Chapter 1

Introduction

This case study of the Temple Society Australia tells the story of immigrant adaptation, language change and the development of an inter-cultural sense of belonging. The analysis is based on extensive interviews and surveys of sixty-nine long-term German-speaking immigrants, their children and partners and includes active researcher-participation in Templer community events.

The settlement struggles of the first large-scale groups of established European immigrants in Australia, such as the Templers, during the mid twentieth century have largely been forgotten. Their triumphs and tragedies, their lost hopes and dreams in a country that was unprepared for such large numbers of non-English speaking people is no longer well known. Markus (2001) and Clyne (2003) point out that immigrants successfully built up ethno-specific community centres, clubs, religious centres, community languages schools and aged care facilities with tenacity and drive. They got jobs, built houses and their children excelled in education. Many saw opportunities in the market and used their overseas experience to open spectacularly successful businesses.

Assimilationist thinking has closed the chapter of post-war immigrant settlement based on the assumption that such groups assimilated successfully. Their multiple identity formation remains shrouded by a policy that overemphasised conformity during the 1950s, 60s and 70s (Galligan and Roberts 2004, Jupp 2002). The traditional Australian attitude was that the host country bestowed benefits on immigrants who were prepared to learn the Australian way and assimilate.

From the 1970s to the 1990s, multiculturalism emphasised the maintenance of cultural and linguistic diversity (Galligan and Roberts 2004). State governments, in particular, celebrated cultural differences and applauded the remarkable economic, linguistic and community building achievements of non-English speaking background immigrants (Jupp 2002). Most importantly, policy makers pointed out that Australia had benefited from the outstanding contribution of those immigrants, and not the other way round.

This case study takes immigration and settlement a step further. It examines the adaptation of the Templers across three immigrant generations, including the Australian-born children. It also explores how the Templers developed a local and transnational sense of belonging within the context of the bilingual community infrastructure they built up. At the heart of the matter is the dilemma of adaptation or assimilation of the established immigrants in Australia. The narratives of how immigrants and their offspring adjusted, the decisions they made, the cultural and linguistic choices that impacted on their community building, and how their identities were shaped have been insufficiently explored in immigration literature.

Current policy has shifted beyond multiculturalism, to expectations concerning national identity, Australian values, patriotism and a quest for definitions of citizenship (Kalantzis 2000 in Hudson and Kane; Dutton 2002; Galligan and Roberts 2004; Castles et al 1998; Allegritti 2000). The Howard Government would like 'our national family' to learn about 'our history and heritage' (Howard 2006:1).

If the Prime Minister wants to renew the focus on teaching Australian history in schools (Howard 2006) then of utmost importance is the inclusion of Australia's diverse immigrant history. Revealing the hidden stories of how non-English speakers overcame their settlement challenges, and the unexpected intercultural networks they developed across oceans and borders (Allegritti 2000) will protect all young people, including those of immigrant parents, from 'the risk of being disinherited from their community' (Howard 2006:6). This study shows that long-term nation-building requires a composite

view of diversity that is told through the community-building stories of many immigrants.

The overarching aim of this research is to investigate the everyday attitudes and settlement decisions concerning adaptation, assimilation, and language change of ordinary Templers in Victoria. The particular aims involve an examination of attitudes of the Templers at various stages of settlement and policy change in relation to three research questions. These are:

- How have the dilemmas of adaptation and assimilation affected Templer settlement in Australia?
- What forms of language retention, loss and transmission have occurred in the Temple Society Australia?
- How does identity formation amongst Templers affect community strength, sustainability and new localised emerging forms?

Context of the study

The story of the Templers is set in the post-war era when Australia accepted over a quarter of a million refugees and Displaced Persons mainly from Central and Eastern Europe (Jupp 2002; Clyne 1991, 2003). Many were housed in former military camps. Over 500 Templers represent one of the first large-scale groups of ethnic Germans to arrive in Australia in 1941 (Sauer 1991). They were 'accidental immigrants' (Farges 2004:2; Draper 1978; Knowles 2000) who came to Australia involuntarily via deportation from British Palestine for civilian wartime internment in Tatura (Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Kaplan 2001; Clyne 2003; Glenk 2005; Lange 1995; Sauer 1991; Vondra 1981; Hope 2004). With few exceptions, the group consisted of military aged men[1] with their families (H. Wagner 2007 pers. comm. 11 February). They remained in the country, to be joined,

[1] The reason for their deportation was precisely that they were military aged, although they were of course not POWs, because they had been interned as civilians, not as combatants. The aged were mostly left at home in Palestine, because they posed no perceived threat to the British during Rommel's advance in North Africa (P.G. Hornung 2007 pers comm. 27 March).

in the 1950s and 1960s, by other Templers who had been scattered throughout the world as a result of wartime displacement.

The Temple Society Australia was formed in Melbourne in August 1950 as an autonomous regional branch of a transnational Templer Society (Sauer 1991). The name Templer denotes subscription by religious belief to the Temple Society and in addition is used to self-ascribe allegiance to a common diaspora ancestry. Clyne (2005) states that the language of an immigrant group embodies various aspects of their culture, heritage and identity. He has highlighted the Swabian-speaking Templers in Melbourne as a typical example.

The historical background of the Templers is unique. The Temple Society (German: Tempelgesellschaft) is a faith community founded at Kirschenhardthof near Backnang, Germany in 1861. Theologically it has its roots in the nineteenth century Pietism within the Lutheran Church in the State of Württemberg, Germany. As part of mid-nineteenth century mass emigration from Germany, the Templers established pioneer settlements at various locations throughout Ottoman Palestine. They were joined by ethnic Germans from Russia, and later were deported during two world wars. A brief historical overview is presented in Appendix 13.

Existing research on the Templers is fragmented. In Melbourne, they have been studied sporadically within the broader context of the diversity of German-speakers and immigrant settlement in Australia (Clyne 1991, 2001, 2003, 2005; Christa 1995; Seitz and Foster 1988; Jupp 2001, 2003). In sociolinguistic studies the Temple Society features in terms of its close-knit social networks, closed culture and remarkable German language retention (Kaplan 2001; Clyne 1991, 2003; Ruff and Beilharz in Jupp 2001). A few unpublished theses have focused on language and culture change amongst Templers (Imberger 1979; Fernando 1985). Considerable internal Templer literature exists, including some translations from German, of in-depth pre-migration historical and religious accounts (Sauer 1991; Lange 1995; Glenk 2006). General reference is made to

the Temple Society in some broad religious and religious-ethnic studies (Ata 1990, van Sommers 1966).

The initial impulse for this research grew out of my insider-status as a Templer. In the mid 1990s I was aware of several internal committees and discussions within the Temple Society concerning the need for organisational review and plans to enhance sustainability. I noticed dilemmas of assimilation and adaptation as well as varying opinions about the Society's status as a German ethnic community. It became clear to me that an in-depth study of a social nature into these issues was worthwhile. At the time, I drew on a similar religious-ethnic study in Melbourne conducted by Goldlust (1993).

Delimitations and limitations

The boundedness of the Temple Society Australia, based on its geographic clusters and collective identity, makes it an ideal model for sociolinguistic study spanning changed periods of government policies from assimilation, through multiculturalism, to Australian nationalism and the current focus on citizenship.

The greater part of the Temple Society membership is concentrated in the Melbourne area. Smaller Templer communities exist in Sydney, Adelaide and Stuttgart, Germany (Ruff 1990). Some families are scattered throughout Australia, in particular in rural Victoria and Queensland. Two community halls, in Bentleigh and Bayswater, are located in the eastern and southeastern suburbs of Melbourne, where religious services and community functions are regularly held. Templer archives, in German and English, are located in the administrative hubs in Bentleigh and Degerloch, Stuttgart.

Two limitations of this research are taken into account, namely geographic constraints, and unexpected time lapse during the study. In relation to geographical constraints I selected research participants for interviews only from the eastern and south-eastern suburbs of Melbourne. In addition one person elected to travel from a distant location to Bentleigh in order to participate. I took part in regular participant-observations at

community functions and activities at the centres in Bentleigh and Bayswater, and I examined Templer archives at the Temple Society head office in Bentleigh.

An unexpected time lapse of several years, due to family illness, occurred between the initial launch and the completion of the research. The historical nature of the topic however, combined with positive encouragement of key personnel within the Temple Society, ensures that the case study continues to be of value to the academy as well as the Templer community.

Assumptions

There are five assumptions that underpin this study:

1. Currently no in-depth ethnographic study has been conducted on the Australian settlement phase of the Temple Society. Existing sociological and historical writings refer to a period prior to 1995. Consequently the need exists to fill the gap.
2. The Temple Society is first and foremost a faith-based community. Consequently an in-depth study requires respect for its religion. In addition it represents a tightly-bounded social group and is an established immigration group. Ata (1990) states that the linguistic, ethnic and religious dimensions of many immigrant groups are intertwined. He adds that one dimension cannot be analysed in isolation of another. It is important to make it clear that the main focus of this study is on the Templers as a collective immigration group, and not solely as a religious group. The scope of the study allows religious self-identification to be taken into account as one of many aspects of community and identity formation. It is not the intention to diminish the religious aims and ideals of the Temple Society but rather to represent a whole-of-life perspective of Templers both as immigrants and members of a faith community.
3. The members of the Temple Society represent a bilingual or even multilingual group. Many of them arrived in Australia in the 1940s, 50s and 60s. Some older people prefer to speak Swabian dialect and German. Consequently knowledge of

those languages is required to generate rich, in-depth stories from research participants. The processes of writing participant consent forms, plain language statement of aims, conducting interviews, transcribing tapes, analysis activities and writing up requires extensive translation and bilingual work.

4. My family background and official membership in the Temple Society Australia enhanced my insider-researcher status and meant I had the necessary bilingual and dialect skills. It also made it easier to understand some of the complex, internal social networks.
5. An insider status was also a problem and requires increased awareness to maintain objectivity and focus on the study aims. For example, being accepted as an insider Templer allowed personal family history stories to surface during participant interviews. In such cases increased self-discipline was required to minimise distractions and to keep interesting personal issues separate from the main research aims. In addition the intersection of research work and volunteerism within the community required a constant re-evaluation of my membership role.

