legislation which restricts abortion to situations where the life or health

> of the woman is seriously endangered. But we at CPJ also believe that Christians who are concerned about life can and should also deal with the conditions that currently cause many women to seek abortions. Simply making abortion illegal is not enough....
>
> Anti-abortion laws should go hand in hand with pro-life policies in related issues....
>
> By being pro-life, CPJ works toward changing those conditions which lead a woman to want an abortion. More just policies in these areas are necessary if we want an anti-abortion law to be effective.... (MI 61)

17. In Chapters 5 and 6, particularly in endnotes, I amplify many Dutch-Calvinist practises.

18. Regarding the doctrine of election, a relevant passage is the following quotation from Article 7 of the "First Head of Doctrine" in the Canons of Dort, a Doctrinal Standard of the Christian Reformed Church originally the product of the Reformed Synod of Dordtrecht, 1618-19:

> Election is the unchangeable purpose of God, whereby, before the foundation of the world, He has out of mere grace, according to the sovereign good pleasure of His own will, chosen from the whole human race, which had fallen through their own fault from their primitive state of rectitude into sin and destruction, a certain number of persons to redemption in Christ, whom He from eternity appointed the Mediator and Head of the elect and the foundation of salvation. This elect number, though by nature neither better nor more deserving than others, but with them involved in one common misery, God has decreed to give to Christ to be saved by Him, and effectually to call and draw them to His communion by His Word and Spirit; to bestow upon them true faith, justification, and sanctification; and having powerfully preserved them in the fellowship of His Son, finally to glorify them for the demonstration of His mercy, and for the praise of the riches of His glorious grace.... (Christian Reformed Church Synod 1959: 45)

19. Regarding the doctrine of redemption or salvation, I provide quotations from Articles 1, 2, 3 and 9 of the "Second Head of Doctrine" in the Canons of Dort (see previous footnote):

> Art. 1 -- God is not only supremely merciful, but also supremely just. And His justice requires (as He has revealed Himself in His Word) that our sins committed against His infinite majesty should be punished, not only with temporal but with eternal punishments, both in body and soul; which we cannot escape, unless satisfaction be made to the justice of God.
>
> Art. 2 -- Since, therefore, we are unable to make that satisfaction in our own persons, or to deliver ourselves from the wrath of God, He has been pleased of His infinite mercy to give His only begotten Son for our Surety, who was made sin, and became a curse for us and in our stead, that He might make satisfaction to divine justice on our behalf.
>
> Art. 3 -- The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect

sacrifice and satisfaction for sin, and is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world.

Art. 9 -- This purpose, proceeding from everlasting love towards the elect, has from the beginning of the world to this day been powerfully accomplished, and will henceforward still continue to be accomplished, notwithstanding all the ineffectual opposition of the gates of hell; so that the elect in due time may be gathered together into one, and that there never may be wanting a Church composed of believers, the foundation of which is laid in the blood of Christ.... (Ibid.: 51, 52

20. Regarding the "perseverance of the saints," I quote from Articles 2, 3 and 6 of the "Fifth Head of Doctrine" in the Canons of Dort:

Art. 2 -- Hence spring forth the daily sins of infirmity, and blemishes cleave even to the best works of the saints. These are to them a perpetual reason to humiliate themselves before God and to flee for refuge to Christ crucified; to mortify the flesh more and more by the spirit of prayer and by holy exercises of piety; and to press forward to the goal of perfection....

Art. 3 -- By reason of these remains of indwelling sin, and also because of the temptations of the world and of Satan, those who are converted could not persevere in that grace if left to their own strength. But God is faithful, who, having conferred grace, mercifully confirms and powerfully preserves them therein, even to the end.

Art. 6 -- But God, who is rich in mercy, according to His unchangeable purpose of election, does not wholly withdraw the Holy Spirit from His own people even in their grievous falls; nor suffers them to proceed so far as to lose the grace of adoption and forfeit the state of justification, or to commit the sin unto death or against the holy Spirit; nor does He permit them to be totally deserted, and to plunge themselves into everlasting destruction.

(A newer translation of this historic document was commissioned by the Christian Reformed Church Synod and published by CRC Publications, Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1987. The relevant references to the Canons of Dort occur on pp. 926-949 of this new version.)

CHAPTER 5 -- WHAT ARE "ETHNICITY" AND "ETHNIC GROUP"?

A. Introduction

Although I encouraged the members at Riverside Christian Reformed Church to speak for themselves, I approached them with questions designed to find out what groups and ideals are most important to them. I entered their lives and living rooms, therefore, with my research questions[1] in mind. The first research question is the topic of this lengthy chapter. It is, "What is 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic group'?" That is, do they feel themselves to be a unique people and, if so, on what basis is that uniqueness maintained and measured? Are there boundaries and institutions that are real for these people, and do they prescribe and proscribe actions and provide criteria for identity? The other two main research questions are treated in Chapter Six.

I also worked with the various levels on which ethnicity has been conceived theoretically (as outlined and discussed in Chapter Two) to see if such knowledge is parallel to the experiences of the people with whom I was visiting and whether theoretical reflections helped me to understand the important issues with which they were wrestling. In the following analysis of documents, observations, and my conversations with Dutch-Calvinists, I use these levels of interpretation as

a way to relate members' reasons for maintaining distinctions to explanations given by others who have written about other contexts. These are the levels on which I have found discussions about ethnicity and ethnic group focus: the perception of group interrelations, assumptions about a bond of affection and social structural energy which people appear to maintain, the criteria by which people refer to each other in creating in- and outgroups, and the origins of group distinctions. All of these were questions that guided my visits and will be present in this analysis, although they are not asked explicitly.[2]

Third, I wonder why groups like this persist. Why, for example, do people retain Dutch ways, or why do they remain in a Reformed church, rather than joining another evangelical denomination, or a more Canadian mainstream church, or, for that matter, why do they retain a Christian orientation at all?

Finally, what are the limits of ethnicity? Will it continue to exist at all? Or, if it does, perhaps it will not persist in the face of assimilation pressures and if people's individual performances are too severely curtailed.

Who are the Dutch in the light of these questions? With the exception of the second research question which, as noted above, I dealt with in Chapter Two but assume throughout this study, I will examine each of these research questions in Chapters Five and Six.

What is "ethnicity"? My definition[3] includes the assertion that it is a cultural interpretation of the past, present and future, or, in this case, heritage and endowment. People assume that they did not invent the categories with which they experience and judge the world, but they have inherited them from others like them, who have gone before them. In return, they are using these categories and will endow them to their successors. Taking this to the level of society and the social consequences of interpretation, an ethnic group

is a group whose members cohere because they believe they have similar origins, worldview and cultural practices. In addition, they maintain boundaries and institutions which channel their lives. Using these as working definitions of ethnicity and ethnic group, one can investigate their possible applications to a group such as the Dutch-Calvinists and, further, find the basis on which such construal, boundary maintenance and institutional completeness are framed.

I have treated research question 1 by splitting it into four subdivisions:

a) Evidence of a cultural interpretation of descent, present and future
b) Evidence of a common worldview
c) Evidence of ethnic group institutions
d) Evidence of ethnic group boundaries

By analysing interviews which I conducted with members of the group, tabulating results of distributed questionnaires, and analysing documents as well as field notes and notes taken during participant observation, I then seek to confirm or falsify the assertions made in the working definitions of ethnic group and ethnicity. I now turn to analysing the above-mentioned aspects of the first research question.

B. Evidence of a Cultural Interpretation of Descent, Present and Future[4]

In calling ethnicity the "cultural interpretation of descent," I mean that members of identifiable groups experience or assume that selected aspects of their collective past are relevant to the persistence of the group today and, specifically, either oblige or predispose them to preserve their physical, cultural or social heritage. By referring to the present and future, I assume that living also requires interpreting one's situation and contemplating (projecting and phantasying, to use Schutz's terms [1967: 57-60]) the endowment of characteristics to the future. Indeed, one of the most powerful reasons for today's actions is the presumption or projection of the <u>results</u> of those actions for the future--for one's children, grandchildren and their contemporaries. This

gives meaning and purpose to one's current action: it will not have been done in vain.[5] In analysing the range of interviews that I conducted in the field work, this assumption was confirmed. There is considerably more support than negation of the assertion that ethnicity is a cultural construal. A complex of possible options exists.

1) Dutch-Calvinism as a Form of Christianity

Presumed social, cultural, biotic and theological aspects are grist for the mill as one considers the question: is ethnicity a matter of interpretation/ construal? Some people concentrate on themselves as descendants, nations or patrons of Dutch-Calvinism in general, as a larger field of action: a form of Christianity of which they feel themselves a part.

For some, this religious expression is epitomised by its emphasis on the "covenant"; for others, on the idea of isolation from the rest of society; of preaching and teaching in an intellectually rigorous manner; of the responsibility of the individual believer to pursue a deep, personal knowledge of the Bible and of the teachings of Calvinism.

a) Emphasis on "Covenant," Doctrine or Isolation

Although not always articulated in the interviews, the idea of God calling out a special people on whom favour is shown, and who are part of a reciprocal relationship with God, is ever-present in the Calvinist mind. This relationship is often called by its theological term: the <u>covenant</u> (see I62 and I1,B:247). In reference to my use of the word "community" to refer to Dutch-Calvinists, one man said,

> I prefer to use the biblical language. What I'm concerned about is that when you used the word community, you use a word that has become very popular in the society.... But what I do not hear is how that all fits in with Reformed people having a sense of the covenant. In the Reformed setting, the community of believers should emphasize the covenant and covenant people. (I25,C:233)

Another way of saying this is that "we are a blessed people," according to another man (I16,B:160).[6] Both ways of stating this point to the fact that people are the direct biotic or at least spiritual heirs of those who have been chosen by God to experience favour. This is one way that Dutch-Calvinism is a cultural interpretation of descent -- descent as an indication of God's continuing faithfulness to a covenant made with humans.

As developed in the Netherlands, Calvinism has encouraged the maintenance of separate organisations in many social spheres, including education, labour and politics.[7] Several people, for example, recalled the original pastor, Rev. Kuipers's, requirement that one could not serve on the church's ruling body, the consistory, if his children did not attend the Christian school or if he belonged to a secular trade union (I4,A:111; I82; I; I27,B:155; I10,B: 165). Conscious reference to the Anti-Revolutionary Party[7] was made by a number of people whom I interviewed (I3, 5, 6, 19, 25, 49 and 82), with one of them (I4,A:391) providing a popular quotation of the movement: "in our isolation is our strength."[8] Perhaps one could say most accurately that this is the descent of an idea: that of remaining separate so that the community can develop unique ideas and thus contribute, on the basis of its worldview, to the building of a society.[9] Remaining separate from the rest of the world, then, is not seen as detrimental or stigmatising, but as a virtue (I28,A:361).[10]

Theological conservatism is itself seen as a way of interpreting which aspects of the past should descend to the present generation: the towns and villages from which people have immigrated sometimes are considered for their reputed orthodoxy.

> Most of the original immigrants were from village churches in Holland and these are generally more conservative [than city churches]. Also in

> Friesland -- sometimes people say Frisians are stubborn, but they are also stubborn in the faith.... In Zeedorp, there is a strong Calvinistic bond in our village.... We were all brought up the same way in Holland, the ones that came here. (I49,A:158, 162, 170)

Emphasis on what has descended from the past leads some to charge that the church is "tradition-bound" (I22,A:115), but others[11] feel that conservatism is the heart of the gospel and of this community. If anything, the good doctrines from the past, in their estimation, are being eroded, making it increasingly difficult for today's youngsters to accurately interpret what that past has to offer them. They feel that if one is to interpret descent or heredity, one would do better to regard the historic creeds of the church as one's inheritance, rather than one's Dutchness (I79:5 and I66,B:197).[12] Sometimes people simply want to distinguish this community from other, more purely ecclesiastical ones. For example, in terms of the potential dilution of the Dutch-Calvinistic stock which will result from evangelisation, Winnie Visser says,

> Outreach is a good thing, but if we are losing our Christian Reformed Church because of that, then we might as well have joined the Presbyterian Church right from the start. Then we're back to square one. [Her husband adds:] We can't put water in the wine. (I49,C:197)

In the same interview, the Riverside Christian Reformed Church is compared to the Salvation Army, showing the specific traits which are considered the historical birthright of Dutch-Calvinism:

> For some people, the Salvation Army would be much better for them. I've got nothing against the Salvation Army, but they would be much closer to someone who doesn't know Christ than we are here. In Africa, our missionaries do a tremendous job, but here in Canada, those who've never heard of Christ have a real difficult time because Calvinism is not that easy. The Salvation Army is much easier to believe because you only have to believe in Christ. We all have to do that ..., but we also believe that we have to study the Bible. If someone has never studied the Bible, you'll never get them to the stage we are.... We shouldn't just leave them, but they'd feel better in the Salvation Army.
>
> [His wife interjects:] In other words, no evangelism?

> [He replies:] Well, not that either, [but] for one who's never heard, he has to be fed milk before he can get the hard stuff. (I49,C:313, 329, 331)

Likewise, other churches are sometimes unfavourably compared with regard to the Riverside Christian Reformed Church's degree of rigor, especially according to the ideals descended from the past. One young man remarked,

> Most people who would be open to church would go for Pentecostal churches, not in the Christian Reformed Church, where we just sit there.... If you see growth, it's in those Pentecostal churches. They have different things: They have a booklet. You read it and it says, "'You are a sinner and this is how you get out of it.'" You make a statement; you sign it and date it and hand it in, and now I'm a Christian. (I54,A:300)

One may argue that this is simply a theological or ecclesiastical difference. However, in the context of covenant theology, one also notes that these differences are frequently and deliberately tied to what one has inherited from the past, through the teachings of the church, the Christian school and Christian parents who have taken a vow at the time of baptism to pass along this instruction in the faith according to the terms of the covenant.[13] These doctrinal differences are described in the various creeds, formularies, catechism, and confessions of the church.[14]

b) Emphasis on Ethnic Traits

Another way of looking at whether or not the Dutch-Calvinists of Riverside possess an interpretation of descent in the sense of Charles Keyes' meaning is to listen to some of their comments about ethnic characteristics; there are several of them that are presumed to pertain to the Dutch. The predominant of those are hard work, the abililty to save money, and determination or stubbornness.[15] Often the idea is expressed that the experiences in Holland contributed to this fierce determination and ability to get by with limited resources: struggles with the sea; a small land base and high population

density; limited farmland; proximity to more powerful and often greedy neighbours; and, particularly, the experiences which many of them can clearly remember in the Second World War, when Holland was overrun and partially destroyed. For whatever reason, many people feel that they, the Dutch, and especially they, the Calvinists, possess these traits in excess of their Canadian neighbours. One couple with whom I talked in the cool darkness of the night, on their porch, emphasized the family values of at least the part of Holland from which they originated. This, they told me, has continued into the Dutch families in this country. "People work together in families and they work hard.... They didn't quit after an eight-hour day. They worked as long as daylight permitted them. There are a lot of self-motivated people" (I16, B: 235). Thus, the characterisation of Dutch people as hard-working and the descendants of determined people from the Netherlands (Ganzevoord 1988: 88, 89; Peetoom 1983: 70) is one which these Dutch-Calvinists themselves use, notwithstanding the fact that many other ethnic groups worked as hard, some of them with smaller reward.[16] One woman, about 22 years old, said that until only several years ago she thought all Dutch people were Christians, because all of them she knew were (I33,B:416).

Another trait which almost every ethnic group in a multiethnic society possesses is a strong sense of family and kinship. As Ishwaran (1977) also notes, the Dutch maintain close ties also, and this extends throughout the community. According to Pastor Petersen, "around 80%" of the marriages involve either both partners from this specific Dutch-Calvinist community or from another in the surrounding area (FN 02-26-87). This was observed by a member who is not Dutch and did not grow up in this community, but who came into it several years ago. Regarding the importance and intimacy of families in this

community, he concentrated on the many programmes at the Christian school and the church: "Grandpa and Grandma are sitting right there. Everybody's right there" (I34,B:260). While this intimacy is certainly not an exclusive Dutch-Calvinist trait, nevertheless it lends some weight to this community's propensity to engage in an interpretation of descent. What is good for and approved by Grandma and Grandpa is also likely to make an impression on little granddaughter at an early age. She is certain to hone her own standards and performances in accordance with those that conform most closely to those of her significant others'.

Whether these traits are handed down culturally and simply applied by each new generation, or whether they are used as strategies from a cultural storehouse, in either case, many members of this community treat them as though they are inherited and this assumption guides their perceptions of other groups, which they believe do not possess precisely the same traits. This gives credibility to the assertion that ethnicity is a cultural interpretation of descent.[17]

c) Emphasis on People and Events

Sometimes in demonstrating an awareness of descent, specific historical events or figures were cited. Many people, for example, mentioned Abraham Kuyper, the towering Calvinist of the non-State church during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[18] Opposition to the French Revolution, with its ideals of human autonomy and the solidarity of humanity rather than the body of Christ, is seen as a hallmark of Dutch-Calvinism by several people, the most outstanding and articulate of whom was Aart Visser (I4,A:143). Mr. Visser also referred to the Synod of Dort as establishing the Reformed position regarding free will and human agency.[19] In this context, he

also referred again to the advantages, proclaimed by Calvinists in the Netherlands, of isolation from the general society, fortified by the formation of parallel social institutions (Ibid.:290, 391). While this does not necessarily point to an assumption of descent, it gives the basis for it by showing an awareness of uniqueness as implemented by Dutch-Calvinist thinkers and social innovators. Visser was not the only person to demonstrate awareness of specific historical events and people who defined the heritage. Significantly, those who have left Riverside Christian Reformed Church for more conservative Calvinist churches are likely to be more aware of the historical roots and issues of the Reformed churches. Both Dirk Sterk and Henk and Ineke Hollander referred to the movement which Kuyper initiated[20] as problematic in the maintenance of purity in the Riverside Christian Reformed Church. In fact, Ineke Hollander also referred to the roots of her own branch of the Reformation as having sprung from a Secession from the State (Hervormde) church of 1834.[21] While such historical awareness is not general throughout the membership of this community, those who do possess it have a great influence through their positions of authority, respect or, in some cases, protest within and leaving of the group.

2) Riverside Christian Reformed Church As a Specific Dutch-Calvinist Faith-Community

The preceding interpretation of descent dealt with Dutch-Calvinism in general. However, the Riverside Christian Reformed Church is also regarded as a community in its own right, with its own significant history. In attempting to test the definition of ethnicity as a cultural interpretation of descent, present and future, I now look at comments which tend to affirm at least the descent aspect from the perspective of this community.

a) Immigrant Event, Experience and Persons

All of the older people with whom I visited somehow referred to the establishment of a community in Riverside when they immigrated from the Netherlands. For them, the number of heroes included Rev. Kuipers, the first pastor, and Mr. Schoolland, the first school principal, as well as Mr. De Kruyter, the first "field man" who helped them with the immigration procedures. A consciousness of the commonality of experience and belief in the Calvinist traditions of Holland pervades the experience of many of these people. Generally, this is not as developed among the young people. Nonetheless, even the youth sometimes referred to the strong people of the previous generations who made sure that there was a Christian school, a church and other institutions which represent Dutch-Calvinism for them.

An elderly couple who were among the earliest immigrants in Riverside spoke in complimentary terms of Rev. Kuipers, whom they had known already in Holland. "Those were good years, those first years," they said. "We worked all together." Note the sense of camaraderie and unity, but also the implication that "we" were all from a common origin, relative to Canadian society. In another case, an immigrant woman of around 50, who came to Canada at the age of 14, said of him,

> Rev. Kuipers put his stamp on the congregation: good, doctrinal, biblical preaching. He had good ability to exercise authority. But there were also thirty or forty other men who developed the community too. (Ibid.: 300)

This is another indication that there is a perceived recent heritage, embodied in people who prominently practised and presented it.

Rev. Kuipers, his wife and family came in 1954, when there were 62 families in the church, according to Mrs. Kuipers. She described how the church grew, eventually spawning new churches all over the general area and still growing to 175 families by 1965 when they left to take a position in another church.

She discussed the love for the people which the pastor felt, visiting each of the families at least once every two years. She also stressed the love the people have for each other, and have always had, from the earliest days of their tenure here.

> The community was very close. They all came from the Netherlands, and they needed each other, so they stuck very close. And it is still so.... On the whole, when there is some sadness, everyone is there -- they care.... [It is] one big family.... I love the people here. (I2,A:117, 122, 176)

In describing some of the work which the generally respected and very influential Rev. Kuipers did, she told of how he helped organise many societies and organisations, including the local Christian school society. "It took a lot of pushing and encouraging, but it worked out" (Ibid.:B:035). She also related how he was asked to become the promotional director of the local high school, particularly when there was a controversy over the teaching of Jesus Christ, Superstar in an English course.[22]

That Rev. Kuipers was a strong influence in the life of this church is beyond dispute, and it is small wonder that much of the interpretation of descent which characterises this church involves him. His insistence that a strong Christian witness demanded an institutional expression led him to encourage a Christian school to support a Christian labour union, to the extent that, as long as he was presiding over the council of Riverside Christian Reformed Church, no one who held membership in a secular trade union could serve on the church council. A "strong core of people who wanted to work at Christian action" developed under Kuipers. Because of its central location among the other Christian Reformed Churches, Riverside was often the site of this action, and has led to the maintenance of its uniqueness to this day, according to Henk De Kruyter (I21,A:050).

One of the oldest members of the group says, "Kuipers built this church on a solid foundation, and I would say that we still have a good direction" (I60,A:122). Even today, when decisions have to be made in the church council, sometimes references are made to the way Rev. Kuipers would have considered and concluded the matter, said one 35-year-old member. He went on to observe that, although Kuipers did not stress the "gifts of the Spirit," he worked at seeing evidences of the Spirit in the church (I5,A:275, 296).[23]

One woman, who believes that Rev. Kuipers became more "mellow" and tolerant in his later years, said,

> In his earlier years, he fought for the Christian school, and then we met in the school for years; he fought for the Christian Labour Association; he fought for the building of a new church with a beautiful pipe organ. And I liked him better when he was fighting! (I19,A:330)

She feels that he had a great impact on the amount of money that people gave and the dedication they had for a variety of Christian causes. She stressed the fact that there was no financial reward for him in this, because the money was spent on other organisations, not the church. In this rendition of admiration for this man is embedded a love for the community and its heritage, which she and many others believe was faithfully impersonated in Rev. Kuipers and others.[24]

In these and numerous other ways Rev. Kuipers had a great impact on this group; its present identity, for those whose ethnicity involves a cultural interpretation of descent, certainly acknowledges his contribution.

Another person in the realm of community heroes who serve as benchmarks in the interpretation of specific descent is Rev. Bakker, who was a denominational missionary, charged with establishing immigrant churches. While this man is generally not perceived as having the oratorical and pastoral skills that Rev.

Kuipers is said to have possessed in such abundance, he is widely respected for helping to organise the community into a worshipping community and for overseeing the selection and furnishing, as well as preaching in, the first facilities in which the group found identity. He was regarded as a theologically conservative, sound man dedicated to the establishment of a Dutch-Calvinist congregation here (I4, 13, 19, 20, 49, 60).[25]

In several interviews, the man who arranged immigration details on behalf of the Calvinist immigration society, was also mentioned with some admiration (I20 and 49).

The event or decision which stands supreme in the minds of all who originated this community is the decision to build a Christian school building before a church edifice. More than any other, this act stands out as the typifying, quintessential act of faith of this community. It authenticates the belief that God and the Kingdom of God have authority over everything that this community has done. It is regarded as the qualifying act of faithfulness in the same way that the biblical Hebrews were called to give of their "firstfruits" as sacrifices to God.[26] At that meeting, "an old woman [name given] stood up and said, 'If we as parents don't build the school, then our children will not build the churches'" (I49,A:208). By the end of that meeting in 1954, the decision had been made to build a three-room school which could be used by the church for worship services on Sunday. This was accomplished almost entirely by free labour (I2,B:026). Two years later, they had to add more classrooms, due to the influx of new immigrants. In 1957, construction of the church building began. Again, free labour was used and this large building and a meeting hall which doubles as a gym for the school were built for only $75,000.

As epitomising events, the building of the school and church are the stuff of which community identity and consciousness of peoplehood are made.

> My dad started the John Calvin school. He said, "If we build a school first, they [others who come later] will build the church.' He saw that we needed the foundation first and then we will have our strong religion.... That is what we need. Now there are other Christian people sending their children, because they see the necessary thing for the foundation. (I16,A:089, 140)[27]

This is typical language regarding an interpretation of descent: we, today, build upon the foundation that others laid for us; others who built it precisely so that we would be able to build on it later. I also note in this conversation the reference to the fact that other people not of the Dutch-Calvinist tradition are also perceived to benefit from this visionary action, but they are still referred to as "other Christian people" and the very fact of singling them out is an indication of an assumption of the speaker's own prerogation of descent, and differentiation from those "others" who now "send" their children, to gain some "foundation."

People today remember, with fondness, the times when they struggled together and put in long hours in the construction of these facilities. When they look around them, they see the boards and beams that they sawed and placed, the steelwork they wrought and the fellowship they enjoyed as they sweat, joked -- and probably disagreed -- with one another. They pass along these stories to their children, some of whom also related them to me, recalling how their parents and grandparents wanted to have stable places of education and worship (I5, I54). Combining the stories of the people, the building projects, the sacrifice, hardships and the good times of communal work, they must feel obliged to carry that on. There is a feeling of possession, stability, and continuity; it was described thus by one young man:

> I think that this church has got roots. I always find that, as compared to [he mentions specific churches] -- I don't know -- It seems almost solid. It seems to be -- it's almost what you'd call a sense of pride. That may be too strong a word, but Riverside was the first,[28] and it's gotten its roots down pat and has everything straightened out. Well, not straightened out, but, I don't know, it's, it's just solid to me. It's something to fall back on all the time. [Other specific churches] seem to me -- I don't really trust them as much as I would Riverside.... I kinda like security. (I17,B:248)

He, like others around him, continued the endowed roots, the "almost-pride," the solidarity, the security as something meant for him. "It's something to fall back on all the time," is truly an interpretation, for there are others -- those outside the community and some who were or are in it, who do not experience it this way. This solid foundation/soft mat combination is one of the essences of ethnicity, from Yinger's hedge against "anomie and alienation" to Yancey's "emergent" assistance in a time of need.

Another aspect of this group which reinforces an interpretation of descent for a subgroup of them is their common point of origin in a city of 10,000 in Zuid Holland. The first person who came to Riverside from that area, a man perhaps in his late 60s, told of his immigration to this area, after which he was followed by about fifteen other families, all of whom had families, some of them large, so that they now total more than thirty families, plus some newly married couples and many young people, who tend to feel some kinship (I49,A:008; I5,A:523; I54,A:203) and internal identity. A number of these people left Holland for similar reasons: not enough land for agricultural or horticultural pursuits, which some of them desired; better opportunities in Canada, due to the war devastation in Holland; too much government intervention in Holland, and a perception that there was more opportunity for free enterprise in Canada; the population growth in The Netherlands after the war, which made Holland too crowded for their liking.[29]

The immigrants from that town were strictly Calvinistic (I49,B:158) and possess, even today, "a lot of tradition, but that makes a good church" (I16,B:365).[30] The link of descent from that region of Holland is made strongly with the Riverside group by pointing out that Rev. Bakker, the missionary who established the congregation here, was also from that general area, and practised horticulture as did, and still do, many people from Zeedorp. Many of the residents of Riverside return there for visits, and some of the second- and third-generation sons and daughters return there to work and to get to know their many relatives, so the ties remain fairly current. To hear the Zeedorp of today described by those who return from their visits there, is to unfold a description of an idyllic place of harmony, order, hard work and consummate religious fervour.[31] At least for the Zeedorpers, therefore, the inheritance of an ordered, dogmatic, stabilising, and precious system makes interpretation of descent important and inevitable. It may, on the other hand, also make disagreement with those who do not share this interpretation of descent inevitable, however.

b) Present Aspects of Community Presumed Inherited from the Past

A comment on this heritage which still accepts its importance but evaluates it differently was made by one woman who remarked that there has been little attention on the deepest needs of the youth in this community. This may seem impossible in light of the fact that the Christian elementary and high schools play such a large role in the community and occupy so much of its financial and time resources. In addition, the catechism classes and Young People's Society are also important aspects of the church. What she appears to mean is that the orientation toward heritage -- young people as religious and cultural descendants from the ancestors of this community, does not sufficiently account

for their present circumstances, needs and contributions. "People do not see young people as full members of the church, and as important now," she said. "They feel that they [young people] will one day become full members" (I1,A:031). The problem with this orientation is not with the errors of the past. In fact, she agrees that this specific community has a good heritage and she applauds its stability. Further, she believes that Calvinism will indeed experience a revival in terms of its applicability to the problems of a modern world which seeks serious answers to deep problems of social and environmental decay (I1B:247). She also thinks that Calvinism is generally being "sugar-coated" for youths' consumption by the Christian Reformed denomination. Therefore, this woman is critical of, but not opposed to, the direction the interpretation of descent is taking. Rather, she is concerned that an orthodoxy from the past is setting in, which assumes that the ways things have always been done are the appropriate ones for the present. She describes that some of the young people who want to interpret Calvinism contemporarily have become frustrated and are attending other churches or are not attending at all out of frustration. In the meantime, some of the young people, and many of the parents, are not questioning present interpretations of descent, but an incongruity arises:

> If kids have right behavior and dress right, they are OK. If they question doctrines, they are not accepted. The "cool" ones don't question doctrines and they are seen as fine Christians.... Christianity has become a matter of going to Christian school and attending church. They will be fine elders and deacons someday. (I1,A:289, 306)

Noticing this incongruity means neither that the past is unimportant, nor that relying on it for identity, stability and guides for present living are always deemed inappropriate by those making these observations. It does appear to point

to the existence of varying orientations to the ethnicity which various people in the church share.

In citing examples of this heritage, one should not assume that a construal of descent must be positive. One respondent, a man of around 45 years of age, said, "Our doctrines are magnificent, but they don't translate into action. There is a great deal of intellectual theorising and debate. We love to talk and debate and write forever" (I22, A: 396). He presented this criticism, however, as an indication of uniqueness, brought down from the past.

c) General Disposition to Continue the Heritage

There is a general disposition to continue the heritage, even if it is sometimes undefined. One woman expressed her feeling that those who have been here a long time assert control here. They assume, she feels, that they will be in positions of authority or organisation in the school and church events. She says this in spite of the fact that her own parents have been here as long as anyone else. There is then, she feels, more than just length of time, but an assumption based on a generation or two of participation of who, and from which families, will be given or will assume these positions (I11,C:220). Another way in which this undefined disposition or tendency operates is in the way certain people tend to associate with each other. Some people perceive that there are cliques in the church that extend from the oldest to younger members. According to one young person, these groups tend to form around several criteria: which high school one attends or attended, whether one drinks alcohol and goes to clubs and parties where alcohol is served, whether one attends college, and, to an extent, how much money one's family has. "There isn't superiority, but a feeling of insecurity," she observed, and added that, between groups, there did not seem to be animosity, but simple avoidance, with people belonging to groups

according to interests and perspectives without any formal "joining" or divisions (I12,A:095, 120-160). Another young woman was not as convinced that there was simple harmony involved. She feels that these divisions are more a matter of those who want to be "cool" and appear to be worldly, as opposed to those who are more concerned about applying and asking questions about their faith, and who want to extend beyond their present boundaries (I33,C:390).

On the other hand, the group that is considered cliquish and aloof by the persons reported in the previous paragraph, has a different outlook on the matter. They reported that their association with one another stems from the simple fact that they "go to the same church and school; we've known each other so long, so we do things alike" (I54,A:155). Further, they suggest that the selection process is largely geographical: they live in the same area, with the added criterion of approximate age similarity. There is no acknowledgement that exclusion of any conscious or evaluative sort occurs. While this does not necessarily lead to the conclusion that people are construing their ethnicity on the basis of descent, there is both critical and uncritical acknowledgement that past practice is important in determining present patterns, groups, association and behaviour.

3) Emphasis on Dutch National Heritage

Analysis of several of the interviews suggests that Dutch national heritage is important. For example, a person who is Dutch, whose family is not from this particular congregation but who has been a member here for some time, remarks that the importance of being Dutch is subtle, involving the ability to catch certain forms of humour, or feeling comfortable with each other's feelings and assumptions. He feels he has fit into the community better because he is Dutch.

A couple who have belonged to this church for some time but who are not Dutch suggested that perhaps the people here do not realise how important being Dutch is. They were able to provide experiences in which their non-Dutch status was a source of confusion and discomfort for the people with whom they were relating. Amy, for example, recalls,

> I've been introduced, and when they find you're not Dutch, it's almost like they're going to take their hand away and they're looking at the person who's introducing you. (I34,B:210)

They have had to resign themselves to the realisation that they

> will never be fully at home here, especially among those who are our own age.... They're the ones who are in the klompen dancers group, etc. It's very, very prevalent. For that group, one always wonders how much their being in that church involves Christianity, and how much tradition -- not saying this as a knock. (Ibid.:260)

Another instance which they provide to show that Dutch ethnicity is more significant than many people here may assume, Amy comments:

> I never thought of myself as a Canadian until I came into this group. Then I found out: "I'm a Canadian." Boy, that is low on the scale around here, I can tell you! Canadians do nothing right! ..... If anything goes wrong, the comment is, "That's how Canadians do it." (Ibid.:200, 226)

To these people then who feel alienated but have nonetheless chosen to stay in the community, the effects of a common interpretation of descent are beyond dispute.

Another couple, the wife of which does not speak Dutch although she was a member of the Christian Reformed Church from birth, related how they never felt accepted by the people here and had even left this community for awhile. George feels that Dutch heritage is more important than Calvinist orthodoxy in keeping people in this church together.

> Children of immigrants saw Dutchness as a stigma; they wanted to look and speak like a Canadian. Now, with the next generation, it's different. I think the book Roots had a tremendous influence on that. (I66,A:382)

He believes such ethnicity to be a poor foundation to keep people together and argues that reliance on national-origin, rather than on the Reformed faith, is related to what he feels is a paucity of faith and orthodoxy, both in this community and, particularly, in the denomination (I66,A:168).[32]

So far, in considering the question of a cultural construal or interpretation of descent, I have adduced comments which support that such an interpretation occurs here. In the next several pages I present evidence that there is dispute of that view within the community.

First, regarding Dutch-Calvinism on a general level, there are people for whom all that matters is whether or not the Word of God is faithfully preached, or whether their faith is enhanced, or whether the Holy Spirit can be present. For example, in talking with a small group of Young People's Society[33] leaders, I asked the question, "Is there a conscious concern among young people about preserving particular aspects of a heritage in the Christian Reformed Church?" One person answered for them that he does not think so, although another added that, as more young people begin to serve on the consistory, they may become more interested in their heritage. Conversing with a group of former leaders of the Young People's Society, I asked a question aimed at determining whether there is, in fact, a construal of descent or sense of heritage. A rather unexpected response occurred: although they remembered various doctrines and historical issues being discussed, they said this did not occur in the church, but in the Christian school. The origins of the doctrines were not clear in their minds at this point (I17,B:008, 025). One young man of around twenty said that he remembers studying the catechism, but has not "the foggiest idea about the Canons of Dort and the Belgic Confession" (Ibid.: 070)[34] He then followed by saying:

> But if someone asks you [about a point of doctrine], you have to be able to explain yourself, what's your reasons. You can't just say, "That's the way it is...." Otherwise it's like following blindfolded. (Ibid.: 075)

This is remarkable since only a few of the interviewed young people seemed to know the historical matrix of and reasons for maintaining those doctrines. Thus, although the construal of descent may not be based on precise knowledge, still many of these young people perhaps know more than they can articulate operating with a tacit knowledge and provisionally adequate sense of their tradition.[35] This is an aspect of ethnicity only adumbrated by Keyes, for example, when he discusses ethnicity. However, here is a case in which one is not fully able to reconstruct the bequeathal of one's past, and yet one wants to use ethnicity to achieve present competency and perhaps certainty. The "stock of knowledge at hand," as Alfred Schutz calls it, is the most available source of meaning on the basis of which one acts.

The belief still exists that, although one may not know the origins of distinctions that have been important in the Christian Reformed Church, one should know them. Related to that is the assumption that these doctrines are important. This is remarkable in the face of the fact that, in spite of years of training in both church and school, they have not been taught, at least in a way that is remembered by these young leaders.

In response to my question "How much does the Calvinistic heritage of the Christian Reformed Church mean to you?" one woman spoke about the sentimentality of retaining it:

> Like the smell of Grandma's kitchen. I'm not that much of a Calvinist.... There's many things we ascribe to Calvin that aren't Calvin at all.... The most important thing is that we are Christians.... Religion is your life and Christ is your head.... First you have to explain to me what you mean by a Calvinist worldview. (I18,B:248, 265)

Thus, although she desires the sentiment and sense of history that accompanies ethnicity, she relativises it also.

Perhaps the most important observation, one made by several people and discussed widely in the various gatherings of young people which I attended and at which I interviewed, is that criteria of faith and definitions of the Christian life differ between generations (I17, passim: particularly A:164; I1, 12, 18, 22, 33, 63).

If that is true, then obviously the construal of the past recedes in importance. It becomes a matter of fond but sometimes dim memory, as Gans reported about Jews and other European immigrants' third generation children (1979: 18). However, while "some of the more sincere kids go off to other churches, for example, the Mennonite church," (I1,A:325), and some of them leave the faith altogether (I46, I72), there is still a considerable amount of retention of the young people in the church, as many of the interviews and observations revealed. The past may grow increasingly murky in terms of the literal perpetuation of ideas by the present youth, but there seems to be fairly compelling reason for them to remain in the church anyway.[36]

In struggling with my question as to whether faith is something taught and handed down, or personally accepted, a young woman answered:

> Yeah, it's something taught, but you are the one who chooses to believe it. Sure, you believe what you're brought up in, but it's still yours.... It has to start with something your parents told you, [but it goes beyond that into a life of choices and questions about the faith]. (I33,A:259-297)

Perhaps it is the attraction of certitude voiced by the young man who commented on the stability and "down pat" roots of the community (I17,B:248), or the simple force of tradition, felt by some young people who said that they belonged because "our church has been the same from the beginning" (I54,A:380)

even though one of them said later that open questioning leads to "advancement," which he believed is important in the church (Ibid.,B:465). It appears that the young people are, indeed, interpreting the faith somewhat differently, but they do not experience this as a form of rebellion or unfaithfulness. Rather, it is a matter of adaptation, influence from other sources, including their education, work, and increased contact with the outside world. Many of the youth, especially those of the mainstream and established families, have no intention of leaving, or of actively pressing for a strict interpretation of their spiritual or broad cultural heritage which might put off those who seek changes and evangelisation. The main lines of the debate, therefore, appear to be drawn by the older members. What filters down are the forms of the argument with little of the vigourous debate which would be required to keep those issues aflame.

This is more probable since, even among the middle-aged, there is not a unanimous voice for retention of the precise interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism of the past, including Riverside's founding past. This does not mean that there is a desire to be unfaithful to the Word of God, as people perceive that to be related to today's society. On the contrary, there is strong faith evidenced by most of the members interviewed. However, the emphasis has shifted from preservation of a specific tradition to adherence to the Christian faith more generally.

As an example, one woman remarked that what is important is faith, not whether one is Dutch or not (I38,A:048). Along the same lines, a man who is "full of zeal for the Holy Spirit" declared that those who are "born again" are not impressed by national or religious origins, but by the degree to which the Lord is honoured in the preaching, praising and lives of the people. He

suggested that, if people are faithful and want to serve God, ethnicity is secondary or altogether unimportant (I20,A:001). In the future, contended another member, there will be many more "community churches" in the Christian Reformed fold, and they will have "no Dutch names on the bulletin" (I41,C:280).

"The greatest danger," cautioned a person who shared his misgivings about this community, and who contends that there <u>is</u> a great deal of emphasis on ethnicity within the Riverside group, "is that we have a <u>historical</u> faith, but not a <u>personal</u> faith" (I34,A:150). Speaking directly to the matter of ancestry and the perpetuation of the faith over generations, a person who is very concerned about teaching his children the ways of faith, nevertheless, remarked:

> People should be more concerned about being a good example, rather than worrying about their grandchildren. There is too much self-justification [of whether or not one has passed along institutions through which one's children and grandchildren can be safe]. They should not worry, but display the faith that "no matter what, the Lord is faithful." (I38,B:007)

"I don't like to be called a Calvinist," said a young woman. "I can see his [John Calvin's] points: tough language for a tough time, but to say that we have nothing to do with our salvation, we aren't people anymore" (I12,B:170).

With specific regard to the passage of ethnicity into the Riverside Christian Reformed Church's covenant community, one older gentleman, who was one of the founders of the church and has worked in evangelism with ardour and dedication for many years, averred that the fact that this church is called and regarded as exclusively Dutch is a "mark against us" in outreach into the broader community. Obviously, this comment acknowledges the importance and existence of an interpretation of descent, at least by observers, but perhaps given credence by the members themselves.

Even from the point of view of language, the most obvious marker of ethnicity, most people under the age of 30 do not speak Dutch well, although

many of them can understand it, having been exposed to it in the home, especially if they have older relatives.[37] The few other traits which the people carry on include having lacy Dutch window curtains, eating certain Dutch foods, observing a traditional tea time in the afternoon or evening, inviting and visiting with friends after the Sunday morning worship service, perhaps being involved in a Dutch folk dancing group, observing Sinterklaas Day in early December, deep-frying olie bollen on New Year's Eve, hanging a perpetual birthday and anniversary calendar in the washroom or decorating the house (sometimes profusely) with knick-knacks. These, however, occur sporadically and some of the people do not adhere to any of them, or do so more out of habit than custom. If, for example, new curtains are to be purchased and the decor of a new house or renovation requires a popular Canadian style, the lace curtains are replaced, with little sentiment.[38] From my observations, use of these sorts of markers is becoming rare, with few of the young people observing Dutch practices regularly.

The waning of Dutch national heritage by this group was argued forcefully by a man who had recently left the community, primarily over issues of doctrine, but partially because the group seemed to want to become too Canadian. He cited a pastor who already years ago had exhorted the congregation to lose their Dutchness so they could more effectively proclaim the gospel. He said,

> I find the attitude of the Christian Reformed Church far too apologetic as far as Dutch is concerned: about their view and history. Their history is in a Dutch setting, even though Calvin is not tied to Holland.... Why not be open about it?... The Reformed Church community has not been enriched, that's for sure, by not teaching the children of second-generation the language because that cut them off from the Reformed roots in the Netherlands. (I25,A:010, 025, 040, 050)

This man links the readiness to relinquish things Dutch with what he perceives as ignorance of Calvinistic ideas as well, seeing both as indications

of attempts to be mainstream and popular. He points to the United States' Dutch experience where, he contends, Dutch language was retained far longer and "there was much more publishing and Reformed thinking done there. In Canada, where the Dutch language was discouraged, not as much publishing [of Reformed material] was done" (Ibid.:075).[39]

Thus, an ardent supporter of the literal retention of Dutch and Dutch-Calvinist uniqueness also sadly concludes that it is dwindling. What he does not acknowledge, but what is obvious from this study, is that there is, nevertheless, a revised Dutch-Calvinism that has its roots in the actual immigration, in the original churches and in other institutions.

A benchmark tradition that remains of literal Dutch practices is the sort of sociocultural custom of meeting each other over coffee or tea with considerably greater frequency than one finds in general society. People consciously foster this sort of intimacy and relationship- or network-building.

Many members, for example, continue the practice of visiting with people over coffee and perhaps a glass of wine after church. They may get together as families for several hours to visit, discussing the sermon, each others' lives and exchange gossip about the community. These visits tend to be a way to reaffirm the Dutch-Calvinist worldview as they discuss a range of global and local issues. One interviewee connected that practice to the witness this community can leave with the rest of Canadian society:

> When we live within this church, we don't see how remarkable it is that our community extends over many years and generations. This doesn't make sense to most people. How do you account for that? When society sees that, they will want to know what that secret is. The social part of our church, which is exceedingly strong in Riverside, there aren't many people who don't go to someone for coffee after church. Maybe only 10% go home without anyone. (I51:17)

In comparison with other churches, there is more in-group association, many believe. One couple, for example, says they believe other church congregations may have "the occasional potluck or supper, but not so much visiting with each other. That's a Dutch custom -- it's not so much in the Lutheran churches either. We brought that custom along" (I24,A:115).

That these coffee visits continue to have an air of ethnicity about them is demonstrated in the experience of a woman from a non-Dutch family who has been worshipping in this congregation for some years. She told me,

> We've been at people's house for coffee and at the end of the visit they'd say, "Yeah, this has gone all right! We didn't know what we'd talk about, but it went all right!" [She laughs, and adds] This has happened three or four times.... We always kind of smile when they say [something like that]. I don't know what they thought they were in for. (I34,B:393; 398)

Both the husband and wife in this family indicate that they understand the discomfort of this situation and say that they can accept it because they respect and admire many of the aspects of this community, but they also know that it is somewhat uncomfortable for them, in some cases, and assert that these evidences of boundaries will prevent widespread adoption of this community by large numbers of non-Dutch-Calvinists, and <u>vice versa</u>, for many years to come.

A similar sentiment was expressed by another couple who also were associated with the community by attending the church worship services and many of the group's functions over the period of about a year. Although they felt accepted by the people and were invited into their homes, they felt that the topics of conversation, interests, and other friends, revolved almost exclusively around the Dutch-Calvinist community. They also chafed at a rigid pattern for observing the Sabbath -- Sunday: a way of observing it by which Dutch-Calvinists would ensure its sanctity, and proscribe those activities that they consider unholy.

> The whole Sunday would be involved in the service, having coffee, making dinner and going back to church again. Then the visiting would go on in the week again. That is very important to the continuation of this community. (I83:B:330)

The Sunday visit, in addition to providing face-to-face contact, the deepening of common understandings, the practice and refinement of worldview, the reinforcement of family values, also serves as a prescribed, legitimate way to spend one's Sunday. It reduces the temptation to engage in proscribed activities through a variation of mutual censure. This Sunday observance effectively reduced the weekend to one day, as far as they were concerned. What is seen as a positive value by the Dutch-Calvinists is regarded as either burdensome or impositional by those who do not desire the ethnic options provided by these practices.

I judge this practice of visiting of one another in a relatively prescribed manner to be not so much a cultural construal of descent as an interpretation of present circumstances in light of the available ways of meeting them. It is, then, still construal, but a construal of the present. It leads to practice that served a useful purpose in the immigrant community and continues to be judged useful to group maintenance today. It is, therefore, a mark of Dutch-Calvinist ethnicity, but not necessarily an interpretation of descent. I will not analyse other characteristic practices, but those that remain all have the character, not of simply preserving standard patterns of behaviour, but of providing means of adapting and seeking an ethnic identity in the context of the multiethnic Canadian society, both in the present and, presumably, in the future.

On the basis of these probes into whether or not ethnicity for the Dutch-Calvinists involves a cultural construal of descent, I conclude that it does.

However, for some people within the group it involves more than that: it also consists of a construal of the present and the future. Sometimes these present and future considerations may preempt that of descent. To the person, for example, who says that being "born again in the Holy Spirit" is the only important criterion of faith, it also becomes the criterion by which he judges his continuation within the group. Consider the woman who says that being Dutch is insignificant, but that faith in Jesus Christ is much more important; or the woman who articulates her faith and then says, "Explain to me what you mean by 'Calvinist worldview'"; or the man who says that we should worry more about being faithful examples of Christianity rather than worrying about whether one's grandchildren will practise the faith in the same way. All of these indicate that there is more than a cultural interpretation of one's descent or heritage. As we noted above, there are many ways in which interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism is invoked to guide members' daily lives and maintain the ethnicity of the group.

Where does this leave us? We must include the possibility that ethnicity is not only an interpretation of descent, but of one's situation in the present and future as well. The definition of ethnicity, expanded from Keyes, is:

> ... the term I apply to the cultural construal of descent (Keyes 1976, 1979, 1981), *the present or future,* which provides a consciousness of the distinction or peoplehood of a human group or its members, occurring in the context of a general society or in contact with other, similarly distinct groups.

In my estimation, the evidence which this analysis has uncovered has falsified the definition which I took over from Keyes. I think the revised definition which considers the interpretation of present and future situations also more faithfully renders Barth's contentions regarding ethnicity.

We have been checking the definition of ethnicity in the above analysis of the lifeworld of Dutch-Calvinists. Next, I begin to systematically investigate that aspect of research question one which deals with the definition of ethnic group. If the evidence for the existence of a cultural construal of descent is mixed, is that also the case with regard to holding a common worldview?

C. Evidence of a Common Worldview -- the Place of Faith in the Lives of Dutch-Calvinists[40]

1) Introduction

This begins the testing and analysis of elements taken from my definition of ethnic group. I restate here the definition of ethnic group which I have developed from my reading and study of this group:

> An ethnic group is a conditioned social group within a larger society whose members maintain institutions and boundaries between themselves and others, through which these members prescribe some actions, proscribe others and provide criteria for self- and other-identification, evaluation and judgment. These members are thought by themselves and others to have a common origin, to share a common worldview and important aspects of a common culture.

Since the treatment of the concept of worldview in the theory section of this paper is somewhat abstract, I will discuss it more specifically here to provide a context for the analysis of this research question. Recall Herbert Gans's hypothesis that ethnic groups will dwindle and die if they do not experience what Keyes calls structural opposition.

> (Keyes' term) is that they will dwindle and die. My hypothesis is that in this generation, people are less and less interested in their ethnic cultures and organizations -- both sacred and secular -- and are instead more concerned with maintaining their ethnic identity, with the feeling of being Jewish, or Italian, or Polish, and with finding ways of feeling and expressing that identity in suitable ways. (1979: 7)

If this surrender of uniqueness is to pass over any present group, including the Dutch-Calvinists, several conditions must apply. One of these is that the way members of a group view the world must differ in some important and

consistent manner, even as they share most aspects of that world with others in the general society.[41] From the discussion in Chapter Two, recall Habermas's point that worldviews are like portraits which do not present the only or the complete picture of reality, but one which is nonetheless legitimate and possible. He says: "worldviews lay down the framework of fundamental concepts within which we interpret everything that appears in the world in a specific way as something (Habermas 1984, I: 58). Recall also Berger and Luckmann's point (1966: 45, 49, 51, 92, 152): actions become "objectivated" in the form of the social order, carried by the individual as a worldview. Mannheim's assertion also lends importance to my contention for the uniqueness of worldview: thought and knowledge are "social possessions" underlying the way members of a group think and act (Mannheim 1936: 126-27).

