CONTAINERDEUTSCHE – CONTEMPORARY GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO
AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a comparative study of contemporary German migration to Australia and Canada, specifically to Sydney and Vancouver. It explores the dynamics of the migration process from a phenomenological point of view. All events and circumstances in the migration process are seen as interrelated, and therefore important to the analysis. Furthermore, the meaning of a phenomenon can only be understood by exploring its context. Therefore, this study views contemporary German migration in its various contexts—how it is displayed in the social science literature and manifested in government statistics, how it is presented as common sense, and how it is experienced by the migrants themselves. Thus, the phenomenological approach attempts to be holistic.

Using the phenomenologic-hermeneutic paradigm the thesis focuses on the subjective experiences of individuals; in terms of migrants' understanding of their own motivations, migration decisions, and the process of adjustment, and in terms of their understanding of other contemporary German migration experience.

The study examines the migration narratives of a sample of thirty Germans who have migrated, or are at some stage of the process of migrating, to either Australia or Canada over the last twenty-five years. The specific analysis and interpretation of these accounts are based on the hermeneutic philosophy of meaning and discourse. The sample interviews reveal two levels of conceptualization in the subjects' accounts. At one level all migrants talk in a way that can be characterized as representing "common knowledge". On another level, the interviewees interpret their own personal motivations and experiences in a way which does not correspond to common knowledge. Interviewees commonly described the Neuenwanderer (new immigrant) as wealthy, arrogant business migrants, but none of the interviewees described themselves in those terms. In
Australia it was commonly thought that *Neueinwanderer* have a difficult adjustment time, but most personal narratives related positive adjustment experiences. In Canada all interviewees believed that German immigrants had no great adjustment difficulties.

The major finding of this thesis is that the conventional notions of linearity and finality with respect to migration need to be re-evaluated in the social science literature, government policies and common sense. The phenomenologic discussion reveals that modern migration, at least for certain groups to certain countries, is not a linear, discrete and final process. Instead, this thesis argues that migration is best seen as a comprehensive, recursive process of decision making, action (legal application and geographic move) and adaptation to a new environment.
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To my Family and Friends in the New World and the Old

and to

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I. INTRODUCTION

We stopped drinking and are now slowly re-gaining the trust of our elders—they are teaching us the old songs, dances and stories now. We don’t need anthropologists anymore. You come from Germany—have you studied your own people yet?

Freddie, at Alkali Lake

When Freddie asked this question back in 1979, I laughed. After all, I had just come from Germany for a year, intending to study the exotic native Indian cultures of the Northwest Coast and to get away from the Germans. However, I ended up staying after that year and, eventually, immigrated to Canada, living in Vancouver. The more I learned about Vancouver’s ethnic diversity, the more I became interested in the reasons that brought so many immigrants to this city. I wondered why people would leave their family and friends and move to a distant country.

And, yes, I turned to "my own people", and wondered how and why they had migrated. I learned of the long history of German immigration to Canada. I understood that, historically, Germans had been leaving behind poverty, political unrest and religious persecution and were searching for a better life abroad. But I began to wonder why Germans, nowadays, are continuing to migrate, albeit in much smaller numbers. Germany is one of the most prosperous countries in the world. It offers social security and a high standard of living. Why, then, do an average of 2,000 Germans a year leave family, friends and a comfortable lifestyle, move to Canada and consciously change their lives?

This was the question with which I ventured into a comparative ethnographic study of German immigrants, focusing on their migration motivations, decision making and adjustment processes. In 1988 and 1989 I interviewed German immigrants in Sydney, Australia and Vancouver, Canada.
During fieldwork in Australia I noticed a difference between how Germans describe the migration experiences of other German immigrants and how they describe their own experiences. In other words, my informants used two levels of conceptualization: one that seemed to address everyone's motivations and adjustment processes, and one that related to their own specific immigration experiences.

These two levels of description/experience were not always compatible. For example, in Australia, there was an image of the new immigrants "out there", which characterized them as wealthy, arrogant and deeply unhappy. This image was conveyed to me by Germans I talked to in the German pubs, at German fairs, at German churches and other places. But, most migrants sharing their own personal immigration story with me appeared reasonably happy and contented, although some had had adjustment difficulties. In Canada, there was almost no dissonance between the two levels.

Thus, it seemed reasonable to me that an ethnographic study of migration motivations, decisions and adjustment processes should be organized around these two levels of conceptualization or knowledge. How do Germans see other new immigrants and how do they see themselves? This approach would provide me with data that--had I concentrated on personal migration stories only--would not have been available. The primary focus of this thesis, then, is the German migration process as it is explained by Germans talking about other new immigrants. It includes what the immigration process means, as described by these same Germans talking about their own individual migration stories. The thesis also attempts to place the contemporary migration in its historical context.
1. SUBJECT OF STUDY: AN OVERVIEW

This thesis looks at contemporary German migration from a phenomenological point of view. It focuses on individual migration experiences to explore the dynamics of the migration process. Yet, this is just one of four possible versions of the process.

(1) In the academic literature "migration" has many different meanings. The notion of spatial movements of people is common to many versions. There is no universally-accepted, nominal definition, or typology, in the study of the phenomenon. Particular definitions can only be interpreted within their contexts. In the broadest sense, migration is usually seen as a geographical move of people away from one place to another place. At this level, additionally, the process of migration is typically seen as being both linear, discrete and final. The social sciences have developed a voluminous body of migration studies. Most studies focus on a specific topic, or event, in the migration process, such as migration decision making, recording of geographical movements, reasons for in-migration and out-migration, individual motivations or acculturation processes. The issue of return migration is also of interest, but is usually treated separately, and understudied, partially because of lack of statistics.

Perhaps most problematically, few academic studies even attempt to look at the migration process holistically. This study intends to do so.

(2) Policy makers also tend to regard the migration process as linear and final. Illustratively, countries which are primarily the recipients of migrants tend not to be concerned with, or even keep records of, return migration. Thus, country-specific migration policies rarely address the migration process in its entirety (when compared to the individual migrant-specific perspective). Rather, policies are designed to deal with the consequences of either out-migration or in-migration. These policies are designed to maximize benefits to the receiving country, not to the individual immigrant. The role of the individual in the migration process is largely
submerged by this orientation and, therefore, overlooked. This study, in contrast, focuses on the individual migrant. To a degree it does explore how migration policies affect the individual. But, it also describes how individuals manipulate these policies to their own advantage.

(3) Linearity, discreteness and finality are also dominant elements in the common sense notion of migration. It is commonly understood that the physical process of migration follows certain characteristic steps. Migration has a relatively clear beginning when the individual formally applies for migration, a middle when the individual gets on the plane or boat and an end when the individual has accommodation in the new country. But, as this study shows, not only is there a common sense notion of the migration sequence, there is also a notion of typical migrant's characteristics. These characteristics often are generalized and simplified and do not do justice to the individual migrant. Some common sense notions are simply wrong. For example, the view that "nowadays only wealthy businessmen or retirees" immigrate cannot be supported by government statistics.

(4) The phenomenological understanding of migration attempts to be holistic. All events and circumstances in the migration process are seen as interrelated, and therefore important to the analysis. The meaning of a phenomenon can only be understood by exploring its context. Thus, this study views contemporary German migration in its various contexts—how it is displayed in the social science literature and manifested in government statistics, how it is presented as common sense, and how it is experienced by the migrants themselves.

The phenomenologic discussion reveals that the notions of linearity and finality can be a reductionist view. Rather, it is argued in this thesis that modern migration, at least for certain groups to certain countries, is not linear and discrete, and often very far from final.

The phenomenological approach adopted in this thesis is particularly appropriate for the study of such a phenomenon. It suggests that one has to re-think notions of linearity and finality
in connection to the migration process. It further conveys that there is a distinction between the physical process of migration—the formal application for the visa, the move and finding accommodation—and the mental, experiential migration. The data show, for example, that some German immigrants continue to either defer or re-evaluate their decision after the legal immigration and physical move have been completed. Some even keep all possible options open for a return by maintaining houses, insurance and investments in Germany and, thus, choose never to mentally migrate.

It is argued that migration is best seen as a comprehensive, recursive process of decision making, action and adaptation to a new environment. The key word in this description is recursive (1). Most importantly, the migrant's personal understanding and perception of the migration is recursive and complex. Thus, for example, ex-ante considerations of the prospect of adaptation (such as daydreams about life in "the outback" or "great white North") influence the migration decision itself. These images and daydreams may occur many, many years before any actual steps are initiated to formally apply for migration. Conversely, some travel or move to a new land, live there for quite a few years, and slowly realize that they are "migrants". They recognize that they do not want to return to Germany and therefore formally apply for immigration. Similarly, "the book" on the decision making process is never closed with the actual move. This non-closure has two dimensions. At the more obvious level, many German immigrants, for example, give themselves a trial period in the new country before making a "final" decision to stay. Less obviously, migrants continue to re-interpret their motivations and decisions.

1. The ethnographic term "description" is used rather than the more positivistic word "definition".
2. THEORETICAL APPROACH

All subjective interpretations of human action are retrospective (Schutz 1962; Geertz 1973; Whittaker 1986). They are interpreted and re-created in the individual subject's mind and are then related to the researcher (Gadamer 1975; Watson and Watson-Franke 1985).

Even individuals during the process of deciding, or physically migrating, are already re-interpreting the past to explain their present situation and, possibly, the future: "Past experience is effectively organized so that it links itself to present motivations and accommodates the expectations of the listener" (Whittaker 1986:75).

The theoretical approach adopted to "explain" German immigration is the phenomenologic-hermeneutic paradigm (Dilthey 1958; Gadamer 1960; Ricoeur 1984). Hermeneutics focuses on the subjective experiences of individuals: in terms of migrants' (retrospective) understanding of the motivations, migration decisions, and the processes of adaptation and assimilation. Placing hermeneutics in the migration context suggests that key questions which must be addressed, therefore, are: what kinds of subjective thought processes actually drive people to migrate and consciously change their lives? What is perceived to be involved in the decision making process? How does the process of adaptation influence the decision to stay in the new place and actually settle?

Thus, the phenomenologic-hermeneutic approach focuses on the process of motivation formulation, in contrast to the majority of migration studies which focus on motivation articulation and generalization. The phenomenologic-hermeneutic approach is able to uncover individual migration motivations and decision making processes more deeply ("dahinterliegenden Sinnbestimmungen", Gadamer 1986:435) than conventional studies, although always recognizing the retrospective nature of informant's stories.
3. THE PEOPLE AND THE PLACE

The study examines the migration stories of Germans who have moved to either Australia or Canada, sometime during the last twenty-five years. These immigrants are widely labelled as Neueinwanderer (new immigrants) by other German migrants. Germans who migrated during the fifties and early sixties are known as Alteinwanderer.

In Vancouver the Neueinwanderer are nicknamed Containerdeutsche, because it is perceived they need huge containers to transport all their belongings to Canada. In contrast, the nickname Rucksackdeutsche is used for the Alteinwanderer. The romantic use of "rucksack Germans" rather than something more prosaic such as "penniless nobodies" suggests which of the two cohorts was in charge of the labelling, hinting at some of the normative elements in retrospective sensemaking.

The immigration stories have been collected from a small sample of thirty individuals who have immigrated, or are in the process of immigrating: eleven in Sydney, Australia and nineteen in Vancouver, Canada. Although additional interviews were conducted in both Sydney and Vancouver, they are not included in the sample for interpretation. However, these interviews provide heuristic and contextual information which have helped to guide interpretation.

The sample interviews reveal a dichotomy in the subjects' accounts. Two distinct (although largely unrecognized) levels of conceptualization are present. At one level all migrants talked in a way that can be characterized as representing "common knowledge" or "common-sense knowledge" (Schutz 1962). "Common knowledge" is shared and socially constructed (Geertz 1983). For example, throughout the interviews all informants shared certain perceptions about "the German migrant", and everybody claimed to know the "why" and "how" of German immigration. This common knowledge is most extensive, and most highly developed, among German immigrants who work in one capacity or another with other German immigrants.
On another level, the interviewees interpreted their own personal motivations and experiences in a way which did not usually correspond to common knowledge. Common knowledge is, indeed, used by the informants as a beginning reference point to explain their own experiences, either by initially using their own experiences to illustrate the general concept of "German migration" or by contrasting their own experiences to the perceived norm. In this context, then, depending on the metaphor one chooses to use common knowledge can be thought of as a catapult, crutch or launch-pad. Clearly, although common knowledge rationales of migration are used extensively to construct a framework for subjective experiences, individual motivations for immigration are embedded in a more complex and unique environment.

These observations on the interplay of "common knowledge" and "subjective experience" are not necessarily surprising. Indeed, they are consistent with basic tenets of anthropology and phenomenology: that an individual's knowledge of the world is, in fact, intersubjective. As Schutz points out, the individual's world is not "private", there is no "pure" subjective knowledge, but from the outset individual knowledge is intersubjective. It is socially derived, and socially constructed and expressed (Schutz 1962:13). Although, this interplay has been extensively discussed in the interpretive social sciences, it has not been well developed vis-à-vis migration (but, see Whittaker 1986).

How is the dichotomy manifested in the interviews? It is in the expression and presentation of personal experiences that the dichotomy between common knowledge and individual knowledge emerges most clearly. Thus, their migration stories can be interpreted at two levels: those the informants tell of themselves and those they tell of others. Those about others are common knowledge-oriented, while their own stories are much more personal and idiosyncratic.
German residents in both Australia and Canada, for example, have a common image of the so-called *Neueinwanderer*. This image does not usually correspond with each individual's perception of himself or herself. More specifically, in several interviews the *Neueinwanderer* is described as being a wealthy businessman who migrates with his family to fulfill his dreams of a "free" and "leisurely" lifestyle. However, informants who used this common knowledge characterization did not perceive themselves as falling within this category, although other German immigrants in both Australia and Canada may "know" that they are typical *Neueinwanderer*. This particular example nicely illustrates the constructed nature of common knowledge and the more unacculturated nature of individual knowledge. Immigration statistics, on the other hand, show that the majority of new immigrants are not wealthy businessmen but rather are typically middle-income (2).

Certain characteristics attributed to the *Neueinwanderer* in common knowledge vary by country. For example: in Australia, German residents are generally of the opinion that most *Neueinwanderer* have difficulties adapting, are unhappy, "but would never admit it". The putative reasons for their discontent are believed to lie in: (1) socio-cultural differences between the German and Australian people, the particularities of Australia's harsh geographic and climatic conditions, and its remoteness from the old homeland; and (2) in the naivety and unpreparedness of the *Neueinwanderer*. However, when describing their own personal immigration experiences, the majority of interviewees claims to be reasonably content.

Canadian-Germans, on the other hand, do not perceive that the *Neueinwanderer* in Canada are plagued by either adaptation difficulties or unhappiness. Canadian immigrants tend to emphasize the socio-cultural similarities between Canada and Germany and the proximity to

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2. See Department of Manpower and Immigration, Statistics Canada--Annual Reports 1983-1987; and Department of Immigration, Australian Immigration--Consolidated Statistics 1983-1988; see also Table 7 and 12.
Germany. Any observed adjustment difficulties are attributed to the personal characteristics of the migrants, not to the shortcomings of the country and its people.

Interview analysis suggests that common knowledge migration motivations attributed to the Neueinwanderer tend to be articulated as a set of short and easily understandable "reasons", such as "overcrowding in Germany", "high unemployment", "fear of war", "climate" etc. They are recognized by everyone as "making sense". It must be emphasized that these "reasons" are also given at the individual level, but during the course of the interview these "public reasons" (Lüthke 1989) are usually found to be dominated by highly personal motivations. Thus, the commonly-accepted "reasons" mask complex subjective processes.

Common knowledge motivations are almost identical to those described in other works on migration motivation. Typically, these studies use data from questionnaires and census material (3). The analytical approach of this study attempts to demonstrate that the motivations described in both the conventional migration literature and at the common knowledge level often do not correspond with this researcher's findings as to individual underlying motivations.

Furthermore, it is shown that conventional migration literature is not primarily concerned with how migration preferences are formed, or formulated. Rather, they focus on how and why preferences are articulated and generalized. Not surprisingly, the major focus tends to be upon exogenous (i.e. to the individual) events, forces and patterns such as relative wage rates in different countries. The more complex subjective processes that go to preference formation, and which ultimately drive decision making have been less explored (but, see M. Luthke & Cropley 1989, 1990; F. Lüthke 1989). This study attempts to explore motivation at this level.

3. See list of "public motives", ordered by degree, frequency and motive-group in Lüthke (1989:100); and, list of "most important motives" in Magee (1987:192); see also de Jong and Fawcett's (1981:36-37, 40) compilation of migration motivations that were retrieved from selected empirical and theoretical literatures.
The men and women who so freely related their experiences and opinions to me came from all walks of life. There were some—counsellors, accountants and businessmen—who were very involved with German immigrants on a professional level. Their knowledge of "other" Neueinwanderer is used most extensively here to describe "common knowledge". Other German migrants talked extensively about their own immigration experiences. These stories are most central in illustrating "individual knowledge".

The interviews were conducted in an unstructured and open-ended mode. The questions centered on the exploration of experiences. The answers, therefore, are descriptions of these experiences and are predominantly presented in the form of a story or narrative.

As already briefly described, the analysis and interpretation of these accounts are based on the hermeneutic philosophy of meaning and discourse (Dilthey 1976; Gadamer 1975). Hermeneutics encompasses the meaning of both question and answer. A central tenet of hermeneutics is that the meaning of an interview must be constructed as a discourse between the researcher and the interviewee. Therefore, the role of the researcher in both the process of the interview and the final analysis has to be considered (Mishler 1986; Watson and Watson-Franke 1985).

Although interviews are the primary research methodology, this study does not rely on them exclusively. The analysis and interpretation of individual behaviour and experiences can be augmented with external non-subjective, factors, which influence the decision making process (Watson and Watson-Franke 1986). Therefore, a theoretical and methodological framework is developed for this thesis which, although primarily grounded in hermeneutic philosophy and the interpretation of subjective experience, also incorporates "objective realities", such as census and statistical data, newspaper articles and literature on the history of German migration to Canada and Australia.
There are numerous studies that are broadly relevant to this project; they use a wide variety of disciplinary frameworks. Examples of studies that deal with migration decision making from the following perspectives are: economics (Balan 1981; De Jong & Gardner 1981); public policy (Carruthers & Vining 1982); geography (Bennet 1979; Lewis 1982); psychology (M.Luthke & Cropley 1989, 1990; F.Lüthke 1989), and anthropology (du Toit 1975(b); Hayes 1982; Douglass 1984).

Few studies look at the migration process in the way that is attempted here. Questions relating to the causality and consequences of migration are usually dealt with separately. Furthermore, the process of adaptation and its significance to decision making is usually not included in a single model. An attempt to integrate causality and consequences coherently must necessarily work with a disparate set of literatures. Thus, this thesis predominantly examines the relevant migration literatures from anthropology, sociology, economics, and public policy. Additionally, the body of literature that deals specifically with both the history and individual experience of German migration to Canada and Australia is used.

In summary, this study views contemporary German immigration as a comprehensive and recursive process of decision making, a geographic move, and adaptation to a new socio-cultural and geographical environment. It is shown that this type of migration is not a linear step-by-step process, but rather a complex and highly individualized process where all elements are interrelated. Furthermore, the thesis points out that contemporary German immigration is not characterized by finality, rather it is an ongoing process. Even though the immigrants decide to permanently stay in the new country, they know they can move back any time and therefore the migration and the commitment to the new country is subject to frequent re-evaluation.
II. FIELDWORK AMONGST GERMAN IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

German immigration, as previously described, is analyzed using the hermeneutic-phenomenologic paradigm. The paradigm requires that the phenomenon be understood in its entirety—the social "whole" cannot be explained without the parts (Dilthey 1958, 1976; Gadamer 1975). German immigration, therefore, must be placed in a context. This context should encompass: the relationship between researcher and topic; how the researcher through the fieldwork begins to comprehend the research question (contained in this chapter); how German immigration can be placed within a theoretical and methodological framework (Chapter III); how it has changed through time, in other words, the story of German migration (Chapter IV), and perhaps most importantly how it is perceived by immigrants themselves (Chapters V and VI).

The researcher's task is to fit these parts together and present them coherently. This chapter focuses on the fieldwork. It attempts to: (1) illuminate the relationship between researcher and fieldwork; (2) describe the initial, heuristic fieldwork "findings"; (3) introduce the fieldwork setting and the informants, and (4) describe the major ethnographic observations.

1. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESEARCHER AND FIELDWORK

The hermeneutic approach to fieldwork emphasizes that fieldwork can only be understood within the context of the interaction between the researcher and her material. This interaction is necessarily conditioned by the background, indeed the whole life, of the researcher. Gadamer has variously labelled this phenomenon as "prejudice", "preunderstanding", "foremeaning" and "bias". Gadamer (1975:238) describes the nature of the interaction as follows:
... a person trying to understand a text is prepared for it to tell him something. That is why a hermeneutically trained mind must be, from the start, sensitive to the text's quality of newness. But this kind of sensitivity involves neither "neutrality" in the matter of the object nor the extinction of one's self, but the conscious assimilation of one's own fore-meanings and prejudices. The important thing is to be aware of one's own bias, so that the text may present itself in all its newness and thus be able to assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings.

Thus, the researcher's interpretive task is to understand the topic in the context of the researcher's own cultural preunderstandings. These preunderstandings are not only shaped by previous life-experiences, but are further moulded during the course of the research. Thus, inevitably, the researcher's interpretive task is a self-reflexive one.

This reflexivity does not necessarily lead to "hyper self-consciousness or self-absorption" (Clifford 1986:15). Instead, reflexivity can illuminate the researcher's field experiences and deepen the understanding of the ethnographic material gathered. Therefore, this chapter not only presents the major ethnographic observations, but also examines the researcher's assumptions and describes the data-gathering circumstances. This approach is consistent with the view that the explication of decisions and field experiences is de rigeur; ethnographies without such a grounding are meaningless (Whittaker 1986:xx; see also Watson & Watson-Franke 1985:16,17).

As previously described, my interest in German immigrants slowly developed after I had moved to Vancouver from Germany. The genesis of the interest was my own migration. I originally came to Canada to study for a year in order to complete my German degree requirements. However, I met my future husband soon after my arrival in Vancouver and wanted to stay. The formal migration process was a bureaucratic necessity. Indeed, although I formally immigrated in 1980, it was a number of years before it dawned on me that I had actually "migrated", that is, mentally settled in Vancouver. In other words, my formal migration preceded my experiential migration.
As I continued to study anthropology my reflections about my own migration slowly evolved into a number of research questions that, at least to some degree, sprang from my own experiences. One question was obvious. I had not planned my migration. How common was this?

A large percentage of Vancouver's population are first and second generation immigrants, including many of my friends. I began to wonder why people take such a drastic step. My own experience had suggested that the phenomenon was not as simple, neat and discrete as much of the literature appeared to suggest.

Both teachers and colleagues suggested that I combine my immigrant experience and my knowledge of German and the Germans. There are a large number of German-speaking immigrants in Vancouver and British Columbia (in 1981 over 187,625 residents in B.C. declared German heritage; 91,680 claimed German as their mother-tongue) (1). An average of 1,500 Germans per year are still immigrating (2).

I initially resisted this suggestion. Why? Partly, I suppose, the sense that I was being "typecast". But, also like many migrants, I was "fed up" with my own ethnic group (later my research showed that this is not an uncommon experience!). In the end, however, "good sense" prevailed. This was helped along by a family decision to spend part of a sabbatical in Sydney, Australia. My husband, himself an immigrant from Britain, had always wondered whether he should have gone to Australia instead (although his own migration to North America had been as haphazard as my own, he claims to have always had a vague sense that he wanted to leave England). Since Sydney also has a large German immigrant population and a similar number of new German immigrants, a comparative study seemed like a good way of "combining business with pleasure".

2. Annual Reports of Department of Employment and Immigration, Canada.
2. HEURISTIC INQUIRIES: WHO ARE THE NEUEINWANDERER?

The background information for a research design and a catalogue of interview questions was gathered through library research on the history of Germans in Canada and some initial fieldwork. I began the heuristic research in Vancouver by talking to many who were knowledgeable about the German community. They were either members of a German church or other organization, or worked with German clients. Most were German immigrants themselves.

This preliminary research suggested that there are two "types", or "cohorts" among the German immigrant community—Neueinwanderer and Alteinwanderer. The latter arrived during the immediate post-World War II period, escaping poverty and political insecurity. Most brought almost no possessions with them, hence the nickname Rucksackdeutsche (back-pack Germans). In contrast, the more recent Neueinwanderer immigrate with all their possessions and have considerable financial resources, hence the nickname Containerdeutsche (container Germans). Many retain pensions and other investments in Germany. Quite a few take time to scout around their new country and choose the "best" place to live. For example, in Vancouver, wealthy Neueinwanderer aspire to parts of West Vancouver or the British Properties. As a Neueinwanderer explains:

this is the area were many other Germans live. We have had a similar education and think alike. I don’t know why, but we never seem to meet any Canadians. Instead, we have made many good German friends here.

Alteinwanderer dislike Neueinwanderer attitudes. They resent the ease with which the new immigrants appear to settle in. They also resent the fact that most Neueinwanderer appear to avoid contact with Alteinwanderer. As one Alteinwanderin explains: "They think they are something better. They have their own high-brow circuit and don’t mix with us."

These more recent immigrants are somewhat of a puzzle. Unlike their predecessors they are not poor and there are no "push" factors such as war or political persecution. How do
Neueinwanderer explain their motivations? The following are typical: fear of another war, and nuclear annihilation of Germany; distrust of the social-democratic government in the seventies; fear of communism; pollution and overpopulation in Germany; more freedom in Canada and Australia, and for the future of the children.

However, most other German-Canadians I talked to were of the opinion that many Containerdeutsche were merely using these reasons as a front. They claimed that their actual reasons were largely pecuniary, namely to secure their capital. Interviewees used the nickname Zitterkapital (trembling capital). This phrase expresses a common image of some Neueinwanderer: people who only immigrate to secure their capital in Canada for fear they would lose it in a communist take-over of Germany. (These interviews were before the dramatic changes that have recently taken place in Eastern Europe).

My informants related stories of immigrants who technically live in Vancouver, but whose main home was still in Germany, or of people who had brought their capital and families over, but still worked in Germany. Some had apparently bought second residences in remote areas of B.C in order to have a safe place to go to in case of nuclear war. There were also stories of people who invested their money in shady deals or unsound businesses and lost it all. Many of these stories were hearsay; they seemed to be part of a shared folklore, but without any verification.

The general sentiment that ran through these stories can be summarized as follows:

You will never find out exactly why they migrated. They will not tell you. They don’t want to give away their secrets. Some just moved here, they didn’t migrate. Most of them still have their houses and their toothbrush in Germany. They are not interested in Canadian society, they certainly are not interested in the German community.

The folkloric nature of these kind of stories naturally made me curious. An alternative working hypothesis was that maybe there were no generalizable reasons, but that each decision
to immigrate was embedded in a set of circumstances which differed from person to person. The goal of this study, therefore, became to investigate the nature of the particular circumstances that influence motivations and individual decisions. In addition, I wanted to find out how people would relate their migration to me: would they conform to the stories in common currency, or would they each have their own story to tell?

3. FIELDWORK SETTING AND INFORMANTS

The fieldwork was conducted in Sydney, from January to April 1989, and in Vancouver from October 1990 to January 1991. In both cities I visited German organizations, took part in their activities and talked to many German immigrants. Since clubs and organizations do not give out names of members, I had to rely on individual contacts. I met informants in the clubs socially, and by individual referral. In both countries, the German Consulate General employees claimed not to have formal knowledge about German migrants. As an employee in Sydney explained:

I don't know anything about immigrants. None of us here in the Consulate is an immigrant. Go to the clubs, there are hundreds of them. They only come here for their passports and we cannot give out that information.

The interviewee selection is, therefore, driven by chance encounters, but is not random in any sense.

I carried out a total of thirty formal interviews, eleven in Sydney and nineteen in Vancouver. The majority of interviews lasted from one-and-a-half to three hours, were taped and subsequently transcribed. Due to external circumstances such as unforeseen interruptions, change of locations etc., some interviews were shorter, and some could not be taped.

Not all informants had formally immigrated, but are holding a temporary working permit. Some are still in the process of deciding whether to formally immigrate or not, while yet others are already certain that their stay will be temporary.
In Sydney, six of the informants are Germans who work with Neueinwanderern. This group predominantly talked about their experiences with other German immigrants. Two of these interviewees set themselves apart right away from other Germans by explaining that they were not "immigrants", but "just" worked and lived in Sydney. They work, respectively, as a business consultant and an accountant, both specializing in German clients. A third interviewee, a social counsellor for German immigrants, had contemplated immigration but had finally decided to return to Germany. The other three informants in this group had formally immigrated and specialized in working with Germans as, respectively, a notary, a real estate agent and as a writer.

There were nineteen interviews in Vancouver. Six informants work with Neueinwanderer as a social worker, social counsellor, business consultant, director of a cultural organization, writer and engineer. As in Australia, this group of Vancouver interviewees predominantly talked about their experiences with other Neueinwanderern.

All other interviewees narrated their own personal migration experiences. In Vancouver two interviews were given by non-immigrants. One couple has been travelling and working in North America for several years and is still trying to decide whether and where to formally immigrate. One man came as a tourist, married and is still waiting for his immigration papers.

The informants were encouraged to choose the language they felt most comfortable with. Nineteen interviews were conducted in German and six were held entirely in English. In five cases the interview switched back and forth between both languages. Table 1 summarizes the informants' characteristics. All names and professions are synonyms. All informants will be introduced in a short biography at the beginnings of Chapters V and VI.
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4. THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PROBLEM: COMMON KNOWLEDGE AND INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCE

During interviewing and text-interpretation a dichotomy emerged between how people imagined a Neueinwanderer would act, and how they explained their own actions. Two levels of conceptualization appeared to be present. On the one hand all informants "knew" why Neueinwanderer immigrate and what their characteristics are. On the other hand none of the informants described their own migration experiences, or identified with that image.

All informants imputed the same migration reasons to the Neueinwanderer, such as investment, environmental and political concerns. Furthermore, they all described similar characteristics of the Neueinwanderer, such as wealthy, arrogant, elitist.

On the other hand, their own migration stories were not consistent with the kinds of motives and characteristics they ascribed to others. However, they did repeatedly refer to common knowledge idioms to explain their own individual experiences and actions. Thus, they sometimes used the concept of common knowledge in order to make sense of their own subjective knowledge.

The concepts of "common knowledge" ("common sense") and "subjective experience" have been widely discussed in the anthropological and philosophical literatures (Schutz 1962; Geertz 1983; Whittaker 1986). Anthropological and philosophical theory proposes that the two concepts are linked. Subjective experience expresses itself through common knowledge, it uses "the Other" to explain its "Self".

21
In the constructs of common-sense thinking the Other appears at best as a partial self... But this is merely half the story. My constructing the Other as a partial self, as the performer of typical roles or functions, has a corollary in the process of self-typification which takes place if I enter into interaction with him. I am not involved in such a relationship with my total personality but merely with certain layers of it. In defining the Other I am assuming a role myself. In typifying the Other's behaviour I am typifying my own, which is interrelated with his, transforming myself into a passenger, consumer, taxpayer, reader, bystander, etc. (Schutz 1962:19).

Thus, subjective experience intonates "pure" and "raw" experience that enters a reciprocal relationship with common sense in order to manifest itself in subjective consciousness. It is not possible to grasp subjective experience in its pure form, only in its intersubjective form.

It is not my intention to split the ontological entities of common sense and intersubjective experience. Rather, I use the categories "common knowledge" and "individual experience" to typify individual representations about others and self.

As Geertz (1983:76) explains:

This analytical dissolution of the unspoken premise from which common sense draws its authority - that it presents reality neat - is not intended to undermine that authority but to relocate it.

The two concepts can, therefore, be only separated artificially. It is useful to do so in order to: (1) emphasize the two levels of perception and analysis used by the interviewees; (2) remove the concepts from the merely philosophical sphere and "fill" them with ethnographic data, and (3) explore the specific meaning of these concepts for German immigration. A comparison of these concepts will result in a more accurate description, or profile, of the German new immigrants. Furthermore, I hope to shed light on both how German immigrants use common knowledge to make sense of their own experience and how individual experience shapes common knowledge.

There are two further observations that, I think, are important in understanding this ethnography. The first observation describes what German immigrants in the new home-country
relate about the Neueinwanderer, the second how they talk about the Neueinwanderer. The
difference between the interviews from Australia and Canada became apparent during
interpretation.

First, in both countries, the Neueinwanderer were described as fairly affluent people who
immigrated to improve their financial position or were looking for a change in life-style. In
Australia, it was generally assumed that most Neueinwanderer were disappointed and somewhat
disgruntled in their new homeland. The reasons for their unhappiness was seen as flowing from
both unrealistic expectations and unexpected cultural differences between Germany and
Australia. Germans in Vancouver, on the other hand, did not have a similar perception about
Canadian Neueinwanderer. While they acknowledged that some Neueinwanderer might experience
discontent, they attributed this to individual personal problems, rather than to cultural
differences. When I asked my informants in Vancouver whether they thought of the
Neueinwanderer as being unhappy the answers usually followed this line: "Certainly there are
some people who are not happy. But they were probably already unhappy at home. There always
have to be some sour-pusses. Besides, it is easy to go back to Germany."

Second, I observed that Germans in Australia were highly critical of other
Neueinwanderer. The German-Canadians in Vancouver also displayed some criticism and
cynicism about the Neueinwanderer's motivations and conduct, but it was expressed in a less
polemic and more detached and understanding tone.

The Germans in Australia criticize the Neueinwanderer for being "naive and unprepared",
for "expecting too much", for being "insensitive to their fellow Australians", for being "too
arrogant", etc.. The following paragraphs give an example of these frictions and criticisms as they
are reflected in the "Letters to the Editors" of the German-Australian weekly "Die Woche".
Such letters seem to appear frequently. Usually a German visitor to Australia, or a disillusioned German immigrant, writes a letter filled with criticisms of Australia, Australians and other German immigrants. It would describe personal experiences in Australia in terms of initial expectations and subsequent disappointments, and make comparisons between Germany and Australia. Such letters would draw heated responses from other writers who would either criticize the original letter or congratulate the original writer for "finally telling the truth".

The letters are all written with full name and address and are published over a period of several weeks or months. The following excerpts are an example of such an exchange.

**Letter One:**

Lucky Country: Once upon a time.
Surrender after three years.

Three years ago I arrived full of enthusiasm. Today, I can hardly await my return to Germany.
I am a Diplom Ingenieur (Engineer). The information I received in Cologne was wrong: I was not able to find a job that would correspond to my qualifications. Because I have to feed a family, and because I didn't want to spend all my savings, I had to take any job I could find. I did want to live here, also because of the children. But after three years I have to surrender.
I want to say the following to the topic of freedom: ... Everybody burns their dirt [here], no matter whether it is 30 degrees outside and one can hardly breathe. The word pollution is not known here. Everybody does as he pleases. Unfortunately this country, which is a typical immigration country, does not have many educated people.
After we had realized all this, there remained nothing left of the Lucky-Country. Today, I know why so many people want to return to Germany. As a critical person, I don't agree with everything [in Germany], but it is a country with a high culture, a relative order and a Soziales Netz ["social net", meaning social welfare system] which is unique in this world.
The best of Australia is her weather, but one cannot live on that alone. How fortunate, that it [the weather] remains outside the influence of the unions, otherwise the sun wouldn't shine anymore either (Die Woche, 9.4.1985, No.15:7) (3).

3. All letters were written in German and translated by me. Explanatory notes are in brackets.
This letter caused quite a stir and prompted several responses. Some letters recalled the difficulties the *Alleinwanderer* went through and questioned the *Neueinwanderer*’s high expectations and low stamina. Others argued that many travellers or *Neueinwanderer* did not have the patience and flexibility to accept the Australian way of life.

Some compared the author’s experiences to their own. They further compared Germany and Australia and concluded that Germany was not as good as Australia, that Australia was a hard country but worth it, and that, therefore, the unhappiness must be rooted in the author’s psyche.

For example, the following response emphasizes the difference between old and new immigrants, compares Germany and Australia, and concludes with some admonitions:

**Letter Two**

The letter ... contains some justified observations, but unfortunately, most of it will enrage many older German migrants. Many of the engineers, physicians, academics, and intellectuals had to work here after their arrival under many, many more difficult circumstances. They had to earn their money with a pick-axe building a railway in the outback. And these brave men had children and families too. ... The economic conditions for new immigrants in those days were miserable compared to today. Furthermore, it was quite unpleasant to disclose one’s German identity. ...

I ask myself why you emigrated. One needs to have deep motivations to make such a difficult decision. Yours did not seem to measure up to the necessary requirements of sticking it out here. Have you forgotten what it looks like in Germany today? ... It is desperate. ... Unfriendly people, bad weather, polluted air. Nobody knows where it will end. You are right when you expose the thoughtlessness of the Australian people, who, in pyromanic delight, burn everything they can lay their hands on. We don’t agree with that. ... But you have to realize that you cannot quickly change the awareness of a people, this takes patience. Unfortunately, we Germans are not always blessed with that virtue and could learn a lot from the "little educated people" as you put it. I think you do well going back to Germany. You need the relative order, as you write, the social net, which certainly is unique in this world, but which has not made people happier either. But don’t blame the Australians. This would be very unfair to this beautiful country where we are very happy. We have re-learned to live in peace here, without fear. ... Fare well in old Germany! *(Die Woche, 23.4.1985, No.17:6)*
Another writer also comments on the old and the new immigrants and makes comparisons between Germany and Australia:

**Letter 3**

None of us had an easy time in the beginning. We should take an example from those who came to Australia during the fifties—with nothing. And very many of them made it. But many of them who arrive nowadays believe the fairy tale that "the gold is lying in the streets". [They] simply run away from evil Germany (*Die Woche*, 30.4.1989, No.18:6).

The following letter appeared three weeks later and comments on the responses the "Lucky-Country" letter had received:

**Letter 4**

One thing is clear—no Australians are more fanatic than the Germans. Some seem to constantly have to convince themselves that they indeed did win the lottery by immigrating. Or do they want to justify their new-found Australian citizenship? ... In my opinion there are only three possibilities to survive in this country: - If you don't discard your Prussian virtues you will end up on the mental ward.--If you cannot stand all this "take it easy", "no worries", "she'll be alright, mate" etc., then you'll have to return to Germany as fast as you can.--Or you adjust.

I have been here for 13 years. Australia is not the praised country. Most of the criticisms are justified. ... Australia will not be spared in the next war. Only fools can hope for that. It is not even a paradise for children. Every parent, whose children have become completely "Australianized" will confirm that. ... But despite it all, one can live here. Maybe even a little better than in Germany: because of the good climate, because of the freedom that is offered by this country's space. You will have to consider a setback in the quality of life. And you will have to adjust!

I am self-employed here, and have created my own little world. Add to that the contacts with other German acquaintances and occasional visits to the German clubs. Everybody should cultivate their German atmosphere. It maintains the feeling of self-worth (*Die Woche*, 28.5.1989).

The story of the "unhappy Neueinwanderer" was repeated to me in most Australian interviews. Five of the six informants who worked with *Neueinwanderer* told me that it would be futile to interview new German immigrants, because they would either refuse to talk to me, or they would lie. As one person explained:
It won't be necessary to interview recent immigrants, especially business migrants. They will not tell you what they really think. This only comes out when you know them for a long time, and even then only when they let it slip. They not only pretend to you that they are happy, but they pretend it to themselves. They have to constantly convince themselves what a great country this is and what a great life they are leading. So some buy a lot of things and do a lot of exotic adventures. But deep down they are terribly unhappy.

Of course, given this, I expected to talk to a lot of "unhappy" Neueinwanderer, but I did not find many. Instead, most of my informants claimed to be very content with their decision to immigrate. Again, I saw the dichotomy between those stories told in common knowledge, and those told from individual experience.

I did talk to two women, however, who indeed were "unhappy" about their immigration. They were highly critical of both other German immigrants and the Australians. But, as their migration story unfolded, they both had to admit that their unhappiness was not an immediate result of their immigration, but was due to other decisions in their lives that had gone wrong.

In Vancouver, the common knowledge image of the "unhappy" immigrant was not apparent. During fieldwork in Vancouver I began to wonder whether the search for the "unhappy Neueinwanderer" wasn't futile. Even if I met some, what would it prove? That, indeed, most newcomers were unhappy and that the rumours were right? That those claiming to be happy were not telling the truth? The Vancouver German newspaper also did not contain any such bitter disputes about Neueiwanderer's motivations and conduct, like the Sydney paper. Why did the Germans in Australia seem to have a much tougher time adjusting than the Germans in Vancouver?

A comparison of the migration history in general and the German migration history to Australia and Vancouver revealed part of the answer. As this point is further explored in Chapter IV, I only briefly mention my argument here: Australia's geographic situation (far removed from Europe), and discriminatory immigration policies fostered strong ethnocentrism and
parochialism. Non-British immigrants were met with resistance and suspicion. Canada’s society appears to have displayed more tolerance toward new immigrants. Therefore, immigrants to Australia had a much harder time to adjust and settle down. The question is, do immigrants to Australia still face these hardships? The literature and "common knowledge" suggest they do, while most interviewees claimed to have had no major adjustment problems.

In addition to fieldwork and personal migration experiences, the conceptualization of the research project requires a grounding in the relevant literature. The goal is to connect both what is studied and how it is studied to a larger theoretical and methodological context. This context is presented in the following chapter.
III. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter briefly reviews the literature that attempts to place German contemporary immigration within a larger theoretical and methodological framework. This literature can be broadly divided into two parts. The first part concentrates on issues of migration motivation and migration decisions. The second elaborates on the phenomenologic and hermeneutic issues (only those relevant to this thesis will be reviewed). In addition, the chapter outlines the application of the methodological framework by sketching the interview analysis.

1. MIGRATION LITERATURE: MOTIVATION AND DECISION MAKING

As already explained, human migration has always been regarded as a primary factor of social, cultural, economic and political change (Kasdan 1971). As such, migration has been the subject of investigation by scholars from all social science disciplines. The migration literature is both voluminous and fragmented. Inevitably, the researcher must choose which part, or aspect, of the literature to focus upon. Naturally, these selections reflect the subjective biases and convictions of the researcher.

This is not the place to elaborate on the epistemological nature of scientific inquiry or the sociology of knowledge that underlie the selections made here. Suffice it to say that the proposed phenomenologic-hermeneutic approach does not claim to produce so-called "objectively valid" results, this would contravene its basic philosophical stance (for a discussion of the various epistemological approaches, see Burrell and Morgan 1979). Thus, hermeneutics suggests that any research approach is subjective by nature and that its findings are only interpretable relative to the researcher.
1. Anthropology And Sociology

Since the pioneering works of Haddon (1912) and Thomas and Znaniecki (1927) anthropology and sociology have dealt with migration as a distinct phenomenon. Neither discipline, however, can claim to have, as yet, developed a distinct and systematic body of migration analysis along the lines of that produced by economics.