Significance of the problem

This study is of significance to the field of social sciences, language and immigration studies in several ways. Firstly several writers (Jupp 1995; Castles et al 1998; Clyne 2005a) advocate in-depth studies on the social and linguistic impact of immigration. Jupp (2005) points out that insufficient in-depth research exists on German background people in relation to their community vibrancy, social networks and indicators of their cultural presence. Castles (et al 1998) identify systematic ethnographic studies of ethnic communities as a priority area. Clyne (2005) states that official government census information on community language maintenance based on what is spoken in the home is of limited value and urgently needs to be supplemented by in-depth studies of further language use beyond the home.

Secondly this study is important because it provides a valuable model or microcosm of other long-term immigration groups concerning issues of immigrant adaptation,

assimilation, language retention and identity formation across several generations. In the context of immigration studies it provides not only an insight into the Templers' attitudes and views on various aspects of German language retention, transmission, but also highlights issues of similar relevance to other established European groups.

Thirdly the notions of intercultural knowledge and language awareness are new dimensions in the field of professional language teaching in Australia (Lo Bianco 2005). This study opens new insights into transnational language and culture networks in small immigrant communities.

Fourthly the intersection of multi-faith and multi-ethnic groups and its social impact are increasingly being acknowledged and explored. For example cultural diversity policies in Victoria focus on multi-cultural as well as multi-faith groups (VMC 2006). The Temple Society Australia (TSA) is a typical example of such a community.

The shape of the study and following chapters

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first three contain the Introduction, Literature Review and Methodology, while chapters four to seven consist of the Analysis Section and the Conclusion.

Chapter two is dedicated to a literature review of the state of research in three areas, namely adaptation and assimilation; language contact; and identity formation. In addition each of these three sections provides a discussion of existing research relating to Templers in Victoria. In chapter three the qualitative principles and approaches of the case study methodology are presented.

Chapters four, five and six form the analysis section of the case study. The analysis is presented across three cohorts that consist of the first generation of Templers who arrived as adults, the one-and-a-half generation that was born overseas and grew up in Australia, and the second generation representing the Australian-born Templers. Nine ways of

thinking about immigrant adaptation have emerged from the participant interviews. These are analysed within the framework of the three major research questions, which form the chapter titles:

- Chapter 4 The impact of assimilation on adaptation and language
- Chapter 5 The impact of language retention, transmission and shift on adaptation
- Chapter 6 The impact of adaptation on identity formation and community strength

At the conclusion of each analysis chapter a brief summary of the findings is presented.

Chapter seven, the Conclusion, synthesises the findings from the previous three analysis sections. In a nutshell, this chapter presents three profiles of individual Templers and four multiple collective identities that emerged from the study including a customized definition of identity. It then discusses the main issues of the research concerning dilemmas of adaptation and assimilation, and language maintenance and shift. The closing statement locates the Templers as intercultural community builders within the current climate of nation-building. The chapter concludes with some recommendations for future research within the Temple Society.

A brief historical overview of the Temple Society is included in the Appendices, and the Glossary provides an explanation of some of the specialist terms used in the thesis.

An investigation of existing knowledge and current research in the areas of long-established immigration groups, German-background migration, language retention and identity formation is presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

The first Templers arrived in Australia in 1941. They settled as 'accidental immigrants' (Farges 2004:2; Draper 1978; Knowles 2000) throughout Australia after civilian internment during World War II in rural Victoria (Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Kaplan 2001; Clyne 2003; Glenk 2005; Lange 1995; Sauer 1991; Vondra 1981; Hope 2004). They were part of a diaspora from Germany, created by early migration that dates back several hundred years (Wolff 2000, 2001; Burke 2004; Hoerder 2004). The first Templers left Germany in the 1860s to form a religious group that settled in historic Palestine. In the late 1800s and early 1900s they were joined by other Germans including those who had migrated from Germany to Russia in the late 1700s (Sauer 1991; Lange 1995; Arndt 1975; Romankin-Arndt 1993).

The Temple Society Australia is both a religious community and an 'ethnolinguistic' (Clyne 2003:15) immigrant settler group. In Melbourne it is known by outsiders for its close-knit, closed culture and remarkable German language retention (Kaplan 2001; Clyne 1991; 2003; Ruff and Beilharz 2001).

The Temple Society Australia is a microcosm of long-term European immigration and settlement issues that impact on small-scale religious-ethnic communities. For many decades in Australia the Templers had a strong desire to keep their cultural traditions 'but in a low key way' (Hoffmann in Vondra 1981:177). During the assimilationist era an outsider observed of the Templers, that so

> "...quietly have these believers been absorbed into Australian life while still retaining intact their religious identity that it is fair to say that their origins are unknown to most of their fellow Australians."
>
> Van Sommers 1966:228-9)

The significance of the forgotten years of assimilation lies embedded in the sixty years of their community settlement in Victoria. The Templers quietly re-established their demographic centres in several eastern and south-eastern suburbs of Melbourne (Ruff and Beilharz 2001). The German presence is no longer prominent in the public consciousness of the places in Melbourne where Templer enclaves exist (Jupp 1995).

In the decade leading up to 1996, multiculturalism had brought a new future to such long-established European immigrant groups in the form of a celebration of cultural diversity (Jupp 2003; Castles et al 1998). Following this the Howard government has adopted a tough new focus on citizenship laws and English language testing, sparking a growing Australian values debate (Commonwealth of Australia 2006; Galligan and Roberts 2004; Jupp 2006). The changed political climate, in which the early Templer arrivals and subsequent generations find themselves, and the increasing ease of transnational contact, carries with it various dilemmas concerning their assimilation or adaptation, language retention and identity continuity. The long-term community building strategies of the Temple Society puts in question its community strength and sustainability at a time when immigrants are considering who will replace the pioneers of their ethnic community organisations, what aspects of language and culture are to be transmitted to the younger generations and the nature of their contribution to Australia as nation builders (Jupp 2003; Lo Bianco 2005; De Fazio 2005; Allegritti in Phillips 2001).

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section provides several definitions of immigrant adaptation processes. It revisits the social, economic and political climate in which the Templers found themselves on arrival in Australia during, and soon after, World War II. The long-term effects of the assimilation policy and changing attitudes to cultural diversity are explored. Next a brief study is provided of the impact of widely varying policy on the Templers settlement in Victoria and their adaptation decisions.

The second section addresses the language contact issues faced by long-term immigrants in Australia. A range of factors that facilitate language maintenance, shift and bilingualism are explored. Subsequently the linguistic situation of the German-speaking Templers in Melbourne is examined.

The third section explores issues of immigrant identity. It examines markers of identification such as sense of ethnic belonging, collective memory, hyphenated identity, biculturalism and culture switch as well as the role of religion. Next the Templers in Melbourne are examined as a Swabian Palestinian diaspora group in terms of markers of identification including pre-and post-migration collective memory.

The conclusion highlights gaps in the existing research and identifies three unexplored research questions, which are important to the continuity of Templer settlement in Australia.

Adaptation and assimilation

Adaptation is never finished

Immigrant adaptation processes during settlement in a new receiving country are defined in many ways. Immigrants go through an arduous transformation process, which is never finished (Eckermann 1994, Kuzmickaite 2000, Markus 2001). They seek out and negotiate assistance, opportunities and resources in the receiving country especially during the initial stage of settlement and adaptation (Kuzmickaite 2000). Some of their early experiences are characterised by hostility, marginalisation, alienation to the host country, loss of self-esteem and mental turmoil (Kuzmickaite 2000, Clyne and Markus 2001). Several writers highlight successful immigrant establishment and adaptation to the new country and identify the crucial role of social networks, economic support and government policies (Kuzmickaite 2000, Hagan 1998, Rose, et al 1999; Phinney et al 2001; Berry 1997; Eckermann 1994).

There are several definitions of immigrant adaptation. One approach to adaptation involves a diversified social support network consisting of both 'strong ties' to coethnics and 'weak ties' to non-coethnics that facilitate the settlement and adaptation process (Rose et al 1999:13; Kuzmickaite 2000; Hagan 1998). Studies of immigrants in Chicago and Canada have identified the presence of other members of the same ethno-cultural community as a key factor in facilitating their adaptation and integration into the receiving society (Rose et al 1999; Kuzmickaite 2000). The development and role of personal networks outside the immigrant community is also an important factor in successful settlement adaptation (Hagan 1998; Rose et al 1999).

'Strong ties' are associated with protected communities, or urban village life, where immigrants develop a dense network of primary social relationships with family and friends within their ethnic group, often reinforced by residential proximity and stability over time (Rose et al 1999:2; Hagan 1998). Whilst a small, locally based community is high in social capital, immigrants may become too encapsulated in their closed social networks and lose some of the advantages of other economic resources and sources of information available outside the community. On the other hand the development of 'weak ties' with non-coethnics or people outside the ethno-cultural community are more likely to act as a gateway to other resources systems beyond the immigrant community (Kuzmickaite 2000; Rose et al 1999; Hagan 1998). This provides access to a wider range of resources in terms of employment, public services, school and neighbourhood that often result in higher social mobility and economic opportunity (Kuzmickaite 2000; Rose et al 1999; Hagan 1998).

Additional factors that facilitate adaptation are religion and emotional stability. Religion is an important adaptation factor but not applicable to all groups; for example Lithuanians from former communist societies tended to attend church in later years only after finding employment and housing (Kuzmickaite 2000). The acquisition of emotional stability is considered a longer and unfinished process that is sought through local ties in the ethnic community only after successful establishment in the broader society (Kuzmickaite 2000).

Another model of adaptation, using the term 'acculturation' is presented by Phinney et al (2001) and Berry (1997) in the USA. They base their model of acculturation on a theoretical framework that recognises two distinct aspects in relation to immigrants, namely the preservation of one's heritage culture (ethnic identity) and the adaptation to the host society (national identity). The combinations of the two variables of ethnic and national identity make up a framework of four identity categories or acculturation orientations, namely integrated, assimilated, separated and marginalised identity (Phinney et al 2001). Accordingly immigrants with a strong ethnic identity, but without a sense of belonging to the new culture are found to adopt separation strategies, whereas those who give up their ethnic identity and identify only with the new culture are considered assimilated. An individual who identifies with neither, is regarded as marginalised. Immigrants who retain a strong ethnic identity whilst identifying with the new society are considered to have a well-integrated or bicultural identity and have the highest levels of psychological wellbeing. The model indicates that when immigrants are not encouraged or allowed to retain their own culture as a result of national policies of assimilation and dispersal while integrating into the new society, they are sometimes forced to choose between the two options of separation and assimilation.