Using insights from Schutz, Habermas, Hart and Wolters,[42] my own working definition of worldview is:

> those collectively held pictures of reality which people use to understand what they encounter; by which they establish relations with those who share similar pictures of the world, and who thus validate their own claims; according to which subsidiary identities, concepts and assumptions are defined and applied in the lifeworlds of those who hold them.

As elaborated in the chapter on methods, I attempted to find out about worldviews by asking people in each of my interviews what they considered to be the most important aspect of their lives.[43] Immediately obvious is the centrality of faith in the search for a common, underlying theme in the lives of Dutch-Calvinists.[44]

Before going directly to the interviews, I will set the context for the analysis by referring to a paper prepared for the community by one of its pastors, entitled: "Which Way for the Riverside Christian Reformed Church?" His thoughts bear on the issue of worldview.[45]

> .... Dutch immigrants came to Canada for motives of personal and family advancement. But they also brought with them a set of vital religious convictions which even the hard business of earning a living in the new world could not overshadow.
>
> The Dutch Calvinist could not just lose his spiritual identity in the religious melting pot of Canadian Protestantism. He needed his own church in which he could actively express his convictions. The Christian Reformed Church provided that opportunity. Here the spiritual needs (in fact, also the social needs) of the immigrant were met, and he could cultivate his Reformed aspirations.
>
> Now as the church enters its second quarter century in Canada it must be asked whether that early vision can be maintained. There is now the temptation of surveying the churches and organisations thus far established and declaring the task completed. There is also the danger of people becoming so caught up in the pursuit of individual satisfactions that they will be no longer enthusiastic about a vision of the kingdom of God. While we must gratefully acknowledge the foundation which had been laid, much enthusiasm and action is still needed to make the Reformed vision part of the fabric of Canadian life. (D18:1, undated)

One can already make some assertions about the self-perception of a worldview here. Such words as "vital religious convictions," "spiritual identity," "Reformed vision" and "distinctively Calvinistic" all appear to have the character of "collectively held pictures of reality which people use to understand what they encounter; by which they establish relations with those who share similar pictures of the world": my working definition of worldview. Using Habermas's definition again, that which "lays down the framework of fundamental concepts within which we interpret everything that appears in the world in a specific way as something," let us look at the interviews to determine if time and the worldly success of the community in general alters the availability and character of worldview.

2) Fundamental Statements Common to Protestant Faith

Under the first category posed in Endnote 40, we consider statements that could be made by believers within any Protestant church. (Indeed, some of them could be made by believers in any religious system.) When I spoke with the

group of 18 to 24-year-olds, former leaders of the Young Peoples Society, they made explicit statements such as "we should have more participation during the worship service by young people -- more praying, reading of the Scripture and singing, from the pulpit by them" (I17,A:178). They commented about their desire to sing more songs from other sources than the authorised Psalter Hymnal, which has many Dutch Psalms, historic Christian songs and little contemporary material (Ibid.B: 350). With concern and interest they discussed the future of the Young Peoples Society and current church issues. In spite of that interest, several commented about their own lack of specific Calvinistic knowledge. They said they cannot recall being taught the origins of some of their creeds and doctrines (Ibid.: 025), in spite of the fact that the denominational material which the church uses for its instructional classes deals with these matters. These people gave evidence that they were truly committed to serving God in their lives despite their apparent lack of specific knowledge. Certainly rational and firm choices had been made to adopt the external aspects of the community's worldview and to develop faith in God within it.

Another example of this generally developed faith was expressed by a woman who declared, "I know Christ is my Saviour, and that gives me happiness. Your faith has to grow and that happens by going to church" (I24,A:088).

"All other religions are: 'Do, do, do;' Christianity is 'Done.' All others you have to do all kinds of things to gain it. In Christ, your life is thankfulness," said another person, who added that piety, not only actions, is an important ingredient of the Christian faith (I34,A:098, 059). The idea of thankfulness to God, a statement of faith, but not exclusive to Calvinism, was also made by a man whose knowledge of Reformed doctrine is great and whose long life has been marked by acts of mercy and evangelism in the community

(I38,A:098). A similarly general statement of faith was made by a young woman who characterised the most important aspect of her life as a "childlike trust in God to provide for you everyday -- ultimate trust, I guess that would be it. It's not stagnant; it needs to be growing" (I35,A:040). She also related this growth to the continuing involvement in the community of believers who would ensure that she would "keep on the right path, particularly if you're wavering" (Ibid.: 100). Significantly, a man many years this woman's senior and steeped in Calvinist doctrine, made a similar comment when asked what is the most important element of his life. He replied: "That I am saved by grace in Jesus Christ; your sins are washed away. That's basic, shared with many churches, and then you spread it [theological differences] out" (I66,B:020).

Another angle of this more generalised expression of faith is the references to the Bible, to biblical preaching and to the study of Scriptures by believers. Familiarity with the Scriptures is highly valued by many devout Dutch-Calvinists and it is not uncommon, even for people who read little other literature, to have a vast knowledge of the Scripture. All of the members of middle-age or above whom I visited were conversant with considerable biblical detail. Some of them, especially the older members who memorised large portions of the Bible as children, still read and memorise daily. A common feature of Dutch-Calvinist homes is the reading of the Bible at mealtimes, or some other regular occasion when the entire family is present. A woman in her eighties confided that she worries about the young families, whom she suspects do not take time to read the Bible frequently. She reads it at least three times daily, usually reading some book of meditations in conjunction (I6, passim). "Hearing the Word of God preached," while not a phrase used only among Dutch-Calvinists, is certainly common. Despite their commonality with other traditions, these beliefs take

their place in a unique Dutch-Calvinist worldview. The main point of this exercise of looking for evidence of a consistent principle by which the members of this community regard the world is to establish whether or not this occurs in the context of a definable community. The evidence indicates that it is.

There are, however, a few instances in which the uniqueness of the community is called into question, indicating that there are those who do not regard it as permanent. They undoubtedly will come into conflict with those who see it as a comfortable and stable place in which to live.

Throughout her interview, one woman stressed the ecumenicity of her faith, and the fact that a relationship with God was more important than her relationship to this church (I28,A:020, C:204, D:320). In fact, this was a recurrent theme in many of the interviews.[46] For some who favour a more restrictive reading of Calvinism than they experience at Riverside, this may be an implied threat that they could leave whenever they perceive this group to be unfaithful to Reformed principles, as several other members have already done.[47] Whatever the case, the boundaries are not entirely secure. In another interview, a stalwart and important member of the congregation characterised his confidence for the persistence of the Dutch-Calvinist community this way,

> We don't have to worry as long as we are excited about our faith, we can take that big leap. If we are strong within ourselves, we can take on the world. If we have love for each other and are in Christ, and care for the guy next door, then the church appears alive to those outside, the church will grow. (I51:7)

At the other end of the membership spectrum is a woman who recently joined the church after only minimal exposure to Christianity during her life. "I was watching Robert Schuller every week and he said on his show that you should 'find a good church that will care for you,' and that's what I set out to do" (I53,A:070). She also said that some of the doctrinal sermons are "too heavy"

and she would like to be relieved from them. This reason for joining does not enhance the uniqueness of a communal worldview, at least initially. It becomes clear, however, that even those who join this community for such reasons either eventually drop out or assume some of the overt pre-existent worldview characteristics themselves.

In contrast to those who profess a more general worldview, there are those who believe it is not restricted enough.

A concerned member pointed to teaching of professors from the denominational seminary which contradict earlier church teachings about the origins of the world (I49,B:376). The degree of orthodoxy in the denomination generally, he feels, has declined "far worse than it was in Schilder's time, much worse" (Ibid.:380).[48] On another level, he cites the Christian Labour Association of Canada and the Citizens for Public Justice, both organisations founded on the basis of Dutch-Calvinist ideals which he shares. They have lost their Calvinist distinctiveness, he believes, and calls them "socialistic" now. He resigned his membership in the latter organisation four or five years ago over an article he read, outlining CPJ's position on public issues (Ibid.B:415-50). Another problem he adduces is new members joining the church. He feels they make generally Christian, but not Dutch-Calvinist, professions before the church: "They can't comprehend the Word," so that preaching is "watered down" and he feels he eventually may "get nothing out of the preaching anymore. [If that happens] I'm leaving -- and you would too" (Ibid.C:377).

These examples give evidence of a concern for faithful confessions of obedience to God, and the presence of faith as a powerful current within the community.

3) Restriction to Dutch-Calvinism

Now we will turn to statements which indicate the uniqueness of the Dutch-Calvinist perspective: first those dealing specifically with matters of personally held faith, and then those which are not as explicit about faith, but which concentrate on presumed membership in the "covenant community."[49]

To begin, I present comments from an interview with a British couple, one of whom had been Baptist and the other Anglican in England. Since they lived next to a friendly older couple from RCRC, they began attending a "Family Circle" Bible study with this couple and several other families, some of whom were in their mid-thirties like themselves. They were overcome with the friendliness, sincerity and dedication of this group and eventually went to visit a church service. They assumed they were going there anonymously, since there were more than 800 people at the Sunday service they attended. They later discovered that there was no anonymity in this congregation. Nevertheless, they went to services regularly for almost a year. They have since decided not to pursue membership nor to attend services, although they continue to attend the fellowship group. Their reasons? The price of freedom and the required total commitment were simply too high.

> If, on a particular Sunday afternoon, I want to go out with the family, I wouldn't want to feel guilty because I wasn't in church. At that church, you really feel you had to be there on Sunday morning and evening.... We didn't want to be watched that closely. (I83,A:070)

Then, too, there were the rigid rules about behaviour, children's school attendance, Sunday observance, choice of friends, and others which they cited. To these people, who know the community well, but who stand somewhat outside of it now, I turn to begin answering the question of unique Dutch-Calvinist worldview. The absolute importance of faith -- both personal obedience and compliance with a set of rules derived from a tradition which held faith in God

highly -- is unequalled by any other force in these people's lives, they said. Not economic pursuit or job, politics, wants and needs outside of the realm of the community. They feel that nothing was as important as faith, as a reason for existence itself (Ibid.B:359). While they believe that younger people sometimes do not hold as strongly to the practices and doctrines as do the old, this does not deter them from practising them anyway. "If you grow up in something as close as Riverside Christian Reformed Church, you may not agree with something, but you're more accepting of things you don't necessarily agree with than if you came off the street," (Ibid.A: 250) one man said.

While the other interviews reported here are generally not as objective as this one, they paint no less a complete picture. The first emphasis I have chosen is that of the linkage between faith in God and responsibility to society. I use the comments of a couple that is involved in social action. They compare themselves to Catholics and "Evangelicals" who are involved in the same activity.

> With Roman Catholic people, they feel they are responsible to the church, not to the society or to God [directly]. [Evangelicals] are very fundamentalistic, constantly pointing the Bible message out, even at schools and public meetings.... This is not necessary.... We want to live our faith, but you don't have to throw Bible passages across the street to convince people this is the way it has to be. [Evangelicals] feel they have to 'witness' to get their point across.... They think I want to hide my faith. But you have to have the other one in mind, not yourself. (I7,A:298)

The woman's husband adds,

> I think of the years of thorough preaching, based on Bible study and exegesis, which instills a good sense of the world around us. This thought and responsibility -- that is noticeable to the people around us. You approach the world with an understanding of the world and of justice, ... politics, ... crime, ... life and death. You start talking with people about that and that background is just not there. (Ibid.:344, 367)

This comes to expression in at least the theoretical support of a wide variety of Christian social institutions (as we shall discuss in the next subsection). Mrs. Kuipers recalls her venerable husband "pushing and encouraging" for all sorts of Christian causes. "And it worked out all right," she said (I2,B:034). And so it did: their own son is now the respected president of a large Christian institution in another province: the evidence that the power of example and belief have some direct results -- at least that is how they view these matters.

If thought and commitment linked to biblical teaching is the first evidence of a Calvinist worldview, a second might be a particular form of personal piety, leading from John Calvin himself, a man of reputed personal intimacy with God, through to those modern Dutch-Calvinists who see themselves as heirs of a tradition of piety. "If you go to church, your faith will grow," remarked a woman, who added that people will be happy if they serve Christ and believe that he is their Saviour (I24,A:067-105). Another woman added that there must not be actions only, but also a close personal, meditative and intelligent relationship with God (I38,A:059). A bright, world-travelled and informed woman in her eighties added to this theme by saying that she reads from the Bible three times each day, usually accompanying it with some form of study and concluding with prayer in which she mentions, by name, all those people about whom she has heard or possesses knowledge. This extreme rigour is a trademark of at least some Calvinism, in which one does not read only to be momentarily enlightened but to inform life. To demonstrate that this piety is not pie-in-the-sky, she related how her family hid Jews between their walls during World War II, as a result of their belief that God calls for consistency and application of the Scriptures (I6,A:095).

Another person, a gentleman also in his eighties, expanded the range of application of Calvinist ideals by stressing a third theme: God offers grace freely, and it is up to humans only to accept it with thanks and lives of service and active gratitude added to personal piety, much in the spirit of the woman who hid refugees during the war. An example, which he calls a "labour of love," is the construction of the church and school buildings with free labour, he himself donating his time in the fabrication of the spire and various iron works inside the auditorium. But he went beyond that, relating how he used to bring groups of people to sing in the hospitals and to visit prisoners. This he related to the fact that he had been saved from sin and wanted to show gratitude and perhaps convince others to give themselves over to God (I60,A: 249, 265; B:035, 378).

A younger man with teen-age children related a fourth aspect of Dutch-Calvinism which is potentially costly to those who take it seriously. At that time he was in a dispute with his corporate employer over working on Sunday. He is willing to sacrifice his job and security to honor his convictions about the sanctity of this day of worship. "It is a thing I feel I <u>had</u> to do," he said of the decision he made. Although he felt that the church did not back him sufficiently in a struggle in which it should have a great stake, given its strict teachings on this matter, he is willing to struggle alone, if need be. This Dutch-Calvinist theme of taking one's convictions to their ultimate conclusions was also forcefully argued by a man who related his opposition to joining a trade union which did not honour God in its constitution and which he believed was organised along revolutionary principles. To avoid joining this organisation as a young immigrant in 1947, he took up work wherever he could find it, eventually owning his own prosperous business, which he attributed to

the work of the Lord in his life. Stating that Dutch-Calvinism "looks at all life from the standpoint of the Scriptures" (I6,A:096), he cited the phrase from the Dutch Anti-Revolutionary leader, Groen Van Prinsterer, (see also page 166 and Chapter 5, note 8) "in our isolation is our strength" to fortify the fact that Dutch-Calvinism is often oppositional on matters of principle (Ibid.:111, 275). Much as the man who was willing to give up his job over the Sunday-work issue, this man suggested that God will bless those who do such acts, citing his own life as an example. "If you serve God, he will bless you," he said, showing that his large nursery operation, owned with two others who also opposed the trade union, came about because of such faithfulness to God (Ibid.:460).[50]

Taken a step further, a fifth feature of a Dutch-Calvinist worldview expressed by those whom I interviewed is the notion about which Weber was so impressed: the belief that God blesses those who work hard with success, a sentiment implied in the immediately preceding vignette, and in numerous other interviews as well.

> People work together in families and they work hard.... People are self-motivated and they work hard. If you go through the congregation, you will see how many have their own businesses. It's amazing. Twenty-five years ago, you would look at the church parking lot, all these old, beat-up cars. You see them now. I mean there's Cadillacs, brand new ones. No more -- The way some of these people have progressed, I don't attribute that all to their hard work. Of course, that's part of it, but I think it's a lot of blessing there too. (I16,B:235)

This quotation leaves little doubt that the association between hard work and God's favour continues to be made by some Calvinists, and certainly continues to play a role in the viability of the group.

From the conviction that God blesses the hard work of those who are obedient to God's will, it is but a short step to another feature that is available to the Calvinist and is held by some of the members of the group: one must know that there are very few Calvinists who will say that God directly blesses hard

work. In fact, one of the very pinnacles of the Reformation was to release the ordinary believer from having to pay or work off his sins for the church or a temporal ruler. "Works righteousness" is to be avoided by the Calvinist. Thus, while work itself is not rewarded by success on its own merits, it gives God the opportunity to bless people for their faithfulness. Going a step farther, if one identifies a particular historical interpretation of God's law as correct, then conserving that form of obedience which is seen as the source of blessing is important. A recursive or conservative tendency can develop, which is logically and institutionally appealing and appears justified by the power of the church. This is a sixth possible option within a Dutch-Calvinist worldview.[51]

In direct opposition to those who have a recursive approach to the faith, a seventh possibility emerges, also tied to a feature of Calvinism. Those who want to keep the old ways, some argue, simply do not understand that the new covenant which Jesus made with his people displaces the old emphasis on rules and regulations and strict interpretations. Instead, it deals with the substance of people's lives, giving principles by which people may judge how to deal with others and by which to come to understand the application of Scriptural norms today. It grasps Calvin's treatment of the Holy Spirit as ever-present and effective in the lives of believers (Calvin [1559] [1845] 1966: I,463,466; II,682), leading them into the truth. Further, Calvin also held a conception which he called the "priesthood of all believers." That is, the church as a body of believers interprets God's word, not the church, as an abstraction, or as God's revealing agency on earth. One man summed it up thus:

> I sometimes have the feeling that those people who are saying those types of things [that we must remain orthodox and resist changes in the church], I sometimes question the fact that these people take the New Testament seriously. The old covenant has been fulfilled, and we are

> now serving under the new covenant, according to the spirit and that you wish to do God's will because, filled with it, and not because of the law.... It is much easier to live by the dos and don'ts than to live out the Ten Commandments. (I14,A:325)

Another interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism which returns to the theme of the relation between one's work and God's blessings is that one should do one's work as though he or she were doing it directly for God -- a concept that comes from the writings of the Apostle Paul (Col. 3:23-25). Peter Krijt, who cited this emphasis (I4,B:355) also held that, in his work, this means giving his customers a fair deal and the best product he can find for them (Ibid.:400). This man recalled Rev. Kuipers teaching that one's faith has to be consistent throughout all the aspects and dealings of one's life: politics, business, education, as well as church-life. He also recalled Adam Smith's argument on the basis of a Smithian lecturer he heard a year or so earlier and sharply contrasted that to his understanding of Christianity. He argued that, on the basis of faith in God, one should never work out of greed or self-interest, but for the glory of God and the benefit of his fellows.

> I believe in personal bests: not as a humanistic thing, but because the Lord has given us talents and we must be the best that we can; that is different for all people.... There is a beautiful verse in the Bible that says, "When you're in your strength, work so that you can be self-supporting and be able to give to others." I think that's an important thing. God has given us the strength to work, and do well and to have some left over. (Ibid.:433)

Several others made the same point regarding the Christian's responsibility to others (I7,A:263; I47:7) and underscored this perhaps unfamiliar aspect of Calvinism which also lives in the Riverside community.

An eighth aspect of a Dutch-Calvinist worldview emphasizes the church or worshipping community as the body of believers, but as a human institution which can be changed to reflect the times and to enable people in various times and places to serve God on the basis of their characteristics. "Without the church,

faith has no focus," a woman said (I38,A:164). "I can walk in the woods, and see God in a pantheistic way, but it lacks focus. This community, in all its feeble attempts, offers that focus" (Ibid.: 164). The emphasis on the covenant is a ninth aspect or possibility for this worldview. Since I have dealt with that elsewhere, I will present only the contents of one interview in which a young person is struggling with the question of whether this tradition and its teachings is really hers, or is it something into which she is merely socialised.

> Belief in something you can't see -- it's what you've been taught.... Yeah, it's something taught, but you are the one who chooses to believe it. Sure, you believe what you've been brought up in, but it's still yours. (I33,A:1175, 259)

A parent, who has also taught catechism, defends the indecisiveness and sometimes exclusivism of his children and the other young people by pointing to the thoughtful, faithful and opinionated way they discuss the Bible and current issues. He believes that they are much more open about their faith and more personally interested in the Bible and the teachings of the church than he and his generation were when this church was in its infancy. So his prognosis for the development of a Calvinist worldview for the future is a bright one: there may be different forms of worship and belief, but essentially Dutch-Calvinism will remain.

In the middle of all of this are those who wonder about the direction of the church and the Dutch-Calvinist community. They hear and read about all the controversies within the group and ask what it will be like for them. I asked one young couple if they were comfortable there. They answered that they were, but then came up with a list of perceived instances of unfaithfulness of this church regarding traditional doctrines of creation, the place of women in the church, and the role of children in worship. Their comfort within and their

expressed concern and love for the church, did not square with their lack of ease about its direction. Perhaps that, too, is a feature of Dutch-Calvinism, since it has always taken matters of principle and doctrine seriously.

An analytic investigation of any community must also account for instances which would negate its findings, and there are some in this community too. Persistent charges of exclusivism and cliquishness are made, especially by the young people, causing one to doubt the existence of a consistent worldview.

One person said that this exclusion is more a matter of interests than unfriendliness or snobbery, but that interest itself is connected with an attitude toward the world: that it is strange, dangerous or foolish, and unworthy of their attention (I12,A:120 and passim). Another concurred that the exclusion occurs because

> I basically live my own life. I have developed a relationship with some of those people, but not many. But, after going to Canadian [Christian College], my idea of a good time is different and I don't have a lot in common with them. (I57,B:060)

She later said that they engage in drinking alcohol, of which she does not approve (Ibid.,C). A third young person says that she has "nothing in common with some of the other young people" (I33,C:078).

In spite of the evidence that there are distinctive ways of looking at the world which might be called Dutch-Calvinist, there are at least two problems: 1) no common set of principles seems to exist that covers all of the members of this small group, and 2) at least with the young people, there appears to be a problem of sub-grouping that threatens the unity of the community.

4) Evidence of Fragmentation in the Dutch-Calvinist Worldview

I now turn to some evidences of the fragmentation of the worldview in the Riverside Christian Reformed Church community, beginning with accounts of people

who desire a broader rendition of Dutch-Calvinism than that which they observe at Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

a) Desire for Broader Interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism than Represented at Riverside

In an interview with an analytical couple, neither of whom were raised in this community, but who have been active participants for several years, they said that less attention should be paid to maintain the structures of this community. Faith in God and cultivation of a relationship with Jesus Christ should have priority. "The church is secondary; the church is merely a sociological phenomenon, really. The real action occurs when sinners are united to Christ," the man said. The woman remarked, "Giving of yourself to Christ -- that's important, and this community has to see that" (I34,A: 214, 238). In another interview, the comment "faith must be personal, not historical" added to that point (I41,B:005).

Taking this theme and expanding it, another woman said:

> Faith in God is most important, not the specific church to which I belong. If the church gives us the ability and resources and encouragement to believe, and the opportunity to serve others, then it is a good church. But if it makes faith a matter of rules and rules, then faith is stifled. Rules are garbage! I mean it; they're garbage if they stand in the way of worship and service. (I38,A:201)

In these comments, one sees neither a specific agenda nor a threat to search for a community that better represents Christianity. This is the restlessness of those who resist what they perceive as a tendency to look inward and create an identity and set of ideals, rules and practices that enhance introspection.[52]

More evangelisation and involvement in larger social and political issues is necessary (I21,A:150). Again, references to evangelisation or "outreach" were expressed in many other interviews, particularly those mentioned in the previous footnote. "When I sit in a church [worship] service," said a young man

who did not attend church as a youth but who has now become an active member through his wife's influence, "I look at it through the eyes of someone who's there for the first time and wonder what they must be thinking and how they feel about this. I think we must be more considerate of them and make sure everyone can understand our message" (I5,A:134). This was part of a larger criticism he and his wife had of what they described as a narrowness of this church's focus.

The importance of "discipling" -- serving the larger society to show the effects of Christ's love for the world -- was a topic discussed at a meeting of single young adults at which I conducted a group interview (I33,C:380).[53] At that same meeting another indication of the desire to interpret Dutch-Calvinist teachings more broadly than they are perceived here, was expressed by a woman who mused that this church and its members must remember that Christianity is not a set of doctrines: "God isn't going to ask who's right about predestination, for example," she said (Ibid.B: 346).

Another slant comes from within the center of the most conservative element of the church. An example of this perspective comes from a woman whose husband, although treating her with affection, made clear that he was the head of the household in matters of faith and was not prepared to accept radical change in the church. The man argued that women could not serve in church offices. Hard as that may be, he said, they must accept that position, not because men impose it, but because the Bible prescribes it. Not answering this assertion directly, his wife was very deferential in addressing the matter, making sure to aver that "you [her husband] are on the consistory, so you would know these things." Instead, she pointed out that those women who are not active already in "the Lord's work," seldom have any problem with accepting a reduced role, while those who are most active seek full involvement, including the possibility of serving

in official capacities. This may sound like an obvious, moot point. However, within the context of a particular strand of Dutch-Calvinism, its acceptance involves a radical re-thinking of key biblical passages and the teachings of the church which have preserved male prerogatives along with orthodoxy. Thus, those who want to preserve tradition generally cannot allow that women have more participation than they now have in the church, since that would be perceived to threaten all biblical interpretation. In fact, her husband persistently replied, "They [those who hold this position] go with the Bible.... They are safeguarding the Bible" (I13,A:036, 066). The woman, although silenced, was not convinced as she left -- to get the coffee. The personal, often intra-familial struggles that go on sometimes vibrate with this tension of restrictive versus broader interpretations of Calvinism.

Another example of one who sought to reinterpret what he saw as too narrow a focus in this community, indicated that it was a disagreement over Reformed doctrines, particularly those dealing with the concept of election, which caused him to become disenchanted with the church. This community is too concerned, he feels, with the issue of correct doctrine. This causes them to sometimes lose sight of larger issues. It was not that he found no opportunity to serve; he was too busy, in fact, directing programmes within the church and school, attending meetings and being active in the social life of the group. His complaint was that the theology tended to focus these activities on the group itself. The worldview presented, he said, was not biblical but was forced on and interpreted for the people by Rev. Kuipers, who thought himself, and whom the people recognised as a powerful master and true interpreter of God's Word. Several others fortified or participated in this myth-making activity (I10,A:229, passim).[54]

These expressions of the pressure to broaden the parameters of the world-view do not appear to question its most basic premises. At the conclusion of the research phase of this study, all but one of those directly quoted above remained active within the congregation. In fact, it appears that the sort of ferment which is evident within the group is generally regarded as positive -- a point important to this thesis.

b) Desire for a More Restricted Interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism than Represented at Riverside

Although appearing to dwindle in number due to exoduses to other Dutch-Calvinist denominations, there is a substantial and influential group of people who staunchly uphold the uniqueness of the Reformed worldview and, in fact, seek a stricter interpretation of it than they see represented at Riverside. The following subsection works through a sampling of their accounts.

Several people made the point that this church was founded by people from small conservative towns and villages in Holland, predominantly Zuid Holland and Friesland.[55] They said it would be best to maintain principles and practices that were present in the lives of these faithful people as they built the institutions which today's Riverside Dutch-Calvinists inherit. In addition to those mentioned in endnote 55, specifically refer to I6,C:005 and I49,A:158). One such couple sadly announced that the "Word of God no longer is being preached in the Christian Reformed Church" and they have been forced to leave (I73a: 7).

A remarkable phenomenon is present in the comments of some people who made this accusation. They believe that, generally, ordinary members would retain the original founders' worldview. They insist that Rev. Kuipers nurtured it. However, the present leaders should be more zealous in its perpetuation, these critics contend.[56]

A particular person who questioned the direction the leaders are giving this church suggested that they are not heeding the warnings from members who think changes are occurring too quickly. He believes that making liturgical changes in the worship service or in having more congregational participation are unnecessary accommodations. These changes are attempts to make the gospel more palatable to people who either may not join the church anyway or who are not prepared for the hard business of Calvinist belief and lives. At that, this man used the example of his business practices: he is not working at his business on Sunday nor delivering his product for Monday sales. Many associates have asked how he can make a living when he gives up one lucrative business day. "We are blessed. We are a blessed people, that's why," he says with a chuckle (I16,B:160). He used a Calvinistic belief: one need not worry about making money because blessings come from God. With it he enforced the point that change in worship is also unnecessary: if you are simply faithful, God will bless, is the implication of his comments. He believes that the leaders do not see that and, through their insistence on change in the liturgy and in understanding the Scriptures in other areas, they mislead the people.

Another man who believes that there is too much ruling from the top in the Christian Reformed Church, said that the true Reformed position should be based more on the model of Baptists regarding mission activity and the Salvation Army regarding the outreach to the society. Individual churches should send out missionaries and social workers. That would involve people more directly with the fields of witness; they would know the theology being used; they would not waste money on middle players; and they would not have to submit to the hierarchical dictation of the Grand Rapids-based Board of World Missions. Regarding outreach, people should be much more involved in helping the needy and

should do so personally and directly, avoiding the church and government bureaucracies. This direct approach would better preserve orthodoxy (I66,B:460).

In another case in which hierarchy was blamed, one of the interviewed departed members said that decisions are made at the denominational level and the local pastors are concurring. The result of this is that there is a "serious deterioration in personal renewal" because people do not feel responsible for or in control of their spiritual lives. Rather than simple preaching, there is interpretation of the biblical text, with the result that people are questioning the simplicity of the Bible and diluting the Dutch-Calvinist worldview (I25,A:048; D:210).

While agreeing that the leaders are part of the problem in enforcing a strict rendering of the worldview, not all were as sanguine about the general membership. One man, while he questioned the direction of the entire denomination, also said that many people no longer want to be faithfully Reformed, irrespective of what leaders might say (I82:10 and 17-29). Another added his voice to that cry, stated that the reason the church is becoming "liberal" is that the people no longer read. Characterising his position as "conservative," he referred to books and articles from his perspective (I66,B:057). He contended, "Calvinist doctrines are the soundest [theology], so the closer anyone ... comes to the Word of God and absorbs it, the more appreciation they will have of that doctrine" (Ibid.A:450).

Returning to the couple who during their interview disagreed regarding the authority of women in the church, the husband made the point that the Bible is clear in its teaching regarding women and their position: they should not serve as minister or elder (I13,A:046). Further, safeguarding the Bible (Ibid.:066)

means not allowing changes in church practice. It is not on principle, however, that he objects to women in church office, he insisted. It is

> because it gets people upset, that's why. We shouldn't change too much. I would like to change, but, on the other hand, you have to be careful with change because a lot of people are against it, you see. You gain one, you lose another. (Ibid.,C:292)

This theme recurred, with its more conservative slant, in the discussion with a person who compared today's catechism unfavorably with his own training, and in that of another man who wanted to return to the emphasis on memorisation of the Heidelberg Catechism and other doctrinal statements (I82:13).[57]

These few examples of pressure for a stricter interpretation of a world-view are more extreme than the following ones which, nevertheless, call for a change of direction.

Better catechism instruction and general care for the young people are needed, "because they are no longer learning what a full, Reformed world-and-life-view is," said one woman who, incidentally, is heartily supportive of the current youth worker's direction. The youth talk about moral issues at their meetings and classes, or they get together for social reasons, she contended, but they do not study deeply nor are they seriously required to know what Dutch-Calvinism is (I2,A:313). This was echoed by another woman, who wondered if the young people have to study their catechism material as hard as she once did. An elderly couple (I20) mentioned the Bible study of their younger days, and also question the intensity of today's youth.

Even a couple who are otherwise more concerned that the church is too tradition-bound, believe that the young people must have more detailed and doctrinally informed teaching, although they advocated it in conjunction with a sports and cultural facility where it can be integrated into activities for youth (I14,C:)85-212).

The youth director also feels that Calvinism can be made much more relevant than it has been in denominational material. If that were done, she believes, there would be much more retention and vigorous Reformed outreach action from this community. In fact, she believes that there could be a revival of genuine Calvinism (I1,B:240). Thus, it appears that there are many who favor an even stricter interpretation of Calvinism than now exists. At any rate, they point to the unmistakable persistence of a Dutch-Calvinist worldview. The following subsection is the final one regarding evidence of a Dutch-Calvinist worldview.

c) Evidence of Accommodation of Dutch-Calvinism

Is there accommodation between Dutch-Calvinism and ideals prevalent in other Christian traditions, in other religions, or the general society? We look for the answer to that question in my data.

In a lengthy and cordial interview, I spoke with a man who summarised a sentiment I have noted in several observations: God directly blesses people for their faithful acts. He related how each time he, his wife and family moved or shifted career, some "strange, though wonderful, things happened" (I41,A: 010, 026, 076), which always gave them a better position and more security than they anticipated.

The decision to have their children attend a Christian school, for example, determined where they would live, he said (although they were still many miles from the Christian school and the Riverside church complex). Yet, the money spent on this education was rewarded because their property value has appreciated greatly. He told me,

> .... Also from an economic point of view, we haven't suffered at all. So it's really our insistence that our kids go to the Christian school that brought us here, and we've been very blessed, firstly with our kids and their education, and secondly, economically, it's been a good deal, so I'm very much convinced of the need for Christian education, particularly elementary. I think every child within our church should

> go to Christian elementary, and high school if possible. [His wife added that they would have gone to the Christian high school too, if they had lived closer.] (I41,A:050)

While this man genuinely believes this to be true, it is apparent that one can be pragmatically attracted to Calvinism or to the power of Christianity and retroactively rationalise all occurrences as the result of faith, when another explanation could be given with as much justification. For example, if one is in a position to adhere to the rules of the dominant society and work hard, using the features of middle class, likely he or she will succeed. There are few miracles in that. One can come up with a version of Christianity that fits the middle class life and which is borne up by the evidence of success in people's lives. Thus, many can say, "I can now see the Lord's hand leading me in ... [making such and such a decision]"

In a variant of this, a person who claims support for a stricter interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism and orthodoxy than the man cited above related how he had been watching a TV evangelist expound the value of believing in God. He was enamoured by the preacher's claim that if you have faith in God,

> "... your rivers will always be full and you will prosper. If you don't, you can be like all those other nations that have drought." I thought, "He has something there!" (I16,C:119)

This rendition of the worldview involves a belief that obedience will lead to good results in one's life. While this is not a sentiment foreign to Christianity,[58] in Calvinism it is usually balanced with the provision that God does not reward one's deeds. However, if one has achieved relative success, or if one's entire community is prosperous, it is tempting to select that strand of Christianity that sees material plenty as a sign of God's favour.[59]

Although not dealing with material prosperity directly, a young man, in answering my question "What is the most important aspect of your faith?"

answered, "Belief in something can't hurt you in any way.... [Faith] is always there, and you can use it whenever" (I44: 4). He then also related it to economic measures, but in a different sense than those quoted above. He continued by saying that Christians in this community are asked to give too much: "Every time you go to a meeting, there is a collection. When you already give a lot toward the church budget, then all those donations being asked is too much" (Ibid.: 9).

In the community, there are sub-groups of young people whom others characterise variously as aloof, cliquish, wild, uninvolved with the established programmes of the church (I1,A:073, 083; 24,B:268; I33; I17; 157).[60] One person, a former Young Peoples Society board member, said, "They are strictly a social group, just for being together; they don't talk about religion or anything like that" (I17,A:065). That, at least is the perception people from the established church youth programmes have of those who do not attend but who develop parallel informal groups. This perception includes the assertion that the "other group" has parties and drinks alcohol, of which many in the community do not approve (I12,B:150; I57,B:125).

A particular group of people with whom I met (although I am not sure this was the group of which others were talking) related how they experience the church. They see it as important for them because it gives them continuing contact with other people whom they "know well and who do things alike" (I54,A:155). They allow that they do not engage in many attempts to bring people into the church or to discuss their faith at work because "it's never really been an issue in our church" (Ibid.:244). "We're [the church] open to others coming into the church, but that's about all our church does" (Ibid.:280).

They discussed how their parents refrain from discussing issues of faith because of their limited knowledge of English (Ibid.:320). However, they said that, when pressed, their parents "know their stuff about religion" (Ibid.:340). However,

> the younger generation [presumably themselves] are probably a little too laid-back about it. We go on Sundays and that's good enough. (Ibid.:370).

Later, they engaged in discussion regarding giving money, and a young woman said, "I sometimes think that I should spend as much on church as on myself for a Friday night, say fifty dollars, or whatever" (Ibid.:200). Later, another remarked that money, and the decision whether to support Christian causes, is "a tricky issue" (Ibid.,B:225).

In this church, they believe, the attitude of people toward the stranger, and the fashionable, relatively expensive way of dressing, and other customs of the Dutch-Calvinist community may be offensive to some inquisitive visitors who might otherwise be potential members. But they mused that there is not much that can be done about that since

> our attitude doesn't mean to be harmful, but it comes across as a judgement. Like, we're talking to our friends, and it's hard to step out and talk to someone else. (Ibid.:364)

Relating this to the question of worldview, in the Calvinist concept of the covenant there is an ever present possibility that people presume themselves or their children to be "saved" or considered members of the "kingdom of God" on the basis of their parents' faith and institutions that were erected to keep the covenant. It is possible to make this presumption although it is discredited by the preaching and teaching of the scripture, the catechism and other documents.[61] Also through this interview, then, it is possible to see the contours of a worldview.

In discussing worldview accommodations, the often-mentioned effects of materialism must also be noted, for many Dutch-Calvinists believe it threatens to undo their uniqueness. If that perceived threat is realised, then my argument for the worldview element of an ethnic group evaporates too.

People are giving less money to support Christian institutions now, stated one elder. He made a nostalgic reference to early immigrant days (common to several other interviews, where the same point was made: I4, 20, 49, 60) in which relative poverty, interdependence and strong, simple faith were the order. Some people lamented the passing of those days when no one had an advanced education except the minister and the school principal, both of whom were perceived as stalwart defenders of the orthodox position. Concern with status and wealth -- materialism -- has meant that people surround themselves with more things and appear to need each other and God less. The Christian school and the church are both short of money, the church by $30,000 at the point of my interview with one man in November, 1987. He recalled that "we always had enough when we gave out of poor pockets, but now we don't have enough" (I49,C:061). The reason? Some say it is a reflection of that materialist outlook which is infesting the group from the outside: "quite a few yuppies here now, people going out to restaurants, on trips and buying expensive houses" (Ibid.:108). Still others, that there is less faith these days and more doubt being sown by professors and a liberal clergy.

Of course, there are many who disputed all of that. They pointed to the wider range of activity, each of which cost more money today than in the past. They showed the scope of the denomination's world relief and mission work and the fact that members of this church have sponsored more than eight hundred

Vietnamese refugees over the past ten years and say that the Reformed worldview is doing well in the 1980s.[62]

Another form of concern about the purity of a Dutch-Calvinist worldview came from a recently married couple, one spouse of which is a divorcee. Because of the church's position on divorce, they were not allowed to be married in the church, but they in turn around pointed to the fact that several businesses owned by members of this church were open on Sunday. They felt that "except for attending church and reading the Bible, there's not too much difference for the outsider to see.... That's why we don't get too many of them coming into the church" (I47: 20).

Then there is the persistent criticism of the unfaithfulness and "liberalism" of the professors of Calvin College and seminary and questions about the orthodoxy of teachers at the Christian high school, and of the positions of Christian organisations.[63]

The worldview of the days of this group's beginning was hard work, simplicity, subsistence and building foundations. Some contend that has given way to something that looks less like faith. The question is: does a unique worldview still exist?

If one looks at the bulletins which appear each Sunday and which outline the liturgy used in each service one finds that they vary, but usually they contain phrases like: "Affirmation of the Covenant," or, if there is a baptism, "Confirmation of the Covenant." During the year in which I observed the congregation, several sermons were preached on the relevance of a Reformed worldview and almost every sermon made reference to it in some way. The teaching about the covenant and how it involves responsibilities to serve God, fellow humans, and stewardship of the creation were frequent themes. Although

specific knowledge of the statements of faith may be waning, it is not at all evident that they are considered irrelevant (see footnote 61).

Regarding worldview, generally, those who hold a worldview different from one's own react differently to the same or similar situations. In the case of the Dutch-Calvinists, they may see the hardship of immigration and their relative poverty in those days as a challenge or a test from God which they had to struggle to overcome. Thus, they worked hard to "see themselves approved by God" (II Timothy 2:18, from the Bible), and found evidence of God's blessings in the institutions that they supported and which many continue to support.

The underlying worldview that is proclaimed in the sermons and writings is "seek first the Kingdom of God, and all things shall be added to you." The "Kingdom of God" is often interpreted, then, as those institutions, or at least faithful and obedient acts to praise God or advance one's fellows. Faith in God is the general worldview, even in the fragmented forms found in the examples above. It may be a faith that is presumed inherited, but it still functions to order the lives of the people who adhere to it. It binds together the various aspects and interpretations which have been presented. Worldviews are complex. This one, too, bears the scars of struggles, amendments, accommodations and misinterpretations, but it is the pivot around which life in the Dutch-Calvinist community is organised in Riverside. Later I will elaborate the point I mention here: with regard to the ethnic boundary of Dutch-Calvinism, there are recursive, discursive and excursive attitudes, but they all refer to the central presence of faith in a covenant God, whose children they believe they are.

D. Evidence of Ethnic Group Institutions

We now turn to another question, generated by my definition of ethnic group: is there evidence of specific institutions, along the lines suggested by Raymond Breton in his 1964 article on "institutional completeness"?[64]

My definition of ethnic group notes that ethnic group institutions (and boundaries discussed in the next subsection) are important loci of the group's proscription, prescription and providers of evaluative criteria. Breton has shown convincingly in a treatment analysed in Chapter Two of this thesis that ethnic groups which have strong institutions, especially with strong religious, language or colour differences, last longer and are stronger than those without such institutions. The more manual labourers there are or the less resources individuals in a community have, the more likely that such institutions will be formed. Immigration waves also keep them strong (Breton 1964: 195-202).

In Chapter Four, I presented the range of activities that occur within this community. I will not repeat all of these here. Instead, I will concentrate on:

1) The rationale that members give for membership in Christian organisations
   a) Focus of unity
   b) Socialising Function
   c) Deepen knowledge and ground analysis
   d) Educational foundations
   e) Service in other areas of life
   f) "Safe havens"

2) The effects, positive and negative, of institutional parallels in this community
   a) Perceived negative effects
   b) Perceived positive effects

1) The rationale that members give for membership in Christian organisations

From the historical section of this chapter, one recalls the conviction of John Calvin that "the biblical message is cosmic in scope ... and redemption is

the restoration of a fallen creation. All societal life, therefore, is religion..." (McCarthy et al 1981: 41).

Further, the Calvinistic ideas developed by Abraham Kuyper were very influential in the generation of people who began the Riverside Christian Reformed Church community, particularly in the thought and preaching of the first pastor. The idea that there is a radical break between the Christian and the non-Christian in the world implied that separate institutions in which one could also serve God should be erected.

Recall James Bratt's comments about the establishment within twenty years of a Calvinistic university and elementary schools, Calvinistic newspapers, a Calvinistic political party and labour union, Calvinistic hospitals, social welfare agencies, trade associations, study groups, and a "purified" Reformed church (Bratt 1984: 18). When Dutch-Calvinists came to Canada, and this group to Riverside, they took it as their task to duplicate this effort, institutionally. In keeping with the Gereformeerd (Dutch version of the Christian Reformed Church in Canada) suspicion of the power of the state, many felt that it was their duty to set up parent-controlled religious schools in Riverside (see Peetoom 1983: 105-140 and passim).[65]

On the basis of the assumption that establishing separate institutions was a step of faith and obedience to God, there was no question but that they should be formed.

In my research among the members of Riverside Christian Reformed Church, several rationale appeared.

a) First, such institutions are consciously a focus of unity within the group. "We needed each other and we cared for each other" (I2,A:122). They did so through establishing these many parallels. The church itself as an

institution served as a place where people congregated on Sundays and provided fellowship. This was true for new immigrants and it continues this welcoming function for newcomers today (I12,A:195). All other relationships find their focus in the church (I83,A:062).

b) They also have a socialising function. From the softball and hockey teams that the church members field to the many informal visits that occur every evening of the week and which are universal on Sundays after the worship services, the people are occupied with in-group associations.[66]

c) These institutions serve to deepen knowledge of the faith and to ground one's personal analyses of social issues. Because of a heavy emphasis on the linkage between belief and action, sermons and articles in church papers, as well as the publications of organisations such as Citizens for Public Justice and the Christian Labour Association of Canada, are all highly analytical and see themselves as applying a largely Calvinistic worldview to social issues. Analytical deepening is also the point of doctrine classes which all young people are supposed to attend (I46,A:411). The Calvinistic idea that all of one's actions must be directed to the praise of God implies that one should not spend all one's time and energy pursuing the making of money. Rather, one should attempt to work with others toward the building of God-centred institutions (I14,C:085). In the separate institutions, particularly the church, one's own faith is built up and sustained or given practical suggestions for service to God.[67]

An example comes from a report of the "Ladies Society" published in the monthly newsletter:

> We have been in existence for more than 30 years....
> This season we are studying The Sermon on the Mount: from the revelation series. We learn from each other, it builds up our faith, it gives you a feeling of belonging. All our meetings start with our coffee klatch!

> We do not make essays but we all study the subject. We usually have a good discussion -- from raising a family, Sunday shopping and always back to the Bible because that is our main source of information. (N 10-87)

The participation in such an organisation serves the functions of increasing knowledge about each other and provides opportunity for the development and application of the worldview. This occurs in the discussion of issues which are of common interest: "Sunday shopping" and "raising a family" in the example above. It also assures a uniform reading of the Bible, which is taken here as the "main source of information." Thus, in a society which does not regard the Bible highly, here one finds a group of like-minded people who confirm one's worldview and reinforce the interpretation of the present in ethnic terms. Acceptance of one another and utter seriousness of purpose characterise these meetings.

Similarly, my attendance at a meeting of the Men's Society (PON17) showed me that the men who attended wanted to struggle with the meaning of their faith. These are meetings for regular and serious discussions, oriented to the reliance on and development of a specific worldview. Together, such organisations also provide the facility, noted by Keyes, Habermas and Barth, to mutually construe the importance of words and concepts, uniquely understood by the members of an ethnic group, which serve as symbolic markers of their unity. Such study and institutional association provides those symbols.

d) The Christian school stands in a class by itself. It is regarded as "foundational" to much of the development of a Calvinist worldview (I16,A:089-140) and as a means to develop an approach to the world based on the teachings of Calvinism (I14,C:190) and a way to maintain consistency, within the community, between the Christian home and the world of learning (I28,B:425). It is referred to as the "secret" (I51:7) of Dutch-Calvinism.[68]

Responses to the questionnaire also indicate the extent of the Christian school's importance.

As summarised in Table 24, "Respondents' Childrens' Elementary School," 49% of the respondents' children attended the John Calvin Christian School in Riverside, 4% attended the campus of this school located in another city and 19% attended some other Christian school. This totals a 72% attendance rate at such schools.[69]

Regarding high school attendance, the picture is similar (Table 25). Attendance at Regional Christian High School was 35%, at City Christian High School, another 17% of the respondents' children attended, and 13% went to other Christian high schools. Seven percent attended a combination of Christian and public schools, for a total of 72%. Only 7% attended public high schools exclusively (14%, if one includes those who were partially at Christian and public schools).

College attendance was and remains low in this community, with 67% "no response" or "not applicable" responses to this question, probably indicating non-attendance. However, of those attending university or college, 21% attended a combination of both public and private, Christian institutions. Eighteen percent attended a combination of Christian colleges; 14% were at The King's College.[70] Calvin College, the denomination's only officially supported school, had a 6.5% attendance rate from Riverside Christian Reformed Church; 5% attended Dordt College, and almost 3% went to Canadian Christian College and Trinity Christian College, respectively. Compare this to 5% and 4% to Provincial University and John A. Macdonald University, respectively, and 9% to local community colleges. The figures then for exclusive attendance at Christian colleges is 49.4% and for public institutions exclusively, 29.8%. Clearly,

despite the tremendous costs and long distances, including three of these colleges' locations in the United States and one in Alberta, Christian higher education is also overwhelmingly chosen over the public option.

e) Other separate organisations are not as highly supported as the Christian schools.[71] The Christian Labour Association of Canada, for example, only has a few members left in Riverside. Although a lecture series of the Institute for Christian Studies was held at the Riverside Christian Reformed Church facilities, only a few people from this community actually attended. Likewise, at a meeting co-sponsored by Institute for Christian Studies and Citizens for Public Justice which I attended, also held at the Riverside Christian Reformed Church building, only five people from Riverside Christian Reformed Church attended, in addition to the organiser of the event and Rev. Huizenga. In speaking with the former director of the local CPJ chapter, I found that there are only fourteen paid members and an additional six who have given some financial support between 1988 and 1991 but who are no longer full members (I90).

Thus, while references to the political "witness" of CPJ and labour statements of CLAC, for example, are sometimes made in sermons and announcements frequently appear on the weekly church bulletin, actual participation is low.

f) The school and the church are often rationalised as "safe havens" for the youth, as foci for peer relations and mate-selection (I8,B:010; I49,B:325; I51:7).

On some rare occasions the school is regarded as an evangelistic effort. In fact, increasingly over the past several years the school has become less exclusively a Dutch-Calvinist-attended institution and has begun to expand to

the wider Christian community. If one can subscribe to the constitution and "Statement of Purpose" of the school, then she or he may join the society and her/his children may attend (FN 08-22-91). At this point, 46% of the students at John Calvin Christian School are from the Christian Reformed Church. Eight of the nine board members are Christian Reformed, but only four are from Riverside Christian Reformed Church.[72] All of the school society presidents have been from some Christian Reformed church. Thus, although this uniquely Dutch-Calvinist institution is opening to the wider Christian community, if not to the general society, there are important constraints that keep it unmistakably Dutch-Calvinist influenced. It remains a parallel institution for this community.

2) The effects, positive and negative, of institutional parallels in this community

a) Perceived negative effects

Although separate institutions have been part of the Dutch-Calvinist social model in general and at Riverside Christian Reformed Church as well, there are critics. Some are opposed in principle, believing that Calvinism does not imply such separate development. Others are selective, wanting perhaps only the church to remain distinct. Still others believe that parallel institutional development does not necessitate separation but simply differential participation which anyone who wishes can join.