Anthropological and sociological studies have incorporated migration as an important aspect of socio-cultural change (see the reviews by du Toit 1975a, 1990; see also: Spencer 1971; du Toit & Safa 1975a, 1975b; Mandal 1981). A few studies focus specifically on migration decision making, such as Bell’s (1980) study of mobility in Africa, and du Toit’s (1975b; 1990) decision making models. Most studies, however, focus on the consequences of migration, namely on the impact on sending or receiving communities (see: Mangalam’s review 1968; Kasdan 1971). These studies tend to focus on: the experiences, attitudes and values shared by migrants (see, for example: the classic study by Thomas and Znaniecki 1927, and numerous monographs on ethnic groups in North America and specifically Canada, such as Ishwaran 1977; Morawska, Heydenkorn & Kogler 1982); the contributions of migrants to the receiving community (Kasdan 1965); networks established by migrants in the receiving country (Wolf 1966; Denich 1971; Zenner 1971); the consequences of out-migration on sending communities (Philpott 1971; Rodgers 1970; Davis 1976; Hayes 1982; Douglass 1984); rural-urban migration and social change (P. Mayer 1961, 1962; Caldwell 1969; Amin 1974; Swetnam 1990); return migration (Gmelch 1980) and perceptions of ethnicity by immigrants (Barth, 1969; Schreiber 1975; Southhall 1975; Keynes 1976; Driedger 1978).

The inquiry into how immigrants interpret their experiences raises such anthropological questions as: Why and how do people leave the socio-cultural environment they grew up in? What do they expect to find in the new place? How do they adjust to the new place? Or, to put it
into phenomenologic-hermeneutical terminology: Why, and how, do people leave their Lebenswelt, or "life-world"? Is it possible to create a new one? These questions are of great anthropological concern, but the extant literature has not dealt with the migration motivations and decisions as such. This thesis attempts to do so.

2. Economics And Public Policy

Since Ravenstein (1885, 1889) postulated the first general migration "laws", economists have developed highly sophisticated migration theories. In addition to developing migration models, economists have sought to test them in a large number of empirical studies. Both the theories and evidence have been, and continue to be, very influential on other disciplinary efforts (for a review on migration studies see McNeill 1971; Radermacher 1985).

Economic models of "push" and "pull" forces, of "micro" and "macro" structures of migration and the various strands of thought connected to them, have had a great influence on scholars from all social science disciplines. As early as 1939, Heberle argued that the causes of migration could be found in a series of circumstances that either force individuals to leave a place (push), or attract them to another (pull). Similarly, after examining a number of large migration flows, Bogue also identified a number of "push" and "pull" factors (Bogue 1969:753-754).

"Push" and "pull" factors are employed extensively in economic causality studies (Stouffer 1940, 1960; Gallo & Taeuber 1966; Todaro 1976; see also articles in Brown & Neuberger 1977 and De Jong & Gardner 1981). These factors are applied in both, microlevel approaches (theories dealing with behaviour expressed by a collectivity of individuals) and macrolevel approaches (theories dealing with historical-structural change) (for reviews, see Ritchey 1976; Radermacher 1984).
Microeconomic theories view migration as the aggregate result of calculated, individual thought, so-called "rational-choice (Rothenberg 1977). A working assumption in these studies is that people move from less developed areas to more developed areas with the objective of enhancing their economic position—individuals act as "homo economicus", responding to imbalances in the spatial distribution of land, capital and natural resources.

Older models (for example: Schultz 1961, 1971; Sjaastad, 1962) stress wage rate disparities: labour moves from places where capital is scarce and labour is plentiful to places where capital is plentiful and labour is scarce, thus creating an equilibrium between sending and receiving areas. Such an approach is used to explain rural-urban migration, and labour migrations in Europe, North America and Africa (Amin 1974; Krane 1979; Piore 1979, Stahl 1982).

Newer, more sophisticated models (for example: De Jong and Fawcett 1981; Da Vanzo 1981) avoid focusing exclusively on expected wage rates by including non-monetary, as well as monetary costs and benefits, such as being near friends and relatives.

The other major economic approach (the macro) is historical-structural and concentrates on the analysis of historical roots and broader structural processes within a particular social formation (Balan 1981; Gardner 1981). This literature is very large and fragmented and a wide variety of perspectives have developed from it (for a review, see Papademetriou 1983).

The historical-structural perspective views migration primarily as a macro-social and macro-economic, rather than an individual process. Population movements are examined via an historical analysis of structural economic, political, and social changes. Migration is seen in the context of class structure and conflict, often rooted in Marxist philosophy. But, as Papademetriou (1983:473) points out, not only "... mainstream marxists and imperialists, but also dependency and world-system types and many structural sociologists ..." gather under this rubric.
Population movements are seen as the result of both external and internal pressures and counter-pressures on a national economy. Migration is conceptualized primarily as a class phenomenon, not as a personal decision or process within the control of the individual. The unit of analysis is the stream itself, not simply the sum of the individual choices. Migrants move from less developed to developed areas: stronger economic units syphon surpluses from weaker ones. Whether the analytic unit is the national metropolis or the international capital, the economic conflicts and the results are similar.

However, the historical-structural approach cannot do justice to the many contextual and historical variations of population movements. It sometimes also neglects the fact that much migration is driven by idiosyncratic state policy, and as such reflects the influence specific national policies have on migration. And finally, the role of the individual actor in the decision making process is largely left untouched (Adam 1984).

More recent economic studies attempt to combine the macro and micro by formulating new variables and establishing new units of analysis. For example, Wood (1981, 1982) utilizes the "household" as the primary unit of analysis (see a critique by Bach & Schramml 1982); Vining & Carruthers (1983) place individual rationality within a public choice and political economy milieu; Gardner and Fawcett (1981) include macrolevel components such as "opportunity structure differentials" between areas (i.e. income and employment goals, education differentials, amenity differentials, etc.) into their "value-expectancy" model of decision making behaviour.

A basic component in migration decision research is the issue of motivation. As De Jong and Gardner (1981:5) explain:
The basic elements of a microlevel theory of migration decision making start with a consideration of motivations for migration. Motives might be briefly characterized as one of the proximate causes of intentions to move. ... different authors refer to motives by different names. Subjectively, when the individual is said to be considering cost-benefit ratios, levels of stress and satisfaction, and values and expectancies, the underlying concept is that of motivation. Objectively, discussions of place utility and of opportunity structures often incorporate inferred motivations.

In spite of this admonition most conventional investigations of motivation concentrate on how motivations are generalized and represented, not on how they are formed. As most of these migration studies are based on census material and statistical data, they must rely on the version of "preferences" that such data reveal. In addition, questionnaires in migration survey research essentially all elicit responses to the same question: "Why did you move?". Researchers are typically interested in short, simple answers, not in long and detailed accounts (1). Characteristically, responses, therefore, can only articulate existing preferences, simplistically at that! Such questionnaires cannot provide information on how such preferences developed or on the complex relationship between formation and articulation.

This important point has been recognized by some researchers. Lüthke (1989:98), in his study of German immigrants to Australia, distinguishes between the description of migration motives that are given in questionnaire responses—"public motives" and those that emerge in extended interviews—"private motives".

This thesis attacks this problem by investigating both how motivations are formed and presented. In the course of in-depth, open-ended interviews informants describe how the decision to migrate came about and what motivated them to actually take the step. The interpretation of these interviews shows that the decision making process consists of a combination of thoughts and events out of which a set of motives emerges.

1. for example, Magee's (1987:192) question in her survey of Belgian immigrants in Ontario: "What were your important motives for immigration? Please check your three most important motives; indicate first, second, and third choice".
2. PHENOMENOLOGY AND HERMENEUTICS

This section is divided into two parts in order to better show the influence of phenomenologic and hermeneutic philosophies on this study. The first part provides a brief synopsis of the key philosophical underpinnings that have influenced the conceptualization of this study. The second part outlines the significance of hermeneutics to issues of fieldwork interpretation.

1. Interpretive Paradigm - Phenomenology

This study is grounded in the philosophy of phenomenology and hermeneutics as developed through Kant (1957), Husserl (1960), Weber (1949), Schutz (1962), Dilthey (1958), and Gadamer (1960). Phenomenology and hermeneutics provide the epistemological framework for the interpretive paradigm, as it has been conceived by social theorists such as Kuhn (1970) and Geertz (1973) and typologized by Burrell and Morgan (1979).

Phenomenology and hermeneutics have been applied specifically to anthropology by theorists such as Geertz (1973, 83), Crapanzano (1977), Frank (1979), Agar (1980), Marcus & Cushman (1982), Watson & Watson-Franke (1985), Clifford and Marcus (1986), and Whittaker (1986).

The interpretive paradigm is deeply rooted in German idealism, notably the Kantian Geistesphilosophie. The core idea is that the quest for "pure truth" or ultimate "reality" lies in the realm of the mind and experience, the Geist, rather than in the data of sense perception. This world-view runs counter to that of positivism, which regards "reality" as a concrete structure amenable to accurate observation and measurement (Bernstein 1976; Morgan 1980; Skinner 1985).

The interpretive paradigm is concerned with the experiential nature of the relationship between subject and object. The disputed question is whether "reality" is external to the
individual or rather is a product of individual consciousness. In other words, whether "reality" is objective by nature, imposing itself on individual consciousness from without, or whether it is the product of subjective cognition.

The paradigm is informed by a concern to understand the world as it is, to understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience. It seeks explanation within the realm of individual consciousness and subjectivity, within the frame of reference of the participant as opposed to the observer of action (Burrell and Morgan 1979:28).

The interpretive paradigm as applied to anthropology draws on the ideas of the above philosophers. Anthropological phenomenology develops theories relating to both the understanding of cultural meaning in all its varieties and particularities and to the methodologies for interpreting these "... but without falling into the traps of historicism or cultural relativism in their classical forms" (Rabinow and Sullivan 1979:4; see also Geertz 1984).

As Rabinow and Sullivan (1979:5) further explain:

For the human sciences both the object of investigation - the web of language, symbol, and institutions that constitutes signification - and the tools by which investigation is carried out share inescapably the same pervasive context that is the human world. All this is by no means to exalt "subjective" awareness over a presumed detached scientific objectivity, in the manner of nineteenth century Romanticism. Quite the contrary, the interpretive approach denies and overcomes the almost de rigueur opposition of subjectivity and objectivity. ... The interpretive approach emphatically refutes the claim that one can somehow reduce the complex world of signification to the products of a self-consciousness in the traditional philosophical sense. Rather, interpretation begins from the postulate that the web of meaning constitutes human existence to such an extent that it cannot ever be meaningfully reduced to constitutively prior speech acts, dyadic relations, or any predefined element. Intentionality and empathy are rather seen as dependent on the prior existence of the shared world of meaning within which the subjects of human discourse constitute themselves. It is in this literal sense that interpretive social science can be called a return to the objective world, seeing that world as in the first instance the circle of meaning within which we find ourselves and which we can never fully surpass.

This study adopts a phenomenologic-hermeneutic view in eliciting the meaning of, and the ontological nature of, the phenomenon of migration. Migration, therefore, is seen as an
external manifestation—geographical move and legal status—of inner processes of human minds, rather than as an objective concept that is separate from individual experience and action. Thus, it is a recursive process of individual decision, action and adaptation, not merely the aggregate behaviour of people responding to a set of external conditions.

The thesis draws upon Schutz' (1962) concepts of "Lebenswelt", "intersubjectivity" and "action" to tie the specific topic of migration to the general phenomenological theme. The familiar environment that the migrant leaves can be formulated as Lebenswelt (lifeworld) in phenomenological terms. Lebenswelt is used by Schutz (1962:7) to describe the intersubjective world that everybody in "wide-awake consciousness" experiences during everyday life:

This world existed before our birth, experienced and interpreted by others, our predecessors, as an organized world. Now it is given to our experience and interpretation. All interpretation of this world is based on a stock of previous experiences of it, our own or those handed down to us by parents or teachers: these experiences in the form of "knowledge at hand" function as a scheme of reference.

From birth this world is intersubjective:

... because we live in it as men among other men, bound to them through common influence and work, understanding others and being understood by them. It is a world of culture because, from the outset, the world of everyday life is a universe of significance to us, that is, a texture of meaning which we have to interpret in order to find our bearings within it and come to terms with it. This texture of meaning, however - and this distinguishes the realm of culture from that of nature - originates in and has been instituted by human actions (Ibid:10).

Migrants are in a unique existential position: they make a conscious choice to leave the known and experienced Lebenswelt to enter an unknown world. Newcomers cannot per se internalize the structure of this new world. Instead, they must learn and experience it intersubjectively. Individual experiences and taken-for-granted assumptions concerning the "old world" inevitably interact with socio-cultural experiences of others in the "new world". These "others" are both natives and fellow immigrants. Gradually, in the process of adaptation, the new Lebenswelt is more or less understood and internalized by newcomers.
Migration, therefore is a subjective act. Here, it is important to note the ontological distinctiveness of action and act. This distinction is significant for both the nature of the phenomena at hand and the process of its eventual interpretation: action denotes the process (Handeln), act the completed product (Handlung). According to Schutz (1962:20) action designates:

... human conduct devised by the actor in advance, that is, conduct based upon a preconceived project. The term 'act' shall designate the outcome of this ongoing process, that is the accomplished action. ... All projecting consists in anticipation of future conduct by way of phantasying, yet is not the ongoing process of action but the phantasied act as having been accomplished which is the starting point of all projecting. I have to visualize the state of affairs to be brought about by my future action before I can draft the single steps of such future acting from which this state of affairs will result. Metaphorically speaking, I must have some idea of the structure to be erected before I can draft the blueprints.

The migration act, then, consists of decision making, moving and adapting to a different Lebenwelt. Persons in the process of deciding whether, where and how to migrate not only project ideas about the nature of the future life-world, but also anticipate how they will "fit in".

An investigation into migration motivations and decisions, then, has to include a consideration of migrants' "ways of phantasying" (Schutz 1962:20) about the future Lebenwelt and how these influence the decision process. Migration decision making is not a linear, "step-by-step" process, rather it is recursive and complex.

In the specific cases in this thesis, the projected ideas about the future Lebenwelt often were not mere constructs of the immigrants' imagination. Many German immigrants had visited the place of their intended settlement to "test the waters", and others planned a "trial period" before making a final decision. Conversely, some had simply "ended up" in their new country; or, as one informant worded it "migrated by default". They had worked or studied in Vancouver, had settled down and formed friendships and other relationships. After some period of time they realized they had experientially migrated and subsequently applied for legal immigration.
2. Interpretation - Hermeneutics And Meaning


I will analyze the accounts of my informants as texts and also follow Ricoeur's approach in treating social action as text. The issue of textual interpretation is of central concern to hermeneutics. In the most general sense, hermeneutics studies the objectifications of mind. The socio-cultural environment is viewed as a humanly-constructed phenomenon. In the course of life, human beings externalize the internal processes of their minds through the creation of social phenomena such as institutions, historical situations and cultural artefacts. Social phenomena should be interpreted as texts in order to *verstehen* (comprehend) their essential meanings (Palmer 1969; see also Gadamer 1986:424-436).

Dilthey argues that objectively-valid knowledge is derived through *Verstehen*. Social situations, or social artifacts (institutions, language, historical situations) reflect the inner life of their creators. Thus, *Verstehen* is the vehicle by which the process of creation is re-created and re-lived. Social situations must be seen in their historicality; as such they are comparable to historical documents, and, indeed, can be analyzed and interpreted as texts. For Dilthey, the concepts of *Erklären* (explanation) and *Verstehen* form a dichotomy. For him, the concept of *Erklären* is akin to natural science models with their inductive logic (see Dilthey 1958 and 1976; c.f.Ricouer 1984 (2)).

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2. Ricoeur (1984:202) argues, that the relation between the concepts of *Verstehen* and *Erklären* does not have "the meaning of a dichotomy", but instead has a dialectical character. The dialectic between explanation and understanding is much like the dialectical displayed in writing and reading: "The dialectic involved in reading expresses the originality of the relation between writing and reading and its irreducibility to the dialogical situation based on the immediate reciprocity between speaking and hearing. There is a dialectic between explaining and
Hermeneutics focuses on the interpretive process that intervenes between the interpreter and that which is to be interpreted. As Gadamer (1968:434-435) explains:

Die Zugehörigkeit des Interpreten zu seinem "Text" wie die des menschlichen Geschicks zu seiner Geschichte ist offenbar ein menschliches Grundverhältnis, das durch brave Sprüche abzuschworen unwissenschaftlich, das mit Bewusstheit zu übernehmen der Wissenschaftlichkeit der Erkenntnis allein angemessen ist. ...

Sie [die Interpretation] will die nicht auf der Hand liegenden, sondern die dahinterliegenden wahren Sinnbestimmungen aufweisen ...

Anthropological theory has applied hermeneutic ideas to the interpretation of ethnographic texts, such as ethnographic interviews and life histories. For example, Watson and Watson-Franke's (1985) approach concentrates on the interpreter’s position in the process of understanding the text. Like Gadamer, they see the process of understanding as a dialogue which the interpreter holds with the text to be interpreted. This dialogue is encumbered by the preconceived notions of the interpreter. They suggest that Gadamer’s method of dialectical questioning is a way by which the interpreter can elicit the subjective meaning of a text while holding his own subjectivity constant:

Dialectical questioning, however, breaks the barriers of its own context. We often learn from it that the phenomenon is different than what we expected it to be. In dialectical questioning, questions open up the potential of the conversation so that the text in its turn speaks to its dialogue partner of its world. In the movement of conversation the interpreter puts to risk his preunderstandings in the form of questions (after self-critical scrutiny), seeking ever to modify and refine them in the course of the exchange in order to continue the dialogue. In the process, as the text addresses the interpreter and begins to reveal its world to him through his questions, it poses its own questions in turn, thus requiring the interpreter to reexamine his understandings and, if necessary, to change the context of his own questions to assimilate better what the text has to say (Gadamer as cited by Watson and Watson-Franke 1985:42).

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3. "The relationship between the interpreter and his 'text' is obviously a basic one: in the same way that human destiny cannot be separated from the history of humanity. To deny this relationship with clever words is unscientific. A conscious acceptance of the relationship between the interpreter and the text is the only appropriate scientific methodology. ...

The interpretation should not merely seek to present the surface, but should reveal underlying meanings ..." (translation by Ulrike Radermacher)
Thus, the interviewer and the interviewee together construct the discourse. On the one hand, the interpreter takes his own cultural notions and prejudices into account and includes them in the interpretation. As Clifford (1986:10) puts it:

Hermeneutic philosophy in its varying styles, from Wilhelm Dilthey to Paul Ricoeur to Heidegger, reminds us that the simplest cultural accounts are intentional creations, that interpreters constantly construct themselves through the others they study.

On the other hand, it is critical to consider how the informants themselves make sense of their experiences and the way they relate these to the interpreter. As Agar (1980:262) explains: "The primary object of an ethnographer is a group of subjects who themselves interpret."

This study shows how immigrants continue to re-interpret their motives and decisions after the geographic move to reaffirm their actions. Indeed, some were aware of the fact that the migration stories change over time: the putative motives change as the circumstances of the migration become romanticised. As one interviewee put it:

You know, you have to consider that, in telling these stories, there is a considerable amount of Legendenbildung (construction of legends). One moulds the stories over the years and it’s not necessarily the way it actually happened...

The interviewer and the interviewee enter a relationship whereby the meaning of the questions and answers are created through joint discourse. Thus, the very construction of the discourse, becomes the center of attention. Discourse, thus, can be seen (according to hermeneutic terminology) as a historical document of social processes and actions, which can then be understood (verstehen) through hermeneutic text-interpretation.

Another basic tenet of hermeneutic philosophy is the notion that a phenomena has to be understood in its entirety. The "whole" cannot be understood independently of its "parts" and
vice versa. For example, words in a sentence can only be understood in their total context. The hermeneutic analysis then considers the parts and observes their interplay with the whole (4).

The process of observing and interpreting is fluid, there are no absolute "starting" or "finishing" points, rather the process moves in a circular and iterative fashion towards increased understanding. This process is known as "the hermeneutic circle":

... because it is a bridging back and forth between horizons, in the process of which we move in concentric circles away from an original horizon, bridging our world and that of the text until they are integrated (Watson and Watson-Franke 1985:43).

According to phenomenologic-hermeneutic philosophy, social creations such as institutions, historical situations, and politics are all "part" of the "lifeworld" of social action. Consequently, in order to interpret social action, one has to consider the larger context within which the action takes place.

In summary, social phenomena are understood from the perspective of both those who "take part in them" and the researcher who re-lives and analyses them. Furthermore, social phenomena must be understood "in context". The study of German immigration, then, requires an analysis of the larger social and historical context within which it takes place.

4. Compare Ewing's (1990) article on "the Illusion of Wholeness" in which she argues that, in fieldwork, it is impossible to grasp a person's self as a whole, because the person's concept of self is a shifting one. Compare also Schutz's (1962:17) concept of "multiple realities" that each individual experiences: "... the Other is grasped as a unique individuality (although merely one aspect of his personality becomes apparent) and its unique biographical situation (although revealed merely fragmentarily). In all other forms of social relationships (and even in the relationship among consociates as far as the unrevealed aspects of the Other's self are concerned) the fellow-man's self can merely be grasped by... forming a construct of a typical way of behaviour, a typical pattern of underlying motives, of typical attitudes of a personality type, of which the Other and his conduct under scrutiny, both outside of my observational reach, are just instances or exemplars". In other words, the "Self" cannot be known in its full autobiography, but can only be grasped in its typicality. It has long been established in philosophical theory that the understanding of Self and Others is always intersubjective, culturally determined and socially constructed. Thus, ethnographic description cannot be "whole", but in its nature is fragmented. But, this is not to say that the quest for wholeness is futile.
3. ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS

The hermeneutic analysis of migration motivations and decisions considers both individual experiences and the social and historical context within which the experiences occur (5). Individual immigration experiences are elicited through ethnographic interviews. The interviews are not simply question and answer sessions. They are dialogues, where informant and interviewer play an equal role in constructing the final outcome—the narrative or, ethnographic text. The task is twofold: to interpret the text for descriptive, comparative and analytic purposes, and to remain as truthful as possible to informants’ intentions in the writing of the ethnography.

Recently, there have been extensive debates about "presenting" ethnographies. The basic conclusions are threefold. First, ethnographic accounts, as they are temporally-bounded, cannot fully capture culture which varies temporally (Clifford 1986:6). Second, ethnographies cannot be holistic because the ethnographer’s experience is fragmented. A third conclusion is that ethnography must be ethical in its representation: the informants must be allowed to speak for themselves and the ethnographer should not have the sole authority over his literary devices. (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986; Birth 1990; on specific writing practices of ethnographers: Crapanzano 1986; Geertz 1988; Fine and Martin 1990; on new standards for ethnographic research writing: Tyler 1986; Kirby 1989; Agar 1986, 1990; Van Maanen 1990).

5. On first sight, the anthropological concepts of "etic" and "emic" could be applied here (cf. Pike 1954; Pelto and Pelto 1978). Briefly, the concept "emic" is concerned with analysing the informant’s idea system, while the concept of "etic" is concerned with the analysis of impersonal and material conditions. In this view, institutions, government policies, immigration statistics, etc. would be considered "etic" factors that influence human behaviour. However, phenomenology and hermeneutics do not regard these "eticisms" as nonideational categories which impose themselves on human action, but instead as constructs of human behaviour.
The result of the hermeneutic inquiry is an ethnographic account of individual immigration experiences. But, rather than merely describe individual experiences, it locates "cultural interpretations in many sorts of reciprocal contexts" (Clifford 1986:15).

As has been previously explained, the ethnographic problem emerges in the process of comprehending the "meaning" of the Neueinwanderer. In this study, the problem is approached by studying what German immigrants commonly know about a fellow Neueinwanderer and how they relate their own individual experiences. "Common knowledge" is the knowledge shared by German immigrants in general. "Individual experience" is understood as intersubjective knowledge of individual migration experiences. The concepts of common knowledge and individual experience are artificial constructs around which the ethnographic text is organized and presented.

The narratives are divided into two groups—Germans talking about other German immigrants, and Germans relating their own migration experiences. The first group includes Germans who work with German immigrants and, therefore, perceive themselves as being experienced with Neueinwanderer's migration motivations and migration processes. The goal is to elicit the group's shared knowledge of the Neueinwanderer and to compare that to the individual migration stories. The second group contains individual migration stories. Thus, I hope to draw a more complete ethnographic profile of new German immigrants and to achieve a broadly based insight into their migration motivations and adjustment processes.

The ethnographic material was collected in a series of unstructured and open-ended interviews (6). The essential feature of each interview is that of an organized discourse, which occurs naturally in a contextually-grounded conversation (Mishler 1986). Most interviews were

6. Ideas for the research design were also influenced by Glaser & Strauss 1967 and Spradley 1979.
taped and subsequently transcribed. The non-taped interviews were written up immediately afterwards from notes and memory.

The textual interpretation of the narratives is based on a modified version of Agar’s concept of "thematal schemata" (Agar 1985). Agar’s schemata are used to expose the accounts’ underlying cognitive structures to discover how informants organize cultural knowledge. The approach identifies so-called "themes" or "statements with a related focus" that have been abstracted from the text in an informal content analysis. They are then examined for patterns. In an informal content analysis the researcher determines and extracts the themes from each interview, and organizes them under a "label" in order to compare them. Eight broad themes emerged:

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2. Catalogue of Themes: &quot;Common Knowledge&quot;</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Motivations</td>
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<td>2. The Move</td>
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<td>3. The Contrasts Between Expectations And Reality</td>
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<td>4. Adjustment</td>
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<td>5. Gender Roles</td>
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<td>6. Return Migration</td>
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<td>7. Relationships To Other Germans</td>
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<td>8. Choice Of Country</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The informal content analysis of "individual knowledge" resulted in a number of further sub-themes. This, I believe, is due to the fact that these narratives describe personal history. The informants do not generalize, but instead explain their actions and thoughts in great detail. Thus, there is more variation within the general themes. Table 3 lists these themes and sub-themes.
Table 3. Themes and Sub-themes: "Individual Experience"

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<tr>
<th>1. Motivations</th>
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<tr>
<td>- The reluctant immigrant</td>
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<td>- The instigator or co-instigator</td>
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<td>- The working immigrant</td>
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<td>- The retiree</td>
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<td>- Wanting to go far away</td>
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<td>- The unhappy immigrant</td>
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<td>- The undecided</td>
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<th>2. The Move</th>
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<td>- The naive immigrant</td>
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<td>- The prepared immigrant</td>
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<th>3. The Contrasts Between Expectations And Reality</th>
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<td>- Easy adjustment</td>
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<td>- Difficult adjustment</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Language</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Comparisons between Australia/Canada and Germany</td>
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<td>- Comparative advantage of Germans over</td>
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<td>Australians/Canadians</td>
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<th>5. Gender Roles</th>
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<td>- Sexism and education</td>
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<td>- Comparative advantage of German women</td>
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<td>- The discontent German woman</td>
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<th>6. Return Migration</th>
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<td>- Return as hope</td>
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<td>- Return as reality</td>
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<td>- Return as an option</td>
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<td>- No return and no regrets</td>
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<th>7. Relationships With Other Germans</th>
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<tr>
<td>- Friends and families in Germany</td>
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<tr>
<td>- German immigrants in Australia/Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>- German institutions</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Alteinwanderer</td>
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</table>

| 8. Choice of Country                  |

Each narrative conveys a subjective perspective on each of the themes. Most interviewees simply describe and explain the migration process—their own and that of others—based on their experiences. A few narrators, however, go beyond a mere experiential description and explicitly attempt to analytically place the migration process in a historical or psychological context. Thus,
the informants present, or talk about, the same issues but express them in a different way (see Luborsky's approach of "conceptual templates", 1988). Therefore, themes are intentionally defined broadly to incorporate the richness of individual variations. Additionally, I present one exemplary interview to demonstrate the informal selection of themes.

The themes are compared in two ways: first, Australian narratives are compared to Canadian narratives, and second the "common knowledge" category is compared to the "individual experience" category. The comparative analysis is quite complex and increasingly abstract and thus the themes lose much of their individual context. However, by introducing the interviewees and crediting their quotes, each informant's story can be "followed up" and reconstructed.
IV. A HISTORY OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA AND CANADA

This chapter provides a historical context of German immigration to Australia and Canada. It presents: (1) an overview of German migration streams over two centuries and the development of the German communities up to 1945, and (2) an analysis of post-World War II immigrations and immigration policies, including their influence on the contemporary socio-cultural make-up of Australian and Canadian society. The chapter also discusses how immigrants adjust to their new homelands. It focuses particularly on the, apparently, more difficult experiences of Australian-Germans.

1. AN INTRODUCTION

1. Why The Historical Context?

For several reasons it is important to see contemporary German immigration in its historical context. First, German origin migrants form one of the largest non-British immigrant groups in both Australia and Canada. They have been a significant factor in shaping the ethno-cultural composition of both countries. German communities, and their organizations and institutions, have evolved over two hundred years within the larger political, economic and socio-cultural picture. As a review of German ethnic literature demonstrates, both individual authors and publishers are increasingly documenting "German" contributions to Australian and Canadian life. Therefore, a description of German immigrant life requires a historical context.

Second, a historical context is central to understanding the current diversity of the so-called German populations in both Australia and Canada. Immigrants claiming German ethnic heritage, over time, arrived from geographic areas not enveloped by the German state. Thus,
upon migration, *Neueinwanderer* do not find a homogeneous German community that represents their interests and needs.

Third, a comparison between historical and contemporary German migrations reveals that contemporary migration is more idiosyncratic. For example, there have been frequent migrations of large groups of people throughout the settlement history of Australia and Canada. Whole villages or congregations migrated in the nineteenth century. After the Second World War, groups of friends and families immigrated together and maintained contact. Today, however, German immigration is predominantly individual, either singles or nuclear families migrate independently of each other.

Fourth, historical concepts are frequently used to explain the phenomenon of immigration. Both German and Non-German constructions shape the "common knowledge" of migration. For example, the history of German immigration is often used by *Neueinwanderer* to explain their own motives. It is as if they use their forefathers’ actions to justify their own: "The Germans have always had a sense of adventure and *Fernweh* (Wanderlust)."—"They always wanted to go and see what’s beyond their own little world."—"Just think back, the Germans were always attracted by the wide open spaces and the possibility to get away from their own restricted lives—and that’s how it was with me."

The informants frequently cite history to emphasize the importance of German immigration to "the making" of Australia and Canada. There is an implication that their own immigration will also be of great value: "Did you know, that it was the German settlers in Victoria, who showed the Australians how to work the land properly?"—"The Germans always had *die Handwerker* (skilled workers), they had the know-how to build this country. The Germans were known for their discipline and professional attitude, and they still are."—"Did you know, that the British Crown employed German soldiers in the American War of Independence, and
that they were rewarded with land in Canada? There were thousands of them. They opened the land and showed others how to do it."

Other Neueinwanderer, on the other hand, use historical examples to distance themselves from the "old" Germans, as if to emphasize their individuality: "The immigrants in the last century had to move, because they were starving or there wasn't enough land, or for religious reasons, well, none of that is true for me, I had a good life in Germany."—"The old immigrants cling to a Germany that is simply not there anymore. I am not German, I am European."—"Why do they always talk about the Germans did this and that, they were the first to import a water toilet, or the first to settle in a particular spot, or so and so many have fought for the English? Who cares? Every nationality contributed to Canada, it's not important who was first. Once you move, you do your best for the country."—"I don't care how many Germans are here, how long they have been here, and whether we should maintain our German culture. If you want German culture, go to Germany, there are 60 million of them!"

Thus, the historical context whether used positively or negatively is used by all. Personal experience is contextualized with common experience, individual knowledge is informed by common-sense knowledge (Whittaker 1986). History is part of common-sense knowledge, and therefore, central.

2. The Historical Context Of Immigration Policies

Historical Australian and Canadian immigration policies are discussed to illuminate how government policies both regulate immigration flows and influence the country’s culture (Appleyard 1988; Kalbach 1978). As both Australia and Canada were settled by predominantly British immigrants, there are many similarities. However, there are also historical differences between the two countries. The most important difference is Australia's effort to create a white
British-only society (Yarwood 1988). Canada historically has taken a more liberal approach. It is argued that Australian policies fostered parochialism and ethnocentrism.

This study is not about Australian and Canadian society or culture per se. Nor is it centrally concerned with ethnocentrism, racism and parochialism, important though they may be. Rather, it intends to clarify the external influences on individual immigration processes by placing them in historical context.

3. Who Are The German Immigrants?

Immigration statistics and census data determine "ethnic origin" using categories such as "place of birth", "citizenship", and "language spoken". However, such categories are externally imposed; they cannot indicate whether "category members" do, indeed, share a common cultural background. Thus, they do not provide information on an individual's ethnic self-identification (Whittaker 1988:30).

Most anthropological definitions of "ethnicity" and "ethnic groups" emphasize subjective approaches to group identity, whether ascribed internally by group members or by others (Driedger 1978; Goldstein and Bienvenue 1980; Price 1988). As Barth (1969:15) notes, ethnicity is not just concerned with cultural factors, but instead with socially relevant factors that "become diagnostic" for membership: "The critical focus of the investigation from this point of view becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses." Ethnic boundaries are, therefore, socially constructed, both by group members and outsiders (Isajiw 1980:23).

Boundary construction, whether internal or external, is difficult as some social theorists do not consider "the Germans" to be a distinct ethnic group. For example, Reitz notes:
There is no intrinsic reason that it would be better to treat "Germans" as a separate group than to combine them with other North Europeans. Immigrants of German origin in Canada are an extremely heterogeneous collectivity in terms of religion (there were both Lutherans and Catholics; Mennonites are not prominent among settlers in urban areas) and place of origin in the Germanic region of Europe (Rhineland, Bavaria, Switzerland, Austria, Prussia; the map of Europe has changed several times since many of these Germanic people emigrated) (Reitz 1980:60).

What to outsiders appears homogeneous, may not be so perceived by insiders. A Lutheran pastor provides one example of how current "German" immigrants distinguish themselves:

You have to distinguish between two large groups, the Volksdeutsche and the Reichsdeutsche. The Volksdeutsche basically have an ethnic German heritage. They come from areas that is now Poland, East Germany, Russia, Czechoslovakia or other Eastern European countries. I would say, the majority of post World War II immigrants originate there. Then there are the Reichsdeutsche who arrive from what has become West Germany. They have a very different ethnic understanding of themselves than the Volksdeutsche, and both very rarely mix (1).

The Germans are, therefore, not homogeneous. Ever changing political boundaries in Europe, intra-European migration and immigration to the Americas have produced a heterogeneous "German immigrant" (Richter 1983; Artiss 1983; E. Mayer 1986:2). Even today, many German language migrants do not come from within Germany's political boundaries. They emigrate from Russia, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Holland, South Africa, Latin America or the United States where they, or their ancestors, had previously migrated. Similarly, direct emigrants from Switzerland and Austria have often been mixed in with German migration.

Despite the heterogeneous character of the German communities, many German-Australians and German-Canadians have embraced a so-called symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979). This was fostered by Australian and Canadian multiculturalism policies (Peter 1981; Liffman

1. West and East Germany were reunited in October 1990. During 1988, 1989 and 1990, Germany accepted approximately 500,000 so-called Aussiedler (also called Volksdeutsche), ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe. Many do not speak German, or speak a dialect that is not understandable in the West.
1988) which formally acknowledged ethnic diversity by propagating a "mosaic" of many different cultures (Porter 1965).

The point here is not to elaborate on the "authenticity" or meaning of these efforts, except to note that many sociologists are sceptical of the notion of multiculturalism as anything but symbolism (Brotz 1980; Roberts and Clifton 1982). In spite of these sceptics these governmental initiatives appear to have had an impact on the Selbstidentifizierung (self-identification) of the various ethnic communities, including the Germans (Liddell 1983; Historical Society of Mecklenburg 1973-1988).

The post-war immigrants especially became interested in participating in ethnic group events such as the Opening Ceremonies for the Olympics and in expressions of ethnicity such as the Deutscher Platz in Vancouver during Expo '86. These events have tended to encourage various groups within a particular ethnic community to coalesce in a manner that explicitly draws upon their German heritage and its various representations and manifestations. Consequently the interest of Germans in their own particular history within the Canadian and Australian context has deepened and is confirmed in many publications of an academic and non-academic nature (e.g. Ramsey 1958; Knight 1974; Beinssen 1987; Vancouver Alpen Club 1985; Bittman 1988; Europa Kurier Pty. Ltd. 1988; Kanada Kurier 1989).

Furthermore, umbrella organizations such as Die Brücke in Australia and the German-Canadian Congress attempt to envelop all German immigrants and their institutions. However, the issue of Germanness remains the subject of constant discussion and disagreement, whether by trying to find communalities, or by emphasizing distances (2). In spite of these efforts German

2. See, for example, the story of the Sorbs, also called Wends, in Australia. They originally were members of the Slavonic language group, but since they were subjugated to German forces over centuries, they were quite familiar with the German language and many of their names had been germanized. As followers of the Lutheran faith, many Sorbs joined German-speaking churches in Australia. By the beginning of this century though most Sorbs had lost their mother tongue as well as the knowledge of German. During the War years however, they were reminded
"communities" remain heterogeneous, a loose agglomeration of clubs, churches and institutions. Furthermore, there are large numbers of German immigrants, who do not participate in German community life, but who directly assimilate into the host society.

2. THE HISTORY OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

Australian immigration and settlement is shaped by the country’s historical bonds to Britain. Until the 1950s Australians tended to view their country as homogeneous, white and English-speaking. Society was approximately divided into British Protestants and Irish Catholics. Although small numbers of non-English speaking migrants were admitted over the past two centuries, it was clearly expected that they adapt to the dominant British culture (Jupp 1988b, see also: bibliography in Price & Martin 1972).

Until the early 1970s, Australia’s immigration policy continued the policy of recreating a homogeneous British society. This was accomplished by facilitating the immigration of British settlers and discriminating against migrants of different races or distant cultural groups (Jupp 1988c). Only when British immigrants became scarce and could no longer fill Australian labour shortages did the government make conscious efforts to recruit non-English speaking settlers.

In the post-war years Australia felt pressure from the international community to take in large numbers of refugees from Eastern and Middle Europe (Kunz 1988). This was during a period when Australia, again, was not able to meet its labour demands with migrants from Britain (Appleyard 1988). However, public attitudes towards non-English speaking, non-Protestant and non-white immigrants were extremely negative. Before the early 1950s:

of their association with the Germans and therefore kept a low profile. A little booklet draws attention to this small group, describing their history and culture which they proudly describe as distinctly not German (see Burger 1988:846-847).
... Australians whose origins were elsewhere were often made to feel different and inferior. The Aborigines were seen as a dying 'stone age' race. The Chinese were 'celestials', forbidden to bring in Chinese women, to work in some industries where they were succeeding, and eventually to come to Australia altogether except on a temporary basis. The Germans were welcomed until 1914, when there was a dramatic change of attitude. No other ethnic minority was numerous enough to be singled out as a threat. All official immigration policies were designed to discourage the arrival of sufficient numbers to challenge British-Australian domination and identity (Jupp 1988b:2).

These policies, combined with the geographical remoteness of the continent, had fostered a certain parochialism that made adjustment for new immigrants very difficult:

To the refugees, the displaced persons, and later the first German-speaking migrants ... Australia seemed a strange, quaint land in which time had slowed down. It appeared to these newcomers as a country which had been cut off, inexplicably, from the mainstream of European life some decades before; the spectrum of society presented a model of British life-style twice removed. And if one were to choose one salient feature of these years, one which influenced most of what was then Australia, it would certainly have to be parochialism (Vondra 1981:3).

Following the second World War, Australia did begin to accept large numbers of non-British immigrants. Initially, the majority came from Northern and Southern Europe, later from North- and Southeast Asia. This change is clearly shown in Table 4 by comparing immigration sources in 1901 to 1986.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1933</th>
<th>1947</th>
<th>1954</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>38.352</td>
<td>16.842</td>
<td>14.567</td>
<td>65.422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>679.159</td>
<td>712.458</td>
<td>541.267</td>
<td>664.205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>36.321</td>
<td>78.058</td>
<td>95.772</td>
<td>425.437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>679.159</td>
<td>712.458</td>
<td>541.267</td>
<td>664.205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>753.832</td>
<td>807.358</td>
<td>651.606</td>
<td>1.155.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2.908.303</td>
<td>5.726.566</td>
<td>6.835.171</td>
<td>7.700.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (a)</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>36.151</td>
<td>49.624</td>
<td>48.341</td>
<td>48.831</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>2.944.454</td>
<td>5.776.190</td>
<td>6.883.512</td>
<td>7.748.895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>2.869</td>
<td>7.821</td>
<td>7.537</td>
<td>15.826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>12.507</td>
<td>11.579</td>
<td>11.630</td>
<td>14.496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>47.014</td>
<td>24.840</td>
<td>24.096</td>
<td>51.581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (b)</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>5.203</td>
<td>2.051</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>7.922</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Population</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>3.773.801</td>
<td>6.629.839</td>
<td>7.579.358</td>
<td>8.986.530</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. (ctd.) Birthplace of the Australian Population (3)

<table>
<thead>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td></td>
<td>109.315</td>
<td>107.559</td>
<td>110.758</td>
<td>114.806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UK-Irel.</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.596.212</td>
<td>2.196.478</td>
<td>2.232.718</td>
<td>2.221.804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.596.212</td>
<td>2.210.817</td>
<td>2.232.718</td>
<td>2.221.804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.596.212</td>
<td>2.210.817</td>
<td>2.232.718</td>
<td>2.221.804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td>55.496</td>
<td>116.499</td>
<td>214.284</td>
<td>264.420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.784.902</td>
<td>10.946.115</td>
<td>11.608.145</td>
<td>12.374.876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td></td>
<td>28.559</td>
<td>70.510</td>
<td>90.237</td>
<td>108.547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americas</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.018</td>
<td>80.732</td>
<td>96.247</td>
<td>116.459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td></td>
<td>79.056</td>
<td>239.952</td>
<td>370.149</td>
<td>536.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (b)</td>
<td></td>
<td>439</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>(c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not stated</td>
<td></td>
<td>..</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>178.635</td>
<td>244.318</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gradually, both policies and public prejudices have changed (Zubrzycki 1988). Today, Australia is a self-proclaimed multi-ethnic society, eager to demonstrate that prejudice and racial discrimination are no longer prevalent (Foster & Seitz 1989; Grant 1990). However, German immigrants continue to complain about parochialism and the dominant cultural and intellectual orientation towards Britain.