Yet another definition of adaptation provided by Eckermann (1994) is deemed the most suitable application to build on, in the study of Templer settlement in Australia. Eckermann's (1994:23-4) 'cultural ecology' approach to adaptation is based on the ecological or natural processes of cultural accommodation where a social group operates within different environments that are socio-cultural, economic-natural and historical-political. In this sense 'people's adaptation to these environments is a matter of economic, spiritual and social survival' (Eckermann 1994:24). Adaptive or coping behaviour implies a choice between alternatives. This definition of adaptation is a problem solving approach that requires decisions to be made by immigrants.

Given that immigration is never easy for the individual and almost always involves some form of cross-cultural change, Eckermann (1994:25) bases her adaptive notions on the

effects of rapid socio-cultural change among many Aboriginal groups in colonial Australia. She notes that some similarities exist with another socio-linguistic group, namely immigrants, who also experience traumatic disruptions as they try to adapt, change and adjust to the new society. According to Eckermann (1994) people go through a triple process where they try to maintain some of the old socio-cultural patterns from their countries of origin; they modify some habits, and create new ones. Rapid cross-cultural change is threatening, frightening and means that their decisions may not always be the best ones. Eckermann (1994) postulates further that the more rapidly socio-cultural or economic-political change occurs, the more it tends to be imposed on people from the outside, and the less control they have over their lives, sometimes resulting in more traumatic changes. One example of such top-down control is the assimilation policies that characterised the years following the conclusion of World War II.

The legacy of forgotten assimilation years: immigrants are only welcome if...

Two government policies of incorporating immigrants into the Australian populations that have had enduring significance during the twentieth century are assimilation and multiculturalism (Dutton 1999). The settler model has changed from one that tried to maintain a homogenous society to its antithesis that advocated the benefits of productive diversity (Birrell 2001; Kalantzis 2000; Cope and Kalantzis 2001, NMAC 1999; Jupp 2001; Castles 2001, 2002; Markus 2001; Clyne 2003). Half a century after the toils and struggles of post-war mass migration, the remarkable achievements and contributions of immigrants to the Victorian economy are celebrated (Markus 2001; Bouzo 2005; Church 2005; Lekakis 2006). However their adaptation processes need to be perceived as a 'whole-of-life approach' in response to those influences (Markus 2001: xiii). Wertheim (1999:2) states that 'how we see ourselves is tied to the political and public policy constructs of the times.' In addition Clyne (2001, 2003) points out that, as the assimilation and multicultural policies evolved, so too did the immigrants' conceptions of human selfhood and language maintenance. As a result of such a myriad of changes and

their achievements after many years of struggling to become established, it is easy to forget the early challenges faced by long-term European immigrants (Bouma 1996).

The immigrants in the forgotten 1950s have suffered from stereotypes, ambivalences and contradictions that range from a romantic view of security, prosperity, agreed values and happy family life on the one hand, to the cultural critic's view of intolerance, conformity and insularity on the other (Dutton 1999; Murphy 2000, Murphy and Smart 1997; Lewin 2001, Castles 2001, 2002). Victoria's population more than tripled during the second half of the twentieth century (Markus 2001; Kalantzis 2001). The appearance and demise of assimilation was neither uniform nor sudden; therefore it is not easy to describe or even analyse its prominence or impact on the lives of immigrants (Lewin 2001; Tavan 1997; Clyne 2001, 2003; Castles 2001, 2002). In order to understand suburban middle-class immigrant settlement in Victoria, the 'assimilationist thinking' (Lewin 2001:755) of the fifties needs to be revisited with a focus both on the private sphere of the home and the public realm of the good citizen (Murphy 2000; Jenkins 2001; Tavan 1997).

This analysis indicates that the early waves of post-war European immigrants inherited five profound aspects of assimilationist thinking which impacted on their lives. A retrospective snapshot of immigrant life during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s provides some pertinent insights into the assimilationist era.

The first legacy of assimilationist thinking was the government and community attitude that immigrants 'were only welcome if they assimilated as quickly as possible' (Birrell 2001:817). The assimilation policy was based on the principles that individual immigrants should cast off their earlier ethnic loyalties and identities, in order to take up the English language and British cultural characteristics (Birrell 2001, Castles 2002, Menadue 2003, Cope and Kalantzis 2000, Jupp 2001, Tavan 1997). Most importantly they were expected to do all of this as speedily as possible.

Assimilation thinking meant foreigners could become like Australians not with the assistance of support services but through naturalisation driven by 'citizenship education

campaigns' (Jenkings 2001:225). Even the term settlement was equated with assimilation (Bouma 1996). Naturalisation and invisibility of individual immigrants and ethnic groups in the mainstream society were considered indicators of successful or accelerated assimilation (Price 1966; Lewins 2001; Jupp 1995; Jenkins 2001; Galligan and Roberts 2003; Castles 1996, 2002; Peters 2000; Evans 1995; Jupp 2001).). Despite strong assimilation pressures in schools and the work place, citizenship uptake was low. Many post-war Europeans who were naturalised did so only to improve job prospects and economic mobility (Evans 1995; Peters 2000; Galligan and Roberts 2003).

The inherent uncertainty about the meaning and value of Australian life made assimilation even more difficult to attain (Tavan 1997; Cope and Kalantzis 2000). Community endorsement of the 'Australian Way of Life' concept was widespread via the Good Neighbour Council, Australian Citizenship Conventions and church groups (Tavan 1997:82; Cope and Kalantzis 2000; Jenkins 2001). Despite this, Australian people had difficulty selling the concept to immigrants who, in turn, had trouble understanding its meaning (Tavan 1997). The quest to instill the uniqueness of the Australian identity was often reduced to a muddle of cultural and trite symbols associated with Australian cooking, the wool industry, hydro-electric schemes, flora and fauna and nature walks in the Australian bush (Tavan 1997). Immigrants were encouraged to do volunteer work in schools and other organisations (Tavan 1997, Jenkins 2001; Lack and Templeton 1995) which was not so much an Australian habit as the province of well-established people with time and money and not necessarily of newly arrived immigrants. Folk dancing and arts and crafts displays were encouraged but proved to have more novelty value than provide insight into immigrant cultures (Tavan 1997). These activities focused more on the product (folklore, music) and behaviour (customs, dress) elements of culture than ideas, values, beliefs and institutions (Tomalin and Stempleski 1993; De Fazio 2005; Thanasoulas 2001).

Some consequences are indicated in earlier studies of German-speakers in Melbourne, which are still relevant (Seitz and Foster 1985, Vondra 1981; Clyne 1988; Pauwels 1986; Fernando 1985). German immigrants and other post-war European immigrants tried hard

to fit in rather than question, understand or even attach any importance to the concept of assimilation (Seitz and Foster 1985; Taksa 2003; Peters 2000; 1993; Evans 1995; O'Sullivan in Kramer 2003; Beilharz 1999; Sauer 1988, 1991; Jupp 1995, 2001). Some even promoted assimilation. They tried to 'be more Australian than the Australians' in their attempts at 'outward conformity' (Peters 2000:58) to rid themselves, or at least cover up, any social characteristics that defined them as ethnic and to avoid degrading treatment by Australian bosses at work (Bouzo 2005; Taksa 2003; Evans 1995).

The second legacy of assimilationist thinking, between 1947 and 1973, is the 'long boom,' a period of economic growth, prosperity and full employment stimulated by the massive influx of post-war European refugees (Forster 1995:15 and 111; Collins et al 2001; Markus 2001). Many immigrants found profitable business opportunities in niche markets such as food and clothing industries (Castles et al 1992; Birrell in Markus 2001; Bouzo 2005; Cope and Kalantzis 2001; Church 2005). Cities changed in structure and grew rapidly due to mass migration (Forster 1995; Markus 2001). Immigration was the motor of post-war expansion and in this sense assimilation succeeded because immigrants settled, found jobs, their children went to school, and they learnt English (Jupp 1991, 2001; Castles et al 1992; Castles 2001, Bouma 1996).

The third legacy of assimilationist thinking is about 'a promise made but not kept' (Cope and Kalantzis 2000:18). Assimilation failed to maintain a homogenous society as it tried to suppress differences whilst mass post-war immigration generated a diversity of cultures, unprecedented in the history of Australia (Price 1966; Castles 1996, 1999, 2002). With the benefit of hindsight, assimilation is perceived as a flawed, oppressive and out-dated government policy that could not succeed because it had unreasonable expectations of immigrants (Clyne 1991, 2001; Jupp1988; 1991; 2001; Jayasuriya 1997; Castles 2001, 2002; Birrell 2001). Many European post-war immigrants claimed they had assimilated, but none, in fact, had become the type of assimilated Australian that post-war policy planners had envisaged (Evans 1995, Peters 2000, Seitz and Foster 1985).

Flawed assimilationist thinking in its harshest form was based on the fear that foreigners might form ethnic enclaves with un-Australian tendencies. This resulted in unreasonably tough-nosed policies imposed on newcomers such as residential dispersal; work restrictions and non-recognition of overseas professional qualifications (Bouzo 2005, Beilharz 2000, 2003; Jenkins 2001; Galligan and Roberts 2003; Gohl 1991; Birrell 2001; Christa 1995; Calwell 1949; Vondra 1981). Immigrants were sent to distant rural locations to work in low paid semi-skilled or unskilled jobs in the public works and agricultural sectors (Birrell 2001; Bouzo 2005). Refusal to accept their qualifications became the source of much bitterness amongst the better-educated refugees and in some cases led to serious mental health problems (Kunz 1988; Birrell 2001; Bouzo 2005). Dispersal denied immigrants the collective form of mutual support and friendship traditionally valued as 'mateship' amongst Australians (Watson 2005:13).