I begin with a group of critics who suggest that separate institutions isolate Dutch-Calvinists unnecessarily.

There is sometimes too much isolation so that this group becomes a "self-contained society" which does not reach beyond its boundaries (I8,B:045, 170) or which can become as protective as a monastery, not allowing people to know about the world beyond with its ideas and counter-theories (I34,B:520;

I35,A:250). One recent Christian high school graduate described it as a "curtain" behind which one is so protected that "by the time you get out, you're prepared for the world, but you've heard too much, and you're terrified" (I35,B:128, 160). Another criticism is that separate institutions isolate the witness that Christians could present to the world, if they were as vigourous in the public schools as they are in supporting their own (I38,C:179; I28,C:001; I34,B:520). Akin to this criticism is one which holds that many other organisations do good work also, and members of this church should not confine themselves to its activities only (I19,B:1; I72:5).

An excessive inward focus of one's faith is another criticism levelled from within the group. "Cadets, being Sunday School superintendent, going to consistory meetings, serving on school committees and emceeing community affairs such as anniversaries and receptions ... ran me ragged," said one man who is now highly critical of that duplication of the general society's efforts (I10,A:095).

One man who said "Christian school is an absolute necessity, if at all possible" saw the attendance of his children at a Christian school as the focus of his obedience and the source of his blessing in obtaining a beautiful house, solid career and many other upper-middle-class luxuries (I41,A:026). He was not alone in that assessment. Although working for one's salvation is strictly proscribed by Calvinist doctrine, yet this tendency is an ever-present temptation in situations where people forego other of life's pleasures to provide Christian education (I41,A:030, 050; I13; I16,A:300).

Others questioned separate institutions because they found them ineffective. To an extent the young man quoted above who felt "terrified" and over-protected believed that. His criticism was that at some point one steps from

behind the curtain. At that point, one must be prepared to face the world, not as the terrified and marginalised member of an ethnic group, but as one prepared to survive and succeed (I35). His fears were countered by others who suggested that they were well prepared to live in society and that their years of parallel institutional training gave them a healthy basis for continued separation from the evil aspects of society.

Many people during interviews suggested that Christian school attendance led to exclusivism as it became a badge of distinction or a source of camaraderie, which prevented friendships or even association with people, even those within the church who did not attend Christian schools (I38,Dd: 005, 070; I12, I33; I57,B:090; I54,A:203). As a parent, one may be castigated from pulpit and living room as "flawed" or a "black sheep" if one does not support Christian education (I34,C:028; I38,C:320). Some believe such organisations can also be counter-productive because they "do not teach people to think for themselves" (I57,B:125) or, in the case of the labour union, "I can get my own work, even if that means working for two dollars an hour, or whatever," a criticism, of course, that might be levelled at any union (I49,B:529).

Some people simply feel duplication of social structures costs too much, an attitude expressed to me by few people in the group, however (examples: I44:6, 9; I54,B:154, 245).

After presenting the general rationale for separate development, I launched into intra-group criticisms. Fresh from looking at them, one may wonder why the Dutch-Calvinists would bother with them at all.

b) Perceived positive effects

The truth is, there is strong support for separation, at least at the institutional level of church and school, as my analysis of questionnaire

results has shown. Much of the support for such separate growth is the converse of the criticisms. First, separate institutions are formed to meet needs. Recalling the discussions of Raymond Breton's ideas in Chapter Two, we note three factors which he found to be crucial: degree of ethnic difference, level of individual resources and the pattern of migration. Dutch-Calvinist immigrants considered themselves very different from Canadians and made themselves more so by holding what we have noted is an oppositional or antithetical position toward Canadian society.[73] As God's covenant people, they regarded it <u>their</u> responsibility to serve God as purely and fully as possible. On the second of Breton's factors, individuals had few resources when they came. They had to pool: for transportation, language instruction, settlement matters, money and sometimes food. Most of all, they cooperated to establish the most important aspect of their lives: replenishment of faith through worship, study and communal organising. With respect to Breton's third observation, successive waves of immigrants served to replenish the fervour and necessity for parallel institutions.[74]

"We had enough, we had to visit each other and care for each other," said one woman, recalling earlier days (I2,A:040). In many ways, care for each other, expressions of love and concern described throughout this study, supplied reasons for parallel development in the past.[75]

Today the subsistence needs are usually no longer met within the community but, as we have noticed throughout this account, most of the social contact occurs here. This includes the various weddings, anniversaries, baptisms, professions of faith, graduations, holiday observances, picnics, socials, school and church meetings, "Family Circle" gatherings, countless informal visits, sports teams and visits for grieving, caring for the sick. The documentation

of evidence for this is difficult since it is so infused, but one typical young couple with a small child and many community responsibilities estimated 80-90% of their contact is within the church. This figure appears to me to be applicable to almost everyone at this time.[76]

A second set of positive features of parallel institutions concerns the continuity of worldview, stability and identity which they provide. When the member surveys the elementary schools, the colleges, the old age homes and churches, all precious to a Dutch-Calvinist, his or her worldview is re-affirmed. Since I have dealt with this extensively in the "worldview" section, I only note it here.[77]

These separate institutions also provide the means for service by which one can honour God, show thankfulness and attempt to be helpful to one's fellows, while not wandering far from one's roots. Those who noted negative features of ethnic group institutions called this "working for your own salvation." The people who view it positively call it faithfulness or obedience. "If I give money to a good cause, I can help somebody that way who I couldn't help myself," said one man (I5,A:400 and passim; PON26).

Finally, in terms of positive perceptions of and reasons for ethnic group affiliation and boundary maintenance, I refer to the Dutch-Calvinist belief in the necessity of integration among one's worship, education, politics and business (for a statement of this principle, see Synodical Decisions, 1976: 49).[78] While this is often not put into practise strictly with regard to all areas of life, it appears to be the case with respect to the church, school and their related activities.[79] From the perspective noted in the quotation from Synodical Decisions, "for the Calvinist, church and school go together (I14,C:480) and "the Christian school is a mark of your Christianity"

(I16,A:300) -- at least according to one possible interpretation. In such a version, one "learns to do God's will in the world [through the teachings] at the Christian school," according to a woman who wished she had attended a Christian high school (I54,A:097). This allowed one man to say that quitting a secular union was, for him, "an act of faith" (I82:6). Likewise, many others refused to join an organisation which they believed did not exist to glorify God.

On balance, although many members of the Dutch-Calvinist community are critical of separate institutions, the position has a tendency to form separate organisations and institutions. Certainly, from the point of view of the Christian school, this has led to many prescriptive values, the proscription of other ideas and has provided criteria by which to evaluate those in and outside of the Dutch-Calvinist group. As I have framed the definition of ethnic group, therefore, Dutch-Calvinists still qualify as one of its types -- one that I continue to refer to as faith-ethnic, in view of its primary raison d'etre.

In terms of preserving this ethnicity beyond the usual two or three generations for a group with as many similarities to dominant society as this one has, the existence of parallel institutions, especially the church and school, will almost certainly push it well beyond.[80]2

E. Evidence of Ethnic Group Boundaries

In Chapter Two, when discussing the various foci of ethnic studies as a background to understanding ethnicity, I extensively presented Fredrik Barth's subjective-actor position. Here, I will import relevant segments of Barth's work without reviewing all of the earlier treatment.

My definition of ethnic group includes the phrases:

> ... who maintain institutions and boundaries between themselves and others through which members prescribe some actions, proscribe others,

> and provide criteria for self- and other-identification, evaluation and judgment....

As noted in Chapter Two (endnote 17), this definition owes a great deal to Barth's interactionist description of ethnicity. Roosens (1989:12) reminds us that Barth draws the line between (1) ethnic groups as people with a common culture and descent (the culture-bearing unit approach) and (2) ethnic group as a form of "social organisation" (Barth 1969: 13, 14) in which participants use selected cultural traits. While acknowledging descent and culture, I have adopted the second of these characterisations of ethnicity in this thesis. For that reason I have spent the previous three sections looking at (a) evidence of construal (interpretation) of descent, the present and future; (b) the existence of a common worldview by which reality is measured and maintained; and (c) the presence of institutions which, although Barth does not emphasize them, also allow for the practice of distinctive ideals.

With Barth's leading, I continue to look at the cultural features which the Dutch-Calvinist "actors themselves regard as significant" (see Barth 1969: 14). An ethnic group is only an "organisational vessel" (Ibid.) which contains diacritical features (signs and symbols that are relevant to actors) and value orientations ("the standards of morals and excellence by which performance is judged"). The content of that vessel can vary. Barth writes:

> the cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed, indeed, even the organizational form of the group may change.... (Ibid.)

Yet, some difference between an ethnic group and "outsiders" persists. To analyse boundaries, I will use Barth's three features:

1) Boundaries entail an enclosure of criteria regarding membership inclusion and exclusion -- criteria that have to be continually expressed and validated (Ibid.: 15).

2) Ethnic boundaries "canalise" life through the organisation of behaviour and social relations. This is where "criteria for evaluation and judgment" occur. Further, here occurs the sharing of a diversifying, expanding relationship with those who share one's evaluative criteria (what I refer to in this work as "worldview"), as opposed to the "dichotomization of strangers" who, presumably, will not understand such criteria.

3) To structure the contacts that members of groups inevitably make with the world around them, there must be a set of rules which govern interaction to allow the persistence of at least minimal cultural differences that will continue to emblematically distinguish the groups (Ibid.: 16). To do that, Barth contends, some interaction between groups is prescribed so that only those areas of prescribed interaction need agreement, and structured interaction can occur.

Other interaction is proscribed to prevent ethnic interaction in other areas, thus insulating social contact.

I will show that boundary maintenance occurs between Dutch-Calvinists and other groups, bearing in mind that Barth allows for interchange of features and personnel and inter-group relations among ethnic groups. The main point is that, no matter how minor, if the actors regard boundaries as significant, they are significant (Ibid.: 14).

1) Criteria of Inclusion and Exclusion

I begin this analysis of group boundaries by looking for criteria of group inclusion and exclusion. Barth makes the point that these criteria must be "continually validated," implying that they are both powerful and changeable, if they exist at all.

In the community's early years, conversations among members were almost always conducted in the Dutch language. A minister was brought from The Netherlands so that sermons could be preached in Dutch. Obviously, language usage was one of the ways membership was determined. Even if there had been no other distinctions, this would have separated them temporarily from the rest of Canadian society (I2,A:354). However, an early decision to forego exclusive preaching in Dutch diminished this obvious characteristic of difference, although accents and phrases remain to this day. With the passing of this marker, a new symbol of identity had to be found if uniqueness was to be maintained at all (I1,A:365).

Of course, language is not the only feature of the national-origin aspect of ethnicity. A non-Dutch woman whose children attend the John Calvin Christian School related how they are often reminded that they are not Dutch. Another person told how people are frequently taken aback when they find she is not Dutch. She speculates that it would always be hard for one to feel truly "at home" here without Dutch heritage (I34,B:346) and that fellowship is difficult to attain fully (Ibid.: 463). A second-generation Dutch-Canadian who recently moved to Riverside said that he fits here because he is Dutch (I22:092). Others told me that it is sometimes difficult to tell whether maintaining the coziness of being Dutch or being a Christian is most significant (I66,A: 070,230; I34,A: 188; I7,A:160). Many people stated that the opposite order should prevail, however.[81] A former member commented that allegiance to Christ over Dutchness was not given enough attention (I25,B:010). However, neither of these comments negates the point that national origin, whatever that means to each member, is a significant generator of criteria for inclusion and exclusion.

In addition to national origin criteria, there is another category: references to specific Reformed issues, doctrines, traits, ecclesiastical features and theological terms or concepts. All of these may be unfamiliar to most non-Dutch-Calvinists and thus they may serve as usable indicators of in- or outgroup status. I will provide a sampling of these.

I interviewed a vigorous supporter of Christian institutional causes. In the course of my first hour with him, he elaborated the terms "kingdom vision" and "kingship of Christ" (I82: 1), Christ-centred preaching, and the debate over the interpretation of the first portion of the Bible (I82:10).[82]

Another couple mentioned that the doctrine of sin was poorly understood and not preached about frequently enough in the church (I73,A:7). The significance of infant baptism as opposed to adult baptism was discussed in several interviews (e.g., I47:11). Whether or not women should serve in church offices, an intense debate in the denomination, was the subject of many interviews.[83]

More important for this point than one's specific position on that issue is the fact that it becomes an acrimonious point of distinction. While long-time or well-socialised members of the community can usually avoid outright confrontation by hedging their comments or refraining from discussion in the presence of those who oppose women in church offices, newcomers cannot always avoid entrapment. One can quickly tell who is and is not a potential member of this group by his or her position on issues in this debate. Internally, it is also regarded as symptomatic of a deeper commitment to one or another version of this community's direction and future. Positions range. Examples:

The council minutes of April 20, 1981 read:

> A brother [named] expresses concern that decisions regarding women in office will be made at next synod without prior input from the consistories.

In an interview, one man said,

> I am against it, not because of principle, but because people [who interpret the Bible to prohibit such] get upset. [Later, upon his wife's suggestion that women should be able to do more than volunteer their services, but should also hold office, he added:] But why do women get children? Why didn't God let men get children once in awhile? [apparently supporting the theme that a woman's place is in the home]. (I13,A:165)

Another man stated: "My own preference is for men as elders. Because of their function in the family and time commitment, I don't think women should be elders" (I28, B:127).

A woman who worked within the church for many years said of her position, "I was happy with it." She is concerned with the biblical interpretation used to justify women in official positions; she calls that position "relativism" (I84,A:200).

In contrast, consider the following comment by one man:

> If we take God seriously and our interpretation of the Bible which changes sometimes, then we are on safe ground. [Should the Apostle Paul's statements be considered non-binding today?] Absolutely! You must take culture into account. Considerable amounts of talent go to waste by not having women serve in church offices. (I41,C:125, 139)

Another man's statement in favour of women holding church office:

> I don't think Christ ever put women in the position of second-class citizen.... Here we are in an enlightened situation where women have earned a place in society by going out and doing things.... We say, "Yeah, go ahead and do that, but don't ask to be put in office of an elder or deacon. I have real problems with that. I can understand the other side too... But if my faith is hinged on that, then, sorry, there's something wrong....
>
> I would never say, "If there are no women in office, I'm leaving the church." But I'm sorry to see the other side say, "If no women come into church, I'm leaving." ...I can't see any place in the Bible that says women should not serve in office. (I14,B: 025, 040, 061, 069)

These contrasting statements each hold their own inclusion or exclusion criteria. One would include those who favour women holding all church offices; the other would exclude such. Yet, both are criteria measuring adherence to the

community. This may appear anomalous but, for now, I only note that they serve as different criteria for membership. I will discuss later the implications of holding apparently contradictory criteria.

Similarly, the matter of congregational participation in worship and liturgy becomes an issue of boundary maintenance. For example, the June 28, 1989, consistory minutes report a member's negative remarks by letter "on the fact that women read Scriptures and offer prayer for illumination during the worship service" (M6-28-89). While the "council stands by its former decision" to encourage such participation, "the Worship Committee is reminded to exercise strong discretion and restraint in this matter" (Ibid.).

This contrasts with the discussion during a group interview with young people who felt it essential that there be more participation in the services by all members (I29,A:400).

In another interview, a woman advocated a wider range of music: "Young people would like to hear more music in the church.... Christian music. That's what they would like, and that's one of the things that should change" (I13,C:283).

One's position on who should rise to speak and when, who is authorised to read from the Bible, who may pray during a service, or what sort of music may be played are viewed as indices of membership. Issues surrounding women's liberation and abortion get an emotional response from people, with one man calling them a "sign of the Beast" (I4,A:200).[84] Again, the potential member's position on these issues would surely raise the question of possible membership in the church.[85]

In interviews, informal chats and at meetings, members question the present status of knowledge about doctrines and official positions on creation, biblical

interpretation, sexual practice and other issues in the church.[86] Indeed, the people I interviewed in I25 and I76, have left the church over the doctrinal disputes. In I79:8, the person told me that the Christian Reformed Church was too hesitant to take its doctrines into the world and apply them to the prisoner, the sick and the disturbed, as he has tried to do.

Others, such as the person I spoke with in I18, said that they have always had problems with the Calvinist concept of predestination (B:306); another woman said it would not make a difference in the final analysis who was right about baptism or election (I38). This point is also made in both I12 and I24,A:180. The specific issue or doctrine is not important, but the fact that they are considered important enough to be agonised over is.

In the case of many young people with whom I spoke, while they profess to not know the precise origins and meanings of the catechism or creeds and doctrines, they think the standards are important and would not want to leave the Christian Reformed Church or be expelled on the basis of this lack of knowledge (I35,A:143; I17,B:070; I33,A:384; B:078, B:095). Instead, they want it to fit what they see here and now. Their faith is more immediate, they said, less memorised, if less articulate.

A former elder, now a catechism teacher in the church, corroborated this: He felt there is a danger that the event of profession of faith can become a "graduation from catechism class," a danger that people take their faith for granted.

> That was the attitude thirty years ago, but not anymore. I was an elder and I was in on the interview with the kids that made profession of faith a couple of years ago, and these kids were required to give a personal testimony in front of the consistory, and it was very nice; the consistory came away feeling upbeat.... Both of the pastors' classes, the people were giving a very personal testimony. And the questions we were firing at them, they had to do with more than answering a <u>traditional</u> question. (I51:14,15)

Thus, while criteria for inclusion and exclusion within the boundary may be changing, it appears no less significant and the boundary no less secure.

Another criterion that appears to be emerging is the call to tolerate one another's differences.

> There are two sets of interpretations [regarding several issues being discussed]; they say they are biblical and we say we are right and we're biblical. Who's right? It really hurts me that these people would actually leave the church. These people are a very important part of our community that makes us aware of the old ways.... What makes us strong is that we're all different. We can be strong because there are so many veiwpoints. We can sit together and maybe disagree, but we can still discuss logically and remain together as a church. "My way or no way," is wrong! There are so many points on which we agree that we can tolerate the differences. Sometimes the other viewpoints make us think (emphasis added). (I14,B:001, 005, 259, 287)

This is echoed in I21,B:085 and 095; I19A,:180; I24 and I78, in which tolerance is also promoted.

Finally, regarding Barth's first point, the criteria for inclusion and exclusion contained in boundaries, note that membership in Christian organisations sometimes is a cultural mark by which the degree of faithfulness is measured. This criterion runs counter to the toleration measure. In both I34 and I38, this is mentioned specifically.

> The thing that is not necessarily Scriptural is the constant preaching on Christian education and making it synonymous with: "Christ missed a command here. Really -- you'd be out of line if your kids don't attend. (I34,B:509)

Similar terms are used by another woman: "Not sending our children to the Christian School gives us a bit of a flaw, although no one has ever said that" (I38,C:340).

That assessment is confirmed from the evaluator's side:

> Most people are serious about their religion. They send their kids to the Christian school -- because they know the value of their religion. They know the value of God for their children. (I16,C:300)

These, then, are some criteria by which Dutch-Calvinists decide who is to be considered a part of the group. While the ultimate form of censure -- excommunication from the church -- would seldom be used in cases of departure, a great amount of judging, official and unofficial, occurs.

2) Canalising Behaviour

I now engage the second feature of Barth's discussion of boundaries, that of the "canalising" or channelling of social relations and behaviour. He contends that such guidance of behaviour has several outcomes: developing of criteria of evaluation and judgment of members and also the further division of labour among people who know each other well. Regarding the effects of standardised behaviour on members' attitudes toward outsiders, Barth holds that there is an increase in separation and cultural distance. This dichotomisation -- commonality or cultural distance -- is based on whether or not one shares meanings and evaluations.

The distinction between this and the previous feature of in- and exclusion is subtle especially in the way I am treating it here: I dealt extensively with <u>internal</u> distinctions as well in the previous section.

I emphasize the internal in both cases because I am building the case that Barth sees the group as more homogeneous than I find to be true of Dutch-Calvinists. For them, even criteria of membership are often unclear. To discern the guiding or channelling effects of boundaries, I shall closely observe people's judgments of others and the results of such judgments: intimacy and remoteness based on this shared knowledge of evaluations.

I present two summary points regarding the use of criteria for group inclusion or exclusion. The first is that such criteria become important in measuring the level of a non-member's potential to join the group. Do the

issues and debates excite one? Is one able to understand the issues? Can one contribute to a discussion on these issues regardless of the generally accepted positions one holds? If one can answer these questions affirmatively, then one has membership potential. The boundary has positive meaning. If one answers negatively, then these criteria constitute a barrier to participation. In either case, the ability to participate at all in the discussion becomes the issue. The precise position one holds or the content of one's ideas are not most important, within the general limits of the discussion.

The second point regarding criteria of inclusion and exclusion is that they serve as measures of internal orthodoxy and sub-grouping. Accusations and suspicions are traded regularly and people subdivide, within boundaries, along the lines of the answers given to issues important to the group. In other words, in spite of the observation in point one that participation in the debate is more significant than one's precise position on issues, that position still has some consequence for participation. All group members do not hold the same position on all issues, but they must be committed to the fundamental ideals of the group. If they are not, they will leave as a result of differences rather than merely aligning themselves with like-minded people within the group.

After we have analysed all of the aspects of this community which this thesis has set out to cover, I will draw conclusions and implications about this apparent anomaly between holding common group boundaries on one hand and differing positions on issues on the other.

For now, for the Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside, it appears that the presence of a boundary is more significant than the content of the criteria by which one's place in the group is measured.

In a canal, everything flows in one direction. That appears to be Barth's point with the canal/boundary image. Generally, that is true for Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside. Consider the following sentiment:

> If kids have the right behaviour, and dress right, they are OK. If they question doctrines, they are not accepted [among their peers]. The "cool" ones don't question doctrines and are seen as fine Christians.... Christianity has become a matter of going to Christian school and attending church. They will be fine elders and deacons someday. (I1,A:289, 306)

That is one person's characterisation and it is shared by a parent who told me that when his children are young, they have no choice regarding matters such as church attendance. He said, "Eventually they get the hang of it" (I51:3). This approach works well for some. A group of young people, in which his own son was present, told me that they feel most comfortable with people "who are like us." This is a "textbook" confirmation of Barth's assertion that shared criteria of evaluation and judgment leads to a "share potential for diversification and expansion of their social relationship" (Barth 1969: 15).

Such conjunction of judgment and cemented relationships led one couple to tell me that their experiences here, first as young people, and now a family, has convinced them that a "legalism" has developed -- "holding dear to what they have always had, ... [in which] people are judged by external standards and by adhering [to them]" (I11,D:028).

For example a couple that had been peripheral to the church for two or three years observed that people "followed the rules," even when they did not believe them (I83,A:250). They, themselves, found it impossible to willingly submit to the authority of the elders in telling them they could not participate in the "Lord's Supper" (or, communion). Such power they described as "almost medieval" (Ibid.,A:125). Everything, they felt, had an "extreme rigidity," with certain questions simply not asked -- "one just does" (Ibid.:170).

However, not all is as facile as that, even for long-term members. In a home in which there is great concern for retaining traditions and traditional communal standards, I observed a woman who was both inquisitive and thoughtful but extremely deferential to her husband. From perhaps thirty years of marriage, she knew the roles well. But she was determined. She reasoned directly through her husband's stock arguments and persistently challenged interpretations and positions which he made or to which he referred. By the end of the interview she had sat quietly most of the time; served coffee when her husband asked if I wanted some; submitted to his pontifical instruction ("you see, it's like this..."); but she confidently countered him on nearly every point, arriving at the end of the visit unscathed -- I presume, unrepentant -- and canalised.

People showed me that there are also evaluations and judgments flowing from reciprocal needs and priorities.

In the early years after immigration:

> The community was very close. They all came from The Netherlands and they were alone in this big country and they <u>needed</u> each other. So they stuck very close. And it is still so. (I2,A:117)

There is not much judgment here, but the "canalising" and building of close relationships on the basis of common faith and a shared understanding of common needs are evident.

In a contemporary example, one young woman explained how there are also internal divisions in which young people find each other on the basis of common interests (I12,A:050).

Another example of how reciprocal needs lead to positive evaluations and standardising action comes from a woman who described the community as a "household of faith" in which she serves. "Many people [outside a faith-

community like this] do a lot of good, but I know Christ is my Saviour and that gives me happiness. Your faith has to grow and that happens by going to church and also by giving to other people" (I24,A:088).

Next, under Barth's feature of the canalising effect of a boundary, I have carved a category in which concepts such as trust, work and social need are shared.

One man who came from Holland with little money in the 1950s related how he got started in business: his eventual partners worked for a large company for years. They were opposed to joining a trade union, and resolved to begin their own business in which they could be free from such demands.[87] Their two families lived from one paycheque, and began a small business with the other's pay.

The man who was telling me the story eventually came to Canada and joined those two men since he too refused to join a trade union. Their business grew to a large and prosperous one "a result of faithfulness in not joining a secular trade union" (I4,A:450).

Another example of how one is channelled by the parameters of one's group is the view expressed that one should "work as unto the Lord," resulting, the speaker believed, in a successful, independent business where that part of the Dutch-Calvinist worldview could be implemented without hindrance or compromise (I5,A:355).

Young people, too, "want stability," one young person remarked. As a result, they will usually conform to the standards of the community without much questioning, once they realise the benefits of a stable, predictable life (I12,B:150). "Faith gives unity," was how one university student put it. People are willing to go to religious instruction classes, listen to sermons

and generally be part of the overall evaluative schema of the community because they see the value of this approach in the lives of people around them (I33,A:533).

Some people disagreed, preferring to ignore the effects of common acceptance of evaluative criteria. Anyone, whether familiar or not with this church, whether rich, poor or indigent, can feel accepted here. "It depends on what they want. If they want a life with God, they can find it here," one man told his wife and me during an interview (I41,B:370). That, of course, contradicts Barth's point that one has to have a basic concurrence with group standards before he or she is and feels accepted and trusted by others.

Exhibiting an orthodoxy in terms of the Dutch-Calvinist worldview or the narrower theological aspect of it is another way of evidencing the canalising effect that Barth says boundaries possess.

"Living thankfully for the salvation God has given me," is the reason he does his community work, said one veteran in the community.

> My faith is not an ability to open the door for heaven for me.... The righteousness of God is punished in his son.... God offers you the whole offer, and now you have to <u>accept</u> it. [Here, he presents an option of stricter Calvinists, such as his friend, who believes the Christian Reformed Church is not individualised enough on such matters.] Or you can put something of yourself on top of it and say, "Now, that's better!" It can't be done. It can't be done. (I60,A:170, 249, 265)

Later, this man related how this thankfulness means working for causes that he believes God would approve, but not as though his salvation depended on that.

Another person claimed that the criteria of judgment and evaluation imply studying the faith, particularly in one's youth, before participating in the most meaningful ritual of the group: the Lord's Supper. She agrees that one should have to go through a process, including an indoctrination period and an

examination before the consistory, before being allowed to participate. She said,

> Those people have seen that other churches that don't have that, have become too liberal: simply allowing people to participate in Lord's Supper whether or not people are truly ready for it or know the meaning behind it or not -- the whole route of how liberal the church is getting and the people in the Christian Reformed Church fear that and want some sort of control built in so that our church won't go down the tubes. (I33,B:078)[88]

Even the young, therefore, experience the canalising effect of the boundary by exhibiting orthodoxy.

Another segment of the community, although a dwindling number, takes the matter of judgment further and believes that the institutions which the Dutch-Calvinists have erected should not be so readily shared with "outsiders." For them, the boundary is more a sealed pipeline than a "canal." It is a way for the tradition to be passed along, unmixed, into the next generation, or a conduit along which the youth are transported from childhood through to participant adulthood. One man who appears to believe this, refers particularly to the schools, which many Christians other than Dutch-Calvinists are now attending. He suggests that his father, one of its founders, "would say that we should keep it in our hands" and fears that losing exclusive control of it to other Christians will mean that its character will change into something he will not as readily accept (I16,A:118, 125).

More would perhaps agree with a concerned person, who believes that the various beliefs that formerly controlled the community are changing. He cites the litany about which I have reported so often: questioning of the literalness of the Bible, a slackening of strict Sunday observance, and materialism (I82,:18-29). When one listens to him, one gets the impression that the conformity about which Barth writes is waning, although that is countered by

those who believe that greater openness to the world around them is a good and necessary step, one that Dutch-Calvinists are now prepared to take without changing their character beyond recognition. The community must change and must reach out, many insist (I7, I60, I34, I41, for example). If, "in times of distress, when faith is tested, ... it [shows itself to be] a community centred on Jesus Christ, then it will survive over time (I38,C:025). That is perhaps the ultimate channelling of evaluation and judgment. Whether one believes that community changes are good or bad, once again it is the effect that adherence to group norms has which is more significant than precise position. The member's behaviour is channelled by the debates and beliefs which mark the group's boundary.

I now focus on Barth's third feature of boundaries: the structuring of interaction to the point of a) prescribing areas in which interaction may occur, including codes and values on which Dutch-Calvinists agree with the larger society, and b) proscribed areas, where interaction is not supposed to occur.[89]

There is no doubt that Barth's observations (see the previous endnote) enlighten this analysis. My general critique of Barth's position on boundaries is that he implies homogeneity within groups; that critique applies specifically here also. Dutch-Calvinists are not homogeneous -- that is one of the main contributions I make in this dissertation. There are tendencies, with actions and assumptions on either side of a mean, as Dutch-Calvinists interact with others. However, the main criterion for membership is not the precise performance of action so much as a commitment to continuing the debates and simply complying with the external criteria assumed as the standards and norms of Dutch-Calvinism.

a) Prescriptions

Regarding prescribed areas in which there is "agreement on codes and values," from analysing my data, I have set out six categories in which prescribed action occurs:

1) the church as an institution;
2) the Christian school (particularly with reference to attendance by non-Riverside Christian Reformed Church students);
3) other Christian institutions and organisations;
4) business and work;
5) external organisations and advocacy groups in which one can express Dutch-Calvinist identity;
6) social and civic events or organisations

Below I analyse prescribed actions in each of these contexts. If Barth is correct, then there will be approved areas in which Dutch-Calvinists interact with others in prescribed ways, thus preserving cultural distinction while engaging in larger social activity.

(1) The church as an institution

I begin with the church itself. While one may argue that the church is not a public interaction grounds insofar as it is a site of cultic activity, I would argue that that depends on one's point of view. While one might argue that the worship services are cultic and exclusive, that is not how the Dutch-Calvinists themselves view it. Invitations for participation in their services is regularly extended to the neighbours.[90] It is significant that a great deal of time is spent by members at these services and the assumption is that they are open to everyone. Thus, people begin to have the feeling that their activity here is normal throughout the society. Behaviour becomes commonplace, habituated and, collectively, it becomes a clear boundary between them, the adherents, and everyone outside: the "Canadian," the unbelievers, the unsaved. The assumption that the door is open (when, socially speaking, it is not), is what allows even the worship service itself to be assumed as a prescribed area

of social articulation. To a greater extent regarding the church itself, there are various programmes which seek to bring the church into contact with the world on its terms.[91]

The Coffee Break Bible Study Programme was mentioned by many people in the interviews as a flagship of the integration effort and an example of the community's desire for reaching beyond its boundaries.[92] "Coffee Break is an evangelistic outreach programme. This means that the main focus and goal is to lead women and children to a personal commitment to Jesus Christ," reads a brochure entitled "Coffee Break and Story Hour News." I will treat this a paradigm for such attempts, other examples of which include the efforts of the Evangelism Committee, a prison visitation ministry[93] and the diaconate or official social and economic arm of the church's consistory or council.

The consistory asked several women to begin the Coffee Break programme (I37,A:061). The woman who was asked to head the group acknowledges that "probably it is a nice way out" of the general responsibility to make neighbourhood contact. It was initiated as a result of a study of evangelism, "and the consistory asked, 'Isn't there a better way to reach people, because door-knocking is not very effective'" (Ibid.:070).

"A number of people wanted to get into evangelism, and this is a good way to do it" (Ibid.:080). Several young women, who aren't Dutch, are coming regularly. "It also helps the people of our church to contact other people .... There's so much more awareness of the people out there" (Ibid.:093). "The programme is not aimed only at bringing in people into our church. If they want to go to another church, that's fine" (Ibid.:107).

> "There have to be changes in our church. People here have to become more open and accepting. We find it difficult to deal with some of these women's lifestyles."..."We don't know how sheltered we are." "We hope these people see that there is a different way to live, and they will change."..."Women

> were invited by way of flyers, notices in newspapers and in the public libraries, as well as by direct invitation to neighbours."..."We may have to change some of our tradition."..."In the Coffee Break Hour, those people feel at home." (Ibid.:120, 133, 155, 184, 229).

"There are a few people who may have had problems with this -- only one has made negative comments, but most [of the church's members] seem to be in favour of it" (Ibid.:230). It is clear that this sort of meeting suits the Dutch-Calvinists well: they love making coffee and serving goodies; they want to share the gospel of Christ; they are wary of intrusions such as door-knocking and afraid to offend people; they are excellent local organisers and have the publishing and organisational framework of the denomination to conduct a well-run programme. It has been a great success, claimed the director, the pastors and many others whom I have interviewed.

Using Barth's terms, the codes and values that are used are clear and prescribed. Members are confident that they are making meaningful contacts with the larger world.

Through the diaconate, baskets of food are delivered to needy people in the geographic area. Some of the deacons keep account of those who are needy in the area, and may work in conjunction with local welfare officials in this regard. In this case, both the office/task and the precise duties are prescribed. In fact, since the diaconate is a church office, it allows some members to vicariously interact with the general society. They may feel that their responsibility to the larger society is fulfilled by virtue of their membership in the church which, in turn, has this ministry on their behalf.

(2) The Christian School

This school has long been the hallmark of the community, with nearly all of its students coming from the Christian Reformed Church until recently. However, as more people from the surrounding community begin to attend, it is

also regarded as a prescribed way of meeting society.[94] It fills what Dutch-Calvinists perceive to be a Scriptural mandate to be socially involved. Even without considering the attendance of non-Christian Reformed Church children, the institutional existence of the school is regarded as a public statement of faith to the Canadian society, expressing that "our foundation is on the Lord (I16,A:110; see also I1,A:306 and I49,B:325). In general, although the school is regarded as an institutional beacon to the community, its prescriptive character applies more as a mark of orthodoxy than as a full articulation with the general society. Still, it does what Barth claims: it governs social interaction.

(3) Other Christian organisations and institutions.

Here the range of prescribed interaction is impressive, looking at the list in point 3,C of Chapter Four. The fact is that the support for organisations such as the Citizens for Public Justice, a social consciousness-raising and advocacy group which speaks to issues of social justice at both the provincial and federal level, is not great. In fact, due to its position on abortion, the council decided to disallow collections to be taken for that organisation although, of course, individual members are free to maintain CPJ membership.[95]

Also, the number of supporters for the Christian Labour Association of Canada, a Christian trade union which was vigourously advocated by Rev. Kuipers in his day (I2, I5 and I19), is waning (see I19 and I82:4), although their newsletter is still distributed and a few people from the community remain members of it (see MS 37).

Support for CLAC and CPJ, as direct witnesses to Canadian society, is small, said a woman, because they often are

> a little above the heads of the people and then they are afraid, and say "No, we can't." Most Christian leaders -- at least people who want

> to have a unique Christian witness, don't always appeal to people and sometimes give the impression that they are superior. On the other hand, most people associate themselves with the political right and they refuse to listen to other points of view. I21,A:180, 256).[96]

Another area of activity is that of boys' and girls' clubs. Technically, the boys' and girls' clubs, Cadets and Calvinettes, respectively, are also open to the neghbourhood youth, but not many have been attending.[97] The Daily Vacation Bible School, held in 1987 for the first time in 15 to 20 years, was much more successful in attracting neghbourhood attendance, with a ratio of 1:4 church to neighbourhood participation, involving 37 Riverside Christian Reformed Church women serving ninety children (B 02-07-87 and PON11).

The Oaks Christian Counselling Centre and the Simeon Home for the Aged do continue to receive support and are additional prescribed ways of contacting the general society. However, to an even greater extent than the Christian School, these organisations tend to serve the needs of the Dutch-Calvinist community, at least at present. An important point to note is that, in principle, these organisations are open to the larger society, indicating the readiness of the group for such contact. Again, these are examples of Barth's general point: boundaries encourage interaction primarily along prescribed channels.

As far as Christian organisations go, the people still appeared to believe that they are a good thing, and that even more should be added. Several, for example, suggested that more local counselling for members of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church community should be available (in distinction from Oaks Christian Counselling, which is regional) (I14,C:373). One man also held that more facilities -- for sports, music and the arts -- should be provided for the young people to prevent them from drifting away from the community and to "get community [neighbourhood] kids involved" (Ibid.).

On a broader plane, the denomination's Committee for Contact with the Government often states positions for all of the churches on various issues: human rights, welfare, and morality, such as abortion and euthanasia. For example, when the new Canadian constitution was being discussed in 1981, this committee, on behalf of the churches, submitted a brief protesting the lack of mention of the sovereignty of God in that document and suggesting wording to include it (M 03-22-81).

(4) Business and work

This is the primary area of prescribed activity. By this point in the ethnography, the fact that Dutch-Calvinists voluntarily fit work into their worldview hardly needs emphasis, but I present a few of the principles. As the man in interview I5 reminded me, "Whatever you do, do it 'as unto the Lord'" (I5,B:355). He specifically contrasted this view of work with the Smithian notion of enlightened self-interest, choosing rather to say that, if God gave him strength, he would use it for God's glory, to provide for his family, and to have some left to give to others who lacked these things (Ibid.:433-490). Independence, and freedom from bosses and trade unions are also highly valued qualities, for they allow one to unrestrictedly obey God by one's own work -- a sentiment expressed in more interviews and observations than I can mention. No surprise, then, that work should be the area of greatest prescribed interaction with the world. I have previously referred to the person who valued his Dutch-Calvinist training especially because it gave him a framework from which to address current issues with his workmates. Another man told me how he had gotten into a discussion with a salesman about the meaning of Christmas as the birth of Christ and related religious significance, while the other man saw it as a time to "eat a big dinner, drink a lot, and sleep" (I13,B:115), another

example of an attempt to use the work situation as a prescribed area of interaction, in filling some of the ideals of the faith.

The importance of this interaction and the community's interest in getting the "codes and values" right here, is highlighted in the episode of the consistory reprimanding a business family for its practice of selling its product on Sunday.[98] Work is synonymous with vocation or calling for the Dutch-Calvinist: in one's work, one can use one's skills, intellect, feelings, ambition, and religious perspective to serve God and one's fellows, as well as to earn money to enable fulfillment of responsibilities.

Since work is a nearly universal experience and there are few taboos in the community -- the ones that stand out are Sunday work, immoral activity, gambling, perhaps working in a bar -- work is a likely prescribed area. The church preaches giving a "fair day's work for a fair day's pay." However, even here, as boundaries open, the range of activities in which one interacts with society also increases. Perhaps that is one of the reasons that fraternising with co-workers is frequently shunned. Most of the people with whom I spoke reported having few contacts with their co-workers and many prefer to avoid the issue of directly relating to non-Dutch-Calvinists at work by working for a Dutch-Calvinist (or other Christian) employer or operating their own businesses.

(5) External organisations or advocacy groups

The range here is small, but several women were involved in the Neartown Pro-Life Club, assuming the Christian position on life will support an anti-abortion stance. Regular collections are taken for the Pro-Life chapter and the monthly church newsletter as well as the weekly bulletins often carry reports of their work.[99] In addition, a person from this community served as the local chapter's president for a year during the time this research was being

conducted. The women who work for the Pro-Life Committee spend many hours counselling women, finding housing, supplying food and baby supplies, often asking for congregational assistance in these matters (I7,A:160, 187).[100]

Visiting the mentally handicapped at a nearby centre is an activity engaged in by five or six people on a regular basis (I13,B:300) and a jail ministry, some of it rather informally organised by a group from the church, is also active (Ibid.:288). A woman told me she does these things "because God has given me so much and I want to give something back. We are all [her family] normal and healthy, and I want to help those who are not" (Ibid.:290).

A man was cited by the Hon. Jake Epp, Federal Minister of Health, as the "Volunteer of the Year" for all of Canada for his services with the RCMP's Life-line Crisis Counselling and a Catholic-based organisation called Caritas which sends visitors to the terminally ill. In the latter connection, this man has also trained volunteers at a large local hospital. In detail, he related that he does this work from the basis of his Christian conviction, stating that one can proclaim the love of God to these people as one is working with them (I79, passim). Regarding Barth's point about prescribed activity, this would certainly qualify, but this man's main complaint is that the church does not adequately recognise, support or encourage others to do this work. He believes that is due to the fact that he is not working for a Christian Reformed agency. This man and his wife believe that the church, in general, is too inward-looking, rather than applying the comfort of its doctrines and message to those who need it most in society (Ibid.:4). Here we see how prescribed activity is quite narrowly defined, and does not generally include non-CRC situations.

(6) Social and civic events

To less extent, Dutch-Calvinists also participate in prescribed ways in the general society. Neighbors -- although usually few -- are invited to attend funerals, weddings, and anniversary parties, along with up to hundreds of people from the Dutch-Calvinist community (PON 6, 8, 10, 13; FNO 6-30-87). In such situations, there is no doubt about the prevailing traditions and activities. Prescribed interaction occurs, but in the firm context of Dutch-Calvinist culture.

Another minor prescribed way of social interaction is by way of participation at the Remembrance Day wreath-laying ceremony which a pastor and an elder are delegated to attend each year (e.g. M 11-02-81). This activity, too, allows the appearance of deep commitment to Canadian society without much action required.

The church hall is sometimes used for functions such as all-candidates meetings, which gives the Dutch-Calvinists some visibility and indication of wider community concern. Again, one can see that these are prescribed ways in which people from the Dutch-Calvinist community can participate in the general society without losing their identity. This group selectively and prescriptively interacts with the society.

If Barth is right, then there will be many areas from which members are discouraged or morally prohibited. I will delineate six such areas:

b) Proscriptions

1) developmental programmes and education;
2) discussion of all sides or adoption of social ideas generally regarded as antagonistic to Dutch-Calvinist ideals;
3) issues critical of the established, legitimate governmental order;
4) issues regarding morality and Reformed practice;
5) marriage, friendship and close association.[101]

(1) Developmental programmes and education

The community's programmes are regarded by some as too "internalised" (I1,A:280) or "self-contained" (I8,B:170), "protective" (I34,B:520). Alternatively, they are seen as "safe" (I49,B:325), essential (I14) or the "secret" of the Christian Reformed Church (I57:7). Whatever the case, the alternative structures for boys (Cadets), girls (Calvinettes), young people (Young Peoples Society) and students (John Calvin Christian Elementary School and Regional Christian High School) effectively provide means to keep young people out of direct contact with society for most of their youth. Less than 10% of the young children of the community attend public elementary school, and only about 20%, the public high school. "The teachers are more dedicated here, and the education is much better" (I16,A:160), said one mother. Another, whose daughter attended a public school for awhile, said that they "had problems with the attitudes of some of the kids" and "there was some smoking pot and stuff" (I18,B:015). "[Children] are easily influenced when they're young and they would be easily confused. The Christian school has continuity between what they learn in school and at home" (I28,B: 425). Morals and the teaching of the theory of evolution appear to be two of the main reasons given for the proscription of attendance there, but the general presentation of a worldview that does not acknowledge God as the centre of existence, as the "Lord of life," as the source of all knowledge, and the Scripture as the source of integration in the academic process are also commonly asserted as insurmountable obstacles to public school education.

Further, advanced education is regarded by a segment of the congregation to be not worthwhile (I54,A:050) or a "threat" (Ibid.,B:540). I observed that members of more established, slightly wealthier families tend to pursue higher

education less (I12,A:160).[102] One woman, who has a B.A. degree, remarked that one or two in her age cohort (about 25 years old) had gone on to higher education.

(2) Full discussion of all sides of an issue

Community standards sometimes also proscribe the full discussion of an issue which is considered by some to be incompatible with Dutch-Calvinism. The debate in the denomination over women's roles in the church is particularly rancourous, especially since the official denominational policy has tended toward an opening of offices to women (Acts of Synod, 1984; 1990). Since they feel that this matter would be divisive, most of the people with whom I spoke indicated that they do not want this debate to continue at this time -- or, alternatively, do not think the decision to have women in authoritative official positions should be implemented. One respected, prominent woman in the church says:

> I'm used to it: I have a sister and a niece who are elders in Holland, but still I do not think it is the time, it is not wise to do that here. (I2,B:295)

A man and woman who argued very strongly in favour of opening all positions to women, including that of minister, to women, said,

> We need what we have to offer. We can't turn the clock back.... God never said "I'm putting man above woman.... We just think that, at this time, it's not worth splitting the church over. (I14,A:069, 082, 148).

There is the quotation, used earlier: "I am against it, but not because of beginselen [principles]. It gets people upset" (I28,A:002, 027). I should point out that many people whom I interviewed were in favour of dropping all sexual distinctions regarding ecclesiastical offices, or at least welcomed a debate to investigate the historical Reformed interpretations of the Scriptural and ecclesiastical position on this matter.

The essential point here concerns Barth's contention that many areas of interaction with the general society are prevented. Certainly the vitality and exclusive seriousness of this debate in the Riverside Christian Reformed Church serves to discourage people who are outside this group from joining it as long as this issue is so prominent.

Another example of proscribed behaviour comes in the form of discouragement to attend shows, movies or plays that do not "honour God." This has changed considerably from the days when Rev. Kuipers was called in to mediate a dispute at Regional Christian High School when a teacher taught the rock opera Jesus Christ, Superstar in his class (I2,B:040). Today, however, the teaching of evolutionary theory or introduction of social ideas not generally sanctioned by Dutch-Calvinism in the Christian schools is still proscribed, with one teacher telling me that a man had approached him at church to tell him that he "had no business teaching in a Christian school" if he held and taught on the basis of his ideas (I22,A:168).

This same man referred to the lecture in the church's meeting hall in 1986 by Professor Davis Young, of the denomination's Calvin College, regarding the origins of the earth. While many others reported this event to me as a sign of the Christian Reformed Church's sure decline, this teacher told me that people were "very unkind to Professor Young, who, in turn, was very patient and gracious toward them" (Ibid.:190). Again, the discussion itself of the ideas of evolutionary theory or the social theories of non-Christians, is regarded as problematic and proscribed.

(3) Issues critical of the established order

Such issues are generally also proscribed, with only specific ones receiving the approval of the general members. While a young woman who was imprisoned for

participating in an anti-abortion dispute which involved obstructing entrance to an abortion clinic was praised by some members of the church,[103] another person who allegedly supported a general labour protest was criticised (I4,B:180).

In a similar manner, the New Democratic Party, while some acknowledge the validity of some of its proposals, cannot be supported because it has roots in socialism, which they believe is rooted in a materialistic conception of nature, accentuates human autonomy, and encourages state intervention. Therefore, it is considered more antagonistic to the Christian faith than other political options (I3,A:300). This belief effectively proscribes a great deal of political interaction for many Dutch-Calvinists, who are consistent enough to also note the roots of conservative, radical and liberal parties in Enlightenment ideals. Conservative parties, however, are often seen as the least of all political evils, since they pay some notice to the existence of God and generally hold to a position of social order and authority that is most compatible with the view these particular Dutch-Calvinists have.

In a sermon of July 5, 1987, entitled "God and Government," for example, people were reminded that it is not the "gun of government, but the sword of the Spirit" by which they are to live. Further, the reign of Christ must never be <u>imposed</u> on others. Yet "government must serve true justice, not simply the will of the people, and Christians must support the government with their work and prayers -- being reminded that Calvin considered the calling of government office to be second in importance only to the ministry of the Word for Christians.

Thus, there is a balance: serve God above all, but be obedient to the government and seek to serve through it. Flowing from that is also the pre-

scription to radically overhaul the social order, including the state: at least that is the message that most seem to take from the Calvinist position, judging from the relatively low participation in political issues and life by Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

(4) Issues of morality and Reformed practice

My first example here involves a decision by the church council to not participate in an interdenominational Reformation Day service in a large nearby city.[104] Their reasons, in spite of the importance of the observation, are most instructive regarding the implied proscriptions. First, that service occurred at the same time as Riverside Christian Reformed Church's regular service. Since the holding of and attendance at two services each Sunday is regarded as mandatory in terms of the Church Order and established practice, and since cancellation of that service would imply that those who could not attend the city service would not have one to attend, they decided against it. Second, people would either have to pay bus fare or pay for parking at the site. Any exchange of money on Sunday is considered contravention of the commandment to "keep the Sabbath Day holy." This means not only refraining from work, but the commandment's reference to "men-servants and maid-servants" also implies that forcing others to work is equally reprehensible (M07-12-85, 5,d).

Along these strict lines of interpretation, members of the group do or should not participate in a wide range of social activities, some specifically not on Sundays, some not at all.[105]

While proscription in a society as open as Canada's is obviously not strictly enforceable, nonetheless the standards are frequently discussed, informally in homes, and more formally at Young Peoples Society meetings, catechism or other instructional classes and in the Sunday sermons.

Another indicative case is the one dealing with that family in the church involved in selling on Sunday. Since this case is discussed in a previous section (see endnote 98), I only refer to it here to indicate the kind of pressure that this community brings to bear on those who do not conform.

In some cases, people whom I interviewed and the questionnaires I analysed indicated that more latitude regarding allowable or encouraged interaction should be given. Others longed for the days when the boundaries between Christian behaviour and interaction were more clearly drawn as, for example, when secular union membership or attendance of one's children at a public school would disqualify one from office-bearing eligibility in the church (I4,A:045; I19,A:330; I25; I82:1). What each position has in common is the affirmation that proscribed areas are defined -- whether clearly and correctly or not.