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1. The Development Of German Communities Up To 1945

Until the 1820s Australia was predominantly settled by convicts (Knott 1988). Free settlers were encouraged to provide agricultural skills, employ convicts and to raise the settlement's moral tone. The free immigrants received land grants from the government. However, as was the case in the Swan River colony, large land grants left the settlers widely dispersed and without a supply of labour. Furthermore, many of the settlers did not have adequate farming knowledge and thus often became dependent on government assistance. In the early 1820's the Colonial Office in New South Wales therefore instructed new measures to ensure a successful settlement.

Grants of land became conditional on newcomers having capital to develop them, and after 1825, on Colonial Instructions, some land was sold. Immigrants were to be people of substance, who could pay their own passages and reduce government expenditure by employing and feeding convicts on assignment. The previous trickle of free immigrants became a small but steady flow, the predominant types being ex-army officers, small farmers, traders and merchants (Martin 1988:71).

After the Napoleonic wars, emigration was a favoured way to escape the overpopulated and impoverished British Isles. However, the government was not able to finance large-scale emigration. In 1929 Edward Wakefield proposed a scheme to the British government in his "Letter from Sydney" that would ensure steady, but costless, migration.

Colonial land, he wrote, should no longer be given away but should be sold and the proceeds used as a fund to bring immigrants to the colony. The price set for land had to be a 'sufficient' price, high enough that is, to stop labourers becoming landowners quickly. That way the labour supply would be insured and land alienation slowed down and controlled, so that settlement could be concentrated rather than dispersed (Martin 1988:71).

The idea of the conscious recruitment of non-British settlers surfaced as early as 1822. Johann Thomas Bigge, after a parliamentary inquiry on the development of New South Wales (NSW), suggested encouraging the immigration of Germans (Harmstorf 1988), especially agricultural workers specializing in wine and tobacco farming, and sheep breeding. Through the
efforts of private landholding families, such as the Macarthurs, recruiting agents were sent to Northern Europe. In 1837 six families emigrated from the Duchy of Nassau to NSW followed by a steady stream of winegrowers from Saxony and Hesse (Jeffries 1988; see also the classic study on early German immigration by Lodewyckx 1932).

The Colonial Office of NSW did not officially permit assistance to non-British migrants. South Australia (SA), however, was not under the control of the Colonial Office. Since its founding in 1836, the responsibility for land, emigration and government funds lay with a Board of Commissioners, who ordered a careful selection of desirable immigrants (Harmstorf and Cigler 1985). They allowed several German communities to settle.

The South Australia Company was trying to settle its vast holdings around Adelaide with new agricultural settlers. In 1838 the first group of 517 Germans arrived in Port Adelaide (Voigt 1987). This congregation from the village of Klemzig (now Klempsk in Poland) was led by a Lutheran pastor, August Kavel. In 1817 King Frederick William III had ordered the union of Calvinists and Old-Lutherans, and after 1830 the persecution of dissidents. Kavel, like many other recalcitrant ministers, began to think about emigration to avoid persecution. A chain migration started and many more immigrants followed, settling around Adelaide, notably in the village of Hahndorf and, after 1842, in the Barossa Valley.

In contrast to the British settlers who were frequently interested in land speculation, the Germans pursued a market-garden economy (Vondra 1981; Bodie & Jeffries 1985; Harmstorf & Cigler 1985). For years, they were the sole supplier of fresh vegetables to Adelaide's growing population. Eventually other states changed their policies as well: NSW began to recruit German immigrants in 1849, Queensland in 1850 (Voigt 1983).

Religious persecution was not the only motive for emigration. Germans left to escape rapid population growth and extreme poverty in the 1840s. About 50% of the German settlers to
SA before 1840 had come in congregational groups, while the other 50% consisted of assorted farmers, tradesmen and labourers (Harmstorf 1988). Most came from Eastern and Central Germany and the majority joined existing Lutheran churches. This gave the Lutheran Church a very influential role in shaping religious and cultural life in SA.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the British Colonies began to view Germans as the ideal non-English speaking immigrant group. Racial, cultural, religious, and economic factors played a part in this evolving perception. Their white skin, Northern European culture and (usually) Protestantism made them the "next best thing" to migrants from Britain. They were quick to demonstrate loyalty both to their new country and to the (Germanic-in-origin) royal family. Furthermore, their economic contributions tended to be immediate. The immigrants, in general, were both hard-working and skilled, especially in agriculture and animal husbandry. Agricultural expertise was especially valuable in the vast, unsettled "bush" hinterlands outside the major colonial Australian cities (Vondra 1981; Voigt 1987).

The 1848-1849 Revolution, combined with the economic depression in Europe, prompted over 300,000 Germans to leave Europe between 1852 and 1854. Most went to North America. But, between 1851 and 1860 an estimated 20,000 Germans settled in Australia. This particular wave of Germans included for the first time a number of highly educated people who had been active in the Revolution, such as Hermann Puettmann, a former companion of Friedrich Engels. These "forty-eighters" settled in the cities of Eastern Australia and "never before did so many Germans land in Australia who subsequently made a name for themselves" (Lodewyckx 1932:50).

In the 1850s immigration was profoundly influenced by the gold-rushes in NSW (1851) and, subsequently, in Victoria (1852). The Australian population tripled within ten years—migrants from all over the world and from all walks of life came to search for gold and good fortune. The annual average jumped from 12,000 arrivals in the forties to over 50,000 in the fifties.
By far the largest non-British group to arrive in the colonies were the Chinese (Wang, Sing-Wu 1988). The largest European group were the Germans. The French, Scandinavians, Italians and Poles came in much smaller numbers. In addition, there were about 6,000 Americans who had moved on from worked-out American gold lodes.

After 1861, immigration declined sharply. The only European and non-British group to continue immigrating in large numbers were the Germans. The bulk of German immigration occurred between 1850 and 1880. The pre-industrial period in Central Europe was marked by a general economic downturn, poor harvests, overpopulation and political unrest. Members of the non-propertied class, such as artisans, day-labourers, tradesmen and craftsmen were attracted to both Australia and North America by the prospect of owning land, prosperity and religious and political independence. The Australian colonies were actively recruiting in Central Europe. Queensland was especially successful in luring whole villages of peasants and tradesmen, as it offered free passages and very generous work contracts (Corkhill 1988). The immigrants were obliged to initially work on the sheep farms, but their high wages allowed for a fast land purchase.

Although Germans formed the largest non-British group of immigrants, they never numbered more than 45,000, or one percent of the total population. The majority of German immigrants moved to rural areas where they formed close-knit farming settlements and Lutheran congregations. Individual migrants and small family units tended to settle in the big cities, Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney, where they worked as tradesmen, craftsmen, or businessmen. Some moved on to settle on the land surrounding the cities and pursued small market-farms. Communication between the rural and urban Germans was, at best, limited:
Whereas the rural communities were frequently homogeneous, settlement in the cities was marked by considerable heterogeneity. Small freehold settlers, salesmen and craftsmen formed the majority in the cities, but they mixed with importers, merchants and manufacturers. They were from diverse class and regional backgrounds, and together formed a microcosm of urban society in the nineteenth century. This factor greatly aided their integration with Australian society well before the end of the century or, in other words, by the second or third generation (Jeffries 1988:485).

Social associations were of two types: very broadly based, such as the Tivoli Club in Melbourne, or more specialized, such as the "intellectual" German Club in Sydney (Voigt 1987). There were numerous Turnvereine (gymnasts' clubs), Schützenvereine (shooting clubs), Sängervereinigungen (singing clubs), debating societies and liberal "reform" circles.

The first German newspaper Die Deutsche Post für die Australischen Kolonien was published in 1848 in Adelaide. Several others followed, but went bankrupt. In 1875 Die Australische Zeitung became the leading German newspaper. It continued to exist until 1917, when the government decreed its closure. Churches also published their own German-language newspapers.

By the end of the 1880s German immigration had essentially ceased. By 1901 there were 38,352 German-born settlers in Australia. By 1914-18 German-born settlers, together with those born in Australia of German parents, were estimated at approximately 100,000 persons in a total population of over five million. Inspite of these seemingly small numbers, they formed the fourth largest ethnic group after the English, the Irish and the Scots.

In summary, early German settlement was successful, useful and unobtrusive. Germans were generally thought to be excellent settlers. Approximately 80% of German Australians lived in rural areas, whereas most Anglo-Australians lived in the cities. They avoided political involvement, and quietly assimilated into the Australian society (Harmstorf 1988).

Anti-German feelings among the general Australian population first surfaced after the foundation of the German Reich in 1871. Germany's High Seas fleet began to threaten British
naval supremacy. During World War I, anti-German sentiment exploded. The historian John Perkins describes it thus:

Stories of verbal abuse, physical assault, damage and destruction of property, accusation of espionage, dismissals from employment, expropriation of property and internment - are too varied, too personal and too numerous to form a uniform picture. ... The attitudes expressed by organized labour towards workers of German origin varied, although overall they became progressively more hostile during the course of war. ... the Wharf Labourers' union passed a resolution calling for the dismissal of workers with German antecedents and put pressure on employers to ensure their compliance. A proclamation of 10 August 1914 required all German citizens to register their domiciles at the nearest police station and to notify any subsequent changes of address. Later, under the Aliens Restriction Order of 27 May 1915, enemy aliens who had not been interned were compelled to report once a week to the police and could only move to another place of residence with official permission. ... Under the War Precautions Act of 1914, which survived the war, the publication of material in the German language was prohibited. Schools that were attached to Lutheran churches were forced to abandon German as the medium of instruction or were simply closed by the State authorities. ... Similarly, German clubs and associations, such as Concordia in Sydney, were eventually closed by official action (Perkins 1988:488-489).

Only a large rush of naturalizations around 1914, protected many German citizens from internment. Thus, only 14%, or 6000 of the 34,000 German-born residents recorded in the 1911 census were confined. After the war, approximately 700 German citizens were deported and 4,620 volunteered for repatriation to Germany. Immigration from Germany was prohibited until the end of 1925.

German communities were devastated. German clubs and institutions were closed until the mid-twenties and revived only slowly. German as a first language died out in the former German settlements and ceased to be spoken in most Lutheran churches.

During and after World War I, rural Germans assimilated quickly into the Anglo-Australian mainstream. They were spurred on by anti-German outbursts during the war. Additionally, most had now been in Australia for more than one generation. They took pride in the fact that they had established prosperous farms and preserved their faith.
Most urban settlers, predominantly belonging to the middle and lower strata, also assimilated rapidly. Some searched for German social contacts and joined the slowly reappearing German clubs and associations. However, typically, membership in these clubs never exceeded 200 to 300 people. The few upper class Germans, such as the professionals, importers, merchants, and representatives of German companies, did not join these clubs, but joined the equivalent Australian circles (Kwiet 1988:490).

During the early thirties, Fascists from Germany tried to play upon the nationalism feelings of German-Australians. They attempted to discourage the Australianization of German expatriates, preserve "Germanness", and to recruit Germans into the Nazi Party.

The Consul-General in Sydney, Dr. Rudolf Asmis, was a particularly vigorous representative of the Nazis (Kwiet 1988). He established the Bund des Deutschtums in Australien und Neuseeland (German Alliance in Australia and New Zealand) which all clubs and societies were to join. The Bund published a weekly newspaper, Die Brücke, designed to spread Nazi ideology. Asmis also planned to reestablish German schools and to convince the churches to follow Nazi policies. None of these efforts were particularly successful: most clubs did not join the Bund, the newspaper failed to attract sufficient subscribers and advertisers; only 12% of the Lutheran pastors were pro-Nazi, and the language schools barely attracted any pupils.

The National Socialists did build some support after the Nazis seized power in 1933. However, the support remained small:

Only German nationals were permitted to join the party. Of the 3,672 German nationals registered in 1933, 77 had declared their membership of the party by 1935. A year later 95 were registered. The Australian Authorities assumed that total membership, including those on the waiting list, was in the region of 170-180. ... Many German Australians rejected the Hitler-cult; a few joined it with enthusiasm. In between the extremes of rejection and acceptance lay indifference ... (Kwiet 1988:492).
The Australian authorities were merely observant. However, their attitude changed drastically after the outbreak of World War II. The German clubs were closed again, and all German publications were forced to close. Nazi party members were immediately deported or interned. Most German Australians, however, remained loyal to Australia and the British Crown. Kwiet states that the

... German Australians left little doubt about their allegiance; their integration with Australian society found not only acceptance but indeed respect from the wider community. Unlike the situation in the First World War, they were not subjected to hysterical and defamatory outbursts from the Australian community (1988:492).

Vondra (1981) shares Kwiet's view that the Anti-German sentiments did not reach the hysteria of World War I. However, he does report a high degree of animosity:

Fighting between Britain and Nazi Germany, and subsequently between Australia and Germany, broke out again in September 1939. The start of this new war ... confirmed to the majority of Australian people what had always been suspected and feared: the basic un-British nature of the German people and their anti-thesis to the British way of life. Sixty years of growing anti-German paranoia now had a good excuse for open hostilities; whatever prejudice and hatred was directed against things German, the overall justification was that the particular action made Australians and the Australian way of life safe from Nazi influence and possible domination. German clubs and associations all over Australia were again closed by police order; German language publications ceased; and the strict provisions of the Aliens Control Regulations came into force. On a personal basis, anti-German feeling ran so high that it was unwise even to be heard speaking German in the streets (Vondra 1981:76).

During the war years, approximately 15,000 people were interned in camps, among them 2,000 German nationals from Australia, and 3,000 Germans from overseas, mostly prisoners of war. There were also 7,000 residents of Australia, so-called "local internees", and another 3,000 from overseas. Among these were 2,000 Jewish refugees who had escaped the Nazis. These refugees were labelled "enemy aliens", a term that reflected the almost unbelievable ignorance of the Australian authorities. Even though the Jews were accepted refugees, their German
nationality still rendered them suspicious. They were interned, often for weeks or months with Nazi supporters and, thus, were subjected to further anti-Semitism.

Camps which held these internees in no way resembled the 'concentration camps' of South African reputation; they were simply camps organized to keep civilians and prisoners of war together and out of harm's way until the end of conflict. (The camps contained) ... Jews, who had fled from Nazism to England only to find that they were treated with the same hatred reserved for the 'enemy'. The official line of thought at the time, in both Britain and Australia, had great difficulty in distinguishing between Germans and Austrians with Nazi Party membership and sympathies, and people who had simply been born in these countries (Vondra 1981:70, 77, 81).

After the war, most Nazi supporters were deported. The German "communities" were almost non-existent, until new German-speaking immigrants revived the old organizations.

2. Post-War Immigration

Immigration Policies and German Immigration Between 1945 And 1988

After the Second World War, a Ministry of Immigration was established, headed by Arthur Calwell. He calculated that Australia would need an annual intake of 70,000 people. Initially, he turned to the traditional supplier of immigrants, Britain, and negotiated free assisted passages for ex-servicemen and their dependents, and selected civilians. However, by 1948, Britain simply could not provide the required numbers of migrants. High demand for labour made it necessary for the British to import labour themselves. They were not interested in financing any more Australian immigration schemes. It was:

... the inability and unwillingness of the United Kingdom to provide the numbers and types of migrants required under Australia's new migration policy that led Australia to turn to other sources - namely, Displaced Person refugees (1947-53), Northern Europeans (1950s), Southern Europeans (1950's and 1960's) and, since the early 1970's, migrants from any source provided they have met fairly strict criteria concerning age, occupation, education, health, and employment prospects (Appleyard 1988:98).
Calwell's policies were designed to encourage the settlement of non-British as well as British immigrants. He envisioned a society much like the American "melting-pot". Except, his ideas and policies were still firmly based on the 50-year old "White Australia Policy".

This policy had come into legal existence in 1901 (Yarwood 1988). Originally, it was putatively created to keep Australia free from the racial tensions that troubled North America and South Africa. After the Second World War, policy makers initially remained determined to keep Australia "white". However, both a continuous need for new people and mounting international pressure to take in non-European refugees gradually eroded the policy. Egalitarian, non-racial immigration policies were officially introduced in 1972. Until then Australian authorities had the legal right to turn down applications on racial grounds. Thus, it is less than a generation ago that racial and cultural prejudices were officially abolished.

In 1947, Australia signed the Charter of the International Refugee Organization (IRO). The IRO was initially established to help Jewish Refugees, but with an increasing number of people refusing to return to Eastern Europe, the IRO had to expand its services. The signing of the Charter allowed Australia to take in Jewish and non-Jewish refugees from Eastern Europe, also called "Displaced Persons", or "D.P.s". The government devised completely new measures to ensure a continuous flow of refugees, which became known as Australia's "Displaced Persons Scheme".

Between 1947 and 1953 approximately 170,700 D.P.s entered Australia. They included 60,000 Poles, 24,000 Yugoslavs, 19,000 Latvians, 17,000 Ukrainians, 12,000 Hungarians, 10,000 Lithuanians, 10,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 9,000 Estonians and some smaller national groups. There were many German-speaking persons and German-born amongst these groups, but their composition and status is unclear (Clyne 1988:498).
"This scheme, which eventually brought 170,000 Central and Eastern Europeans to Australia, entailed government sponsorship and supervision, including the provisions of camp accommodations and unemployment benefits until the newcomers were placed in jobs" (Kunz 1988:102). The government took complete control over the initial disposition of the new settlers. It sent D.P.s anywhere in the nation where labour was needed, while minimizing any competition to Australian labour.

The two-year contract meant that the Displaced Persons, if necessary, could be moved quickly from any potentially contentious industrial situations. The use of the Displaced Persons in essential industries and services that were in dire need of workers soon resulted in spectacular improvements. These were seized upon by the Department of Immigration, widely publicized and used to increase public support for the continuation of the program (Kunz 1988:102).

Although this scheme appears to have met the needs of the Australian government, it certainly created great bitterness amongst the D.P.s. Contracts were arbitrary and completely insensitive to both professional abilities and personal needs. Professionals were forced to work in quarries and construction projects. Their qualifications were not recognized by the Australian professional organizations after the labour-contract expired. Thus, many left in great disappointment after their contracts had expired.

The bitterness of those years still surfaces when these immigrants talk about their early experiences. These Alteinwanderer become especially emotional when they compare their hardships to the relative easy time the Neueinwanderer have today. As one informant says:

We came with nothing, had nothing but our clothes and a little bundle. We had to work hard to get where we are today. These new immigrants have no idea! There was nothing here! Today, you can get everything. They come with all their money and stuff—and then they complain!

During the 1950s and 1970s Australia took in almost three million immigrants (see Tables 5 and 6). Because of allegations in both the press and parliament about Nazis among German-speaking D.P.s, the government did not encourage German immigration. However, the supply of
D.P.'s began to dry up, and Australia needed more people. Thus, in 1952, Australia signed an assisted passage agreement with Germany and Italy. Germany at the time suffered from massive unemployment and a large refugee problem and was more than willing to encourage people to leave the country. Many Germans made use of the assisted passage scheme: in 1952-61, 84% of all German immigrants came as assisted immigrants (Kaplan 1988:498). Non-assisted settlers came from a wide variety of backgrounds: individuals and families paying their own fare, or family members of assisted immigrants who had arrived earlier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>67,861</td>
<td>10,090</td>
<td>10,862</td>
<td>3,209</td>
<td>3,044</td>
<td>4,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British C’wealth</td>
<td>693,221</td>
<td>67,558</td>
<td>70,425</td>
<td>63,934</td>
<td>83,454</td>
<td>102,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>192,626</td>
<td>17,022</td>
<td>19,485</td>
<td>17,761</td>
<td>14,379</td>
<td>14,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>63,431</td>
<td>6,650</td>
<td>8,006</td>
<td>12,221</td>
<td>11,778</td>
<td>16,063</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>431,615</td>
<td>32,364</td>
<td>29,703</td>
<td>21,407</td>
<td>24,580</td>
<td>22,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Immigr.</td>
<td>1,448,754</td>
<td>133,684</td>
<td>138,481</td>
<td>118,532</td>
<td>137,235</td>
<td>159,554</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Table 5. (contd.) Country of Citizenship of Settler Arrivals, Australia, 1959-1988 (5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>36,350</td>
<td>16,930</td>
<td>10,250</td>
<td>4,230</td>
<td>11,100</td>
<td>3,650</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>British C’wealth</td>
<td>292,440</td>
<td>373,780</td>
<td>260,760</td>
<td>97,910</td>
<td>135,650</td>
<td>77,890</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>95,720</td>
<td>64,730</td>
<td>22,810</td>
<td>7,350</td>
<td>4,640</td>
<td>1,840</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>74,900</td>
<td>57,120</td>
<td>25,380</td>
<td>5,660</td>
<td>3,540</td>
<td>2,340</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>4,050</td>
<td>12,120</td>
<td>14,720</td>
<td>18,210</td>
<td>5,650</td>
<td>9,410</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zeal.</td>
<td>9,310</td>
<td>22,610</td>
<td>19,160</td>
<td>42,970</td>
<td>57,060</td>
<td>55,350</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>3,130</td>
<td>7,550</td>
<td>9,350</td>
<td>12,260</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philipp.</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>690</td>
<td>2,570</td>
<td>7,380</td>
<td>14,320</td>
<td>20,570</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>201,920</td>
<td>231,810</td>
<td>253,210</td>
<td>153,520</td>
<td>226,740</td>
<td>166,290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Immigr.</td>
<td>715,260</td>
<td>781,010</td>
<td>611,990</td>
<td>344,780</td>
<td>468,050</td>
<td>349,600</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Total Immigrants to Australia 1945-1988 (6)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1945-65</th>
<th>1965-88</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>102,971</td>
<td>46.150</td>
<td>149.121</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British C’wealth</td>
<td>1,081.042</td>
<td>945.980</td>
<td>2,027.022</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>269.363</td>
<td>101.350</td>
<td>370.713</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>136.045</td>
<td>94.050</td>
<td>230.095</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>9.516</td>
<td>60.110</td>
<td>69.626</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
<td>1.076</td>
<td>45.530</td>
<td>46.606</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>536.227</td>
<td>1.262.260</td>
<td>1.798.487</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Immigrants</td>
<td>2.136.240</td>
<td>2.555.430</td>
<td>4.691.670</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Malaysia and New Zealand are not included here, as there are no data for the years 1945-159. During the years 1959-1965 there were 280 Malaysian, and 9,310 New Zealand immigrants.
Mandatory two-year work contracts were not imposed on these immigrants, but they were not exactly welcomed with open arms:

Politicians, bureaucrats and average Australians began to question the fairness of exacting such a contract from refugees. However, students among the Hungarians of 1956 and the Czechs of 1968, although given a chance for a new life, were not offered scholarships in Australia, as they were in Canada, the United States of America and many European countries. Nor were hardship cases particularly sought out. There was a shift towards broadmindedness, but within the confines of cost-efficient nation building (Kunz 1988:105).

Most non-British immigrants were initially accommodated in camps and hostels, where they were offered English language training and some help to search for housing and jobs. Gradually, discriminatory treatment against non-British immigrants abated. For example, in 1973, the *Nationality and Citizenship Act* reduced the five-year qualifying period for non-British immigrants to three years, and in 1984 to two years. Social service legislation gradually dismantled discrimination between immigrants of shorter and longer residence. Laws which restricted land acquisition by non-nationals were adjusted to allow the settlement of new non-British.

Thus, the original policy of aggressive, forced assimilation was gradually modified into that of a more gentle, positive integration. In the early eighties, multiculturalism became official policy. Multiculturalism is characterized by governmental financial support for foreign-language broadcasts and television, a liberalized approach towards the recognition of foreign trade certificates and academic degrees and active support for multicultural studies.

While the substantive impact of such multicultural policies is subject to intense scholarly debate (see Liffman 1988; Grant 1990) it has certainly reduced the relative cost of German-speaking immigrants to Australia. At the same time the new Australian non-racial policies, especially its recognition of its Asian location, has led to an aggregate relative de-emphasis on European, including German migration. Additionally, as the national economy has matured,
immigration has become much more a tool to manage cyclical change in the economy and specifically the labour market. These new realities now defined immigration policy.

Net immigration was cut back sharply from the record gain of 129,000 in 1969 to 56,000 in 1972. A short recovery was then followed by a further slump to a mere 13,000 in 1975. Thereafter the net inflow again recovered to a peak of 127,000 in 1981, to be followed once again by a slump to less than half that amount in 1984.

... Control was exercised in a number of ways compatible with the new non-racial policy. ... The requirements for admission as an immigrant in November 1976 were as follows - a spouse, dependent child, dependent parent, fiancee or fiance, were admitted subject only to a health and character test; refugees, quasi-refugees, and persons accepted for consideration outside the normal rules because of strong compassionate circumstances were required to meet selection criteria considered at the time to be appropriate to their circumstances; all other applicants, in addition to meeting the health and character requirements, had to be assessed as economically viable and, except for non-dependent parents of working age, as being able to integrate satisfactorily with the Australian community; in all cases the immigrants had to have the intention of residing permanently in Australia (Borrie 1988:112).

During 1972-1984 over 90,000 Indo-Chinese refugees resettled in Australia. In addition, there were over 100,000 new settlers from a number of other Asian and Pacific countries. Furthermore, emigrants from New Zealand who can travel freely and do not need any special entry- and work-permits were increasingly entering the country. Indo-Chinese refugees and New Zealanders were the dominant features of immigration patterns in the seventies.

As the eighties have unfolded further important changes in immigration policies emerged. These changes are likely to alter the nature of any further German migration to Australia. The new Australian approach can be characterized as a rifle-shot compared to its previous shotgun approach. Australia, like other rich countries with net in-migration, is primarily interested in "creaming" the rich, the well-educated and the young (cf. Canada). This, however, has been tempered by two factors. First, the recognition of global humanitarianism. Second, the emergence of politically important ethnic communities. The primary consequence of this is the "sacred-cow" status of family reunification.
The major change has been in the establishment of new eligibility categories. The title and the definition of these categories has changed slightly over the decade. In 1982 these categories were Family Migration, Labour Shortage, Independent Migration, Refugee and Special Humanitarian Programs, and Special Eligibility. In 1988, the categories were (1) Family Migration (designed to reunite families); (2) Skilled and Business Migration (i.e. "applicants whose occupations were in demand in Australia, or who had been nominated by a local employer; and those possessing business skills and capital and capable of establishing substantial business ventures in Australia"); (3) Independent and Concessional Migration ("A program designed to help Australia meet the objective of supplementing and broadening its economic base in the medium to long term while granting concessions to people with extended family members in Australia"); (4) Refugee and Special Humanitarian Migration; and (5) Special Eligibility (New Zealand citizens and spouses, and "persons with exceptional creative or sporting talents, self-supporting retirees, former citizens and residents who have held close links with Australia and others who have outstanding abilities that would clearly benefit Australia") (Department of Immigration 1989:7-8).

These policies result in a more direct selection of German immigrants. Australia pursues to attract investors, businessmen and skilled workers, while it is not interested in unskilled labour.

Between 1965 and 1988, a total of 46,150 Germans immigrated. An average of two to three thousand people arrived between the mid-sixties and mid-seventies. That number went down to below 1,000 during the late seventies, more than doubled in the early eighties, and averaged to 1,200 in the second half of the eighties.
Table 7. Arrival of German Citizens 1982/83-1987/88, Australia (7)

<table>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Migr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>547</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>491</td>
<td>418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Shortage (a)</td>
<td>2.655</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent (b)</td>
<td>673</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>436</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee &amp; SHM (c)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aust. Child (d)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3.977</td>
<td>1.526</td>
<td>925</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>1.274</td>
<td>1.445</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 shows that Family Migration contains the highest number of new immigrants. This is in line with the immigration policies of the seventies and eighties which preferred family reunion to labour migration. Only the early eighties, a time of brief economic boom, saw a dramatic increase in the categories Labour Shortage and Independent Migrants. The category Independent fluctuates the most over the years. It is flexible and open to individual interpretation, and thereby can be adjusted to the government's needs.

The Business category was introduced in 1982. The numbers included in this category do not merely reflect the number of business people entering the country, but include their families. According to a German immigration adviser, each family arrives with at least five members, so that the actual number of businesses entering the country is really quite low.

These businesses are predominantly small or medium-sized. Additionally, over the past fifteen years quite a number of large German corporations have established branches in

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7. Dept. of Immigration, Local Government and Ethnic Affairs 1989, unpublished. (a) the title changed in 1986 to "skilled Labour"; (b) the title changed in 1986 to "Independent and Concessional"; (c) SHM stands for "Special Humanitarian Migration"; (d) the full title is "Australian Child born Overseas".
Australia. Also, several German Banks are represented in Australia (Vondra 1981) (8). Australia and Germany have increased their trade since the early seventies: between 1976 and 1985 German exports to Australia rose from DM 1,800 million to 4,600 million. German imports from Australia increased from DM 1,500 million to DM 2,100 million.

These companies and banks employ a large number of German workers, who usually do not immigrate but are admitted on temporary work-permits. However, these residents do play a part in the immigrant community. These workers also generate "de facto" immigration (even though the individuals themselves take a long time to realize it).

Over the past fifteen years, continued interest of German companies in Australia and increased trade between the two countries has also fostered interest in immigration. As mentioned, changes in government policy has meant a change in German immigrants from predominantly semi-skilled and skilled manual immigrants of the early post-war years to more professional and specialized persons of the late seventies and eighties.

The numbers indicate that contemporary German immigration to Australia is quite low. The number of German-born residents, on the other hand, is still high. The 1986 census indicates that 114,806 Australian residents were born in Germany. Of these, 96,711, or 84%, had been in the country for more than ten years. By contrast, only 5,666, or 4%, had been in the country for a duration of five to nine years (9). German settlers are an ageing group and without considerable further immigration, the survival of the present German communities is unlikely.


**Return Migration**

There are no exact numbers on return migration since the government does not monitor residents leaving the country. The government estimates that about one-fifth to one-quarter of all immigrants return to their country of origin, most of them leaving during their first five years of settlement. Kaplan (1988:498) believes that approximately 30% of Germans returned between the years 1947-1983 (10). Interviewees in this study claim that Germans in Australia return at a much higher rate than government estimates suggest. Some informants estimate that as many as 40% of the Neueinwanderer return, some even estimate German return migration to be as high as 60%. These numbers can of course not be validated by official statistics. However, interviewees consistently talked about return migration. In their view, return migration was one way of dealing with broken illusions and the failure to adjust. Also, the topic was frequently discussed in the "Letters to the Editor" of the Sydney German newspaper.

**German Culture And Social Life**

The term "German culture" is ambiguous. Many *Volksdeutsche* are not from the German contemporary nation-state, but claim allegiance to German culture. Emigrants from Switzerland and Austria share the German language, but predominantly relate to their own cultural heritage. Jewish German-speaking immigrants who tended to identify with the German nation state until the 1930s, tend to define themselves as Jewish. There are also important cultural and linguistic differences amongst the migrants arriving from within the current German nation-state. For example, Northern Germans speak a different dialect than the Southerners and have important cultural differences.

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Michael Clyne points out however that there are some communalities between the various groups:

... there have remained strong links between most of these groups mentioned—the common language, the historical memories of a powerful medieval 'German Nation' and a wealth of popular customs and traditions. At the time of romantic national revival in the early nineteenth century these factors were used in the fight for a modern German nation-state. The fragmentation of absolutist Germany was not conducive to political action nor the development of political practices. There was an emphasis on theory, philosophy and introspection—a self-definition of Germany as a 'nation of poets and thinkers'. The stress on Bildung (cultivation of mind, erudition and education) has retained a unique prestige value for higher-class and also lower-class speakers of German to the present day (Clyne 1988:501).

The Germans emphasis on Bildung, and on being kultivierte Menschen ("cultured people") is mentioned frequently in the Australian literature (Kaplan 1988). This can have important practical, as well as symbolic, importance. As Kaplan points out:

The belief in education as a means of achievement is well established in West German society and appears to have been exported to Australia. In 1981, of all persons aged 15 and over, 41 per cent had obtained some qualifications since leaving school, compared with 24 per cent of all Australians (Kaplan 1988:499).

Many German Australians stress their own "thorough" German training or education, and compare them favourably to the lesser qualifications of Australian colleagues. A common opinion is that there "really is no Australian Kultur" (11) and that the Australians are "unkultiviert, uneducated, rough, and without manners".

As has been mentioned above, contemporary German immigration is "individual". The Germans do not appear to avail themselves of the major "loophole" in immigration policies, namely family reunification. Compared to Southern European or Asian immigrations, there are no chain migrations, nor do Germans migrate in large extended family groups. Therefore, it is virtually impossible to settle in close communities or ethnic neighborhoods. Furthermore, they

11. The German words Kultur and kultiviert cannot simply be translated with the English term "culture". Kultur encompasses a somewhat sophisticated knowledge of arts, literature, education and philosophy.
tend to marry outside their own ethnic group (Kaplan 1988:499) (12). These factors foster fast linguistic and cultural assimilation.

Visible expressions of German culture can best be found in specific rural areas of South Australia, Victoria and Queensland, but even this now acquired a "tourist culture" aspect: "Great efforts are now being made to restore the old German villages of South Australia (in the Barossa Valley and at Hahndorf) to their original appearance, renewing or even faking (for example Bavarianizing) their customs and festivities" (Clyne 1988:501). Traditions, such as Schützenfest (shooting or marksman's festival), Sängerfest (singing festival), Oktoberfest and vintage festivals have now become tourist attractions for the general Australian public.

But, it verges on "kitsch" German. For example, the Bavarian style in dress, architecture and music has become synonymous with "German". In Germany no non-Bavarian would be caught in Lederhosen. Yet in Australia, this piece of adornment is identified as being "typically German". As a woman from Dortmund (Northern Germany), whose children dance in the local Schuhplattler group (Bavarian folk dancing) said: "Sometimes I think we're more German here than we were in Germany. I would never have done that there."

As Isajiw (1980:23) points out, individuals create their "ethnic identities" by forming a "symbolic relation to the culture of their ancestors". As he further explains:

Even relatively few items from the cultural past, such as folk art, music, can become symbols of ethnic identity. Significantly, there seems to be a process of selection of items from the cultural past and rather than accepting the entire baggage of ethnic tradition persons from consecutive ethnic generations show a degree of freedom in choosing such items from the cultural past of their ancestors which correspond to their needs created perhaps by the specific character of relations in society as a whole ...

12. "Between 1951 and 1955, when large numbers of single German-born people were in Australia, almost half married partners from their own country. From 1956 onwards, however, the number of in-marriages declined very steadily, with only 11.4 per cent of German brides and 8.8 per cent of German grooms marrying partners from their own country in the years 1980-82. Throughout the post-war period German grooms married the Australian-born to a greater extent than did German brides" (Kaplan 1988:499).
In spite of this, these festivals still do reflect some of the old traditions and customs and thereby may be a source of ethnic pride and identity for some German-Australians. German cultural maintenance in the urban areas is the self-proclaimed task of the social clubs and societies. German, Swiss and Austrian clubs were revitalized in the fifties by the influx of new immigrants. But the influx is long over and current numbers are decreasing rapidly. Some of the smaller clubs have now closed or merged with others because of dwindling memberships and lack of funds. However, the bigger associations and clubs continue to be a social centre for many.

In Sydney, the Concordia Club with its 2,600 members is probably the largest organization in the country. In order to receive governmental support, two thirds of its club members must be at least second generation German. However, this quota is becoming more and more difficult to fill, as younger German-Australians are not interested in joining. *Neueinwanderer, generally, are not joining these clubs as they do not identify with the form of Deutschtum (Germanness) practised. The recruitment of new members is typically the major problem of the clubs.*

In 1965 a number of German-speaking clubs formed an umbrella organization *Die Brücke,* to organize social events, group and charter flights, student exchange and cultural activities such as song festivals, folk-dance festivals and sports festivals. *Die Brücke* is sponsored by about thirty member clubs and is still very influential in promoting and organizing "German Kultur".

The churches are another stronghold of the German-speaking community. In Sydney there are two Roman Catholic churches, one Lutheran church and one Temple Society church. Most members are *Alteinwanderer.* Young people tend to leave the church in their teens, and *Neueinwanderer* join in small numbers only.

The dominant role of the churches, nowadays, is in practical help to, and the spiritual guidance of, the elderly. German language senior citizen homes are the most valuable service.
They provide care in the mother tongue and thus relieve *Heimweh* (homesickness) and loneliness. One minister predicts: "The care of the elderly will be our major mission over the next twenty years. After that the church will slowly die out and become a small provincial *Auslandskirche* (church in a foreign country)."

The care of the elderly has also become the dominant vocation for organizations such as the German Catholic Center, the German Austrian Society and the Australian-German Welfare Society in Sydney. These associations were founded during the early post-war years to aid new German immigrants. Over the years they have become social aide organizations for *Alteinwanderer* in need, although a few *Neueinwanderer* ask for help as well.

Just about the only institutions that are frequented by both *Alt- and Neueinwanderer* are the German Saturday Language Schools. However, most students are children of those who work for German companies. New immigrants appear to be split on whether to send their children to the German language schools or not. Some think that it is more important to learn the language of the new country as quickly and as thoroughly as possible "because that is their homeland now, not Germany", others insist that the children "have to know their roots, and therefore have to know the language".
3. THE HISTORY OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

There are many similarities between Canadian and Australian immigration histories. In the Colonial period, Canada, like Australia, was predominantly settled by the British. Both countries preferred migrants from the British Isles, then Northern and Southern Europe. As in Australia, Canadian governments did not encourage the immigration of non-Whites. But, at no time in Canada was there a complete immigration ban on non-whites.

However, after World War II, the Canadian government accepted Displaced Persons and other Non-British willing to immigrate much more quickly than did Australia. Canada removed final restrictions on Blacks and Asians in 1962 (Kubat 1979), ten years earlier than Australia. Finally, both the idea of a multicultural society and the official governmental promotion of multicultural policies are somewhat older in Canada than in Australia.

Canada's immediate proximity to the United States, and relative closeness to Europe (compared to Australia) did not foster the same kind of parochialism as in Australia. Even during the Depression, there was a continuous stream of migrants from Britain and the United States. As a consequence, the Canadian population was not as isolated as the Australian.

Immigrants of German origin were among the earliest settlers in Canada (see the classic study on early immigration by Lehman 1931a, 1931b). They still constitute the third largest ethnic group after the British and the French. In the 1971 Census, 1,317,195 people declared their ethnic origin to be German.

A historical review of German immigration to Canada cannot be separated from a review of German immigration to North America as a whole (Bassler 1983; McCormick 1983). Many Germans arriving in Canada during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had initially settled in the United States. There was widespread ignorance about settlement options in Canada, and
German shipping lines directed the bulk of immigrants to the ports of the United States (Helling 1984).

Eighteenth and early nineteenth century German migrants came primarily from the Southwestern parts of Central Europe (Bassler 1974). In contrast, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the majority emigrated from Europe's Northeastern parts. Many migrants did not come from Germany but from parts of Europe that had been settled by ethnic Germans in previous centuries (Bassler 1978). These Volksdeutsche came in search of farmland and religious freedom. Many of them migrated in large congregational groups. Mennonites formed the largest denomination, Lutherans represented the second largest, while Catholic migrants were in the minority.

Between 1846 and 1851 more than 500,000 Germans arrived in North America (Froeschle 1981). Heightened unrest after the 1948 revolution encouraged even more emigration. Between 1852 and 1855 almost half a million immigrants arrived every year. Another large German wave began to immigrate to North America after the American Civil War. Cyclical unemployment during the 1890s in Europe, and again at the turn of the century, pushed out over three million Germans. Only about 40,000 chose Canada as their initial destination. However, many others found their way to the northern provinces via the United States. By 1901 there were 310,501 people of German origin in Canada, amounting to 5.78% of the total population.

World War I, for a time, brought the stream of Germans to a halt, but after 1919 immigration resumed. Most migrants came from the agricultural areas of Northeastern Europe. They settled predominantly in Canada's rural West, mainly Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

The last major influx of Germans arrived immediately following World War II, about 274,545 between 1946 and 1969. This group was composed of both political refugees from the
eastern territories and West-Germans. During the seventies and eighties the German immigration numbers have fallen to a yearly average of 1,500 to 2,500 people per year.

1. The Development Of German Communities Up To 1945

Germans have been part of Canada's history since the earliest French and British settlements (Weissenborn 1978; Froeschle 1981). In general, most German settlers in the French territory were Catholic, while those settling in the British territory were Protestant. Before 1700, there were about 30 or 40 permanent German settlers in New France and during the Eighteenth century this number increased to over 200 families. These early settlers became completely immersed in French culture and their German origins can, now, only be traced through documented genealogies. Later, most Germans in Quebec were primarily in transit and throughout the Eighteenth Century, the percentage of German settlers remained below one percent (Helling 1984).

The British government recruited the first, organized German group for settlement along the coast of Nova Scotia. They arrived in Halifax in 1750 and were awarded the same rights and privileges as British subjects. In the ensuing years over 2,000 Germans settled around Halifax and down the coast as far as Lunenburg (Debor 1973).

The British government considered the Germans ideal settlers. They were capable agriculturalists, loyal to the Hanoverian monarch and therefore to the British Crown, and their Protestant beliefs made them resistant to French, Catholic influences. These early German settlers assimilated quickly and adapted to Nova Scotia's geographic and economic conditions. Within a hundred years, many former agriculturalists had become skilled fishermen and Lunenburg, together with the agricultural hinterland, had become economically self-sufficient. Further
German migration streams by-passed this area, and its German heritage diminished (Waseem 1983).

Between 1877 and 1884, during, and after, the American War of Independence many German United Empire Loyalists retreated to Upper Canada. They had fought in upper New York State, either with Butler’s Rangers and the Royal Yorkers under John Johnson, or as Hessian mercenaries. They were rewarded with large land grants from the Crown, predominantly in the areas along Lakes Ontario and Erie.

However, the majority of post-revolution Germans settling in Upper Canada were pacifists from Pennsylvania. They were known as the Pennsylvania "Deutsch", or soon the Pennsylvania Dutch (Hostetler 1968). The first group settled on the Niagara Peninsula in 1786. Most were members of Anabaptist religious sects, such as the Amish and Mennonites, who were in the majority. The Anabaptists had rejected military service in the War of Independence for religious reasons and subsequently had come under heavy criticism.

The Anabaptist migration from the United States lasted from the mid-1780s to the 1830s, when a rift between the Mennonite and Amish occurred. Amish immigration came to a halt, while the Mennonite flow continued.

In 1803 Mennonites founded the German Company which subsequently purchased 60,000 acres in the Grand River Valley. The valley became the center of German settlements. Because of the Mennonites’ strong religious and ethnic identity, they resisted assimilation into the dominant British culture until about the turn of this century.

In the 1830s and 1840s, official attempts to attract British immigrants to newly developed areas in Southwestern Ontario had only limited success and, therefore, French and German colonists from Europe were invited. The French founded St. Joseph on Lake Huron, while the Germans established Hay Township (Helling 1984:26). Many of these settlers were skilled
agriculturalists who established large, well-run farms. In addition, Germans from the United States continued to immigrate and settle in various parts of Ontario.

During the nineteenth century, about six million Germans migrated to North America (McLaughlin 1985). Most settled in the United States. Those who eventually moved north were predominantly agriculturalist in search of land, or were crafts and tradesmen. The intellectuals who left Europe after the 1848 Revolution remained in the United States. New migrants from Europe arriving at the port of Quebec were routinely advised to go to Ontario and to join existing communities there.