Small-scale studies on German settlers in Melbourne indicate that geographical dispersion, low public profile, a relatively high socio-economic status, and high naturalisation rates have contributed to a flawed assumption that they assimilated and became invisible. Instead, some forty years after the war, Germans in Australia have remained a 'culturally distinct category of people' (Seitz and Foster 1985:414; Clyne 1988). Over a decade after the official demise of the assimilation policy, post-war German and Dutch immigrants are still described as invisible or hidden ethnic enclaves, partially assimilated (Jupp 1995) and as examples of outward assimilation (Clyne 1991; 2003; Peters 2000).

The fourth legacy of assimilationist thinking concerns the neglect of the multi-lingual heritage and resources of immigration (Lo Bianco 2005; Clyne 2003). Often forgotten are conditions where immigrants were admonished in the streets for speaking their languages and schoolchildren were actively discouraged from using their first language (Eckermann 1994; Peters 2000; Clyne 1991, 1993, 2001, 2003, Riemer 1992; Markus 1994). Clyne (2003) describes the assimilation policy as one of aggressive monolingualism that encouraged language shift and yet still led to multiculturalism through immigrant lobbying. Calwell's preoccupation with campaigns to make mass migration acceptable to

the Australian public ignored the cultural and linguistic, housing, welfare and employment needs of newcomers and had the effect to drive community languages 'underground' (Clyne 1991:15; Jenkins 2001; Tavan 1997). A consequence has been several decades of linguistic suppression that is represented by many immigrant parents who want to pass their community language to the second and third generations, but lack the resources and know-how to do it and often give up (Skuttnabb-Kangas 2003; Clyne 2002).

The fifth legacy of assimilationist thinking involved a cocktail of transition, frustration and complexity. The transition is characterised by dramatic personal, social and economic changes as well as the emergence of overt policies that favoured cultural diversity (Tavan 1997; Jenkings 2001; Castles 1992). At the policy level the growing ethnic lobby facilitated the transition from assimilation to emerging forms of multiculturalism (Clyne 1991, 2001 and Jupp 1991; Castles 2001; Tavan 1997). Whilst nostalgic themes like the economic boom of the 1950s offered unprecedented levels of material security and wellbeing, the rapid pace of economic and social change created acute uncertainties and anxieties amongst immigrants (Brett 1992 and Brown 1995 cited in Tavan 1997; Murphy 2000). Ethnic self-help has always been important in the settlement process and was actively discouraged during the many years of the official assimilation policies (Martin 1965 and Jupp 1994 in Colic-Peisker 2002). Immigrants experienced considerable frustration by a transition that put them through a gruelling process of creating 'somebody' out of 'nobody' (Massey 1951 in Tavan 1997:80) based on the notion of their discarded cultural identities.

Beyond assimilation

Fast-tracking forward locates the long-term post-war immigrants in the policy era of productive multiculturalism of the twentieth century. A major change they experienced in the 1980s was the provision of special services to communities with culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, especially in the area of education and welfare grants (Galligan and Roberts 2003; Lekakis 2005; Jupp 2002). There was a greater

tolerance of ethnic diversity, while linguistic diversity had become a major focus as policy changed from monoculturalism to multiculturalism (Jupp 2002). For example education programs fostered the maintenance and use of those community languages actually used by immigrants and their descendants (Jupp 2002; Clyne 2005b).

Some 'shifting emphases' (Jupp 2002:102) have taken place in multicultural policy over the years from 1977 to 1999. 'Productive diversity' (Jupp 2002:102) has moved the focus from settlement and welfare issues towards the contribution of multilingualism to the Australian economy, which appealed to the corporate business sector (Castles 2002; Galligan and Roberts 2003; NMAC 1999; Cope and Kalantzis 2001; Howard 1999).

After fifteen years of 'often acrimonious public debate' (Jupp 2002:98) on a national level the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia was optimistic about Australia's future as a culturally diverse society and reaffirmed multiculturalism as a government policy (NMAC 1999; Hage 1998). Jupp (2002) however points out that in practice there has been a gradual reversal of multicultural policy and that several recommendations under the 1999 New Agenda for Multicultural Australia have never been implemented. He further states that multiculturalism at the national level deals more with immigrant settlement, and less with culture, and increasingly is seen as a shift back to a 'gentle form of assimilation and incorporation' (Jupp 2002:121).

The media reports that national policy increasingly focuses on national identity, loyalty and patriotism to Australian values and the blending and integration of immigrants, which supports the notion that 'multiculturalism is out and assimilation is in' again (Das 2006). On the surface public opinion in the twenty-first century appears to reject both 'hard' multiculturalism, represented in 'government support for migrant cultures', and the 'soft' multiculturalism of tolerance, satisfaction and immigrant participation in Australian life (Hirst cited in Goot and Watson in Wilson et al 2005:185-6). Public opinion surveys taken since the mid 1990s indicate that what makes someone 'truly Australian' (Goot and Watson in Wilson et al 2005:187) is feeling Australian, having Australian citizenship, respecting laws and political institutions and speaking English. The 2003 Australian

Survey of Social Attitudes does not show a significant shift in public opinion under the Howard government. It remains equally divided on support for multiculturalism and immigration (Goot and Watson in Wilson et al 2005). I agree with Jupp (2002) that this is an indication that multiculturalism has survived many public opinion and policy attacks even though it no longer has the enthusiastic support evident before 1988. In addition symbolic acknowledgment of cultural diversity takes place in the form of the celebration of Harmony Day via the national government's Living in Harmony initiative (NMAC 1999). I believe that even if such activities are merely tokenistic acknowledgments, their significance should not be underestimated.

Today State governments are more responsive to the ethnic communities than the Commonwealth, via multicultural agencies (VMC 2005; Lekakis 2005; Victorian Multicultural Act 100/2004; Jupp 2002). Some 60 years after the arrival of the Templers, the State of Victoria presents itself as a tolerant inclusive society, where programs encourage immigrant communities to express and share their cultural heritage. More specifically the Victorian Government provides organisational support to 1,475 multicultural community organisations, 65 ethnic school and 750 culturally diverse festivals and events (Lekakis 2005; Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs 2004). The Victorian Multicultural Commission (VMC) which operates under the Multicultural Victoria Act (2004), plays a significant role in enhancing community harmony and adding value to the State's cultural, religious and linguistic diversity (Lekakis 2006).

Victoria's recognition of cultural diversity takes the form of a Cultural Diversity Week calendar overflowing with multicultural events and community celebrations; and the Victorian Multicultural Commission's annual awards for excellence and service in multicultural affairs (National Multicultural Advisory Council 1999; Lekakis 2005, 2006; Victorian Multicultural Commission 2005; Victorian Multicultural Act 100/2004). Further testimony of the success of such symbolic recognition lies in joint government-community projects that recognise, preserve and celebrate immigrants' endeavours. Significant examples are the transformation of the post-war Bonegilla Migrant Reception Centre into a tourist heritage facility and the published stories of post-war Italian

immigrants that include accounts of post World War II poverty and persecution, struggles to build a new home, the suffering of internment and POW camps, burgeoning prosperity and thriving employment, as well as how Italians fearlessly adapted to their new homeland in Australia (Victorian Multicultural Commission 2005; Church 2005).

The next step beyond multiculturalism transcends national identity, where 'human identity must become transnational' (Castles et al 1992:13), especially in the current climate of growing international mobility and increasingly porous borders (Castles et al 1992; Hage and Couch 1999). Multiculturalism does not necessarily encourage transnationalism but gives immigrants more choice in carrying out 'cross-border activities' (Castles 2002:21). Increasingly immigrants maintain sociocultural connections with significant others in different countries as they bridge distances across their new host country and the old countries of origin (Castles 2002; Vertovec 2004; Faist 2000; Lo Bianco 2005).

'Transnational belonging' (Castles 1999:39, 2001; Vertovec 2004; Portes 1997, 2003) is recognised as one of the future opportunities brought by immigrants. Sometimes relatively isolated immigrant communities compensate through transnational linkages (Castles 2002). Others naturally continue to maintain established ties with their countries of origin. Members of such communities, where people frequently move between different countries and maintain important affiliations with each of them, are paving the way to new realities of adaptation such as new ways of recognising multiple affiliations and identities (Castles 2002). Transnationalisation is significant because it affects adaptation by strengthening the immigrants' connection to other people, other places and their symbolic sharing and feeling of belonging to places of origin (Castles 2002; Vertovec 2004; Faist 2000).

The Templers in Victoria: adaptation and assimilation

People's perceptions and attitudes are influenced by their past experiences (Eckermann 1994). Many Templers were forced to negotiate multiple forms of adaptation to a wide range of conflicting circumstances. These include sudden forced deportation, internment,

and loss of homeland through unpredicted changes in world politics. They became accidental immigrants in a climate of post-war hostilities and suffered linguistic suppression of German during the period of assimilation. After years of achieving a quiet and invisible presence in the host country, they found themselves in a climate where differences were celebrated under multiculturalism.

In 1941 a group of 665 interned Germans were deported from historic Palestine to Tatura, Victoria, and during the following years, others were dispersed in camps in Palestine, Cyprus, East Africa or trapped in wartorn Germany (Sauer 1991; Gohl 1991; Glenk 2005; Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Lange 1995; Christa 1995). In the early decades after World War II the Templer numbers in Australia increased through the immigration of their scattered members. Intense negotiations took place between Templer delegates and Arthur Calwell, Minister for Immigration, at the end of the war, in order to secure their settlement in a new homeland and to reunite with other Templer family and community members who were still scattered overseas (Gohl 1991; Sauer 1991).

After internment, the Templers were devastated by the British-Palestine Custodian's prohibition of their return to their pre-war Middle Eastern settlements (Sauer 1991). They were further incensed by unreasonable offers of repatriation to wartorn Germany, where many Templers had never lived, and even of resettlement to Kenya (Sauer 1991). In 1945 Calwell, prior to his mass migration 'population-building effort' (Kunz in Jupp 1988:100), and Harold Holt, a supporter of German immigration who took over in 1949 (Arnold and Morris 1994), became strong advocates for Templers settling in Australia and opposed their post-internment overseas repatriation (Calwell 1949; Gohl 1991; Sauer 1991; Sauer 1996; Newspaper 1953). Calwell succeeded in 1949 to create a statutory bill, the 'Temple Society Trust Fund Act 1949' (Fernando 1985:261) in anticipation of the transfer to Australia of the Templer funds that consisted of payments for their extensive

confiscated properties in pre-war Palestine[2] (Calwell 1949; Gohl 1991; Sauer 1991; Rutland 2005). In addition Calwell exonerated the Templers from any political wartime stigma by the appointment of Judge Hutchins, Supreme Court Judge of Tasmania, who was given the task of political examination of the Templers, which further smoothed their entry into Australia (Reid 1953; Christa in Jürgensen 1995; Gohl 1991; Sauer 1991).