(5) Marriage, friendship and association

"One is known by the company he or she keeps," is a phrase that sums up the Dutch-Calvinist position on friendships and associations. Many argue that the primary function of the Christian school is "fencing" (I51:7) or protecting (I34,B:520) or keeping safe (I49,B:325) the young. In short, it is a place where lasting friendships are formed which, in fact, renders unnecessary much explicit prohibition. Still, according to one of the pastors,

> We know a lot of drinking goes on, and some of it at nightclubs. We know that some people attend any movie they want. We haven't made too many general statements about that (we have a position on "the Christian and Film Arts") but I think we should. (I85:5)

Marriage partner choice is a major area in which proscription occurs. When I first began this research, one of the pastors told me that about 80% of the marriages of members of this church were between Christian Reformed Church partners. When I recently spoke to another pastor, he checked his statistics. In the past six years, nine of thirty marriages involved a non-CRC spouse.

Eight of those occurred within the last twenty marriages, during the past four years. One can note the obvious increase of outmarriage, at least in the marriages this pastor officiated. Now, of those nine marriages, four of the non-CRC spouses have become members of the church and two others attend at least sometime (I85:1). Thus, proscription of outmarriage is prevalent. However, where marriage does occur, most often indoctrination and eventual membership occur so that the activity does not continue to fall into the "proscribed" category.

Most of the guidance occurs in the area of primary socialisation with the home, the Christian school and the wide range of parallel institutions discussed in the previous section being the most general means. The fact that the children of non-Dutch, but still Calvinist, parents are reminded frequently of their uniqueness indicates the level of xenophobia, or at least awareness-building, regarding those "Canadians" outside of the Dutch-Calvinist community.

More specific teaching occurs in the "Marriage Guidelines" which the church has published, in which point 3 indicates that least problems can be expected in homes in which both spouses share basic religious beliefs. Also, the pastors conduct regular sessions on dating and marriage. One with whom I spoke said he always suggests that similar beliefs are an important ingredient in predicting marital stability. He stresses that common commitment to the Lord, however, is more important than Christian Reformed Church membership, per se (I85:7).

At any rate, the youth are encouraged to seek partners who are religiously compatible and the implication is that common Christian Reformed Church membership is desirable. The numbers of in-group marriage indicate that some sort of dating/marriage proscription is at work.

Looking at Table 16, "Respondents' Attitudes Toward Marriage Partner Choices" (see question 18 of the attached questionnaire), one can see that Dutch-Calvinism, itself, is not the criterion by which most members judge suitability of marriage partner. Combining the number of those who agree, strongly and very strongly agree, one can see that only slightly fewer (6% fewer) would agree to the suitability of marriage to any Protestant than to a member of the Christian Reformed Church. A large drop occurs when one includes Catholics and other Christians who may not be considered Protestant in the choice --from 73% to 52% -- and a drastic drop, to 1% and 2%, respectively, for one who is "religious" but not Christian, and one who is not a Christian at all. Interesting here is that fewer (79%) agree in any way to the preferences for the partner to be from Riverside Christian Reformed Church than from the CRC in general (82%), and at least the same rate as the choice of a spouse from another Calvinist denomination. One also notes that, while no one disagreed with a spouse-choice from Dutch-Calvinist denominations, there was considerable disagreement (82% and 83%) regarding the choice of a non-Christian or a religious non-Christian.

National heritage and race other than one's own do not play strongly here, particularly if one considers the number of people who do not know or care about a choice of that sort. We can still assert strongly, however, that a proscription against out-marriage -- conceived as marriage outside Christianity, occurs.

The weight of all the above strongly indicates that boundaries exist between the Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside Christian Reformed Church and the society-at-large. These boundaries do enclose criteria of inclusion and exclusion. They do canalise social relations, providing criteria for evaluation, judgment and

a basis for association or lack thereof. They do structure interaction by means of prescribing areas in which codes and values between themselves and others exist, and by proscribing other areas, where minimal interaction takes place.

ENDNOTES

1. Usually, I did not ask the specific and direct research questions of the people with whom I visited. Rather, I would ask them questions like: "Who are the people with whom you most frequently associate?" and "Do you think the church is a unique and distinct group in society?" "Why? In what ways?" "What do you hold in common with other people from Riverside Christian Reformed Church?" "What is the most important aspect of your life?" "What is the most important group in your life?"

The research questions, therefore, as I indicate, are "in my own mind," both when I asked people specific questions and in this analysis.

2. I have used these various levels of analysis in the following ways:

1) Discerning these foci points to the complexity of meanings attached to human groups and to what we call ethnicity and ethnic groups; these terms and the experiences to which they purport mean different things to different people, but people who live together form identifiable patterns which they understand and which affect or guide individual action. Some of these characteristics are unique, while others are affected by other people or groups. The questions: "What is ethnicity?" and " What is ethnic group?" "What distinctions are meaningful to people?" Why do groups of people persist?" "Are there limits to ethnicity?" can only be answered properly when one acknowledges this complexity.

2) The level at which the analysis of ethnicity and ethnic group occurs affects one's own reflections. Valuable insights -- about groups, about interrelations, about members, about the effects of the outside world on groups, about group persistence, about change -- can be gained from such a realization and the notice of distinctions in the way various theorists regard ethnicity. In fact, as I regard Dutch-Calvinists, I systematically employ ideas from each level of analysis, attempting to understand it from as many points of view as possible.

3) However, I want this account to be generated from the people themselves, whom I study. I can benefit from those who have studied the same phenomena and have drawn conclusions. I can impose some constructions on the group to see if it helps me to understand them. In the final analysis, however, a picture must emerge from this group itself. I shall use insights from the various discussions of ethnicity and ethnic group, reported in Chapter Two, as I do this section. I will regard Dutch-Calvinists from each of those perspectives in the remaining two research question phases of this analysis of the data: the groups' persistence and limitations, as expressed in this group of Dutch-Calvinists.

3. Ethnicity is the term I apply to the cultural construal of descent (Keyes 1976, 1979, 1981), the present and future, which provides a consciousness of the distinction or peoplehood of a human group or its members, occurring in the context of a general society or in contact with other, similarly distinct groups.

4. In seeking evidence of a cultural interpretation of descent, the present and future, and in presenting it in this section, I have used an outline which I do not make explicit in the text. I present it here to assist the reader to know the structure embedded in this analysis.

A. Positive evidence for the interpretation of descent:
   1) Dutch Calvinism as a particular form of Christianity
      a) emphasis on "covenant," doctrines or isolation
      b) emphasis on ethnic traits
      c) emphasis on people or events
   2) RCRC as a specific Dutch-Calvinist faith community
      a) immigrant events, experiences or persons prominent in the interpretation of descent
      b) present aspects of community presumed inherited from the past
      c) general disposition to continue the heritage
   3) Emphasis on Dutch national heritage

B. Evidence which questions the interpretation of descent:
   1) Dutch Calvinism as a particular form of Christianity
      a) emphasis on "covenant," doctrines or isolation
      b) emphasis on ethnic traits
      c) emphasis on people or events
   2) RCRC as a specific Dutch-Calvinist faith community
      a) immigrant events, experiences or persons prominent in the interpretation of descent
      b) present aspects of community presumed inherited from the past
      c) general disposition to continue the heritage
   3) Emphasis on Dutch national heritage

5. Schutz writes,"action is the execution of a projected act. And...the meaning of any action is its corresponding projected act" (1967:61). Present action, he says, has a "wished-for" goal in which the action is regarded in its "future perfect tense" as an act that has been completed. Theoretically, this is the picture of ethnicity as a cultural construal of the present and future, as I have called it. On the basis of one's experience and knowledge of the past, one projects what will be the case in the future if one's ethnicity (and all that contains) is passed along into the future. With the projected interpretation of that future firmly in mind, one acts now to secure it. (See Schutz, op. cit.: 61, 65, 69, 70, and 86-91, regarding meaning and motive.)

6. The reader may note that this is the citation from which the study's title was derived.

7. For thorough treatment of this phenomenon, see Lijpart (1968 and 1977), McCrae (1974) and Post (1989: 1-7, 12-48 and passim). Dutch pluralism is organised along religious-confessional lines and provides proportional representation for each of the major value groups in the Netherlands. Educational funding, legislation for a variety of labour unions and provision for multiple political parties are expressions of this pluralism. The Calvinist Antirevolutionary (AR) Party was familiar to most of the Dutch-Calvinist immigrants.

In the area of separate education, the founding of a Christian school, also an extremely important aspect of the Dutch-Calvinist movement, was the first activity engaged in by the Riverside group. (For a complete treatment of the

establishment of such schools, see the unpublished M.A. thesis from University of Toronto (1983) by Adriaan Peetoom.)

8. This is a statement of one of the founding figures of contemporary Dutch-Calvinism, Groen Van Prinsterer, who served as the royal archivist member of Parliament from 1840-1871, and leading political thinker in the early nineteenth century. While I have not found the original occurrence of this term, J. Kamphuis's book, Evangelisch Isolement, contains the following comment from Groen: "...in our isolement [retaining the French word which Groen used untranslated], or if you prefer a Dutch word, in our independence [zelfstandigheit], in our principled commitment [beginselvastheid] lies our strength."

Kamphuis notes the source of this quotation, written six years before Groen's death. It was in Nederlandsche Gedachten, Vol. 2:5, p. 70, June 20, 1873 (my translation from Dutch) (Kamphuis 1976: 9,10).

9. This idea of articulation of a specifically Christian perspective of reality is worked out in the writings of Abraham Kuyper, one of the best-known English versions of which is found in his 1898 lectures at Princeton University, published as Lecture in Calvinism. Many more recent works have been brought forward, including several by the Dutch philosopher, Herman Dooyeweerd, the most accessible of which are his Roots of Western Culture (1979) and A Christian Theory of Social Institutions (1986). James Skillen, in his The Scattered Voice (1990), elaborates the Calvinist political option and the larger Calvinist worldview from which it is born.

10. This may be one of the key features in the argument against Gans's contention that economic success leads in a rather straight line to complete assimilation (1979: 2, 13, 19-20).

11. See interviews I4, I49, I66 and I82.

12. The creeds that this particular member was referring to were The Heidelberg Catechism and the Belgic Confession. Both of these were written in the immediate post-Reformation period.

13. See here "Liturgical Forms," "Baptism of Infants" Forms 1-3, pp. 123-131 in Psalter Hymnal, 1976, Grand Rapids: Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, and "Baptism of Children" Forms 1 and 2, pp. 957-962 in Psalter Hymnal, 1987, Grand Rapids: CRC Publications, in which the parents' obligations are related to the promises God made to Adam and Eve, to Noah, to Abraham, and renewed in the New Testament.

14. Elsewhere I list several of these documents, but I will mention all of them here: Three of them are considered very important and, collectively, are known as the "Three Forms of Unity." They are The Heidelberg Catechism, The Canons of Dort, and The Belgic Confession. Each person who holds an office in the Christian Reformed Church must sign a "form of subscription" to these post-Reformation documents. The Heidelberg Catechism is a systematisation of Calvinistic teachings as accepted by most of the Reformed churches of the Netherlands. It consists of 52 sections called "Lord's Days," which are designed to be the basis for Sunday sermons for each week of the year, to be repeated each year. In addition, children up to the age of 18 (although this is extremely variable according to

congregation) attend catechism instruction classes in which a compendium of these teachings on the Scripture is used as the basis. The Catechism consists of a series of explanations of various Scriptural teachings and is an attempt to promote uniformity of doctrine and practise in the churches. Along with the other two "forms of unity," they are considered to be historic statements of the faith and given great respect, as Reformed (Calvinistic) interpretations of the Christian faith.

In addition, there are widely accepted Christian creeds, which are also considered important communal statements of faith dealing with particular heresies which the church encountered in its past. The three that are usually cited in the Christian Reformed Church are the Apostles' Creed, The Nicene Creed, and The Athanasian Creed. As perhaps the most universal Christian creed, the Apostles' Creed is frequently read or recited in the worship services.

More recently, a new application of the Reformed faith has been formulated, relating to a host of more recent issues such as modern warfare, the environment, care for other people, economic inequality and the responsibility of the church for those who suffer its effects. This document is called Our World Belongs to God: A Contemporary Christian Testimony (1984).

Finally, there are formularies to be used for a variety of occasions attached to life events or crucial passages: baptism (for infants and adult converts); profession of faith (a discretionary statement of assent to the teachings of the church, usually made when one has completed a period of study considered appropriate by the council, which also examines each person, asking her or him questions before she or he stands to make this confession before the congregation); marriage; and commissioning of "office-bearers" (elders, deacons and ministers).

None of these documents is considered to be on the level of the Scriptures, but they are either important keys to understanding the Scripture, as in the case of the "three forms of unity," confessional statements which demonstrate one's faith, or ritual recognitions of the authority and power of God and the Word of God.

All of them have a very strong link with historical struggles and deliberations about the faith and are, therefore, important as interpreters of descent.

15. I list the interviews in which each or one of these characterisitics was mentioned: I2 through 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, 31, 37, 39, 41, 42, 44, 47 (in this interview, and in I5, honesty was also stressed as a Dutch ethnic characteristic), 49, 51, 54, 55, 60, 62, 66, 73, 82, 83.

This characteristic was noted in thirty-four of the ninety recorded interviews. In many other informal conversations and meetings, at which I did not specifically note it, similar comments were made. It is often mentioned as a matter of course and it is sometimes hard to avoid catching a hint of ascendancy in these assertions of the Dutch-Calvinist work ethic and conscientiousness.

16. The theme that Steinberg (1989) makes is that hard work has characterised all groups, not just those which have succeeded as a result of such -- e.g., the Jews and Japanese, and the Dutch would add themselves. Referring to what Stanford Lyman has called "fabled innocence," Steinberg writes:

> To understand the determinants of ethnic success it will be necessary to ... eschew self-congratulatory sentimentalism ... and ask .... what differences in the background and circumstances of ethnic groups allowed some to advance further than others....
>
> If Jews set high goals, it is because they had realistic chances of meeting them. (Steinberg 1989: 87, 103)

17. One person told me how certain cultural traits are in-born, "probably not in the blood or hereditary, but there's something there that makes people realise that they are different and they should do certain things differently." He illustrated this point by referring to both Canadian native and Korean adopted children who expressed affinity for their own kind and demonstrated traits and habits which are seen as typical of their respective ethnicities. He compared this to Dutch and Frisian people, explaining that traits such as hard work, tenacity, and frugality seem to follow these people wherever they are found, whether that is in Holland, South Africa, Australia, United States or Canada (I3a).

Another person discussed the Dutch ability to grow plants and to manage businesses, both those associated with the florist industry and those which are not. He compared this with the Chinese, whom he says have a business sense about them which makes them ideal as small store operators. He encounters them in his flower business, and says,

> The Chinese have it in their blood. A white Canadian can't make it because they're not tight enough. A Chinese person knows he has to reduce the price and sell a product before it perishes. They also try to buy as low as they can. They've got this savvy about buying and selling. They're the Jewish people of the East. They have that gift. (I5,B:290)

Such examples are plentiful.

18. Abraham Kuyper's name or ideas emerged in the following interviews: I1; 3b; 4; 6; 21; 22; (25 B:133 -- in a negative way, since this person was opposed to many of Kuyper's ideas, which he found too accommodative of non-Calvinist society); 36; 48; 49; 60; 66 (Kuyper's name was not specifically mentioned, but these people support a more individualised, personally committing approach than they perceive Kuyper to hold); 73 (also in this interview, Kuyper was cited as a reason for spiritual weakness, in the Calvinistic churches of both Holland and Canada, because he allegedly put too great an emphasis on institutions and on the presumed salvation of youth, rather than on personal commitment); 82; and in personal contact with the pastors, not all of which was specifically noted.

19. In the seventeenth century the Synod of Dort (1618-19) opposed the teachings of Jacob Arminius (1560-1609), who emphasized human agency and free will in obtaining salvation. The Synod upheld the sovereignty of God in this matter, stating that God elects, in his sovereign will, those who will be saved, and provides, of his grace, the means for this salvation. It also stated the doctrine of humanity's total depravity outside of Christ's salvation. Another teaching from that Synod is the "perseverance of the saints" which held that, once one is saved by God, one will not be able to resist ultimately the gift of grace, and will be enabled to live an obedient life and experience salvation (Christian

Reformed Church Synod 1987: 926-949; Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church 1976: 91-116, and MI60).

20. This movement of 1886 was known as the Doleantie, or "weeping ones," in reference to their professed grief about the sins of the Hervormde (Reformed, State) Church and their pain at having to leave it in order to start their own denomination with considerable hardship. (See Vanden Berg 1978: 135; Bratt 1984: 29; D15)

21. The Secession thus predated the Doleantie by about fifty years. Generally, the secession occurred because the Reformed Church was perceived as having relaxed its orthodoxy and zeal for the sincere preaching of the Scriptures. The people of the Secession tended to be more pietistic and personalised regarding their faith than the followers of Abraham Kuyper who came out of the Doleantie. Kuyper stressed social involvement and structural, political change. While he too was a pious man and wrote many meditations and sermons, his teachings often were directed at social issues, so that some of his followers were at least perceived as spending more time on these issues than on orthodoxy. (See ten Zythoff 1987 for thorough treatment of this event. Also see Bratt 1984: 3, 6-7, 10-15, 29-31, 39-40, 135 and D11a, D11b, D15.)

22. Actually Rev. Kuipers was only gone from Riverside Christian Reformed Church for a very short time, leaving in April of 1965; he suffered a heart attack in his new location on May 8, and returned with his family on October 1 of that year (Conversation with Mrs. Kuipers, August 24, 1991).

After their return, he and his wife ministered at Riverside: he, as a retired minister; both, much loved and respected. Rev. Kuipers died on November 12, 1984. His wife remains an active and respected member of the congregation, a living legacy.

23. This is a reference to an ongoing issue in the church over the meaning of the term "gifts of the Spirit." Throughout the Christian church, there has always been question about the meaning of this term. Some have insisted that the Holy Spirit gives people specific gifts as signs of faith, demonstrations of power, or to give people or the church special, direct revelatory insight. This debate occurs in this church and was particularly prevalent in the early 1970s when, in fact, a number of people began meeting separately on Saturday evenings and in each other's homes at other times to experience these gifts, which they felt were not being recognised in the Riverside Christian Reformed Church. Eventually, most of these people left the church for other worshipping fellowships. The member quoted here is placing Rev. Kuipers in the camp of those who believe that the Holy Spirit does not work as much through special gifts as through the empowerment of people in their daily lives. Whether or not this is true is not proven here. However, a later minister, who served while Rev. Kuipers was an emeritus pastor and still influential, wrote a document, which I comment on elsewhere in this paper, about the presence and work of the Holy Spirit. (The above stems from personal knowledge and numerous conversations and readings in the course of this research.)

24. This woman's husband disagreed somewhat with the weight she placed on Rev. Kuipers's imprint. He commented:

> I feel more that the type of people that joined this congregation in the beginning put a stamp on it. Kuipers was a good leader and a very ardent, doctrinal, biblical preacher, and he had authority, rightly so, because he had insight to serve the Lord. They built this congregation and, with or without Kuipers, this church would have turned out the way it has turned out. (I19,A:330)

Still, the emphasis on important people from the past whose heritage he feels obliged to uphold, is evident.

25. For some of the earliest Dutch-Calvinist immigrants, Rev. Bakker also possessed the added benefits of having immigrated from a conservative village in the Netherlands, and having been a horticulturalist like many of them (I49,A:449).

26. They describe this event in their own lives as prototypical. Many of the older members have a "what was I doing on the night of that meeting" story. One woman described Rev. Kuipers crucial role at the meeting at which the decision was made to build the school building before the church's. She said that although there was only one man opposed to the idea of building the school first, Rev. Kuipers spent a half hour trying to convince him to go along with it (I49,B:208).

27. Although this man attributes this belief to his father, a woman whom I interviewed and who was at the meeting asserted that it was his mother who stood up during the meeting and made a statement to this effect.

28. This is his perception, but it is not the case, since a Christian Reformed Church in a nearby city was the first in the area by more than 20 years (Ganzevoort 1988: 50).

29. These reasons, of course, were shared by other immigrants from the Netherlands, as Swierenga (1985), Ganzevoort (1988:61ff), van den Hoonaard (1989:Chapter 3) all point out. However, several people from this village pointed out to me their special dislike of government intervention and the desire to be "free" and to develop their own businesses in Canada, which they could not do in their region of Holland any longer due to the shortage of good land.

30. Mr. Aart Visser, the first immigrant from Zeedorp, and John and Katie Hollander who were young when they moved from Zeedorp with their parents, provided the following estimation of the religious affiliations of the people of that city. (The number of churches varies slightly between these two informants. I did not conduct an independent investigation of the sources, since the point I make here is a general one: while the originating community is solidly Calvinistic, yet it is severely divided along doctrinal, theological and institutional lines. In terms of numbers, I have used those provided by the Hollanders, since Mr. Visser was more general about them.) There are three Gereformeerde Kerken (the ones from which the Christian Reformed Church originates), with a total of around 3100. There are two "Artikel Een en Dertig" churches ("Article 31" referring to a point in the Reformed Church Order regarding the concept "one true church" about which they disagree). This is the church from which the Canadian Reformed Churches of this area were established,

totalling between 700-1000 members. There is one Christlijke Gereformeerde Kerk (which are called the Free Reformed Church in Canada), with a membership of about 400. Finally, there are two congregations of the Hervormde Kerk, which is the State church of The Netherlands, known as the Reformed Church. This denomination is largely absent in Canada but prominent in the United States. They have a combined membership of around 2500. Apparently, there were few Catholics there.

Furthermore, each of these groups has its own school, with the public school that the Vissers remember from their youth as having only 15 or 20 students. Those Catholic children who lived in that town attended the Catholic schools in another city. At least ostensibly, therefore, in this community, everyone was considered a Calvinist Christian and either rigidly labeled into one of the distinct camps or considered an unbeliever.

It is important to note that there were more original members of Riverside Christian Reformed Church originating in Zeedorp than from any other single town -- although all other areas combined outnumbered them.

31. I relate here a description of a 1975 visit to his Dutch village by a man who had immigrated to Riverside with his parents as a young man.

> In Zeedorp and the surrounding smaller villages and countryside, there are many growers and distributers of flowers and produce. About 600 semi-trailers leave for points in Germany, Poland and the rest of Europe every few days. None move on Sunday, but at 2:00 a.m. on Monday, after having been cooled in large buildings over Sunday, about 200 truckloads leave. At 4:00 a.m. the rest leave. "The sound at these times is deafening," they say, "like an invasion" (at which both smile at each other, recalling the German invasions of their youth). By 6:00 a.m. the whole town is awake.
>
> By 4:00 in the morning the growers bring flowers to the auction. At 6:00, the auction opens. The auction is over at 1:00 or 2:00 or 3:00 [p.m.]. Then the whole town quietens down. Then, at night, those trucks start to come back. Some come on Tuesday back, if they had to go long distances. Then there were other trucks waiting for them. They jumped into those and headed back. On Saturday afternoon, no one works. Then you have relaxation: the football games, the beach in nice weather.... Saturday afternoon, 4:00, the stores are closed. [On Sunday, as mentioned above, no work is done.] (I16,B:275-330)

32. Ironically, the segments of the Riverside Dutch-Calvinist community which adhere most strongly to its Dutch roots and those whom he considers to be unorthodox are not completely coincident. Hence, upon analysis, I believe that his assessment of the reasons for weakness in the church may be somewhat off. Granted, some people may be members because they are Dutch; others may hold a different view of faith and community for other reasons.

33. These men and women are from 19-23 years of age and only a few are involved in the Young People's Society anymore because of their age but have gathered with me to present their views on YPS and the church.

34. These are two historic documents of the Reformed churches in the Netherlands. See endnote 14 for further comments regarding these documents.

35. In fact, directly after saying that he did not have "the foggiest idea" about certain doctrines, the young man made the comment about Riverside Christian Reformed Church having its roots "down pat," mentioned on 16.

Michael Polanyi's concept of tacit knowing, "one can know more than one can tell," (1969: 140-148) and Schutz's point that everyday knowledge is "adequate for purposes of acting" are demonstrated here.

36. See Table 7, analysed later, in which most parents indicate that they think their children will remain in the Christian Reformed Church.

37. As Moerman shows, language is not a distinguishing factor of being a Lue ("Lue-ness"), for example. Yet, at some levels of distinguishing, it may be employed as indicative of it (Moerman 1965: 1217-1224). If, after much time and many experiences, there is no difference between one group and another, then the sense of peoplehood of each group will include the other and there will, in effect, be only one group where there were formerly two, according to Moerman. This example points to some of the complexity of ethnicity: it is significant to people, but only as long as they allow it to continue to regulate their lives. Yet, while and to the extent that it is significant, it can cause great pain and hardship or generate great pride and satisfaction.

]38. One woman told me she "hate[s] those things," referring to Dutch lace half-curtains. She suggested that, even in The Netherlands today, these are no longer used in many urban homes and linger in use only in certain areas, especially in smaller towns, villages and rural areas.

39. He is perhaps referring to the large Reformed publishing houses, spawned by American Dutch-Calvinists in the early twentieth century: Baker Book House, Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, Zondervan Publishers, all of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the site of Dutch-Calvinist concentration and its headquarters city to this day. These publishers, with the possible exception of Zondervan, began their businesses with the publication of Calvinistic material at a time when the market for such publications would not have been great enough to attract major established American publishers.

He is correct that there are no Canadian publishers of equal size nor importance, but he also ignores here the large number of publications which Canadian Dutch-Calvinists have produced and which they continue to do. Some of these have been printed by small Canadian publishers (for example, Guardian Press of Hamilton). Others have been published by such groups as the Association for the Advancement of Christian Scholarship (now Institute for Christian Studies, which continues publication by an arrangement with University Press of America, Lanham, Maryland); Wedge Publishing Foundation, Paideia Press (which, for many years in the 1970s and early 1980s published English translations of numerous titles of major Dutch-Calvinist authors). Some Dutch-Calvinist authors have had major work published by Toronto's Anglican Book Centre, while many have used American Christian publishers, such as InterVarsity Press, The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company of Philadelphia, or the Grand Rapids publishers listed above.

40. Analysis of the interview transcripts yielded the following categories and sub-categories in my search for evidence of a unique Dutch-Calvinist worldview which I will use to organise the presentation of the interviews:

1. Fundamental statements of Protestant faith
2. Restriction to Dutch-Calvinism
3. Evidence of fragmentation in the Dutch-Calvinist worldview
   a. Desire for a broader interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism than represented at Riverside
   b. Desire for a more restricted interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism than represented at Riverside
   c. Evidence of accommodation of Dutch-Calvinism with other Christian traditions, with other religious ideas, or with the dominant societal worldview.

41. Another way is to maintain institutional alternatives, a point I shall discuss in the next part of this analysis.

42. In the text I have analysed the usage of "worldview" by Alfred Schutz and Jurgen Habermas. For purposes of this treatment, the view of Hendrik Hart and Albert Wolters are similar; I will present a summary of Wolters' position here. He points to the entry of this term into the English via the German term Weltanschauung, particularly as used by Wilhelm Dilthey. Equivalent or descriptive terms for him are "life perspective" or "confessional vision." Although the terms "principles," "ideals," or Marx's "ideology" are sometimes used to mean something like this total view of the world, he suggests that they are more deterministic and relativistic and, therefore, themselves indicate a particular worldview at work.

Wolters' own definition is: "the comprehensive framework of one's basic beliefs about things." He uses "things" because he wants to denote "anything about which it is possible to hold a belief." He restricts worldview to matters of belief, which he contends differ from opinions or feelings in that they "make a cognitive claim -- that is a claim to some kind of knowledge." He also holds that "the basic beliefs one holds about things tend to form a framework or pattern...." Worldview, he suggests, both orients and guides one and allows one to place or situate new events, ideas, situations and values into a known framework in order to either guide or orient one in action (Wolters 1985: 1-5).

43. Other variations of this question included: "What is the most important force that drives you (or that guides your life)?" "What do you think is the most significant feature of life that holds this community together?" "On what basis does a community like this exist?" "Why would you not simply join a community of other people born in Canada, or of other Dutchmen, or some other national group?"

44. One should note that faith can occur in at least two forms. The first is a personal trust or active belief for which one either sees evidence or which one believes to be ultimately effective in revealing its object to the believer.

The second form of faith is a body of beliefs, doctrines, principles, accounts and promises which one accepts as a heritage or to which one gives rational assent. Examples of usage of the latter sort are: "The Roman Catholic faith," "Islamic faith," "the faith of Canadians in technology," "the faith of your ancestors" (as in the Christian hymn, Faith of Our Fathers).

In each of these cases, one can obviously develop personal conviction of faith, but the two need not be simultaneous. Both forms were evident in the Riverside community scrutinised here.

45. This paper was written in the middle of a vexing debate in the mid-1970s over the matter of "gifts of the Spirit" or charismatic renewal that was sweeping the church. In an effort to understand the issue, one of the pastors of that time, a man somewhat sympathetic to the complaints of ecclesiastical rigidity being levelled at the church by some people, wrote this eighteen-page study paper. It is labelled here as D18.

46. This was mentioned in the following interviews: I5, 9, 10, 12, 14, 22, 24, 28, 29, 34, 36, 38, 41, 45, 51, 57, 66, 73 and 82.

This is not surprising since that is the position taken by the Apostle Paul (Colossians 2:6-19; I Corinthians; Ephesians 2:11-21) as well as John Calvin, who wrote: "The church ought not to prefer herself to Christ, who always judges truly, whereas ecclesiastical judges, who are but men, are generally deceived" (Calvin [1559] [1845] 1966: I,13). Further, when John Calvin spoke of the Church, he was not referring to one which he was instituting -- a point which Book IV of The Institutes of Christian Religion makes. In fact, "Church," for Calvin, does not refer to the local building and congregation but to the universal body of believers: "Hence the Church is called Catholic or Universal, for two or three cannot be invented without dividing Christ; and this is impossible" (Ibid.: II, 283). It is clear that Calvin's position regarding the church does not place specific denomination over the universal body.

47. Only a few months prior to my most intensive research period within this community (February, 1987), seven families left Riverside Christian Reformed Church for another denomination which they perceived to be closer to them doctrinally. Prior to that several other families had left for more tradition-oriented fellowships. In the spring of 1990, approximately ten more families began worshipping on their own (I85).

48. He is referring to the late Prof. Klaas Schilder who, in 1942, led a group of churches out of the Gereformeerde Kerk in the Netherlands over the interpretation of the concept of covenant and its relation to "regeneration" or salvation from sin in a theological document called "The Conclusions of Utrecht" which Schilder and his followers felt they could not sign (in D55:10,11,13). This man preserved what he considered to be the true faith. The followers of that tradition in Canada are the Canadian Reformed Church, to which many of the recently disaffected members of this congregation have gone. For a complete treatment of this issue, see VanOene 1975.

49. For elaboration on this term, see Chapter Two.

50. In documents 26 and 27 (D26 & D27 here), the issue of trade union membership is raised. From D27--a submission by RCRC and 21 other Christian Reformed churches in this province--the following excerpt indicates the position:

> Labour organisations are both necessary and beneficial for the development of harmonious industrial relations.... However, labour unions should result from the voluntary actions of workers who desire to pool their efforts for the attainment of certain goals. We regret that the position of unions has become monopolistic and exclusive. They often succeed in imposing membership in or support of their organisations as a condition of employment. Consequently, some workers who are unable to support a certain

> union because of their commitment to a different view of life than the one espoused by the union are faced with the loss of their employment. Many members of our Churches have thus lost their employment or else are barred from taking employment. (D27: 2)

This document then goes on to give several reasons that a member of the Christian Reformed Church should not be forced to join a labour union which he/she cannot support. It calls on the government to allow conscientious objections and attaches several paragraphs from major union constitutions to illustrate their point.

51. Many of the people who hold most strongly to this mentality have recently left the church and have joined churches which are more vigilant in perpetuating traditional interpretations of the Scripture and the social order.

I will pick up this theme and provide examples for it in a subsection several pages hence when I deal with those members who want a stricter interpretation of Dutch-Calvinism than that which is represented here at Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

52. Other interviews in which the need to look beyond the community was emphasized are: I1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 22, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40, 41, 47, 48, 51, 52, 54, 57, 58, 60, 62, 65, 66, 67, 82. In addition, the realisation was expressed implicitly that this community must reach beyond itself if it is to stand in the general Christian tradition.

53. This concept was being discussed for eventual implementation by the youth worker in the congregation, so it was current in these people's thoughts.

54. Eventually, this led to this person's acrimonious exit from and memories of the community.

55. These include: I4, 5, 13, 16, 19, 20, 25, 49, 68.

56. This includes the present leaders of this specific community, the pastors and leaders of programmes and ruling councils. More crucially for them, however, seems to be the concern that the denomination's leadership -- its college and seminary professors, its church paper editor, and the officials who operate what many of these people perceive to be a vast bureaucracy in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the leaders of the annual assembly, the Synod, who are elected by constituencies deemed more liberal than Riverside Christian Reformed Church -- these are the people captured in this term leadership.

57. It should be pointed out that studies of the creeds and the Heidelberg Catechism are, in fact, conducted. The denomination has included this material in a series of instructional books which attempt to address contemporary issues with these doctrines and which explain the concepts in terms which the writers consider a currently relevant and understandable manner. Perhaps not all of the young people attend all of these classes; perhaps, as many have hinted, the students feel this instruction is "overkill" since they already attend Christian school where concepts which they consider identical are discussed; perhaps they feel they hear this material at home and in sermons on Sundays. Whatever the reason, the perception is that the instruction is not as rigorous nor as

"Reformed" as it once was, and even the young people themselves seem to wonder about its effectiveness. When asked about specific doctrines or, generally, whether they know what the church teaches, or what the various documents of the church's history are, they are vague at best.

58. See, for example, Deuteronomy 29:9: "Carefully follow the terms of this covenant, so that you may prosper in everything you do." Also, Proverbs 28:5: "He who trusts in the Lord will prosper"; or Proverbs 13:21: "... prosperity is the reward of the righteous." Many Christians appear to take this literally.

59. This is, of course, one of the main points Weber made in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, where he contends that, in the absence of certainty over salvation, the Puritan Calvinist would seek whatever signs he or she could in his or her work that God cared for and was blessing him or her. In order to ensure that such signs would be favourable, the Puritan worked hard and accumulated much. This is close to the sentiment expressed here, and by many in the community. (Weber 1958: 108-115, particularly 115) Weber observes:

> A thoroughgoing Christianization of all of life was the consequence of the methodical quality of ethical conduct into which Calvinism as distinct from Lutheranism forced men. That this rationality was decisive in its influence on practical life must always be borne in mind in order to rightly understand the influence of Calvinism. (Ibid.: 124-25)

60. I was unable and, in some ways, uninterested to verify some of these descriptions. I was certainly unable to verify what the lives and practises of people or groups are, apart from what I was told and observed in the normal course of interviewing and participant observation. In fact, it is not at all clear exactly who is in each of these groups or whether all people who referred to them were talking about the same people or groups. Further, the terms "snobbish," "wild," "cliquey" and others like them are ambiguous. This, of course, also does not mean that these descriptions are inaccurate, or that there are not such people or groups. The people who described groups other than the ones to which they belong claimed to do so on the basis of personal experience: the presence or absence of certain people at specified gatherings, conversations with people who are, or have been, in the groups that were described.

One must also be aware that the description by those who feel excluded from particular groups, and those who are included, will be quite different: many assumptions are made about what occurs in various settings. In fact, when I spoke to people who were members of particular groups, I always found that they felt the reasons for their uniqueness involved personal or group choices by other people not to join. Usually they mentioned interest, age, location, high school attended, or some other "neutral" rationale for grouping. I talked to many young people, some of whom were involved in organised youth activity and some who were not. I assume, therefore, that I spoke to people about whom the others were referring, but I cannot verify that.

61. When a child is baptised, the terms of the covenant are recited before the congregation. Quoting from it here will allow a flavour of the communal character and responsibility of faith, and will perhaps also allow one to see the possible interpretation that the young person, him- or herself, can avoid direct, personal

assumption of responsibility. Following is a quotation from "Baptism of Infants," Form Number 1:

> ... when we are baptized into the Name of the Father, God the Father witnesses and seals unto us that He makes an eternal covenant of grace with us and adopts us for His children and heirs, and therefore will provide us with every good thing and avert all evil or turn it to our profit. And when we are baptized into the name of the Son, the Son seals unto us that he washes us in His blood from all our sins, incorporating us into the fellowship of His death and resurrection, so that we are freed from our sins and accounted righteous before God....
>
> ... [C]hildren should be baptized as heirs of the kingdom of God and of His covenant; and as they grow up, the parents shall be bound to give them further instruction in these things. (Board of Publications of the Christian Reformed Church, 1976: 123,124)

In an article entitled "The Christian Reformed Church and the Covenant," the late Anthony Hoekema defines the "covenant of grace" thus:

> that gracious arrangement which God establishes with believers and their children in which God promises them salvation through faith in Christ, and requires of them a life of faith and obedience.

This definition obviously includes both the element of God's grace and human responsibility, which has been the hallmark of Dutch-Calvinism but which, as noted, has often been practically misinterpreted.

Hoekema also provides references to the appropriate doctrinal standards in which the teaching of the covenant of grace, particularly as it applies to baptism, is outlined. They are: Article 34 of the Belgic Confession, Question and Answer 74 of the Heidelberg Catechism and Canons of Dort, chapter I, par. 17).

62. In conversation with one of the persons who initiated and participated in the movement to sponsor the more than 800 Vietnamese boat people since 1979, I was struck by the correlation between worldview and action in this instance. He said,

> It happened like this: in 1979, we saw what was happening with the boat people in Vietnam and we as deacons said, 'Now, what can we do?' On a Sunday, we made an announcement that we were going to have a meeting after church to discuss this problem. We made a pot of coffee for 30 people or so, and almost the entire congregation showed up; they wanted to help, because they had seen it too. We split the people into groups of as many as could sponsor a family. Some of the wealthier businessmen did it with 5 or 6 families and each put in $150 per month. Others sponsored with 10 families. In the first year, we sponsored 10 families and collected in all $100,000. We spent $60,000 that year. For the first few years, we had to sponsor them completely for one year and that cost quite a bit, but most of them soon began making money on their own. They began asking us to sponsor their relatives. If they did that, those people usually lived with them and that didn't cost us any extra. For the past five years, we have only spent about

> $2000 - $4000 per year. Sometimes we have to help out a family, but not often.

Speaking of another member who was very active in the resettlement and lives of the people who came under their sponsorship, the man whom I interviewed said,

> I don't actually see too many of them anymore, because I do most of the paperwork, which is getting to be more all the time. [Name] goes to all their weddings and graduations and knows many of them. He and his wife went to Vietnam to see what was going on. It took a lot of doing, but they actually got into the camps and saw some of the squalor that these people lived in, and reported that back to us. He loves the work.

This man said that this is something the people wanted to support because "it's a mission field right on our doorstep; the people know where the money is going and exactly what is happening. Sometimes you send the money away and you don't know how it is being spent." Obviously the various strands of Calvinism are intertwined even here: the desire to help others in the name of Christ is tempered with a distrust of doing so through the agency of a remote bureaucracy (I86).

63. Professor Davis Young, a geologist from Calvin College, gave a lecture at Riverside Christian Reformed Church in July, 1986. He talked about the age of the earth as calculated from rock formations and fossil remains. He held that the literal six-day, 24-hour period creation of relatively recent times is not borne out by evidence. This caused an uproar among some of the people in the church, to the point where a letter was sent to the professor by the consistory in June, 1987, asking him to reconsider his position and to cease from propagating it to churches (N 06-87). Another professor at Calvin College, an astronomer, recently published a book which deals with the creation from his observations and also questions the age of the earth. This, too, is seen as a sign of unfaithfulness (Van Till, Howard. 1986. The Fourth Day. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company).

A teacher at one of the Christian high schools allegedly supported a labour dispute recently and was considered inappropriate, while another teacher is suspected of questioning traditional biblical interpretations.

The accusations against the Christian organisations range from the fact that the Christian Labour Association is "socialistic" because it advocates empowerment of workers in relation to their employers, to the allegation that CPJ at least appeared to advocate a pro-abortion stance (I49,B:415; I21,A:070; I15: notes).

64. I will refer to the existence of separate organisations as "parallel institutions" interchangeably with separate or unique institutions. I generally do not use Breton's term "institutional completeness," since in few cases is there completeness. Rather we have a partial duplication of social functions which I call parallel.

65. Recall the comments in Chapter Four, the historical section, in which the ideology of separate institutions and organisations is more fully discussed.

66. Regarding the softball reference, I refer to FN 06-22-87, at which time I attended a church softball league game, accompanied by my 7 and 9-year-old sons. The Riverside team "wasted" the opposition, who suggested the pre-game prayer -- obviously uttered without effect on their success.

67. There is no doubt that the organised church itself is the central and integrating institution within this community. Most of the people's time and activity is spent here in its various clubs, "societies," study groups, prayer assemblies, combined household circles, classes and meetings. The worship services, heavily attended twice each Sunday and on New Year's Day, Good Friday, Easter, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas and New Year's Eve, are the stamping and confirming experiences in the lives of Dutch-Calvinists. It would be hard to overestimate these experiences. In a sense, these weekly and annual events are the symbols of this group: the first day of each week and commemorative days of the year are set aside to praise and worship as indications that life, as a whole, is praise and worship. All other activities pale by comparison. Many of them, for example, catechism classes, evangelisation, Sunday School, Bible studies, choir practices, have as their main or important purpose the preparation of members for full, intelligent participation within these services. The theologically, logically and exegetically complex sermons themselves presume a degree of literacy, theological sophistication and knowledge that can occur fully only by way of the preparation afforded in these subsidiary groups.

The worship service also has a reciprocal effect: social, curative, physical involvement with the world is enjoined from the pulpit and frequently the agency by which the individual is supposed to act is one of the parallel institutions: the Christian political witness; expression of talent; one's everyday work; one's education; each of these can be expressed via a Christian institution. Although the church itself is not explicit in reference to all these other institutions, it is the crucible within which the perspective is formed.

68. At the Synod of 1953, a report was commissioned and appeared in the Acts of Synod, 1955. It reports on the state of education and the asserts that "modern educational philosophy has abandoned the belief in truth as the forming power of the individual and the group.... while modern education seeks to give light, it has no light within itself to give. It has its face turned from the light, which is the Word of God" (Acts of Synod, 1955, in Synodical Decisions of Ethical Matters, 1976: 42). Regarding the Christian Reformed Church's position on the school, this report includes the following:

> The family and the church are institutions called into being by divine mandate. This cannot be said of the modern school. It is a product of human civilization, and therefore a social institution. Formal schooling as we know it today has become a necessity in the complex society of the modern day. Parents cannot fulfil their God-given mandate in our culture and civilization without calling upon others to assist them in their task. This is recognized in the "Form for the Baptism of Infants" in these words: "... and cause them to be instructed therein."
>
> But to say that the school is a social institution, a product of the social order, is not to say that it should be secular in character. For covenant youth all education is education in Christ. The subject matter of the elementary and secondary schools must present a medium, a milieu, in which the covenant child's life in Christ can develop to its fullness in all

> areas of living. No area of thinking and living may be divorced from God and his Christ for the covenant child. It is for this reason that the Christian Reformed Church stands committed to the Christian school as the agency to make the Christ-like life effective in the totality of life for every covenant child.
>
> The church is obligated to see to it that parents as members of the church fulfil their promise made at the baptism of their children. Since the Christian school is the only agency that can provide a Christian education for the youth of the church, the church is duty bound to encourage and assist in the establishment and maintenance of Christian schools.

From this, one can clearly note the two aspects of Kuyperian Calvinism: First, the point is made for separate, free-standing institutions, each operating in its own sphere (in this case, state, church, school). Second, this quotation shows how they conceive the intimate interrelation of these two institutions. This point is emphasized by the explicit endorsement of the Christian school by the church, the linking of their common overall purposes, and specific reference to the theological and ecclesiastical practice of baptism to support that endorsement and relationship.

The doctrine of the covenant is also presumed here.

69. This information was compiled in response to question #26, "Which school do (have, or will likely) your children attend: [then space was provided for each educational level].

70. See the notes attached to Table 26C regarding these colleges' locations and a brief description of each.

71. Other organisations include Christian Labour Association of Canada, Citizens for Public Justice, Institute for Christian Studies, Oaks Counselling Centre, Simeon Home for the Aged, and a home for mentally handicapped, among others.

72. At one time as many as four of the board members were non-Dutch-Calvinists.

73. The ideological or worldview difference, the imposition of a group boundary, appears more significant than other factors. As we find in this research, the Dutch learned English quickly, began working with established Canadians soon after landing, and were physically distinguished from other North European and British whites.

In fact, in Pineo's 1977 study of the "hierarchy of ethnic and racial groups in English and French Canada," Dutch "social standing," at 58.4 (out of 100) was only lower than "English Canadians," "English," "British," "Protestants," "Scots," "my own ethnic background," "Catholics," "Irish," and "French" (Pineo in Breton, Reitz and Valentine 1980: 350).

Thus, it is not primarily language, occupation or social distance that segregates this group from dominant society. The evidence points in the direction of self-imposed, internally generated boundaries.

74. With few new Dutch immigrants, the new challenges of corporately engaging in mission ventures to justify existence is upon them. Refugee sponsorship, "Coffee Break" Bible Study with community women (see discussion of this elsewhere in this chapter) and other forms of outreach are being sought. However, it is

unlikely that either refugees, new programmes or new members from the larger community will fill the same function as immigration waves in forming and maintaining new institutions. Certainly Breton's analysis indicates that there is no complete substitute for immigration to preserve "old ways." The new position which this thesis is developing, however, is still being questioned: perhaps a new form of ethnic group, only incidentally affiliated with the immigrant community, is being formed. (That is a position partially made already by Jonathan Sarna (1978): "immigrants" become "ethnics" as identities are ascribed.)

75. Applying to the "supplying of needs" reasons for parallel institutions, the following interview references are relevant: I28,B:477; 34,B:330; 35,A:070, B:175; 54,A:203; 61,B:025.

76. It will be interesting to find out the effects of the recent trend of many families moving to outlying areas. To this point, most of them continued to attend this church.

77. A few references to interviews are: I5,A:305; 29,B:060; 33,A:091; 51:7; 60,A:138; 82:14.

78. One should also recall the positions of Calvin, Groen Van Prinsterer, and Abraham Kuyper, cited in the historical overview section (Chapter Two above, and in various comments and endnotes earlier in this chapter) regarding the establishment of this principle of the multi-faceted nature of service in the Kingdom of God.

79. This is particularly true of political and social issues, in which this group does not engage in uniquely Calvinistic ventures to a great extent. While this will be dealt with in greater detail in the section on group persistence, I mention it here because it is obvious to me that participation in conservative political parties is the norm here, rather than support for separate Christian expressions which may counter conservative ideology.

80. As Steinberg noted about the transforming power of the public school, "ethnicity [is] an altogether different phenomenon [in case in which ethnic groups] ... develop their own schools (Steinberg 1989: 54, 55).

81. This was mentioned in these interviews: I60, 38, 34, 1, 19, 11, and 24.

82. These terms, as he uses them, originate in the works of Abraham Kuyper, a Dutch statesman of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and were brought into the Canadian context by immigrants who sought to apply them. "Kingdom vision" refers to the biblical image of God as a king and people as subjects who serve God to establish the effects of salvation. This concept derives from various passages in the Hebrew Scriptures such as Exodus 19:6 and Deuteronomy 17:8. It is elaborated in the Christian Scriptures, particularly the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, where Jesus is presented as the Saviour of the world by establishing a regime of love and justice. Examples of this are: Matthew 3:2; 4:23; 5:3,10; 12:28; 19:14; 24:14; Mark 4:11; 8:1; 9:11; 11:2; 13:20; 22:29; Revelations 1:6.

In the context here, "kingdom vision" refers to seeing the world in the light of God's redemption and developing Christian positions and institutions regarding social and cultural issues. "Kingship of Christ" refers to the assumption that Jesus was the initiator of this regime.

83. Study committees have been struck by Synod, the annual policy-making assembly of the Christian Reformed Church, and reports made on issues of women's position in either society, the church, or both, in 1973, 1975, 1978, 1981, 1984, 1990.

84. It is obvious that men are much more threatened than women by these issues and perceive that they have more to lose by sharing responsibilities. It is, however, important to see that this is usually not framed as a power issue so much as a matter of historical interpretation. While the two cannot be separated completely, the actor's assumptions must play a role in interpretation. One of the issues which appears to be at stake here, then, is whether those assumptions are a correct reflection of reality, and whose version of reality one accepts.

85. A church consistory discussion was reported in the minutes of May 3 and June 7, 1989, regarding the position on abortion presented in a brief to the federal government by the Citizens for Public Justice, a Christian organisation with Dutch-Calvinist roots. In that brief, a copy of which was received by the council, CPJ made reference to the allowance of abortions in cases in which a woman's health is at risk. After writing CPJ and receiving an unsatisfactory reply regarding the removal of this phrase, a vote was taken on continuation of financial support via church offerings for CPJ. The decision was made "not to place CPJ on our collection schedule. However... continued bulletin announcements would be allowed... with the notation, as needed.... not imply[ing] endorsement of consistory with regard to CPJ policies."

Yet, the April 5, 1989, minutes record "the letter from Pro-Life was read and it was approved that [a member] could solicit members of our church for protest work.

86. This concern was expressed in the following interviews: I2, 4, 6, 19, 20, 25, 33, 35, 66, 76, 82 and 84.

87. Many Dutch-Calvinists are opposed to membership in trade unions that are not explicitly Christian on several grounds. The first is that any organisation to which one belongs must represent one's own beliefs, particularly if one must make pledges and financial contributions to support it. Second, no organisation may <u>demand</u> membership; freedom of the person to support what he or she wishes in service of God and fellows is considered essential to the fulfillment of one's responsibility as a person. Third, related to the first point is the fact that a Dutch-Calvinist does not want to be part of an organisation that does not actively seek to specifically acknowlege and serve God, at least in its intentions. Fourth, generally, a Dutch-Calvinist does not support the concept of class which they presume the trade union movement to adopt. This includes the assumption that the interests of the employer or owner of capital or business are inimical or opposed to those of the worker, and vice versa. Fifth, generally, this rules out the use of lock-outs or strikes as an effective tool in settling labour questions, since force is regarded as the domain of the state, not the individual or institution such as businesses or trade unions (M 09-05-54; Runner 1961; Vandezande et al 1966; D20).