The center of German-speaking Canada was Berlin (renamed Kitchener in 1916 "in order to disown the German heritage" (Weissenborn 1978:22)); there were German newspapers, schools, churches and shops that catered to the rural hinterland. As Helling (1984:27-28) points out, during this period religion was a more important bond than, at that time, the rather nebulous concept of nationality:

Religion, rather than nationality, provided the bonds among settlers, their social institutions and their educational institutions. This was quite evident among the Waterloo County Mennonites and Amish. ... Lutherans, the other large Protestant group, stressed the unity of language and religion which reinforced the patterns of ethnic identity. Lutherans, however, did not exercise the level of control over their members that the Anabaptist group did. They depended primarily on education to maintain group identity. Roman Catholics experienced the greatest difficulty in maintaining their ethnic identity. ... schools were under great pressure to conform to patterns of English-speaking separate schools. ... In general, the Irish-oriented Roman Catholic Episcopate had little room for third groups; the English-French dualism was the major preoccupation of the day.

After Confederation the Canadian government commissioned immigration agents to actively recruit settlers for the Western provinces. Particular efforts were undertaken to entice more Mennonites to come as they had proven to be capable in pioneering uncleared areas and turning these into thriving farms. Recruitment agents contacted Mennonite and Hutterite
communities in Russia and, between 1874 and 1880, about 7,000 persons arrived in Manitoba (Hostetler & Huntington 1967; J. Bennett 1971; Holzach 1980).

During the 1890s further Mennonites from Europe, Ontario and the United States settled in Saskatchewan and Alberta. The government supported settlement along either denominational lines, ethnic lines or both, by allocating large lots of land to groups rather than to individuals (13). Again, the Mennonites proved that they could turn “frozen wasteland” into productive farmland.

Winnipeg became the major transportation centre for the West, especially after the Canadian Pacific Railroad was completed. It also became a centre for German-speakers who settled in Manitoba. Here, the Germans were largely able to pursue their own way of life without much external influence until World War I. They had their own schools, churches, press, and social institutions. Mennonite groups dominated, followed by Lutherans and a few Catholics. According to Helling:

In 1901, Winnipeg had a population of 42,340 of which 2,283. were German, 1,147 Austro-Hungarians, and 35 Swiss. This increased in 1911 to about 8,000 Germans, 6,620 Austro-Hungarians and 112 Swiss. ... In contrast to the farmers in the rural hinterland, the urban residents were primarily skilled craftsmen. German-speaking settlers formed the lower middle class, but ... were not part of the economic and social elite which was primarily composed of descendants of early Scottish settlers and migrants from Ontario. ... The pre-World War I migration of Germans to Manitoba amounted to about 35,000 persons or 7.5 percent of the total population. They were exceeded by Ukrainians, who formed the second largest group after those of Anglo-Saxon origin. This rank order lasted: in 1971, Ukrainians were 16 percent of the population and Germans 12 percent (Helling 1984:39).

Saskatchewan’s German pioneers arrived in the last two decades of the Nineteenth century. Again, they settled along denominational lines, as in Manitoba. Three German centres developed: Rosthern for Mennonites, Saskatoon for the Lutherans, and St. Peter for German Roman Catholics (White 1984). Again, most emigrated from Northeastern Europe and the United

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13. Group settlement was also encouraged in Ontario. See also Ishwaran’s study on the Dutch settlers in Holland Marsh, Ontario (Ishwaran 1971; 1977).
States. Before World War I Saskatchewan received the greatest number of German settlers, especially during the first decade of the Twentieth century: the 5,000 Germans in 1901 jumped to over 100,000 in 1911 (Helling 1984:41).

Settlement in Alberta surged after the completion of the railway. Again, groups from Eastern Europe and from the United States moved in and farmed the land. A minority worked as labourers in the mines of Lethbridge and Medicine Hat. German-speaking settlers arrived predominantly after 1901 and again, largely originated from areas outside the German state borders. In 1901 there were almost 11,000 Germans in Alberta. In 1911 approximately 50,000 of Alberta’s total population of 393,320 were German-speaking (Ibid:45).

German immigrants to British Columbia began to arrive in the 1850s and 1860s in response to the gold rushes (Ramsey 1958; Liddell 1981a, 1981b). Many stayed and worked as farmers in the Fraser Valley, the Okanagan, and around Victoria (Mayer 1986). Others established lumberyards and woodworking facilities, or prospered as entrepreneurs in Victoria and Vancouver. In 1901, there were 5,807 Germans in British Columbia, and by 1911, the census counted 11,880 Germans, 7,015 Austro-Hungarians and 796 Swiss (Helling 1984:46).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Atl. Prov. (a)</th>
<th>Quebec</th>
<th>Ontario</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>45,545 (14.6)</td>
<td>6,923  (2.2)</td>
<td>203,319 (65.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>42,538 (10.5)</td>
<td>6,145  (1.5)</td>
<td>192,320 (47.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>29,004 (9.8)</td>
<td>4,668  (1.5)</td>
<td>130,545 (44.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>30,039 (6.3)</td>
<td>10,616 (2.2)</td>
<td>174,006 (36.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>16,604 (3.5)</td>
<td>8,880  (1.9)</td>
<td>167,102 (35.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>32,059 (5.1)</td>
<td>12,249 (1.9)</td>
<td>222,028 (35.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>55,320 (5.2)</td>
<td>39,457 (3.7)</td>
<td>400,717 (38.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>52,645 (3.9)</td>
<td>53,870 (4.0)</td>
<td>475,315 (36.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>42,105 (3.7)</td>
<td>33,770 (3.0)</td>
<td>373,390 (32.7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8 (ctd.) Distribution of People of German Origin in Canada. Total No. (and %)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Prairies</th>
<th>Brit. Col.</th>
<th>N. Territories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>46,844 (15.08)</td>
<td>5,807 (1.80)</td>
<td>2,063 (0.60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>140,020 (34.70)</td>
<td>11,880 (2.90)</td>
<td>416 (0.10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>122,020 (41.70)</td>
<td>7,273 (2.40)</td>
<td>167 (0.05)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>241,760 (51.00)</td>
<td>16,986 (3.50)</td>
<td>137 (0.02)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>249,458 (53.60)</td>
<td>22,407 (4.80)</td>
<td>231 (0.04)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>297,820 (48.00)</td>
<td>55,307 (8.90)</td>
<td>1,095 (0.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>433,369 (41.20)</td>
<td>118,926 (11.30)</td>
<td>1,810 (0.17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>543,170 (40.50)</td>
<td>198,310 (15.00)</td>
<td>2,885 (0.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>503,025 (44.03)</td>
<td>187,630 (16.42)</td>
<td>2,465 (0.21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 9 Total Number of People of German Origin, Canada (and % of Total Canadian Population) (14)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Germans</th>
<th>Tot. Pop.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Germans</th>
<th>Tot. Pop.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>310,501</td>
<td>(5.7)</td>
<td>1911</td>
<td>393,320</td>
<td>(5.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>294,636</td>
<td>(3.3)</td>
<td>1931</td>
<td>473,544</td>
<td>(4.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>464,682</td>
<td>(4.0)</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>619,464</td>
<td>(4.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,049,599</td>
<td>(5.7)</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>1,314,310</td>
<td>(6.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,142,365</td>
<td>(4.8)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

World War I brought German immigration to a rapid stop.

... overnight they [the Germans] were vilified as the enemy. This was a war not just against Germany, but against "Germanness", and it was no longer possible to be both a German and a Canadian (McLaughlin 1985:12).

German schools and clubs were closed as was the German press. German churches were not allowed to continue German-speaking services. About 8,579 German men were interned in "enemy-alien" camps (Helling 1984:53). The German population responded by assimilating as...
quickly as possible. This became apparent in the 1921 census. The number of Canadians who claimed German ethnic origin declined dramatically, while those declaring Dutch, Danish, Austrian and Russian origins increased proportionally (Gumpp 1987).

After the war, there was a five year ban on German immigration. However, as soon as the restriction was lifted, Germans began, once more, to immigrate in large numbers. The largest streams came again from Northeastern Europe. Between 1923 and 1928, 18,877 Mennonites from Russia were settled with the help of the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization.

Other Germans followed at a rate of 18,000 per year. By 1930 over 90,000 new Germans had been admitted to the country ... Over 80 percent of the newly-arrived migrated to the prairie provinces ... Of the country's 473,544 Germans in Canada in 1931, 271,352 or nearly 60 percent now lived in western Canada, 44 percent of the latter were from Russia, 18 percent from Austria-Hungary, and 18 percent from the United States, while only 12 percent had come directly from Germany (McLaughlin 1985:13).

Most of these immigrants had a farming tradition and preferred to acquire land in Canada, rather than work in the emerging large industrialized areas of the United States. This wave of immigrants settled predominantly in the prairies because of land availability.

By the end of the war, many German communities had lost their ethnic distinctiveness. English had taken over as the language of conversation; German public schools remained closed. The 1920s witnessed a brief revival of German cultural sentiments. Some newspapers started publishing again (Gumpp 1987). After 1922, private schools were again allowed to teach the Canadian curriculum in German. Most were church schools, run by Hutterites, Mennonites, Lutherans and Catholics. In addition, Saturday Language Schools and evening schools were opened to teach German to children who were attending English-speaking schools.

In 1927 the German-Canadian National Association was formed to promote group identity amongst German-speaking Canadians. As already mentioned, until World War I, German-Canadians tended to identify themselves along denominational rather than nationalistic
lines. Somewhat ironically, anti-German feeling during the war, for the first time, awakened the notion that immigrants of German origin might have more in common than the language (Helling 1984:61). In other words, anti-German sentiment tended to create a sense of "Germanness" that was not there before the War. One result led to the formation of new social clubs, such as the Alpen Club in Vancouver (Ramsey 1958:51).

In 1923 the United States introduced quotas for German immigrants. Canada became, for the first time, the "preferred nation" (McLaughlin 1985:13). But, during the Great Depression the Canadian government also imposed restrictions and, after 1931, immigration came to a standstill. Only British and American citizens who could prove that they were able to maintain themselves, were allowed to migrate.

After 1933 the National Socialist government in Germany began efforts to mould German emigrants abroad into a politically manipulative force:

Starting in 1934, the German Consulate in Winnipeg became active in the reorganization of German associations along the Nazi party directives. Groups which were formerly mainly interested in social and fraternal activities were infiltrated and reoriented towards the goals of a Nationalist Socialist Germany. Throughout Canada, a German League of Canada, Inc. (Deutscher Bund, Kanada Inc.), was established. The Bund followed the general format of Nazi organizations abroad, as in the United States and Latin America. ... Die Deutsche Zeitung für Canada, printed in Winnipeg, became the principal instrument of German propaganda (Helling 1984:63-64).

Helling, Gumpp (1987) and McLaughlin (1985) conclude that support for Nazi Germany was not very large prior to World War II. After the outbreak of war, most known Nazi supporters were interned. Over 800 Germans were sent to internment camps and all German citizens had to register as enemy aliens. However, there were fewer internees than in World War I. As McLaughlin states: "...the attitude toward German-Canadians was less hostile than during World War I. Many of them were clearly Canadians and they participated fully in the war against Hitler" (1985:16).
Keyserlinck (1984:16) postulates that by World War II, the British and Canadian governments saw Germans in Canada as being "decent": "It hoped these 'decent' Germans and other occupied peoples would revolt against and throw down Hitler". In fact, this largely reflected the fact that by the 1930s the German communities had fully assimilated into the Canadian mainstream society and were not easily distinguishable. English had become their first language, and they were accepted as Canadian citizens.

The vast majority of German-Canadians declared their loyalty to their Canadian homeland. Many fought against Hitler, or financially supported the war. German clubs voluntarily suspended meetings (Schmidt 1981a). For reasons already described those German-Canadians who did not come from the German state tended to remain indifferent to national German politics. As McLaughlin (1985:16) summarizes: "Their group consciousness was cultural and not nationalistic".

During the 1930s Canada accepted a small number of German-speaking Jewish and political refugees. Another special group were the Sudetendeutschen, people of German heritage living in Czechoslovakia. Many of them were socialists and anti-Nazis who feared political persecution. They arrived in two groups: one, numbering 525 people, settled in areas of Northern Saskatchewan, and the other, numbering 508 settled on uncleared land in Tomslake (now Tupper Creek) in Northeastern British Columbia (Kutschka 1957; Amstetter 1978).

The German refugees arriving after the outbreak of war were initially interned. As was the case in Australia, the Canadian authorities were woefully ignorant about the deep animosities between German religious and political refugees, and other German nationals. They interned refugees, prisoners of war and German-Canadian Nazi supporters together. Not surprisingly, hostility between the groups forced a separation. Between 1941 and 1943 the camps were
dissolved and the refugees were released. Of the approximately 2,500 refugees 1,500 returned to England, the rest stayed in Canada (Helling 1984:81).

The hostilities against Germans during World War I resulted in the breakdown of formerly independent ethnic communities, a process, which was subsequently intensified during World War II. English became the official first language in schools and churches. The German clubs had to close and the press was shut down (Schmidt 1981a).

2. Post-War Immigration

*Immigration Policies and German Immigration between 1945 and 1988*

Between 1945 and 1968 (the post-war period) Canada accepted over 3 million immigrants, as shown in Table 10. About 271,000 were German citizens. These added to the "base" of approximately half a million (estimated as of 1941).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10: Country of Citizenship: Arrivals 1946–84, Canada</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Colonies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10 (Contd.) (15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year 1985-87</th>
<th>Total 1946-69</th>
<th>Total 1970-87</th>
<th>Total 1946-89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>4,371</td>
<td>274,545</td>
<td>35,892</td>
<td>310,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Colonies</td>
<td>27,573</td>
<td>969,904</td>
<td>359,800</td>
<td>1,329,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>2,493</td>
<td>458,177</td>
<td>56,915</td>
<td>515,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1,892</td>
<td>99,222</td>
<td>43,898</td>
<td>143,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>21,317</td>
<td>261,769</td>
<td>225,877</td>
<td>487,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>21,528</td>
<td>25,761</td>
<td>146,594</td>
<td>172,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipp.</td>
<td>14,670</td>
<td>13,666</td>
<td>95,917</td>
<td>109,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>241,775</td>
<td>1,164,100</td>
<td>1,385,921</td>
<td>2,550,021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>335,619</td>
<td>3,267,144</td>
<td>2,350,814</td>
<td>5,617,958</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Immediately after the war, Canadians widely resisted immigration. According to a 1946 Gallup Poll, 46% did not want any immigration from Britain, and 61% were opposed to European immigration (Broadfoot 1986:2). However, the Canadian government pursued a large scale immigration policy. This started in 1945 and 1946 with the arrival of 48,000 British and European women and children, most of whom were "War-Brides". In 1947 about 5,000 Displaced Persons were allowed to immigrate. They were Mennonites from Russia, refugees from the Baltics, and ethnic Germans from Russia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland. Also, with the support of the International Refugee Organization, another 50,000 D.P.s arrived between July 1947 and November 1948 (Küster 1979). As in Australia, D.P.s suffered hardships and exploitation. They were assigned jobs that Canadians did not want: "Tales of horror emerged of families indentured to one or two years of farm work under slave labour conditions for almost no wages" (Broadfoot 1986:4).

In spite of public hostility, the government did allow non-British immigration, although British migrants were given first priority. This can be compared to the immediate post-war policies of the Australian government.

The Canadian government allowed German citizens to immigrate, provided they had relatives already in Canada. Because of the combination of a large German "base" in Canada and considerable new immigration, the Germans became the second largest immigrant group in 1951 (see Table 11). In 1952, all restrictions on German citizens were lifted. Between 1946 and 1957 over 150,000 German immigrants arrived in Canada. Of those, 60% were native Germans, 30% residents of what is now Poland and 10% were from Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, Russia and Hungary (McLaughlin 1985:17).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11</th>
<th>Ten Leading Source-Countries of Immigrants, Canada (16)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>Germany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Portugal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Greece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>France</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yugoslavia</td>
<td>Poland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>Austria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Over the next three decades, Canadian immigration patterns became much more diverse. As Table 11 shows, the focus shifted from European source-countries to Hong Kong, India, the Philippines and Guyana. By 1987 the only European countries in the top ten major source-

countries were Britain, Poland and Portugal. Germany is no longer in the leading ten source-countries.

In 1963 the Canadian immigration selection system changed. Family and Refugees categories remained, but the Independent category underwent major alterations. Immigrants were selected on the basis of skill and education, rather than nationality. The new selection process utilized an intricate point system (Richmond 1978:106). The new point system, combined with a prolonged period of economic prosperity in Germany, caused German immigration to drop during the sixties and seventies. Canada’s total immigration numbers also dropped.

Between 1967 and 1972 the Canadian government permitted visitors to Canada to apply for "landed immigrant" status, allowing potential immigrants to by-pass the regular selection process. However, the government soon ended this procedure, because the increasing number of applicants could not be handled administratively, and because of obvious inequalities in the treatment between "outsiders" and "insiders". (Several informants in this study took advantage of this regulation. They came for extended visits to Canada and, along the way, decided to stay.)

The point system has changed over the years, as the government has adapted it to what it considers Canada’s economic needs. These needs were discussed in the Green Paper published by the Department of Manpower and Immigration in 1972 (Allen 1978). It used a simple labour-market model in assessing "... the possible benefits and problems which could arise from a continuation of, or an expansion of, existing levels of immigration" (ibid:126). The Green Paper met with heavy criticism from academics and various ethnic groups. Nonetheless, the paper’s policy recommendations led to more restrictive immigration policies, especially in the Independent category:
No matter how many points for other reasons (age, education, destination) a would-be immigrant may receive, he or she cannot enter Canada as an immigrant at present unless they have *either* a) at least one "point" for an occupation needed in Canada; *or* b) willingness and ability to work in a "designated occupation" (severe local shortage); *or* c) arranged employment with a bona fide Canadian employer (if no Canadians are available to fill the position). In addition, in every case, after totalling all the points to which an applicant is entitled, the immigration officer will deduct ten points unless the applicant has satisfactory evidence of arranged employment or is coming to a "designated occupation" (Richmond 1978:112).

In 1977 a new immigration Bill, C-24, was passed. It gave the Minister of Manpower and Immigration the right to establish specific aggregate targets, and to determine the particular composition of immigrants:

Whereas the Immigration Act of 1952 was essentially expansionist but particular in the selection of immigrants on the basis of race and ethnicity, the new Act is designed to ensure a demographic stabilization but is universalistic in the admissibility of immigrants (Kubat 1979:29).

The Bill gave first priority to family reunion. It affirmed an obligation to accept refugees. The selection criteria for independent immigrants remained largely the same: they emphasized a selection procedure based on immigrants' skills and Canada's economic need.

The characteristics of post-World War II immigrants differ considerably from those who came before 1914. Then, immigration policies favoured people with agricultural skills. Most German immigrants moved to rural areas where they joined existing German denominational groups. Close-knit denominational groups such as the Hutterites and Amish, and most of the Mennonites, were centred in these rural areas.

The German immigrants of the fifties and sixties, on the other hand, were skilled craftsmen, technicians and professionals, who preferred cities. Thus, the urban German population, mainly in Ontario and British Columbia, grew considerably. Additionally, increasing mechanization of farmwork freed labour which moved to the industrialized areas. As a result
urban German communities began to thrive. The percentage of German urban settlers rose from 11.1% in 1871, to 36.9% in 1931, and 68.8% in 1971 (Kalbach 1978:100).

However, urban Germans tended not to form specific ethnic neighborhoods, as did the Italian or Greek immigrants (Innes 1983a). Ethnicity centred around German social institutions, which began to thrive again. As in Australia, old clubs were revived, and many new ones were founded. German churches of all denominations began to hold their services, again, in the German language. German Saturday Schools sprang up and the German press found a large number of subscribers (Schmidt 1981b).

Between 1970 and 1987 total German immigration was approximately 35,892. This can be contrasted with the much higher levels of immigration in the post-war period (see above). There were an average 1,500-2,500 German immigrants during the seventies, and 1,500-2,000 during the eighties.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>716</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>586</td>
<td>509</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugees</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisted Relatives</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrepreneurs</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Employed</td>
<td>1,019</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investor (a)</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2,518</td>
<td>1,727</td>
<td>1,578</td>
<td>1,403</td>
<td>1,906</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eligibility categories, or "classes", have changed over the years. At present, seven different classes are in use: "Family" and "Assisted Relatives", "Refugees", "Entrepreneur", "Self-Employed" (a person who is self-supporting), "Investor" (a person who is able to invest a minimum of Can. $ 250,000) and "Independent" (the person is expected to become self-supporting in Canada). "Entrepreneur" is defined in the 1976 Immigration Act as:

... an immigrant who intends and has the ability to: (a) establish or purchase a substantial interest in the ownership of a business in Canada whereby (i) employment opportunities will be created in Canada for more than five (5) Canadian citizens or permanent residents, or (iii) more than five (5) Canadian citizens or permanent residents will be continued in employment in Canada, and (b) participate in the daily management of that business (18).

Table 12 shows that the classes "Family" and "Independent" are the largest categories. The category "Entrepreneur" includes the dependents of the principal applicant.

The most recent Annual Reports from Statistics Canada show a breakdown of the Entrepreneur category: the ratio is approximately one principal applicant to 1.2 dependents (19). However, my fieldwork suggests, that many dependents, usually the children or parents of the principal applicant, follow at a later date under the categories "Family" and "Assisted Relative".

Similar to Australia, there are a number of Germans who work for German companies. They usually remain in Canada on a temporary basis and thus do not apply for immigration. As in Australia, there are several German Canadian business associations situated in the larger urban centres. The German-Canadian Chamber of Commerce, a sister organization to the Australian Chamber, is the largest and most influential.

Given the changes in the immigration rules it is not surprising that the characteristics of German immigrants has changed from skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen of the post-war years to professional and highly specialized workers of the eighties. The most common current

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occupational groups are in the Managerial and Administrative field, the Technical Professions and Natural Sciences, Medicine and Health, Machining, and Clerical jobs (20). The new immigrants tend to move to large urban centres (Innes 1983b). As Helling points out, Germans tend to marry outside their own group:

... German-Canadians in general do not place great emphasis on marrying within the group. The amount of ethnic segregation is limited: most German-Canadians in urban areas live in mixed environments. Since the majority of marriages occur among those who grow up together, there is high incidence of exogamous marriages (Helling 1984:95).

In conclusion, the numbers of German Neueinwanderer are quite low in the nineteen-eighties, compared to the fifties and sixties. The number of German-Canadians born in Germany, on the other hand, remains quite high. The 1981 census shows that 198,220 Canadian residents were born in Germany. Similarly to the situation in Australia, this suggests that the German population in Canada is ageing and that their survival as an ethnic group is doubtful.

Return Migration

There are no statistical data on German return migration (21). Casual empirical evidence suggests that many migrants returned to Germany during the mid-sixties, at a time of economic boom. However, many experienced what can best be described as "return culture shock", and returned again to Canada (Helling 1984:102).

Return migration tends not to be as significant an issue for Neueinwanderer today. Most new immigrants are affluent enough to afford frequent visits to Germany. At the most immediate level this is a cure for the bouts of homesickness. At a more profound level the migrant does not even have to "choose". The most extreme version of this are the migrants who retain another

21. An official at the Department of Immigration declared: "We don't know how many return. We're not interested in those who leave, just those who come."
home in Germany. This thesis stresses that migration is not a discrete event. This non-discreteness is most concretely, and dramatically, revealed by such migrants. "Migration" is simply a way to either expand business opportunities or create a new life-style, or both.

This is one possible reason why debates about possible return migration do not appear in German Canadian newspapers, such as the Kurier. There are certainly not the same heated exchanges of opinions about life in Canada and Germany as there are in the Australian newspapers about Australia versus Germany.

Nearly all Germans in Canada do know of people who have returned disappointed. But, this is largely attributed to personal characteristics and circumstances rather than to the shortcomings of Canada and its people. This fieldwork suggests that Neueinwanderer settle rather well into their new homeland and do not appear to have major difficulties in adjusting.

German Culture and Social Life

German Canadians today face similar socio-cultural issues as do the German Australians: (1) they are not a homogeneous ethnic group, (2) they are an ageing population, and (3) the majority of new German migrants does not take part in any specifically German group activities.

As has been emphasized, many ethnic German migrants do not come from within the borders of the German state. This division between Volksdeutsche and Reichsdeutsche is still evident in the German Canadian population. The Volksdeutsche, mostly Mennonites, generally maintain their own churches and communities. Lutheran and Catholic Volksdeutsche also frequent their own churches and do not mix with Reichsdeutsche. Today, inevitably, their fate is diminishing membership and eventual dissolution of the congregation. As two informants explain:
I don't have any contacts to the German colony. I counsel people who came during the fifties. We have never maintained contact with new immigrants. We are like a little island. This has been established in the sixties, and not much has changed. None of my clients would go to the receptions of the embassy. I don't know anybody who would show an interest for that (Heinrich L.).

The Volksdeutsche, of course, become less and less. They die out. Immigrants who come today are Reichsdeutsche (Bernhard S.).

The German Language Schools still attract new students. In Vancouver, there are about 500 children in three schools. However, as Herminio Schmidt observes: "They [the schools] have made the transition from teaching German as a native language to teaching German as a foreign language" (Schmidt 1983b. The German schools no longer consider themselves as primarily "ethnic" or "heritage" schools, but as language schools which attract Canadian students from all backgrounds.

However, there are clubs and churches whose membership include both Reichs- and Volksdeutsche. In Vancouver, for example, the St. Mark's Lutheran church has built a congregation that is composed of both new and old immigrants. Neueinwanderer still join the church at a rate of 15-20 persons per year and thus offset the church's losses through death.

The largest German social club in Vancouver is the Vancouver Alpen Club. The Club's history is briefly noted here because it is a microcosm of German history in Vancouver. The Club was founded in 1935 by a Schuhplattler group (Bavarian folkdance group), "to provide entertainment without political or religious influence" (Vancouver Alpen Club 1985:25). The Club managed to remain open throughout the war by sticking to their Schuhplattler and avoiding political involvement (ibid:29). In 1943 members of the Club established the Edelweiss Credit Union, a bank that still offers its services to German-speaking Canadians. A couple of years later, the Club supported the founding of the Catholic Holy Family Church.

The membership of the Club has always been eclectic, comprised of both Volks- and Reichsdeutsche. Irmgard Rueger writes in her tribute to the club:
600 people, who did not have a common nationality, whose cradle stood in many
different countries, who worshipped in many different churches, 600 people who
had only one thing in common, the German language, they gave the money for
the construction of the club. The work of the Volksdeutschen needs to be especially
recognized. They provided at least a third of the funds and labour. This ratio also
holds true for the board of directors and presidents. Of the fifteen presidents, 10
were Reichsdeutsche and 5 were Volksdeutsche (Rueger 1985:49).

This statement is interesting for two reasons. It shows that there is catholicity. But it also
shows that the community knows exactly "which group is doing what". The goal of the Club was
to offer all German-speaking members a home to practice their cultural heritage, and to "maintain
the German Kulturleben." Membership to the Club began to lessen during the late sixties. Few
new immigrants joined and the second generation of German-Canadians did not share their
parents' enthusiasm for German Gemütlichkeit. As one board member explains:

The most difficult task is to keep the young people with us. They don't speak
German, they forget their beautiful German words. They are just not interested
in the Dschingherrasass music and so. We should have rock concerts for them, then
they might come. But the old guard would never go for that.

Today the Club has a membership of about one and a half thousand. It is still home to a
folkdance group, soccer team, Karnevalclub and choir. Membership still requires knowledge of
the German language. However, the older members note disappointedly that English is taking
over. The Credit Union has recently embarked on a campaign to attract non-German speaking
members.

In 1984 the German-Canadian Congress was founded in Manitoba. This organization sees
itself as the "officially recognized national association of German-Canadians" (German-Canadian
Congress 1988). The Congress is to be an umbrella organization for all German-Canadian clubs
and institutions. It further wants to promote "German contributions" to the Canadian society:

We have brought a lot to Canada. We have contributed to the settlement and
economy of the country, in the arts and sciences, in trades and crafts, in
education and politics. We think it is time that this is widely recognized
(German-Canadian Congress 1988:16).
But, even though the association claims "to represent 1.7 million people within the context of Canadian multiculturalism" (ibid:18), there are many who do not want to be represented by it. The organization has not succeeded in uniting the great diversity of clubs, institutions and organizations. Also, individual support seems to wear thin, as members within the organization struggle for positions and prestige. As one former board member disappointedly said: "It's just another club with its own interests". The directors of the Congress are predominantly Alteinwanderer. German new migrants tend not to seek an affiliation with the Congress, nor do they join the smaller German clubs or organizations.

4. A SUMMARY

The historical description of German immigration shows that until the onset of World War I, German immigrants were able to build strong communities in both Australia and Canada. However, events associated with the two World Wars largely eroded the ethnic distinctiveness of traditional rural German communities. However, urban communities were revived and expanded with the large influx of post-war immigrants. Though Germans tended not to live in ethnic neighborhoods as did, for example the, Greeks and Italians, they formed numerous religious, social and cultural organizations.

These organizations are now slowly declining again. The post-war immigrant generation is dying out, while the second and third generations tend to reject their parents' "organized Germanness". In addition, most Neueinwanderer do not join these organizations, but assimilate directly into the Australian and Canadian mainstream.

Restrictive policies against non-British and non-Caucasian immigrants fostered ethnocentrism and parochialism in both Australia and Canada. In Australia, these sentiments were reinforced by its remoteness and isolation from events in Europe. The evidence from
Australian informants and Australian-German newspaper articles suggest that ethnocentric attitudes and parochialism are still significant. Perhaps because of this many Germans have difficulty adjusting to the Australian way of life and subsequently decide to return.

In Canada, the *Neueinwanderer* no longer seem to experience much ethnocentrism and intolerance. Most informants actually praise Canadians for their tolerance and cite this as one of the reasons why they like living in Canada. *Neueinwanderer* do not seem to have any adjustment difficulties, and thus are content with their immigration decision. Any adjustments they do experience are ameliorated by the feasibility of frequent return trips and even partial residence.
V. COMMON KNOWLEDGE ABOUT GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

This chapter explores how German immigrants who work with other German immigrants interpret the migration of Germans. Thus, it involves one set of migrants interpreting the world of the German immigrant generally. They are, of course, not in any sense of the word "objective" interpretations, but because these informants are involved in migration experiences on an ongoing basis they are a particularly useful source of data about the common knowledge German immigrants have of Neueinwanderer. Had I just concentrated on the interpretation of personal migration experiences, particular useful and interesting data such as the difference in adjustment processes between German immigrants to Australia and Canada would not have been revealed. How migrants discuss and interpret their own, personal immigration experiences is examined elsewhere in this thesis. Both common knowledge and first-hand interpretation by migrants of their own personal experiences are valuable for understanding the migration process in its entirety.

All informants knew from the introductory letter about the goals of the research and what type of questions would be asked. Most interviews began with a briefing of the research, an explanation of the interview procedure and a brief recording of the vital statistics. The interviewee was to tell his or her account and the interviewer was to guide the conversation through several research questions. For example, in the common knowledge category these questions were: 1. Why do Germans still immigrate? 2. How do they go about it? 3. How do they adjust? 4. What is your work like, and how do you relate to German immigrants?

In the personal experience category the major topics were 1. Migration (When, how and with whom did you come? Did you have pre-arranged job-prospects? Have you been back to Germany?) 2. Motivation (Do you remember when you thought of migration for the first time?)
Why did you think of it? Did you discuss it with anybody? How did you retrieve all the information you needed?) 3. Expectations (Do you remember your image, hopes and expectations of Australia/Canada? What was the place really like? Did you make comparisons between here and "back home"? What was the reaction of friends and relatives?) 4. Assimilation (What were the first years like? What was hard, what was easy? Did you have contact with other migrants? Did you have help—who helped? What was your job experience? What do you think of Australians/Canadians, other German immigrants? Did you change? What would you call home? Would you do it again? Would you move back?) These questions were used as a guidance to keep the discourse within the field of interest.

The interpretative method used to organize these interviews follows Agar's (1980) concept of "thematal schemata", or "themes". The selected themes emerged from an informal content analysis of the interviews (see Tables 2 and 3). The themes are used to organize the material in a fashion that is both graphic and comparable.

The narratives are organized thematically in order to highlight a wide variety of aspects of German immigration. The following themes are used to organize their statements: 1. Motivations, 2. The Move, 3. The Contrasts between Expectations and Reality, 4. Adjustment (both good and bad), 5. Gender Roles, 6. Return Migration, 7. Relationships with other Germans, and 8. Choice of Country. Themes 5. and 8. are only examined in the Australian interviews. It is significant that 5. Gender Roles which is a major issue in Australia essentially did not feature in the Canadian interviews.

As can be seen from Konrad L.'s example, the informants did not address the themes in a sequential order. Instead, the informants chose an issue and I tried to guide the conversation. Thus, the construction of the narratives was largely left to the informants. Usually, the interviews started with Theme 1. Motivation, because all informants knew that it was the core research
question. I then chose to present the themes in a sequence that reflects the common understanding of a linear migration process, simply, to organize the varied data in a way that allows for generalization and comparison.

The informants are briefly introduced, under a pseudonym, without disclosing their identity. The Australian narratives are discussed first, then the Canadian. The chapter's third part compares the Australian and Canadian interviews.

1. AUSTRALIAN NARRATIVES

There are six interviews in Sydney; all informants work with German immigrants. The informants are:

Konrad L. is a business consultant working for a firm that specializes in German business in Australia. He has lived in Sydney for fifteen years and plans soon to return to Europe, although not to Germany. He longs for the "cultural offerings, the intellectual stimulation, the geographic and cultural variety, and the exciting working possibilities within the European Community".

I present the Konrad L. narrative in detail to exemplify the selection of themes. The Konrad L. interview is selected because he is relatively analytic in conceptualizing migration motivation, decision and adjustment. He presents each theme in contexts which relate them to concepts such as psychology, geography and history, while most other interviews present the same themes in a more descriptive and explanatory manner.

Elmar T. works in the same firm as an accountant. He has vast experience on German economic relations with Canada, the USA, Australia and New Zealand. He has been in Sydney
for four years and also wants to return to Europe soon. He does not like Australia’s remoteness, and his wife does not like "the rudeness of the Australians, especially the men".

Harald V. immigrated as a Displaced Person in 1946. He is a writer and very active in German organizations.

Evert B. is a social worker who counsels German immigrants in psychological, spiritual and financial need. He arrived twelve years ago intending to immigrate, but has now decided to return.

Roland P. immigrated in 1965. He works as a real estate agent, specializing in German and Asian business migrants.

Paul C. is a self-employed notary, concentrating on German-Australian clients. He immigrated in 1985.

Konrad L. had firm ideas about why and how Neueinwanderer immigrate and his thoughts are recapitulated here (1):

This is why I think the Germans still immigrate:

(1) The Germans have never been explorers like the Dutch, English or Italians. We possess a shore-line, are a nation of seafarers, have a navy and a merchant marine. We have visited other countries, but we have not discovered anything.

(2) We have never been a colonial power. We have been given some areas, because Mr. Bismarck thought we should have some. We properly colonialized these, but we never have discovered and conquered anything.

We never had global imperial ties like the Netherlands, Portugal, Britain or Spain. They are used to the world, they know the world is round. We never had any of that, that is why we are so attracted to adventure stories, Karl May, you know (2)?

1. The interview was initially held in German and switched later to English.
2. Karl May is a German writer who lived around the turn of the century and wrote numerous volumes of adventure stories. They are fictional accounts of distant lands, and center around the eternal fight between Good and Evil. The most famous stories happen in the "Wild West". The focus of these stories are the romanticized relationships between Noble White Men (they usually have English names such as "Old Shatterhand" and "Old Surehand") and Noble Indians (usually Apache). In the most famous story, the hero, called Winnetou, rides on a black
Why do the Germans migrate? In contrast to others who have to leave their homeland because of social reasons—my answer is, because we are a neurotic people, because we are a psychopathic people.

Symptom? We need in Germany, in our Heimat [homeland]—this word is hardly translatable—we need Gemütlichkeit [a mixture of coziness, comfortableness and sociability], we need clear and orderly circumstances. But for me, Gemütlichkeit is a symbol of heartlessness and lack of emotion. Those things that you don't have as an individual—those things are being compensated by creating a nice gemütliches milieu. Our little villages, our little towns, our order, our regulations, our laws, all this is an order that compensates our disorder. As soon as it becomes ungemütlich, when disorder replaces the order, then we run away. We look for Mummy.

I say 'Mummy', or 'to look for mother', because I believe the German people are neurotic and psychopathic in their structure. This is because Germany is situated between Russia and its cultural power in the East, and the young, dynamic power in the West. Germany has become a big boy, but culturally it never knew where it belonged.

Symptomatically, during the Third Reich and before, we always believed that our future would lie in the East. I still think that emotionally, we still feel drawn to the East. But you cannot immigrate to Russia. That is why we migrate to the West. As soon as it becomes ungemütlich in Germany, as soon as the circumstances change, be it by pollution, be it through politics, then we move to the west. Far, far away, far away to Canada, far away to Argentina, to Chile, far away to Australia, Namibia—as far away as possible—in order to create a new Gemütlichkeit. (Theme 1. Motivations) (3)

The interesting part is that the Italians, Yugoslavs, and Greeks all have difficulties integrating into the society. They remain Italians, Yugoslavs and Greeks. The Germans have a tendency to integrate completely—to become Canadian, Argentinian, or Australian as fast as possible. Secretly, however, they remain German by maintaining their little insignificant club, their Stammtisch, and their Skatgames. There they are, amongst themselves, in a nice gemütlich environment, but in their new homeland. They quickly become 150% Australian, Canadian or South American. (Theme 4. Adjustment)

3. The themes are given in brackets. As can be seen in Konrad L.'s narrative, the interviewee did not simply answer questions in a descriptive and explanatory way but used analytical concepts in order to voice his opinion.
I think this is a symptom of lacking individualism. And because we don't have a strong national individualism, we tend to emigrate when our homeland disappoints us. I mean, there are many migration movements within Europe. The Germans too could emigrate to Spain if they wanted to. They can afford it. They could go to the Grand Canaries. But they don't do it.

Far away, far away. I see many people in Australia who come from Germany, who want to leave their home and stay in Australia. And when I ask "why?" — they tell me that they have a restaurant back home, or a dentistry, a pharmacy, they are doing well, drive a Porsche and Mercedes... But: it is dangerous in Germany. "Ungemütlich"—set in parenthesis—the environment, the crisis with Poland, the crisis in Afghanistan. There is always a crisis that drives them away. I think if there is a crisis, one should stay home and make it better. These are my thoughts. (Theme 1. Motivations)

Question: But only very few migrate, the vast majority stays home?

That, of course, is because we are spoilt. That makes the whole thing difficult. If you look at the Sicilians, they don't have anything to lose. They leave their home to have a better life. It probably is easier to emigrate with an outlook like that, than to emigrate with the fear that you might lose everything you own—which usually is plentiful.

That is a rational hindrance—which actually proves what a deplorable situation we find ourselves in. We have everything, we are doing well. But we are afraid—anxieties through and through. We see the paradise over there, beyond the horizon—but we don't want to take the risk.

Only if something terrible happens—Chernobyl, or something like that. The people take their children, their furniture and run away—and then return after three, four or five years. Those are the "Boomerang Germans".

The numbers for return migration are rising. Australia becomes less attractive for the following reasons: the traditional emigration countries have recuperated. Sicily goes through an economic miracle, Europe and the EEC is very positive. Today's migrants come from Lebanon, and other non-European countries. (Theme 6. Return Migration)
Question: How do the business migrants fit in?

Well, the situation is similar to the other Germans. Business migrants predominantly leave because of emotional reasons. They say: "because of the bureaucracy", "the future of my children", "the political circumstances in Europe are very irritating". Then they realize that the future here [Australia] is not that rosy either: the bureaucracy here is much worse, and the competition is much stronger. My comment to this is a little satirical: they arrive with a grand piano and return with an up-right, because, of course, they have lost everything. (Theme 1. Motivations and Theme 3. The Contrasts between Expectations and Reality)

I am not a friend of business migration. I would go so far as to say that Australia practises prostitution, because the bottom line is—you are allowed to earn some money in our country if you pay us $500,000. I think Australia would be better advised if they would not insist on the money, but if they would import more brain. I think that is urgently required in this country. (Theme 2. The Move)

At this point, the interview was still a monologue, but my interviewee seemed to have said all he wanted to say. I asked some questions about his professional experiences which he was prepared to answer although I sensed that he was not all that eager to talk about these.

He expressed doubts whether I would find any Neueinwanderer who would give their honest opinions:

I would think, the best answers you will find are from those who are lying on the shrink's couch, and tell you about their unhappiness. Because most Germans in Australia, I would dare say, are not happy, but they pretend to be, and they do that by desperately trying to become Australian.—By accumulating wealth as much as possible, which gives them an alibi, vis-à-vis their friends and relatives back in Germany. Look at the situation East Germany and West Germany, it's amazing, it staggered me, most West Germans feel an urge to show their East German brothers how well they are off. They completely lack sympathy, or empathy. When you travel to East Germany, which I did occasionally, you see your own tribesmen from the West as if they were staying in a foreign country—and show how well they are off, yet, they still are in their own country. (Theme 4. Adjustment)

They show this same attitude in the country of their choice, like ein Musterschüler [model pupil]. To be the best, and when they have achieved that, well—and they grow older, and they grow up, then, oddly enough they become very sentimental, and oddly enough many go back, back into the Heimat. (Theme 6. Return Migration)
The conversation continued for another 45 minutes and centered around issues such as the German psyche and mentality, and German Kultur. Konrad L. has very strong opinions about Neueinwanderer's migration motivations and their actions after the move. He claims that the often-heard environmental and political motivations are only a cover for other deep-lying fears and "neuroses" that prompt certain people to look for something safer and better. In other words, his analysis of Neueinwanderer range over the same issues as those told in common currency. However, his subsequent analysis goes way beyond these issues, suggesting that he has thought about the topic a great deal.

As mentioned before, this interview is one of the more complex. Most other interviews are more simple, linear descriptions and explanations of German migration and adjustment processes.

1. Motivations

The informants provide a wide array of migration motivations ranging from very abstract "fears" about the situation in Germany to very concrete concerns about "people wanting their parents to live with them". Specifically, the interviewees list the following motivations: more freedom in living and working conditions (Elmar T.); better business opportunities and an alternative lifestyle (Roland P. and Paul C.); to escape from ungemütliches (discomfortable) environment and to create a new and harmonious Gemütlichkeit (Konrad L.); as a response to a massive mid-life crisis (Evert B.); to retire and live with previously-migrated family members (Evert B.), and an unspecified Angst that motivates people to search for a better place (Harald V., Konrad L., Evert B.).