A sophisticated infrastructure of self-sufficient communities has been established by the Temple Society Australia over the next sixty years. These communities are characterised by 'dense networks based on in-marriage and a strong institutional infrastructure' (Clyne 2003:12) that includes religious centres, German community language schools, an old people's home, and other extensive social and cultural networks (Clyne 2003; Hoffmann 1988; Ruff 1986, 1987, 1990; Sauer 1991; Uhlenbruch 2004; Ruff 1987; Clyne 2003).

The social and economic hardships that Templers suffered after internment, in the early decades of their settlement in Australia, consisted of xenophobic hostilities, harsh living conditions (sometimes in tents), enforced residential dispersal, language difficulties, limited recognition of overseas qualifications and enforced non-urban agricultural job placement in remote areas (Clyne 1991, Kunz 1988; Sauer 1991, Sauer 1996; Gohl 1991; Beilharz 2000). Despite these restrictions they took up whatever jobs they could with the enthusiasm of newfound freedom from detention behind barbed wire (Vondra 1981: Bouzo 2005; Beilharz 2000). Eventually, despite enormous obstacles and as far as constraints allowed, the Templers regrouped and officially founded the Temple Society Australia in Melbourne as an independent religious community in 1950 (Ruff and Beilharz in Jupp 2001). They established small, but well-connected local community networks in the outer Melbourne suburbs of Bayswater, Boronia and Bentleigh with smaller offshoots in Sydney and Tanunda, South Australia (Christa in Jürgensen 1995; Ruff and Beilharz in Jupp 2001; Clyne 1991; Sawatzky 1995).

[2] Calwell was probably thinking of the Sarona money. Sarona was sold, not compensated for; the funds were not released by the Public Custodian for some time. Compensation for the other assets was still in the future (P.G. Hornung 2007 pers. comm. 27 March).

According to Sauer (1991) and Ruff (1987) religious motives dominated the Templers' decisions in adapting to the Australian society. They showed a desire to fit in with societal expectations, to use the English language and maintain good relations with the Australian authorities and the population of the country at large (Ruff 1990). Further research is required to examine the extent to which their motives to fit in were governed by assimilationist thinking or adherence to their religious thinking, the desire to unite as a faith community and to take on collective action and residential regrouping. Their president Hoffmann advocated that in order to overcome the 'disorientation' of the community's forced dislocation to Australia, each member should reflect on the religious teaching of the faith and 'strive to living according to it, in his surroundings, in the family, the community, the Society, the street' (Hoffmann cited in Ruff 1987:17-18).

Naturalisation rates amongst Templers were significantly higher during the assimilation years than amongst other European and German-speaking post-war immigrants (Gohl 1991; Seitz and Foster 1985; Bouzo 2005; Sauer 1988; Gohl 1991; Sydney Morning Herald 1953; van Sommers 1966). Primary references such as parliamentary debates and personal memoirs indicate that the Templers' decisions to take up naturalisation were not solely motivated by the effects of assimilationist thinking but rather resulted from their irreversible state of exile from their homeland, and motivated by their desire to speed up transnational compensation payments from Israel (Gohl 1991; Bouzo 2005).

Another of the Templers' main settlement and adaptation motives was the economic reconstruction of the community. Economic wealth facilitates successful settlement (Castles 2002; Kuzmickaite 2000). Outstanding examples of economic development especially in the food industry by Templer families took place during the long boom (Bouzo 2005). In the mid 1960s the successful transnational transfer of compensation payments for properties lost in historic Palestine assisted the economic establishment of Templer individuals and community facilities (Sauer 1991, Lange 1995; Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Rutland 2005).

Since their arrival in Australia, Templers have maintained strong transnational links with Germany and Israel for the approbation of overseas funds, for religious reasons, to maintain family ties, and in more recent times, for German language maintenance (Sauer 1991, Lange 1995; Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Rutland 2005; Glenk 2005). In Australia several scholarly studies in the areas of post-war migration and language maintenance (Jupp 1988, 2001; Clyne 1991; Christa in Jurgensen 1995; Kaplan in Jupp 2001) have included the Templers as a distinct German-speaking community; however, further in-depth research is required on the effects of assimilationist thinking and community language retention amongst Templers. The importance of immigrant language use and bilingual behaviour is examined in the next section.

Language contact

Linguistic diversity matters

Immigration creates language contact, bi- and multilingualism. In Australia multiculturalism was regarded, until recently, a natural part of society that has replaced the 'exclusive thinking' of monoculturalism that used to be the norm during assimilation (Lo Bianco 2005:1; 2006; Borland 2001). However, ambivalent attitudes still exist in relation to the value of multilingualism.

A shift in thinking has taken place at the government and community levels, which has led to the formal adoption of the National Languages Policy in 1987 (Borland 2001). Retaining a language or multiple language skills is considered a basic human right and an important economic resource (Lo Bianco 2005). There is no longer any official barrier to 'community languages' (Clyne 2003:30) use, and apart from the national language of English, no language is given preferential treatment over others (Clyne 2003; Ozolins 2001). However, Clyne (2005a; 2005b) cautions that most Australians have not yet shaken off their monolingual mindset.

> 'The monolingual mindset finds it hard to distinguish between "bilingualism" and "monolingualism" in a language other than the national language (in this

> case, English) and sometimes believes that using another language is an indication of inability or unwillingness to speak English at all.'
>
> (Clyne 2005a:xi)

Clyne (2005a and 2005b) also laments that very few younger and middle-aged people in Australian cities remember the strong representation of ethnic communities to move multilingualism into the public arena, such as the Templer lobby that located German language teaching in the Victorian primary school curriculum (Fernandez 1992).

Diversity amongst German-speaking immigrants

During the post-war era, German was one of the main language groups in Australia, even though the German-speaking community has continued to be quite fragmented and characterised by its diversity (Kipp and Clyne 2003; Clyne 2003). The numbers of German immigrants in Victoria swelled from the mid 1800s onwards, and had serious disruptions during two world wars (Fernandez et al 1993; Vondra 1981; Clyne 1988; 1991). As a result of the mass migration years after World War II, the German-speaking community in Victoria, and especially in Melbourne, increased again (Uhlenbruch 2004; Jupp 1988, 2001; Kaplan 2001). German-speakers have not been considered as a 'coherent ethnic group' because the majority arrived in the 1950s, and others were more recent arrivals; the former group consisted of Austrians, Swiss, Templers who were Swabian-speakers from Palestine, Germans from eastern and central Europe and Jewish refugees (Clyne 1997:2; 1988, 1991; 2003).

By 1976, according to Clyne and Kipp (2002), German was the third most widely used home language in Australia, whilst in the 2001 Census it was the ninth. They further asserted that for some older established immigrant groups, community language use was underestimated. They pointed out that the only large scale ABS survey on language use was conducted in 1983. It showed that whilst 48.25 per cent of German-speakers used German in the home, almost double (83.51 percent) used it regularly with relatives and friends.

Many of the long-term post-war immigrants in Melbourne have experienced some form of language shift as a result of the assimilationist era (Clyne 2003, Kipp and Clyne 2003; Clyne and Kipp 1996; Sanders 2002; Ozolins 2001; Kaplan 2001; Tisdell 1998; Christa 1995). Negative aspects of assimilation thinking challenged their German language maintenance and did not necessarily lead to comfortable forms of adaptation or well-integrated bicultural identities. Similar evidence in Canada suggests that many post-war immigrants, rather than adopting the host culture, adapted to it and quietly embraced assimilation as both desirable and necessary and thus became a silent generation (Farges 2004). The result was underground language maintenance activities, and a low key culture of quiet living removed from public consciousness, which camouflaged post-war immigrants' ethnolinguistic vitality and any visible signs of a local German presence (Jupp 1995). Jupp (1995) concedes that these are the impressions of an outsider.

Despite positive government language policies that encouraged the maintenance of community languages, Clyne describes German as a community language in Melbourne with high language shift to English (Clyne 2002, 2003). According to the 2001 Census German is the third largest community language in Melbourne consisting of 19.5% of residents (Clyne 2002). Yet there has been a 32.6% decrease in the home use of the German in Melbourne in the ten years prior to 2001 (Clyne 2002). Whilst German is considered important economically, it is an aging language in Australia because it has an old population of speakers. For example, only 7.7% of its German speakers are aged under 14, while 49.4% are over 55 years of age (Clyne 2002). By contrast the Vietnamese are a young group; the majority of its speakers are under 14 years of age and only 9.1% are over 55. As a result, Clyne and Kipp (2002) argue that German language use experienced a rapid decline in the last twenty years as its speakers underwent a shift to English. Nevertheless German remains one of the top 20 community languages spoken in Australia in the 21st century and is among the most widely used in the world (Cook 2006). Following this examination of community language use, a discussion of linguistic behaviour, in the form of bilingualism, is warranted.

The cult of bilingualism

Bilingualism occurs only where languages are in contact (Dalby 2002). Bilingualism exists in a community where some people, at least, speak both languages such as the national language and the immigrant mother tongue (Dalby 2002, Lo Bianco 2006). The cult of bilingualism is growing to be ever more fashionable in the world of 'global connectedness' where there are more multilingual than monolingual people (Lo Bianco 2006:33; Dalby 2002; Clyne 2005b; Borland 2001).

Dalby (2002) pointed out that in the twentieth century bilingualism was a fairly unusual condition amongst many people whose first language was English. For them it was quite difficult to become bilingual unless they lived in a bilingual community where an 'ethnic heritage language' (Dorian in Fishman 2001:33) was transmitted in childhood. For many immigrants the opposite has been the case. 'They lived in multilingual communities and could not have been monolingual if they tried' (Dalby 2002:91).