88. One recalls that submission to the authority of the council was what particularly rankled those people who have since left the church. They termed that power "almost medieval." Here we see an example of a young woman, socialised in the church, who accepts and justifies that practice in precisely the manner that other couple described it.

89. Let us get Barth's position back "on the table" here. He writes:

> Entailed in ethnic boundary maintenance are also situations of social contact between persons of different cultures: ethnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked difference in behaviour, i.e. persisting cultural differences. Yet where persons of different cultures interact, one would expect these differences to be reduced, since interaction both requires and generates a congruence of codes and values -- in other words, a similarity or community of culture.... Thus the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals of identification, but also a structuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences. The organizational feature which, I would argue, must be general for all inter-ethnic relations is a systematic set of rules governing inter-ethnic social encounters. In all organized social life, what can be made relevant to interaction in any particular social situation is prescribed (Goffman, 1959). If people agree about these prescriptions, their agreement on codes and values need not extend beyond that which is relevant to the social situations in which they interact. Stable inter-ethnic relations presuppose such a structuring of interaction: a set of prescriptions governing situations of contact, and allowing for articulation in some sectors or domains of activity, and a set of proscriptions on social situations preventing inter-ethnic interaction in other sectors, and thus insulating parts of the cultures from confrontation and modification. (Barth 1969: 15, 16)

90. An Evangelism Committee does what it can to encourage people to attend. One of the main functions of Daily Vacation Bible School and Coffee Break programme is to bring people into the church and, eventually, the worship aspect also. However, most people generally agree that this church's services are not appealing to everyone -- a point mentioned forcefully in I49 and also in I54. Another person stated vividly:

> This church could tolerate five new families, but not beyond that. I think the majority of the people in our church would be quite upset if we got the poor, alcoholics, single parents and the unwed in our church. (I8,B:082)

This category constitutes an illusion. While many Dutch-Calvinists may assume that the church is a proving grounds for their faith principles, in fact, little interaction with the wider world occurs here because non-Dutch-Calvinists are excluded or not comfortable there due to their inability to perform satisfactorily in the group.

91. See the attached photocopy of the promotional brochure: "Welcome to the Riverside Christian Reformed Church" (D25).

92. Mention was made of Coffee Break in at least the following interviews, in addition to other informal references and frequent featuring in the bulletins and the monthly church newsletter: I1, 2, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 19, 24, 37, 41, 53, 66, 83.

From an information bulletin to the congregation, we learn that

> forty women have come to our Bible studies; some came and went, others attended regularly. Of those who belonged, 20 are from our church, 8 have other church affiliations such as Baptist, Lutheran, Alliance, Presbyterian and Anglican, 8 do not attend any church and an additional 5 are on our telephone list.
>
> [Regarding the "Story Hour" or children's portion of the programme] almost 40 different children attended... [with the] average attendance being 22 children.

The programme had only been in existence here for one year at the time I was conducting my research (I37,A:060).

93. One prison ministry is less formal and is carried on by local people. Another is carried on through a non-Christian Reformed Church organisation which consists of a number of evangelical churches.

94. According to the principal, only around 46% of the students will be from the Christian Reformed Church in the 1990-91 school year. That is a marked contrast from the past, when the figure was around 90% for many years (I87:1).

95. For the discussion on CPJ's support by the church, see M02-11-88, 6,d; 07-12-88, 6,c; 04-01-89, 8,c; 07-06-89, 7,a. Briefly, the council decided that CPJ would not receive collection support and that its bulletin announcements might contain a disclaimer that council does not endorse CPJ policies regarding abortion. In addition, mail addressed in bulk to the congregation may not "automatically" be distributed. During this discussion, which extended over a number of meetings, CPJ staff members were invited to a meeting to explain their position, after a letter from CPJ's office proved unsatisfactory. Despite the above, a November 1988 Newsletter (MS 36) was placed in the boxes.

96. A similar postion was espoused in I11,A:300.

97. A conversation with the Cadet (boys' club) leader indicates only four non-Christian Reformed Church boys from the neighbourhood are presently attending (I88). A similar picture was presented by the leader of the Calvinettes (girls' club) in which four girls attend, two of whom are not from a Christian Reformed Church family.

98. From the consistory minutes:

> A motion "that we write the Smits a letter urging them to take further steps of testimony regarding the Lord's Day" passed. A draft of this letter will be discussed at the next meeting. [An abstention was recorded.] (M 03-08-82)

This matter was discussed at several meetings. At another one, the following was recorded:

> Consistory appointed a committee ... to meet with the members involved in Sunday ... business to express our concern and to urge them to come to a more positive and clearer Christian witness in their business. A motion "that the whole question of Sunday observance be discussed at some later time" passed.

99. The collected amounts for the Pro-Life chapter for 1986 and 1987, respectively, were: $1,592 and $1,794, according to the Riverside Christian Reformed Church Financial Statements, December 31, 1987.

100. See N 09-87 as an example of such a report and request for materials.

101. One should bear in mind that, since prescription and proscription are reciprocal issues, some items could be placed in either section and their counterparts may be implied or assumed. For example, the "developmental programmes" of Cadets and Calvinettes are prescriptive, although these activities are also proscribed in the larger society -- for example, activity in the Boy or Girl Scouts.

102. However, this young person did say that people his age usually view at least some form of occupation-related advanced training as good.

103. This is based on personal communication with this woman's mother, occurring after the conclusion of this study's formal research period.

104. Particularly in various Calvinistic and in some Lutheran churches, the Reformation is celebrated on October 31. It commemorates the day in 1517 when the monk Martin Luther posted his "Ninety-Five Theses Against the Church of Rome" on the door of a church in Wittenburg, Germany. This act, which led to Luther's trial and excommunication, is generally credited by Protestants as the precipitating incident of the Protestant Reformation, from which the Lutheran, Reformed and other Protestant churches originated.

105. In 1976, the Christian Reformed Church published a book summarising the denomination's position on "amusements" which is used as a guideline by this church's council on such matters (D28).

CHAPTER SIX: ETHNIC GROUP PERSISTENCE AND LIMITATIONS

A. Why Do Ethnic Groups Persist?

For the purposes of this dissertation I deal with the general question of ethnic group persistence by treating the question: why do Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside Christian Reformed Church persist as a group? More specifically, I get at that question first by analysing members' accounts of why they remain in- or outside the boundaries of the group. The assumption I make throughout this chapter is that groups persist either because people are forced or find reasons to maintain them. In the case of the Dutch-Calvinists, little external force is applied, yet people are able to explain why they are members and why they work to maintain the group.

I begin by summarising the relevant points of the treatment of this question from Chapter Two -- Theory. Overall, I am using a sociology of knowledge position, with particular debt to Schutz; Berger and Luckmann; Mannheim and Habermas. However, under governance of that position, I touch three strands of middle range analysis: that of the social-structural forces that carve out groups; the social-psychological referents (using Milton Gordon's 1964 term)

embedded in groups; the social effects of cultural factors -- in this case, religious faith.

According to the writings of people as varied as Barth, Gans, Yancey, Steinberg and Keyes, each group has its own characteristics which it applies strategically to the society. Both the sociology of knowledge generally and agent-emphasizing approaches specifically,[1] hold that structural influences on individuals are mediated by interpretations based on what I have called worldviews. While this certainly does not deny the fact that people are grouped according to responses to structural forces and circumstances (such as occupation opportunities, time and place of immigration, residence, structured inequality, or racial distinctions [see Yancey et al 1976]), this dissertation concentrates more on the social implications of cultural factors. At the outset, one must acknowledge that these cultural factors are subject to social influence and occur in the confines of group boundaries which are strategically adapted to the general social environment. However, as the luminous Max Weber (and many sociologists of religion since him) showed, religion exerts a cultural force of its own; it is not only <u>affected</u> by social forces.[2]

As the following accounts demonstrate, religious faith is a powerful worldview source because (as indicated in Chapter Two) it (1) claims its origin in ultimate sources: God's revelation, in this case, and (2) provides a complete cosmology. Within Calvinism, that implies the absolute sovereignty of God and human responsibility. The Christian, as God's representative, is part of a covenant relationship in which he or she serves God through worship and service to fellows. The religious faith worldview contextualises and distinguishes the group.

Concentrating on the Dutch-Calvinist group's reasons for ethnic group persistence, an analysis of the interviews allows the data to fall into the following categories:

1) a focus of faith development;
2) a source of faith-principles or ideology;
3) a context for social contact and support;
4) a basis for external social contact and action;
5) identity, familiarity and stability;
6) natural process, inheritance and tradition

These six divisions of response should not obstruct the simplicity of what I hope to show: people can give reasons for their persistent membership in the ethnic group.

1) Focus of faith development

First, I look at people giving accounts of Riverside Christian Reformed Church as the focus of their faith development, since this is most significant to my assertion that this is a faith-ethnic group. "Faith" is the answer around which other responses circulate. Such a response is typical of the function of worldview as Habermas suggests: "worldview[s] lay down the framework of fundamental concepts within which we interpret everything that appears in the world in a specific way as something [that one can know and understand in a context]" (Habermas 1984, I:58).

Almost all Dutch-Calvinists with whom I spoke believed that all major positions and decisions should be based on Scripture, although most of them also agreed that Scripture was subject to interpretation. The community, specifically the church, is called on to provide the parameters and perhaps pronounce on which interpretations are correct. One man said that various factions in the church may disagree, each basing its ideas on the Bible. Who is to say what is right? His further comments implied that some sort of consensual process must decide,

perhaps voting or discussion. He held that the consensus reached should be tolerated and then elaborated and interpreted as often as the historical context demanded. He insisted, however, that all of this process must always occur on the basis of the Scripture (I14,B:001-287). A young woman put it this way:

> For me the church is the guardian of the truth. That's where I learned about God ... [she also mentions her parents' influence]. That's where I was really encouraged and that's where I saw examples of love and sharing and dealing with things. For me that simple sermon has been much more influential than any kind of social pressure. (I12,A:438)

Or, from a much older and longer-term member: "If your position is from the Scripture, then you can stand up to anything" (I4,A:096). From others: "Faith deepens one's understanding of life" (I7,B:012) and "provides an interpretive framework" (I12,A:450) and "whatever you do, do it to the glory of God" (I5,B:355).

A young woman, who was speaking as one who had first felt the support of the community at a difficult time of her life, said that it "keeps you on the right path" (I35,A:100), a sentiment re-emphasized by another person, who said that one needs the body [of Christ: the church] to keep the faith vital, although that person also said that such faith need not retain precisely the same content over time (I41,A:470). A person who was opposed to that degree of relativity of faith content nevertheless contended that the primary purpose of Dutch-Calvinist community and its doctrinal statements (he specifically mentioned the Heidelberg Catechism) should be the development of faith in its members (I66,B:155, 197).

The faith community helps one to "realize there is something more than here and now ... not like the lederhosen-lovers' society or something: they have no real backbone," said one man. Immediately, his wife added, "the place of the

faith community is to be light and salt in the community.... Without that, it is no better than a Dutch club" (I38,C:034,040).

"God's word is well-brought here, and there is still good direction in the church," was the reason one elderly man gave to my question about his reasons for maintaining membership in the community. Another man referred to the "good, compelling preaching of the Word" as the main reason he and his family had recently joined the church (I22,A:115). In a related vein, most young people acknowledged the value -- in spite of what most described poorly -- of doctrinal instruction in the catechism classes (I17, I33, I51, I54).

Those views were expressed in many interviews and were overwhelmingly corroborated in the questionnaires. Table 4 indicates that 44% of those who responded to the questionnaire gave "Preaching of the Word" as one of Riverside Christian Reformed Church's greatest strengths. Thirty-one percent indicated that "strong leadership or good preachers" was a great strength. Although the link is not direct, one can understand the implied desire for faith support from biblical preaching.

The importance of faith development as a reason for the persistence of the group is given further verification by those who left the group. A woman who left because she felt this aspect was emphasized too greatly said, "In the Bible Study we joined, they pummelled it [the biblical passage under study] to death. Sometimes we went over it and over it" (I83,A:420). Sermons were directed at abstract development of faith and there was excessive attention to the Scriptural text, rather than a relation to everyday examples, she felt (I83,A:459).

On the other side were those who left the church because they felt their faith was not being reinforced sufficiently. One such man, whose views on the

earth's and human origins and biblical interpretation were explicitly laid out in articles which he wrote for an independent Christian paper, referred me to those articles when I asked why he had left.[3] In the articles, he argued that respect for the sovereignty of God and authority of the Scripture was being undermined in the Christian Reformed Church generally, and implied that a decadent leadership was to blame, including that of this church. He told me that, essentially, the disagreement leading to his departure was doctrinal and that further discussion would be pointless (I76:4). Another man in a telephone interview told me that he had "nothing in common" with the people at Riverside Christian Reformed Church and that we would be wasting each other's time to discuss this matter further. However, he, too, said that the issues were "doctrinal" (I77).

Explicit faith development, therefore, is an important rationale given for the maintenance of this community.

2) A source of faith-principles or ideology

A second sub-division which emerges from the data is that of the community as a source of faith-principle or ideology with which the Dutch-Calvinist faces the world. One might say that this is the area of generation of the worldview, and is only a short step removed from the specific focus on faith development through the "preaching of the Word," the teaching of catechism, and so on. These responses demonstrate the expression of faith statements and exhibit the close linkage between faith and all other activity for the Calvinist.

In the preface of his thorough treatment of North American Calvinism, James D. Bratt writes: "... if there is one thing [Dutch-Calvinists in America] have insisted on, it is that religion includes all of life, that it stands as the source and judge of all other human activity" (Bratt 1984: ix).[4]

In writing about the ethnic group, another point from Chapter Two is important: in relation to one's own identity, and expectations by people outside the community, a certain amount of consistency is required so that appropriate, regular interaction can occur (DeVos 1975: 375).[5] One way to obtain this, as Habermas and DeVos both indicate, is by reliance on some system of ideals which governs all others. Thus, Dutch-Calvinists try to act consistently on the basis of uniform principles. As Rev. Kuipers reportedly said, "I don't know where you got your position from [in reference to membership in a secular trade union], but my position is from the Bible" (I4,A:076).

The movement from the previous subsection, dealing with the rationale of faith-development, to this subsection, dealing with faith-principles, is one of nuance. Such principles apply in many directions. For example, one man indicated that, while he agreed with some of the specific social proposals of the New Democratic Party, he could not support it because of its non-Christian view of society, its policy on abortion, its lack of acknowledgement of God's existence and the irrelevance it attaches to religious belief (I3,A:310). Similarly, a number of people showed how their adoption of Dutch-Calvinist ideals implied opposition to trade unions which are not explicit in their acknowledgment of God and the principles of Christianity (I4,A:032, I64:5).[6]

When needs arise, Dutch-Calvinists can work in coalition with others with whom they would disagree on other matters.[7] The paradigm of that occurred when they joined with other groups, including non-Christians and socialists, during the war effort against Hitler's Germany. Similarly, to combat issues such as abortion, Sunday closing, compulsory union membership, or payment of fees for services they consider immoral, they will join forces with other groups

(I4,B:310). However, this does not diminish allegiance to the ethnic group nor reduce the boundary.

Perhaps the most radical faith-principle reason for maintaining an ethnic group is that it provides a context within which one can act in faith even if such an act goes against reason.

> A lot of believing goes against reason... and accepting because the Lord says so. You have to accept it in faith. We have problems because we can't figure it out. (I13,B:310)

The ethnic community may serve as a hedge against materialism in a materialistic culture and thus preserve a way of life that is free from degrading consequences what Dutch-Calvinists regard as too great a dependence on things rather than relationships with other people and with God (I51:6; I6; I20).

3) A context for social contact and support

Another important rationale often given for such membership is the ethnic group's role in providing deep, meaningful, organic or communal-gemeinschaft-like social contact and support.

Contact and interaction by officials of the church: deacons, ministers, elders, as well as the unofficial attention given one another, are regarded as extremely significant reasons to remain within the group. The terms "family," "one big family," "brothers and sisters" and "household of faith" are regularly used to refer to the intimacy of these people (I2,A: 122; I19:5; I53,A::220; I24).

For example, support for one another in the immigrant period was often mentioned as a strong cohesive force. Closely related was the need to expand physical facilities and services as the group became larger (I2,A:117; I11,A: 020; I20,A:012; I60). In days when few people spoke English, such support was

crucial. Today, when hardly any Dutch-language-dependent people remain, the question becomes: what is the new basis for cohesion?[8] Will it continue to be care and support? Some young people feel the need for such support (I17; I33; I35,A:054; I54); parents feel the need to talk with their children (I81; I19:7) and to continue their care into the area of education;[9] some of the new members feel the need for discipline and attention (I52). By and large, such care is provided.

Peer group and mate choice is another area in which people feel the need to maintain their ethnic groups. Parents want to have a sufficiently large pool of children with whom their own youngsters can associate. As one mother said:

> If my son or daughter comes home with a person from the Christian Reformed Church, not saying that kid is any better than any other one, but at least you know what the parents stand for. (I18,B:010)

This is a powerful theme in the group and, added to the others discussed in the last number of pages, shows that the persistence of this group is linked to an immediate human need which members believe is met in this group: care and support, in spite of the fact that some people have left because they have not experienced it.

While some feel this group is a good source of support, there are counter-examples which I should mention -- I will use three. First, a person who described himself as having "ran myself ragged, to the point of a nervous breakdown because of the church," (I10,B:095) told of how his theological position gradually shifted as he became convinced that the power to the Holy Spirit was absent. Customers from the community abandoned his business, he said.

> We've had a business for seventeen years and <u>they will not support us</u> -- now you can put <u>that</u> in your report.... If only ten families -- and they all had five kids -- came, we could make it. And they didn't.

> That's the household of faith! They would not! And you can put that in your report! (Ibid.103, 120)

So, all is not sweetness and light. That family left the church because they did not experience the support about which those quoted above felt so keenly. Another family wanted to get out precisely because they felt smothered by all the attention, which they regarded as intrusive and suppressive (I83,B:048).

That was confirmed by a woman who told me "what I do and what I think of myself has zippo to do with other people's judgments" (I72:7). She added that judgment and support were certainly the reasons most people would belong to this group, not faith and love for God.

4) A basis for external social contact and action

Moving to the fourth reason for ethnic group persistence mentioned at the beginning of this section, for some people the ethnic group should be retained as the basis for contact with the world in the way DeVos suggests in his writing about the need for consistency (DeVos 1975: 374; also Yinger 1981: 258, 259: Yancey et al 1976: 393, 400)]. In relating to the larger world, one reaches back to something in her- or himself to make a presentation of self (in the sense intended by Goffman 1959). Ethnic group reference is a ready-made one.

Many Riverside old-timers noted to me that the greatest intimacy occurred when all were poor. That makes sense. With common ethnic status, they could equally apply the work ethic -- hard work, simple pleasures, frugality and sharing. That provided a more or less common definition of the situation for this small group, both by the members themselves and by those outsiders who noticed them as a group. The fact that this ethic led to unequal success for some and not for others, of course, eventually necessitated another ground for commonality.

The realisation that a religious witness to the larger society was needed perhaps dawned on this group earlier, but I find no record in the official minutes of the consistory or congregational meetings prior to April 6, 1962. At a meeting of the congregation of that date, Rev. Kuipers presented a speech entitled "Why Christian Reformed in Canada?" In it, he emphasized the sovereignty of God and denounced the teachings of Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) which, he contended, had infiltrated some churches of Europe and England, from whence they also spread to the United States. These teachings contradicted the Calvinist position on God's election of people to whom, in sovereignty, He would give salvation. Instead, Arminian doctrine placed the greater emphasis on human responsibility. This resulted, said Kuipers, in a primary concern with salvation of the soul,

> and social and political life are not included.... The overwhelming truth that Christ is King escapes the churches of this country. The Christian belongs to stand in the task of believer: priest, prophet and king. Continuing in the covenant promises, we have a task and a command to fill in Canada. Not only must we provide for our children, but also with the Lord's blessings are we sent to a people as ambassadors, in order that the rich reality of the kingship of Christ which they have lost, might become real. This is the reason for us being here and in order to fulfil this are we Christian Reformed. (MC 04-06-62).[10]

Thus, the first reference that I have found to responsibility to Canadian society is typically Dutch-Calvinist: stressing God's sovereignty and human acceptance of grace. And it also has the triumphal overtones of which Dutch-Calvinists have been accused. They regarded themselves as burdened with the task of bringing new vision to Canadian society and its churches, which have lost the radicality of the Scriptural vision. One cannot argue, however, with the assertion that the members themselves were convinced that they operated from a unique worldview. The conclusion of these minutes reports a consensus:

> There was a request that future congregational meetings will be held in English. We sang Hymn 368, after which Brother [named] led in

> thanksgiving, after which the president closed this fruitful congregational meeting (emphasis added; Ibid.)

Certainly the early emphasis on exposure and mission to the wider society was not aimed at the personal level. However, in more recent years, with the establishment of an Evangelism Committee and a conscious attempt to make the message of Dutch-Calvinism appealing to a larger Canadian audience, one hears more of an outward-looking, socially oriented Dutch-Calvinism which also tries to be sensitive to the religious position of the person whom one is approaching (17,A:298).

On the basis of Dutch-Calvinist anti-materialism, one also detects their derision and opposition to the message of Christian fundamentalism as exemplified in television evangelists such as Jimmy Swaggart and Jim and Tammy Bakker, whom they believe discredit Christianity (I4, I7, I34, I8a1:14).

Of course, also in this category of persistence of ethnic groups in order to provide a basis for external social contact, would fall the broad range of activities treated in the section on Dutch-Calvinist social organisations, earlier in this chapter. In addition, one must include those many people who stated that their honesty, concern for a good product and care for people in their businesses is based on their faith.

5) Identity, familiarity and stability

The fifth sub-set of reasons that Dutch-Calvinists give for ethnic group persistence involves identity, familiarity and stability. We recall Epstein's point that, aside from forced ethnicity, there is "a second set of constraints," which he identifies as a sense of self-esteem and worthiness, measured according to standards of one's closest reference group. In the case of these Dutch-Calvinists, that reference group is the Riverside Christian Reformed Church community.

On a broader scale, we consider this group in terms of Harold Isaacs's "basic group identity," which includes one's name, history, language, religion and value system, each of which endow one with an inheritance that inevitably affects and eventually shapes the person (Isaacs 1974: 27). One is expected to behave in certain ways, and such behaviour is likely to become one's own.

This can lead to a status-seeking or complacent membership in which one fits in if she or he wears the right clothes, asks few questions about the foundations of the faith and attends the Christian school, for example. According to the testimony of many of the interviews, this occurs here. Sometimes associated with this conformity is cliquishness and exclusion, as well as the erecting of artificial standards rather than the fundamentals on which this group was based (I1,A:280; I47:a3; I33; I9).

In addition, there is also the fear of change, particularly in the church, as the institution that lies at the heart of the community. Until recently, relatively minor variations were allowed in worship and little questioning of literal interpretation of Scripture occurred.[11] Slight and slow to some, full and fearsome to others, change is occurring (I3,A:180; I54:086; I13; I73).[12]

As many writers on ethnicity have observed, however, identity has a more stabilising quality than these conflictual ones just mentioned. The deep knowledge of people, their family histories and ancestors, the sense of place associated with attending meetings or services in the same buildings from childhood to adulthood, the fondness for custom and predictable behaviour -- all of these are part of the deep rationale many give for belonging to the group. "We all called her "Tante Bep," said one elderly member about another woman who had just died (I2,A:176).[13] As I sat at the funeral of the woman called "Tante Bep," observing the mourners, hearing the sermon and liturgy

offered in both Dutch and English[14] and watching the people at the cemetery as a second and final ceremony was performed before the coffin was lowered into the ground, I knew that I was observing the grief of people who saw this woman as a sister in the faith, an example and a symbol of Dutch-Calvinism with whom they could identify. The many men and women who had taken time from work on that day were shedding real tears for an intimate member. They heard the pastor say,

> the Word of God meant a great deal to her. She was close to the Lord and a source of strength and peace to all who knew her. The Lord took her away quickly and quietly while she was busy working in her garden. (PON6)[15]

Events such as these give members clear, strong projections of their own futures and the peace and honour that await them if they remain within the group.[16] These are powerful markers and reminders and are given the full weight of church service, biblical preaching, high group-member attendance and the implicit approval of God.

Many people realized that: they used terms like "roots," "stability" and "order" to refer to this community (e.g. I5,A:190; I17,A:248; I18,B:140). "This church may not be the only true one," said a man, "but in our conscience it is most true" (I49,B:33). This is not endowed or primordial identity, but one that is chosen and re-chosen because it affords stability and continuity.

While advocating changes and more openness, particularly for young people in the church, one woman held: "We must keep the basic Reformed standards.... Partially they're roots, security; partially that's home" (I18,B:140).

6) Natural process, inheritance or tradition

I will present a sixth and final category of reasons for ethnic group persistence. It provides yet another shade of rationale for the maintenance of

the Reformed community here: one I have labelled "natural process, inheritance and tradition."

"We hang around with each other, grew up together. We like each other" (I54). There is nothing mysterious about this, but members of the group simply prefer one another's company to that of anyone else. They are familiar and comfortable with each other, and feel no need to justify their exclusivism beyond the assertion that they share a common heritage. From the members' point of view, such association is "natural" and involves few social factors.

Although not representative of all members of the church, the comments of one man represent the attitude of a large and cohesive segment:

> When I was seventeen and eighteen, I had to go to church. I teach my kids the same way my dad and mom teached me. So what do you expect? When they get older, that comes back. If you teach the youth in a different way -- say my mom and dad had been Roman Catholic, then I most likely would have been Roman Catholic. There you can see if my kids get an upbringing of twenty-five years, you can expect the majority goes that way.... There is a lot of <u>natural</u> things. If I had been born in France, I would speak French... and a Chinese is like this [he slants his eyes upward at the corners with his fingers]. So there is a lot of <u>nat</u>-u-ral things: born in France, speak French; born in Christian Reformed Church, go to the Christian Reformed Church. Is this the best church in Canada? No. But because I live in Riverside, I go to this church, and because I'm Christian Reformed. That's normal. Is that the best? No. (I13,C:038)

Customs, language and racial/genetic characteristics were regarded as products of a natural order with no distinctions among them. One cannot change such things and need not look beyond the existence of phenomena to explain them. While he did refer to teaching, he regarded it as a natural, fixed process of passing on information which will be acted upon in a similar way to chromosomes controlling bodily shape and features. To deviate from standard beliefs and practices would invite negative sanctions from his version of the community. Obviously, this view would not lend itself well to evangelisation either, for such attempts would involve violating someone else's naturally occurring order

of life. Likewise, those who hold this view of the group as the product of natural processes would be antagonistic to change in the community because change would imply that ethnic group maintenance is socially generated instead of being a matter of simple transmission of characteristics and ideals. In such a view, this church and community are no better than any other, merely the only one for those who possess it now.[17] To attempt change or to accept large numbers of people from outside Dutch-Calvinism would be an interference with a natural process.

While that may be an extreme example, another young woman, whose comments I have used in another context, serves to remind us that this process of ethnic group maintenance has an actor-level acceptance of everyday character of living. "Yes, I was taught these things by my parents and teachers," she said. "But I think about them now as I am older. I consider some options. I have grown accustomed to them, and I make them my own -- with a few modifications -- but essentially the same as I have been taught" (I33,A:259). I understand this to be close to Berger and Luckmann's description of an externalisation-objectivation-internalisation model. This is slightly different from the natural-transmission model presented by the man who equated social force and genetic traits, but these people share the same community and their side-by-side relationships and activities are quite similar.

Those who distrust the conformism and traditionalism inherent in this rationale seek to counteract the conservatism of these assumptions. But they remain as an aspect of many established groups.

Many other reasons for ethnic group persistence may be found than those which I found the Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside to exhibit. As Epstein (1978), Isaacs (1974) and Roossens (1989) indicate, there is a strong identity factor

associated with the ethnic group. Epstein shows that the individual's sense of worthiness and self-esteem are associated with experiences within one's most intimate group. Isaacs uses the terms "self-esteem" and "belongingness" to refer to basic identities that one takes from primary experiences such as birth into a particular family at a particular time and place, one's bodily characteristics, and one's name. Others suggest that group identity has adaptive advantages: Petersen (1978) points to the political advantages of solid groups blocs; Yancey (1975) shows a host of advantages ranging from residential location to occupational skills; Roossens (1989) and Waldinger et al (1990) indicate its entrepreneurial or economic benefits. Other reasons could be adduced. Here I have tried to indicate that, while each of these more commonly asserted reasons for ethnic group persistence plays a part in developing and maintaining Dutch-Calvinism, its faith-ethnicity, demonstrated as a worldview is pre-eminent. For the Dutch-Calvinist, faith provides the context for identity, self-esteem, a sense of place and worthiness; it gives a world picture on which all other actions are based, as Habermas suggests of worldview. In all of its variations, the Dutch-Calvinist's faith -- the belief in God and in a covenant which God made with humans and which is reinforced in Dutch-Calvinist teaching -- calls for them to keep working in the world, together with other covenant-keeping "Kingdom workers" to maintain their uniqueness and ethnicity. This form of ethnicity, which I suggest shows ethnicity in a more complex light than it is sometimes seen, might no longer be seen as membership in a "Dutch church," but increasingly it becomes membership in the "body of Christ" expressed in particular terms, forged by Dutch-Calvinists, but gradually reforming.[18] This is not universally accepted in the community, as the references above indicate, but the dissatisfaction some feel is an indication

that the sea is changing. "Faith," given as a reason for an ethnic group, has a self-authenticating quality: when one believes something, events of one's life or the world in general tend to be seen as evidence confirming that faith. When others around one have the same experiences of confirmation, one is solidified in belief and seeks the counsel and company of those thus confirmed. That is the solid ground of faith-ethnicity. The different versions of this faith within the group are both catalysts for interest and focussing on the issues which would otherwise seem inconsequential and they are constant threats to unity, stability, continuity. I cannot resist foreshadowing a conclusion to which this research is forcing me: within this group, which is apparently homogeneous to the outside observer, considerable heterogeneity exists. The differences excite, both toward cohesion and fragmentation. Perhaps that is a feature peculiar to faith-ethnicity; perhaps it is universal to all ethnic groups; perhaps it is common to all human groups whatever.

Having considered the reasons given for the persistence of this group, we now turn to my final empirical investigation: that of the limits of ethnicity.

B. What are the Limits of Ethnicity?

Related to the question of group persistence is one asking if there are limits to such groups. The second half of this chapter, therefore, deals with the final research question of the thesis: "What are the limits of ethnicity in maintaining group distinctions?" Again, as in the section dealing with the persistence of ethnicity, I will use the Dutch-Calvinist case as a specific example of the limits of ethnic group distinctions, rather than pretending to provide a global treatment of this matter. I attempt to suggest applications to and draw insight from studies of other groups. Before I cover the data on

this question, I engage the work of several writers to set the tone for the investigation of the Dutch-Calvinists.

From the theory section, we observe that situational differences are reflected in groups of people who relate to them in similar ways. Such differences are evident in group boundaries, which are recognised by the members and generally by those who come into contact with them; they channel members' behaviour, and classify them for purposes of interaction (Barth 1969: 13,14). Ethnicity as a cultural construal and ethnic group membership as a social relation have limits.

Robert Park (1950), for example, looked at the American scene and predicted eventual assimilation. Herbert Gans (1979) maintained that if people began opting for the abstract ethnic identity, rather than relying on ethnic groups for instrumental purposes (such as job training, child nurture, a source of health, status, spouses, values), the group would fade away. He even made explicit reference to Park, saying that his prediction would hit close to the mark.

William Yancey, et al (1976) reminded us that ethnicity is not ascribed only, nor necessarily doomed by the modernisation process, although specific groups, as Park and Gans held, may evaporate or assimilate. Rather, ethnicity is dynamic and new ethnic groups are produced, sometimes consisting of previously quite disparate people, by structural conditions in the new country, in a process intimately linked with changing technology, transportation and similar factors (1976: 392). This "emergent ethnicity" is, of course, equally susceptible to submersion if conditions change. In fact, they point out that areas of immigrant culture that are either irrelevant or well-adapted to dominant society will remain, while those ill-adapted or which provide group members

with negative consequences, will disappear (Ibid: 397, referring to Gans 1962). If ethnicity is so vulnerable and subject to social conditions, one may assume that there are limits.

To underscore this point, I refer to another important scholar of groups: Charles F. Keyes. Like Barth, he contends that cultural distinctiveness is not the most significant feature of an ethnic group. He departs somewhat from Barth's emphasis when he posits "structural opposition" as the other necessary ingredient in maintaining ethnic boundaries (1979:5). Referring to Michael Hechter's assertion that economic distinction is most crucial, Keyes adds that many other factors could also qualify as opposition.[19] Structural opposition means that "members of an ethnic group share a common interest situation as well as a common cultural identity" (Ibid.).

Thus, even so ardent a student of ethnicity as Keyes notes the present possibility of assimilation of members of one group into another. He elaborates by pointing out that the speed and completeness of assimilation does not depend on the degree of difference between two groups. "Rather, assimilation requires that the structural differences that separate the two groups either be eliminated or redefined in non-ethnic terms" (Ibid.: 7).

Gans, Yancey, Steinberg and Keyes all point to the effect of social structure on ethnic groups, insofar as they will change, assimilate, or emerge. While I deliberately cite their works because I agree with the effects of social factors, I have shown in previous sections that the Dutch-Calvinist worldview, which rests on the particular religious faith it possesses, is the reason members give most consistently and generally for such maintenance. Although this position acknowledges the effect of economic and social forces in forging the worldview, it attributes independent significance to the latter also.

Pointing out the power of faith as a factor in generating and maintaining ethnicity in the lives of these Dutch-Calvinists is a contribution of this work. Structural opposition presumes external, applied conflict in which separate groups carve out niches for themselves in the ecology of territory, economy and a social structure. That also holds for Dutch-Calvinists, but that is not the whole picture. What is more important is that the opposition is <u>generated from within</u> the worldview itself. Those who are outside are often regarded as antithetically opposed to the Kingdom of God. The separate institutions and organised activities, of which there is such an array, are both parallel and oppositional to those provided by the society in general.[20] Thus, much of the opposition between the Dutch-Calvinist group and general society is generated by the worldview itself. Group ideology creates situations in which members of the Dutch-Calvinist community deliberately <u>choose</u> not to assimilate. This is an exceedingly complex process, and the line between Dutch-Calvinist ethnicity and the rest of society is jagged. If my thesis is correct, assimilation of Dutch-Calvinists may not occur as fast as one might expect, given the phenotypical, cultural and social similarities that exist between them and the dominant society.

Some of the situational differences which constitute the Dutch-Calvinist boundary would fit the structural opposition model well: Dutch-Calvinist immigrants were relatively poor when they came; in some cases, they possessed particular skills that set them in opposition to other immigrants (labourers, carpenters and farmhands) and equipped them for filling gaps in others (knowledge in horticulture, particularly flower and bulb-growing and vegetable farming); they came with particular historical experience, fresh from the ravages of the Second World War.

However, their chief uniqueness is that they came as Calvinists with an antithetical worldview that held that life is religion and that one must serve God in all relations and institutions. They believed that frequently this opposition would imply directly opposing the Canadian status quo; they were taught to expect such opposition and even to invite it in their quest for faithfulness. The effects of this worldview (with recognition of interrelation with the realities of structural opposition) is the point under scrutiny in this section as I ask, "What are the limits of ethnicity?"

As in previous sections, I looked at the data and constructed an outline by which to investigate it. This time, however, I also attempted to take into account Gans and Keyes's assertions that ethnic groups, on one hand, are instrumental for their members and, on the other, they result from structural opposition. I believe Gans and Keyes both make convincing cases for their positions and I can measure the validity of the assertion I am making about the effects of the faith-ethnic worldview against their findings. I applied the Dutch-Calvinist interviews and other information and accounts to the following questions:

1) Is there instrumentality or the substitution of an abstract, expressive ethnic identity within this ethnic group (Gans's 1976: 7, 9)?
2) Are Dutch-Calvinist institutions waning?[21]
3) What are the effects of the general society on Dutch-Calvinism at Riverside Christian Reformed Church?[22]
4) What are the effects of other ideologies on the Dutch-Calvinist worldview?[23]
5) What are the effects of isolation on the limits of ethnicity?[24]

Again, I acknowledge the potential of obscuring the question by using categories such as those above. Therefore, I re-state the purpose of this sub-section: to show the limits of ethnicity, either those points at which Dutch-

Calvinism is vulnerble to assimilation or where one's individual performance is in danger of becoming inadequate because of one's ethnicity (Barth 1969: 25).

I begin with a consideration of whether one's action as a Dutch-Calvinist is instrumental or expressive, keeping in mind Gans's assertions that a) most ethnicity no longer serves a useful purpose and b) that if it is only expressive, such as providing identity or comfort, then its retention will be shorter.

For these purposes, any function of ethnicity that the member considers instrumental will be considered as such here also. Therefore, when one says, "I want to see change in the church. I think it is necessary; but every change must have a purpose" (I5,A:334; I4,B:004), I consider that instrumental, because the actor would not even discuss "changes" if she rejected the group altogether. I assume she meant that the change would produce a group of which she would remain a member. That puts no nails in the coffin of Gans's hypothesis that there must be instrumental use of ethnicity if it is to persist. However, it tells one that, minimally, there is a desire for continuity of the group.

Calvinism, as a worldview, advocates a way of thinking about social issues:

> There is a particular way of carrying out work.... We are systematically, religiously trained. You don't have to think about how to act, you just do it. Others [other Christians with whom this woman works on social issues] go according to their own insights a lot. They make a lot of blunders before they do it right. We would do it right away.... Other Christians work in a worldly way, often. And then we have to say to them, "Yeah, we're Christians, and we don't react the same way the world reacts. (I7,A:187)

This woman appears to be boasting, but she is showing appreciation for her ethnic group, which she believes has equipped her uniquely to deal in social services from a Christian point of view. It is very practical or instrumental for her (also I7,A:172, 344, 450 and I51:7).

"Showing love for your neighbour" is the way many people characterise the influence of their faith.[25] While this term is common to many other Christian denominations, and the concept is shared by many religious groups and caring individuals, yet these people are directly attributing it to their particular tradition. Some, in fact, suggest that Dutch people are known as generous or as supportive or concerned. Again, that is an instrumental rendition of ethnicity.

The task of revitalisation of one's faith, of explaining Scriptures and of inspiring one to action is assigned to the church, particularly through the Sunday sermons, but also via the educational programmes. If people experience that to be a positive benefit, then this is an instrumental feature of the group (I60,A:155; I22,A:115; I19,A:344). Table 4 indicates that 75% of the people wrote in a variation of "Preaching the Word" or "good preachers" when asked for an open-ended response to the question: "What are the greatest strengths of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church?"

"Living a life of thankfulness" to God for the salvation they feel has been given them is another of the instrumental responses given by people (I60,A:249). Both of these also indicate that these people rely on the community to give them what they believe they need: hearing sermons with which they can live, and providing a field for living thankfully.

To this point I have not touched the limits of ethnicity, but have referred to its instrumental characteristics which would tend toward its persistence. This is somewhat a combination of the "persistence of ethnicity" section of this chapter. It addresses Gans's prediction that instrumental ethnicity will persist, but the symbolic or expressive variety will not. That assertion may be correct, but is there evidence of a shift toward a more abstract, expressive

variant in this community? Equally important, perhaps instrumentality is broader than Gans suggests. This data suggests that it is -- that it includes provision of the tools (acceptance, assurance, care, which are not identical with what Gans labels abstract expressivism) that one uses in daily living.

A concern expressed regularly is that young people are not taught the tradition well enough and are not allowed to make enough of a contribution to the community's life and worship. Frequently, young people or their parents mentioned that they should be allowed more participation.[26]

In a survey questionnaire distributed to young people between the ages of fifteen and eighteen, six of thirty (20%) mentioned greater participation in the church by youth as a response to the open-ended question: "What do you think are the most important issues facing Riverside Christian Reformed Church?" Only one of them listed it as his/her first response, another as the second, with all others mentioning it third or fourth. This is significant since they were asked to prioritise. Nine of the thirty (30%) did not respond and one who did said she/he did not care what this church thinks.[27]

In the adult questionnaire, no one responded to the question, "What are the greatest weaknesses in Riverside Christian Reformed Church?" (Table 5) by mentioning the absence of youth participation, although 11% listed "insufficient involvement by some members" and 7% "insufficient involvement and participation of members in worship services, " which may have included thoughts about youth involvement. To balance the lack of involvement by youth in the ongoing life and worship of the community, one should also note that 72% of the elementary school children (see Table 26A) and 65% of the high school students (Table 26B) attended a Christian school (72%, if one includes a combination of public and Christian schools). This is at least an indication of community

involvement. Seventy-one percent of the adults were sure that at least some of their children would remain in the Christian Reformed Church (Table 15), indicating that at least the formal aspect of ethnic retention appears quite sound.

In the recommendations from an evaluation committee, "Nature and Purpose of Programmes for Young People in Riverside Christian Reformed Church," July 7, 1988, a number of comments and recommendations were made. After listing five goals, the committee provided several objectives which would give greater participation to youth in an obvious attempt to make the group more instrumental in their lives, as it provides ways for them to be useful to the community. Opportunity for service (allowing individual members to feel useful and to see future possibilities as members of the group) and reciprocity (the group being available to members as they are available for it) appear essential to keep people involved in the group.[28]

All of the suggestions regarding youth participation, in spite of the large percentage already attending Christian schools, indicate a concern for the limit of ethnicity and an awareness that concrete steps must be taken to ensure that it will remain vital and instrumental rather than an abstraction. As one mother told me, "If we want young people to become leaders, they must learn to become leaders.... if they are to become more than merely symbols, they must work" (I24,B:412). Despite that, many of the youth, according to the youth leader, are not pushed to formally join the church; some eventually lose interest and leave. That obviously approaches a real limit in the group's continuation: there must be ways to assure perpetuation. This is a matter that the congregation and leadership realises well and has led to the appointment of a full-time youth worker in the church.

Others believe the limits to continuing the community as it now exists are very near. The group is losing its identity, said some of the people who hold a stringent position about what it should be (I4,A:143). They believe that the young people no longer know the struggles that Reformed churches in The Netherlands went through, nor do they remember war-time Holland or the immigration period, which were both important crucibles in forming the combination of faith and determination which has come to characterise the Christian Reformed Church for these people (I49,C:342). The question of whether or not the community will continue to exist, as well as the larger denomination of which it is part, is very real to many people (I82:9, 10, 22; I66, I49, I25, I76, I72). For some, the question has already been answered and all but one of the interviewees just cited have left the community by the time of this writing. Asking the question of limits to ethnic preservation is, of course, fraught with the problems of perception and definition. For those people to whom I just referred, the limits are drawn with recourse to past interpretations and in reference to the possession and practice of particular diacritical features: doctrines, ways of acting and worship. For them the church is no longer instrumental if present members do not adhere to these precise interpretations and diacritica.

There is evidence that young people wonder about the limits of instrumentality too, however. A lack of distinction and evidences of faith through obedience to the moral teachings of the church concerning sexual conduct, Sunday observance, use of alcohol, entertainment and use of money are all questioned from time to time, also by the youth (I12,B:010, 078; I17; I33; I57). Some suggested that if faith does not lead to distinctive living, then one cannot be certain if membership in the community is a matter of form and identity, or one

of participation, committed adherence and contribution to its continuation. Questions were asked about the definition of limits and whether one has made them one's own. That is an indication that the limits which the recursive and diacritically oriented observers referred to in the preceding paragraph have not been crossed nor abolished, although they may be approached. There are some who only regard the community as a symbol or as a set of ordered activities, a place to relate to long-held friends, or a repository of rituals long cherished. Consider, for example, the young man who said that he remains in the church because religion "can't hurt you." He appears to be at the point between instrumentality and expressive identity, in Gans's terms.

A young "marginal man," troubled about his relationship to his parents and the church, said:

> There are a lot of people who don't have enough self-confidence to say to their parents or friends that they don't want to go to the church anymore....
>
> When I was a kid, it was the thing to do.... I believed because that was the thing to do. In high school, I started questioning and wanted some proof. Eventually, it didn't mean anything to me, but I still kept on going because I was too afraid to step out, even in my university years [pauses to remember how it happened] I just started going [to church] less and less and sleeping in. Also my dad has always said that God doesn't like hypocrites -- lukewarm .... I just thought, "I'll stop this and at least I'll be honest. (I46,A:4, 5)

One can see that the instrumentality of ethnicity, what it does or can do for one, is intimately tied to its continuation. Gans is right in his contention about that. The only question then is: what constitutes this instrumentality? Is it related to economic or power position, or can it include the providing of tools for daily living to which I am alluding here?

Further into his conversation with me, this man revealed what it is like to be beyond even the identity phase of membership in the community.

> It is obvious that children go into the same religion or denomination as their parents -- largely due to social influence. You want to be in

> the same church as your friends. I feel that too. When I stopped going to church, that's one of the things that really stopped. It made me hesitant. I wanted to be in the same group as my friends. (Ibid.:7)

When I asked him whether he still sees his friends, he replied that he did not. From this, it appears obvious that the function of this form of ethnicity, at least, is instrumental, not only expressive, if one's conception of "instrumental" is broad enough to include the provision of tools with which one acts and faces the world. In his frankness, this young man demonstrates the extremity of the relationship to the community.[29]

Another version of this aspect of the question of limits revolves around the issue of in-group exclusion. If it is true, as some contend, that there are cliques of people within both the young people and the adults who believe that their definitions of the church hold more weight than others' and who exclude others from full participation, then this obviously constrains the usefulness of the group for the excluded ones. If membership in the group is a matter of status and a heritage which reaches back to immigrant days, then the church would, indeed, be approaching the kind of ascriptive, symbolic ethnicity of which Gans speaks, and which Barth refers to as a "culture-bearing unit."

A woman who has high ability and insight, but who feels she has been excluded from participation in school society events, said, "There is a crowd of people who have always done this work, and they are not about to share that responsibility with too many others" (I11,C:220). She added that she had tried to serve on several committees and fund-raisers but has felt by-passed by those who regularly perform those duties. Viewed from one angle, much work is being done: there is a high level of activity and renewing of the community. From this woman's perspective, however, the group in charge is not allowing the full

talents or identification of the community. If many people feel sidelined, that would, of course, diminish the activity in both numbers and feeling of attachment.

The church and school together function as a social group for cliques, but not a ground for reaching out: that is the opinion of a young woman who contends that there exists a group of young people who consider themselves "cool," do not attend the formal Young Peoples Society, at least not as many years as would be required for them to become leaders in that group, and who are divisive in that they confuse their membership in the group with a license to treat its standards with some impunity (I12,A:80, 100, 120; B:010, 078). There is an absence of love, respect and care for each other among the young people, adds another woman who had just returned from college abroad and was in a position to analyse this situation from some distance and then return to experience it again before my interview with her (I33,C:436). Similar sentiments were expressed by several people in the gathering at which that quotation was derived.

At the adult level, I have earlier referred to several people (I25, I34, I83) who told of their feelings of alienation from the group. The responses to questionnaires seem to complement that, on one hand. As summarised in Table 5, the open-ended response to the question about the "greatest weaknesses" in the church yielded some evidence for the position that there is in-group exclusion. Twenty-eight percent of the people responded that there were too many small groups or cliques in the church. Over nine percent said that it was "too Dutch," which does not necessarily imply the sort of exclusion we are looking at here, but it could contribute to a sense of alienation for those who are not Dutch themselves. Another category, labelled "too family-oriented, too middle-class, insufficient attention to small, but identifiable sectors," netted 5.5%

of the respondents. Certainly, evidence indicates that there is at least a perception of in-group exclusion. As such, it constitutes a potential limitation on the appeal of the group to all members. But this is a "sticky wicket," for there is another side to members' assessments. In response to the request for "the greatest strengths" of the group (Table 4), the category "Friendship, Sharing, 'Communion of the saints,'" was chosen by far more people than any other category. It was considered the community's greatest asset, with 85% of the respondents providing that description.

In the interviews, an overwhelming number of people mentioned this characteristic. In fact, even those young people who were critical of cliquishness reported that they (another group consisting largely of university students or career young adults) "...have found each other, from all different perspectives, and we are all with each other now" (I33,C:078). In spite of negative feelings toward the young people (except for those in the group just mentioned) one young woman said: "I decided that, even if I didn't like the young people, I got along great with the adults [laughter of agreement in the group].... It's a close community among the adults. I've given up on the young people" (I33,C:167). Thus, the ostracism by one group led to the formation of another, in this case. This phenomenon seemed prevalent. People related how they got close to a limited number of people who were "real friends" to whom they can "open up" (e.g.,I19,A:209). Describing the different sorts of relationships and their varied effects on him, one 25 or 30-year-old man said:

> There are groups which are "more of a coffee thing, a social thing. The guys talk sports, and the girls whatever they talk about. Whereas [in another group -- the church-organised Family Circle group, which includes older people] it's a little more serious, but it's fun. You learn something. (I15,A:012)

There are groups such as the young people about which I made the following note after spending a long and enjoyable evening with them:

> It appears implicit in this visit that the limit to their involvement with the ethnic group is at the point where individual or subgroup freedom to interact would be curtailed or compromised. Right now, group membership is seen to enhance individual performances considerably via strong families, good reputations, community respect, strictness in doctrines, which are not questioned nor difficult to accept since little agency is involved.
>
> On issues of theological debate: creation-evolution, opposition or cooperation with the world, roles in the church, political or social witness, evangelisation, Christian education, there is general concurrence, so it is easy to fulfil requirements once one is socialised into both knowing the rules and knowing how to avoid infringement or detection when breaking them together. (FN 09-27-87)

This is one form of adherence and instrumental use of Dutch-Calvinism.

However, if one looks at the list of chairpersons of committees within the church (D6:3-6),[30] one notes that those about whom people complain as aloof and who "like to run the church" are **not** over-represented.

From the above observations, it appears that the group is highly instrumental, while there is also evidence of at least the perception of selective, in some cases, exclusive, groups. Overall, however, members are aware that the church community is more than a small number of people but consists of all those who name and consider themselves such.