All interviewees themselves wonder why Germans still migrate. They agree that economic reasons no longer dominate and that most Neueinwanderer do have a good life and a
high standard of living in Germany. Therefore, they imply, the wish for a better life must be a wish for a different life-style and not for a higher standard of living per se. Furthermore, they all sense the tension between the idealistic search for a better life-style on the one hand and what is actually realizable and realistic on the other.

Elmar T. postulates a basic *Leitmotiv* (common principle) for migration to Canada or Australia—the search for freedom. According to him, the recent immigrants find Australia's "freedoms" superior to Germany's "limitations". These limitations are geographical (the smallness of Germany), environmental (pollution and acid rain), spatial (overcrowding), and governmental (infringement of bureaucracies and laws on the individual).

Roland P. explains it as follows:

The Germans do not have a reason to leave Germany. They have a high and secure standard of living. Most Germans indirectly worry about the environment, moral decline, drugs, Chernobyl, water-pollution and acid rain.

Frequently the reason is pollution. ... The demand rises over night as soon as there is a Chernobyl. Many demonstrate an overreaction. Fear of a nuclear war is pretty dead now. Chernobyl is much more threatening. For example all the old nuclear power plants along the Rhine are too antiquated, so some people think about that and feel more secure here.

Despite environmental concerns, however, Roland P. and Paul C. believe that *Neueinwanderer* would not migrate unless there was also a good chance of financial success. They counsel many older immigrants who want to "get away" from pollution and overcrowding, but who will not take the step without guarantees that their new business ventures in Australia will be successful.

Many business-immigrants want to combine business and pleasure. They invest in projects, such as campgrounds and holiday lodges, that offer both sufficient income and idyllic life-style: A hundred hectares near the ocean, a view, a couple of horses, where they can combine hobby and life-style. The Germans between the age of thirty and forty are very fond of this (Roland P.).
The majority of immigrants certainly have many of the things most people strive for—a reasonable income, they have all that [in Germany]. There is something else that drives people out here. One is the straight business side of it, the opportunities in this country. They see Australia as a market niche for something that they think they can do here.

The motivation for these people is to do something different than what they have done in the past. That's what some do, be independent, start from scratch again, they are building something up again, to prove to themselves that they can do it on the other side of the world.

Some start out completely new. The past executive who buys a farm. An alternative, the "greenies" exercise. They don't expressively say that, but you get the impression. To live in the country, away from industrialization. Hectic. And the weather, outdoor life. Most bring their family. Sometimes they have a special idea that they perhaps have seen on TV (Paul C.).

Both informants think that Australia does offer good business opportunities, especially for young persons, and thus regard the general motive of "better opportunities" as very "real":

A young man who is dynamic enough to conquer something, will discover that he can do much more here than in Germany. I could open a business in Germany but it would be very difficult because nobody would know me. I could only open a business if, for example, my father had one, or if I already had three or four influential customers. In Australia people knock on my door just as much as they do on the door of an old firm (Roland P.).

Harald V., on the other hand, thinks that the "search for more freedom" and "better business opportunities" are just fronts for a deeper motivation—an unspecified Angst. To him, Germany is not restricting anybody’s freedom, but instead is one of the richest and safest places to be. Pollution and overcrowding need to be dealt with appropriately, and not to be "run away from". He does not take the Neueinwanderer's Freiheitssuche (freedom-search) seriously. After all, he had known political persecution, war, poverty, and harsh treatment as a Displaced Person in Australia. He thinks that most Neueinwanderer are "escapists", who, instead of making amends with given circumstances, become scared and simply "run away" in the hope of finding a better place somewhere:
You see, the Germans after the war had nothing and they arrived here into a nothing. Through hard work, here and there [in Germany], they have achieved what they are today.

The people who come today are escapists. They are like small children. They run away. My granddaughter is three years old. A couple of days ago she woke at night and cried. She had cried because we previously had talked about the wolf. And this is how the recent immigrants are.

They cannot sleep ... You see, today, people think it is too small, too dirty [in Germany], and they think they will find a place where everything is different and where one can start all over again. They do not realize that there is no such place, but that they have to work for it.

Like Konrad L., Harald V. uses the allegory of a scared little child running away, or seeking the mother when describing Neueinwanderer motivations. For both informants, reasons such as "pollution" and "government interference" are only putative; they hide a psychological inability to resolve external threats and restrictions.

Evert B. also thinks that the above migration motivations are only used as a front to cover others. His work as a counsellor for German immigrants brings him into contact with persons who suffer from unsuccessful migrations and homesickness. Many of his clients have used immigration as a solution to personal problems, such as a marriage break-up, or a massive mid-life crisis:

I would say the economic reason for migration is not there anymore, for the past 15 years. I dare say, they come to over-come their mid-life crisis. It's a very vague term ... But this is the scenario: Everything runs smoothly in Germany. The first million is in the account, the children are older and may be going their own ways. Then they want to start afresh. There might be some difficulties, because the kids may want to stay, but nonetheless the Germans come. And they really start all over again. Find jobs that they never would have done at home, for example open a campground and scrub the toilets. They think it's great, to do all that from scratch. They completely establish themselves again. But sometimes the energy runs out.

Both Konrad L. and Evert B. dismiss the common motives of pollution, overcrowding, and Chernobyl as "fads". In their opinion, the immigrants use whatever the newspapers and public voices proclaim as German disasters to cover up motives such as mid-life crisis (Evert B.),
or reasons "one could only hear on the shrink's couch" (Konrad L.). Thus, in their opinion, migration motivations can only be explained in a cultural and psychological context.

However, both informants point out that inquiries for a possible immigration to Australia rise when there is a crisis such as Chernobyl. Therefore, they conclude, inherent sentiments of dissatisfaction or Angst are triggered by a crisis such as Chernobyl or the invasion of Afghanistan, which, then, cause people to migrate.

To these immigrants, Australia appears very desirable. It is seemingly removed from the dangers of an atomic catastrophe or nuclear war, it advertises itself as a country of wide open spaces and eternal sunshine, and prides itself on the friendliness of the people and their easy-going nature. Thus, Australia seems to offer a life-style that is not possible in Germany.

In addition to the young and middle-aged, many Germans immigrate after their retirement. In most cases their prime motive is to be with their children. However, this frequently has disastrous results, as Evert B. points out. A number of his clients have come for the above reason, and soon find themselves in dire need of help:

A lot of German immigrants try to overcome their guilt of leaving [home] by having their parents follow. Oma [Grandma] sells everything back in Germany and comes over--catastrophe! The old people first get on well with their kids, but never learn the language. Then, they become too much for the children, they are lonely--terrible! --and come to me. They have nothing, their money is gone, usually to help the kids, and they are terribly homesick.

The retirees, then, are stuck in Australia. They have no financial means to return to Germany, and they have no friends. They usually turn to the German Welfare Organization or the churches. Their only possible help is a place in the German-speaking senior citizen home.

2. The Move

The interviewees predominantly explore the immigration of businessmen. This is partially due to the fact, that the majority of informants work with this particular type of
immigrants, and partially due to the fact that business migrants are seen as the typical *Neueinwanderer*.

As previously mentioned, German immigrants know of the new laws that restrict independent immigration. Thus it is commonly assumed that business migrants are the only eligible group. It is commonly not known that, statistically, most immigrants enter the country under the family reunion program. Another possible immigration route is the sponsorship of an employer. But, as Paul C. explains, Germans prefer to immigrate under the business immigration category, because

... they want to have the status of someone who can stay as long as possible, and you can only get that if you have got a permanent residence status. And you can only get that through business migration. That is the highest category socially. People like to say: I don’t want to come here and work for an employer. They want to be independent, as they have been at home.

Both Roland P. and Paul C. experience the Germans to be the most meticulous and careful business migrants of all. They take a long time to research their options and make up their minds. They want to ensure that they will not have any financial or social losses. They want to leave certain things in Germany behind, but want everything they liked to be the same in Australia. Thus, they are not willing to compromise and often are too inflexible to understand that things are done differently in Australia. Therefore, they have more difficulties adjusting than, for example, Asian immigrants:

It takes a German much longer to plan a move. For example, the sale of a house takes much longer in Germany than in Hong Kong, because everything is much more regulated and long-term. In Asia everything is much faster. The mentality of the Asian people is different from the Germans. The Asian flies over quickly and says, “we’ll do it”. The German comes, thinks, checks it out, assures himself again, thinks again, sleeps one more time, and decides—or not (Roland P.).

The Germans prepare themselves very well, read up and study, go on information trips and ask for advice. They strive for security and guard themselves against all eventualities.
As far as I have experienced, they do prepare themselves on most fronts. Certainly, as far as businesses are concerned. They are required to prepare themselves [by the Department of Immigration], so the market research is always part of the exercise. They go to the Chamber of Commerce, ask around at private firms—they certainly have done their homework.

A little bit more difficult is the social side. Although they have been to other countries, they have been to America and Canada, I think it is more difficult to prepare for the social change here in Australia. A lot of these things cannot be described. But the immigrants do read up, prepare quite heavily. A lot come over several times, that's for sure. Sometimes, I am really surprised how much they know, and wonder how they got the information: where to live, which part of the country would be good for the kids and so on. Some are very good in English, and it doesn't take very long to become fluent (Paul C.).

However, often their acquired knowledge renders them too arrogant to take advice. Both Roland P. and Paul C. claim that the German migrants are the most difficult to deal with, "because they think they know everything better".

The Germans are the most difficult clients, because of their attitude. We have clients from eighteen countries. The Germans are very exact, down to the dot of the "i". That's ok, but they have great difficulties remaining open, adjusting. They immediately want to change something. They do not want to adapt, they want to reform everything (Roland P.).

According to the informants, this inflexibility and "know-all" attitude may become a hindrance for successful integration into the Australian culture. As Roland P. summarizes:

The German does not perceive that he is particularly criticizing the countries he migrates to.—He just wants to improve everything.

3. The Contrasts Between Expectations And Reality

All interviewees agree that most new immigrants have unrealistic expectations of their new country. Despite thorough preparations to ensure a successful immigration, many immigrants find that the dream of a new life does not turn out to be as rosy as was hoped.

According to the interviewees, there are two pervasive contrasts, conflicts or contradictions that they ascribe to other migrants. The first contrast is between immigrants’
expectations of Australia and the reality. When expectations are not congruent with reality there is disappointment and disillusionment. The second contrast is between immigrants' stated motivations and their actions after the move. This appears to be a contradiction, but is, of course, only a contradiction if the manifest rationales for migration are grounded.

The discrepancy between expectations and reality is exemplified by migrants' prior expectations about "pollution". Germans believe that Australia has a clean environment. In fact all major cities have major pollution problems (Elmar T.). Other unfulfilled expectations are, for example, that German educational degrees will be accepted, and that an individual's rights are more protected under Australian law than under German law:

> The law protects you much less here. It is for the rich people. In Germany the law protects. That is why the Australians rely so much more on a personal impression than on your papers: "do I like him, do I trust him?" It is the other way round in Germany. Many Germans were surprised here, they relied on the papers and lost a lot of money. I must say that the Germans are not very flexible in that respect (Roland P.).

Another example is immigrants' hope for a less restricting bureaucracy than the German (Konrad L.), and the later dawning realization that the Australian bureaucracy is actually worse:

> The freedom experienced as a businessman and as an individual in Australia is also a myth, because in some instances the police regulations are much stronger in Australia, for example the Tax Office can have insights into your bank account (Elmar T.).

And finally, there is the ultimate hopeful migration motive "for the children's sake": The parents leave Germany to offer a "better life" to their children. But, the children, in the process of growing-up and separating from home,

> go away as far as possible. The children often are back in Germany, The parents are lonely--it's a backlash effect. The children, the original reason to come here in the first place, are back on the other side (Evert B.).
The parents stay in Australia, because they have relinquished their German citizenship, because they cannot financially afford to return, or because of pride. Thus, they are stuck in Australia and become very lonely and bitter (Evert B.).

The second apparent contradiction identified by the informants is between immigrants' stated motivations for leaving Germany and their conduct in Australia. For example, Elmar T. mentions the desire to leave overcrowded Germany behind to enjoy "the wide and open spaces" of Australia. Most immigrants, however, settle in the big cities, predominantly Sydney and Melbourne. Thus, the dream of wide open spaces is lived out in the vast suburbs of Sydney:

They leave the country [Germany] because it is too crowded, but then they settle in one of the suburbs of Sydney - one of the biggest cities. There are no such big cities in Germany. Their daily life is suburban.

Evert B. describes a further migration motive which dissipates after the move—the desire to lead a "freer", alternative life in Australia. These initial efforts usually end in exhaustion or boredom. The original plan is pursued with a high amount of energy. Examples are immigrants who buy campgrounds or ranches, and have to engage in work, such as scrubbing toilets, that they would never have done back in Germany. Frequently, energy runs out. But, these immigrants will not admit to relatives and friends back in Germany that they have taken on more than they can handle. They go to great lengths to prove to themselves and to others that their chosen path is the right and the "free" one, when in fact, they "are miserable" (Evert B.).

Unrealistic expectations when combined with great enthusiasm and confidence can mean a very difficult adjustment period lies ahead:

For example, they write contracts the way they do in Germany. They don't listen when I tell them that a contract means something else here. They say: "a contract is a contract". They act like a smart aleck. I mean, a German can be in Australia for three days—I'm in business for twenty years, and he tells me how Australia functions (Roland P.).
When the reality of Australian life sets in the new immigrants become frustrated. A basic conclusion among all informants is that most new German immigrants to Australia are not happy, because their expectations are not fulfilled. This, of course, partially explains the divergence between words and actions. As migrants discover how unrealistic their expectations were they adjust. When they discover how harsh the outback really is, or how precarious an alternative lifestyle can be, they tend to end up in safe suburbs and ordinary jobs.

All informants agree that there are content and satisfied migrants. The implicit notion is that the happy migrants did not have false expectations, are more receptive to change, are prepared to work hard and stick together (Harald V.).

4. Adjustment

There are varying opinions about the incidence of successful adjustment among German immigrants. Konrad L. and Evert B. think that most immigrants do not adjust at all, but only pretend to. The other four interviewees would not agree with such a strong statement. They think that there are some successful immigrations, although no-one could estimate how many. They all believe, however, that most Germans do have significant adjustment difficulties.

Roland P., Paul C., and Elmar T. emphasize that thorough preparation, a willingness to be active and tolerance are important for a harmonious adjustment:

The Australians are different. They are laid-back, somewhat limited in how they want to enjoy life.--You have to be more patient here. A number of things do not happen, or take a long time. You have to be very active as a businessperson. This is what I refer to as "requirement for activity". Here, you cannot rely on information that is provided to you, or is automatically given to you: for example a bus-timetable. If you do that you are lost in Australia.--If you are after quality, you are able to find it, but you have to look for it. That again takes time and money. So, you have to do your research (Elmar T.).

Here the [Germans] have to show tolerance. Many Germans say that the Australians don't care. But it actually is, because the Australians are much more tolerant (Roland P.).
Elmar T. thinks that "some immigrants find Australia does not meet their particular needs". He carefully chooses his explanations, continuously emphasizing that it is his perception. He claims that all German immigrants, psychologically, tend to be outwardly positive about the migration. However, if "one digs deeper, one finds that some really are positive and some are not". In his view, this depends on the individual and to a certain degree on class:

The happy people are those who were able to improve their life-style, not necessarily the standard of living. For example, they like the beach, the bushwalking, horses to own and ride, and BBQ-parties. People with European standards of craftsmanship do very well financially here.

The people who claim to be positive, but deep down are not, have built up a psychological defense mechanism and tell themselves they are positive, when in fact, they have become quite critical of Australia. Those people whose life-style [in Germany] included a cultural challenge, who were more sophisticated, and have a wide horizon in conversation, arts, and history—[they] criticize that this particular challenge is not being met here.

Thus, Elmar T. implies that successful migration can be connected to the immigrants' class or status. Immigrants who are used to a sophisticated life-style and specific kinds of intellectual stimulation are less likely to enjoy Australia. They are looking for more than "beach, bushwalking and BBQ's". On the other hand, immigrants with a lesser educational background and with less demand for intellectual sophistication are quite successful and happy. They have a comparative advantage over their Australian colleagues because of their quality craftsmanship, are in high demand and, thus, can be financially more successful than in Germany. As Paul C. describes it: "small business people with a high standard in craftsmanship can make a good living in Australia".

According to the informants, those Neueinwanderer who feel intellectually under-challenged, also often find that their social position is in doubt. As Paul C. describes, the business migrants want to maintain their status and social prestige:
The reason to immigrate as a business migrant, is to maintain an independent status. The business migrants want Australia but they don't want to go down socially. They don't want to be on lower level than back home. But, some find out that they have done exactly that. All of a sudden they realize that, although they have all this money, and although they had maintained a high prestige in Germany, it's different here (Paul C).

When Neueinwanderer realize that money cannot guarantee them a high social position they begin to regret the immigration. As Paul C. points out:

All Germans, when they do decide to live here, have to change, they actually have to give up being German. They have to become Australian. If they are not prepared to make that step they become very bitter, or they will go back.

Konrad L. and Evert B. doubt that the majority of Germans could make such a commitment. Konrad L. believes that the immigrants always remain German at heart, even though, on the outside, they seem to integrate faster than other ethnic groups and "become 150% Australian". This view is consistent with a letter to the German newspaper "Die Woche". The author claims that he has built his own little world in Australia and is happy, but that he does need frequent visits with other Germans in order to "maintain his self-worth" (Die Woche 28.5.1989).

Konrad L., Elmar T. and Evert B., claim that many immigrants have built up a psychological defense mechanisms and suffer from self-denial. Konrad L. argues that the Neueinwanderer are simply not equipped to establish roots and make lasting contacts. Instead, they "prove" their happiness to friends and family in Germany by accumulating wealth. The reality and image are inverted; though they feel worse than in Germany, life in Australia is necessarily projected as "freer" and "better". The immigrants try to prove this by being perfect and by showing off. Evert B. calls this behaviour the "alemalic denial".

They don't think before they emigrate. They are naive. They do things here they would never do back home, for example, go as cleaning-ladies. They would never do that at home. Here, they pretend as if that was great. "Everything is so free here--you can do what you want." They emigrate to have a better life, then they do this!
That is the alemanic denial. The immigrants do not admit to themselves: "where have I landed here?" The reality is turned around. The question is, when does the energy run out?—When they get old.

He explains, in detail, the adjustment difficulties that many of his clients go through. His work brings him into contact with German-speaking immigrants of all origins and ages who seek help with their personal and financial problems. This experience means that he is in close contact with the daily lives, hopes and sorrows of German immigrants. (Of course, his "experience" is somewhat one-sided. Migrants without problems tend not to seek him out). Like Konrad L., he has quite a bleak and critical view of the Neueinwanderer:

Then, when they get older and the children have left, the Neueinwanderer have the big Krampf [urge] admitting to themselves that they might have made a mistake. That is expressed in Australienhass [hate on everything Australian]: The Australians are seen as stupid, idiots, rough—everything that's not good. The Germans are very bitter.

In addition to hate, immigrants begin to feel guilt for having "run away". Motivations such as "pollution" and "fear of war" suddenly seem to them to be signs of their own weakness rather than plausible and worthwhile reasons for migrating. As has been described before, Harald V., Konrad L. and Evert B. all compare Neueinwanderer to little children who are running away from the wolf and looking for a mother or father. The wolf is a symbol of the threats such as pollution, overcrowding, war and other "fad-crisis" that face Germany. Australia is the new parent and protector. When their personal lives turn out to be just as complicated in Australia as they were in Germany, the immigrants begin to resent their new homeland, regret their migration and feel guilty for having left. Evert B. explains:

The emigration is regarded and evaluated as negative. That is when you get Heimweh here, and suffering. The emigrants think that at home [in Germany] they are being considered as rats that left the sinking ship. It is like an unconscious separation from the father—but, many regard themselves as rats.
They suffer from a huge inferiority complex. This is expressed in the immense efforts these people undertake when they have visitors from Germany. The whole house is renovated, debts are taken out, all to prove themselves. And that goes for everybody. Everything has to be put on the table, to be shown off, only to prove "we have made it", "we have not made a mistake".

On top of that, they cannot accept what they have. If the visitors say: "well, that just looks like a gardenshed", then, they cannot say: "but that is all I ever wanted, a gardenshed." They then repeat the negative motivations why they left: environment, climate, war. The reasons always change, just what's the current fad and what's being proclaimed in the media. This is one way of dealing with the guilt of having left the fatherland.

Evert B. further claims that some Neueinwanderer become more "German" than they ever were in Germany, and that their children "have to carry the burden". This, in spite of the fact that the original reason for migrating was so that the children could have a new, and better, life. The children's lives are filled with references to Germany, the German language and German-made articles:

*An den Kindern soll die Auswanderung wieder gutgemacht werden* [the children have to set the emigration straight]. The kids have to learn German, they are being sent to the German language school, to German Sunday church school, and if they can financially afford it, they are being sent to Germany. Many immigrants become more German than they ever were at home. Terribly German, I mean really terribly. I remember one who told me very proudly: everything in my house is German, even the taps in the bathroom.

Ironically, as a consequence, many children resent their German heritage and frequently become "more Australian than the Australians". According to Evert B., they become everything the parents hate. The parents, then, lose the option of ever returning to Germany because it would mean leaving the children behind in Australia. Thus, their bitterness and hatred of anything Australian increases.

Evert B. claims that is when they turn to the German churches and German welfare organizations. Successful immigrants do not contact these organizations. Thus, as Evert B. concludes: "I only see the miserable. I'm sure there are plenty of happy immigrants."
5. Gender Roles

According to the interviewees, women seem to have greater difficulties in adjusting to Australia than men. However, under closer investigation, informants are not talking about women in general, but rather about a special category: wives of businessmen who do not work outside their homes. According to the informants, these women are almost all lonely and homesick. Their English is not very good and usually does not improve as fast as that of their husbands who are in constant contact with English-speaking co-workers. They seem to show a lesser willingness to adjust their educational qualifications to Australian requirements (Elmar T.), partially because of language difficulties and partially because they do not need to work for financial reasons (Paul C.).

Their problems are exacerbated by the nature of Australian friendships which tend not to be as intensive and "nosy" as in Germany (Roland P.). The women begin to miss the close contact of relatives and friends. Furthermore, the imperfections of Australian life (e.g. tardy buses), begin to wear on the German wives:

*The Australians don't chum up. If you like to make contacts you will not have any difficulties, but if you wait, nothing happens. It is especially difficult for the women. And suddenly they miss what has been a matter of course back home: there, trains are on time... There, [in Germany] people complain much more because they expect perfection (Roland P.).*

According to Paul C., German wives miss the social recognition they are used to in Germany. In the more hierarchical and socially rigid Germany their social position was closely linked to their husbands' professional and financial standing. In Germany, especially in smaller towns, the wives of pharmacists, dentists, bank managers and the like enjoy relatively high social prestige, they are clearly distinct from the working class. In Australia, this social recognition is not duplicated.
Some women in particular, I noticed, have problems with that. Wives of business migrants, who are lacking social recognition, or perhaps the status that they used to have in Germany. Because people here don't care: you've got money, so what! (Paul C.).

6. Return Migration--The "Boomerang Germans"

All interviewees, except Paul C., believe that return migration is high. Some think that the reasons for returns can be found in migrants' inabilities to overcome the contrast between expectation and reality, and the adjustment difficulties that come with the gap (Konrad L., Harald V., Evert B. and Roland P.). These Germans are nicknamed Boomerang Germans (Konrad L.).

Return migration is relatively high because: (a) people imagine too much, [they think] that everything is going to be sunny when you migrate; (b) [they don't expect] that the call from Aunt Emma which was a bother back home, is going to be missed here; (c) the men have a profession while the women sit at home in the suburbs without friends (Roland P.).

Paul C. thinks that return migration of business migrants appears to be low, because they never take out Australian citizenship. Thus, they can travel back and forth between the two countries, without ever making a final migration decision:

For business migrants I think the return migration is very low. You don't have to give up your German citizenship. The permanent resident status allows you to stay as long as you want. If you take up Australian citizenship you have to give up the German one. Predominantly business people maintain their German citizenship. They like to be prepared for all eventualities.

There are no official statistics for return migration. Thus, comments on return migration can only be speculative. Judging from both informal conversations with German migrants and the discussions in the Sydney German newspaper, many immigrants continue to consider the pros and cons of a return indefinitely. Evert B. goes as far as to claim: "I think, most people would want to return eventually, if they only could."
7. Relationships With Other Germans

There is widespread agreement that previous migrant cohorts definitely had different reasons for immigrating, and that they had very different immigration experiences. Harald V. neatly summarized this when he said that the Alteinwanderer came "from a nothing with nothing into a nothing". The new migrants, on the other hand, are in a very different situation. They come from a rich country, but are not content with what they have had there. They are looking for something better but are not prepared to work for it. This negative assessment is repeated by Evert B.:

The new immigrants do not form groups. They don’t want to have anything to do with each other. The old ones say, we have built everything up, we had a tough time while the new ones don’t have anything to suffer.

8. Choice of Country

Some informants comment on how and why German migrants choose a specific country. According to Elmar T., both Canada and Australia are preferred immigration destinations for German businessmen. The USA, apparently, is usually seen as too overwhelming, too crowded and too crime ridden.

The reasons why businessmen choose Canada are: (1) because it is part of the North American market, especially now, and (2) because it is closer to Germany, climatically and geographically. The reasons for choosing Australia are: (1) the sun and the lack of grey skies, and (2) the wide open spaces.

Canada seems to be more attractive for those who want to do serious business within North America and in the European market. According to Paul C. those who tend to be driven by life-style questions prefer Australia, because of the better climate, and because of its remoteness from American influences.
All of this is within a context of some ignorance, especially in the case of Australia. Migrants tend to underestimate the variance within both countries: Australian migrants tend not to be aware of the dampness and coolness in Melbourne and Sydney; Canadian migrants (for example, those who have "scouted" Ontario) can be unaware of the mildness of BC or PEI. Some of this reflects the insularity of migrants moving from a relatively small country to continental countries and some the difficulty of comprehending some of the consequences of the big distances.

2. CANADIAN NARRATIVES

Six informants in Vancouver also were closely involved with the German immigrants. These informants are:

Ian S., a Baltic German, migrated immediately after the Second World War from Lithuania. He is a board member of a German cultural organization.

Mia L., a writer and member of several German organizations, arrived in 1950 from what is now Gdansk, Poland.

Heinrich L. works as a counsellor for German senior citizens. He was born in a German community in the United States, worked in Germany for twenty years, and migrated "back to the North American continent" in 1986.

Bernhard S. is a social worker dealing with old and new immigrants. Eight years ago, he left his tenured job in Germany and migrated with his Texan wife and two children from Munich.

August P., a business consultant for German immigrants, stayed on after a temporary work contract.

Johann S., an engineer, advises German immigrants on their real estate purchases. He arrived in 1965 on a student exchange and stayed.
1. Motivations

As in Australia, the informants describe predominantly one type of new immigrant: the wealthy business migrant. And as in Australia, informants cite environmental and political concerns as the major motives for leaving Germany.

From 1975 on, you'll find the ones with political or military Angst [fear]. I would say that was a major reason between 1974 and 1984. That is when the Containerdeutschen started to immigrate. They came with all securities. That of course, has been pure military Angst. These are, shall we say, conservative people, who fear Soviet communism (Bernhard S.).

Now they say they come because of pollution, you know, when all the seals die in the North Sea, the forests are dying, acid rain. Of course we have that too, but that's what they'll say (Mia L).

But all informants think that these motivations are only secondary—they are only superficial. As Mia L. explains, Neueinwanderer are mainly interested in buying and investing in real estate. Reasons such as pollution and fear of war are only fronts. According to her and the other informants, Canada's wide open spaces attract a certain group of wealthy businessmen and retirees, the Containerdeutsche. Jan S. and Mia L. explain:

Nowadays, only investors and their families [are immigrating]. One says that for every immigrant you'll have ten to follow... They buy large amounts of land, just like the Hong Kong people. Land is relatively cheap here for the Germans, in comparison to Germany, for example Braunschweig. It is very easy to purchase an orchard for relatively little money. Many areas are forgotten by the Canadians, that is where the Germans move in, they don't buy in the overcrowded regions. Penticton is full of Germans, but you cannot count them (Jan S.).

I can tell you why the Germans are still immigrating. They buy houses. Do you know the guy who is playing the commissioner on TV? He lives here and flies back every four weeks to shoot another sequel. All those people who have money. Peter Alexander, Catharina Valente, Tony Martens, Heino, [all German entertainers] when they are here on tour, they inquire where they can buy houses.--I can also tell you why they like it here. Because the country is wide, the people are generous, you can do what you want. People are not that aggressive [here]. In Germany people are all so terrible..., well, there is no friendliness, people bang the doors, everything is zack, zack. And when they are on holidays here, many see how friendly the people are here, how helpful—which comes naturally to the Canadian. This is what attracts the people (Mia S.).
Many *Neueinwanderer* not only buy real estate for mere investment or leisure, but to combine a life-style and business ventures. This type of migrant is described as typically being in their forties or fifties, who have made large sums of money in Germany. They want to buy into a new life-style that is both romantic and adventuresome on the one hand, and seemingly financially secure on the other. Some preferred businesses are helicopter-skiing, fishing lodges and stud-ranches.

Go to the Chilcotin, whole stud-farms have migrated there—nobody knows about it. There is a Duchess Wittgenstein with a very famous stud-farm. Furthermore, people are interested in buying Lodges—positioned on a lake. They fly the tourists into the area and offer hunting and fishing. It’s a Mecca for them. The Chilcotins are relatively close and business is thriving (Jan S.).

These wealthy retirees entering the country are initially primarily interested in retirement homes. However, some become restless and start new ventures on the side:

Some come because the doctor told them to take it easy, like J. who came, because he was going to die of a heart attack in Germany (Bernhard S.).

There are several of my clients who take early retirement and clip coupons—very simple. Or they draw a disability pension and live here. Of course, if you are a dentist or medical doctor and draw a disability pension which is very high, it is easy. Some pensioners come, bring their children and help them to establish a business here. Others come to retire, get bored and start a little business themselves.—Then there are retirees who move here with their second or third wife, who are mostly younger. These guys want to move as far away from Germany as possible (August P.).

All informants acknowledge that there are "many more immigrants that just filter into the Canadian system who you don’t know about" (Bernhard S.), such as Germans who marry Canadians (August P.), and "Germans who evade the law in Germany" (Heinrich L.). Some, as Bernhard S. explains:

... come in the spirit of adventure. It is very important for the world, that there are some like that.

The informants tacitly assume that most *Neueinwanderer* do not really immigrate, but instead simply move. These immigrants buy into a new country and a new life-style. They do not
give up their German pensions, apartments, houses, and business connections. Mentally and physically, they remain strongly connected to Germany. These Neueinwanderer bring all the amenities with them, and strive to recreate a German atmosphere in their Canadian homes and backyards.

A lot of people plan their retirement here, buy a house but only live here for five or six months of the year, mostly in the summer. The rest of the year they spend back in Germany because they still have to work in their dentistry or medical practice (August P.).

Many continue travelling between both worlds. They do not participate in Canadian public life, and are not interested in the established German institutions and clubs in Vancouver.

2. The Move

There are not many references to the actual migration process. As Johann S. points out, and as all the other interviewees imply, recent immigrants use their wealth to ensure an uncomplicated migration. For many, official immigration simply means a permit to acquire a nice retirement place. For others, it offers the opportunity to do business in both countries and juggle taxes and investments away from the rigid German bureaucracy (Heinrich L.). August P. describes a "typical scenario":

This is a frequent picture. First they come and buy a farm, they are about 40 or 50, second or third wife, buy a ranch in Vanderhoof or wherever, a little airplane on the side. That is nice, he can fish and hunt, has a boat in the water, everything in the house is perfect, it has all the amenities. Then, after two or three years, they begin to say, what can we do now. So they look for a little business, something they can dabble in. Some move to Vancouver and keep the ranch on the side.

Thus, the move is not traumatic. Everything has been planned beforehand and any adaptations to the plan are evaluated very carefully. As Johan S. puts it:
German businessmen are quite astute, very conservative. They never just buy, at least the ones I know. I am approached by German lawyers with a request for an evaluation of a building. Seems to be normal with Germans, I never had a request from a Canadian client. That makes me believe that they are quite conservative.

The house is often bought before the actual move. But the immigration is not final, it is a try-out; the option to return to Germany is always there:

It is not that they give everything up over there. They leave their influence over there. They say, if it doesn’t work out here, we’ll go back. They still keep their apartment or house over there (Mia L.).

3. The Contrasts Between Expectations And Reality

The Canadian interviewees hardly addressed this theme. Only Jan S. mentions that the Germans often incorrectly equate "wide open spaces" with easy accessibility. For example, the Fraser Valley offers the desired breadth and wilderness, but unlike in Germany, there are few lanes and paths to wander and hike along. All informants emphasize that most migrants know their destination well, because they have visited many times before the actual move.

4. Adjustment

Canadian Interviewees spent little time talking about adjustment difficulties. Rather it is assumed that the new immigrants have the financial means to overcome most adjustment problems--they travel frequently back and forth between Germany and Canada (Jan S., Mia L., Bernhard S.); they are able to buy everything they need for a comfortable life-style, and they import German goods to recreate a German atmosphere:
Germans have very high quality expectations. When they build or buy buildings they have a very high standard of quality which, of course, is based on the fact that in Germany they build in stone and for generations to come, while here, the expectancy of a family to stay in a house is three years. I had a German client, who said we have to do something about this *Bretterbude* [wooden shack]. He spent a lot of money in covering the entire building with solid rock facing, so the house would no longer look like a *Bretterbude*, but like a solid German house. The fact is he still lives in a wooden house. I had another client who wanted a Bavarian loghouse in his backyard, so he could simulate a Bavarian beergarden. The dealers fly back and forth between Germany and Canada to get the right doors, taps and furniture (Johann S.).

Thus, *Neueinwanderer* continue their accustomed life-style and enjoy the added Canadian touches:

They spend their days going golfing. Or, for example Mr. and Mrs. K., they go south for a couple of months. They all have money. They grab a lot of money together in Germany and then they leave (Mia L.).

Many retirees have retired early, either because they were too sick to continue working and now are able to draw a large disability pension or had accumulated enough capital to afford a change in business and life-style.

The *Neueinwanderer* made their fortunes in Germany. Basically they are ready to retire, but they want to retire somewhere where they can do something (Johann S.).

K., for example, had to retire early and came here for health reasons, took a long breather and then bought a farm in Williams Lake, because he became restless just sitting in his West Vancouver house. B., for example, still has a pub in Munich. He goes over there twice a year (Bernhard S.).

As has been pointed out before, many *Neueinwanderer* never fully move, but maintain two homes, one in Germany and one in Canada. As Bernhard S. explains:

I know people who really live between two worlds: half a year here and half a year there. Pensioned dentists, physicians, scientists and businessmen. They have earned enough and now lead one life here and one over there. They say, if something happens over there, then we'll still have a refuge in Canada.
Some [Neueinwanderer] want to make more money. West Pender [Street] is in German hands. They invest their money there, buy houses, gamble in real estate. And if you have your hand in that, then you’ll have to come over here. They have immigrated so that they can hop back and forth. I know of someone who lives in Germany for about six months of the year. His family is here. He buys large pieces of land in B.C. and develops them. The investors are in Germany.

Whether these Neueinwanderer live here full- or part-time, they all tend to socialize mainly with other Germans from similar educational, professional and financial backgrounds. They do not seek contacts with Canadians. But, nor do they join German-Canadian institutions. As Bernhard S. and Johann S, explain, they have created a little enclave in a prestigious part of Vancouver, where they meet on social occasions in their backyards, golf and tennis clubs.

Some of my clients live in that area. There is a group, a little group, called Stammtisch. The way I see it—they are a number of different people. All of them have German background, either German or German-Canadian. Some of them are active businessmen. A greater number are immigrants who came over here, brought their money, play golf, do some business investment. They don’t have a job, they look after their investments. There are quite a few of them around (Paul C.).

Bernhard S. offers this description:

You see, a lot of them all live over there in West Vancouver. The whole High Snobiety. They all get to know each other through the golf club, or because they are neighbours, or the Stammtisch. They see each other regularly. Five or six years ago, you didn’t have any Chinese people move into this area. The only foreigners were German. They have the money, they get to know each other working in the garden, at parties.

Apart from their own elite circle, Neueinwanderer do not have many contacts with other German immigrants. They do not join the German clubs and institutions. Mia L. thinks that this is an expression of the migrants desire to maintain their perceived class differential:

The new immigrants do not join the clubs, they think they are of a higher rank. But I can understand that. In the club, there is dschingarsa bumm bumm [oom-pah-pah], people drink, they [the new immigrants] don’t feel comfortable.

They go to the receptions of the consulate. Whenever there is an occasion—they will go to it. There, they feel like belonging to the upper 10,000. They go to every reception, no matter what it is.
Bernhard S. also thinks that *Neueinwanderer* avoid the *Alteinwanderer's* organizations because of class: "The High Snobiety stays in West Vancouver among themselves. Maybe they will join St. Mark's church". St. Mark's Lutheran church is the only church that still, every year, gains new members through immigration.

Most immigrants are successful in their business ventures. According to Jan S., Germans can find niches where they have a competitive advantage over Canadians:

They [the Canadians] don't have any confectioners and pastry-cooks here, because they don't have any schools.--The people working in hotels are all German. Canadians cannot think in another language. Those [Germans] who invested in the ski-areas, for example Helicopter-skiing in Windermere, that was brilliant. Many tried to copy that. But the Canadians are not flexible, they are terribly inflexible. That is to the advantage of the immigrants.

However, the informants also tell of failed business ventures. But, they attribute these failures either to the immigrants' naivete and dreamy attitude (August P.) or to their arrogance and unwillingness to take advice (Jan S.). None of the interviewees attributed these failures to any particular condition in Canada.

For example, I have an older couple here, came when they were 50, meanwhile they lost their money. Usually people have a good business [in Germany], and want to retire here, because it is a nicer environment--or whatever. Then they spend their money on a stud-farm and lose it. These people have Jugendträume, [youth-dreams] and realize those. [They] buy a ranch and go broke (August P.).

For example Graf T.--I was his advisor and counsellor, but they didn't want to be advised, they knew everything better. Many who wanted to see visible success right away have lost everything (Jan S.).

Some do have difficulties. I know someone who wanted to open a spa where you can have a mud-bath, you know, like in Germany. Well, he had imagined it all too simple. He lost everything. I mean, you need doctors and everything. But he did not get any support. When he told me about his idea, I said: that is fantastic, just like in Germany, everything will be paid by the medical plan--the government will say: we send that person to a spa. But he didn't succeed, his money is gone. He is still here, they were able to save the house. They are selling health cosmetics now, keeping their heads above water (Mia L.).
Only Bernhard S. addressed the issue of a person's unhappiness about immigration. To him, unhappiness is a state of mind and attitude. An unhappy immigrant would be unhappy no matter where he lived. He also thinks that some immigrants are unable to consciously complete the immigration process and to commit themselves to the new country:

Unhappiness lies in the nature [of a person]. There are some who sit at home and dream of far away places, and when they are in such places then they dream of home. They never live at the place where they actually are. ... Many have not found themselves here, and they cannot totally give themselves either, they have a Mischi-Maschi existence. I don't think it is right [to live in both countries]. I mean, the German heritage, the German soil, the German origin remains with me. But, on the other hand, you can only find joy in life if you say "yes" to Canada.

As has been previously mentioned, Bernhard S. counsels German immigrants on personal questions. Like his Australian colleague, he observes feelings of guilt or shame among his clients. For example, immigrants who left Germany because they feared a Russian invasion feel guilty about having left relatives and friends, and indeed, Germany, the fatherland, itself. Or, they feel ashamed for having "run away", and not having assessed the situation correctly. Thus they have to assure themselves constantly that their move was justified:

They say they were afraid of the Russians. Of course they now feel a certain insecurity, now that the world unravels, or adjusts (4). Many are saying: Maybe I emigrated for nothing. They are ashamed for being so stupid. But then you can feel, how they try to convince themselves by saying: oh well, it will probably start again. I think that der Wunsch ist der Vater des Gedankens [the wish is the father of the thought], so that their emigration cannot be contested. You can feel that. They would never say so, because that would not be a Christian thing to do.

There can be a reaction of defiance. It can be very strong. I meet those who return from a holiday in Germany and see only bad things over there. They have to convince themselves - like a little girl in the woods who is afraid. Everything has to be bad over there, otherwise they could not bear to live here.

4. The interview took place two weeks before the wall between East and West Germany came down.
That is why I always say: you can judge a true immigrant by the way he talks about the visit back home. There are three possibilities: either everything is pink, or everything is black, and then I know he's got problems. It's very close together. The third is to differentiate. People in the first category not only polish their house when they have visitors, they also tell everybody back home [in Germany] that everything is pink here - just as undifferentiated.

Bernhard S. also points out that it is easy enough for most to overcome homesickness and unhappiness by either visiting Germany or even moving back permanently.

6. Return Migration

Bernhard S. explains that new immigrants find it easier to return to Germany than the old. They have the financial means to simply pack up and move back:

The new immigrants find it easier to enter the country, and leave again, than the old immigrants. The latter often have told me that if they had had the money back then, they would have returned. But when they could afford it, they didn’t want to anymore.

Others have been here for a year, and found everything to be Mist [manure] - I had a guy from Cologne. He thought everything was rotten, he never seized the challenge of the new. He will go back and tell negative things about Canada. He will not be a wanderer between two worlds.

Some Neueinwanderer oscillate between each countries. After their migration to Canada, they imagine new advantages in Germany and move back. Once there, they see new disadvantages and return to Canada again:

I have heard of some, who returned to Germany. But they came back because they didn't like it any more over there. It had become too crowded for their liking.—Just now, a family went back for a vacation and they loved it. They are enthusiastic, especially because there is a feeling for the environment in Germany. They might go back when they retire. I also have a family whose three daughters are all in Germany. They would stay if they could find work. In their case, they would stay because of the Kulturleben. Many people say that they miss Kultur here. (Heinrich L.).
7. Relationships With Other Germans

All interviewees state that there is hardly any interaction between old and new immigrants. The new immigrants keep to themselves, while the Alteinwanderer run the German social clubs and institutions.

Both Jan S. and Bernhard S. explain that Alteinwanderer used to hide, or deny, their German heritage. However, over the past decade or so, Alteinwanderer have again become increasingly proud of their heritage. This is demonstrated, for example, in the establishment of organizations that are supposed to promote German culture and German business, such as the German-Canadian Congress. Bernhard S. attributes this change to a psychological change that comes with age, and to the fact that the Germans no longer are objects of public dislike:

After the Second World War, many people hid their nationality. Today, they don't do that anymore. There are two reasons for that: (a) when people get older, they have a greater need to accept their roots. In general, it is a nostalgic phase of looking back in order to find oneself; (b) because of the immigration of Asians, we are not the enfant terribles anymore. Now, when the Canadians are worried about their identity, it is because of these immigrants. The Germans are now accepted as full partners, especially economically. Van der Zalm, a Dutchman himself, calls me up and wants to have more Germans.