Dalby (2002) provides a snapshot of various bilingual scenarios. Some communities have been observed to make a complete change of language in three generations. In these cases adult immigrants may never learn to speak the new host language fluently. Their children will be brought up to speak their mother tongue at home and will learn the new language from neighbours and at school and will eventually become fully bilingual. If the immigrants marry into the new host society, their children are likely to be brought up to be monolingual or semi-bilingual at the most. They will be able to partially understand the language of their parents but not speak it, since they will have no reason ever to do so. The next generation of children will grow up speaking the new language, and find themselves a world away from the life of their grandparents

In this study of the Templers in Australia, bilingualism is used in two ways, both to refer to an individual or a community. Firstly a bilingual person is one who uses two languages in daily life. I prefer Dalby's (2002:xi) definition which means a person who uses one of the languages 'adequately' or well enough to get by, but 'not necessarily knowing them both equally'. Secondly a 'bilingual community' (Dalby 2002:xi) is one in which two

languages are used in daily life. It is important to note that not all the people in the community need to be bilingual, but only some of them. In this context a variety of terms are used to describe the immigrant language.

The traditional term 'mother tongue' is used to mean the first language a child learns to speak (Dalby 20002: xi; Lo Bianco 2006l; Clyne 2003).[3] The national language is the one taught in schools and recognised as the main language of communication in the country (Dalby 2002; Lo Bianco 2006). The term 'community languages' (Clyne 1991:3,231; 2003) has been used in Australia since 1975 to represent languages other than English as well as Aboriginal languages used within the community and is employed as such in this study. When people adopt the new national language and cease to use their traditional mother tongue (Clyne 2003; Dalby 2002; Lo Bianco 2006) they undergo language shift.

Loss of diversity: language shift

According to Clyne (2003:30) 'language shift' or 'language switch' (Dalby 2002:xi) occurs when people and communities change their linguistic behaviour. He states that a useful indicator of language shift is the language behaviour of immigrants in the home whereby their community languages gradually transfer and or converge with English. Language shift is often a one-way process as speakers of one language switch to another to meet their current needs (Dalby 2002; Clyne 2003). In a community, people often begin to shift away from the mother tongue in their own families without realizing how many other families are doing the same until it is too late to change (Dalby 2002). A multitude of factors such as time of arrival, public policy, age, and residential proximity to other community language speakers facilitate, prevent, arrest and reverse language shift (Clyne 2003; Smolicz 2001; Bourhis 2001; Fishman 1991). Several writers provide theories of language maintenance and shift which are relevant to the dynamics of language contact amongst post-war immigrants in Australia (Clyne 2003; Landweer 2000, 2001; Smolicz 2001; May 2001; Bourhis 2001; De Vriess 1999).

[3] 'Heritage language' is a term used in the United States of America to denote immigrant languages (Lo Bianco 2003 http://www.international.ucla.edu/lrc/hlj/).

Clyne's (2003) theory of language shift to English is a product of individual factors such as generation, age and mixed marriages in addition to group factors such as pre and post-migration experiences, and some linguistic factors such as code switching and language prestige. In relation to post-war immigrants Clyne (2003) points out that intergenerational language shift is higher in the second immigrant generation than in the first. Statistics on Germans in Australia indicate high exogamy rates where individuals marry outside the community language group (Clyne 2003), except amongst German-speaking Templers (Clyne 1991). The oldest group of immigrants is the one that maintains its language the longest. For example, a high percentage of home users of German are aged 55 and over (Kipp and Clyne 2003). There is no possibility of renewal through further immigration for many post-war groups and consequently German home use is declining (Clyne and Kipp 2002; Jupp 2003; Clyne 2003). German studies indicate that communication amongst older people is an important factor in language maintenance because they move more exclusively in ethno-specific social networks (Clyne 2003). On the other hand, children bring the English language into the home and, regardless of the language they use to communicate with their parents, they speak English with each other (Clyne 2003).

The vintage of immigrant groups, namely the era in which they arrived in Australia, is an important consideration in the reasons for the disappearance of languages (Clyne 2003; Dalby 2002). Language use and shift reacts to the dominant community attitudes and government policies on languages other than English. Since monolingualism and assimilation are entrenched in Australian history, early immigrants restricted the use of their mother tongue to their homes, church and church schools (Tisdell 1998; Clyne 2005b). Earlier groups displayed less assertive attitudes, relied less on government financial support for language maintenance programs and had less contact with their homeland than more recent arrivals (Clyne 2003; Clyne and Kipp 1996). At that time language shift was perceived as an index of successful assimilation (Kaplan 2001). Dalby (2002) supports the notion that some languages are lost not only because people have simply decided to switch to another language, but also because their communities have suffered large-scale, enforced movements of population.

Place of residence is also a factor which facilitates language shift (Clyne 2003). Surprisingly, living in close proximity to other speakers of the same language background can stimulate shift over a period of time because they maintain contact with people of similar origins and make no attempt to broaden the function of the community language beyond the group (Clyne 2003). Thus bilingualism lasts as long as it is useful (Dalby 2002). Predictions of linguistic trends indicate that, with the absence of maintenance initiatives, German language use will decline even more rapidly in the not too distant future (Clyne and Kipp 2002).

An opposing theory is presented by Dalby (2002) who found that remarkable social cohesion supports long-term bilingualism. Significant support factors are the speakers' exclusiveness, a community's limited intermarriage and lifestyle practices based on common religious beliefs and social customs which make it difficult for a community to mix with the wider society (Dalby 2002). I believe additional research is required in this area, especially in relation to increased international travel and communication to establish which factors inhibit or favour language shift.

Maintaining diversity: stable bilingualism

Bilingualism can be maintained for a long time (Dalby 2002). It lasts for one or two generations in many immigrant groups and may persist for several hundred years in diaspora communities (Dalby 2002). The notion of how long bilingualism lasts is explored in this section. Several studies exist on the advantages of divergent thinking and the positive cognitive effects of bilingualism, especially for children (Doepke 1992; Dalby 2002; Clyne 1997, 2005, 2006). However, the discussion of language behaviour and change in this study focuses on the social conditions that maintain 'stable bilingualism' to use Dalby's (2002:280) optimistic term. Stable bilingualism in a community prevents future language losses. An examination of the nature and social conditions of community language use highlights indicators of stable bilingualism or language maintenance.

Clyne (2003) considers language use in the home as a good predictor of future language use and maintenance based on the notion that if a language is not transmitted in the home it is not likely to survive another generation (Clyne 2003; May 2001; Fishman 1991). However Clyne (2003) cautions that the restriction to the home domain is responsible for an underestimation of community language. In fact younger and middle-aged offspring of immigrants sometimes maintain their mother tongue language solely outside their home when they visit older parents, relatives or other community groups (Clyne and Kipp 2002).

Another model that supports language maintenance is Smolicz's (2001) core value theory (Clyne 2003). Every culture has certain core values that 'represent its heartland and act as identifying values for its members' (Smolicz 2001:770). Language is most effective as a core value where it is linked with other core elements such as religion and historical consciousness (Clyne 2003; Smolicz 2001).

Yet another application of language maintenance is the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language described as 'that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting' (Giles et al. 1977:308 in Clyne 2003:55; Landweer 2000, 2001). The more vitality a group has, the greater are its chances for survival as a distinctive linguistic community within its bilingual or multilingual context, and the less vitality, the greater the danger for disappearance. Some vitality indicators are the existence of a core of fluent speakers, a dense network of social relations within the community that is supportive of the language; and the relative prestige of the language in the broader society, for example, speaking a high profile language favours longstanding maintenance and perceived economic advantages for the language use (Landweer 2000, 2001; Clyne 2003). A further extension is ethnic revival or re-ethnisation such as that which has accompanied Greek ethnolinguistic vitality in Australia, stimulated by visits to the homeland to learn about the culture (Clyne 2003).

Clyne (2003) states that the ethnolinguistic vitality theory is more suited to countries with majority, minority languages than multicultural Australia, where many languages are simultaneously in contact with the dominant high status language. However, I believe some useful indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality are applicable to the Australian context. One of these indicators is the number of domains in which the language is used (Clyne 2003; Landweer 2000, 2001). The more domains in which the language is used, the greater is its strength. After the home use, language domains such as social events and religious activities such as sermons, music, prayer and announcements are included as significant. Other ethnolinguistic vitality indicators include frequency and type of code switching.

Bilingual people require highly developed linguistic skills to switch between languages. Code switching amongst bilingual people is discussed in various models of language dynamics and ethnolinguistic studies (Clyne 2003; Landweer 2000, 2001; Eckermann 1994; Pauwels 1986; Verschik 2004; May 2001). Also known as code-mixing or borrowing or 'code switch' (Eckermann 1994:226), it is common amongst post-war German-speakers (Clyne 2003) and represents the situation where bilingual people use words and expressions from two or more languages in rapid succession in one conversation (Clyne 2003; Muysken 2000 in Clyne 2003; Liebscher and Schulze 2004; Giampana 2001; Eckermann 1994).

From the outsider's perspective this might seem like different languages mixed inappropriately, but the speakers consider the language mix one and the same code and their insider listeners might not even notice the transfers (Clyne 2003; Liebscher and Schulze 2004; Giampana 2001; Verschik 2004). Code switching has strong exclusion/inclusion implications and marks solidarity, ethnicity and friendship with non-English-speaking relatives (Giampana 2001; Clyne 2003; Landweer 2000, 2001; Liebscher and Schulze 2004).

Bilingual communities sometimes develop idiosyncratic 'ethnolects' (Clyne 2003:152). This occurs when they have powerful mutual influences, especially when two languages

are spoken by immigrant groups who live all their lives in a single community (Dalby 2002). The use of 'ethnolects' is an unusual form of ritualised language used amongst long term German and Italian-speakers in Australia. It functions across several generations as a symbolic identity marker, often of multiple identities (Clyne 2003). Ethnolects, like code switching, consist of a language used by a particular community that contains features of a language previously spoken and indicate 'adaptation' (Clyne 2003:154) amongst German-Australian enclaves. Such features are typically items related to food, family relationship address forms or sources of religiosity. For example, the Swabian Templers display an ethnolect mixed with Arabic influences (Clyne 2003). Clyne (2003) points out idiosyncratic aspects where speakers of an ethnolect only use it in communication with older members of their own group but rarely with their own peer group; however, the third generation has been known to identify the ethnolect as their community language. The choice of language reflects solidarity of people's multiple identities especially concerning dialects, the standard form of the immigrant language and the host national language.