The second category by which I want to investigate the limits of ethnicity is that of institutions. Are they waning? If they are, then it would be likely that the process of assimilation of the Dutch-Calvinists may become quite rapid. Breton noted that:

> The presence of formal organizations in the ethnic community sets out forces that have the effect of keeping the social relations of the immigrants within its boundaries. It tends to minimize outgroup contacts. (1964: 196)

To what extent are such formal organisations present here? Since I have just dealt with the matter of institutions in Chapter Five, I shall not repeat an

analysis of the evidence. Instead, on the basis of that information one notes that the two central institutions within this community, the church and the Christian schools, are very solid. While some herald the loss of control of these institutions, particularly the school, to "outsiders" who are not from this church, the evidence suggests that this is not the case. The board presidents of the local Christian school have almost always been members at the Riverside Christian Reformed Church; all have been members of some Christian Reformed church. This is also true of the predominance of board members. Of those who were not, most were members of other Christian Reformed Churches in the area.[31]

The church, while giving more attention to local evangelism, to refugees and needy people, is not changing its original commitment. It adheres as strongly as ever to its doctrinal standards. Some old and stable families have gone, but the church has retained the vast majority and continue to revive by adding people who have moved into the area or who have been brought in via the various church programmes (small though that latter number is).

Where one does see a low enthusiasm is in the area of membership in external organisations such as the CPJ, CLAC and ICS. These organisations have not enjoyed a high level of support at Riverside Christian Reformed Church. Thus, in this area I conclude that, while not institutionally complete, there are strong institutional parallels, including the church which Breton found to be the paramount ethnicity-maintaining institution (1964: 200). The third category of investigation of Dutch-Calvinist ethnic group limits is that of perceived effects of the general society.

First, we note that members of this ethnic community fare well in the general society and share many of the assumptions and benefits of the general

society. There is little overt, daily stigma and discrimination against Dutch-Calvinists as a result of their uniqueness since they are regarded as racially identical and, in many ways, culturally similar to the dominant society. Thus, in spite of the Calvinist injunction that religion and life are one, and that one's faith must pervade all of one's life, some members live on two levels: Dutch-Calvinists are generally successful and highly participative in economic and occupational ways while maintaining the majority of social contacts and religious practices and sentiments within the Dutch-Calvinist community. When these two levels or aspects of life are inconsistent, options ranging from ignoring, toleration and rationalisation to dealing with the matter in terms of principles of faith are available. As economic, occupational, status mobility and competing religious factors regularly and increasingly confront members, the distinctiveness of the group becomes problematic, and new bases of identity are contemplated, while attempting to remain true to religious ideals.

Members generally concur with a point also made by F. Barth: as long as members continue to act and regard themselves as different from others, ethnicity will remain. When they no longer do this, it will wane. In the case of Dutch-Calvinists, as long as participation in the church and adherence to Calvinist principles is central, the community will persist. When that no longer holds, assimilation may be inevitable. Attainment of economic equality, prestige and positions of relative power in the general community are powerful factors in reducing adherence to principles that maintain the importance of the group distinctions. There are examples of that occurring already, and this fact is presently the cause of much strife and deliberation in the church.

Strife and deliberation were evident in the interviews. Many people told me that increasing contact with the wider society would be harmful to Dutch-

Calvinists. Two simply noted that Dutch-Calvinists have traditionally fared better in conditions of isolation (I49,A:344 and I4,A:400) when they could develop their own ideals unhindered by outside influences. Another maintained that such contact would surely doom the group in particular, and the denomination as a whole (I25,B:210). A woman, with her husband agreeing, held that the Christian church must radically separate from the world if it is to be untainted by evil. Those in the two interviews just mentioned are no longer with the church. This may be some indication of the direction Dutch-Calvinists want to take. The following quotation from a staunch Calvinist who loves this community dearly is a summary of what I heard. "Our church is struggling to become more modern, not stand still, and hang onto our creeds," he said (I19,A:170). That tension is inherent in all of the social contact that the community and its members have.

Influences are noted, first on the level of morals and behaviour, which are perceived to potentially affect the viability of this group. "Some kids go out and drink -- get drunk -- and the parents don't seem to mind; I think some of them know about it," said one woman who was close to some young people. She gathered those impressions, she told me, from people who had witnessed the drinking first hand. From others who had also been part of some drinking activity, I know this to be true. Drinking alcohol has seldom been proscribed among Dutch-Calvinists. Commonly, wine is part of the refreshments when visiting one another, including the after-church-service get-togethers, if they last past the customary coffee and cake stage. Gin or brandy is sometimes served, particularly on special occasions such as birthdays or holiday gatherings, and wine is a frequent ingredient at wedding dinners. Increasingly,

the practiced of dancing and an open bar are becoming fashionable at weddings also.

However, moderation is always expected and seldom, at least in the occasions I have observed, were people drunk. This appears to be changing somewhat. If parents are allowed hard liquor -- a relatively recent practice, begun post-immigration -- perhaps the younger people assume that drunkenness is also permissible. While my research on this point was conducted on second-hand accounts, and even that indicates that there is definitively not a serious problem, it still raises concern among some of the people with whom I spoke.[32]

In addition to the references to drinking, issues such as sexual practices of the youth (young people going on vacation together, pre-marital pregnancy) were mentioned in one form or another in a number of interviews.[33] One of the presumed causes of this behaviour is the prevalence of sexual activity in movies and television. Some members assumed that these media have an effect on the morals of Dutch-Calvinist youth, who are not prevented from attending and watching. One woman linked changing sexual mores among youth to materialism, saying that young people feel they have to be completely furnished for a household before they become married, and so they wait until they have made enough money to do so. This elongated wait before marriage, she claimed, results in breaking the Dutch-Calvinist proscriptions against pre-marital sex (I6,A:280, 290). Whether or not this is true, there is no direct evidence that community bonds are weakening significantly due to changing mores. No mention of the matter of morality or behaviour was made in the "greatest weakness" response to the questionnaire which I distributed and analysed (Table 5). Another category of perceived effects of the general society on the Dutch-

Calvinist community is one which I have called materialism -- the usual term by which the members themselves refer to it.

When the first Dutch-Calvinists immigrated to this area and began the church, they were all relatively impoverished, with only one professional person among the original group (D1). However, Table 25 indicates that today 51% of the people are professionals or managers; 12% are self-employed; a further 16% are office workers. Surely some of these people have made successful contacts with the larger society.

> Today, the young people feel more independent. They have too much money..... The parents let them do anything. With their own car, they can go wherever they want and do whatever they want. No control! (I20,B:250, 265)

One can appreciate this lament if one remembers that, for the Dutch-Calvinist, the goal of life is to praise God simply and obediently, and to do so in conjunction with the similar efforts of other faithful people. Against that background, such contact is regarded as dangerous and evil. "People are much more materialistic now than in immigrant days," said a woman a generation younger than the man just quoted. After giving some examples of living with little, she said, "and it's not for the better" (I24,B:450).

A greater concentration on material things than on the Kingdom was mentioned by many people. The conclusion was the same: money and status get in the way of the priority of the Kingdom. One young woman said,

> For us, it's a choice between buying a new carpet and giving to the church. We do both. I like to think that if I spent $50.00 on a Friday night, you should certainly give that much to the church because you have it and you spend it on yourself. (I54,B:200)

She did not volunteer whether she actually did the latter. Neither did she speak in the vein that her grandparents' generation would have: how much time should I put in on Friday night working at the school or the church? That is

the sort of difference to which these people refer. It is also expressed in the comments of a man who surveyed his beautiful house and successful career and said, "Isn't God great? He gave us all these blessings![34]

This can be balanced somewhat by another set of responses that also deal with the Dutch-Calvinists and society. For example, the Dutch-Calvinist worldview can be mobilised in response to its environing society. Evangelisation and social action is encouraged, as with one man who suggested keeping up the things he had always done, such as introducing people to Christianity and serving wherever he can (I60,B:035, 080). Another put it this way:

> We must open our eyes for what goes on in the community... [to] get out of our isolation and our pursuing of doctrines and issues [which] will never get us out of our isolation. What will get us out... is a real compassion and understanding of what is going on in the world around us. (I21,B:150)

That is echoed in the testimony of the director of the church's "Coffee Break" programme, who told me that the women from the church who were involved were deeply affected by their contacts with people with great needs, since they began to look at the world through the eyes of those who did not have the stability most Dutch-Calvinists take for granted (I37). Members told me similar stories, one from Canada's "Volunteer of the Year," who does not mince his Calvinism as he helps people on the streets, in hospitals, and in jails (I79).[35]

Impetus for greater involvement in society is amply demonstrated in the questionnaire responses, in which 39% of the respondents -- the second most-mentioned area -- indicated a response which I collectively called "Too inward-looking/exclusivistic/ethnocentric" as a weakness in the church.

Thus, while there may be concern over the loss of distinctiveness that may lead to erosion of the ethnic group boundary in morals, behaviour and materialism, there is another side. People are concerned to reach beyond their

ethnic "doctrines and issues" and into the lives of people around them. When they do that, however, they will do so distinctly as Dutch-Calvinists, it appears.

To what extent involvement in the world outside of their group has affected Dutch-Calvinists is difficult to say. Has this sort of ethnicity reached the Gansian limit or is there still a Barthian boundary -- slight, but significant?

From the earlier section on institutions within the community, refer again to the treatment of Tables 26A, B and C. From them, we noted that 65% of the respondents' elementary-age children, 71% of the high school-age and 49% of the university students attended Christian institutions. In the case of high school and university students, a further 7% and 21%, respectively, attended a combination of public and Christian schools. Despite the comments of those who fear that the community is being assimilated into the greater society, that is a considerable commitment to boundary maintenance.

Analysing Table 8, "Respondents' Group Associations," we find that 67% of the respondents listed a specific club or office[36] in the church, 49% said they belonged to another Calvinistic organisation outside Riverside Christian Reformed Church, and 49% listed the church in general. Compare this to the 37% who listed work association, unions and the like, and the 17% who participate in community associations outside the Dutch-Calvinist community. Table 9 "Respondents' Friendship Groups," shows that friendships are formed primarily from Dutch-Calvinist groupings: 46% with offices or groups within the church; 45% listing the church in general; and 32% belonging to a Calvinist club or organisation outside this specific church community. From outside their group, 23% chose friends from their union for work associations, 12% from a recreation

club or informal group, 6% from a community organisation or political party association and only 3% from their neighbours.

Where would one go for advice? If the limit of ethnicity were being approached or the boundary breached, one would expect that people would spurn the Dutch-Calvinist community in favour of the social contacts outside it. The pattern, however, is the same as we have been observing in cases of associations and friendships. This is where people would go: a pastor (30%); a friend (29%);[37] a specific church group of which one is a part (18%); someone from the church in general (14%) or a Christian counsellor (10%);[38]. All of these figures dwarf the general social contacts one might otherwise expect people to use as resources for advice: work associates (3%); one's medical doctor (2%); medical doctor (2%); one's recreation club members (1%) or neighbours (1%). The list could go on with lower numbers. This indicates an incredibly low rate of general social participation for these purposes.

If one wanted to determine the effects of occupational differences on participation rates in society, one could take a somewhat more detailed look at the choice of institutions or associations by occupational category. We note that about the same number of people in all occupational categories -- in the range of 45-55% -- associate with a specific Riverside Christian Reformed Church office or group. The exception here is the licensed professional group, with a 65% rate. If one looks closely at the list of elders and deacons, one will find a preponderance of such professionals. Since they <u>are</u> the officials, they simply have more contact with others in such official capacities in the church.

People with less formal occupational credentials tend to have more non-Riverside Christian Reformed Church or other Christian organisation ties. This gives some credibility to the assertion that greater contact with society leads

to less reliance on Christian organisations. However, the differences are not great enough to make a strong case for that. In addition, the degreed and licensed professionals still have fairly high Dutch-Calvinist participation rates, even though slightly lower than the others.

It is true that highly degreed people, managers or owners of their own businesses tend to belong to more outside organisations (with the exception of the unaccountably low 27% of licensed professionals), but that has not prevented them from participating in the church in general or in specific offices. It also appears that more formally credentialed people have more contact with their neighbours. One would likely conclude that social contact will perhaps increase as the Dutch-Calvinists climb the social and occupational ladder.

Homemakers tend to have higher than average participation in Christian organisations, a fact borne out in the interview, which showed that many volunteer in visiting programmes at hospitals, prisons and old age homes. Several are involved in the Pro-Life movement as well.

Moving to Table 32, "Correlation Between Respondents' Occupations and Friendship Groups," to see the effect of one's occupation on choice of friends, we see a concurrence with patterns in organisational participation rate. Overwhelmingly, friends are chosen from church groups. Considerably more friends are selected from work associations and enrichment or recreational clubs by the professional and trades groups, and particularly the business managers. This is perhaps due to the greater intimacy and common interests fostered among managers. However, when one looks at the rate of participation of these people in the church's activities, it is clear that this is not done at the expense of friendships in the Riverside Christian Reformed Church or the larger Dutch-Calvinist community. It appears that such people simply have more friends than

others -- or are more ready to call workmates friends. The main point is that greater contact with the outside world does not correlate negatively with friendships in one's ethnic group.

Are younger people more "worldly" when measured by their associations and friendships? If the limits of ethnicity are bursting, one would expect that the rupture would occur first among the young, who have not had as much exposure to the struggles and confirmations of the group as older folk have.

Yes, there is a considerably lower rate of association with the church indicated by the 18-29-year-old group (37%) than with the others: 30-39 (57%); 40-49 (60%; 50-59 (46%); 60-69 (47%).[39] However, one should not draw a conclusion before noting that their participation in work associations is also lower. The personal fitness trend appeals to this age group, and that shows in a somewhat greater participation in that category than 18-29-year-olds showed in others. Curiously, however, more in the 30-39-year-old group were active there (26%) and even the 40-45 cohort exceeded the youngest (at 20%), so that even there the younger members are not more involved in a general societal trend. A statistic that disconfirms the lower involvement by the younger group of Riverside Christian Reformed Church is the fact that 25% of them list family as their primary association. This is almost double the family association choice-rate of the next highest cohort (the 50-59-year-olds at 13%). Far from abandoning the Dutch-Calvinist group, they are associating with its kinship source more than any other age group. This evidence does not tell us that ethnicity is waning in lower participation by its youngest adults.

Let us see if the survey indicates that friend selection is affected by age. The phrase about being known by the company one keeps may be true. Intimacy is most likely to occur with those with whom one can communicate and

share ideas -- one of the features of ethnicity which Alfred Schutz noted in his concept of the "taken-for granted" character of most of the actions in which we engage with our associates. I assume that friend selection is an indicator of ethnic group participation and a harbinger of persistence or assimilation.

Indeed, the youngest group has a lower selection rate of friends from the church in general: 37% compared with 49%, 56%, 46% and 42%, respectively for the next four decade-categories. Also, the youngest group has a lower selection of friends from specific groups or offices within the church than the next two higher cohorts: 43%, compared with 51% in both the 30-39 and 40-49 groups. However, they are the same as the 50-59 group, and 11% higher in such selection than the 60-69-year-olds. This, again, is hardly a convincing sign that the wall of the ethnic boundary is crumbling at the site of its latest construction. True, less 18-29-year-olds choose friends from a Calvinistic, non-Riverside Christian Reformed Church group. Part of that can be explained, however, by the fact that people often do not join boards of directors of schools or voluntary organisations until they have proven themselves in the community, gained work experience, and begun a family (especially in the case of participation in the school society). Often a person is not prepared nor does he or she want deep involvement until that time. Therefore, a slightly lower participation rate is not a sure indication that such involvement will not occur.

Once more, the biggest blow to the assertion that ethnicity is disappearing among younger Dutch-Calvinists is their much greater participation in the family. Twenty-three percent, compared to almost nothing in most other cohorts, is the level of friendship formation from within the 18-29-year-olds' families. If ethnic group participation is flagging, it is not due to a breakdown in primary group participation by young adults.

Looking at the relation between one's sex and the groups with which she or he associates, we find near identity between men and women: about 50% for the church in general and 67% for participation in specific groups or offices. This is somewhat surprising in light of the fact that official ecclesiastical positions are closed to women in Riverside Christian Reformed Church. Yet, female participation is as high as male. In the three categories of Christian club or association, personal enrichment or recreation club and service organisations, women have greater involvement than men by several percentage points. On the other hand, men have somewhat more work and professional associations than women -- predictable in this male-dominated group. Neither sex tends away noticeably from associations with the group in favour of external associations.[40]

Generally, the same holds for sex's correlation with friendship choices -- Table 31. Women form more friendships from within the church in general than men (49% and 42%, respectively) but men choose a higher percentage than women from specific groups within he church (48% to 44%). Again, this is almost certainly due to the fact that only men hold offices. In fact, it is surprising that so many women choose friends in this category. It can only be explained by the fact that more women than men choose from informal church-related groups. Indeed, female participation in church clubs is higher than males' (D1). More women than men choose friends from within their families and also more from service organisations. The latter occurs because women do more work in such organisations than men (D1 and general reference to field notes and interviews, in which women reported many more volunteer efforts than men). Women are also slightly higher on the personal enrichment, recreation club friend selection measure than men, but the difference is small (men: 11%; women: 13%)

The similarity between men and women in these measures confirms what many people told me: the male headship issue within the Riverside Christian Reformed Church is not a matter of male dominance so much as male office-holding. As far as dictation of friend and association choices goes, women and men appear to have equal freedom of choice in spite of general male dominance. Nevertheless, the offices in the church and therefore much of its official policy and direction is male-dominated. More men failed to respond to this question in addition to the fact that fewer men answered the questionnaire in the first place.

In both the interviews and the analysis of the questionnaires, therefore, I find more evidence for the persistence than curtailment of ethnic group boundaries. Occupation, age, and sex have an effect on such group-related phenomena as choice of friends and general association, but they do not explain all such intra-group affiliation. Differences among variables are not great and they can usually be explained by accepted group norms, such as sanctioned outgroup participation and role differentiation. Still, some major assimilation forces are at work. Dutch-Calvinists have more possessions than formerly and have adopted moral and behavioural practices akin or identical to other Canadians'. Many have deep friendships and associations outside the Dutch-Calvinist community that may eventually displace ethnicity. However, the ethnic boundary remains intact, although the cultural content it encloses may have changed.

Considering the limits of ethnicity -- that is, the capacity of ethnicity to withstand the forces of assimilation or irrelevance -- one must pay attention to what members say about themselves and their own potential. Some Dutch-Calvinists believe that their uniqueness is ebbing. They would agree with Martin

Marger's characterisation of ethnic group which begins with unique cultural traits, proceeds to "sense of community" and ascription, and ends with ethnocentrism and territoriality. They concentrate on those characteristics -- at least on cultural traits, the degree of we-ness or ethnocentrism and territory claimed for the group. I have used the term diacritic or diacritica to refer to any trait or characteristic that symbolises or epitomises a belief. There are certain traits or diacritica that must hold in order for one to be considered a member of a given ethnic group.

I have laboured to show that people act on the basis of pictures of the world. As members of boundary-maintaining groups make contacts with the dominant society, ideas flow as freely as any other currency. For example, Steinberg's point about the role of the public school system in assimilating immigrants is not only about behaviour modification in the classroom. It concerns the flow of ideas: "undermining of the immigrant culture's ability to transmit their native culture to their American-born children" (Steinberg 1989: 54). In the Dutch-Calvinist community, the school problem has been partially solved by instituting separate Christian schools, but there are other ways for the transmission of dominant ideas and ideologies. The machine, the media, the market, and the matinee, to name four alliterative examples, transform people's minds.

Two men, in separate interviews, told me of the general ignorance among Dutch-Calvinists about what they consider the twin evils of Arminianism (see Chapter 5, Endnote 19) and the effects of the French Revolution. The former causes people to doubt their salvation and forget the stabilising and culture-generating influence of God's covenant of grace which makes people secure and prosperous. The second makes people ignore God and glorify science, evidence

and rationality. Together these philosophies undermine true Christianity (I4,A:290) to the point where there is little evidence of structural difference. Those who are affected no longer literally believe in the Word of God but want proof for its claims. To these men this demonstrates a lack of faith. The Bible in its literal form as interpreted by past or "orthodox" scholars is true. Interpretations and historical contextualisation are regarded as succumbing to modernising and accommodating tendencies that would eventually lead to the community's demise (I16,A: 275, 329). For some, the worship services also show signs of ideological change with liturgy, hymn singing and musical renditions sometimes vying for attention with the sermon on a passage from the Bible. The leaders are sometimes blamed for that. Those who make such charges assume that these leaders want to affect the church in ways that will eventually destroy faith. Worshippers are demanding unnecessary experiences, they say (I16,B:016).

One person who left the church in sorrow and distrust regarded the use of the word "community" as a concession to secular thought because it is not used in the Bible.

> Rev. Huizenga, Henk Hart,[41] and now you, talk about community.... But what I do not hear is how that all fits in with the Reformed people having a sense of the covenant. In a Reformed setting, the community of believers should emphasize the covenant and covenant people. You don't hear about that. (I25,C:178)

This man linked the use of "community" in my question to him during our interview with what he charged as a lack of appreciation for the covenant in the Christian Reformed Church generally. He said, for example, that the Ten Commandments should be called the Covenant Words instead, and should be read each Sunday (Ibid.:260). I report this here to illustrate the degree of wrangling concern some members -- in this case, a disgruntled former member -- of the community display over what they consider ideological compromise. He

called that use of the term "community" a demonstration of "liberalism," for example. "We must be more precise," he said. "It is safer, more precise, to use 'God's covenant people' instead of community. That's definitely very confusing" (Ibid.:085).

Other people who sometimes referred to themselves as "concerned members" frequently used terms such as "watering down," "putting water with the wine," and "liberal" when referring to preaching and teaching which did not enforce a six-day creation period and similar readings of the Bible.[42]

Is all this true? Is Riverside Christian Reformed Church losing its distinctiveness, first by misinterpreting Scripture and second by applying such misinterpretation to matters of worship, liturgy and ecclesiastical office, and a host of other issues? More to the point of this section is the question, Are the Dutch-Calvinist worldview, its institutions and boundaries, proscriptions, prescriptions and criteria of distinction being lost? Are the limits of ethnicity being exceeded?

Certainly the overwhelming message that the members of the community gave me in the research was "No!" While there are those, cited above, who subscribe to the idea that false ideology is pervading the group, most do not feel that way. They neither want to leave Calvinism behind them, split away, watch others leave, nor remain bound in traditions and past interpretations.[43]

While some may regard the attempt to make changes in the cultural content of the group a destruction of Calvinism, it appears clear that a relevant boundary remains. The ideology or worldview of Dutch-Calvinism must be engaged and engaging, many people said, in contradiction to those who warn of its loss as that engagement with other ideologies occurs.

We must still be strong but not isolated, was the message that came through in discussing this matter with a thoughtful man and woman (I5,B::039, 063, 075). In contradiction to the assertion by one member that "religion means serving the Lord, ... but it must be done in private" (I13,C:370), another stated that we must look away from ourselves and toward the rest of the world (I21,B:150).

Regarding the matter of ideology's effects, I also want to analyse here some of the responses to the questionnaire to determine the members' own perceptions about the strength of their own worldview.

First, as summarised in Table 4, of those who responded to the open-ended question "What are the greatest strengths of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church?"[44] 85% indicated that it is friendship, sharing, and "communion of the saints."[45]

While this does not have a direct connection with the effects of ideology, one notes that even the term "communion of the saints" is an implication of uniqueness. More than that, however, it indicates an intimacy which "helps one to preserve a sense of community, to know who one is" (Yinger 1981: 258). Knowing "who one is" is an important step in the direction of worldview retention and, hence, in maintaining the ethnic group boundary.

"Strong belief system/practice of belief" is a feature listed by half of the respondents as a stength of this community. Forty-four percent of them chose "Preaching the Word." An emphasis on "the covenant" was perceived and appreciated by 24% of the respondents.[46] If people felt that their basic beliefs were, in fact, "watered down" versions of the ideal, one doubts that there would be as much appreciation for their retention.[47]

Turning to Table 5, "Greatest Weaknesses of Riverside Christian Reformed Church,"[48] one finds that only 7% of the respondents are convinced that non-

Dutch-Calvinist ideologies are making inroads. One person -- representing only .4% of these respondents -- said that "too much change in worship" is a problem. In sharp contrast, 40% volunteered the criticism that the church is "too conservative/non-innovative/insufficient evidence of faith or Spirit" and 39% thought it is "too inward-looking/exclusivistic/ethnocentric/etc.

This gave little evidence that there is great concern about the extent of influence of external ideologies. Instead, combining the result of Tables 4 and 5, one would assume that members would attempt to take the strengths of this church, its closeness and care, strong beliefs and preaching, and open that to the world around.

Thus, the limit to ethnicity might be approached after all, not via assimilation pressures from outside so much as those generated from within.[49] What is more likely is that the boundaries will remain -- perhaps drawn somewhat differently to include other people than those traditionally regarded as members of the group. The content, however, may change. Some revisions of practices; reinterpretation of the Bible, creeds and doctrines; new ways of applying them; new roles and role definitions may occur.[50] But the group as a unique force with an interpretation of the past, present and future, with a particular worldview, with specific institutions and overall boundaries, will remain for a long time. Perhaps those who define the limits of ethnicity differently than the majority will leave; perhaps they will remain and be part of the dynamic process by which "normatively ascribed agreement" is exchanged for "communicatively achieved understanding" (Habermas 1984, I: 70) in the Dutch-Calvinist metamorphosis toward the future.

ENDNOTES

1. I am referring to such sociological approaches as symbolic interactionism; Anthony Giddens' emphasis on agent and the "duality of structure" in which the agent is both influenced by and influences the social configurations in which he acts; Habermas's idea of negotiated intent and clear communication, as well as the agent-determined character of social legitimacy and authority.

2. This, of course, is one of the abiding contributions of The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (Weber [1904] 1958: 39, 40 and passim). But it is also evident in his Ancient Judaism and his works on Taoism and Confucianism. Emile Durkheim noted that "...there is something eternal in religion which is destined to survive all the particular symbols in which religious thought has successively enveloped itself" (Durkheim [1915] 1947: 427). Of course, he is referring here to the development of important "collective sentiments," but he is nonetheless also asserting its independence as a "social fact." Obviously, Durkheim regards religion as causal: one's religion is a primary factor in whether one experiences anomie or the comfort of a mechanically solid set of norms (see Suicide, Durkheim [1897] [1930] 1951: 152-170).

David Lyon (1985: 77) points also to the pervasiveness of religion in determining the "constitution" of society and one's orientation to it.

3. If one is interested, I can provide citations, but obviously this man's anonymity would be destroyed if I provided them here.

4. In this connection, one should also consider Lawrence J. Taylor's excellent, and in some ways parallel, account to this dissertation. In it, he writes about the foundation of communities on the basis of what he calls the "contractual idiom" (Taylor 1983: 14).

> The Reformed church taught that the elect should experience success not only in their callings, but also a compulsion to join with other Christians in the community -- for the glory of God. (Taylor 1983: 14, 15)

Taylor is noticing here that the separate institutions that Dutch-Calvinists form and the rationale they provide for them are intimately linked with each other. The ethnic group is a place in which to develop deeper faith through action in consort with like-minded others.

Another source, the report of a Study Committee to the 1898 Synod of the Christian Reformed Church, summed up the matter as clearly as it could be: "there may be no separation between civil, social and religious life, education and training" (Synodical Decisions on Doctrinal and Ethical Matters, 1976: 41).

5. This is also a point made in the previous section, led by Barth, about prescription and proscription and the fact that they occur so that regularity among groups can obtain.

6. While stopping short of outright condemnation of all labour unions, the Synod of the Christian Reformed Church gives an opening to the more radical opposition to trade unions which immigrants to Riverside Christian Reformed Church adopted.

Here are two synodical statements, the second of which gives grounds for the more radical position:

> From the Synod of 1943: Church membership and membership in a so-called neutral labor union are compatible as long as such union gives no constitutional warrant to sins, nor shows in its regular activities that it champions sin.
>
> ... Christian conscience cannot condone membership in a neutral organization if it continues and approves its sinful practices in spite of protests against them. (D28: 47)

This position, of course, makes the decision essentially a matter of the individual and his/her decision of whether there are specific "sins" (most likely considered of a moral nature) which the union is guilty of committing. A more radical position taken by Abraham Kuyper, whose ideas Rev. Van Andel staunchly supported, would be that the union's constitution should clearly reveal its religious stance. Not acknowledging God and God's service as the reason for its existence is already sinful and is sufficient grounds to prevent the Christian from joining the union (see D26). The second quotation aims in that direction.

> Synod exhorts the ministers of the church to emphasize the scriptural principles of the Christian's separation from the world and the sinful consequences of putting on an unequal yoke with unbelievers to obtain right and justice through means condemned by the Word of God. Further, synod admonished the membership of the church to break with all organizations which by common practice reveal an anti-Christian spirit. In short, synod urged upon ministers and elders by vigorous use of the keys entrusted to them to declare the principles of the Word of God which must guide the members of the church in their relation to the world and the organizations of the world. (D28: 48)

7. This is precisely the point Fredrik Barth makes about ethnic groups. Only in those areas in which they are prescribed to work with others need there be agreement on codes and values, and then only on those codes and values that are relevant to that interaction. In other areas, proscription reigns, interaction does not occur, and values need not be shared (1969: 16).

8. The basis for cohesion has not been the Dutch language for many years now, but Stephen Steinberg refers to the fourth generation of an immigrant group as a watershed because there is no direct link, via language or direct cultural practice, with the immigrant past (Steinberg 1981: 44). Although there are yet few fourth-generation members of this ethnic group, there are certainly many Canadian-born Dutch and, of course, a significant number of non-Dutch-descendent members. Some members also have an explicit desire to "Canadianize" (see PON19).

9. Tables 26A, B and C, respectively, indicate that 72% of the respondents' children attended a Christian elementary school; 65% attended Christian high school exclusively and another 70% at lease some of their secondary years; 71% of respondents' children who attended college chose a Christian college. Linkage between Christian education and providing a consistent experience of Christianity for their children was made in at least the following interviews: I6, 7, 13, 14, 16, 18, 24, 28, 41, 43, 48, 51, 58, 61, 62.

10. Since this is a unique window into the Dutch-Calvinist worldview, I will provide more of these minutes here.

Rev. Van Andel began by asking, "Must we have an immigrant church?... Is not the church the body of Christ, and as such may we separate ourselves as immigrants? should we not join the most pure church? .... Would an immigrant church have value but would we not in the future remain in isolation? Must we not break this isolation and seek unity with other churches?

Then in addition to the answer given in the text to which this footnote applies, he said:

> The overwhelming truth that Christ is King escapes the churches of this country. The Christian ought to persist in the office of believer: priest, prophet and king. Continuing in the covenant promises, we have a task and an obligation to fill in Canada. Not only must we provide for our children, but also with the Lord's blessings we are sent to a people as ambassadors, in order that the rich reality of the kingship of Christ which they have lost might become real. This is the reason for us being here and in order to fulfill this we are Christian Reformed.

11. In fact, questioning of a literal reading of Scripture still does not occur to a great extent, in spite of the exodus from the church of the more staunch critics of present denominational exegesis.

12. As recently as April and May, 1990, a number of members, totalling ten families, left the fellowship of the church. The bulk of them instituted an "Orthodox Reformed Church" due to changes which these strong Dutch-Calvinists regarded as unfaithful to Reformed doctrine (correspondence from members and consistory, April 14 and May 15, 1990; personal communication with pastors, July, 1990 and July, August, 1991).

In 1986-87, seven families left for similar reasons.

13. "Tante" means "Auntie" in Dutch. "Bep" is a shortened form of this woman's name but is not the actual name used.

14. One of the reasons for the use of both languages was out of respect for this woman, who spoke hardly any English. The other reason was that the remaining family in The Netherlands would get a copy of the taped message and funeral, a practice still observed whenever there is family there.

15. See also PON7, 9, and 15 for other funerals attended which served an identifying function.

16. This is the case not only because of the honour shown them by the attendance of members of the community, but also because the church teaches that it (not only the Christian Reformed Church, but the Christian church in general), as an instance of the universal church, holds the "keys to the Kingdom." Membership and faithfulness within the church, therefore, is considered an important part of one's relationship with God, although not technically a requisite for salvation.

17. Many of the people who held similar view to this -- although perhaps not identical -- tended to indicate that they wanted absolute standards to remain and apply within the church. Ironically, one can see a stark relativism in this position and a tolerance of difference that the more internally interpretive and flexible do not share, as they attempt to change and influence the people and world around them. The irony: the absolutists become more relativistic and tolerant; those who accept relativity of standards become more didactic and interventionist toward the world around them.

18. One of the important phrases of the Protestant Reformation, little used by a segment of the Riverside Christian Reformed Church, is Reformata semper reformanda est -- "to be Reformed is to be always reforming." Perhaps it is a reflection of the new reality in this community.

19. His additional examples are: access to productive resources, wealth, power, knowledge via education, legal rights, access to "reproductive capacities" (Keyes 1979:5).

20. This antithetical position, for example, with regard to education is expressed thus:

> The result ... of education not being based on biblical truth as normative for thinking and acting, generally known as secularism ..., is that biblical, transcendent standards of thought and action are obscured, distorted, or even rigidly excluded, and that educational theory and practice are thrown into a flux that is nothing short of chaos.
>
> Only education founded on the Word of God can overcome the impasse in educational theory and practice associated with the concept modern education (Synodical Decisions 1976: 42).

From that, it is clear that the Christian school is set up in direct opposition to secular schools. Similarly, regarding membership in a lodge:

> The Bible clearly teaches that God's covenant people, as members of his church and citizens of his kingdom, owe full and exclusive allegiance to their Savior and Lord Jesus Christ. The covenantal life is a life of separation from sin and of consecration to the service of God and does not permit a double allegiance in which one's allegiance to Christ is in any way compromised....
>
> Because of what God's covenant people are, and because of what the lodge is, simultaneous membership in the church of Jesus Christ and a lodge is a violation of God's demands in the Scriptures.

Again, it is obvious that a radical opposition, or antithesis, to use a Dutch-Calvinist term, exists between the Christian life and organisations or institutions outside it (Ibid: 56).

21. This question refers to my definition of ethnic group which says that maintenance of institutions, along with boundaries, is important. It also is indebted to Raymond Bretons's idea that ethnic groups persist longest which have strong and complete institutions.

22. Under this general heading, I am looking at the effects which many Dutch-Calvinists claim wealth, success, residential location and occupation, have on them.

23. Here I include a look at members' concerns about the effects of changing philosophical perspectives, particularly the often-mentioned influence of a "new hermeneutic" on biblical interpretation and the effect of natural scientific theory on understanding biblical accounts. Further, I look at such changing ideals and values as those involving roles.

24. This is a residual category which occurs because members of the group themselves notice the isolating effect of ethnicity. Some equate isolation with irrelevance and suggest it as a death-warrant for the group. Others vaunt it as a strength or ideal. I present examples of both of these positions under this heading.

25. The following are examples of that in the interviews: I24, 34, 38, 51, 47, 48, 51, 52.

26. Interview references: I1, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 24, 33, 37, 43, 61 and 62.

27. Seventy questionnaires were distributed to 15-18-year-olds. Thirty were returned, for a 43% response rate.

28. Several selected objectives of this report are:

1. a lasting relationship with God through Jesus Christ by:
   -- modelling as adults;
   -- providing areas of service to put their faith into practice;
   -- involving them in church work -- e.g. as teachers, visiting the sick);
   -- involving them in the worship service.

3. an active, responsible life in the immediate community of believers and in the universal church by:

   -- ensuring that programmes offered or the places given young people are in line with their maturity level and are more than tokenism, actually teaching the above;
   -- ensuring that the teaching invites question, allows doubts, thereby granting validity to their present "stage" in life and their spiritual growth level; this aids in obtaining a valid full membership;
   -- promoting intergenerational activities;
   -- building awareness of the needs of others in our local church as well as in the world and providing, encouraging and teaching for involvement and service in those areas.

Many other suggestions were given to make the experience of faith more instrumental. A few others included a Tuesday night "youth night" service of praise and sharing of experiences and a discussion group after the Sunday evening worship service. (This latter practise was being done while I was conducting my research in 1987.)

29. There are others like him according to members' reports, but I have not interviewed a significant number of them.

30. Because I have agreed to maintain the anonymity of the persons and groups with whom I did this research, this material is only available to the university doctoral thesis examination committee for reference purposes.

31. This information was drawn from an interview with the school's principal. Presently, 46% of the students enrolled are from the Christian Reformed denomination, either from Riverside Christian Reformed Church or others in the area. This is down from 100% in the earliest years of the school and from "around 90%" for many years, into the late 1970s. The nine-member board generally consists of members of the Christian Reformed denomination. While as many as four non-Christian Reformed Church board members have served simultaneously, presently there is only one such person. The board president has always been a member of the Christian Reformed denomination and usually, as is currently the case, is a member of the Riverside group (I87). For further information regarding school society membership criteria, see D29, the "Registration and Application Form." D30 is the Constitution and By-Laws of the Christian School Association.

32. In fact, in the youth (15-18-year-olds) questionnaire, only one of the thirty completed forms even mentioned teenage drinking in response to the question "What do you think are the most important issues facing the Riverside Christian Reformed Church?" in which six spaces were provided. Obviously, this is not a burning issue or widespread practice -- nor is not judged as such by these young people -- in spite of the concern about it by some of the adults and young people in the community. The young people who raised the issue with me during interviews tended to be older, generally in the 20-25-year-old range.

33. Such reference was made in the following interviews: I1, 4, 6, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 24, 35, 37, 56, 64 and 84.

34. Only 6% of the people noted "too materialistic" in their responses to the question: "What is the greatest weakness in the Riverside Christian Reformed Church?" summarised in Table 5.

35. Similar reciprocity and application of Dutch-Calvinism to the society were demonstrated in I7, 11, 14, 38, and 40.

36. Offices included elder, deacon, organist, choir director, and Sunday School superintendent, among others.

37. One recalls that friends are largely chosen from Dutch-Calvinist sources according to Table 9.

38. The Dutch-Calvinist community in the broader region staffs a Christian counselling centre.

39. Due to low numbers, one cannot accurately assess the participation rates of those above 70 years old in this survey.

40. This is another indication that the Dutch-Calvinist case is not merely an example of a religious organisation. In Canada male participation in established churches lags far behind that of women. While comparing this to strictly religious institutions, one may also note the differential participation rates between old and young Canadians in organised churches, with the latter group much less represented here. Here, the work of Reginald Bibby is the best and most recent available. According to his 1985 research, while equal percentages of males and females were affiliated with churches, women outdid men in membership (males 31%; females 38%) and attendance (males 23%; females 27%). In his measure of "enjoyment from church," males fell farther behind (males 13%*; females 18% (Bibby 1987: 102, Table 5.9). Females are also more "committed to Christianity," according to this study, with 48% of them giving positive responses, while 40% of the males did likewise.

Like the results among Dutch-Calvinists, these variances are not great, but they are present.

Regarding age, "belief in God" was claimed by 80% of 18-34-year-olds, 85% and 87% by 35-54 and over-55-year-olds respectively. Regarding "commitment to Christianity," 33% of the younger group and 44% and 61% of the two older groups, respectively, expressed such commitment. "Affiliation" yields 85%, 90% and 96% for the three age cohorts. "Attendance" varies most widely: 18-34, 14%; 35-54, 25%; over 55, 43% (Bibby 1987: 99, Table 5.7). Curiously, as with almost all social institutions, teens expressed more confidence in the church as an institution than did adults, by a margin of 62% to 50% expressing such confidence.

(* Please note that, regarding Table 5.9, the book lists 31% as the figure for males' "enjoyment from church." This is clearly a typing error as is evident from both the averaged figure of both male and female response on this question (16%) and from Bibby's own analysis in the text at p. 100.)

41. Hendrik Hart is a professor at the Institute for Christian Studies in Toronto, a Christian graduate school. Hart's doctoral dissertation on the work of John Dewey was entitled Communal Certainty and Authorized Truth. He has spoken and written on the concept of community.

42. As one man said of any other than a literal interpretation:

> If my God was not an almighty God, not true to his word, if I had to read between the lines, I'd have great difficulty. But because I know my God is true, and I can take his word literally, then I'm home free. I'm comfortable. I'm in good hands.... People like Kuyper [a Dutch theologian of the early twentieth century whom some Calvinists regard as a good Reformed theologian], they dig too deep. They want to take God apart and put him back together again. (I66,B:057, 146)

43. I cite and summarise interviews in which people mentioned both worldview and their contention that Dutch-Calvinism as expressed here, must go forward. Interview #:
-- 8,B:045 -- too much isolation;
-- 7,B:012 -- Dutch-Calvinism deepens understanding;
-- 7,A:298 --Reformed worldview leads to witness and respecting others' rights;
-- 11,B:010 -- we need to do more than conserve, but be aware of issues too;

-- 38,A:057, 147 -- we must confess our faith to the outside world; we can't hide in isolation;
-- 1,B:220 -- Reformed doctrine needs contemporising;
-- 14,B:242 -- we must change, but tolerate each other, not leaving the church over differences of interpretation;
-- 14,C:505 -- we must provide alternatives for our youth, not expect them to remain in the community because of our preaching alone;
-- 14,B:040 -- we need women's gifts and full service in church offices;
-- 14,C:100 -- Calvinism provides stability, but it is not the "only answer";
-- 14,C:373 -- we are in danger of narrowing our ministry;
-- 17,B:450 -- we need more community outreach;
-- 18,B:140 -- we need change, but we must keep the basic Reformed standards in the school and church;
-- 19,A:170 -- we must change, but hang onto Reformed doctrines and creeds;
-- 21,B:280 -- we must combine theoretical insights driven by a Reformed worldview with a reliance on the Holy Spirit;
-- 22,A:150 -- traditionalism and theorising will kill us;
-- 24,A:225 -- the issue of women in church office is not important, but the strength of faith in God is;
-- 24,B:045 -- if change is to God's glory, it is fine;
-- 33,B:078 -- knowing about one's faith, as taught in the Bible, catechism and creeds is important;
-- 21,B:150 -- we must get out of our isolation, open our eyes and love one another;
-- 33,B:385 -- doctrines are important, but not ultimate;
-- 60,A:330 -- small things are too important among us;
-- 38,A:048 -- being Dutch is not important, faith is;
-- 34,A:150 -- there is a danger that our faith will be historical, not genuine and in relationship with Christ;
-- 41,B:180 -- the best form of Christian Reformed Church is a community church with few Dutch people involved;
-- 51:17 -- we must be a living example to our children and to others now, not relying on our heritage and traditions to do the work for us;
-- 60,B:035 -- being called the "Dutch church" is a mark against us; should be known for our faithfulness and works of love.

44. Six spaces were provided. I grouped the responses into twelve categories.

45. This is a religious term, derived from the Bible, which indicates intimacy around the common assumption of salvation in Christ, by which all those who are considered thus "saved" are considered saints.

46. This concept in Reformed theology indicates the unique relationship between God and humans, with a balance between God's sovereignty and human service/responsibility. This concept has also frequently been interpreted by Dutch-Calvinists (e.g. Borduin 1935: 85, 86) as an injunction to erect Christian schools in order to fulfill human responsibility in service to God. For a treatment of the covenant, see Borduin 1935: 35-40, 75-86; Beets 1941: 215-224, 239-244; Berkhof 1941: 262-270, 284-287, 290-299; Hendrikson [1932] 1978: 15-19.

47. Critics of this position who suggest that ideology is being compromised might propose a version of false consciousness: people rejoice in "strong belief" which is really a pale version of the stronger belief of the past, or which should be in place now. That, however, is a matter outside the scope of this dissertation, and beyond sociology. I can only give members' accounts of their degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction of their group.

48. This table was generated by compiling responses to the question, "What are the greatest strengths of Riverside Christian Reformed Church?" I grouped responses and constructed sixteen categories.

49. J. Milton Yinger makes the point that sometimes dominant cultural elements are simply added to rather than directly substituted for another culture. In this case, therefore, preaching style, methods of evangelising, and practises in such ceremonies as weddings, graduations and anniversaries may incorporate ideas from the outside. The possibility of a version of the Trojan horse exists, of course. At what point does a community decide to accept the dominant society's ideals in a given situation? There is a possibility that a form of ethnicity will remain with foods, dress and some symbolic ideals carrying the load. That is Gans's point, and part of Yinger's here too, when he says: "an additive approach to acculturation, if accepted as valid, helps to account for the continuing strength of ethnic traditons in many places despite assimilation in the form of acculturation."

50. Habermas shows that this change occurs without losing the group per se.

> In their interpretive accomplishments the members of a communication community demarcate the one objective world and their inter-subjectively shared social world from the subjective worlds of individuals and (other) collectives. The world-concepts and the corresponding validity claims provide the formal scaffolding with which those acting communicatively order problematic contexts of situations, that is, those requiring agreement, in their lifeworld, which is perceived as unproblematic. (Habermas, 1984, I: 70)

People within a frame of communication who "subjectively share" a world and "world-concepts" can come to agreement on issues that people from the outside might be quite mystified about. If meanings are consistent, change should not cause confusion. Difficulties could arise, of course, if some of the members of the community refused to acknowledge changed concepts and validity claims. Perhaps that is precisely what happens when people leave the church. The terms they use, such as "we had nothing in common with them anymore," or "they have lost the truth," or the teachings are being "watered down" (i.e. now unrecognisable) all indicate this lack of sharing of validity claims. Those who leave begin to work according to a different set of concepts so that they no longer share the same inter-subjective world. They are truly no longer part of the community.

PART III -- SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER SEVEN

A. Summary of Thesis

This thesis engages in several enterprises. Chapter Two -- Theory -- begins with a treatment of a sociology of knowledge position in which ethnicity is a "grammar" or pattern by which habitual and regular ways of regarding others becomes objectivated. People treat each other as if others were different from themselves, and according to their own needs and assumptions. Ethnicity is a cultural construction, functioning like any other such fabrication which is based on real differences, such as sex, economic inequality, occupational differences, and varying amounts of prestige or power. Agents, often as members of groups, construe an identity from the givens of descent and the present circumstances, as well as assumptions about the future. One's time and place of birth, ancestors, body, name and consociates intercourse so closely with one that he or she begins to identify him- or herself with them. Through time, boundaries and perhaps social institutions emerge by which people proscribe some actions, prescribe others and by which they evaluate and judge their own and others' performances. People encounter both social-structural and natural forces in habitualised ways, externalised in their actions and objectivated in boundaries and institutions.

Next, we canvass several of the major theoretical perspectives regarding ethnicity, beginning with several "classical" positions: Marx, Weber, Toennies and Wirth and Park's Chicago School. For our purposes, Marx does not sufficiently allow the distinctions of inter-group cultural and social factors to differentiate from class interests within which he subsumed them. Weber's emphasis on presumption of descent and interest by ethnic group members, rather than rational differences between groups also does not account for the legitimacy of group distinctions. However, his legacy leads later theorists to emphasize the actor-centered nature in more recent ethnicity studies. Toennies' much-used distinction between being- or expressive-directed communal groups (Gemeinschaften) and instrumental or rationally directed societies (Gesellschaften) is important. However, the compelling assumption that developed societies contain no possibility of alleviating the rationality and alienation of society requires refinement, we find. Regarding Robert E. Park's work, we note his individualistic and cultural biases, which heavily influenced ethnicity studies in sociology for many years until anthropological emphases began to be felt from the likes of Michael Moerman, Fredrik Barth, Charles F. Keyes, Harold Isaacs and Clifford Geertz. Park, however, has been misinterpreted in his position on assimilation, I assert. While he regarded assimilation as inevitable in then-current circumstances in the United States, he neither suggested this phenomenon was universal nor desirable. He pointed to the heroic individual who transcended the imposition of traditional and newly dominant culture, thus pointing to the possibility of adaptation and triumph of groups consisting of individuals who may find new ways to express their ethnicity in the face of change. Thus, although this assertion requires more analysis, he may even be seen to presage Fredrik Barth's claims that groups simply change their content

rather than disappear. Due to the particular interpretation of Louis Wirth and Park that gained prominence in North American ethnicity studies, assimilation and pluralism were regarded as the important poles of the discussion. Not until the influence of the above-mentioned anthropological studies was this tendency averted.

Thereafter, the exclusive concentration on the nature of intergroup relations, which emphasized the polar choices of assimilation or pluralism as the scope of ethnic studies, was broken. This leads to what I consider a contribution of this study: Ethnicity and ethnic group studies may be distinguished or categorized into four levels of analysis. While each of these deals with what has come to be known as "ethnic phenomena," they also each have a significantly different slant. These foci are:

a) the nature of intergroup relations (assimilation / symbolic vs. pluralism / practiced ethnicity);

b) discussion about the nature of the ethnic bond (primordial / innate / irrational vs. circumstantial / achieved / rational basis of the bond among the members of groups;

c) the criteria for defining and recognising ethnic groups and their members (subjective vs. objective ways of distinguishing each other);

d) the origins of group distinctions (are they culturally or socially originated?).

Depending on which focus or combination of them a particular theorist is using, the treatment of the phenomenon of human groups differs widely. I make the point that, while one may concentrate on one such level, all must somehow be taken into consideration if one is to adequately describe the ethnic phenomenon. That is what I attempt to do in the rest of the thesis.

Thus, the definitions of ethnic group and ethnicity which I formulate in the chapter on theory, and which becomes the basis for much of the empirical analysis of the thesis, incorporates considerations from each of these foci.

Much of the chapter on theory (Chapter Two) consists of a detailed analysis of various scholars of ethnicity and ethnic groups and the ways they address these various levels of the debate.

This approach, which begins with the works of Moerman, Barth and Keyes looks at people as members of a group. Although one can vary relationships, they tend to follow established lines of practice and to result in similarity with regard to various aspects of life. Barth emphasizes that the relationship between people in one group and another is dynamic and negotiated. In other words, although the relationship may appear to be static and rigid, and characterised by predictable and fixed actions and cultural diacritica, this is not really the case. Rather, these ways of acting and the cultural artifacts by which people gauge themselves, are merely the boundary-maintaining devices that are used to demarcate the familiar from the strange and to regulate interaction. Such marks can change without eliminating the groups who inhabit the two sides of a boundary. Since Barth's analysis, by itself, may lead to a one-sidedly subjective approach, the insights of Keyes, Gans, Yancey and Yinger, among others are also introduced. This emphasis borrows from the "nature of intergroup relations" level of ethnicity study (as outlined above), suggesting that circumstances and stable, inherited patterns converge to blend the present and past interpretations of the situation. Such convergence, in turn, leads to the ongoing choice to maintain the group or the decision by individual members to abandon it. This overall analytical approach also borrows from Barth's assertion that individuals will not maintain ethnic behaviours if their performances are compromised over a long period of time and other options of behaviour are open to them.