Neueinwanderer, on the other hand, have never hidden their nationality: "You can see the German cars with their bumper stickers saying: 'I'm from Stuttgart'. Over the last ten years they made themselves known" (Bernhard S.). But, although Neueinwanderer are happy to make themselves known individually as Germans, they do not take part in organized German activities and do not join German institutions:

Some do, for example K. joined the German-Canadian Congress. But then they quickly resign, because they do not find any support among their fellow new immigrants. They may go to church, but they are not active (Bernhard S.).

Mia L., an active member of various Alteinwanderer institutions, thinks that the clubs and institutions have to change in order to attract both Neueinwanderer and young Germans. The present clubs are "old-fashioned, the amusement is out of date". She, and Jan S., would like to see

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financial support from the German government, so they can put on programs that promote modern German culture. However, the German government categorically refuses to fund any programs or institutions run by German immigrants:

The German government does not support our ethnic institutions. They [the German government] say, you have emigrated out of your own free will. We are not interested in you anymore. It’s not like the Italians who get money from their government to promote Italy. It’s good for both sides. But the Germans don’t think that way.

Thus, as most informants predict, the German institutions and clubs in Vancouver will dwindle and, probably, eventually die out. The small group of wealthy Neueinwanderer will continue to amuse each other, while the majority of new immigrants will assimilate directly into Canadian society.

3. COMPARISON BETWEEN AUSTRALIAN AND CANADIAN NARRATIVES

The Australian and Canadian ethnographic interviews offer a description of German new immigrants as given by Germans working with immigrants. These descriptions reflect, to a certain extent, the "common knowledge" of Germans in Australia and Canada about other German immigrants. It is impossible to draw clear borders between knowledge which is widely shared, knowledge which has common knowledge elements, and knowledge which is known purely in the realm of individual experience.

The views expressed in the interviews on the new immigrants are consistent with views I also heard in many informal conversations and that I read in the "Letters to the Editor" of the Australian weekly Die Woche. For example, the common image of the new immigrants is one of a wealthy middle-aged man and his family, who is affluent enough to qualify for an immigration and buy a new life-style.
Interviewees that have the same kind of work naturally tend to have similar knowledge that is not generally known by Germans as a group. For example, the notaries and business consultants know about specific bureaucratic and legal pitfalls that new immigrants encounter and which frustrate them. They also tend to have specific knowledge about immigration "dodges". The counsellors tend to be more familiar with psychological problems and adjustment difficulties.

In summary common knowledge is a tool to describe what Germans in Australia and Canada think about new immigrants. Furthermore, it can also clarify commonalities and disparities between what Germans think about migration in Australia and Canada.

A major finding is that in both countries the descriptions of Neueinwanderer's migration motivations are broadly similar. However, interviewees in the two countries differ in their assessments of Neueinwanderer's adjustment processes. In Australia German migrants appear to have much greater adjustment difficulties than in Canada, at least as reported by the "professionals".

In both countries, the typical "new immigrant" is described as a wealthy businessman or investor. The interviewees claim to be quite able to distinguish between motivations that are "in fashion", such as environmental and political problems, and those that the Neueinwanderer "will not tell", such as mid-life crisis, Angst, business-affairs and a new life-style.

In both countries Neueinwanderer collect as much information as possible—including one or several information trips—before they physically migrate. The immigrants are aware that their immigration need not be final and that they can choose to return anytime. Thus, some informants resist to become Australianized or Canadianized, while others prefer to see themselves as global citizens, and do not want to fit into any particular ethnic category.
The informants addressed the themes 1. Motivation and 4. Adjustment with the same frequency in Australia and Canada. They address the two core research questions: "Why do people migrate?", and "What happens when they do?". These questions were known to the informants before the interviews were conducted. Therefore, the informants could prepare and think about these questions beforehand. The other themes emerged in the conversation between interviewees and researcher.

Various forms of investment very clearly are the outstanding motivation in the Canadian interviews. Investment can mean buying a business, buying real estate or it can mean buying altogether a new life-style. Sometimes it means both. Thus, the purpose of investment is often not purely profit-oriented, but rather is geared to creating a comfortable and care-free, yet adventuresome, life-style. This opinion is also expressed in Australia.

The Australian interviewees differ from the Canadians in their assessment of Neueinwanderer's adjustment processes. The Australian informants claim that most Neueinwanderer have major adjustment problems and are generally unsuccessful in their migration. The Canadian interviewees, on the other hand, claim that Neueinwanderer in Canada generally do not have major adjustment problems and are successful immigrants.

The Australian informants believe that adjustment difficulties result from the Neueinwanderers' naivety and snobbish attitudes. These factors render them unprepared for the major cultural differences between Australia and Germany, despite their thorough information. Thus, their expectations clash with the reality of Australia. Therefore, it is not surprising that "The Contrasts between Expectations and Reality (theme 3.)" and "Return Migration (theme 6.)" are much more frequently discussed in Australia than they are in Canada. But it is also, I think, reflective of the Australian informants' more negative and critical view of Neueinwanderer. This may be because they believe that they observe much
hypocrisy in that although many migrants are unhappy, they refuse to face up to this, especially in front of German visitors.

Interviewees in Canada, on the other hand, are more positive in their assessments. Criticisms tend to be restrained and ironic, rather than accusatory. They are convinced that most immigrants are content with life in Canada. They acknowledge that there may be some migrants who regret their decision, some who are unhappy and some who return, but they view this behaviour as normal and understandable. In Canada, discontent of German immigrants is thought to be psychological and not rooted in aspects of Canadian life.

The Australian informants emphasize the fact that the wives of business migrants particularly have to deal with adjustment difficulties. Again, these difficulties are rooted in the cultural differences between Germany and Australia. The women are not prepared for the loss of social prestige that they had enjoyed, through their husbands, in Germany. Furthermore, the absence of friends and relatives increases feelings of isolation and loneliness. In Canada, the informants do not think that the wives of business migrants have gender specific adjustment problems, and thus "Gender Roles (theme 5.)" are not emphasized.

In both countries all these informants think that environmental and governmental concerns are only pretenses for intensely private motivations such as a "massive mid-life crisis". As Evert B. explains:

They have everything, have made their first million, and they are looking for a new challenge. Others realize that they have spent the first twenty years of their working lives, sweating their hearts out--heart-attack. The marriage breaks up. There are no friends, because there was never any time. So they sit back, the doctor tells them to relax and so they try a new life, in a new country, often with a new wife.

This scenario seems to be familiar to the interviewees in both Sydney and Vancouver. The difference is that the dream of solitude and an alternative life-style combined with
continuous involvement in business seems to be possible in Canada, whereas it is much harder to realize in Australia.

As already mentioned above, there are first of all the unexpected socio-cultural differences between Australia and Germany. Canadian culture appears to be more similar to the German culture than does Australian culture. This difference is historically rooted, as was explained in the previous chapter. Australian culture has grown out of the continent's isolation, the harshness of its climate and geography, its history that closely links it with the British Empire, and the specific immigration policies from the times of the early convict settlers to the abolition of the "White-Only Policy" in 1972.

Thus, German immigrants in Australia typically suffer a massive culture shock. They do not expect either the country or the climate to be that much different from Germany. They do not expect that "the blue skies and sun" of their dreams means searing heat and flies in the interior, and cold, rainy winters along the East coast. They do not expect, that only a small part of Australia is actually inhabitable and, therefore, the dream of wide open spaces remains just that, a dream. These contrasts between expectations and reality are too much for some of the migrants. As one informant states:

They live in self-denial. They cannot accept it, so they want to change it. If that doesn't work, they build their own niche and start bitching and complaining about the Australians—or they go back.

In addition, Canada is geographically closer to Germany than Australia. It is easier to "commute" between Canada and Germany and thus control business ventures in both countries. In fact, some *Neueinwanderer* even live in both Canada and Germany. These arrangements are more difficult to undertake for German migrants in Australia. In addition to a longer travelling time, German migrants have to deal with greater bureaucratic hassles. As Paul C. explains:
If you are not a citizen and you want to leave the country, for a holiday or whatever, you have to obtain a return visa. That means, although it is easy to get, you do have the hassle. For businessmen who go frequently, it is a nuisance. The government policy is, you should live here, and you should possibly also become a citizen. They [the business migrants] are encouraged to do so, but they don't like the idea very much. I personally believe, that if they could, they would have one leg here only. The Australian government doesn't like it. ... You have to give a so-called "Statement of Intent". You have to say, in writing, I, so and so, want to stay and live in Australia and totally commit myself to the country. Ultimately, they [the government] can hold that against you, Certainly, they could in a tax sense. I think it would be difficult for anyone to come Australia and not live here. You may be able to travel. But it would be difficult to fulfill your commitment that you had in the first place.

Thus, business migrants to Australia face more obstacles if they want to conduct business and pleasure in both Germany and Australia. When that realization sets in after the move, these factors may contribute to a feeling of discontent and unhappiness about the migration.
The individual experience of German migrants is explored through the interpretation of twenty-five narratives. The focus is upon the informants own subjective immigration experiences. As outlined in Chapter I, this study views migration as a comprehensive, recursive process of decision making, action and adaptation to a new environment.

Individual migration motivations of Germans to Australia have also been central in the studies of Martin Luthke and Arthur Cropley (1989, 1990) and Folkert Lüthke (1989). They focus on the psychological underpinnings of the migration process and establish specific personality types that are more prone to migration than others. Although they use a different theoretical approach, their basic research question—why do the Germans still emigrate?—is similar to the one posed in this study. Thus, I briefly review Cropley, Luthke and Lüthke’s studies to provide a base for comparing their findings with this study.

Similarly to my field findings, the authors observe two sets of motivations. There are "public motives" that migrants readily express to family and friends, and "private motives" that migrants usually keep to themselves (see also: Beijer, Hofstede & Wentholt 1961). Although the latter can sometimes be unclear or even sub-conscious to the migrants, they are frequently "more relevant to the decision and action than the public motives" (Lüthke 1989:98). The following list of 15 motives (from a total of 32) results from a questionnaire distributed to 500 German applicants for Australian immigration (Lüthke 100):
The authors further observe that many Germans are interested in emigrating overseas, but few people actually do. According to a 1981 demographic poll by the Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, an average of 21%, or eleven million of the, then, West-German population was interested in emigrating. However, only an average of 24,500 persons, or 0.05%, per year actually emigrated between 1970 and 1984. If there are so many potential migrants, why, the authors ask, do only very few migrate? The answer, they hypothesize, lies in the individual’s personality types combined with certain psychodynamic motives that distinguish immigrants from non-immigrants.

The authors view migration largely as a psychological process that involves the dissolution of attachments to objects at the place of origin, and the establishment of object relations at the place of destination:
We postulate that the entire process of migration—including motivation, decision making, adaptation and (sometimes) return migration—can be conceptualized from an "object relationist" perspective. The reader may find it relatively easy to see that a successful adaptation of the migrant in a new place eventually requires the establishment of (positive) relations to the people and characteristics of the new environment; it may also seem intuitively reasonable to assume that old attachments must be transformed or given up should the migrant resettle. But how can an object relationist perspective account of the fact that some people voluntarily leave their family, their friends, and their country? (Luthke & Cropley 1989:12)

Their research is based on both, a "comparison study", and a "longitudinal study" with about 600 German immigrants to Australia over a period of four years. In the former, the researchers looked at migration decision making. They compared a group of Germans who had applied for an immigrant visa to Australia, and a matched control group who had made no such application. In the latter study, they investigated the process of adaptation in Australia, by comparing questionnaire and interview data from a group of actual immigrants at different times before and after the move.

The result of the comparison study can be summarized as follows: the effect of personality variables on interest in emigrating (i.e. "ties to the homeland", "respect for parents", "conflict with parents", "wanderlust", "angstlust" "political engagement", "liking of food") appears substantially greater than that of opinions about living conditions in Australia and Germany. While many people share a same opinion or sentiment about economic, environmental and political conditions, they differ on a number of psychological variables:

Voluntary migration is often found to be motivated by (a) the pleasure derived from leaving home or a desire to achieve greater separation, individuation, and independence from uncomfortable relations; (b) a characterological propensity to seek thrills and challenges, to rely on one's own skills, and to prefer new frontiers, open vistas, and wide (interpersonal) spaces; (c) a desire to distance oneself from the burden of acute oedipal conflicts; and (d) an attempt to obtain access to, relive, and heal interpersonal traumata. These elements are held together by the common thread of a developmental perspective focusing of object relations. This perspective has the advantage that it can potentially accomodate a wide range of phenomena encountered in the study of migration:

The result of the longitudinal study, according to the authors, confirm the above findings and further state that the same personality variables responsible for the decision to migrate also determine the degree of satisfaction in Australia, and the subjective attitudes towards the new and the old homeland. Immigrants who are more able to loosen ties with family and friends and leave possessions behind have an easier time adjusting than people who have difficulties leaving their trusted environment. External factors such as language and employment status seem to play a secondary role to the internal psychological make-up of the immigrant:

... dissatisfied new immigrants already distinguished themselves from satisfied immigrants prior to their immigration. This result emphasizes the relativity [Relativität] of "external" or "objective" factors in the entire migration process (Lüthke 1989:331).

Luthke & Cropley (1989, 1990), and Lüthke (1989) show that non-economic factors play an equal, if not, at times, greater role in the decision making process than economic factors. Furthermore, they show that most people do not make rational choices in the economic sense, but instead follow subjective intuitions, feelings and thought processes. These elementary findings are shared with those in this study.

However, I do not share the view that the migration process is determined by personality types. If that were so then all immigrants to Canada should have similar migration experiences as immigrants to Australia. Adjustment processes in Canada should be similar to those in Australia. However, as the comparison of the Australian and Canadian interviews shows, there indeed is a difference between the two countries, and external circumstances such as climate, proximity or remoteness to Germany, and degree of culture shock all play a role.

The events and sequences in the process of migration seem to differ between the two countries. The Australian informants predominantly relied on information provided by the
Australian government, or by friends and relatives who had previously immigrated. Only one informant had visited the continent before his actual move. The Canadian interviewees, except one, all had travelled to the new country and, thus, had collected first-hand knowledge about it. The immigrants to Australia tend to have followed a more conventional, linear migration process of decision making, formal application, move and settlement, while the Canadian interviewees were able to tailor the process to their particular needs. The difference in the process can be attributed to the fact that Australia is not as readily accessible—a longer and more expensive journey—while Canada is more affordable. In both countries the immigrants are aware that their immigration need not be final and that they can choose to return anytime. Thus, some informants resist to become Australianized or Canadianized, while others prefer to see themselves as global citizens, and do not want to fit into any particular ethnic category.

There are eight interviews from Sydney and seventeen from Vancouver. As the interviewees were assured anonymity I only provide a general profile of the speakers. Seventeen of the interviewees have a university education, three have an Abitur (German high school graduation, equivalent to second year college), and five completed a German trade apprenticeship program.

As has been described in the previous chapter, there are wealthy immigrants to both Australia and Canada. However, the sample of interviewees suggests a slight difference in class between the Australian and Canadian informants. In Australia, all interviewees have a lower to upper middle income. The informants’ professions are variously: secretary, hatter, social worker, teacher, writer, notary, and bank manager. In Canada there are at least three interviewees with high incomes. These informants, all retirees (ophthalmologist, neurosurgeon, architect), were secretive about their income. Nor did they want to explain under which immigration category they had entered. Other interviewees have a lower to
upper middle-income. The professions are occasional worker, house painter, travel agent, writer, social worker, housewife, business consultant, businessman, advertising manager, engineer, mathematician, and geologist. The interview sample consists of six women and seventeen men. In addition, I talked to two couples.

As in Chapter V, the interviews, organized around themes, are presented first. Next the Australian narratives are compared to the Canadian ones.

1. AUSTRALIAN NARRATIVES

There are eight interviews in Sydney, four women and four men. All interviewees are presently working, none is retired (see Table 2-1.). With the exception of Paul C., all interviews were conducted in German.

Jutta U. (age 44) arrived with her husband and two small children (aged eight and one) in 1974 from Wiesbaden. She holds a German certificate as a hatter, and works as a sales clerk and maintenance person in Australia. Her husband (age 46) escaped from East Germany in 1962. He is a skilled glass-blower, but drives heavy machinery in Australia.

Sibylle K. (age 37), a secretary, arrived in 1979 with her husband and daughter from Dortmund. She did not want to migrate, but her husband had legal and financial problems and wanted to leave Germany. She "stood by him". The marriage, however, only survived a couple of years. She now feels "stuck" in Australia because her daughter wants to stay. She finds it very hard to live in Sydney as a single mother.

Lena C. (age 33) arrived with her husband in 1981 from Bielefeld. She is a trained secretary and had learned English at school and at evening courses. Her husband is a trained electrician and not fluent in English. In Australia, they both worked in their respective
occupations until opening a small painting business. She manages the business from their home while her husband does the driving.

Irmgard O. (age 65) arrived in 1965 from Aachen in order to marry her Australian-Hungarian pen pal. She had joined an agency in Germany which specialized in arranging correspondence between German women and Canadian, American, and Australian men. She had been a well-paid librarian in Germany. After her marriage, she stayed home to raise their son. She claims that she has never been happy in her marriage, nor in Australia. She hopes to return to Germany when her husband dies.

Martin W. (age 30), a writer, arrived with his wife in 1987 from Frankfurt. They had decided to migrate while on a previous holiday through Australia.

Paul C. (age 34), immigrated in 1985. He had a pre-arranged job with a bank in Sydney. He has a degree in economics from the University of Mannheim, but needed to earn an Australian qualification as well. He is married to an Australian and now owns a business.

Roland P. (age 51) arrived in 1965. He is originally from Regensburg, but had lived for several years in South America before coming to Australia. He is married to an Australian, has three sons and works as a real estate agent.

Evert B. (age 37), arrived with his wife and daughter on a working visa in 1978 from Kiel. They had left open the option to immigrate, but have now decided to return. He is a trained social worker and works as a counsellor with German immigrants.

1. Motivations

This theme exemplifies how individuals utilize two distinct perceptual levels constructed around common knowledge and individual experience to make sense of their actions. The
informants use motives that are both commonly "known", and motives that convey specific individual experiences.

Most interviewees use phrases such as "pollution", "fear of war", "climate", and "the children's future" to explain their immigration. However, as they tell their migration story, more personal explanations are revealed. This process does not always follow the linear pattern of mentioning the "commonly-known" motives first. Some interviewees immediately begin to explain their particular situation and, upon reflection, try to reinforce the rationale for their decision by citing some of the commonly known reasons.

My analysis suggests that these individual motives too, of course, can be generalized to a certain extent. For example, most interviewees wanted to leave Germany to "try something new". They wanted to get out ("ich wollte da raus", "ich wollte da weg"). They wanted to leave the festgelegten Bahnen (predetermined routines) of work, social environment and economic position and try to improve materially and personally. Some hoped to improve their standard of living, some were hungry for adventure, while others simply thought of "changing" their lives, without really "knowing" how to.

But, although some motivations are generalizable, the individual stories behind them are not. In other words, people reason in a similar fashion, but explain disparate thought processes and actions. The narratives of two women, Jutta U. and Lena C., are used here to illuminate this point. Both give a very specific motive for their immigration: the possibility to own a house. Further, they both point out that they had good livings, nice apartments, and good jobs in Germany. But they felt that they would never have been able to improve their standard of living in Germany to the point of owning a house:

We earned good money, but we never would have been able to afford a house (Lena C.).
We had everything, just not a house. And then there is pollution in Germany - (pause) - and for the future of the children ... (Jutta U.).

The migration story, however, reveals that the actual process of deciding proceeded quite differently. Jutta was initially quite reluctant to immigrate while Lena eagerly pursued the plan together with her husband.

The Reluctant Immigrant

Jutta U. agreed to migrate very hesitantly and only to avoid marital conflict.

I never wanted to immigrate, but my husband did. I started to feel guilty about this so finally I said, let’s try. I liked the idea to have a house of my own. We tried that in Germany, but we could never afford to buy a lot.

The husband had always wanted to immigrate and was the driving force. Jutta U. was very reluctant, but after her uncle had sent positive reports about his immigration to Australia she gave in to her husband:

... because I felt guilty. My husband always said: "We should have emigrated long ago". So finally, I was pregnant with my second child, I said: "Well, let’s go, now or never." I thought, he would always keep thinking about an immigration and maybe hold that against me, always saying: "Wärn wir doch..." [we should have].—I never thought we’d get the papers ... 

She admits that her husband’s reasons never really convinced her, after all, she had been content in Germany. She told her parents that they would only go for two years. Throughout the decision making process she also assured herself that she could always return. After the decision was made and the bureaucratic wheels were turning, she concentrated on the idea of owning a house in Australia.

Once in Sydney, things were not as easy as she had anticipated. They stayed at the hostel for almost a year until they had raised enough money to buy a building lot. For the next ten years they worked very hard to pursue their goal of building a house.
The Instigator Or Co-Instigator

Lena C., on the other hand, had been an equal driving force with her husband in the migration process. They both foresaw a stagnating future in Germany and, upon a relative's good reports, decided to seek a better future in Australia.

My husband's brother had immigrated to Australia and wrote that he had such a good time here. So we simply wanted to try it too. My husband is an electrician and I am a secretary. In Germany, life would have just continued the way it was.

They did not have any children when they immigrated and, therefore, felt free "...to look around and see whether we would like it". The goal of owning a house was there, but for Lena it was not the primary reason for immigrating. Once in Australia, she soon began to like the fact that life was less controlled by social pressures than in Germany. She also realized that it would be easier to open a small business and be self-employed. They left the hostel as quickly as possible and moved into an apartment where they took over as caretakers. After two years they started their own painting business.

Wanting To Go Far Away

Another frequent motive is the wish to "go away as far as possible" from old routines and restrictions. But again, as the stories unfold, this apparently "common" motive becomes highly individualized. Each immigrant recalls specific events and circumstances which initiated the wish to "go far away". In other words, while interviewees articulate the same motive the specific content and context are different.

For example, four informants, all men, claim that the deciding factor was the challenge of trying something new. They had comfortable lives in Germany but decided to leave family, friends and socio-economic security behind and strike out on their own.

Why did I come to Australia? Very easy: It had to be a country as far away as possible - it's personal, has to do with my parents.
Evert B. also wanted to leave his extended family far behind and embark on an "adventure" with his wife and daughter, to "...see other countries, widen the horizon, and get away from the family". He took advantage of a job offer that allowed him to work in Australia without immigrating. Thus, he could leave the immigration decision open and "test the waters". He now has decided to return to Germany.

Martin W. presents another variation on this theme. He argues that he wanted to be as far away as possible so that he would not be easily tempted to return to Germany. Instead he wanted to *sich durchbeissen* (clench the teeth and stay), and weather any possible problems.

I came two years ago. I didn't like the political climate in Germany and the pollution. I like the climate here. ... It predominantly has to do with the challenge to survive in a strange country far away from home. Not France, not Denmark, because, if something goes wrong, one cannot immediately go back. Instead one has to stay.

However, in the course of the interview, this romantic quest for adventure and challenge turns out to be a rather planned and secured method of migrating. The couple had travelled to Australia two years prior to their immigration, had liked the country and had made arrangements at that time to secure jobs. The immigration was not quite a trip into the unknown, it was secured by an immediate income and a fair knowledge of the place and the people. They particularly liked the fact that Australia was an "immigration country":

... My wife and I had reached a stage in our careers where we wanted to change. We wanted to go to a different climate. We could have gone to Southern Europe, but it would have been much more difficult, because of the language and culture. One would always have remained a stranger. Canada is too cold, so there was Australia. ... During our first visit we realized that you do not meet any rejection here because you are a stranger. It's multicultural. --[Pause]-- I just say that, although after two years now, I have quite a few criticisms. But we figured that this was a country where we could have a good life.

Their motive for migration was not strictly an adventure to be toughed out. He had a job, knew the language, and knew that Australian culture was similar enough to the German so that he would feel comfortable.
This observation also holds true for Paul C. and Evert B.. They too had pre-arranged jobs and knew that they were financially secure. Only Roland P. really faced an unplanned adventure: "I only knew that I did not want to go back to Germany".

The Unhappy Migrant

Two women had very different motives to immigrate. Both came to regret the move, and neither feels able to return. Both admit to being very unhappy, and both attribute this to Australia and its people rather than to having made bad personal decisions.

Sibylle K. had followed her husband reluctantly. Having had some trouble with the law and owing a large amount of money, he had lost everything in Germany. She felt she had to stand by her husband because of their daughter. However, the marriage did not survive and he left her to marry another woman. She stayed in Australia because she did not want to separate the child from her father. She claims that she would never have immigrated if she had made the choice.

Irmgard O., had a very unusual migration motive. She was in her mid-thirties when she decided to find a pen pal in Australia, in order to marry and immigrate. She felt that this was her only chance of marrying as "the Second World War had wiped out all eligible bachelors in Germany." Her position at the local library was secure and well paid. She now considers herself to have acted very independently. However, her motivation was to get married and have children. Furthermore, her parents were very dominating and exercised tight control over her life. According to Irmgard O., her parents had very specific views of the kind of man she should marry, and she felt unable to go against their wishes as long as she stayed in Germany. Her sister previously had taken the pen pal route and had already married in Australia.
During the late fifties and early sixties, there was a huge advertising campaign for Australia. Big posters with blue water and lots of sun saying: Come to beautiful Australia! ... When I landed in Melbourne and saw the man from my picture, I thought: No, you are not going to marry that man—[pause]—but I did. ... Why? He said he was very ill, he would not have long to live. He fooled me. I thought, you can do it for a year, then you'll be a widow and can return to Germany. But he is still alive, he's 72 and we're still married. ... That is worth something. I think, I should be given an medal for that.

This decision has made her life miserable and bitter. She is looking forward to returning to Germany—as soon as her husband dies. Until then, she will "stick to her marriage vows" and stay with him.

Both Irmgard O. and Sibylle K., are highly critical of Australia and its people. They hold Australia responsible for their unhappiness, not the fact that they had made the wrong decisions. Both miss Germany and think they would be happier there.

None of the interviewees, except Martin W., had been to Australia prior to their immigration. They had based their initial expectations, hopes and decisions on information they had received from immigrant family members, or through Australian advertisements in Germany.

2. The Move

Stories about the migration process and the early years of adjustment in Australia are central in all narratives. People seem to like to recall the events surrounding the move, and their experiences in those first weeks, months and years. These episodes are often described jokingly and with a touch of retrospective amazement and self-admiration that one had been able "to go through all of it".

All immigrants state that the time between the formal immigration approval and the actual move had been a busy one, with little time for reflection and second-guessing. For some,
the move from Germany and the initial impressions of Australia were quite traumatic, while others were more accepting of the circumstances. As one immigrant put it:

You have to be prepared. You have to do everything yourself and cannot wait until somebody brings it to you. I want to make that very clear. You have to find things out by yourself and not rely on anybody (Martin W.).

Others echo this sentiment and advise potential migrants not to expect any help, and further, not to be so naive as to believe the brochures of the Australian immigration bureau. Immigrants who do so, invariably have difficulties.

The Naive Migrant

The following story illustrates some of the problems that unprepared immigrants encounter. Jutta U. had worked hard to prepare for the move, but she never thought that "everything would be so unlike the things we had read about in the brochures".

We received the [immigration] papers shortly after my second child was born. I never expected to get them!—We had about five months to get ready for the move. We thought we would never make it, you know—sell the furniture, the caravan. But we made it.

I was so disappointed by the airline. They had told us that everything would be available in the plane. But they did not have anything special to eat for children. They did not have any formula for the baby, so Gitta was hungry and only had cookies to eat. There was nothing else. She cried a lot and became sick—it was gruesome. At the stop-over in Darwin I wanted to return to Germany—but that was not possible. Then we had to go to Melbourne because Sydney was closed. They didn't have much to eat for Gitta at the hotel either, but at least it was better than cookies.

People from the hostel picked us up at the airport in Sydney. Everybody in the plane was an immigrant. We drove through Sydney and I saw all the old houses and the dirt. I thought: "Where have you landed!"—We looked around for a house, but we had problems with the language, were a bit afraid. Everything was much more expensive than the brochures had said. That is why we lived at the hostel for almost a year.

Neither Jutta U. nor her husband had traveled to an English-speaking country before or knew the language. Furthermore, they had not really expected to have difficulties. Jutta had
thought that life in Australia would go on just as it had in Germany; she could not imagine that everything would be so different.

The Prepared Migrant

The other interviewees all seem to have had more realistic expectations with regard to airline and government services. They were prepared for unforeseen events and did not expect to rely on Australian immigration services. Some refused to even use the allocated hostel and, instead, stayed at a hotel until they found an apartment. For them it was a principle: after all, they had left Germany to live a freer life away from patronizing relatives and governments, they wanted to "make it on their own".

3. The Contrasts Between Expectations And Reality

Most interviewees claim that they had expected things in Australia to be different from Germany. They also stress that they had expected possible hardships and difficulties. Again, they emphasize they were determined not to rely on Australian immigration brochures but to "expect nothing and find out everything yourself". They also caution new immigrants not have specific expectations, because disappointments are bound to happen:

You just can’t have certain things here. For example you don’t need a fast car here, you can’t drive as fast as in Germany, because of the low speed-limit (Martin W.).

Thus, most informants only comment on relatively minor things that had surprised them, such as the bad weather, the amount of dirt in the streets of Sydney, and the dryness of the countryside:

I never have been so cold in my life as during that first winter in Sydney (Paul C.).
I had sold all our winter clothes, my boots—and then it was so cold ... There was so much dirt—now I have gotten used to it and don’t see it anymore (Jutta U.).

Irmgard O., who immigrated to marry, had to overcome the greatest conflicts. But these disparities were highly personal. She did not like her "pal" in person as much as she had liked him in letters. This disappointment was subsequently directed towards Australia and its people. Nothing was as she had expected. The beautiful sunny country displayed on the posters back in Germany turned into "...a large, boring wilderness, with bushes as trees, and no lush forests to wander in." Public institutions such as hospitals were "very primitive - with a tin roof", and the supposedly friendly Australian people were "humourless, heartless, and emotionless." Her narrative, of course, is retrospective. Behind these words lie twenty-five years of disappointment and increasing unhappiness.

4. Adjustment

Again, the notions of good preparation and low expectations are very important in the adjustment theme. Informants who stress these factors are the ones who claim to have had no major difficulties adjusting. Apparently, these immigrants took the Stier beim Kopfe (bull by the horns), considered their options and made their decisions accordingly. Their migration stories do tell of times when things were not perfect, but nothing seems to have been a particular hardship.

Easy Adjustment

I was never really convinced that the "easy adjustment" interviewees had, indeed, had such a relatively problem-free time. This was partially because I remembered my own adjustment process. While there were no major disasters it certainly was not without its difficulties. But my probing did not uncover any major revelations. I finally had to accept the presented picture—good preparations and low expectations ensure a relatively smooth adjustment period:
I have decided to live in another country, so I have to learn and accept the Spielregeln [rules of the game]. Of course, I can read German books, but I have to adjust to the English language. The fact that the Australians have a different notion of culture than the Germans steht auf einem anderen Blatt [is a different story]. You have to look for what you want and like—and you will find it. There is nothing what you cannot get here: sausages, pumpernickel bread ... (Martin W.).

I moved into a hotel at first and checked it all out. I worked with this company, so I had a salary. I knew that my German degree would not be acknowledged in Australia, so I took the necessary courses to get the equivalent Australian degree. Those three years were pretty tough: working, learning the language and taking courses in English. But I had known that before I came and so I just went for it (Paul C.).

Well, the house came with the job. My clients are all German, so I had many people to talk to. It was a bit of a shock to realize that the work was so different from Germany. For many Australian-Germans the time just had stood still, they were just so different from my clients in Germany, and it took me a long time to understand them (Evert B.).

I asked whether there had been any feelings of isolation and loss of identity. Some acknowledged them, but nobody seems to have given it much thought. However, they all claimed to know of people to whom this had happened:

Yes, that is true. There is some loss of identity. You are a nobody and have to start anew. Especially the women have difficulties with that—you just have to know the Verhaltensstruktur [structure of attitudes] here. You have to know that before you immigrate—And once you are here, you’ll get a lot of feedback because the people are quite friendly here. But, you cannot wait for them to come to you—you have to show the initiative (Martin W.).

Loss of identity? No, I don’t think so, no, not really. My sister-in-law, she keeps saying that she is not herself, like she was in Germany. But she doesn’t go out. She sits at home. You simply cannot do that here. You have to go out and take the initiative. But we expected difficulties—and even though all that happened, we were lucky and things went well (Lena C.).

"All that" refers to a tragic accident in which they had lost their unborn baby and which had left their daughter physically handicapped. Throughout the dialogue, Lena remained remarkably matter-of-fact and cheerful about her early years in Australia. My questions about possible immigration problems never deterred her from repeating that they had thought out
everything very carefully beforehand and had been very lucky that everything worked out, despite "all that".

**Difficult Adjustment**

The reluctant migrants (Jutta U. and Sibylle K.) and the lady who wanted to get married (Irmgard O.) tell of big adjustment problems. In fact, the latter two dislike Australia deeply. They both would rather return to Germany were it not for a husband or a child who want to stay in Australia.

They both complain about the quality of housing and the absence of central heating. They lament the "unculturedness" of the Australian people ("sie sind so unkultiviert"), the rudeness and uncouthness of men and the ignorance and shallowness of Australian women. Neither Irmgard O., nor Sibylle K. have ever really integrated into the Australian way of life; they consciously maintain a certain distance from their fellow Australians.

Irmgard O. does "not have any friends" and refuses to socialize with Australians. Sibylle works for a German company and refuses to date Australian men ("ich will sie nicht geschenkt haben"). For entertainment and a chance to meet people she frequents the German club. But not to meet German men, "they are like the Australians, they want me to wash their socks...". She hopes to meet immigrants from Southern Europe, "Greeks and Yugoslavs—they are more sensitive."

**The Language**

The ability and willingness to learn English well is a big factor in successful adjustment. Some admit to never having taken a liking to English, some downright refuse to learn it properly. Some, on the other hand, immerse themselves in the language and try to speak it as fluently as possible.
Irmgard O. refuses to read English literature and sticks to German books. She misses "meine schöne deutsche Sprache" (her beautiful German language) and is convinced that English is "shallow" and "poor in expression". She passionately states her position:

I will not be taken over by English. I will not lose my German. I refuse to submerge myself into the English language.

She argues that the German language is the only thing that is hers, and if she immersed herself in English she would have to give up German, thereby losing her identity. (We talked at "her" local public library. While we were conversing she turned to one of the librarians and reminded him to order "her" German journals, otherwise "my death will be on your conscience!")

A similar stance is adopted by Evert B., albeit without the dramatic overtones. He admits to never really having made the effort to learn English:

I just realized that this would never be my language. Of course, my wife and I speak German at home and at work. We never really made the decision to emigrate, so there never was the necessity to immerse ourselves into the English language. Now I realize that I will never feel comfortable with it, and that is one reason why we will go back.

The immigrants who do immerse themselves in English also cite it as the one hard thing to deal with, but most claim to have mastered it:

My husband didn't know any English and still has problems with it. For me it was easy, because I knew... I go to all the courses, like the one I took last week about "quoting". My husband always says: "You go". -- See, he does not feel comfortable with the language yet... I speak English at home with the children, my husband speaks German with them and they do understand it. I think they should speak the language they live in well. Everybody here says that the kids should speak German because of the grandparents, and I say to that: "What, for those five weeks that the visits last!" -- They do not live in Germany, they live here, they go to school here (Lena C.).
The interviewees often compare the old country and the new when talking about issues of adjustment. With the exception of Sibylle K. and Irmgard O., all think that life in Australia is much "freer" than in Germany. They find that social pressures and demands for conformity are not as strong in Australia as in Germany.

I think life is much freer here. There is no Zwang [coercion or moral obligation] here. You can go shopping in shorts and curlers, that would be impossible in Germany. It is a bit stiff there, here life is much more locker [slack] (Jutta U.).

People are very friendly here. They don't prey into your private affairs as they do in Germany (Roland P.).

They are friendly here, not nosey. Other Germans say: "The Australians don't care." I think they are much more tolerant (Paul C.).

The criticisms, again, come from Sibylle K. and Irmgard O.. They do think that "the Australians don't care", not that the Australian respect for individuality is high. On the contrary they feel that the Australians neglect their children, their fellow-citizens and their environment.

The Australians are masters in letting it shine on the outside, but there is nothing inside, or within themselves. They are so materialistic. The house has been bought, the car, the boat, but there is nothing inside the house, no furniture. Both parents work and the kids are left to themselves. ... The father goes to the pub after work, the mother watches TV. The schools don't offer much either. There is so much violence in the families ... (Sibylle K.).
Most informants, however, feel that Australia has been "good to them". Roland P., Paul C., Jutta U. and Lena C. are all successful in their working lives and feel that they would not have had the same opportunities in Germany.

Paul C. and Lena C. both think that it is easier to establish a small business in Australia. Obtaining a licence for something like a painting business is apparently much less complicated than in Germany. Furthermore, it is relatively easy to find customers in a big city like Sydney. Once trust is established, new business is generated by word of mouth.

We thought it over and decided to give the painting business a go. I went after the licensing—it's so easy! I don't think it would have been that easy in Germany. Here you just go to the office and get your licence. ... We advertised in the Yellow Pages, the Sydney Morning Herald and Die Woche, and now it's all word of mouth. ... And this is what my husband doesn't understand yet. In Germany we couldn't have a business that easily. My other brother-in-law called yesterday [from Germany] and said to my husband: "If you come back here, it would mean nine to five for somebody else, and you'd never know how long you could keep the job. Sounds to me you're better off there. Bleib schön wo du bist" (Stay where you are) (Lena C.).

The Comparative Advantage Of Germans Over Australians

German immigrants frequently compare themselves to their fellow Australians. Many feel that they have a comparative advantage over the Australians and that adjustment to Australian culture is greatly facilitated once this advantage is realized. Most interviewees feel that there is a niche for German workers in the Australian market. Apparently, Germans are generally known as reliable and competent workers and, thus, have a comparative advantage over their Australian co-workers both as employees and as owners of small businesses.

If you offer quality and reliability then there is a niche for you. And if you make a go of it and are active, then you most likely will succeed (Paul C.).
5. Gender Roles

I was particularly interested how migrant women had experienced gender roles in Australia. Some women are highly critical of Australian men. Sibylle K. and Irmgard O. are two of the most avid critics of what is commonly referred to as "Australian male chauvinism". Others claim not to be "bothered" by it at all. Instead, they feel that they are in a better position than Australian women because they have better training and education than most. They are generally successful in their work and do not feel intimidated by men.

Educational Advantages Of German Women

Comparative educational advantage over Australian women is felt both as employees and as businesswomen. Not only do some German women feel that they are more qualified than their Australian co-workers, and, therefore, advance more quickly and further, they also feel that they can achieve more in Australia than they would ever have in Germany. This results in a much higher degree of confidence and satisfaction than they had ever experienced in Germany. In Germany they were one among many, in Australia they are thriving and accomplishing much more than they would have "back there".

Lena C. exemplifies this type of immigrant. She quickly had realized her potential within Australian society: (1) the social pressures are not as confining as in Germany, therefore, it is easier to change jobs or open a small business; (2) her sound secretarial training and experience was an advantage in her first job application, and helps greatly in her new business; (3) because of her education and training she has a tremendous amount of confidence in both her work and as mother and housewife. Compared to Australian women:
... I know how to work, how to run a business and how to raise kids. We will move away from here and find a house in a nice area with parks and where mostly white Australians live. We will find a good school and give the children a good education ... I don't have any problems, not in my job, not with men. I have my training as a secretary, have my diplomas and have work-experience. I know English and I know what I am doing. ... I go to these courses, like the one on "quoting". I was the only woman there.~The seminar was good, all the examples were taken from the textile industry and I understood it all, because I knew what he was talking about. But would you believe it, after two hours of seminar one of the guys still didn't know how to quote! Well... So you see, it is not so much an issue of sexism or chauvinism (Lena C.).

However, not all German women can claim the same degree of personal growth and success as Lena C. and Jutta U.. Both Sibylle K. and Irmgard O. obviously are unhappy and bitter and to some extent attribute this discontent to Australian "chauvinism".

**Sexism And Education**

Some interviewees view Australian sexism as a class phenomenon: the higher the education the less sexism is apparent. Informants stress that it is partially the fault of a government which does not encourage women to obtain education. Furthermore, there are no good vocational training programs like those in Germany.

Some men and women are quite critical about the conduct of Australian women. They argue that women's inequality is partially the fault of the women themselves, because so many seem to place themselves in a position of dependency by relying on husbands and government, and by not pursuing training or a profession.

The women are not interested in getting a good training--it's also not offered to them. I mean, in Germany you need a three year apprenticeship for everything. When you work as a store clerk, you have to go to a trade school, do accounting, learn the job from the bottom up. When you are finished you are qualified, you have a diploma. You are somebody--whereas here, they don't have anything (Roland P.).

In Australia women are not equal. Let me say it this way, those that I meet through the playgroup or school are bound to be at home. They often have left school when they were 15, worked at McDonald's or in a shop, marry and have
several kids in a row before they are 24. The men go to work and seem to prefer male company. For lunch they go to the pub with their mates and drink beer. After work they have a couple more. Then they may go home, but they are not involved at home—Even the ones that are higher educated. I mean, I have a friend who invited us for dinner. He is a manager, expensive house, Mercedes, looks nice on the outside. But then you go indoors and—everything, everything falls on you—the mess—unbelievable! ... They do have this attitude: "she'll be right" and "no worries"—but the kids are not right, the house is not right. The kids could have so much more stimulation. But I don't think these women know how to do it. They have no idea about kids or household. No wonder the men stick to each other (Lena C.).

The Discontented German Women

Some interviewees tell of German women, who have difficulties changing their attitudes and perceptions to Australian patterns. The interviewees attribute such discontent to several factors. First, these women do not know, or do not learn, English well enough to converse in it. Second, they have difficulties making contacts with other women. Third, especially women from a higher class background miss the social prestige they enjoyed in Germany.

My sister-in-law doesn't like it here. She is afraid to go to work. She sometimes goes with other German ladies to serve at a party or something and clean up afterwards. Once she convinced me to come along. She said: "It's great, you just have to serve the meal and the drinks. Nobody bothers you when you clean up". But I told my husband after that: "Never again will I go there. You work and are treated like dirt—pour the drinks for the drunkards and clean up their mess!" I don't understand why she does that and doesn't go to work in her profession as a store clerk. Of course she would have to make the effort and learn better English (Lena C.).