Bridging the language of the diaspora

The relationship between a diaspora immigrant community and its original homeland is very complex in terms of language and culture (Lo Bianco 2005). Where language use is concerned, German-speaking diaspora communities sometimes experience culture lag (Ogburn 2005) or 'fossilization' (Jupp 2003:8) that distances them from the present-day homeland or more recent German-speaking arrivals.

Where the language of the diaspora group is a dialect, it is often supported by local churches, clubs and communities and thus has a strong local presence in the real world of immigrants and their children (Lo Bianco 2005). Many post-war immigrants in Australia who grew up in closely-knit communities learning a dialect are highly sensitive to the prestige of language use and the perceived 'inferior' (Fernando 1985:218) status of their diaspora language (Lo Bianco 2005; Pauwels 1986). A similar situation exists amongst German and Italian-speakers in Canada (Rubino 2002; Giampana 2001).

Several writers state that the value of the dialect as part of an immigrant's regional identity needs to be acknowledged but that there is a growing trend for immigrant offspring to prefer to learn the standard form in order to reclaim their heritage identity (Rubino 2001; Giampana 2001; Lo Bianco 2005). The shift from the standard immigrant language to dialect to English increased in the 1980s but in the early 1990s the transnational experience and the higher perceived prestige of the standard language has led to linguistic revival, stimulated by language education and overseas travel (Rubino 2002; Clyne 2003, 2005; Giampana 2001; Lo Bianco 2005).

In some immigrant communities, for example amongst the Templers, the Swabian dialect has actually encouraged language maintenance because it is part of a continuum of German varieties that enables its speakers to accommodate to the wider German-speaking community (Clyne 2003; Pauwels 1986; Fernando 1985). The choice of dialect use amongst immigrants in Australia is a strong indicator of social solidarity even to the point where a person could be considered snobbish within the immigrant community for not using the dialect with other members (Crystal 1992; Lo Bianco 2002).

Amongst German-speakers, terminology confusion sometimes arises between Standard German and High German. Historically 'high' has not meant 'official' but rather refers to a linguistic region (Fernando 1985:218; Crystal 1992:28; Dalby 2002). Standard German developed out of High German dialects in the southern German regions that included Swabia, rather than Low German spoken in the low-lying northern region. The German term 'Hochdeutsch' (Crystal 1992:43) or High German has been used loosely, but not by linguists, to mean Standard German as opposed to the spoken, regional dialect (Fernando 1985; Crystal 1992). The children of diaspora immigrants who speak a dialect, experience standard forms of that language in culturally authentic and legitimised situations, such as After Hours Ethnic/Community Schools and through overseas trips (Lo Bianco 2005).

Diversity matters to 'world kids' at school

Increasingly young people are relating to others in different places. They have become 'world kids' (Lo Bianco 2005:1; Luke 1990, Luke and Luke 1999), who are experiencing immensely creative forms of localised differences alongside a trend of sameness in world music, world cuisine, world movies and world clothes from the Internet. They need bilingualism and intercultural skills for global participation where they are experiencing myriad forms of cultural hybridity and vast intercultural experimentation. Immigrant children who live in bilingual communities have an advantage. Their language becomes the new 'cultural capital' (Lo Bianco 2005:3). In support of this notion, Clyne (2005a, 2005b) argues that the education system and ethnic communities have an important role in spreading multilingualism to the wider population.

Community language schools have played a significant, sometimes difficult role in perpetuating bilingualism amongst immigrant offspring and in the development of the immigrant relationship between the diaspora and the original homeland (Clyne 2002, 2003, 2005b; Tisdell 1995, 1998; Ozolins 2001; Lo Bianco 2005). In the 1950s and 1960s despite the official assimilation policy, language loyalty and maintenance was pursued by many immigrants in private and sometimes even in secret (Ozolins 2001; Nicholas 2000). Australia's unique linguistic wealth was maintained and kept alive in 'inconspicuous, amateurish and unassuming Saturday Schools' (Tisdell 1995:145; Clyne 1991; 2003; 2005b). Almost every immigrant group set up Saturday schools, which were given credence under multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980s and later became known as after-hours and community languages schools (Ozolins 1991, 2001; Clyne 1991, 2003; Tisdell 1995, 1998, 1999; Bouzo and Frank 2004). These were not publicised to education authorities in an era that advocated monolingual assimilation, consistently kept a low profile and commanded little respect from policy makers, educators and academics (Tisdell 1995, 1998). It took decades to overcome feelings of remoteness towards ethnic schools (Tisdell 1995).

Historically community ethnic language schools have experienced difficulties but they nevertheless have persisted. In the 1970s the general attitude to teaching and learning a

foreign language reached a low ebb, because ethnic school enrolments had changed from children born overseas to the children of immigrants. Consequently many German Saturday school students found learning their language difficult, inappropriate and lacking in usefulness (Tisdell 1995). It represented a transition time when students' needs were no longer met. The schools changed in focus from a place where immigrant children who knew German simply needed friendly practice using German books, songs, games and doing 'German things' (Tisdell 1995:142), to a more difficult situation that lacked trained teachers able to teach offspring of immigrants who were no longer proficient in German. The successes, albeit rather haphazard, of German ethnic schools eventually made them models for mainstream primary school bilingual and immersion language teaching programs in South Australia and Bayswater South, Victoria (Fernandez 1992; Tisdell 1995, 1998, 1999; Clyne 1991, 1988).

In the twenty-first century community languages programs in ethnic schools have benefited from government funding support and recognition (Lekakis 2005; Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs 2002; Lo Bianco 2005; Clyne 2005a, 2005b). According to the National Plan for Languages Education in Australian Schools 2005-2008, 69 languages were taught in 2003 in After Hours Ethnic/Community Languages Schools in Australia. That report recommended improved education opportunities to enhance bilingualism in the form of exchange programs and transnational study tours.

Clearly language remains one of the most significant markers of ethnic identity (Clyne 1991, 2003) and an important expression of our new times (Lo Bianco 2005). The Templers have played an important role in localised forms of German language maintenance in Melbourne.

The German-speaking Templers in Melbourne

The original Templers from Kirschenhardthof in Württemberg, Germany, have lived outside their country of origin since 1868 i.e. for 138 years (Sauer 1991; Christa 1995) and the Russian Mennonite Templers have been outside Germany since 1788 i.e. for 218

years (Sauer 1991; Romankin-Arndt 1993; Arndt 1975; Applebaum 2003). Their successful German language maintenance efforts via language education, religious, home and community life in various foreign countries such as Russia, Palestine, Egypt and Australia over several centuries is a remarkable achievement (Vondra 1981; Sauer 1991). It contrasts starkly with a more recent rapid language shift to English over the last twenty years (Clyne 2003; Christa 1995; Fernando 1985).

Amongst Templers their choice of Swabian dialect, standard German and English, domains of language use and ritualised code switching as well as ethnolects are simultaneously indicators of language maintenance, a bicultural identity and language shift, especially amongst Templer offspring. Evidence exists of language revival activities amongst younger members and well-sustained transnational links; however the extent to which this merely represents symbolic aspects of language and culture identification or facilitates permanent language reversal requires further investigation.

In terms of language maintenance Clyne (1991, 2001, 2002, 2003) reports that, of all the post-war German-speaking groups in Australia, the Templers have maintained German the longest and that they are the most successful in passing the language on to their children because of their dense networks, a sophisticated religious, social and cultural infrastructure and pattern of in-marriage that lasted until twenty years ago. Christa (1995) mentions the language maintenance role of a Templer youth exchange scheme that includes a German language study scholarship to Germany.

In addition language maintenance is facilitated by institutionalised support from the two Templer German community languages schools, formerly Saturday Schools, in the Melbourne suburbs of Bayswater and Bentleigh (Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Christa 1995). These were run firstly without and later with financial government support. One of the community language schools, the Bayswater Templer School, active for over 50 years, holds the prestigious position of the longest continuously running German School in Australia (Frank and Bouzo 2005; Die Bruecke 1982; Tisdell 1995; Christa 1995).

The Templer presence in Melbourne's local government area of Knox has both contributed to and been facilitated by the German ethnolinguistic vitality in the area (Jupp 2003; Clyne 1991, 1988). According to Fernandez (1992) the 1976 census indicated that German was the largest non-British language of home users in the Knox local government area. The area is characterised by a residential concentration of Templers who continue to use German as well as a well-preserved Swabian dialect in the home and with family that includes Australian-born offspring (Fernandez, 1992; Christa 1995; Clyne 2003). Knox has German-language facilities such as the Templer German-language school, the Templer religious and community centre and Tabulam and Templer Home for the Aged, jointly run with the Australian German Welfare Society (Fernandez 1992; Lange 1995; Christa 1995; Uhlenbruch 2004). Knox has other German Lutheran and Baptist Churches along with delicatessens, butchers and cake shops where German is spoken (Fernandez 1992). The existence of German-speakers in the area especially Templers with children is acknowledged as a valuable resource for the establishment in the 1980s of the renowned mainstream German immersion program at Bayswater South Primary School located within walking distance of the demographic centre of the Temple Society Australia (Gohl 1991; Fernandez 1992; Tisdell 1995, 1998, 1999; Clyne 1991, 1988). In the 1970s members of the Temple Society, including second generation representatives, took part in lobbying the Government to set up language schools. Their lobbying action was directly instrumental in the establishment of German as one of the languages taught in Victorian primary schools (Clyne 1988).

Significant language shift to English amongst the Templers in Melbourne has been documented over the last twenty years. Clyne (2001) points out that some Templers intermarried with other German-speakers. Overall Christa (1995) describes German as a language used only occasionally and in limited contexts by younger Templers. Clyne (2001) indicates that English has been introduced into all domains of Templer life for the benefit of the young and non-German-speaking spouses. Additional in-depth research is required on Templers and their attitudes and efforts concerning language use.