A third influence, that of the ethnic group's importance as a source of identity, utilises the "nature of the ethnic bond" focus. As J. Milton Yinger, L. Epstein, Harold Isaacs and Eugeen Roosens hold, one's sense of person is wrapped up in one's identity with a group by whose standards the individual has measured him- or herself. Of course, as Park earlier noted, there may be "marginals," who succeed well apart from the group. In fact rational society will generate many such people. However, the ethnic group stands as a ready-made and responsive haven for those who maintain, or even wander from it. For example, Epstein (1978: xiii) maintains that ethnic identity, like ego-identity, is neither given nor innate, but is generated in a complex psycho-social process. Sometimes social structures and roles are so rigid that an ethnic identity is virtually ascribed. In other cases, there are other forces such as the number and kinds of relationships one encounters in one's life, the people that have been important to him or her, the often subtle pressures which have been part of one's growth, or any similar forces which Epstein calls a "second set of constraints" that impose an ethnic identity (Ibid.: 14). One's sense of esteem and worthiness are defined by the group to which he or she presumes to belong. One begins to define oneself in terms which he/she experiences among those group members with whom he/she associates.

Finally, in building a unique approach from which to conduct this study, we note the discussion of worldview conducted by Mannheim, Wolters, and Habermas. Barth's position is weak in addressing the continuity and communal character of knowledge which Mannheim and Habermas particularly consider essential to understanding. Mannheim asserts that knowledge is a communal possession and is applied under the auspices of a general worldview or set of assumptions about reality. Habermas compares worldviews to a series of portraits of various poses,

each of which reveals something about the subject. My own definition of worldview is a picture of reality which one uses to understand what he or she encounters, and on the basis of which one acts. Worldviews are, first, the bases for understanding and social integration. They also function in forming and stabilising identities and in giving one a "core of basic concepts and assumptions."

Worldview looms large for the Dutch-Calvinists in this study. Their faith in God and its related complex of doctrines and practices generates a host of assumptions by which, in turn, they conduct their other activities, build institutions and frame relationships.

Normative agreement, as Habermas refers to group-related bases for consensus, certainly governs the Dutch-Calvinist community. Although there are increasing numbers of situational changes and adaptations, the switch to what Habermas calls "communicatively achieved understanding" has not yet occurred. As such, accepted worldview continues to be important in the Dutch-Calvinist community. Norm and dialogue, tradition and innovation, agreement and understanding co-exist among the Dutch-Calvinists.

Another point adopted from Barth, Steinberg, Gans, Yancey and Keyes, is that people group themselves or are grouped according to similar circumstances such as immigration time, available occupations, possession of specific skills, similar placement in a racial order, caste or class assignment or common residential location. Similar orientations to similar circumstances lead to similar patterns of living and viewing the world. This situationalist point is compatible with this thesis's phenomenological position that social interactions proceed on the basis of the objectivation of habitual activity. Thus, while social structure has a great influence, each group of people will react uniquely

to similar circumstances. In this context (using my definition of ethnicity developed in Chapter Two), those who regard themselves as alike draw boundaries around themselves. They prescribe certain actions or observances that mark membership and proscribe others to indicate who is and is not a member.

Ethnic groups are affected by structural forces. However, in some cases -- of which Dutch-Calvinism is one -- religious beliefs can also compel distinctive action and become a factor in boundary maintenance. One of the points this study makes is that ethnicity is a cultural construal. As such, people interpret or infer aspects of life from the past, from present circumstances and the future; they choose their identities on the basis of their relation to these interpretations. Obviously, the structure of opportunities and constraints around one play a role in this. However, once cultural products are created -- values, beliefs, religion, artifacts that people use in carrying on daily living, as well as identities based on the use of these cultural products -- they also become powerful influences, themselves, in maintaining groups. If Schutz, Mannheim and Habermas are correct, then everyone needs a worldview by which to orient to the world. Taking this a step farther, I am proposing in this study that religion still exists as an option in providing the substance for that view, and for the signs, signals and value orientations by which people live.

Religious worldview or "faith-ethnicity" may occur even when there is little or no external "structural opposition," contrary to what Keyes, Gans, and Steinberg variously hold to be essential. If a group's worldview, itself, generates oppositional criteria and antitheses vis-a-vis the society in general, then the group may persist even without such external structural opposition. As Patterson (1977) points out, if there is a great power difference between ethnic groups, this internally generated antithesis may be a mechanism against

the potential for opposition from the outside. In such a case, a less powerful group may engage in a sort of "we-beat-you-to-it" phenomenon, in which its members develop antithetical attitudes toward their oppressors instead of suffering the ignominy of outright exclusion. Although that may be true, that is not a major factor for Dutch-Calvinists. The essential point here is that groups develop for a complex of reasons, some of which may be internally generated, in order to maintain group uniqueness and existence.

Also significant are the questions, treated extensively in Chapter Six, of why Dutch-Calvinists, who could easily "pass" as dominant society members, would want to maintain distinctions and persist as an ethnic group, and whether there are limits to such maintenance. Assertions that there is a specific worldview and that there are some external reasons for existence are insufficient. In order to remain relevant for members who are assailed continuously by competing claims, worldviews cannot remain static. Thus, the study looks at the construal of descent, the present and future. It notes that people carefully choose features of their lives that will serve them well in meeting the demands of life and in giving them the maximum security and comfort that their circumstances and resources allow. Chapter Five investigates how prescriptions, proscriptions and criteria for judging selves and others make life somewhat more predictable and stable. By prescribing behaviour, the group allows one to fulfill the prophecies which its worldview makes. Dutch-Calvinists effectively embody this stability in the unique institutions which they create as the perpetual crystallisations of their worldview. In addition, members give specific reasons for their contributions to the persistence of their ethnicity. Those reasons correlate closely with the elements of this study's definition of ethnic group. Members reinforce their possibilities to prescribe their own and their children's

actions, to proscribe or tell them what to do with their lives and to provide cultural expressions for their individuality. In my research, members showed me how their group focusses their faith and provides principles for an ideology by which to interpret other aspects of the world. It gives them support and social contact for joy in their lives, as well as a basis for external social contact and action. It gives them a sense of well-being, self-esteem, stability, belongingness and familiarity in the world. For some, it even affords the feeling that they are part of a natural order of things, answering questions that may otherwise be vexing for them. Just as people are born with particular facial and bodily features, so they are born as Dutch-Calvinists or French-speaking, some people told me.

I refer to the introduction of Chapter Six, Part B, for a summary of the theoretical reasons given for groups' both exceeding and remaining within ethnic boundaries. Briefly, following Park's prediction, Gans holds that if groups compete on similar terms for scarce resources, the values of the dominant group will tend to prevail since the subordinate group members would have little choice but to conform if they were to survive. Gans goes a little farther by suggesting that certain harmless, symbolic practices may remain for a few generations, but that they will eventually wither away. Yancey and his colleagues disagree slightly by asserting that new groups or configurations of groups may emerge in new settings, based on a combination of descent factors and new circumstance to which people would relate in common. Ethnicity is dynamic, they say, and only those practices that are ill-adapted to the new, emergent situation would be dropped.

This thesis research allows us to go even farther. It contends that in some cases, opposition is <u>generated from within</u> the worldview itself.

Although one may accept that this group persists at least partially by virtue of the of internally generated factors, the final question that the thesis deals with is: "will it continue?" Are there not limits to its existence? To answer that question, I employ the research of several of the theorists prominent in this research and develop a series of related questions to find out if the boundaries are waning, and, if so, under what conditions this occurs.

A fuller version of the following summary occurs at the conclusion of Chapter Six. The worldview and the institutions are instrumental for its members. They provide recipes for individual and communal action in the world which make it intensely practical for people. Ranging from the provision of values in the workplace to providing methods by which to participate and manage social action organisations, members believe that their group values are indispensable and unique. As far as institutions are concerned, some of the exclusive Dutch-Calvinist organisations, such as the Christian labour union and some of the social action movements are suffering hard times within this group. However, interest in the church, the school and specific activities and outreaches of them continues at a high pitch.

The general society's effects on the group are mixed, and are particularly threatening because members of this ethnic community fare well in the general society and share many of the assumptions and benefits of the general society. There is little overt, daily stigma and discrimination against Dutch-Calvinists as a result of their uniqueness since they are regarded as racially identical and, in many ways, culturally similar to the dominant society. Thus, in spite of the Calvinist injunction that religion and life are one, and that one's faith must pervade all of one's life, it is possible to live on two levels, and some do. The sermons and literature of the Dutch-Calvinists often refers to the

danger of living life at the levels of both "sacred" and "secular." Dutch-Calvinists can so easily "pass" in dominant society. The greater the possibility of assimilation, the stricter one has to be regarding the small differences between oneself and others who are considered outsiders. Many of the people interviewed in this research referred to the pettiness with which actions and beliefs are often judged. However, as in this case, when only nuance separates the proscribed dominant position from the prescribed Calvinist one, then even these small differences are very significant and bear much weight. This recalls Barth's and Keyes's point that differences do not have to be great to be effective in maintaining distinctions and group boundaries, as long as they are regarded as significant.

Major assimilation forces are at work: Dutch-Calvinists have more possessions than formerly and have adopted moral and behavioural practices akin or identical to other Canadians'. Many have deep friendships and associations outside the Dutch-Calvinist community that may eventually displace ethnicity. However, the ethnic boundary remains intact, although the cultural content it encloses may have changed.

Regarding ideology, some members feel that particular beliefs and doctrines are eroding and, with them, go all hopes for continuity. However, most do not feel that way. They want to remain firm in the Calvinistic course of life, although some may wish changes in some of the specifically dated ideals and practices.

B. A Typology of Ethnicity in the Riverside Dutch-Calvinist Community

Throughout this dissertation, the interviews, documents, observations, sermons, events and questionnaire have pointed to the recognition of a people: a group whose members construe a common orientation to the past, present and

future. I have also called attention to the existence of boundaries and institutions by which members of the group prescribe and proscribe ideas, actions, relationships and the like, and by which they provide criteria for evaluation and judgment of themselves and others. In short, what I have called ethnicity and ethnic group have been unmistakable. As noted many times throughout the body of this work, especially in Chapters Two and Six, a number of ethnicity scholars, including Gans, Steinberg, Keyes and Barth have pointed to the necessity of structural, externally applied opposition in order for an ethnic group to persist. I have tried to show that such opposition is only part of the picture. Dutch-Calvinists maintain an "antithesis" against the secular world; they also want to maintain purity even if it leads to internal disagreements. Both are factors in group maintenance.

To illustrate, I use Barth as a foil. There is an important difference, with several consequences, between the conclusion that I draw from the case of the Dutch-Calvinist community and Barth's work. He portrays groups as (1) achieving a demographic balance (1981: 213) and carving niches in the "natural environment" (in the social order of the overall society) may occur. (2) Groups may monopolise separate territories. (3) Groups may develop symbiosis among themselves. (4) Finally, there may be competition for the same niche (Ibid.: 208-209). This would lead to the necessity of "relatively high stability of cultural features associated with ethnic groups in the interactional boundaries [although not necessarily] a similar rigidity in patterns of recruitment or ascription to ethnic groups...." That is, the boundaries may be rigid, but people may join and leave relatively independently of them (Ibid.: 210).

However, for the greatest number of Dutch-Calvinists, ethnicity does not determine their place in the general society. Nor does ethnicity significantly

deter their ability to find work and earn a living. This is so because most of their public acts and certainly their phenotypical features, manner of dress, diet and general social practices are indistinguishable from dominant society Canadians. Their ethnicity and ethnic characteristics do not have to remain stable in order to make a living. This takes off many of them the pressure to be consistent for the reasons Barth presents above. It also reduces the urgency to maintain doctrines and performances that would lead to greater homogeneity. Why do they retain their distinction?

After considering members' accounts and my observations of the Dutch-Calvinist lifeworld on one hand, and this and others' analyses of ethnicity in general on the other, I noticed a phenomenon that seemed important. This and most other groups that are consciously distinct, contain members that remain in the group for very different reasons. Some want the group's ideas to remain the same; others want change. Some people are very fussy about who is and who is not a member of the group, or what conditions they must fill to remain within it. Others seem less concerned about such criteria and seem to belong primarily because the group provides them with security, stability, fellowship and conviction. The members hold together, at least in part, precisely because of these tensions. Members form a "division of labour" among themselves, perhaps more accurately described as factional interests. With minimal external, structural opposition and sometimes fractious disputes within, why do these Dutch-Calvinists not change completely as Gans suggests? The answer lies in boundary maintenance and maintaining what Barth calls signs, symbols and standards by which to determine member identity.

Members also posit criteria by which others who are on this course can be known and judged. These criteria vary from one group to another, but usually

one set involves possession of specific traits or diacritica, presumed to characterise the group. The other set or sets of criteria may vary widely. In the Riverside Dutch-Calvinist case, I have noticed an orientation toward the idea of community, or, using religious terminology, "covenant people." I call this the communal criterion.

People leave the ethnic group when they no longer perceive themselves oriented to the same course, or when the criteria by which to recognize and define each other are inadequate. In fact,in such a case, the group is likely to vanish eventually. Also, when the distinctions among criteria are so deep and the discussions about their differences so rancorous that they can no longer be tolerated, then a split occurs. This can only occur when there is general social freedom to allow people to split from their group[1] and when socioeconomic performances of the individuals concerned are not so severely compromised as to make the emergence of a newly defined group impractical or impossible.

The ways the Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside Christian Reformed Church maintain their distinctiveness and the reasons they give for it vary. After researching the community and analyzing members' response to my questions about it, I developed a typology from the orientations that emerged. Actually the responses are more complex than the six-fold orientations I outline below in Figure B, since people do not hold membership for explicitly stated reasons, nor are they as consistent as a typology may imply. However, it is helpful as an explanatory device.

This typology categorises various orientations: the criteria of ethnicity and the position relative to the ethnic course. This yields the following combinations:

FIGURE B
TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION IN
RIVERSIDE DUTCH-CALVINIST GROUP

Criteria of Ethnicity	Position Relative to Course of Ethnic Boundary		
	Recursive	Discursive	Excursive
Diacritical	Recursive Diacritical	Discursive Diacritical	Excursive Diacritical
Communal	Recursive Communalist	Discursive Communalist	Excursive Communalist

1) First Typology Feature: Position Relative to Course of Ethnicity

Dutch-Calvinists are oriented to a particular faith and identifiable way of life. In describing different positions that people adopt in relation to the principles and practices of Dutch-Calvinism, I use the term "course," stemming from the Latin word currere, "to run." In the sense I use it,[2] one should think of a river's course, a race course, a pathway or route, such as a ship's course. Within that course, both worldview and specific prescriptions, proscriptions and evaluative criteria flow. As we learn from Barth, the actors continuously generate or maintain distinctions among themselves and others: they choose to remain within a particular course, or to consciously move outside of it. Having chosen a course, they also choose its contours: its worldview, its prescriptions, proscriptions and evaluative criteria. In the case of the Dutch-Calvinists, this thesis shows that its worldview (that picture of reality by which members understand what they encounter in their lives, and on the basis of which they act) is preeminently built on faith. The prescriptions, proscriptions, and evaluative criteria can vary, but they are always related to

the faith which the members hold. This faith-ethnicity is a set of beliefs and principles about God, the nature of life and the world, the place of humans in it, and the role of the divine in providing grace by which to overcome the power and personal effect of evil and imperfection. It is this body of beliefs and principles that constitutes the "course" within which the Dutch-Calvinist community members live.

Like any other ethnic group, the ideological content of this life-course is rich and meaningful for the members. Covenant theology may be seen to lie at the heart of the reason for Dutch-Calvinism's persistence. It includes a range of teachings that lead to stability: God is omnipotent and faithful; strong human communities are necessary to provide opportunities to serve God and strict moral standards, which generally lead to disciplined lives, are maintained. While covenant theology is singled out here, one could characterise this central course of the community with the use of other terms or concepts which feature alternate aspects of Dutch-Calvinism.[3] Whatever specific principle of Calvinism one features, clearly there is a body of ideals, concepts, Scriptural principles, persons, events -- all of them interpreted and construed in a more or less definite manner. I refer to this as the ethnic course, defined by an ethnic boundary.[4]

Habermas's points about worldviews, which have become a familiar theme, are that they both provide a basis for validity claims and reaching understanding, but also function "for the social integration and the socialization of individuals...in the formation and stabilization of identities, supplying individuals with a core of basic concepts and assumptions..." (Habermas 1984, I, 69, 70). I emphasize the social integration aspect here. This worldview and prescription, proscription and evaluative complex of criteria is the <u>lingua</u>

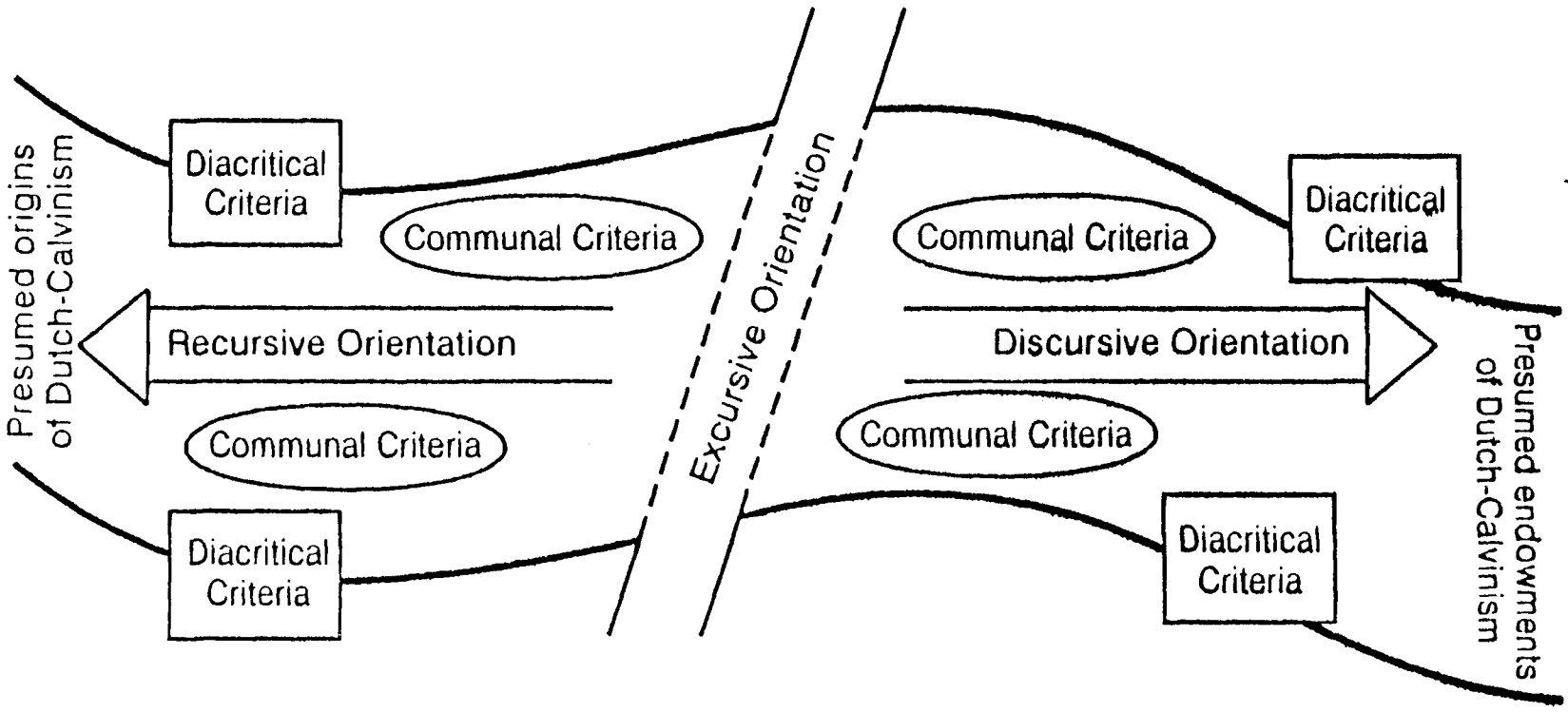
franca, the common grammar, of the Dutch-Calvinist life-course. However, as I have shown throughout Chapters Five and Six especially, different people within the group "mix and match" these elements differently while remaining within the faith-ethnic boundaries. Such variation within the group may be surprising to the outside observer, who assumes that Dutch-Calvinists are all alike -- the ethnocentric error suffered by all human groups at the hands of observers. However, such internal difference is perhaps essential to the survival and vitality of a group, since it focusses the attention of the members inward and encourages them to debate arcane issues with seriousness.

The Dutch-Calvinist faith-ethnicity or worldview holds that God has established a pathway through life. By prayer, reading Scripture and hearing it explained, studying the Bible and works of Christian thinkers, and by an application of these thoughts to the course of the world's development around them, they arrive at certainty about their own "calling" or course in life. The difference that I note deals with individual members' orientations or attitudes toward that course's influence on the life of the community. Some members, in their relation to the ethnic boundary, relate to the presumed origins of Dutch-Calvinism. Others focus on the endowments of their faith-ethnicity, the present and future. A third category of community members is less decisive about their relation to the course of ethnicity, but are considered and consider themselves a part of it nonetheless.

I refer to these attitudes as "recursive," "discursive" and "excursive," respectively. Figure C (see next page) is a graphic representation of these orientations and criteria for membership, as elaborated below.

Figure C

The ethnic course and criteria for membership



a. The Recursive Attitude

Some people in the Dutch-Calvinist community attempt to have recourse to doctrines and teachings of the church, as well as interpretations of the Scripture as they have been interpreted in the past. They rely on established patterns or ways of living. This recursive tendency among some members is evident in their returns to the past achievements and doctrinal statements as places of security and certainty, as opposed to the uncertainty of the course which lies before them. In the recursive direction, behaviours and practices established by tradition and enacted by parents and earlier forebears are the standards for today's life. An example of this attitude occurs as Dutch-Calvinists consider the issue about which Weber wrote: whether God blesses those who work hard. As noted in Chapters Five and Six, some members make direct links between their faithfulness to God's commands and their material or social success. However, this "vulgar Calvinism" is less prevalent among most people in this congregation. The more prevalent teaching is that one should not work to gain salvation. Work is not rewarded by success on its own merits, but it gives God the opportunity to bless people for their faithfulness. This is where the recursive interpretation applies. If a particular historical interpretation of God's law is seen as one which God commands and which leads to perceived blessings, then that form of obedience is conserved which is seen as the source of blessing.

The recursive tendency calls attention to the boundary itself, drawing on the distinctions between the group as it has come to be, and the outside world. Recourse to past, successful interpretations also has great institutional appeal: institutions thrive on faithful and regular enactment and validation of past achievements and principles. Thus, according to many members, there may be solid

Scriptural and doctrinal reasons, to uphold the worldview exactly as inherited. The phrase, "God is the same yesterday, today and tomorrow," aptly typifies the attitude of those in this orientation (if one assumes that the fixed point of the comparison is "yesterday").

b. The Discursive Attitude

Other members, who also attempt to follow the course of obedience to God and service to their fellows, regard doctrines, traditions and established practices as interpretations of the principles of Dutch-Calvinism. I use the word "discursive"[5] for this tendency. Members appeal to traditions in order to carry forward, translate and construe the ideals of the group for the present and future. As schematised in Figure C, they treat principles as endowments from the past for today's and tomorrow's use. They may well use one of the idioms of the sixteenth century European Reformation: Ecclesia reformata semper reformanda est," a Reformed church is to be always reforming." While past interpretations of life and the world may serve as models, discursive members do not regard them as dictating behaviour and practice. As such, rather than appealing to the boundary, such members seek to maintain the currency of faith, in dialogue with the present world. Discursive members are as committed to Calvinist principles and this life-course as are their recursive counterparts, but they question, investigate, discuss, debate and argue. They move back and forth, up and down the Dutch-Calvinist canal. They regard their own historical place on this course as equally significant with those who have preceded them. This canal is their own, and they feel free to experience it in the present and to face forward as well as back; to introspect and prospect, as well as retrospect.

While fundamentally accepting the worldview of faith, including the doctrine of the covenant, a commitment to the sovereignty of God and the effects of the death of Christ, as well as the importance of maintaining a form of faith-ethnicity, members with this attitude at least appear to be in opposition to those who have a recursive approach to the faith. Their emphasis is also tied to a feature of Calvinism. They contend that Calvinism does not warrant strict adherence to traditional interpretations. They argue that those who have such recourse negate Jesus's "new covenant" which displaces the old emphasis on rules, regulations and strict interpretations. According to them, biblical Calvinism gives principles by which people should live and by which they are to serve God today. It tends to emphasize Calvin's belief that the Holy Spirit is present and continuous in the lives of believers (Calvin [1559] [1845] 1966: I,463,466; II,682), leading them into the truth. They also say that Calvin's conception of the "priesthood of all believers" means that the church as a body of believers interprets God's word, not the church as an abstraction or finished record of received truth.

Regarding these two tendencies, one might be tempted to refer to the recursive group as traditionalist and the discursive as innovative. However, that would make this division too simple. Those terms obscure the fact that discursive members also observe and are rooted in traditions. Recursive members innovate interpretations of old ideas, and also live in the present, with aspirations for the future. Both the terms "recursive" and "discursive" refer to the course to be followed: the way of truth and obedience. As indicated in Figure C, one orients toward its origins and established procedures: the course leading to the present. The other deals with its continual pathway to the future. Each person in the Dutch-Calvinist faith-ethnic group perhaps at some

time has recourse to the past and contemplates (has discourse regarding) the present and future.

c. The Excursive Attitude

In some cases, people "straddle" two paths, following the general society's path for one aspect of life and the ethnic group's for others. The most frequent example of this occurs in the form of employment in which one is engaged in activities which may be questioned within the church, at least by some members. One might work or sell a product on Sunday, for example. Other examples may be attending or teaching in a public school. Yet one who commits such inconsistencies, may yet consider her- or himself to continue to be a Dutch-Calvinist. In another case, one may "stray from the way," as do some who are still oriented to the Dutch-Canadian worldview in terms of values and social skills, but who may no longer participate in worship services and explicitly confessional activities. In yet another situation, members or officials of the church, may judge that one is not following the principles of Dutch-Calvinism at all, in which case one may be disciplined, or even excommunicated. Such a person may go on relating to former co-religionists, and may still orient to the world according to the ideals of the course of Calvinism in which she or he was raised. I refer to these members as "excursive," since they are also associated with the principles and practices of Dutch-Calvinism, although they may not personally endorse them. These members maintain ties with the ethnic group because it is familiar to them and they identify with its boundaries, prescriptions, proscriptions and criteria for judgment and evaluation, even though they may not adhere strictly to all of them. They may be "on the way out," but may never quite make it because of the strong ties of identity, kinship, thought-patterns and the largely unconscious recipes of life.[6] Such

a person may associate with the group only occasionally or conveniently, or he/she may do so all the time, but without the commitment of faith. Yet, such a person acknowledges that the principles of Dutch-Calvinism's "course" are the bases of the ethnic group, and, therefore, he/she is still affected by it, whether or not he/she is committed to it in faith.

2) Second Typology Feature: Criteria of Ethnicity

The second feature of the typology that emerged from the Dutch-Calvinist data deals with the members' perception of the nature of the group itself, or what might be referred to as criteria of ethnicity.

a. Diacritical Criteria

Some define the group according to distinctive traits, characteristics, features or markers: I have labelled these objective markers "diacritica," following general anthropological usage, including that of Barth and Keyes. For those who desire more objective measures of ethnicity, explicit markers indicate who is Dutch-Calvinist and who is not. Examples of diacritica according to which one can measure membership in the group include: adherence to particular doctrines; specific interpretations of doctrines; a particular portrayal of the state and other institutions; specific practices such as those related to Sunday observance; particular attitudes toward education; patterns of speech and use of certain words, often Dutch or Dutchisms; dressing according to group standards, especially at worship services and church meetings; acting according to prescribed norms of morality; strictly avoiding proscribed activities, ideas or occupations; the list could go on. For those who look for the observance or presence of such diacritica, the community is no longer instrumental if present members do not adhere to precise interpretations of the Scripture, or follow doctrines traditionally and precisely.

Obedience to God must be measurable in order for one to be sure that he/she is being obedient. The most certain way, then, to be faithful is to use prescribed and venerable structures and procedures of worship, to obey unambiguous precepts precisely and to employ presumably literal scriptural admonitions rather than interpreting ancient texts in contemporary ways. Changing diacritica, or not relying on such objective measures at all runs the risk of making members unrecognizable to each other. Therefore, those who emphasize the diacritical criteria, tend to identify strongly with the group practices and to be intolerant of those who want to be known as faithful Dutch-Calvinists while simultaneously advocating changes in the church, the worship, the interpretation of scriptures, doctrines and practices. "You have to be careful with change, because a lot of people are against it. You gain one and you lose another," said one man.

For years, as this study has found, one was not able to serve in the ruling body, the consistory, if he was a member of a secular trade union or if his children attended a public school. This is somewhat relaxed today, but no women are yet allowed to serve on this body, obviously because of their sex, not because of their general abilities.

In the research, even some of the youth, but certainly a large number of older members wondered about the limits of instrumentality. Evidences of faith through obedience to the moral teachings of the church concerning sexual conduct, Sunday observance, use of alcohol, entertainment and use of money are all questioned from time to time. Some suggest that, if faith does not lead to distinctive living, then one cannot be certain if membership in the community is a matter of form and identity only, or of participation, committed adherence and contribution to its continuation.

b) Communalist Criteria

Other members, although still aware of the diacritica, emphasize the fact that they are members of a community which strives to serve God and interpret God's commands in a contemporary Canadian context. This tendency is toward the maintenance of the group boundary more than the maintenance of specific traits that mark the group in an objective manner. As a worldview, Calvinism advocates a way of thinking about social issues in which social structures, arrangements and institutions are seen as instruments of good or evil; either in service of God's purposes or of the devil's; either serving to promote justice or injustice. The Calvinist community is seen by some people, then, as one in which dialogue and development of social principles occurs, so that one can go out and participate in the general society armed with Biblical principles.

The presence of and associations with others who intimately share ideals, goals, worship, and projects is important to these people. The specific characteristics which the group members share are not as important as the fact that boundaries exist within which one can be identified and outside of which one can be recognised as a member.

The Dutch-Calvinist's faith -- the belief in God and in a covenant which God made with humans and which is reinforced in Dutch-Calvinist teaching -- compels them to keep working in the world, together with other covenant-keeping "Kingdom workers" to maintain their uniqueness and ethnicity. This uniqueness is more a matter of maintaining a recognisable distinction from the rest of the world, rather than deciding on precise diacritica of obedience. Still, the "canalizing" that Barth suggests does occur. First, participation in a debate or dialogue among those who fundamentally believe in certain principles of faith is more important than precise criteria. However, there are certain standards

and "overt signs, signals ... and value orientations" that Barth says will remain important, and which do, in fact, occur in the Dutch-Calvinist community. What Lawrence J. Taylor (1983) has called the "contractual community" is at work here, in which people feel responsible for each other, and, collectively, for maintaining a society in which God can be honoured, individually, institutionally and as a total community.

C. Discussion and Use of the Typology

What is the significance of noting that members of an ethnic group are variously oriented to it and use variant criteria in recognising membership? As I attempted to indicate already in the Introduction of this work, ethnicity is a poorly understood and often misconstrued phenomenon. Even analysts of ethnicity commit the ethnocentric error of viewing each group as internally monolithic and consistent. Further, many assume that external conditions affect all members equally. This is not true here. Yet members have much in common and stay together in spite of differences. My argument has been that these differences are important in maintaining group interest, vitality, urgency, identity and interaction. Ironically, the debates among members of varying orientations serve to call attention to the importance of maintaining themselves as a unique people and force definitions of the group boundary that address present social issues. In addition, bringing in ideas, literature, philosophy, manner of speech and dress, songs, entertainment forms and many other aspects of life, from the outside world makes the Dutch-Calvinist community seem much more urbane and sophisticated than it really is perhaps. It gives people the feeling that they are a microcosm of the world; it prevents some of the people from leaving because they are not deprived of enjoying the pleasures of the general society while they simultaneously enjoy the pleasures of communal

belonging and identity. Thus, although people belong to the Dutch-Calvinist community for a variety of reasons, the liveliness of debate and the common commitment to faith-ethnicity grounded in Dutch-Calvinism, solidify and make relevant the ethnic group.

Dutch-Calvinists are extremely vulnerable to assimilation and have succeeded in staving it off by their common antithetical stance toward the rest of their society, and by participating in that society only selectively. To do that, they have used the devices of maintaining significant boundaries and institutions which provide ways of living without complete dependence on the larger society. They can do this without having their ethnicity become purely symbolic and, to a large degree, without strong structural opposition directed at them from the general society.

Let us look at some of the implications of viewing ethnic groups according to the typology described above and outlined in Figures B and C.

1) **The Recursive Diacritical Segment of the Community**

Those people who tend to look for specific traits by which to judge membership in the group (diacritical criteria) and who <u>also</u> have a recursive orientation to the course of the group, tend to closely scrutinise the boundary between themselves and others, deriving criteria from those areas in which they differ most obviously and pointedly from the outside world. For example, they would want to hold the line on attendance at secular concerts and movies which do not espouse Calvinist values. Criteria that develop in the present, in dialogue with today's world would be suspect. There are several examples of this disposition, but one in which the recursive diacritical attitude is conspicuous is with those whom we might, with Roosens (1989) and Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward (1990) call "ethnic entrepreneurs." I will describe a prototypical and

hypothetical situation here.[7] The Dutch-Calvinist case is no exception to what Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward found to be true of many immigrant groups in many multiethnic societies: members of ethnic groups tend to carve out social and economic niches for themselves in ways that are open for them to do so. They tend to prefer independent, small businesses in which they can either hire co-ethnics or in which a complimentary reputation is already or readily stamped out for them (Waldinger, Aldrich and Ward 1990: 33-39; 41; 43; 131-143). If one grows flowers, for example, there is entrepreneurial advantage in having the Dutch seen as good flower-growers: industrious, frugal, conscientious, shrewd, honest, and possessing a green thumb, to boot! Or, if one owns a business and believes that independence and fiscal conservatism derive from a traditional theology and preservation of a reading of Scripture, then one will fight to maintain that. Such economic principles may be presumed to be based on the same world order as that which causes the rain to fall, caused the earth to be formed and the market to flourish. He or she may believe that, if the way of understanding Scripture changes, then the stability and predictability of his or her world will also change. If one's business, or at least one's developed position, depends on the integration of particular readings of Scripture and one's business, then one will feel vulnerable if changes in the community are proposed.

The stability of recursive diacritica applied to members of the group yields a hard-and-fast set of traits which are extremely beneficial in social and business transactions. Maintaining strict definitions of ethnicity is seen as advantageous by recursive diacritical people. Changes make them less recognisable and less stable in the eyes of those outside the group. It also makes perpetuation of the group less certain -- also a crucial factor for

business continuity, especially if many of one's workers are recruited from one's own trusted and relatively compliant group.

Of course, there may be other implications of holding a recursive and diacritical stance. For example, one may believe that the best way to insure that one's children or grandchildren will remain faithful to God and to Dutch-Calvinism is to look backward to tried and true interpretations of faith-ethnicity and then to insist that those elements of the boundary be strictly maintained.

Significantly, these members are oriented to the origins of Dutch-Calvinism; they are very concerned to interpret Scripture in ways they perceive as literal; and they seriously study denominational and general theological issues. Such people serve as eminent guardians of orthodoxy and tradition. They contribute to the maintenance of a unique worldview and ethnic group. Much of the public persona of the Dutch-Calvinist stems from this group: strict, consistent, politically conservative, assured, principled. In terms of leadership and service within the group, these people are very concerned to be active in assiduously transmitting the ideas and faith statements of the past into the present generation. As leaders, elders and deacons, they serve as watchers for sin and error and prophets of its consequences. These people are also the most likely to leave the group if precise adherence to their interpretations of the tradition are not met. In fact, many recursive diacritical members have left over the past five years, causing concern in the church and, incidentally, problems for the interpretation of ethnicity I am offering here.

2) The Discursive Diacritical Segment of the Community

The main difference between this segment and the recursive diacritical orientation is that people holding the latter position draw from inherited definitions of the ethnic group boundary. Diacritically interested folk who are also discursive are working at maintaining the boundary here and now. They do not mind contemporising the criteria. In fact, many of the people whom I interviewed would say that, while they and their children must remain distinct from the world, they must not do so in terms of the Calvinists of old in Holland. They must strive to interpret Calvinism for this society, so that they can proclaim its message for themselves and the greater society in new clothes. This is the essential point of Rev. Kuiper's speech, reported in Chapter Five, regarding the task of the Christian Reformed Church in the Canadian context. Both recursive and discursive diacritical Dutch-Calvinists at Riverside wholeheartedly support Christian education. One of the recent major splits, however, occurred over whether the principles of the school should be drawn from a strict adherence to the past (recursive emphasis) or should address the new situation, including greater openness and accommodation to a broader spectrum of Christians joining the school community (discursive emphasis). Recursivists look to the origins; discursivists look at Calvinism as an endowment. A glance at Figure C, shows that I place all diacritical criteria on the boundary between the group and the world, indicating its cutting edge at the division of them-and-us.

3) The Excursive Diacritical Segment of the Community

One will recall that the excursive orientation is somewhat ambiguous and marginal. It includes those who wandered away from the heart of the faith in confessional or deeply spiritual sense, but whose main associations and

friendships remain with the group. Or they may have left sadly because they disagree theologically with some of the group's doctrines or practices, but also still associate with the members or participate selectively in its events. For example, one's children may still attend the Christian school, or one may attend the weddings, funerals, anniversaries and programs associated with the Riverside group, or support the social agencies that are affiliated with Dutch-Calvinism. Whatever the reason for remaining affiliated, although peripherally or sporadically, as Figure C attempts to portray, it is common that many of these people will be more concerned about the external visibility of membership criteria than some of the more confessionally committed members are. This is so, because the excursive person has no other measure for membership. It is all externalised. I refer to the discussion above (in the section on the recursive diacritical orientation) regarding ethnic entrepreneurship. A prime candidate for the excursive attitude is one who stands to gain financially or in terms of status, but who is not spiritually attracted to the group. Waldinger's finding (1990: 33-39; 136) is that and ethnic entrepreneur may use the ethnic group network of kinship, churches and other institutions, to promote business and maintain a labour base. While I have no evidence to indicate that this occurs within the Riverside Christian Reformed Church, the typology allows for this possibility. One can see how such an excursive and diacritical position could contribute to the continuation of the ethnic boundary, but for very different reasons than those of either the recursive or discursive segments of the community.

4) The Recursive Communal Segment of the Community

Before describing this aspect of the group, I refer again to Figure C, which demonstrates the everyday, relatively less boundary-conscious character of the

communal criterion. Although the people who pay more attention to relationships within the group than to the precise traits of the members are aware of boundaries and assume their benefits, they are not as focussed on them are their diacritical counterparts, for whom the distinctions which make up the boundaries are crucial. Communally directed members are not indifferent about the characteristics of the people with whom they associate. They prefer these associations to those outside the group. This preference, however, is based on the quality of the relationships, the ease with which they can be maintained and the mutual understanding of commonly held symbols and referents. Doctrines, denominational positions on issues, hermeneutical principles are important to them more because they serve to preserve and identify a community for them than due to their intrinsic importance or absolute truth.

Recursive communal members of Riverside Christian Reformed Church look to historic Dutch-Calvinism for models of present relationships and for the constitution of the present community. The prototypes among those whom I interviewed, observed and surveyed are the elderly within the group. Many of them recount with great fondness and desire the early days of the community. They recall, as indicated in Chapters Four and Five, how close they once were, and how faithfully Calvinistic they wanted to be in setting up Christian schools, labour associations, immigrant societies, and in building the physical structures housing these institutions.

The great significance of this segment of the community for maintaining the present ethnic group, is to continually remind the group of its unique history and purposes, of the origins of the Calvinist endowment now being enjoyed. They also provide the roots which are so much appreciated, even by some of the excursive associates and impatient youth. They provide the myths and legends

of past accomplishments and heroes of faithful members of the community. They make the cultural glue by their telling of the exemplary strength of communal bonds. Perhaps of greater significance is this segment's provision of orthodox interpretations and established, traditional procedures and practices of Dutch-Calvinism. They roundly warn of the dangers of associating outside the community and of adopting non-Calvinist strategies of evangelism, secular occupational pursuit and lifestyle. In league with the recursive diacriticists, they point to Dutch-Calvinist uniqueness as covenant people, although they are willing to grant that organizational principles rather than precise marks of orthodoxy are crucial.

Lest I give the impression that only the elderly can fit this category, I should remind the reader that many of the young people interviewed appreciate this church for its firm roots and warm community of the historically familiar.

5) The Discursive Communal Segment of the Community

Riverside Christian Reformed Church members who want the church to move forward and to be appealing to the general Canadian society are often found in this segment of the group. They emphasize fellowship and the life of a vital and growing community for themselves and their children. They advocate changes in worship, liturgy, the position of women, Scriptural interpretation to a limited degree, and an aggressive appeal to the general society. As discursive, they do so with an eye to the future. They are sometimes suspected, at least by those who are recursive, of neglecting or willfully abandoning the past and orthodox interpretations of Christianity. Within the Riverside community, there are not many extremely discursive or radically reformative members. Yet, there are many who told their stories in interview and who can be observed to work for change and adaptation in the group, while retaining a degree of uniqueness. This

segment is also the most eager to bring in others from outside the present and traditional fellowship. They are not recursively bound to past patterns, nor diacritically restricted to precise marks of faith. Therefore, they are freer than any other segment of this community to work with principles, rather than strict prescriptions and proscriptions. While theirs appears to be the future, many face it with the trepidation of those who long for the safety of caution and isolation. That longing, too, is a part of the Calvinist attachment to their interpretation of the abiding presence of an unchanging God. Many people who could be considered discursive communalists lament the exodus of those who are recursive and diacritical even as they rejoice in their new freedom. This is the gravitational tension of a complex, segmented ethnicity.

6) The Excursive Communal Segment of the Community

Finally there are those who appreciate the group characteristics of love, warmth, identity and the comfort of ritual without seriously contributing to the maintenance of the boundary in a way oriented to the development of the faith at its roots. Because of the relative vigilance of most members of this community regarding the sincere practice of the faith, there are not many people in this category. Generally if one questions the doctrines and practice of this group, he or she wants to have little to do with it and leaves the group to seek fellowship elsewhere.

D. Conclusion

A legitimate question regarding this presentation of the group is whether there is any commonality here at all. Is the break-up of such a disparate community inevitable, or is there a dynamic tension which will ensure its continuation? Are members sufficiently committed to an underlying unity and guiding vision to help them overcome divisions and disagreement? A definite

answer is impossible, even after a study such as this. From the exodus of as many as twenty of just over two hundred families, one can assume that there are absolute limits to the tolerance of the most diacritical and recursive members. However, within limits, people feel they need each other. The well-defined boundaries and the smoothly functioning, generously endowed institutions are strong attractions and warm nests that are difficult to leave. One does not leave a group easily with which one has shared love, sorrow and a sense of history. This is particularly true if those with whom one disagrees are also committed to the Scripture and are prepared to bolster their disagreements with religious arguments. Then, too, alternatives are not always attractive: while other Reformed denominations stand with open arms to receive the disaffected, frequently the religious differences, although of a different kind, are no less substantial than those with the Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

The tension within the group serves to keep it vital and relevant: the recursive members, particularly the communally oriented ones, have the luxury of currency without giving up vaunted principles. Thus, discursive members can question, advocate and innovate, confident that the brakes will be applied by someone else. Their only frustration may be the pace at which their ideas can advance, but it is a price they may be willing to pay if they are simultaneously grateful for the stability which their recursive brothers and sisters lend the group. Ironically, this has the effect of giving the members of the group something to worry about and attempt to correct. It keeps them busy going back to their roots to find even more effective ways of perfecting and living the worldview. It allows for the proliferation of internal in-groups, each with slightly different perspectives and practices, giving at least the illusion that a microcosm of the society exists here. This keeps the group both interesting

and occupied with itself. If there were no variations within the group, there would not likely be growth, debate, discussion. Indeed, there would be slight resemblance to the outside world, little sense of a world calling, and diminished interaction with the larger society which appears to be so vital to ethnic groups. Lacking diversity within, the group would not be ethnic, but tribal; never asking questions about group maintenance, but only about subsistence. This, I believe to be an important and rarely discussed feature of ethnicity.

Overall, most members who have not already gone, feel that they need each other. Provided that each orientation segment of the group bases its position squarely on the "love of God" and a desire to promote the good of the group, Dutch-Calvinism of the Riverside variety should survive for many generations. Its consciousness of peoplehood and its internally generated sense of antithesis and mission should ensure continuity. This study, using as it does a group which many would assume eminently suited for assimilation, but which defies ready acquiescence to the dominant society, shows ethnicity in a more complex light than it is sometimes seen. If the present course of ethnicity continues, and if Barth and Keyes' observations are as applicable as I suggest they are, then membership in this group might no longer be in a "Dutch church," but increasingly it becomes membership in the "body of Christ" expressed in particular terms, forged by Dutch-Calvinists, but gradually reforming.

This research indicates that most likely the boundaries will remain. They may include other people and new practices and interpretations of inherited texts and doctrines. There may even be new definitions and diacritica that will come to characterise the members and canalise their behaviours. But, as stated at the conclusion of Chapter Six, the group as a unique force with an interpretation of the past, present and future, with a particular worldview, with specific

institutions and overall boundaries, will remain for a long time. Perhaps those who define the limits of ethnicity differently than the majority will leave; perhaps they will remain and be part of the dynamic process by which "normatively ascribed agreement" is exchanged for "communicatively achieved understanding" (Habermas 1984, I: 70) in the Dutch-Calvinist metamorphosis toward the future.

ENDNOTES

1. This is not allowed in cases of slavery, caste, state-defined pluralism or enforced enclaves.

2. Several dictionary meanings of "course" capture what I want to convey: "the act or action of moving in a particular path from point to point; a progressing or proceeding along a line with no change of direction; the path over which something moves; accustomed procedure: customary action: usual method of proceeding; an ordered, continual process, succession or series.

3. Other candidates for centrality as Dutch-Calvinist organising principles or worldview practice might be the frequently combined doctrines of creation, the fall into sin and redemption of the world from sin by Christ (Mouw 1976; Dooyeweerd 1979: 28-39; Lyon 1983: 46-56). Or, it might be the assumption (almost identical to the creation-fall-redemption theme) that God works out history through the efforts of "redeemed" and chosen people who are agents of God's grace (Goudzwaard 1972: 25-30, 47-49; 1979: 33-35, 247-249). One may also choose to emphasize the Dutch-Calvinist assertion: "life is religion" as a description of the course of ethnicity.

4. Strong orientation to this course frequently results in long-term intergenerational stability of the group and the transmission of values and work characteristics that lead to success and financial security. This is a very integrated community, with an integrated worldview. It is preached from the pulpit; taught in the classroom; fortified by an extensive social network; institutionalised in homes for aged and handicapped; justified in missions and relief efforts; valued in times of personal or family crisis; compassionate in grief and thoroughly internalised.

5. In earlier version of this paper, I used the term "procursive" instead of discursive. This is a rarely used word meaning "running forward" in Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary. In the sense I used it, I combined the Latin, pro, "in favour of; on the supporting or affirmative side of"; or pro-, its prefix form: "forward; siding with; favoring; advocating; supporting," along with the word "course," as explained above. However, I decided to use the terms "discourse" and "discursive," since they convey essentially similar points, and are more familiar.

The word "discourse" comes from the Latin, dis-, apart, and currere, "to run;" literally to move or run separately or back and forth. "Expression of ideas," "to treat, talk over;" "to reason or confer with," these are the meanings of the word which I intend here. Regarding discursive, the adjectival form of "discourse," I appeal to the meanings, "moving about from one topic to another," "going from premises to conclusions in a series of logical steps." Thus discourse and discursive give the sense of developing apart from the precise forms of the course, of going back and forth between ideas, from past assumptions or premises to new ideas, comparing and developing from one to the other.

6. "Recipe"is the term which Alfred Schutz uses in his phenomenological writings, particularly in his 1944 essay, "The Stranger."

7. In constructing the following example, I am drawing from a number of my interviews and not a single one. This case, therefore, is composite and illustrative and serves to show a tendency, not an actual case.

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PERSONAL OBSERVATION NOTES

1. Congregational Meeting, 3-18-87.
2. Back to God Hour Rally, 4-12-87.
3. Family Circle Meeting, 4-30-87.
4. Family Circle Coordinators' meeting 5-2-87.
5. Young People's Society leaders' meeting, 5-22-87.
6. Funeral of [name], 6-6-87.
7. Funeral of [name], 5-29-87.
8. Wedding of [name], 6-6-87.
9. Funeral of [name], 7-3-87.
10. Wedding of [name], 7-11-87.
11. a) Daily Vacation Bible School (DVBS) flyer distribution, 6-22-87.
    b) DVBS session, 6-31-87.
    c) DVBS conclusion program, 6-31-87.
12. Free Christian Reformed Church service, 9-27-87.
13. 50th Anniversary Celebration of [name], 10-02-87.
14. Thanksgiving Worship Service 10-12-87.
15. Funeral Service of [name], 10-15-87.
16. Family Circle Coordinators' meeting 10-28-87.
17. Men's Society Meeting 11-02-87.
18. Wedding of [name], 11-07-87.
19. "Leadership" meeting, 11-19-87.
20. Adult Sunday School Meeting, 11-21-87.
21. John Calvin Christian School Bazaar, 11-28-87.
22. Fall Congregational Meeting, 12-02-87.

23. Meeting of Missionary [name] of Honduras, (no date).

24. Observation of Church Janitor, (no date).

25. Leadership "Council" discussion 11-19-87.

26. [company name] Floral Distributors: Peter Krijt, 6-23-87.