In Germany they went to the butcher and he would know what Mme. Doctor or Mrs. Pharmacist would want—"Ja gnädige Frau, bitte schön gnädige Frau" (Yes madam, please madam). Here, people don't chum up to you that way, they could not care less whether you have money. So these ladies begin to miss that (Martin W.).
6. Return Migration

During the first couple of years most immigrants seem to think frequently about a possible return to Germany. Some initially had migrated to "look around" (Lena C.) or "try it out for two years" (Jutta U.). But after life in Australia becomes established—whether by buying a house, opening a business, marrying an Australian, or having children who regard Australia as their primary home—the return option takes on distinct forms. Return migration can become a constant, but often distant, hope; it may remain a real option and turn into reality, or it may become a non-issue for those who are firmly convinced that Australia is the place to live.

Return As A Hope

Return migration is a constant dream for women like Sibylle K. and Irmgard O.. They feel that remaining in Australia perpetuates their unhappiness. Both think that only a return to Germany, to friends and social security (Sibylle K.), or to the German language and Kultur (Irmgard O.) can relieve their pain.

Return As A Reality

Evert B. has decided to return to Germany because he feels he can never really be at home in English. He and his wife are now looking forward to the challenge of re-settling back home.

No Return And No Regrets

The other interviewees want to stay in Australia. They are very content with their migration decision. They are socially, financially and professionally well-established. A return to
Germany would nullify their work and achievements, and they would have to start all over again.

I do not regret it, I could go back, it would still be easy after seven years, but I wouldn't like to. It would be a lot of hassle. I have Australian citizenship, and that would be a lot of hassle too. I go home and visit my parents at least once a year, but after I stay there for a while, I always think I'd rather live in Australia and visit Germany, than do it the other way round (Paul C.).

My husband has never regretted it. He says, he never had it this good. He doesn't want to go back and start again. ... I could have gone home after two years, but ich hätte mir die Blüse nicht gegeben [I would have been too embarrassed]. We would have had to sell everything, and we'd have stood there with empty hands again. When my mother asked me what I would do if my husband died, I told her I would stay here. That was a shock for her. You have more freedom here, you can easily go and see the ocean. I am content here now, although we have worked very hard for that.—But, no, I would not do it again (Jutta U.)

I haven't regretted it yet. We have realized our dream of life in Australia: We live right on the water, surrounded by green, no traffic noise.—But don't forget, I am not a bank clerk, I am used to changes (Martin W.).

The interviewees also point out that they can go home and visit quite easily, despite the cost, should a bout of home-sickness hit them. Most go home for a visit every year or every other year. However, when children are involved, visits becomes too expensive and, thus, can only be managed every five or ten years.

7. Relationships With Other Germans.

This theme describes the relationships between immigrants and families and friends in Germany, and other Germans in Australia.

Friends And Family In Germany

The pre-immigration attitudes of friends and relatives in Germany frequently seems to have been skeptical and critical. These criticisms often only reinforced the wish to move away:
My friends, acquaintances and business-partners all declared that I was crazy. They expected me to return after three months because they didn't think I had it in me (Martin W.).

Well, when they heard that we wanted to emigrate to Australia, everybody treated us like Vaterlandsverräter [traitors of the fatherland]. They couldn't understand why we would leave. We had everything and, then, gave everything up. They couldn't understand. My cousin said: "That's not a reason to emigrate--because of a house. Why don't you buy a business here instead". But I wanted a house, my own roof. Wanted something for the kids, so they would know where there home was. But they could not understand that (Jutta U.).

My parents of course did not like the idea at all, but they saw they couldn't change my mind, so they eventually gave in (Paul C.).

Most immigrants maintain regular contact with close family and receive frequent visitors from Germany.

German Immigrants In Australia

Most interviewees say they do not actively seek social contact with other German immigrants. However, they all have some German friends whose companionship they value.

After a while you do get to know people that used to live in the neighborhood back in Germany, or you find people that you had known long ago in Germany. Then you establish a type of network and acquire more and more information (Martin W.).

I meet many Germans through my work and with some I have become friends. My wife is Australian though and we have many Australian friends as well. I do not go out and search for Germans (Paul C.).

The interviewees often use other immigrants as examples in explaining and clarifying their own position. They either contrast or compare themselves to others. For instance, Jutta U. uses the example of fellow immigrants to emphasize her own initial determination to make it through the hard times.
Everybody on the plane was an immigrant. Some were real adventurers. There was a couple who had bought a pig farm in the bush. But it must have been too hard, the marriage broke up. You know, many thought that they could start anew. Many had problems in their marriage and thought an immigration would help, that everything would be different here. But when there is no foundation, and when there already was a problem, there is no chance they’ll make it (Jutta U.).

German Institutions

None of the interviewees belong to a German church; only two visit the German club.

Sibylle K. goes there

...at least twice a week, but not to meet German men. I like to meet the Italians and Yugoslavs. They are much more gentle than the Australians and not as commanding as the Germans—although, they don’t wash their socks themselves either (Sibylle K.).

Jutta U. is quite involved in the German club. Her daughter belongs to the German folkdance group and the parents are very active in raising funds for costumes and travel. The parents meet once a week at a Stammtisch and also socialize at other times.

Alteinwanderer

With the exception of Evert B., who works with Alteinwanderer, and Jutta U. who regularly meets Alteinwanderer in the club, no other informant has contact with these immigrants. They feel that they do not have anything in common with this generation of immigrants. Furthermore, they cannot relate to the type of culture that is promoted through the clubs and the press:

I don’t really like the Bierseligkeit [beer-bliss] and the Geselligkeit [sociability] that dominates the clubs. I also don’t need the Germanness they are trying to generate (Paul C.).

Others feel that Neueinwanderer are misunderstood by the earlier cohort:
2. CANADIAN NARRATIVES

I conducted seventeen interviews in Vancouver: thirteen men, two women, and two couples. One couple on a work visa are still deciding whether to immigrate or not. One man in the process of immigrating is waiting for a decision from the Department of Immigration.

Although no one admitted to migrating under the entrepreneur category, specific migration stories suggest that there are some who have. None of the interviewees wanted to discuss their financial situation or commitments they had made to Immigration. One person answered my question as to whether he had immigrated under the businessman category by replying: "We are financially comfortable, anything beyond that is none of your concern."

Some did not even want to discuss the bureaucratic details of their immigration because it involved some manipulation of the rules. I have heard of several such methods of manipulation. For example, to qualify for the investment category, some people take out private loans then have the Bank certify them and return the money immediately after the immigration. Others take advantage of special immigration rules for nannies and domestic workers. They pretend to work for two years, after which they can apply for landed immigrant status. Others arrange a marriage and immigrate under the family reunion program.

Informants could choose their language preference for the interview. Most did not care whether German or English was spoken, and conversations were a mixture of both languages. Some, however, insisted on speaking German only, because they felt "much more comfortable" (see Table 1). Many ended the interview with the words: "I enjoyed our talk. You don't often get to talk that way, not in English nor in German. Also, you don't often have time to think about these things".
Claudia G. (age 48), immigrated in 1979 with her husband and two children from Berlin. Her husband’s sister sponsored the family. In Berlin, she had worked as a travel agent. In Canada, she upgraded her education and became an office manager. She had been on a one year high-school student exchange to the United States and had hoped to return and live in North America.

The interview was held in English, and was very short and concise. Claudia did not think that there was anything unusual about her immigration and, thus, gave brief, matter-of-fact answers.

Hanna R., (age 37), arrived in 1985 from Munich with her husband and two small daughters. Her husband has dual German-Canadian citizenship. He was born in Canada and had moved back to Germany with his parents at the age of five. Hanna had completed all course requirements for a Master’s degree in geography and planned to finish it in Canada. However, she had not realized that many of the German courses would not be accepted in Canada and that she would have to re-take them. Also it was too difficult to look after two small children while going to university without properly knowing the language. She concentrated on looking after the children and supporting her husband, a pediatrician in Germany, attempting to obtain his Canadian qualifications.

Peter B., age 50, was born in what is now Russian territory; he fled with his parents to West Germany in 1942. He apprenticed in photography and earned the Abitur in evening classes. In 1965, on a trip around the world, he visited his uncle in British Columbia and stayed. He worked at odd-jobs and used these earnings to support himself while earning an engineering degree. He visited Germany several times but always returned to Vancouver. He liked skiing and wanted to avoid the draft into the German army. He now is married to a Canadian and has two small children.
Hans T., (age 43), apprenticed in Freiburg as a house-painter, worked in this job for twenty years in Montreal and Vancouver, and now runs his own business. He arrived in Vancouver in 1965, sponsored by his cousin who had immigrated earlier to Victoria, BC. He initially also wanted to avoid the draft into the German army, but liked Canada and stayed. For several winters he returned to Germany to play professional ice-hockey in the German League.

Johann S., (age 48), came to Vancouver from Berlin on a year’s scholarship to study engineering. He met his wife and, after moving back to Germany to "try out where to live", decided on Vancouver in 1968. He has four daughters and runs his own business.

August P., (age 42), and his wife initially came to Vancouver for six months to help keep the Canadian branch of his cousins’ business afloat. The job took longer than expected and was finally completed after four years. August decided to avoid further involvement in the family business and immigrated in 1977. He obtained the Canadian equivalent of his German economics degree, and opened his own business. He is now divorced and has two children.

Bernhard S., (age 55), arrived in 1982 with his Texan wife and three children. He had worked as a social worker in Stuttgart, applied for a job in Vancouver, and is now counselling German immigrants.

Stefan H., (age 42), was born and raised in East Germany. He earned a university degree in education before fleeing to the West via Hungary. He settled in West Berlin, studied journalism and took advantage of the freedom of travel to visit the rest of Western Europe and North America. On his travels he met his wife, a Mexican-Canadian living in Vancouver. Initially they planned to live in Berlin. However, his wife experienced too much racial prejudice in Berlin and, therefore, they decided to live in Vancouver. He still misses the cultural life and the people of Berlin.
Walter F., (age 64), immigrated with his second wife from Frankfurt in 1977. He had been a driven businessman in Germany, suffered a heart attack and, on doctor’s orders, "had to take it easy". He handed his architecture firm over to his son, and managed his second wife’s career as an actress. They travelled to Toronto and Winnipeg in 1976, liked it, and decided to retire in Canada. They initially settled in Winnipeg, but moved to Vancouver after their first winter there. Once in Vancouver, they began to plan the immigration of a daughter and her family. He is now working for a German firm in Chilliwack.

Benno W., (age 53), arrived in Vancouver from Lübeck in 1980 with his wife and three daughters. They had a comfortable life in Germany; both had well-paying jobs and owned a house in a prestigious area of Lübeck. He had worked for one firm for twenty years and had advanced to the position of sales and advertising manager. His life, though comfortable, was becoming dull.

Benno W.’s job had required travel to Africa, Australia and the Americas and, after meticulously comparing the places that he had been to, he migrated to Vancouver. He bought into a Canadian firm and purchased a house. However, two days after his arrival, he found out that his new firm was close to collapse. He had to cancel the house purchase and find a place to rent. He ran a restaurant for three months, but with little success. The stress of the first year led to a nervous breakdown. He now owns an insurance business and is doing well.

Anton R., (age 68), came in 1981 with his wife and two of his three children. He had worked hard as a neurosurgeon in Darmstadt. He wanted to retire in Vancouver and send his children to university here. He lives in an area of town which seems to be preferred by other wealthy Neueinwanderer.

The interview was held in his house, in German, and proceeded only after he had thoroughly questioned me about my personal history, my education, my husband’s profession
and, lastly, about the purpose of the study. He then gave me a carefully-worded account of his immigration. He seemed to weigh everything in his mind before saying it, as if he wanted to stress that his motivations and immigration process were well thought out, perfectly planned and executed.

Otto V., (age 68), a retired ophthalmologist, immigrated with his wife to retire in Vancouver in 1979. He lives in West Vancouver, and also owns a farm at Williams Lake. While still living in Germany, he had sent his two children to school here, in order to provide them with a more "cosmopolitan education". After a heart attack forced him into early retirement he decided to join his children in Vancouver.

The conversation was held in German. Otto V. was very interested in the history of German immigration to North America and had prepared a little lecture on early migration. When asked about his own immigration he continuously stressed the fact that he had planned carefully and, therefore, everything went smoothly.

Jens N., (age 37), immigrated in 1982 as a bachelor from Hamburg. He had completed two apprenticeships in Germany, one as a farmer and the other as a mechanic, specializing in agricultural machines. After six month in Vancouver he felt confident enough to open his own repair business for agricultural machinery. Soon after, he purchased several acres of land to satisfy his ambitions to be a farmer. He is now married to a Canadian and has three children.

Nurmi B., (age 29), is waiting for his immigration papers to come through. In 1986, he left Germany to evade the military draft, and travelled first to Australia, then to Vancouver. While waiting, he is working at odd jobs, hoping to start his own business once his immigration is approved.

Franz K., (age 33) and Wilmine S., (age 36), both mathematicians, arrived with their children from Washington state, where Franz had had a one year research position. They are now
on a four year work permit in Vancouver and are still in the process of deciding whether they should immigrate.

Reinhard, (age 38, geologist) and Waltraud M., (age 36, planner) immigrated in early 1988. They both had lived in Vancouver for three years before, when Reinhard completed his studies at the University of British Columbia. They returned to Germany for five years, had a child and applied for immigration in 1988. The application was approved without any complications. They both feel that their previous Canadian experience, their fluency in English and Reinhard's degree contributed to an easy immigration.

1. Motivations

The common knowledge motivations given by the Canadian-Germans are very similar to those of Australian-Germans: "overcrowding", "pollution", "fear of war", and "for the children's future".

Nobody in Vancouver mentioned climate as a migration motive. In fact, when told that many Germans in Australia cited "climate" as one of their most important reasons, the Vancouver Germans reacted with a slight snicker of disbelief that something that trifling could be a major reason for leaving Germany.

As in Australia, individual migration motivations are quite complex and diverse upon examination. At the level of common knowledge the major motivation seems to be a life-style choice: to "live in a nice environment"; to enjoy the "wide open spaces" and the sense of adventure; to retire in "comfort and beautiful scenery", and to offer "the children a chance for a bilingual and North American education". Other motivations are to evade the military draft and other government regulations, and to escape dominating family members.
Again, as in the Australian interviews, the individual stories behind these generalizations are all very unique and cannot easily be synthesized. The analysis of the sub-themes (see: Table 3-2.) clarifies the individual variations in immigration motivations and stories.

Most interviewees see themselves as instigators of their immigration. However, two of the interviewees admit that they never would have migrated if their spouses had not wished to do so.

The Reluctant Immigrant

Both, Hanna R. and Stefan H. had travelled to Canada prior to their immigration. Neither would have immigrated had not their partner wanted to do so. They both claim that they are quite content in Vancouver, because "after all it's a nice city to live in" (Stefan H.). However, Stefan still pines for "his" city, Berlin, and would prefer to live there.

Sophia gave up her job here and joined me in Berlin, because I wanted to finish my journalism studies. After I finished, I applied for a scholarship to Canada and we came over. I had no intentions to stay here, but some of Sophia's family live here, and so—well, the school disappointed me and I returned the scholarship. I wanted to go back, but in the meantime Sophia wanted to stay here. She had experienced racial prejudices in Berlin, drunkards calling her names in the subway, not just once, but often, and she just didn't want to put up with that anymore. So we sold our stuff and moved to Vancouver. I wouldn't have, but when you're in love, you do what makes you both happy.

Hanna R. followed her German-Canadian husband. Apparently, all through the years, he had kept fond memories and idealistic thoughts of Canada, had visited twice as a student and had "remained fascinated by the country".

They faced a number of obstacles, such as the non-acceptance of their degrees, and difficulties in finding a hospital where he could repeat his internship. They decided to immigrate despite these difficulties, although Hanna admits that they might have re-considered, had they known all that lay ahead of them.
My husband was the deciding factor. I personally would never have chosen Canada, I might have gone to England or France for a year, but to emigrate—no. But I also wasn’t against it, I wasn’t afraid to lose all contacts with Germany, or to go somewhere by myself. I actually welcomed the idea of going somewhere.

We both had hoped to find a better future here, also for our children, a better environment, altogether the perspective to build something up here. I mean, Germany is becoming quite crowded and tight, with regard to jobs and houses. We were not spoilt, we mostly lived in cities, downtown, and we didn’t like it very much. So, I imagined that we would have more free space here, that the kids would have more space. I hoped that we could live in a house, a house that would belong to us and not live in a tiny apartment in the middle of the city. And that has come true. This house is not ours and a lot is wrong with it, but I feel so much better than in a rental flat. And once my husband has finished his internship we’ll go somewhere where we can buy a house. That would be a major reason to move into a different city.

Hanna R. admits that the first three years were tough, because the kids were sick, her husband had to work very hard, and money was scarce. Still, she endured it all, because she could see that "the future would hold more possibilities for her family" in Canada than in Germany.

Stefan H., on the other hand, has more or less resigned himself to living in Canada, because his wife "prefers it" and because his Canadian-born son "regards this as his home". However, he is not depressed or bitter about it, he just misses the specific flair and excitement of Berlin and the cultural diversity of Europe.

The Instigator Or Co-Instigator

All other interviewees claim to have instigated the immigration themselves: some had carefully planned it for a long period of time; some had thought about the option and waited for a good opportunity; others simply decided to extend a tourist visit and stay.

In contrast to the Australian interviewees, all but one had been to Canada, or North America, before their migration. Therefore, they knew what to expect, and all chose Canada for the same reasons: a style of life in a more spacious and cleaner environment than Germany; to
live with people who are, as the informants perceive it, more generous, friendly and tolerant than
the Germans, and to live with less governmental interference, such as mandatory registration and
a military draft. Furthermore, many interviewees wanted to lead their lives without being
constricted by families, bureaucracies or traditions.

Under closer investigation, however, some informants do not appear to have been quite
the independent decision maker as they initially portray themselves. For example, they had been
coaxed into immigration by family members, or the decision was heavily influenced by particular
socio-economic circumstances in Germany.

The migration decision was not made in a vacuum. Rather than lone procrastination and
consideration, the decision was influenced by a variety of factors: particular family relationships;
a specific socio-economic position within the German community on a narrow and wider scale;
and specific events that happened in the course of the decision making process.

The narratives of the five men who immigrated as young bachelors illustrates these
influences. Three men arrived in the sixties and two in the eighties. At first sight, they all seem to
have a lot in common—a sense of adventure, an urge to travel and see the world, to fulfill "some
of the boy-scout dreams" (Peter B.), and to leave restrictions, such as the military draft, behind
(Peter B., Hans T., Nurmi B.).

They explain what they like about Canada and why they stay: "the natural wilderness
and the opportunity to ski" (Peter B.); "the opportunity to own a house" (Johann S., Nurmi B.);
"the laid-back life-style of the Canadians" (Johann S., Hans T., Peter B., Nurmi B.); "the low
involvement of the government in one's personal life, no draft and no mandatory registration"
(Michael N., Nurmi B., Hans T., Peter B.); and "the physical and geographical space". 
However, in the discourse, the individual reasons why some left Germany appear less general and quite specific and complex. For example, both Hans T. and Johann S. recall, that a family member had played a major role in the decision making process.

The families of Nurmi B. and Jens N., on the other hand, do not seem to have had any influence on the migration decision. Both informants explained that their specific socio-economic situation had been unsatisfactory. Their families understood that migration was a good way to improve personally and professionally:

Nurmi B. did not realize his potential opportunities in Canada until after he arrived for a vacation in Vancouver.

I came by accident. I got stuck here on a trip. I took a trip to Australia with a friend of mine. I helped him to take cars, Mercedes, over and we sold them down there. The trip lasted about six months. I had just gotten out of Germany before the draft order arrived in the mail. Two weeks after my return, Frank had another load of Mercedes which he wanted to take to Canada. So I went along again.

There was nothing there for me in Germany. I mean, I was only 25, but I had worked really hard. I had owned 4 businesses, three pubs and a craft store. I worked as a bricklayer during the day and ran the businesses at night. I did not need to go to the army as long as I had the businesses. But the bank had financed everything, and when the interest rates went up—that broke my back. I had to give the businesses up, and the army was right there. But I did not want to go. So I stayed in Canada. Once my papers will come through, I can start my own business, buy an old house and renovate it.

Thus, Nurmi B. weighed his socio-economic situation in Germany against his prospects in Canada. In Germany he would have had to fulfil his responsibilities to the army. Furthermore, his chances of obtaining another bank loan were small. Canada, on the other hand, offered him the possibility of starting all over again. He further realized that, in Canada, he could have the life-style he wanted and own a house.

Jens N. had similar rationales. In Germany, he knew he could never be self-employed in either of his two chosen occupations. His father owned a farm, but it was too small to support
two families. The farm could not be enlarged, because land was scarce and expensive. Furthermore, the competition for a new garage specializing in agricultural machinery was too great. The only solution was immigration:

When I turned thirty, I saw that there was no future for me in Germany, no land and too much competition in business. You'd have to inherit a farm or a business, then you would be all right. But for me, the only way to go was immigration. I also love hunting, and there are simply not enough hunting grounds in Germany.

Jens N. wished to lead a life for which he was raised and educated, but which he was unable to pursue in Germany. British Columbia offered the land and the climate to practise farming as he had learned it. He further found that there was enough demand for his second trade: "I can have it all here, and I've never looked back".

The following two narratives show the role relatives can play in the decision process. It is interesting to note that both Hans T. and Johann S. initially described themselves as the sole instigators of their immigration. In the course of the dialogue however, they remembered the decisive involvement of a relative.

Hans T. initially named "the draft" as his main migration motive. During the interview, however, he remembered that his aunt was actually the driving factor:

I was brought up by my grandparents, and I was never very close to my mother. My whole social life was centered around playing hockey. But I had been thinking I wanted to get way for a while, because the draft was looming, and it was definitely not part of my plan. My cousin was in Victoria and I was thinking of leaving just for a few years, until I was out of age for the draft. Actually I didn't quite know, originally I wanted to go for a year. I knew I wanted to go to Canada, because my cousin was here.

**Question:** When did you make the decision to actually emigrate?
Now that I think of it--my aunt made the decision for me. See, my grandmother had this house, it needed a lot of work. So my aunt helped her when my grandfather died--but she really took advantage of my grandmother. At that time I was seventeen, I was the only competition, so she figured that it was best for me to go to Canada. That is how she got her inheritance. Whether she was doing it for my interest or hers--I think she was doing it for hers. ... My grandmother died a couple of years later. I was in Canada, and by then my aunt had spent all of my grandmother's money.

The aunt, thus, had initiated Hans' migration, while he himself did not decide until five or six years later. During the early years, he regularly returned to Germany to play professional hockey. But as his contacts with family and former friends grew weaker, and connections in Canada grew stronger, he decided to finally settle in Canada. He also came to appreciate the Canadian life-style. Even though he is "doing the same thing here as I would be there", he prefers Canada:

... over there I find things extremely pushy, for example the ski-lifts, you have to fight there, I find that totally unacceptable.

Johann S. also did not remember the role a family member played in his migration until later in the conversation. He initially claimed that he immigrated to Canada because his Canadian wife wanted to return to her family. He also mentioned the overcrowding in Germany, and the greater chance of owning a house with a big yard in Canada. But, in the course of the discussion, he recalls that his relationship with his father actually played a major role in the decision:

There is another reason, motive, why I came to Canada. It's basically the relationship with my father, basically psychological. My father was a very hard working energetic man, who also had a strong personality and high expectations of his children. He always tried to tell us what to do. ... After a fight, I once walked out and it came to a big rift between my father and me, we didn't talk for six months. It was only through the intervention of my grandfather that we got together again. Basically what happened was that my grandfather, through my mother, heard that my father would like me to apply for this scholarship. My first attitude was "no way". However, it was after a conversation with my grandfather--whom I held in high esteem--well, he was the one who persuaded me to give in, or to apply for the scholarship as a means of settling the rift between my father and myself.
Then I thought, gee, the scholarship is for anywhere in the world where you speak the language, so there must be lots of people applying, so the chances of getting it are nil. So, you might as well apply and show your good will, but you'll never do what your father has—indirectly—asked you to do, again. But only three people applied and, as it turned out, I got it.

So what I am saying, in the end, the reason why I came to Canada, was a desire to get away, to put a distance between me and my home. ... My father was a real godfather. He directed, he exercised his influence on my sister and brother and their children in Germany. He did until the end. I feel one of the reasons I moved to Canada was to get away from that. I don't like anyone to tell me what to do, that's the reason why I went out on my own, that is why I am self-employed.

Johann S. himself remarked on the fact that the early version of his migration story had become something of a legend which emphasized the "things one wants to remember and which underplays those, one wants to forget, or not admit". He admits that he would much rather see himself as an independent decision maker, than as someone whose life was influenced into a specific course by another person. His father's role in the immigration is, therefore, not part of the plot he usually tells.

The informants, with the exception of Jens N., had made their decision to remain in Canada after their arrival. They more or less "slid" into immigration; none of them had planned it in advance. The circumstances were such that, once in Canada, life seemed more agreeable than back in Germany. Nurmi B. discovered this a couple of weeks after his arrival. Johann S. took a year to decide, while Peter B. and Hans T. had lived in Vancouver for several years before they finally made the decision not to return to Germany.

The process from "just looking around" to the final immigration is best described by Peter B. and Johann S.:

I didn't really immigrate, it just so happened. It was supposed to be a stop-over for a world trip. I liked it, worked, earned good money, went to school, did all that. Most of all I liked skiing. I still do. In Canada, I had the opportunity to fulfill my boy-scout dreams and use the wilderness. I went back to Germany several times, but that [the wilderness] always brought me back—and so I immigrated (Peter B.).
I didn't really plan to immigrate; I just got stuck here. I met my wife and, considering all the other factors, it seemed like a good idea (Johann S.).

August P. also decided to immigrate after working in Vancouver for four years. He definitely had planned to stay only temporarily. He had come, with his wife, to help save the Vancouver branch of his cousin's business from bankruptcy. His career in Germany had been mapped out and looked very promising. He was supposed to stay for six months in Vancouver, continue to another branch in West Africa, and then return to Germany to work in the Head Office.

However, the firm in Vancouver was in worse shape than anybody had thought and his stay stretched to four years. The trip to West Africa had to be cancelled; instead, he had to stay and work under considerable pressure in Vancouver.

The pressure was not easy for my wife and myself. But I had the feeling that I had to prove myself—so you stick it out.

Question: Why did you decide to stay?

That is very difficult to say, very difficult to rationalize. It is a whole complex—I did not want to return to the head firm (after the four years), I did not like the industry. I wanted to become independent. In Germany I would have had to start again as an assistant. And here, I would have had to do the same, so I thought—it's not very beautiful around where I am from [in Germany], the industries there are not tempting, and the job will be very stressful. You have to travel a lot. You have to do that here [in Vancouver] too. So, I got my certificate and became independent.

During the first one or two years I would have loved to go back to Germany, rather today than tomorrow. But that changed during the third and fourth year. I began to think that I could actually live here quite well, not as crowded as in Germany, there is more space here. Meanwhile, we also had improved our standard of living, had bought a house and I had a company car. We'd have to give all that up, if we had returned. I also sensed so much more freedom here, socially I mean. The society is much more permeable and it is easier to climb up. One does not feel discriminated against because of one's dialect. I came by coincidence, it was not a planned immigration.

August P. and the other migrants described above had plenty of time to decide whether to immigrate or not. By the time they made a formal decision they had first-hand knowledge
about life in Canada. Furthermore, they had travelled frequently back to Germany and could, therefore, constantly compare the two countries. Thus, they were able to make an informed choice, at least in the sense that by the time they decided they had already decided!

The actual immigration process, therefore, was not traumatic. The adjustment process actually occurred while they were still thinking in temporary terms. The transition from German to Canadian life had already taken place—the official immigration was a mere bureaucratic matter.

In contrast to these "glacial" decision making processes, other interviewees followed more direct, linear and speedy routes. They decided to immigrate, applied for the papers and moved.

The following four interviewees all decided to immigrate to Canada during their working lives. They left secure salaries and generous social programs to "pursue a better lifestyle" and "consciously take life into their own hands".

**The Working Immigrant**

Claudia T. explicitly declares that the sole motivation for her and her husband's move to Canada was a "North American lifestyle" and "better opportunities". The choice was between California and Vancouver; they had close relatives in both places. They chose Canada, because they did not want their sons joining the US army.

When I was seventeen, I stayed in Philadelphia for a year on a student exchange. If I had been able to, I would have stayed then, but I had to come back. Life goes on, I finished school and got married.

My husband has two older sisters, one in California and one in Vancouver. They invited him for a visit, and when he came back, he liked it. He said: "Lots of opportunities there." I jumped at the chance and said: "Great!" I always wanted to live overseas.
It wasn't that we were not living well, or something like that, we were living fine. It was more that we were thinking ahead, saying where are the better opportunities for us and the children, and what life-style would we prefer. That's what it ended up being. We never regretted it.

Reinhard M. and Waltraud W. also immigrated because they liked the Canadian life-style more than the German. They both had been in living in Vancouver for three years on a student exchange, before moving back to Germany for another five years. Prior to Vancouver, Reinhard had also been on a student exchange to England, where he had met two Canadians. He began toying with the idea of finishing his Ph.D in Canada. He was the driving force in obtaining an initial Canadian student visa.

Reinhard: Quite definitely, I have a much freer feeling in Canada. In Germany, I felt very much as if I was lead by the nose, you have to register when you move, you have to have personal identification, the shops have limited store hours. It is a very broad spectrum, but I feel freer here.

Waltraud: I agree. When we had to return after those first three years, I had looked forward to going back, while Reinhard would have loved to stay. But when I did return, I changed my mind. Is there anything like a counter-culture shock? It was much worse going back to Germany than coming to Canada. I had many more difficulties getting along in Germany. Everything was so much more compressed, so many people, the big cities are so close together. It was very oppressing. I had forgotten that while I was here.

Reinhard: I always wanted to go somewhere else. It's in my nature--I always knew that if we hadn't tried to immigrate, I would always have asked myself, why didn't you. ... In Germany, we had a secure future. In a couple of years we would have been able to buy a big house, and then we would have sat in that bungalow, good salary, six weeks of holidays, pi-pa-po, and I would always ask myself, what would have happened if you had immigrated back then. Now, I don't have that feeling at all.

Claudia G., Reinhard M. and Waltraud W. all came when they were relatively young. Reinhard and Waltraud had consciously made the decision to immigrate before they had established themselves fully in Germany. They were afraid that the longer they waited, the harder it would be to give up material possessions and socio-economic security.
Bernhard S. and Benno W. did just that. They moved in the midst of their very successful professional careers, sold their houses and transplanted their wives and children.

Benno W. had a financially rewarding position as an advertising executive, and his wife had a tenured position as a librarian. They had two children, owned a large house in a prestigious suburb and had an active social life. His job required him to travel all over the world, and he began to think of moving to one of the countries he had visited. He was offered a job in South America, but it fell through. After that he could not face "another twenty years in the same job".

Call it mid-life crisis, but it was just like being a Beamter [government official], you just do the same thing over again. You could see exactly what it was going to be like in twenty years.

So I made a list of all the countries I had been to, put in categories such as people, culture, language, what to do in your free time, political stability, climate, etc, evaluated everything from 0-10, and out came Vancouver. I took my favorite city, Hamburg, as an example, and everything had to compare to that. Vancouver came closest: the climate, sailing, skiing, ocean. I took a trip with my wife from Toronto to Vancouver, and she liked it. I bought a partnership in a Canadian firm and planned to run it.

Benno W. had become bored with his life in Germany, and very carefully and consciously picked a place where he could have his own business and lead a life-style that was geared to his interests, such as skiing and sailing. He knew English and the Canadian way of life. He was certain that migration was the best way out of the rut.

The desire to explore new avenues had also played a role in Bernhard S.' decision. Above all, however, he and his wife had been concerned about Germany's political situation in the early eighties, and the future of their four children. Furthermore, both wanted to return to his wife's home continent. Their determination became even stronger when they encountered strong opposition from his family and colleagues based on what they perceived to be an obsession with security.
They were all concerned with the securities in life. I don't believe in Beamtenamt [tenured officials]. It makes you lazy. And today I see this as a great weakness of the government, the universities, the churches, they are all too concerned with the securities in life, and they don't dare to jump into God's open arms. So those discussions just re-enforced my wish to leave. You could say that my immigration was a leap of faith and of course an adventure, but I feel free!

Prior to his immigration he had already travelled extensively to South Africa and Asia and worked in a German community in Texas, where he had met his wife. They had always thought of returning to North America one day. The opportunity came when he saw an advertisement for a position in Vancouver.

The idea to immigrate actually has three reasons. First, my wife is from Texas. We met, became engaged and married within six months. So I had one foot on this continent already, and the memory stays, what it means to work with Germans away from Germany and so on. Second, we had planned a visit to British Columbia, to see some friends, and it just so happened that I saw the ad for someone in Vancouver. So I arranged the interview while we were holidaying. Third, in the early eighties the political situation in Germany was a bit dicey and it gave us an additional drive to return to my wife's continent.

It was no big deal. I mean my wife had followed me from hot Texas to cold Germany where she didn't know anybody, didn't know the language. That was a huge step and a test of her faith. Compared to that, my immigration was very gemütlich [cozy], I still speak German most of the time with my clients, it wasn't a big culture shock at all.

Bernhard S. is still working as a counsellor, and even though his salary is much lower, and his future less secure than in Germany, he has no intentions of returning.

The Retirees

Three interviewees decided to retire in Canada: Walter F., Otto V., and Anton R.. These immigrants are closest to the common stereotype of the "Neueinwanderer".

All three had worked their entire careers in Germany and had accumulated enough wealth to retire comfortably. Otto V. and Walter F. had both survived heart attacks and had had
to retire early. All three interviewees had been to Canada and Vancouver previously. All three

Otto V.'s story is representative. His major motivation for leaving Germany is the

overcrowding in Germany compared with the wide open spaces in Canada.

First, we sent our children to school here. My son finished his high-school degree

here, and after two years started at UBC [University of British Columbia]. We

always stayed at the Bayshore Inn, we loved it, because everything is so
generous—the big rooms, it's a totally different atmosphere here than in the
hotels in Europe, much more free and generous.

Initially, we wanted to retire in Bavaria, but we always looked over to West

Vancouver. Meanwhile, my daughter had come over too. I had arranged for her
to work as a volunteer at the hotel to learn English, but after two months they
hired her with pay. This all worked out beautifully, and then one day, we asked
the children when they wanted to come back to Germany. They both wanted to
stay! So the decision to stay was easy for us, because we knew we wanted to live
here, in this part of town, the view, the ocean, the beautiful landscape and the
nice city. And that is how we did it.

Question: How did you conceive the idea to send your son to school here?

We once met a guide from the Queen Charlotte Islands in Bavaria. He gave us an
enthusiastic speech about Canada. So I said, that I would like to send my son to
school here, so that he could see something else. He promised to find a school,
and he did. My wife, son and I flew over here; my son had to be interviewed
first. So we came over once or twice every year and began to think, we could
actually retire here as well.

The political situation was only of secondary importance to me. But the

overcrowding, and now the threat of the USSR, especially now, after those big
changes—one doesn’t know what's going to happen over there. I once was asked
why I did go. There is only one answer: Europe and Germany are so
overcrowded and I have seen those vast masses of land, where nobody sits, well,
why should I stay in Germany? Here we are at the same latitude as in our
Heimat, we have the same conditions of living—so, when I fell ill, we said, we
should join our children, and not retire in Bavaria.

Otto V. moved his household to Vancouver and relaxed. He has recovered from his heart

attack and become active in new ventures. One is the acquisition of a farm in Williams Lake,
which he manages from his home in Vancouver.
All three men initially described similar motivations, such as "life-style" and "retiring in a beautiful, quiet country" away from the pressures of Germany. But, in the course of the interview, they remembered other incidents in their lives that have influenced the decision to migrate. For example, all three men recalled their service in World War II and explained the influence the War had had on both their thoughts about Germany and their wish to leave.

Otto V. and Anton R. partly wanted to leave Germany to spare their children from serving in another war. Walter F. wanted to leave Germany because he no longer wanted to be associated with the resurgence of Nazi sympathizers.

Anton R.'s migration reasoning is very similar to Otto V.'s. He is just as concerned about overcrowding, wants more opportunities for his children by having them educated in North America, and likes West Vancouver. Throughout the interview he emphasizes that his decisions were guided by clear rationales, wise predictions and careful step-by-step planning. In the course of the discussion, however, he revealed that the thought of living in Canada had been on his mind since the Second World War:

We came to know Vancouver in 1972 while we were on a medical congress here. We met German-born physicians who were practicing in Vancouver, and who invited us into their homes, specifically here, in this beautiful part of the city. We began to think, whether we should perhaps also retire here. And then we prepared the move for years, slowly and carefully. We dropped off the children as soon as they had received their Abitur, installed them and had them study here. The purpose was to open a door into a new world for the children, to give them more options than in Europe.

Of course other factors played a role as well: the overcrowding, the political situation, all things that you read about in the papers now. We saw these problems far in advance, the pollution, the over-industrialization, all those things that shake the young people in Germany today. We thought of that 15-20 years ago. I was able to see these things far in advance, because of my work at the university and on international congresses. I saw what it would be like—in fifty years, the continuous population growth, the political pressure from the East and the economic pressure from the West. So we moved very consciously, into this house, into this area of town.
Anton R. explains how the idea of Canada had been with him since he had heard about Canada’s beauty and wide-open spaces sometime during the War. The idea of escaping war through emigration began to take shape at that time. Thus, immigration had been on his mind long before his first trip to Vancouver:

I had two colleagues in the War who had both accomplished a forestry apprenticeship in British Columbia. They told me about the beauty of the country, and its unspoilt nature, in contrast to the narrow and very endangered Europe. So I thought, my father fell during World War I, my brother and father-in-law fell in World War II, families became decimated—and when you start a family of your own, you say to yourself, I will try and not let my children get into a war again. This is a sub-conscious reason, at least for us, the war-generation, who are now old, it is a reason to come to this country.

And this is important: when I was a young assistant physician in 1948/49, we had to train Baltic refugees. It was organized by the United Nation Rehabilitation. We trained fifteen to twenty Estonians and Lithuanians who then received preferred treatment in their immigration endeavors. I kept in contact with some. Two went to Calgary and established large offices there. We exchanged our children and we visited them. That is how we got to know and to love the prairies. But my wife wanted to go to Vancouver, because there are more possibilities here, climatically and education-wise.

For almost all of Anton R.’s adult life Canada was an immigration objective. He liked the country just from hearing about it, and he began to "love" it during his many visits. His motivations to immigrate have developed throughout the years in a process of interwoven dreams, ideas, events and particular situations. The Second World War had installed in him a wish to safeguard his children from a similar experience. By moving to Canada, he was able to offer them a life on a continent where the threat of war is slim. Furthermore, problems resulting from factors such as overcrowding and pollution are not as pressing as in Germany.

Walter F.’s interview also suggests that his decision has been deeply influenced by war experiences. However, the idea of immigration had never been an option he took seriously: "he thought of himself as a true German". Despite all his doubts about the political situation in Germany, he stayed. He had never thought of moving to Canada until he came for a visit. He
identifies two initial motivations, to further his wife’s career in North America, and to retire in a quiet place.

However, the narrative suggests that Walter F.’s immigration motivations are deeper and more complex. The surface justifications appear to be an attempt to retrospectively make sense of his choices and decisions. This is especially conveyed in the reflections on both his wartime experiences and his perception of Germany’s political situation in the seventies.

For example, he states "political reasons" as his first motivation to immigrate. He wanted to leave a country "... where it again has become important to belong to a certain party in order to advance professionally." He explains that his experiences in the Second World War had made him an "a-political person". These experiences had very much influenced his attitudes toward issues such as nationalism and patriotism.

There are two reasons for my immigration. The first was because I was not happy with the politics in the seventies. Too many people in influential positions seemed to carry the old [Nazi] party-sign underneath their coats.

Well, it goes back to the 131er Gesetz, a law that was installed by the allies after the war. It proclaimed that all active military personnel, all active officers—I was a lieutenant—could not be employed in official and public positions. No employment with the government, no being self-employed, you could not go to the university. My family was an old military family, we as such were no Nazis, but we served, we did our job. ... Our family is an old Christian family, we did our job because we were soldiers, nobody ever said "Heil Hitler".

My father was a general—after the war we were not allowed to do anything. So I went to Switzerland to finish my studies, went back [to Germany], and by then I was allowed to open my own business. ... I was an absolute pacifist, and managed to keep my sons out of the military service. ... By the seventies it became again important to have the right party-sticker. Actually it was best to have both, one under your left lapel and one under your right. It had gotten so far that a person could not get major government accounts without being a party-member. And some of the people, who had been high officials during the war, were in those high positions again. I did not agree with that. In addition, I was working very hard, sixteen hours a day, my marriage broke up, because I did not have any time. My fault—would never happen to me again.
The second reason was that I fell in love with Canada when I visited it in '75. This is the country where I can live in peace, no matter how old I am. I just regret that I didn’t come ten years earlier.

In contrast to Anton R. and Otto V., Walter F. had never toyed with the idea of moving to Canada before his visit. Once, he had briefly thought about joining his brother in South Africa, but had soon forgotten about it.

Never in my dreams did I think about Canada—until I visited. I was alone for four years, then I met my second wife. She is a well-known actress, and I managed her, accompanied her everywhere. When we were in Canada, we liked it, packed up everything and immigrated. I have never been back.

I never thought of moving anywhere, I was German, absolutely, but I was not patriotic, because of those war-experiences. I was very young, seventeen, when I joined the army as a pilot. When I came out, I thought, now I can start my civilian life. But I received a big damper. ... My family was put down, my father was prosecuted in Nuremberg, but nobody could prove anything. My mother had helped a lot of Jews, and would have landed in a concentration camp, had she not been married to my father. After all these experiences, until we were accepted again, my patriotism was gone. I loved flying with my heart and soul. I was too young to say Heil Hitler, but I was educated that way. And I don’t know, I shudder to think, what would have happened to me, if we had won the war.

The visit to Canada triggered the idea to immigrate. He had been to other countries and continents before with his wife, but they did not have the same effect on him. Therefore, one can assume that it was primarily a love of Canada that prompted the immigration rather than his thoughts on the political situation in Germany. But if Canada was the seed that took root the soil was a deep (family) ambivalence about the tensions between military honour and military obedience.

In the course of the interview another development emerges which shows his desire to "shuck" his whole past life.

I have to add one thing. Religion played a very big role. We were both raised as Catholics, but here we both really found our faith. Today, we are Pentecostal. That is what I know now, why I am here, what I didn’t know then.
He has, to some extent consciously, created a life in Canada for himself and his family that is quite different from his life in Germany. He and his wife now work for a Chilliwack firm because "retirement got a little boring". However, he makes an effort not to work too much and spends as much time as he can with his family and the church—which he never had time for in Germany.

Although Walter F. has never been back to Germany he still maintains an apartment in Switzerland which he and his wife use at least twice a year. For him, as for most other interviewees, Germany's proximity is a bonus to their lives in Canada. They can choose when and where to go and how long to stay.