27. Church service, 7-28-91.

28. Canadian Reformed Church Service, 8-02-87.

DOCUMENTS

1. 1952-1977 25-Year Commemorative booklet.
2. New Members' Class Handbook.
3. Letters regarding [name] Sunday work matter.
4. Miscellaneous note.
5. Agenda December 2, 1987, Congregational Fall Meeting.
6. Church Directory 1988-1989.
7. Agenda April 6, 1988, Congregational Meeting.
8. Elders' Ward Districts 1988-1989.
9. Agenda March 22, 1989, Congregational Meeting.
10. Agenda November 23, 1989, Congregational Fall Meeting.
11. Church School Program 1989.
12. Church School Program summary 1989.

13a. April 14, 1990, letter to Consistory from Concerned members (names deleted).

13b. May 15, 1990, Consistory's reply to concerned members (names deleted).

14. Church School Report Fall 1987.
15. Free Reformed Church bulletin.
16. Pamphlet from Free Reformed Church regarding God's grace.
17. Trinitarian Bible Society report.
18. "Which Way For The Christian Reformed Church Of Riverside?" (Undated, ca. 1975).
19. The Christian Reformed Church position on Lodge membership.
20. "The Church and The Film Arts."
21. Position on "Sabbath Observance."
22. "Questions and Answers For Pre-Confession Class."

23a. "The Church and Film Arts" summary.

23b. Teachings on Fasting at Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

24. Marriage Guidelines at Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

25. "Welcome to The First Christian Reformed Church of Riverside".

26. "Biblical Testimony -- The Christian's Position in The World, with Application to the 'labour question'."

27. "Testimony Regarding Freedom in Labour Relation" presented to the Government of The Province of [name]. (Undated; from evidence presented in the brief, perhaps mid-1960s).

28. Synodical Decisions on Doctrinal and Ethical Matters. 1976. Grand Rapids: Board of Publications of The Christian Reformed Church.

29. Registration and Applications for Admission at John Knox Christian School.

30. Constitution and By-Laws of the Christian School Association of Neartown.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS FILE

1. "Handling Public Sins"- Draft III, Oct 1987. Re: Church Order, Article 84; Matthew 18:15-17; I Cor. 6:1-5 and Heidelberg Catechism #82.

2. Agenda of Spring Congregational Meetings.

3. Bethesda Newsletter.

4. December 5 Dutch Pancake Breakfast by Cadets (with Sinterklaas).

5. Newsletter on John Knox Bazaar (November 28).

6. "Connections" Fraser Valley Christian High School.

7. December 11 Christmas Celebration by young people (with Westminster Chapel's youth group) featuring "Terence's Tunes" (16-25 years old).

8. Christian Reformed World Relief Committee Newsletter.

9. Christian Reformed World Missions notice featuring Frank and Aria Sawyer.

10. Pictures of various Riverside events.

11a. Article on "Experimental Calvinism" of Free Reformed Church.

11b. Article on "The Secession," from the Free Reformed Church of Langley's Evangelism Committee.

12. "Feed My Children" project of provincial Diaconal Conference.

13. Notice from Jake Epp, Minister of National Health and Welfare, to [name], Volunteer Award Certificate of Merit for all volunteer work at Hillsdale Lifeline Crisis and Information Centre as well as Hillsdale RCMP Victim Assistance Program.

14. Consistory Meeting (April 1987) on consensus in the church.

15. Chart showing various branches of Reformed Churches.

16. Invitation to [name] 50th Anniversary.

17. "Feed My Children" Thanksgiving placemat by provincial Deacons.

18. [Document removed]

19. John Knox Fundraising Dinner.

20. Miscellaneous documents.

21. September 1987 Neartown Ward District List and Riverside Ward District List.

22. Pamphlet from Christian Reformed Home Missions: "When You Worship With Us"-- Questions and answers regarding: worship; purpose of attendance; furniture of church; music; regarding sin; confession, forgiveness; prayer; collection; minister raising hands.

23. "Prayer Guide" samples.

24. Notice from Young People's League regarding Dutch Chocolate letters for Christmas sale for Migrant Workers' Ministry.

25. Notice from Diaconal Conference regarding "Feed My Children, 1987."

26. "Growing God's Way: In The Sonshine Patch"-- notice regarding Vacation Bible School July 27-31.

27. Copy of this study's Questionnaire submitted to Adult Members of Riverside Christian Reformed Church, May 1987.

28. Several reminders and notices regarding this study's questionnaires distributed to people in their mailboxes (in addition to numerous bulletin announcements).

29. Sample letters regarding this study's Questionnaires.

30. Two 1977 memos to the congregation about Neo-Pentecostalism in the Christian Reformed Church.

31. Fall 1988 Issues containing an article on Riverside Christian Reformed Church.

32. Coffee Break Newsletter.

33. Institute For Christian Studies one-day conference advertisement.

34. Christian Reformed Church Publications Newsletter.

35. Pacific Island Ministries Newsletter.

36. Citizens for Public Justice Election Bulletin and Invitation regarding [name], a native Canadian (November 1988).

37. Christian Labour Association of Canada Newsletter (November, 1988).

38. Regional Christian High appeal for money (October 1988).

39. Community Pregnancy Care Society newsletter (September 1988).

40. Oaks Christian Counselling Centre Newsletter (October, 1988).

41. Christian Retirement Home Association Newsletter (August, September, October, November, 1988).

42. Christian Stewardship Services brochure on 1988 tax reform.

43. Wycliffe Bible Translators.

44. John Calvin Christian School-- "Dare to be a Daniel."

45. Middle East Reformed Fellowship Newsletter.

46. Simeon Home for the Aged, fund appeal.

47. May & July, 1988, Christian Retirement Home Association Newsletters.

48. May 1988, Christian Labour Association of Canada, local newsletter.

49. Spring 1988- Shalom Home Newsletter & fund drive information.

50. Christian Reformed World Relief Committee Newsletter-- June 1988.

51. Several Oaks Christian Counselling Centre Newsletters.

52. Article by William Peterson: "Growth--The Dutch Example."

53. Canadian Reformed Church Bulletin, Mission Report and pamphlets.

54. Note on Christian Reformed World Relief Committee.

55. "Canadian Reformed Churches/Born of Liberation." The Banner, February 18, 1985.

56. Chart of Reformed Churches--Netherlands, Canada, and the United States.

57. Byl, John. "Adapting The Bible to Revolution." Christian Renewal, March 4, 1985.

58. Byl, John. "A Response to the Calvin Professors." Christian Renewal, May 20, 1985.

59. Sinnema, Donald. November, 1989. "Classification of Mentalities in the Christian Reformed Church. Unpublished paper.

60. Sinnema, Donald. Undated. "Summaries of the Canons of Dort. Unpublished paper.

61. "You Asked Us about Abortion." Pamphlet published by the Citizens For Public Justice. (Undated; distributed after 1988.)

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 1

Status of Questionnaire Respondents at Riverside Christian Reformed Church

Status	N	%
Member	231	98.3
Observer	1	.4
Other	3	1.3
No response	0	0
	235	100

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 2

Length of RCRC Membership of Respondents

Number of Years	N	&
1- 5	51	21.7
6-15	37	15.7
16-25	69	29.4
26-35	76	32.3
No response	2	.9
	235	100

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 3

Distribution of Respondents by Past Church Membership

Denomination	N	%	% of non-CRC responses
Christian Reformed	180	76.6	
Christelijke Gereformeerde Kerk[1,2]	30	12.8	54.5
Hervormde Kerk[2]	8	3.4	14.5
United Church of Canada, Anglican, or other mainline	8	3.4	14.5
Catholic[3]	3	1.3	5.5
No previous affiliation	3	1.3	5.5
Pentecostal	1	.4	.8
Evangelical[2]	1	.4	1.8
No response	1	.4	1.8

[1] This is generally considered the Dutch denomination historically associated with the Christian Reformed Church. This category, for most purposes, could be grouped with the "Christian Reformed" response. In fact, some respondents who indicated that they had always been CRC may have actually been GKN in The Netherlands, but may have considered the distinction irrelevant.

[2] Indicates denominational affiliation in Holland.

[3] Either in Holland or in Canada.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 4

Greatest Strengths of RCRC

Response Categories[1]	No. of times mentioned[2]	% of total respondents[3]
Friendship, sharing, "communion of the saints," etc.	201	85
Strong belief system/ practice of belief	118	50
Preaching of the Word	104	44
Strong leadership; good preachers/ or leaders	72	31
Large size/ Variety of activities/ etc.	60	25
Emphasis on the "Covenant"	57	24
Good music/ singing/ liturgy/ etc.	48	20
"Love for the church"/ members' dedication	33	14
Support for "missions" and social concerns	25	11
Location	25	11
Energizing/ driving/ inspiring to action	23	10
Organizational efficiency/ financial stability	11	5
No response	4	2

[1] These are responses to the open-ended question: "What are the greatest strengths of the RCRC?" On the form, six spaces were provided. In coding these responses, I grouped similar responses under the headings shown, usually using the most frequent literal response as the category designation.

[2] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents wrote in the designated "strength." As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[3] This number represents the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 5

Greatest Weaknesses of RCRC

Response Category[1]	No. of times mentioned[2]	% of total respondents[3]
Too conservative/ non-innovative/ insufficient evidence of faith or Spirit	95	40
Too inward-looking/ exclusivistic/ ethnocentric/ not enough oriented to missions, evangelism social concerns, etc.	91	39
Too "cliquish"/ lack of unity/ too many small groups	66	28
Too large/ too complex	43	18
Insufficient involvement by some members	26	11
Too Dutch/ too ethnic	22	9.4
Too accepting of changes (new standards; new interpretations of Scripture and doctrines)	17	7
Insufficient involvement and participation of members in worship services	17	7
Too much wealth/ materialism/ secularism	15	6
Insufficient sensitivity by pastors or council	14	6
Too family oriented/ too middle class/ insufficient attention to small but identifiable sectors in community	13	5.5
Insufficient social and political concern	9	4
None	8	3
Insufficient acceptance of authority/ insufficient leadership	2	1
Too much change in worship	1	.4
Restriction of recognition to a few, a group, or males only	1	.4
No response	27	11.5

[1] These are responses to the open-ended question: "What are the greatest weaknesses of the RCRC?" On the form, six spaces were provided. In coding these responses, I grouped similar responses under the headings shown, usually using the most frequent literal response as the category designation.

[2] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents wrote in the designated "weakness." As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[3] This number represents the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 6

Preferred Designations of RCRC by Outsiders

Response Category[1]	No. of times mentioned[2]	% of total respondents[3]
General descriptive social characteristics[4]	142	60
Consistency between principles and actions[5]	111	47
Social action orientation[6]	104	44
Group ideology characteristics[7]	84	36
National origin or ethnic characteristics	0	0
No response	17	7

[1] These are open-ended responses to the question: "If you think about how you would want people outside of this church to refer to the group as a whole, what terms would you like them to use?"

[2] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents wrote in the designated preference. As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[3] This number represents the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

[4] Within this category are included the following responses: friendly, welcoming, kind, open, warm and inviting, serious, nice, happy, respectable, "not Dutch," enthusiastic, thoughtful, approachable, polite.

[5] Within this category are included the following responses: strong in faith, church where love is, accepting of others, steadfast in convictions, living what they stand for, people who put their money where their mouth is, sincere, honest, living by faith, blessed by God, hardworking, love for each other, committed Christians, clean-living, moral, principled, fair/honest/truthful, humble/not lofty, living by faith, people with integrity, reliable, strong tradition but overlaid with flexibility and understanding, prophetic, Christ's flock, Christ-centred community.

[6] Within this category are included the following responses: active, asset to the community, involved in the community, dependable in times of need, warm and caring, helpful, compassionate, a giving church, willing to help others, awareness of worldly issues, courageous, just, selfless, people interested in and committed to action.

[7] Within this category are included the following responses: Biblical, Christian Reformed, Protestant, Reformed, Christian, "a true church," people who need a Saviour, strong adherence to Scripture, God-fearing, an evangelical Christian church, rooted in Christ, not fanatical.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 7

Actual Designations of RCRC as Reported by Respondents

Response Category[1]	No. of times mentioned[2]	% of total respondents[3]
National origin or ethnic characteristics[4]	127	54
Consistency between principles and actions[5]	96	41
Social action orientation[6]	58	25
General descriptive social characteristics[7]	49	21
Group ideology characteristics[8]	35	15
No response or "Don't know"	30	13

NOTES

1. These are open-ended responses to the question: "How do people actually refer to this church?"

2. Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents mentioned the "actual designation."

3. This number represents the percentage of the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore, this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

4. Within this category are included the following responses: Dutch immigrant social club, Dutch/ the Dutch church, Christian church with a Dutch heritage.

5. Within this category are included the following responses: reserved, strict/conservative (backward), hypocrites, a loving church, church where people smoke and are still considered members in good standing, strict about observance of Sunday, materialistic, Sunday Christians, hardworking, inconsiderate, disrespectful (e.g., parking on others' yards and in front of others' houses), those Christians that smoke and drink, rich/wealthy, snobs/snobbish, people are too committed, too moralistic, too conservative/ too traditional/ stuck-in-the-mud, somewhat phoney in that they seem to care about others but really concerned mainly with the members, offensive (smoking at church and parking in front of people's houses), foolish fanatics.

6. Within this category are included the following responses: cliquish/ cliquey, smug/ aloof/ uncaring, apathetic, stuck-up and think we're better than others, active, never heard of it, stubborn/ fanatical/ imposing view of morality on others, self-interested, anti-union church.

7. Within this heading are included the following responses: young (youthful) and dynamic, large/ too large/ big, children are rough and impolite, stiff, church with many children attending, cold and unfriendly, the singing church, nice people, unfriendly, a formal church, a plain church.

8. Within this category are included the following responses: church people, Dutch Reformed, religious freaks, associated with the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa, conservative (not liberal in thinking), fundamentalist, too traditional, a lenient church, too weak to stand on their own (so they resort to religion).

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 8

Respondents' Group Associations[1]

Response Category[2]	No. of times mentioned[3]	% of total respondents[4]
Specific group or office in RCRC	157	67
Christian club or association (not specifically RCRC, but within Calvinist tradition)	116	49
The church in general (RCRC)	114	49
Work associates, professional association or union (not specifically Christian)	87	37
Community service organization, political party or association	40	17
Personal enrichment or recreation club; informal group	37	16
Family	28	12
Work associates, professional association or union (Christian)	16	7
Another Christian church	14	6
Neighbours	9	4
None	3	1
No response	12	5

[1] This table provides responses to the request: List the groups you are associated with (e.g. church, business, union or association, service club, neighbourhood group, school association--any group of people with which you frequently interact, even if all of them are within the church community).

[2] On the form six spaces were provided. In coding these responses, I grouped similar responses in categories as shown, usually using the most frequent literal response as the designation. In the following footnotes, all responses included in each category are listed. The responses are those made to all or one of the questionnaire's questions 8, 9, 10, and 12, and summarized here in Tables 8, 9, 10, and 12. The response categories for each of these tables have been made identical.

[3] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents wrote in the designated group. As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[4] This number represents the percentage of the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 9

Respondents' Friendship Groups[1]

Response Category[2]	No. of times mentioned[3]	% of total respondents[4]
Specific group or office in RCRC	108	46
The church in general (RCRC)	106	45
Christian club or association (not specifically RCRC, but within Calvinist tradition)	75	32
Work associates, professional association or union (not specifically Christian)	53	23
Personal enrichment or recreation club; informal group	29	12
Family	20	9
Community service organization, political party or association	14	6
Work associates, professional association or union (Christian)	11	5
Another Christian church	9	14
Neighbours	6	3
None	4	2
No response	32	14

[1] This table provides responses to the request: Of these groups (in question #8), from which are most of your friendships formed?

[2] On the form six spaces were provided. In coding these responses, I grouped similar responses in categories as shown, usually using the most frequent literal response as the designation. In the following footnotes, all responses included in each category are listed. The responses are those made to all or one of the questionnaire's questions 8, 9, 10, and 12, and summarized here in Tables 8, 9, 10, and 12. The response categories for each of these tables have been made identical.

[3] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents wrote in the designated friendship group. As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[4] This number represents the percentage of the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 10

Respondents' Business Clientele[1]

Response Category[2]	No. of times mentioned[3]	% of total respondents[4]
Work associates, professional association or union (not specifically Christian)	18	8
The church in general (RCRC)	12	5
None	12	5
Christian club or association (not specifically RCRC, but within Calvinist tradition)	3	1
Community service organization, political party or association	2	1
Neighbours	1	4
Specific group or office in RCRC	0	0
Personal enrichment or recreation club; informal group	0	0
Family	0	0
Work associates, professional association or union(Christian)	0	0
Another Christian church	0	0
No response	195	3

[1] This table provides responses to the request: If you are in business, from which of the groups listed in #8 do you draw your clients or customers? (in order of importance).

[2] On the form six spaces were provided. In coding these responses, I grouped similar responses in categories as shown, usually using the most frequent literal response as the designation. In the following footnotes, all responses included in each category are listed. The responses are those made to all or one of the questionnaire's questions 8, 9, 10, and 12, and summarized here in Tables 8, 9, 10, and 12. The response categories for each of these tables have been made identical.

[3] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents wrote in the designated group. As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[4] This number represents the percentage of the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 11

Respondents' Sources of Personal Advice[1]

Response Category[2]	No. of times mentioned[3]	% of total respondents[4]
A pastor	71	30.2
A friend	68	28.9
A family member	44	18.7
Specific group or office in RCRC	42	17.9
The church in general (RCRC)	32	13.6
Christian counselor	24	10.2
Family	22	9.4
A counselor in general practice	19	8.1
Christian club or association (not specifically RCRC, but within Calvinist tradition)	10	4.3
Work associates, professional association or union (Christian)	8	3.4
Work associates, professional association or union (not specifically Christian)	7	3
General medical practitioner	4	1.7
Personal enrichment or recreation club; informal group	3	1.3
Another Christian church	3	1.3
Community service organization, political party or association	2	.9
Neighbours	2	.9
None	2	.9
No response	21	8.9

[1] This table provides responses to the request: Where would you likely go for personal advice or a heart-to-heart talk (e.g. regarding your marriage, family or other personal matters) if you should need this sometime? To one of the groups listed in #8, or to a professional person other than your pastor?

[2] On the form six spaces were provided. In coding these responses, I grouped similar responses in categories as shown, using the most frequent literal response as the designation. Refer to Appendix B for responses assigned to each category.

[3] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents volunteered the designated source of personal advice. As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[4] This number represents the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. This number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 12

Respondents' Recreation Groups[1]

Response Category[2]	No. of times mentioned[3]	% of total respondents[4]
The church in general (RCRC)	106	45
Specific group or office in RCRC	61	26
Chistian club or association (not specifically RCRC, but within Calvinist tradition)	38	16
Family	34	15
Work associates, professional association or union (not specifically Christian)	24	10
Personal enrichment or recreation club; informal group	17	7
Work associates, professional association or union (Christian)	9	4
Community service organization, political party or association	7	3
Neighbours	4	2
None	3	1
Another Christian church	2	1
No response	45	19

[1] This table provides responses to the question: With members of which group would you usually prefer to associate for recreation, such as team membership, informal events, parties, etc.?

[2] On the form six spaces were provided. In coding these responses, I grouped similar responses in categories as shown, usually using the most frequent literal response as the designation. In the following footnotes, all responses included in each category are listed. The responses are those made to all or one of the questionnaire's questions 8, 9, or 10. In addition several other categories of responses have been gathered due to the specific nature of this question.

[3] Since the responses were open-ended, this number only indicates the number of times any of the respondents wrote in the designated source of personal advice. As such, this is only a ranking of perceptions.

[4] This number represents the percentage of the proportion of the number of mentions of each category to the total number of respondents. Members were allowed to write in up to six responses. Therefore, this number should not be interpreted as the percentage share of the total responses.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 13

Respondents' Agreement with Denomination in response to the question: "In general, do you agree with the denomination's positions on the major social and church issues that you mentioned above?"

Response	N	%
Yes	146	62.1
No	41	17.4
Not sure	15	6.4
No response	33	14
	235	100

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 14

Respondents' Agreement with RCRC Church Council's position in response to the question: "In general, do you agree with the church council's positions on the major social and church issues that you mentioned above?"

Response	N	%
Yes	146	62.1
No	45	19.1
Not sure	12	5.1
No response	32	13.6
	235	100

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 15

Respondents' Perceptions of Children's Ethnic Retention in response to the question: "If you have children, do you think they will remain in the Christian Reformed Church?"

Response Category[1]	No. of times mentioned	% of total respondents	% of applicable	% of those responding
Yes	104	44	51	59
No	4	1.7	2	2
Some in CRC, some in other denominations	21	8.9	10	12
Some in CRC, some in no church	4	1.7	2	2
Not sure	43	18.3	21	24
No response[2]	29	12.3	14	
Not applicable	30	12.8		
	235	100	100	99

[1] The third, fourth, and fifth categories in this table derive from the respondents' written explanations of their yes/no choices.

[2] Both No Response and Does Not Apply categories may be taken as responses from those respondents who have no children. Table 22 indicates that 64 of the respondents have no children. There is no clear explanation for the fact that apparently four respondents who do not have children answered this question. A possible explanation is that some people who indicated, in response to question 22, summarized in Table 22, may have been confused and may have reported no children if their children were already adults no longer living with them.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 16

Respondents' Attitudes Toward Marriage Partner Choices[1]

Faith-ethnic Characteristics of Spouse[2]	VSA N[4]	VSA %[5]	SA N	SA %	A N	A %	D N	D %	SD N	SD %	VSD N	VSD %	DK N	DK %	DC[3] N	DC %	NR N	NR %
...from RCRC	52	22	47	20	86	37	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	45	19	2	1
...from the CRC, but not RCRC[6]	63	27	55	23	76	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	.5	38	16	2	1
...from some other Calvinistic[7] denomination	13	6	45	19	126	54	2	1	0	0	0	0	13	6	34	15	2	1
...a Protestant, but not Calvinistic	3	1	20	9	148	63	14	6	1	.5	1	.5	10	4	34	15	4	2
...a Christian of <u>any</u> kind	7	3	15	6	101	43	40	17	2	1	4	2	29	12	32	14	5	2
...a "religious" person, not necessarily Christian	0	0	0	0	2	1	53	23	55	23	86	37	8	4	29	12	2	1
...a good person, not necessarily Christian or "religious"	0	0	0	0	4	2	52	22	45	19	96	41	5	2	31	13	2	1
...from a nationality other than your own	0	0	7	3	90	38	16	7	8	3	6	3	35	15	69	29	4	2
...of a different skin colour or "race" than your family's[8]	1	.5	11	5	115	49	16	7	3	1	4	2	29	12	52	22	4	2

NOTES

1. This table summarizes respondents' choices from a Likert-type series in response to the statement, and given the response options, which appear as question 18 in the questionnaire reproduced in Appendix B.

2. Each respondent was asked to select from a range of options in each of these categories. The establishment of the term "faith-ethnic" is one of this thesis's contributions to ethnicity studies and refers to that particular way of cultural construal that relies on application and embodiment of principles of religious faith.

3. "Don't Care" is the designation of the option in which a respondent does not consider the faith-ethnic characteristics of one's own or one's children's spouses to be relevant.

4. This column, in each option, indicates the number of respondents selecting this option in each category. The total N for each row will total 235, the total number of respondents.

5. This column, in each option, indicates the percentage of respondents selecting each option. The total percentage for each row then equals 100.

6. This option denotes the position that a respondent would prefer a spouse for oneself or one's child from the Christian Reformed denomination, but not specifically this local congregation at Riverside.

7. The term "Calvinistic" refers to a church stemming from that branch of the Protestant Reformation informed by the theological position of John Calvin (1509-1564). It is sometimes interchanged with the term "Reformed."

8. Note that the choice here also indicates that "the person is similar in other ways, such as in faith."

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 17

Ranked Reasons for Membership in RCRC

Reason Given[1]	No. of times listed as 1st or 2nd choice[2]	%[3]
Agreement with most or all doctrines	151	
Member by birth	84	36
Preference to other CRCs in the area	45	20
Fellowship with friends	30	13
Convenient location	22	9.3
Husband or wife attends	21	8.5
Invited by a member[4]	6	2.4
Enjoyment of preaching, music, programs, etc.	3	1
Size of the church community and variety of activities	3	1
Encourages service to God and others in the world	3	1
Location relative to or association with the Christian school	2	.8
Family members (parents or children) attend	2	.8
Sense of calling or responsibility	2	.8

[1] These are responses to the question: From the following list, rank the reasons you are a member of this church and denomination.

[2] For purposes of determining respondents' priorities, I combined the number of instances in which each category was selected as either a first or second choice.

[3] This number represents the proportion of the total number of respondents who selected each category as a first or second choice.

[4] This and all of the ranks listed above in this table were provided for ranking on the form. The following are rankings which respondents volunteered.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 18

Age Distribution of Respondents

Age	N	%
18-29	60	25.5
30-39	47	20
40-49	45	19.1
50-59	46	19.6
60-69	19	8.1
70-79	8	3.4
80-89	3	1.3
No response	7	3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 19

Respondents by Sex

	N	%
Male	103	44
Female	129	55
No response	3	1.3
	235	100.3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 20

Number of Children of Respondents

Number of Children	N	%
None	64	27
1	23	10
2	22	9
3	32	14
4	39	17
5	25	11
6	3	1.3
7	2	.3
not specified	17	7
no response	8	3.4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 21

Respondents' Place of Birth[1]

Country or Region	N	%
Netherlands (no province specified)	52	22
Drenthe	1	4
Friesland	12	5.1
Gelderland	4	
Groningen	2	2
Noord-Holland	17	1
Overijssel	3	7
Utrecht	1	.3
Zuid Holland	44	19
Canada (no province specified)	5	2
B.C.	51	21
Other Canadian province	33	14
USA	5	2
Other	4	2
No response	1	.3
	235	100

[1] This was an open-ended response to the question: "In which country and city or province were you born?" Despite the specific question, some respondents answered generally. Therefore this data does not provide precision.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 22

Respondents' Political Preferences[1]

Political party or organization[2]	N	%
Conservative Party	37	15
Liberal Party	4	2
NDP Party	3	1.3
Social Credit Party	71	30
Citizens for Public Justice (CPJ)	24	10
Christian Heritage Party (CHP)	9	4
Liberal and NDP	1	.4
Social Credit and Conservative	44	19
CPJ and Social Credit	6	2.6
Social Credit and CHP	10	4.3
Other	7	3
No response	19	8
	235	99.6

[1] These preferences were given in response to the open-ended question: "What party or political group best conveys your political preference?"

[2] These response categories reflect all combinations provided by respondents. In some cases, respondents indicated provincial support for one party and national support for another. For example, in cases of party-action organization combinations, the respondent may be more ideologically committed to the organization but may vote with a party which he/she feels can be effective politically.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 23

Respondents' Occupations

Occupation[1] Category	N[2]	%	N[3]	%[4]	N[5]	Total %[6]
Homemaker[7]	50	21	4	8		
Office worker[8]	33	14	5	10	38	16
Degreed professional[9]	29	12	6	12	35	15
Labourer in business or industry[10]	24	10	11	22	35	15
Licensed professional[11]	30	13	1	.5	31	13
Self-employed[12]	14	6	12	24	26	12
Business or govt. mgr. or supervisor[13]	12	5	5	10	17	7
Tradesperson[14]	10	4	5	10	15	6
Student[15]	9	4	1	.5	10	4
Owner or manager of larger business[16]	1	.4	0	0	1	.4
No response[17]	23	10	185	--	27	11.5
	235		235		235	99.9

1. These categories represent my groupings of respondents' open-ended responses.

2. This includes responses to the question: "What is your occupation? (Use general terms if your occupation would identify you against your wishes.)"

3. This column represents responses to the instruction: "If you are not employed outside of the home, indicate your spouse's employment."

4. This represents the percentage of those who actually reported their spouses' occupation. It discounts the 185 who did not respond to this instruction.

5. This column combines those reporting their own or their spouses' occupations and excludes "homemaker" since this designation by itself is not fully indicative of family SES. The four homemakers, designated by spouses who also listed themselves as homemakers, are included here in the "No response" category to bring the total N to 235.

6. This column represents the percentage of all questionnaire respondents, including those who did not respond to the occupation questions.

7. This category includes the following responses: not employed outside the home, mother, minister's wife.

8. This column includes the following responses: bank teller, office clerk, salesperson, court reporter, school board staff (public).

9. This column includes the following responses: veterinarian, teacher, lawyer, professional engineer, accountant, minister, doctor, dentist, registered nurse.

10. This column includes the following responses: nursery worker, industrial labourer, construction worker, municipal employee, industrial cook, unskilled labourer, community homemaker, baker.

11. This column includes the following: engineering techologist, technologist, bookkeeper, licensed practical nurse, legal assistant, service technician, draftsman, computer programmer, legal assistant, forester, mechanic, tailor.

12. This column includes the following responses: contractor, farmer.

13. This column includes the following responses: wholesale florist.

14. This column includes the following responses: carpenter, construction worker, millwright.

15. This column includes the following responses: student.

16. This column includes the following responses: owner.

17. This category includes retirees who did not specify their previous occupation.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 24

Respondents' Childrens' Elementary School

School[1]	N	%	% of applicable[2]
John Knox Christian School[3] (Burnaby campus)	96	41	49
John Knox Christian School (Surrey campus)	7	3	4
Other Christian school[4]	38	16	19
Public school	2	1	1
Not specified[5]	54	23	27
Not applicable[6]	38	16	
	235	100	100

[1] Response provided to the question: Which elementary school do (have, or will likely) your children attend?

[2] This column contains percentages of only those respondents for whom this question was applicable.

[3] This school is closely associated with RCRC, with members of RCRC opting to build its buildings even before the church edifice.

[4] This category includes schools affiliated with other denominations as well as one other Calvinistically inspired school. It also includes responses designated only as "Christian school."

[5] For a variety of reasons, not all respondents answered this question. It includes people who have children but did not specify a school.

[6] This category includes only those who indicated that this question did not apply and who do not have children.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 25

Respondents' Childrens' High School

School[1]	N	%	% of applicable[2]
Fraser Valley Christian High	70	30	35
Vancouver Christian High	13	6	17
Other Christian school	25	11	13
Public high school	14	6	7
Combination of public and Christian high schools[3]	13	6	7
Not specified[4]	63	27	32
Not applicable[5]	37	16	
	235	100	101

[1] Response provided to the question: Which high school do (have, or will likely) your children attend?

[2] This column contains percentages of only those respondents for whom this question is applicable.

[3] This includes responses in which some children attended public high school to meet special needs not met in Christian schools. It also includes situations in which older respondents referred to their childrens' attendance at a public school before transportation was readily available to the district's Christian high school, located some 16 km. distance.

[4] For a variety of reasons, not all respondents answered this question. It includes people who have children but did not specify a school.

[5] This category includes only those who indicated that this question did not apply and who do not have children.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 26

Respondents' Childrens' University or College

School[1]	N	% of total[2]	% of those attending[3]
Combination of Christian/ non-Christian	16	6.8	20.8
Combination of Christian	14	6.0	18.2
The King's College	11	4.7	14.3
Combination of non-Christian	9	3.8	11.7
Local community college	7	3.0	9.0
Calvin College	5	2.1	6.5
Dordt College	4	1.7	5.2
University of B.C.	4	1.7	5.2
Simon Fraser University	3	1.3	3.9
Trinity Western University	2	.9	2.6
Trinity Christian College	2	.9	2.6
Not applicable and no response	158	67.2	
	235	100	100

[1] This table summarizes responses to the question: Which college or university do (have, or will likely) your children attend? Respondents supplied their own words, including the combinations listed in this table. The following are the locations and brief description of the Christian colleges listed in this table: Calvin College (Michigan; the only CRC denominationally-supported college, founded in 1858); Dordt College (Iowa; Calvinistic orientation); The King's College (Alberta; predominantly Calvinistic orientation); Trinity Christian College (Illinois; predominantly Calvinistic orientation); Trinity Western University (B.C.; Evangelical orientation).

[2] This column represents the proportion of the total number of respondents, including those for whom the question does not apply or who did not respond, whose children attended each of the designated schools.

[3] This column represents the proportion only of those who provided a specific response. Each cell therefore is a percentage of the number (235 - 158 [not applicable and no response]) = 77.

Table 27

Correlations Between Respondents' Ages and Group Associations[1]

Response Category (Age)	18-29 N[2]	18-29 %[3]	30-39 N	30-39 %	40-49 N	40-49 %	50-59 N	50-59 %	60-69 N	60-69 %	70-79 N	70-79 %	80-89 N	80-89 %	NR N	NR %
The church in general	22	37	27	57	27	60	21	46	9	47	6	75	1	33	1	14
Specific group or office in RCRC	36	60	32	68	32	71	29	63	14	74	8	100	2	67	4	57
Work assoc. or prof. org. (Christian)	3	5	7	15	2	4	3	7	0	0	1	13	0	0	0	0
Work assoc. or prof. org. (not specif. Christian)	29	49	24	51	20	44	11	24	3	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
Another Christian church	3	5	2	4	2	4	5	11	2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christian club or assoc. (not RCRC, but Calvinistic)	25	42	23	49	29	64	24	52	9	47	3	38	1	33	2	29
Family	15	25	1	2	5	11	6	13	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neighbours	1	2	3	6	0	0	2	4	3	16	0	0	0	0	0	0
Community serv. org., political party or assoc.	10	17	5	11	3	7	15	33	7	37	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal enrich. or recr'n club	11	18	12	26	9	20	4	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
None	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
No response	3	5	0	0	2	4	5	11	0	0	0	0	1	33	1	14

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NOTES

1. This table summarizes correlations between the information contained in Tables 8 and 20: respondents' ages and the groups with which they most frequently associate. For notes regarding the categories used here, please refer to Tables 8 and 20.

2. This number in each column refers to the absolute number of people in each age category who associate primarily with the group designated in any given row.

3. This number represents the proportion of all people in each designated age category who associate primarily with the group designated in any given row.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 28

Correlations Between Respondents' Sex and Group Associations[1]

Response Category	(Sex) Male N[2]	% [3]	Female N	%	NR N	%
The church in general	51	50	63	48	0	0
Specific group or office in RCRC	69	67	86	67	2	67
Work assoc. or prof. org. (Christian)	6	6	10	8	0	0
Work assoc. or prof. org. (not specif. Christian)	49	48	38	30	0	0
Another Christian church	4	4	10	8	0	0
Christian club or assoc. (not RCRC, but Calvinistic)	47	46	69	54	0	0
Family	12	12	16	12	0	0
Neighbours	5	5	4	3	0	0
Community serv. org., political party or assoc.	15	15	25	19	0	0
Personal enrich. or recr'n club	14	14	22	17	1	33
None	0	0	3	2	0	0
No response	6	6	5	4	1	33

1. This table summarizes correlations between the information contained in Tables 8 and 21: respondents' sex and the groups with which they most frequently associate. For notes regarding the categories used here, please refer to Tables 8 and 21.

2. This number in each column refers to the absolute number of people of each sex who associate primarily with the group designated in any given row.

3. This number represents the proportion of all people of each sex who associate primarily with the group designated in any given row.

Table 29

Correlations Between Respondents' Occupations and Group Associations[1]

Response Category	Occupation (see key[2]) 1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11	
	N[3]	%[4]	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Specific RCRC office or group	22	44	6	40	16	46	15	49	17	65	1	100	9	53	19	50	16	46	4	40	9	40
Christian club or assoc. (Calvinistic but not RCRC specifically)	42	84	11	73	22	63	22	71	15	58	0	0	9	53	28	74	24	69	5	50	16	70
RCRC (general)	2	4	0	0	9	26	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	9	3	30	0	0
Work assoc, prof. assoc. or union (not specif. Christian)	6	12	6	40	15	43	21	68	7	27	1	100	9	53	15	40	8	23	7	70	1	4
Community service org.; political party or assoc.	5	10	0	0	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	12	4	11	4	11	0	0	0	0
Personal enrich. or rec'n club; informal group	31	62	11	73	21	60	12	39	17	65	0	0	7	41	19	50	16	46	3	30	9	39
Family	6	12	4	27	4	11	4	13	3	11	0	0	2	12	6	16	2	6	1	10	1	4
Work assoc, prof. assoc. or union (Christian)	1	2	1	7	1	3	3	10	1	4	0	0	1	3	3	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Another Christian church	13	26	4	27	5	14	7	23	1	4	0	0	4	24	6	16	12	34	3	30	0	0
Neighbours	11	22	1	7	11	31	2	7	4	15	0	0	4	24	4	11	4	11	3	30	3	13
None	2	4	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No response	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	1	6	2	5	3	9	0	0	4	17

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NOTES

1. This table summarizes correlations between the information contained in Tables 8 and 25: respondents' occupations and the groups with which they most frequently associate. For notes regarding the categories used here, please refer to Tables 8 and 25.

2. Key: 1-Homemaker, 2-Office worker, 3-Degreed professional, 4-Labourer in business or industry, 5-Licensed professional, 6-Self-employed, 7-Mgr. or supervisor in bus. or gov't, 8-Tradesperson, 9-Student, 10-Owner or mgr. of larger business, 11-No response

3. This number in each column refers to the absolute number of people in each occupational category who associate primarily with the group designated in any given row.

4. This number represents the proportion of all people in each designated occupational category who associate primarily with the group designated in any given row.

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FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 30

Correlations Between Respondents' Ages and Friendship Groups[1]

Response Category (Age)	18-29 N[2]	% [3]	30-39 N	%	40-49 N	%	50-59 N	%	60-69 N	%	70-79 N	%	80-89 N	%	NR N	%
The church in general	22	37	23	49	25	56	21	46	8	42	6	75	1	33	0	0
Specific group or office in RCRC	26	43	24	51	23	51	20	44	6	32	4	50	1	33	4	57
Work assoc. or prof. org. (Christian)	3	5	5	11	2	4	0	0	0	0	1	13	0	0	0	0
Work assoc. or prof. org. (not specif. Christian)	17	28	18	38	10	22	7	15	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Another Christian church	2	3	2	4	0	0	3	7	2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
Christian club or assoc. (not RCRC, but Calvinistic)	17	28	19	40	16	36	16	35	4	21	2	25	0	0	0	0
Family	14	23	1	2	2	4	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Neighbours	1	2	2	4	1	2	1	2	0	0	1	13	0	0	0	0
Community serv. org., political party or assoc.	5	8	2	4	1	2	6	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pers'l enrich., recr'n club	9	15	9	19	7	16	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14
None	2	3	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No response	6	10	1	2	5	11	9	20	6	32	2	25	1	33	2	29

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NOTES

1. This table summarizes correlations between the information contained in Tables 9 and 20: respondents' ages and the groups from which they primarily choose their friends. For notes regarding the categories used here, please refer to Tables 9 and 20.

2. This number in each column refers to the absolute number of people in each age category who choose their friends primarily from the group designated in any given row.

3. This number represents the proportion of all people in each designated age category who choose their friends primarily from the group designated in any given row.

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION

Table 31

Correlations Between Respondents' Sex and Friendship Groups[1]

Response Category	(Sex)	Male N[2]	Male %[3]	Female N	Female %	NR N	NR %
The church in general		43	42	63	49	0	0
Specific group or office in RCRC		49	48	57	44	2	67
Work assoc. or prof. org. (Christian)		2	2	9	7	0	0
Work assoc. or prof. org. (not specif. Christian)		29	28	24	19	0	0
Another Christian church		4	4	5	4	0	0
Christian club or assoc. (not RCRC, but Calvinistic)		37	36	38	30	0	0
Family		6	6	14	11	0	0
Neighbours		3	3	3	3	0	0
Community serv. org., political party or assoc.		4	4	10	8	0	0
Personal enrich. or recr'n club		11	11	17	13	1	33
None		2	2	2	2	0	0
No response		17	17	14	11	1	33

NOTES

1. This table summarizes correlations between the information contained in Tables 9 and 21: respondents' sex and the groups from which they primarily select friends. For notes regarding the categories used here, please refer to Tables 9 and 21.

2. This number in each column refers to the absolute number of people of each sex who choose their friends primarily from the group designated in any given row.

3. This number represents the proportion of all people of each sex who choose friends primarily from the group designated in any given row.

Table 32

Correlations Between Respondents' Occupations and Friendship Groups[1]

Response Category	Occupation (see key*) 1		2		3		4		5		6		7		8		9		10		11	
	N[2]	%[3]	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Specific RCRC office or group	21	42	6	40	18	51	15	48	13	50	0	0	8	47	19	50	15	43	4	40	9	39
Christian club or assoc. (Calvinistic but not RCRC specifically)	27	54	10	67	15	43	19	61	12	46	0	0	7	41	17	45	15	43	3	30	11	48
RCRC (general)	1	2	0	0	6	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	3	2	20	0	0
Work assoc, prof. assoc. or union (not specif. Christian)	2	4	1	7	7	20	13	5	5	18	0	0	7	41	11	29	4	11	6	60	0	0
Community service org.; political party or assoc.	2	4	0	0	1	3	0	0	1	4	0	0	2	12	2	5	3	9	0	0	4	17
Personal enrich. or rec'n club; informal group	14	28	9	60	16	46	10	32	10	39	1	100	6	35	11	29	7	20	2	20	2	9
Family	5	10	4	27	1	3	3	10	0	0	0	0	2	12	7	18	2	6	1	10	0	0
Work assoc, prof. assoc. or union (Christian)	1	2	0	0	1	3	1	3	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	3	3	9	0	0	0	0
Another Christian church	3	6	3	20	2	6	2	7	0	0	0	0	1	6	3	8	1	3	3	30	0	0
Neighbours	8	16	0	0	8	23	2	7	3	12	0	0	2	12	4	11	2	6	3	30	3	13
None	1	2	0	0	2	6	0	0	1	4	0	0	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No response	9	18	1	7	1	3	3	10	4	15	0	0	2	12	5	13	7	20	0	0	6	26

*Key: 1-Homemaker, 2-Office worker, 3-Degreed professional, 4-Labourer in business or industry, 5-Licensed professional, 6-Self-employed, 7-Mgr. or supervisor in bus. or gov't, 8-Tradesperson, 9-Student, 10-Owner or mgr. of larger business, 11-No response

NOTES

1. This table summarizes correlations between the information contained in Tables 9 and 25: respondents' occupations and the groups from which they primarily choose their friends. For notes regarding the categories used here, please refer to Tables 9 and 25.

2. This number in each column refers to the absolute number of people in each occupational category who choose their friends primarily from the group designated in any given row.

3. This number represents the proportion of all people in each designated occupational category who choose their friends primarily from the group designated in any given row.

QUESTIONS (For people over age 18)

PUT "N/A" IF THE QUESTIONS DON'T APPLY;
LEAVE A BLANK IF YOU DON'T WANT TO ANSWER A QUESTION.

1. Are you a member of this church? _____Yes _____No

   If "No," what is your status here? _____

   If "Yes," are you a member by baptism _____ or a "communicant member"? _____

   How long have you been attending this church? _____

2. Have you always been a member of the CRC? _____Yes _____No. If "No," please indicate which religion or other Christian church you were a member of (if you weren't a member of any other church before this one, indicate that also): _____

_____

_____

[For the next two questions, you may find that one answer is sufficient for both of them.]

3. What are the greatest strengths of the Riverside CRC?

   a. _____ d. _____

   b. _____ e. _____

   c. _____ f. _____

4. What draws you to, and keeps you in, the Riverside CRC?

   a. _____ d. _____

   b. _____ e. _____

   c. _____ f. _____

5. What are the Riverside CRC's greatest weaknesses?

   a. _____ d. _____

   b. _____ e. _____

   c. _____ f. _____

6. If you think about how you would want people outside of this church to refer to the group as a whole, what terms would you like them to use?

a. _____ d. _____

b. _____ e. _____

c. _____ f. _____

7. From your experience, how do you think people from outside this church actually refer to this church, that is, what terms do they use?

a. _____ d. _____

b. _____ e. _____

c. _____ f. _____

8. List the groups you are associated with (e.g. church, business, union or association, service club, neighbourhood group, school association--any group of people with which you frequently interact, even if all of them are within the church community).

a. _____ d. _____

b. _____ e. _____

c. _____ f. _____

9. Of these groups (in #8), from which are most of your friendships formed? (Give the letters of the lines in the list above--in order of importance.)

_____

10. If you are in business, from which of the groups listed in #8 do you draw your clients or customers? (In order of importance) _____

_____

11. Where would you likely go for personal advice or a heart-to-heart talk (e.g. regarding your marriage, family or other personal matters) if you should need this sometime? To one of the groups listed in #8, or to a professional person other than your pastor? (Please indicate, either with a letter from the list in #8 or by filling in the blank below.)

_____

12. With members of which group would you usually prefer to associate for recreation, such as team membership, informal events, parties, etc.? (Use either a letter from #8 or fill in the blank below.)

_____

13. To give an indication of what effect values have on considering issues, tell what you think are the most pressing general social problems today. (For all "list" questions like this, indicate your order of importance, with "a" being the most important; only those that come easily to mind.)

a. _____ d. _____

b. _____ e. _____

c. _____ f. _____

14. What, for you, are the most pressing issues facing the entire CRC?

a. _____ d. _____

b. _____ e. _____

c. _____ f. _____

15. If different from #14, what are the most important issues facing the Riverside Christian Reformed Church today?

a. _____ d. _____

b. _____ e. _____

c. _____ f. _____

16. In general, do you agree with the denomination's positions on the major social and church issues that you mentioned above? _____Yes _____No

In general, do you agree with this church's council's positions on the major social and church issues that you mentioned above? _____Yes _____No

Explain if you wish. _____

_____

_____

17. If you have children, do you think they will remain in the Christian Reformed Church?
_____Yes _____No. Explain, if you wish. _____

_____

_____

18. If you or your child marry(ies) (or has married), how do you think you would (or did) react if the spouse is...
(Use the following: VSD=very strongly disapprove; SD=strongly disapprove; D=disapprove; A=approve; SA=strongly approve; VSA=very strongly approve; DK=don't know; DC=don't care CIRCLE ONE IN EACH CHOICE BELOW)

a. from this congregation
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
b. from the CRC denomination, but not this church
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
c. from some other Reformed denomination
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
d. a Protestant, but not Reformed
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
e. a Christian of any kind
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
f. a "religious" person of some kind, but not necessarily a Christian
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
g. a good person, not necessarily a Christian or "religious"
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
h. from a national heritage other than your own
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC
i. of different skin colour or "race" than your family's, assuming the person is similar in other ways, such as in faith
VSD SD D A SA VSA DK DC

19. From the following list, rank the reasons you are a member of this church and denomination. (Assign "1" to the most important reason, and so on. If I haven't listed your important reasons, list your own.)

_____member by birth

_____attendance at church is convenient because I live in the area

_____my friends attend this church, so I attend largely because I like the fellowship here

_____my husband or wife attends or attended this church

_____I agree with most or all of the doctrines and positions held by the CRC.

_____I was encouraged or invited to attend by a member of this church.

_____I prefer this church to other CRCs in this vicinity.

Other reasons (please specify)
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____
_____ _____

20. Age:_____

21. _____Male
_____Female

22. Do you have children? _____Yes _____No
If you do, what are their ages? _____

23. In which country and city or province were you born?

_____

If you were not born in Holland, please indicate whether you are of Dutch ancestry.
_____Yes _____No

24. What party or political group best conveys your political preference?
_____Conservative
_____Liberal
_____NDP
_____Social Credit
_____Other (For example, Citizens for Public Justice [CPJ], the Christian Heritage Party, the Western Reform Association, Western Canada Concept. Please specify.)

_____

25. What is your occupation? (Use general terms if your occupation would identify you against your wishes.)

_____

If you are not employed outside of the home, indicate your spouse's employment.

_____

26. Which school do (have, or will likely) your children attend?

Elementary school _____

High school _____

College or university _____

27. If you are married, did your spouse fill in a questionnare too? _____Yes _____No
_____Doesn't apply

****

IF NECESSARY, PLEASE USE ANOTHER SHEET FOR MORE COMMENTS.

THANK YOU FOR THE TIME SPENT! Brad Breems

PLEASE PUT COMPLETED FORMS IN THE MARKED BOX IN THE LOBBY.

REFERENCE CODES FOR RESEARCH NOTES AND UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

I used a variety of sources. I list them here, together with the codes by which I refer to them throughout the dissertation.

B = Weekly church bulletins. In notations I cite them by referring to their date, with the month appearing first (e.g., B 06-25-87).

D = Document, referring to an official document or relatively short official publication. I have listed all of the documents by number in the bibliography section of this paper. The numbers (e.g., D10) refer to its placement in the document index.

FN = Field notes, which I jotted down in a notebook during or immediately after visits or observations. These overlap with what I call "personal observation notes," below. They tend to be of a more general, reflective character than the observation notes, however. Again I specify them by date (e.g., FN 06-25-87).

CM = Minutes of a "congregational meeting." This is a church-wide meeting, open to all members. I also specify these by date of meeting.

M = Minutes. This designation refers to the minutes of consistory (church council) meetings. They are specified with reference to dates. They can be located in my Minutes files, which contain more than one thousand photocopied pages of minutes, going back to the original meeting of Riverside Christian Reformed Church in 1952. Due to the confidential nature of these documents, they are available only to the Ph.D. examining committee for verification.

MI = Miscellaneous documents. This includes documents from parallel institutions and Dutch-Calvinist churches other than Christian Reformed. A list of Miscellaneous documents appears in the bibliography, designated by number.

PON = Personal observation notes. These are often detailed notes, taken during or immediately after specific observations. Sometimes they tend to be evaluative of the situation in which I was observing. They are somewhat more restricted in scope than the field notes, but their role in my research and analysis is similar. They are designated by number, and a list of PONs appears in the bibliography section of this paper.

SN = Sermon notes. I took notes on more than 50 sermons preached on Sundays at the Riverside church. Reference is made to the dates on which the notes were made, with the month being the first number (e.g., SN 06-25-87).

N = Newsletter. This is the substituted name for the church's monthly newsletter, which reported on committees and groups, but also attempted to emphasize human interest concerns. It had an activity section for children and a pastor's comment section. (I used it to introduce and publicise myself and my project on two occasions.)