Wanting To Go Far Away

The relatively easy accessibility of Germany features both positively and negatively in migration decisions. Some immigrants like the proximity because they have family members in Germany who they need to visit, while others have business ventures in Germany which they need to attend to frequently.

For some, however, it was not the nearness of Germany, but the distance that became a deciding factor. For example, August P. and Johann S. both stated that a life away from dominating families had been deciding motives. Neither of them had thought of this motive while still in Germany. Instead, they had experienced this particular "freedom" in Canada before formally migrating.

The Undecided

I met several Germans who had entered Canada on visitor, or working, visas and were still undecided whether to immigrate or not. Some had close family ties in Germany, and some
were wondering whether they would ever find a feeling of "homeness" in Canada. They all weighed the pros and cons and simply could not make a decision yet.

The following interview reflects this juggling of pros and cons. The couple explains to the researcher that they need not make a decision yet and, therefore, they have no serious immigration thoughts. During the dialogue however, they begin to think about immigrating. Franz K. and Wilmine S., had arrived in Vancouver in 1989 after a two year stay in the United States. They have two small children, and feel they do not have to make a decision until the children reach school age. They claim they have not found a place yet, including Germany, where they would like to settle down.

**Franz:** We just wanted to look around, wanted to see something different. I am earning a very low salary here, but we invest in other experiences: how people work in other countries, get to know other cultures. I do not earn big bucks, but the experiences are worth something back in Germany. It's fun too. After ten years in the same institute [in Germany], one does stagnate a bit.

But, I don't know, the American attitudes—it's so idiotic, they are so full of their own country and don't have any interest in foreigners. They are so patriotic and cannot bear to be made fun of.

**Wilmine:** For me, Canada has always been the cleaner country [than the USA], more liberal, had solved the Native Indian question better—and then you see, there is nil environmental concern, no recycling, nothing, the premier doesn't even talk to the Indians. Canada is not as I had imagined.—I can only imagine, but I would prefer to spend my old age in Europe. There, you have lots of things on a small area. Nothing changes much in this huge place. I see the advantages of Europe now, and I am glad that I have the choice. I have not had to decide yet, which chair I'll want to sit on. I can still go where I want to.—Here, I have difficulties to make contact, small talk on the playground. Everything is so superficial.

**Franz:** But we've only been here very shortly. We have talked about that, it would be a reason to go back to Germany, because we left a circle of friends, who all now have children themselves. You have a common background. It is a little different in Germany—oh, to lead a good conversation again!
Wilmine: It's difficult to say, whether it's the country, or is it because we have children now, because both happened at the same time. We tried to find another family to share the house with, we didn't want to live as a nuclear family, but most people who answered the ad were divorced men. Seems to be a different style here.

Franz: They are all so established here—not like the people we would like to have contacts with. You don't have a common base, it's O.K. for a while, but it doesn't go very far. In Germany we have a lot more in common with our friends.

Wilmine: But that took ten years to develop!

Franz: I'm sure lots has changed at home too. And it probably looks rosier from the distance. There are a lot of things that are easier here, the possibilities to shop, friendly people in the stores, we would have some difficulties moving back.

Wilmine: If you look at the living quarters, I have never lived as comfortably as I have in the States and here. That will be difficult to adjust to [in Germany].

Franz: Yes, in comparison to the quality of life--to go skiing takes a lot longer in Germany, and I'm just thinking of the traffic to the place, let alone the wait at the lifts.

Wilmine: It will be difficult to get used to the masses of people again, they are so much more aggressive, they all seem to have a grim face. The difference between there and here, like night and day.

Franz: Generally speaking--we are not that keen to quickly go back to Germany. You see advantages and disadvantages. Financially, I don't see that we could stay in Vancouver. Up to now we regarded travelling as an investment, but at some point, you need other things.

Wilmine: I also don't have a high opinion of the school system here, would prefer the German system. They don't put enough money into mass education.

Franz: But the schools would not be a reason to move back, one would just pick the best here that's available. Financially, it would be better to go back--would be a reason. All in all it matters where you feel the best--and we have not found that yet.

At the moment both Franz and Wilmine are undecided. They are still at the "wait and see" stage, fully aware that the final decision will not be an easy one.
2. The Move

In contrast to the Australian interviews, the Canadian interviewees do not make much of the distinction between the "naive" and the "prepared" immigrant. With one exception, all immigrants had been to Canada or elsewhere in North America before. They all knew what to expect in terms of housing, cultural differences, working conditions and language difficulties.

Most informants did not experience complications during immigration. Some immigrants had prepared the move over a long period (e.g. Anton R., Otto V.), while others simply packed up and moved as soon as their application had been accepted (e.g. Reinhard and Waltraud M., Bernhard S., Jens N., Claudia G.).

3. The Contrasts Between Expectations And Reality

Again, because all interviewees had a fair idea of what to expect, there were no major disappointments and, therefore, no major adjustment difficulties. Some immigrants deliberately chose Vancouver as their future residence, because it offered a life-style like they were used to in Germany (e.g. Otto V., Anton R., Jens N.).

4. Adjustment

Most interviewees claim not to have had any major adjustment difficulties. Again, many had not only known Vancouver before their actual immigration, but had also carefully planned the move, sometimes years in advance (Anton R., Otto V.). Some had already lived in Vancouver years prior to their immigration, like Reinhard and Waltraud, and simply continued where they had left off. Others, like the three bachelors who arrived during the sixties, found parts of their first years "pretty rough" (Hans T.), but the positive aspects of life in Canada outweighed the tough times.
There are some immigrants, who found the early years quite difficult. The major obstacle seems to have been the language. Other challenges were presented by culture shock or personal problems.

**Easy Adjustment**

The immigrants with the least adjustment difficulties are those who had prepared their immigration very carefully, and those who did not have to worry about money: the retirees.

Anton R., for example, bought his house several years before his arrival, rented it out and then moved in after his arrival. His children had arrived before him. Anton R. did take a language course to improve his English, but soon found that he didn’t need to improve much. He found that most of his friends were German and, thus, he was speaking 90% German.

Maybe I am not that interesting for you, because I belong to a special group: a man, who moves at the end of his life to Vancouver, British Columbia, into this particular part of town. A couple, who comes during their middle years, or goes to Australia, has to earn their livelihood, has to make contacts with the native population—much faster than we had to. Their children naturally become Canadian or Australian, while our children basically remained German.—The other thing is that we still have our house in Germany. Therefore, we actually have not immigrated, we have just moved. Our son still lives in our house, and our Oma. So we basically just moved the center of our family.

Anton R. has not broken his ties to Germany, indeed, he does not consider himself to be a true immigrant. Adjustment difficulties are comparable to those inherent in any other move. He points out though, that his wife had to overcome more stumbling blocks. She began working in a travel agency and has to face the language difficulties. However, it is easy enough for her to fly back to Germany for a while when homesickness becomes too much.

The three bachelors who arrived in the sixties all claim not to have had any major adjustment difficulties. They did experience problems such as being out of a job for a couple of weeks (Peter B.), or culture shock while working in a Northern British Columbia mill during the...
winter (Hans T.), but none of it seems to have been a particular hardship. They all thought their stay would only be temporary, so they just regarded it as another experience. By the time they actually decided to immigrate, they had actually adjusted so well that they found it difficult to return.

Difficult Adjustment

Some immigrants did experience personal and professional difficulties during the first few years. Here, I observed that none of the interviewees attributed their difficulties to the Canadian culture, bureaucracy, or the Canadian people. Rather, they either attributed it to their own wrong decisions, or to the general difficulties associated with a move to a new environment:

The first two years were not easy, you just had to adjust to so many little things. But now, we continuously feel better as time goes by (Bernhard S.).

The first year was actually quite exciting, there was so much to do and to see, but the next two years were hard, because there were a lot of things you had to work out, like schools for the children, the money was tight, the car broke down and so on (Hanna R.).

Benno W. gives an example of how a wrong business decision turned his first two years into a near-disaster. He had meticulously chosen Vancouver as the destination and had conscientiously pursued the necessary immigration procedures. Prior to his immigration, friends told him of a Canadian paper firm and within two days had bought a partnership.

I arrived at the beginning of December, bought a house on the 11th, and on the 13th realized that the firm was broke. On the 15th we went on a skiing holiday for three weeks. That's when I realized we'd have to sell the house again. It was O.K., the agent was a German. I hadn't done my homework, I had not realized what bad shape the firm was in.

That was the worst year, the firm was broke, the house was rented, not as I had imagined it to turn out. By the end of the year I had a nervous breakdown, the doctor told me to quit, so I lay resting in the backyard for a year, under the trees, writing my book. I guess I dealt with my mid-life crisis.
You know, you always hear that the Germans know everything better, they come and talk about the Canadians: "They're all Schlafmützen [sleepy heads]." I did the same thing. And actually to this day I have never forgiven myself for mucking this one up. I have a Schuldgefühl [feeling of guilt] that I didn't do my homework, I didn't do enough.

He subsequently opened a little snack-bar with a friend, realized that they were too inexperienced, and sold it profitably after three months. After this episode he began a career as a real estate agent and now owns his own insurance agency. After he had been in Vancouver for four years, he was offered a job in Germany which he did not accept. Despite the difficulties, he and his wife had liked Canada so much that they decided to stay.

Language

Most interviewees state that language problems had been the worst obstacle. It doesn't seem to matter whether a person spoke English beforehand, or didn't. They all had to struggle to feel at ease with it.

Claudia T., for instance, had spent a year in the United States as a student and knew English very well when she immigrated. However, she also admits that the first years were tough.

The hardest thing was learning the language. My children were four and five at the time, so we had Sesame Street running all day. My mother resents that they don't speak German anymore, but it was just too difficult, we made a choice to speak English in the house—it was not easy.

Jens N. did not know any English at all, and learned it through daily conversations with colleagues and friends.

The language was terrible. I didn't speak any English when I came, but I learned very quickly. I just went for it.

Immigrants embrace the new language in various ways. Some chose to speak English only, like Claudia T. and Johann S. They switched entirely to English because "after all I live in
Canada and should speak that language. If I miss German so much, I should go back" (Johann S.). Others realized, they would never completely learn the language and leave it at that (Bernhard S., Stefan H.). They speak German with friends or at work, and they usually have a well-stocked German library.

Comparisons Between Canada And Germany

In Canada, the interviewees all emphasized the greater "freedom", that attracted them to Canada and made it easy to leave Germany. "Freedom" is perceived as "wideness of the country", the "emptiness" (considerable less amount of people) of the countryside and the cities, and the "friendliness" and "greater tolerance" of the Canadians.

The wilderness, the skiing. I had always been a boy-scout, and here I could live that without the rigidity of the organization. I started to appreciate this freedom in the first two years. Over there, people own you: the boy-scouts, the church. Here, nobody does. That was a newfound freedom (Peter B.).

The tolerance of the people is greater. You can do things here, without having your neighbor look over the fence and tell you: your lawn needs cutting. The various cultures can live together easier [than in Germany], your own habits are tolerated.--I feel much freer here, no mother who tells me to clean the windows. I do what I do, and don't care what somebody else thinks. When I think about it—it seems so funny now--the things I did in Germany! Cleaning the house! But you never question it when you live in that society (Hanna R.)

Everything is much freer here. For example there is no mandatory registration here. What do they say over there: Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit [unity, justice and freedom]. Well there is no unity, there is no justice [he tells a long story about a court case that he had over a speeding ticket], and there is no freedom. You have to do things: registration, draft, voting (Nurmi B.).

The things that most immigrants miss in Canada is the Kultur (arts, music, and theater), and the Kulturleben, the life that goes with it.

Vancouver still doesn't have a real Kultur. It's lacking two things: a subculture, and the culture that's there is not a top notch culture, it's mediocre. I come from Berlin, which has all that. It's so easy to be part of it there, even though it's crowded. There is nothing interesting here (Stefan H.).
There is too little *Kultur* here. Let’s say, everything is new and young. Nothing is old here, nothing that forms people. The people here are shaped by newness, they don’t know what an old castle is, what it means to take a walk in the castle gardens (Nurmi B.).

Of course we miss the German theater, whereas music is international (Bernhard S.).

But again, although most interviewees miss the German *Kultur*, they are not too sorry about it, because many travel back to Germany regularly. As Reinhard M. puts it:

I rather live here and visit *Kultur* once in a while, than live over there and only come every second year to visit all the things I prefer here.

A couple of informants are highly critical of the Canadian education system, while others think it is much superior to the German. But the arguments are highly opinionated.

There are some criticisms about Canada, but again, they are highly opinionated, depending what type of government or political direction a person prefers. Some interviewees dislike the fact that the Canadians are not "ordentlich" (neat) and do not dress up on Sundays or for the theater. Others love the freedom of dress. Some are outraged that "homosexuals are allowed to teach in the schools and be members of the government", while others welcome this liberalism. The numerous criticisms are highly subjective and cannot be generalized.

5. Gender Roles

There is no reference to any disparate female and male perceptions of the issues of migration motivation or adjustment. None of the female interviewees thinks that there is any difference between themselves and their Canadian sisters, nor do they find Canadian society any more or less prejudiced against women than the German.

The only remark about male and female adjustment processes comes from Anton R. He thinks that the "*kultivierte deutsche Frau*" might have more difficulties and be more homesick than a man.
My wife and most immigrated German women feel more attracted to the German and European Kultur than the men. They miss all the things that make life comfortable for a kultivierte Frau, such as fashion and clothes, everything that belongs to the beauties of life. So she flies back to Europe twice a year, meets with her friends and goes shopping.

Thus, occasional longings for the kultivierten things in life can easily be satisfied with a quick visit to Europe. Unlike their Australian counterparts, more wealthy women do not seem to have problems adjusting to the Canadian society. They do not feel loss of prestige and social recognition. Like any other immigrant, they miss certain aspects of life in Germany and Europe that they had loved, such as certain material things like a big selection of European fashions and designer items.

6. Return Migration

None of the interviewees is thinking about a return to Germany. They all have settled "for life" in Canada. Some have kept their houses or apartments in Europe, in order to travel back and forth, and to offer their children a constant choice of location. Others visit family and friends in Germany regularly and receive German visitors. All find life very satisfactory and have no regrets they immigrated.

7. Relationships With Other Germans

Friends And Family In Germany

All interviewees maintain some contacts to friends and families in Germany. Most say they did not receive any criticisms from their friends and relatives when they decided to immigrate. The ones who did, only felt reinforced in their decision.
My brothers all thought I was crazy and said: "What will you do when you get there? They hire and they fire." My colleagues thought the same. That only reinforced me. I didn’t want to be with people in an organization, who are only concerned with the securities in life, and don’t risk anything (Bernhard S.).

The family said more, when we left for the second time. They hadn’t counted on it. By then, the children had been born, and that made the whole thing more difficult. The reaction of friends was different. Most of them thought we were crazy. Some did understand, but the majority, and that surprised me, couldn’t understand it at all. Well, objectively, maybe we are crazy. I had a good job, secure, just like a government position. Objectively seen, it was perfect. And then I give all that up, without having a position here! Some didn’t understand that at all, I was surprised, but not deterred (Reinhard M.).

In most cases, the informants lose contacts to most friends. This is partially due to the fact that contact maintenance over such a distance becomes tiresome, and partially, because people become estranged over the years.

I find it hard to write letters, to always find something new. There isn’t all that much happening, and I’m not often in the mood to write all my thoughts.—Also, one does change. We had visitors here, we knew each other without kids. They have other ideas how to raise theirs, and that presented frictions (Hanna R.).

This development is taken as a natural course of life. The alienation from some friends and family members would also happen in Germany. Some immigrants sense some sadness, but also accept it quite matter-of-factly.

German Immigrants In Canada

Most interviewees do not actively seek contacts with other German immigrants, although all of them do have German friends.

I don’t care what nationality my friends are, they are from all over the place (Nurmi B.).

We have not found really close friends yet. There is a family that we are quite close with, they are Germans too. Funny, but there seems to be something that’s in common, maybe a common way of thinking (Hanna R.).
Friendships are made regardless of nationality. Some do find that there are more communalities with Germans than with Canadians, but they would not admit to actively searching for German contacts. For example, the two retirees Otto V. and Anton R. both say that 90% of their friends are German but, apparently, neither of them had made a special effort to seek them out.

Well, we did leave some friends in Germany, but one does become richer [in Vancouver] too: we made many good friends here, Germans, they live here. They like to live in West Vancouver, and there is a whole circle of, say, 20 families who we regularly meet with. It just so happened, they heard that we were Germans when we moved in, and they came to us (Otto V.).

This particular area of town attracts many wealthy Neueinwanderer, who like to live in a prestigious neighborhood. Apparently, the resident Germans quickly spot newcomers and draw them into their social circle. The immigrants find that they have a common history: many are retirees; have medical or business degrees, and have similar interests, such as tennis, golf and hunting.

We joined a club right away, because we are a very sportive family, and because we wanted to meet Canadians. So we joined the club here, in this area of town, to play tennis, but we only became friends with Germans (Anton R.).

I wanted to know why most of his friends were German, and why there were not more Canadians among his friends. He presented the answer as a comparison of Canadian and German "character traits":

We don't know, after all these years. The Canadians are very reserved toward us. They find many of my questions disagreeable. When I ask about their children, they take that as an invasion into their privacy. They live their life, obviously a happy life, but they don't value personal contacts. We did invite Canadians, but we are actually waiting to be invited in return. I think that has many reasons. It might be us, but there are other things.
I respect the Canadians in many things, they have a lot of positive attributes that we, the Germans don't have: they are not nosy, are not jealous in material things, don't compare their possessions, let the others live their lives, without criticizing them. We Germans, we tend to give rules and set regulations. Those are the disadvantages of the Germans. ... The German is loud, always wants to tell the others how busy and capable he is, and wants to tell the others, with his German finger, that his way of living is exemplary for others.

Maybe that is a reason why the Canadian women don't invite the Germans in return. They might feel a certain reservation, when they see what the Deutsche Hausfrau does. And that goes for all of them, excuse my pointed finger, but for all of them! They all put something on the table, when they have improvised invitations, a couple of flowers, cookies, and this and that, and that is a deterrent to the Canadians, because they think, my God, I can never do that.

Both Anton R. and Otto V. never had time for an extensive social life back in Germany. They had worked too hard and the family was the only social focus. In retirement they find the time to build friendships, pursue their hobbies, and socialize. Their German friends have similar backgrounds and similar hobbies and, therefore, they feel comfortable in that circle. They do not see the need to specifically seek Canadian friendships.

**German Institutions**

Neither of the interviewees is interested in joining the German cultural organizations such as the Alpen Club or the various Schützenvereine and Gesangsvereine (shooting and singing groups), because they feel that these clubs represent a culture that is not theirs.

Some are members of St. Mark's Lutheran Church, which has a reputation of being liberal and broad-minded. One person had joined the Catholic parish, but left after a year, because

the churches are a little more rigid and inflexible here. I was angry every time I left the church. I had the impression—the people are all older, the same age as my parents, maybe a little younger, but they convey an image of Germany as it was after the war. It doesn't have anything to do with the Germany that we know, we cannot identify with it.
One person had joined the German-Canadian Congress, but had resigned after two years. He thought that the Congress was not adequately supported by the German government. Others had been thinking about joining the Congress, but were deterred by the competition and infighting of the various member-organizations, clubs and individuals.

*Alteinwanderer*

Again, *Neueinwanderer* do not especially seek connections with *Alteinwanderern*. Close relationships develop by coincidence. In general, the interviewees feel that the *Alteinwanderer* hold on to their nostalgic dreams and memories of pre-immigration times, and therefore have a somewhat unrealistic view of today's Germany.

It makes me sad, when I see this behaviour. I cannot describe this feeling, it's depressing, when I see how they desperately try to hold on to something that is not there anymore. I don't feel comfortable with that (Hanna R.).

8. Choice Of Country

Not many interviewees had thought about the possibility of an alternative immigration to Australia. Australia was too far away from Germany to be even considered. It either did not enter their minds, or the distance had immediately made an immigration to Australia irrelevant.

Others had considered an immigration to Australia, but had dismissed it, because "the country is too British and too Hinterhof (backyard)" (Benno W.), or "too British and dirty for my taste" (Nurmi B.).

Hans T. tells how in the mid-sixties, Australia had tried to draw German immigrants through heavy advertisement. However, he did not want to immigrate there, because he did not know anybody "and it's always better when you have relatives in the place you're going to".
Some are fascinated by the country and would like to travel to Australia (Johann S., Peter B., Stefan H., Wilmine K.), but never considered immigrating.

3. COMPARISON BETWEEN AUSTRALIAN AND CANADIAN NARRATIVES

A comparison of Australian and Canadian interviews reveals commonalities and disparities. However, the differences are by far not as strong as in the "common knowledge" category. For example, most interviewees in both countries claim to be satisfied with their decision to migrate and talk positively about their experiences. However, the processes of immigration and subsequent adjustment differ slightly from country to country.

When comparing the interviews, it becomes obvious that not all themes appear in each interview. This can partially be attributed to the individual choice of the interviewee, but is also country-specific. While all informants comment upon themes 1. Motivation, 2. Migration Process, 4. Adjustment, and 7. Relations to other Germans, only the Australian interviewees elaborate on themes 3. Contrasts between Expectation and Reality and 6. Return Migration. This can also be observed in the category "common knowledge". Thus, issues such as unsuccessful immigrations, unfulfilled ideas and unrealistic hopes, difficult adjustments, and returns to Germany are more widely discussed in Australia than in Canada.

It is argued that this is partially due to the fact that (1) Australia and Canada do differ geographically and socio-culturally, and therefore provide different problems in the adjustment processes of new immigrants, and (2) most Australian immigrants had not been to the country beforehand and did not know what to expect, while all but one of the Canadian immigrants had previous experience.

It should be noted here, that the latter point might be attributed to differences in the samples. The evidence suggests a slight class difference between the Australian and Canadian
informants. As mentioned before, none of the Australian informants talking about their personal experiences could be classified as typical wealthy *Neueinwanderer*. In Canada, on the other hand, there are at least three informants who fit that common knowledge description.

Six of the eight Australian interviewees could financially not afford a pre-immigration informational trip. Two persons, Roland P and Martin W., holidayed in Australia when they decided to immigrate. Roland P. stayed and applied from within the country, while Martin W. secured a job, returned to Germany and applied there for the visa.

According to the informants in the category common knowledge, however, wealthy *Neueinwanderer* do travel repeatedly to Australia before deciding on a formal migration. As Paul C. explains:

The immigrants do read up—prepare quite heavily. Many come over several times, that's for sure. Sometimes, I am really surprised how much they know, and wonder how they got the information: where to live, which part of the country would be good for the kids, and so on.

It seems reasonable to assume, then, that distance and cost of travel also does not deter these immigrants from frequent visits to Germany, once the physical move has occurred. However, for less affluent Australian-Germans, frequent visits to Germany are not as possible, especially when children are involved. Bouts of homesickness cannot be easily overcome with a quick trip back to Germany. Thus, for some, Australia's original attraction—remoteness of the continent—becomes a source of discontent. In Canada, all informants appear to regularly visit Germany.

In both countries all immigrants are aware that their immigration need not be final and that they can choose to return anytime. Thus, some informants resist becoming Australianized or Canadianized, while others prefer to see themselves as global citizens who simply want to live their own life-style, and do not want to fit into any particular ethnic category.
At first glance, there are certain "push" factors such as environmental concerns (pollution and overcrowding), and undesired political situations that cause people to emigrate.

There are also several factors that attract, or "pull" immigrants to both Australia and Canada, such as the wide open spaces, the possibility to own land, the longing for adventure and unspoilt nature, and the wish for a life independent from governmental. Added motives for an Australian immigration are the climate, the remoteness of the continent, and the possibility to easier own a house and business. Canada, on the other hand, is attractive to immigrants, especially retirees and investors, who value the relative closeness of the country.

The above emigration and immigration motives are given by most interviewees. They are the same motives that are cited by the interviewees in the category "common knowledge". At first glance, the motives can be related to the traditional migration-models of "push" and "pull". However, the in-depth interviews reveal that many immigrants use these commonly known reasons, in order to find an easy explanation for their thought-processes and actions. The actual decision to migrate is made within highly individualized and unique circumstances. The idea of immigration emerges from a series of events and personal experiences. For example, Anton R. could trace his first thoughts back to the Second World War when he heard about "the wide and safe open space" from two co-workers. Others, like Claudia G. and Benno W., had traveled extensively and "always" knew they preferred the Canadian life-style to the German. The transformation of these thought-processes into the actual migration decision always is a highly individualized combination of factors and events.

Migration motivations and decision making processes are as numerous as there are immigrants; there is no all-encompassing "macro" or aggregate "micro" factor. The motivations cannot be generalized. They can, at best, be described: to follow loved ones; a mid-life crisis; a heart attack and the realization that things have to be taken easier; to escape dull routines; to
leave close and dominant relatives; to fulfill visions of adventure and old boy-scout dreams; to
find a husband; the realization that one likes one country better than the other, and so on.

Immigrants' expectations of life in the new country are always hopeful and positive. During
the process of deciding and moving, all immigrants, regardless whether they have been
to the country beforehand or not, try to be as informed as possible. They all expect to maintain
their economic standard of living in Australia and Canada and do not want to take any losses. At
the same time, they expect to add a new quality to their lives, for example the "use" of the vast
Australian bushland or Canadian back-country, and "freedom" from governmental interference.
They hope for the best of both worlds: a secure and adequate standard of living as they were
used to in Germany, but a higher quality of life and a more easy-going and independent life-
style.

None of the interviewees seems to have had any major problems with the bureaucratic
migration procedures. The actual migration process however appears to have been a little harder
for some of the Australian interviewees than it was for the Canadians. The Australian-Germans
advise to be well prepared, not to expect any help from others and not to believe the Australian
immigration brochures. Some migrants who had entirely relied on second hand information
subsequently had quite traumatic experiences, for example Irmgard O. and Jutta U.

The contrasts between expectation and reality appear to have been the major cause for a
difficult adjustment in some Australian cases. However, most claim not to have had any
difficulties, because they were prepared for the unforeseen and had expected things to be
different.

This claim runs counter to the observations made by the interviewees in the common
knowledge category. These state that most Neueinwanderer have great adjustment problems.
These informants explain that *Neueinwanderer* do not want to adapt but instead expect to mold the Australian culture and society to their needs.

The interviewees in both countries recognize that learning the language was the biggest problem to overcome. Some have strived to master the English language as perfectly as possible, while others are satisfied to reach an adequate level of understanding. The latter tend to socialize predominantly with Germans, and surround themselves with German books and German-made articles.

Knowledge of the English language combined with knowledge of a profession also seems to be a key factor for a successful adjustment. In both countries, the interviewees believe that a basic professional training, and "German reliability and professionalism" (Nurmi B.) joined with Canadian or Australian certificates, gives a competitive advantage over Australians and Canadians. In Australia this opinion was often combined with remarks about the "terrible" Australian education and low work ethic.

Most interviewees in Australia and Canada do not particularly seek out the contact with other Germans, and do not join any German clubs, churches or institutions. They rather form friendships with whoever they like, regardless of their nationality. An exception to this are the wealthy *Neueinwanderer* in Vancouver, who admit that 90% of their friends are German. Both Anton R. and Otto V. maintain that this was not planned, it rather "just happened". As Anton R. explains: "We didn't really immigrate we just moved our household to Vancouver."

The subject of return migration is discussed more in Australia than it is in Canada. The interviewees in the category "common knowledge" believe that the number of return migrants is very high. On the other hand, most interviewees in the category "individual knowledge" do not want to return. However, many of them know of people who would like to return or indeed have already done so.
In Canada, no interviewee elaborates on return migration. It is generally believed that the geographic proximity and socio-cultural similarity of Canada to Germany facilitates a successful immigration. People know of others who have returned, but they explain this with personal reasons, such as family obligations or business problems.

Theme 5. Gender Roles is discussed by women and men in Australia only. I was particularly interested whether women in Australia and Canada have different ideas and experiences about migration and adjustment. My own prejudices against "Australian sexism" led me to expect that German women in Australia would have greater difficulties adjusting to the "male dominated world" than the women in Canada. Therefore, I was quite surprised that, in contrary, some German women in Australia seem to thrive. They have realized that, because of their better education and vocational training, they have a comparative advantage over both Australian men and women. Thus, they are successful in their ventures and see opportunities they would never have had in Germany. The German weekly Die Woche in Australien repeatedly ran stories about successful women who had opened their own little businesses, such as a jewellery-studio, a gallery for Aboriginal art, or a fashion store. Because of their advantages and successes, the women seem to find strength within themselves to "go for it and not be bothered by chauvinistic attitudes" (Lena C.). They realize that many Australian women suffer great disadvantages, but they see themselves as beyond that.

Only very few people commented on their choice of country. It appears that most people take a liking to one country at some point in their lives and stay with it. Only a few weigh the pros and cons of each country and then make a decision. None of the Australian interviewees who rejected Canada actually knew the country, while both Canadian informants who rejected Australia did so because of personal experience.

Add here "no finality"
In conclusion, the analysis shows no difference between Australian and Canadian subjective comments on migration motivation. Slight country-specific variations occur in “Contrasts between Expectation and Reality (theme 3)”, "Adjustment (theme 4) and "Return Migration (theme 6)". It appears that the reasons for adjustment problems are an unwillingness, or inability, to adjust to an unknown socio-cultural environment, and the harshness of the Australian climate and geography. Furthermore, the expectations of the Australian informants are predominantly formed through second-hand information, which may lead to unrealistic anticipation, followed by disappointment, difficult adjustment and possible return migration. In contrast, the Canadian immigrants do not seem to have any major adjustment problems.
VII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study presents a phenomenological interpretation of migration. It examines the migration process of contemporary Germans as a whole, including migration motivations, decision making and adjustment in the new country. The focus is upon letting the migrants "speak for themselves". Thus, the data were collected using long, unstructured interviews rather than the more common questionnaire method. In addition, statistical data and literary documents have been used. The nature of the data also led me to look at how interviewees make sense of the migration process, how they perceive the migration of others and how they experience their own migration.

The major finding is that individual migrants' conception of the migration process differs from conventional understandings that are manifested in the migration literature, in common sense and in policy making. These conventional conceptualizations of the migration process are predicated upon viewing it as a linear process of decision making, physical move and settlement. Once the migrant has settled, the process is complete. However, as has been shown in this thesis, most migrants themselves view the process as an ongoing one, indeed only with the benefit of considerable hindsight do some realize that a migration has taken place.

The physical migration process can follow one of several different sequences. There is the conventional sequence: decision making, legal application, geographical move and settlement. But migrants also move first via some non-migrant status, later decide to immigrate, and then apply for legal status. Others apply for immigrant status, move, and then decide whether to stay.

As well as the physical migration, however, there are the mental or experiential processes, which are ongoing and idiosyncratic. For most migrants the experiential process continues, even though the legal application and geographical move is completed. Others, who
are not legally migrants have begun the mental and psychological transition. Thus, mental resolution of the migration process is a continuum, albeit one that is never completely finished—the migrant is never the native-born.

The combination of physical sequence and stage of mental process, therefore produces a variety of migration patterns. Both Irmgard O. and Sybille K., for example, have formally and physically migrated, but both have not made a commitment to remaining in Australia. They would return to Germany if personal, and financial circumstances did not prevent them from doing so.

Another pattern is illustrated by Hans T. in Canada. The reason for his (legal) immigration was to escape the military draft in Germany. He intended to return after the drafting period. But, after several years he realized that he preferred life in Canada, and that he had mentally migrated. Another pattern is illustrated by the Neueinwanderer who legally immigrated, but "leave the door open for a return" (Paul C.). These migrants retain homes in Germany or other parts of Europe, which they frequently visit. In fact, in Canada there are some who routinely commute between both countries and never experientially immigrate. Legal immigration is used to simply expand the possibilities of life, or to use that over-used term "lifestyle"—business ventures, choice of living quarters, winter sports, hunting trips, schools for the children etc..

Yet, another pattern is illustrated by people who physically move to the new country, because they may want to travel, work and experience life abroad. Legal immigration enters the process at a later stage. For example, Evert B., Franz K. and Wilmine S. wanted to see other lands and cultures, without thinking about legal immigration. They found work (and, thus, a working permit—August P.), or a place to study (Johann S. and Peter B.), and decided to legally immigrate when circumstances required it, such as when the visa ran out or a marriage partner was found.
Previous migration processes were typically more aggregate, linear, discrete and final. Most immigrants applied, fulfilled the legal requirements, moved, settled and began a new life. They knew they had to stay and fight through any difficulties. Various combinations of de facto expulsions, long distances, difficult transportation and high costs made either a return visit, or even return migration, impossible for almost all migrants. These physical, political and economic forces shaped a sense of social distance--there was no going back.

Therefore, migrants concentrated on adapting to their circumstances in the new country. They pursued assimilation into the host society, but this was mediated and buffered by social mechanisms that allowed them to maintain an ethnic identity. These migrants were uprooted (see also: Shils 1976). They missed Germany and tried hard to re-create and maintain Deutschtum in the new country. This was often facilitated by the fact that cohesive groups migrated--church congregations, parts of villages, or even groups of friends.

Most Neueinwanderer, on the other hand, immigrate either individually or with their immediate family. Their migration is different from previous German migrations in at least two ways. First, their migrations typically do not have the same discreteness or finality as the migrations of the Alteinwanderer. Second, the sequencing of the migration process does not follow the same pattern. Rather, their migration process is individual, gradual, recursive and complex.

The idiosyncratic character of contemporary German migration is partially due to highly selective immigration policies by the receiving countries and also partially due to the diminution of perceived immediate threats.

The clear and obvious "push" factors--such as war, religious persecution and poverty--which fuelled large migration streams in the past are no longer relevant. Furthermore, there are no obvious economic reasons for migration, such as wage rate differentials. In short, Germans do not want to emigrate in droves.
"Pull" factors have also changed. First, neither Australia or Canada want large numbers of immigrants. Second, receiving countries have become much more discriminating—not everyone who wishes to migrate is allowed to do so. These changes in both push and pull have altered the migration environment. They have several consequences for the migration process.

First, migration motivations are predominantly highly individual. Although there are some generalizable motives this analysis shows that these "public motives" alone rarely cause emigration. It is interesting to note, for example, that the number of German emigrants remained stable in 1982 when Russia invaded Afghanistan. Russian threats are a frequently cited public motive for emigration. Similarly, the numbers did not rise in the years after 1976, when Germany experienced a drastic increase in unemployment (Lüthke 1989:105). However, according to the perceptions of my informants, queries about possible emigration rise at times of economic and political crises like those described above.

It is beyond the scope (and data) of this thesis to examine this issue in detail. However, it does suggest three possible alternative interpretations. First, events such as those described in the paragraph above may increase interest in migration in the sending country, but not result in higher emigration numbers because receiving countries do not accept more immigrants. Second, such events may be "triggers"—which simply move forward migrations that would normally have occurred at a later date. Third, migrants may cite current events and crises as their motives in explaining their migration to others. It appears that crises are "acceptable" migration motives—they are easier to explain and less questionable, or controversial, than more complex personal motivations.

The second consequence of the absence of major external, or macro, factors for emigration and immigration is that the decision making process is highly individualized. In contrast to historical migrations, where large groups of people, sometimes whole villages,
migrated, contemporary German migration is entirely centered around individual or family decisions and circumstances. The decision making process is more influenced by personal histories, psychological factors and individual socio-economic circumstances. The analysis shows, for example, that some people harboured the idea of moving to Canada for a long time, and that these ideas are traceable back to people they met and stories they heard at an early stage in their lives. Other interviewees realize that a wish to escape particular personal relationships played a significant role in the process.

Some migrants, such as Benno W., cite a "major mid-life crisis" as a motivation for migration. A mid-life crisis may contribute to migration at both a psychological and justificatory level. As Silverman (1967) has pointed out, a life-crisis allows a person to re-evaluate the past, and to consciously change and take charge of the present. Migration is often an ideal and dramatic vehicle for such a change. As Whittaker (1986:100) explains, migrants who use life-crisis arguments as justifications "... adhere closely to a cultural code of reasoning."

Most interviewees find it difficult to recall when and how exactly the decision to migrate was made. Rather they tell stories that explain the circumstances of the process. Even actions that signal a "decision" to others, such as applying for immigration and moving, often does not mean that the individual perceives that he or she has actually decided. Instead, many interviewees give themselves a trial period—they "check it out", and "see how it goes". Others had travelled to Australia or Canada and simply never got around to moving back to Germany.

The third consequence is that the adjustment process of contemporary German migrants seems to depend entirely on the individual’s coping strategies. As has been stated above, the migration numbers are small, only individuals or small families migrate. Contrary to historical migration, there is no German community in the receiving country that represents the contemporary immigrant’s interests. Although, historically, there never was a homogeneous
"German community", there were groups that had formed along denominational lines, or had similar histories and interests (e.g. common origin, such as the Volksdeutsche, or common migration motives, such as "escape of poverty" during the post-war years). Historically, the immigrants joined existing congregations, schools and institutions for support. These socio-economic networks offered moral and practical support, provided entertainment and generally facilitated adjustment in the new environment. These groups and institutions are now slowly disintegrating.

The new immigrants are on their own. They often do not share the cultural values of the existing groups and, therefore, do not join them. In addition, many immigrants do not need or want the support of the existing ethnic organizations. They are consciously moving away from Germany. In contrast to Alteinwanderer, Neueinwanderer do not have to leave Germany. Most want to leave to change their status quo. Therefore, they are not interested in maintaining a certain Deutschtum. They simply move to a place where they think they can lead a life that is more to their liking.

In that sense, there are still some "push" and "pull" factors at work in contemporary migration. Migrants are attracted by the putative better opportunities such as investments, owning land and a house, the climatic conditions, the wide open spaces and the possibilities of adventure and new challenges. At the same time, overcrowding and the high cost of living in Germany can be described as pushing people out. However, these factors alone do not cause migration. Instead, personal circumstances, hopes and wishes are at the base of the individual migration decision.

Some German migrants search for adventure and authenticity. Their search for authenticity and immersion tends to lead them to avoid contacts with other Germans (Hans T., Johann S., Stefan H., Benno W.). As Hans T. describes it, this is a place to live out his boyscout
dreams. The migration of these individuals contains elements of what can best be described as as
a form of tourism—with the immigrant as the perpetual tourist (see, MacCannell 1976).

Categories such as "visitors", "tourist", "working visa" are used by these tourist/migrants
in a fluent and non-categorical way. Although formally not recognized by the bureaucratic
world, these individuals often view themselves as immigrants, or at least on the way to being
migrants. This phenomenon of migration as tourism, and tourism as migration is an interesting
topic for further investigation.

As has been shown in the analysis, many migrants do not perceive their ethnicity as
particularly German, rather they describe themselves as European. They dismiss the
Alteinwanderer's need for things German as out-dated and not in line with the new
Europeanization process in Germany.

However, it is interesting to note that many interviewees using "common knowledge"
view their fellow Neueinwanderer as "typically German arrogant know-it-alls" who think they are
tolerant, liberal and non-prejudiced, but nonetheless "just want to improve everything". In other
words, despite their "wordly intentions" they are not prepared to adjust, but expect the world to
adapt to them—and they remain as German as possible.

That certain aspects of Deutschtum have survived for several generations in North
America is illustrated by Anderson (1989). He describes the "largest—and most invisible—of ethnic
groups, German/Americans" humourously, but poignantly; especially in those German
immigrant communities that still retain their cohesiveness, such as New Ulm, Minnesota:
German/Americans aren't exactly tribal, but we've got some small towns that might well issue their own passports. Where else could you still be a newcomer after living there 40 years? Where else could you live, die and be buried, and still be an outsider? ... Much as horses can sense fear, German/Americans have an instinct about outside influences. We can smell a foreign influence on the government at 20 paces, and can spot an outside notion in church at 40. ... We only do it because we want to help, because we have more experience, because we know better, because we're older. Besides, who wants their grandchildren to be named Marzetti? (Ibid:16)

He goes beyond, or digs beneath, the usual sauerkraut, beer and sausage jokes. I had to keep reminding myself that he was writing about German-Americans of three generation or more, and not about contemporary Germans. For example, the following observation rings true:

We German/Americans don't see ourselves as rude. We see ourselves as forthright. We will forthrightly, and with all good will, tell you that you should change your hair style, lose weight or wash your shirt more often. The second time we meet you, we will give you even more good advice (Ibid. 18)

Obviously, there have been many German "know-it-alls" and "good-advice-givers" before the current Neueinwanderer arrived on the scene. However, although some individual new immigrants may be stereotypical along the lines described above—as some interviewees in the category "common knowledge" did describe them, the majority try to escape such typification by quietly assimilating into Australian and Canadian society—as is explained by the interviewees in the category "individual experience".

This study suggests that migration decisions are seldom final. Rather, migration decision making is an ongoing process. It may well begin early in life, when opinions are formed, people from other countries are met, migration narratives are stored in memory, the move is made in imagination, a holiday is taken, etc.. The actual geographic move is, of course, seen as a clear marker both to oneself and others. It is a declaration of one's belonging to a class of people called migrants. It is, however, a tentative declaration. The declaration is always being tested, re-evaluated, sometimes even rescinded. The actual decision to stay is made long after the physical
move. In fact, some Germans, who are legal immigrants, never actually mentally migrate. Instead they just move their belongings and maintain close contacts with Germany.

Many wealthy retirees and businessmen fall into this group. However, as of June 1991, Canada no longer allows the immigration of retirees over fifty years of age. Therefore, that particular little enclave in the British Properties is likely to become smaller and eventually disappear. It will be interesting to see whether the change in policy has any effect on the common knowledge image of the Neueinwanderer.

There are likely to be some, perhaps unforeseen, side-effects to this new policy. First, Canada will lose the investments these immigrants make in Canada. Second, Canada may indirectly miss the opportunity to acquire some new young immigrants. Many retirees brought their children with them. In fact, the major reason for the migration of some was to facilitate the immigration of their children who otherwise would not qualify via the regular point system. Usually these children are in their twenties or thirties, are well educated and themselves have young families.

Future research may address questions that are left open by this thesis. For example, a follow-up study could investigate how the immigrants interviewed here will evaluate their migration in ten, or twenty years. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see what directions some Neueinwanderer will have taken--where will they live and where will their commitments be? Another line of research would be to compare German migrants to migrants from other countries, such as the Hong Kong Chinese. These migrants are interested in maintaining close contacts with their mother country after the geographic move, yet future political developments might make dual-country life-styles and business ventures impossible. What are their experiences and views on finality and linearity of migration?
In summary, it is argued that the conventional understandings of linear and final migrations need to be re-evaluated in literature, policy and common sense. This thesis shows that modern migration, at least for certain groups to certain countries, is not linear and discrete, and often very far from final.

This may be increasingly the case for migration in the next century, for migration from one developed country to another (holding constant unusual push factors). One consequence of this is that this type of international migration may become more like intranational migration where factors such as life style, climate and escape seem to be important factors (Greenwood 1975). This surmise is necessarily speculative, but appears worthy of further research.


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