German-English bilingualism was well established amongst the Templers since 1950 when the Temple Society Australia was formally established as an autonomous region of the Temple Society (Ruff 2000). There was a steady trend of translations of Templer historical and religious works from German to English since the late 1980s in the TSA (Sauer 1988, 1991; Hornung et al 2005; Hornung 2005; Hoffmann 1995; Lange 1995) and more recent historical accounts have been written in English (Glenk 2005; Bouzo 2005; Beilharz 2000, 2003). Language shift has also occurred in the Templer Record, the official monthly community circular of the Temple Society Australia, which was written in German from 1946 until 1953, when its first English language contribution appeared. By the mid 1990s it was almost entirely an English publication with German usage restricted for the benefit of elderly members (Christa 1995). In spite of this shift certain idiosyncratic multilingual aspects have been maintained by the Templers.

Ethnolects and code switching are an integral part of being a bilingual community. The Templers have developed an unusual idiosyncratic ethnolect which acts as a marker of social solidarity and group identification. Clyne (2001, 2003:21) mentions a rather unique lexical transfer that consists of some borrowed words from Arabic in the Templers' original settler dialect of Swabian. Clyne (2003:216) highlights the Templer use of 'du' in German as a familiar mode of address to replace the formal 'Sie.' Lange (1995:01-2) provides an insider perspective and explains the use of the 'Templer du' that reflects a religious egalitarian view of the community members and he encourages its use as a marker of ideological continuity within the Temple Society. Issues related to the ongoing construction of an emerging identity amongst immigrants are explored in the following section.

Identity

Identity formation in the diaspora

Language, culture, religion, social networks and a sense of belonging to significant places are factors by which immigrants feel connected to each other. They form people's self-image or identity which changes over time (Sanders 2002; Giampana 2001; Kidd 2002). In the past a sense of identity was formed via categories such as faith, nations, ethnos,

race and language (Lo Bianco 2005; Taylor 1994). Globalising forces such as instant communication via electronic technology and easier travel are causing massive identity shifts (Lo Bianco 2005). New emerging definitions of the diaspora identity are not transplanting the old forms but rather supplement them as an expansion of new identity construction takes place amongst diaspora communities and individuals (Lo Bianco 2005).

Immigrants and their offspring have accumulated memory that links them to the past and they often experience multiple loyalties which shift, compete with each other and require public affirmation (Burke 2004, Wolff 2001, 2003; Sanders 2002; Giampana 2001). Making sense of these multi-layered experiences and how people represent themselves in the present and the future is the process of negotiating identity (Giampana 2001).

Several definitions of the term identity and the process of identification that focus on the notions of self-image and group formation are useful to this study. Many writers agree that the definition of identity involves self-identification and often takes the form of self-ascribed or even hyphenated identities, based on a subjective belief in common descent, culture and sometimes religion (Goldlust 1993; Levine 1997; Giampana 2001; Meune 2004).

Another definition argues that for individuals to enjoy a distinct and stable sense of self, they need to recognise themselves as part of a collectivity or group (Yamani 2000; Kensall 2000; Dean 1997, 1997a in Kelsall 2000: Levine 1997). Other writers prefer to deal with the notion of identity and group membership as an identification process (Mitchell 2005; Brubaker and Cooper 2000 in Mitchell 2005). In all cases 'identity is always a social and a collective matter' (Yamani 2000:24; Dean 1997, 1997a). Immigrants need to experience three factors to maintain their sense of self; namely a sense of competence, usefulness and recognition (Dean 1997, 1997a). Taylor's (1994) examination of the politics of recognition and difference highlights the desire and need of a group or an individual to have public recognition of their identity.

Community means different things to different people but most agree it refers to a group of people with something in common (Black and Hughes 2004, 2001). 'Geographic communities' (Black and Hughes 2004:13-14) are defined on the basis that their members live in close proximity to each other. "Communities of interest and identity' (Black and Hughes 2004:16) are bound, not by geography, but by shared characteristics or interests such as ethnicity or membership of a cultural group, religion or some other particular interest such as a sport. A group's commonality of interest may also lead it to reside in a similar geographic area (Black and Hughes 2004). For some people 'community' (Black and Hughes 2001:4) indicates a romantic desire to return to another time and place or village life-style where cooperative community activity is easy to organise through 'Gemeinschaft' (community) as opposed to 'Gesellschaft' (large-scale organisation) which dominates twenty-first century western world views. More recently speedy travel and electronic communication indicate that small communities are replaced by 'networks of people' with common interests (Black and Hughes 2001:4). In this study the term 'community of interest' is used.

Community strength and wellbeing have become important health indicators at both the individual and collective levels especially in relation to migration and settlement in Victoria (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs 2002; Black and Hughes 2001; Department for Victorian Communities State of Victoria 2004). Indicators of community health and individual wellbeing in Victoria suggest that diversity in the form of publicly recognised multiculturalism makes an immigrant's life better. Improved wellbeing is evident amongst non-English speaking background people who participate in community events and volunteering (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs 2002; Department for Victorian Communities State of Victoria 2004). People with stronger social networks have higher levels of self-assessed health and lower levels of psychological distress, as well as somewhere to seek help and support during an emergency (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs 2002; Black and Hughes 2001; Department for Victorian Communities State of Victoria 2004). However, migration can also lead to a dislocation of networks, fragmented community life and lack of stability of self-identity, and may result in increased psychological stress and decreased wellbeing in general (Victorian

Office of Multicultural Affairs 2002; Department for Victorian Communities State of Victoria 2004; Black and Hughes 2001). These conditions change over time as immigrants develop a new sense of identity. Various markers of identification involve social, religious and ethnic relationships as well as connections with language and place.

Markers of identification

Some significant markers of identification for displaced immigrants are a sense of belonging, accumulated memory, ethnicity and hyphenated identity, culture switch and religious affiliation. Each of these will be briefly discussed.

The politics of belonging to a particular place are multi-dimensional in relation to many Germans who have undergone forced migration in the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Wolff 2001, 2003; Burke 2004; Werner 2004; Farges 2004; Hoerder 2004). Diaspora identities are characterised by dispersion and the resulting sense of loss, often of a homeland (Werner 2004). Belonging is complex amongst groups with unreconciled past issues of forced migration and World War II displacement that have never been publicly debated (Wolff 2001; Burke 2004). Strong collective relationships are formed through shared feelings of a common history of dispersal, memories of the homeland, alienation in the receiving country, dual 'Heimat' (homeland) loyalties and even a desire for eventual return (Burke 2004; Wolff 2001:28; Farges 2004:15). Increasingly, air travel and electronic communication facilitate the development of transcontinental networks and strong international communities of belonging (Black and Hughes 2001; Hoerder 2004).

Accumulated idealised memory is a central aspect of the construction of identities (Hoerder 2004). These feelings were common amongst displaced enemy alien internees in Canada and Australia who subsequently became 'accidental immigrants' (Farges 2004:2; Draper 1984; Knowles 2000; Burke 2004; Wolff 2001). The sudden rupture of their geographic and cultural displacement led them to construct life narratives in the form of 'before' and 'after', in 'there' and 'here' (Farges 2004:6). Their nostalgia was

partly a retrospective idealisation of the past, a way of feeling grounded in the pre-traumatic period of their lives, with the memory of 'the golden time' (Farges 2004:4) of their historical situation. Lives were put on hold during internment, 'suspended in a kind of no man's land' (Farges 2004:11), even shielded from the world's horrors, but the rupture between the old and the new life was felt particularly vividly in the microcosm of internment camps (Farges 2004:10).

Farges (2004) points out that, although based on sparse research, those specific memories are sometimes transmitted to their offspring. According to Hoerder (2004) societies that deny their memories of emigration and immigration, lack the competence to come to terms with both the past and future-directed dynamics.

Hyphenated identities are one way that immigrants express their ethnicity across their pre and post-migration worlds. Ethnicity is a label that describes a person's belonging to a particular group (Dowd et al 2005). It is defined by common factors such as history, language, nationality and religion (Dowd et al 2005). Giampana (2001) describes hyphenated identities amongst Italian-Canadians as important symbolic expressions of social and ethnic identity, and the desire to live across two worlds. They represent a multiple form of identification both of 'being' and 'becoming' (Giampana 2001:3) or a 'balancing act' (Giampana 2001:9) where, like a journey across the ocean, it is a way of reconnecting to the immigrants' past and 'becoming'. Sometimes amongst young people, it represents re-claiming one's native birthright and integrating it with the sense of belonging to the new place whilst keeping alive the immigrant past (Giampana 2001). In some cases 'losing the hyphen' (Giampana 2001:11) symbolises the loss of the language, culture and identity. Similarities existed amongst post-war German immigrants in Canada who wished to escape the complexities of German identity (Meune 2004).

Post-war Germans in Canada and Australia have a tendency not to identify with ethnicity because of wartime hostilities and prefer only linguistic identification (Meune 2004; Clyne 2003). Sometimes they maintain their emotional ties to the language of their childhood via a collective memory or 'historical capital' (Meune 2004:19) that reaches

back to the eighteenth century and maintain a stance of collective silence and individual suffering that disconnects them from twentieth century West Germany (Meune 2004). The link between languages and ethnicity plays a strong symbolic role in maintaining culture since so much of a group's culture is constituted verbally in its songs, prayers, laws and proverbs, its history, philosophy and teachings (Fishman 1991; May 2001; Clyne 2003).

The process of cultural and linguistic identification involves continual shifting, affirming and contesting of identities as expressed through linguistic practices such as 'culture-switching' or biculturalism; a process more difficult than code switching (Eckermann 1994:226). 'Culture switch' (Eckermann 1994:226; Black and Hughes 2001:3) is a process of adaptation that encompasses 'the mosaic of contemporary community life' (Black and Hughes 2001:3) where people see themselves as part of many communities. It implies making decisions about what behaviour is appropriate in different social situations (Eckermann 1994; Sutton 2001; Black and Hughes 2001). Aboriginal people who experience the dilemma of multiple identities that are not acknowledged by public authorities, try to 'orbit' (Sutton 2001:15; Pearson 1994) in and out of their different life spheres, just as people who live a diverse city life take on a different 'persona' (Black and Hughes 2001:4) in each aspect of their lives. A parallel can be drawn with other groups such as immigrants who experience similar multiple identity experiences where they mediate between cultures. Some people adopt culture-switching as an adaptation strategy to overcome negative feelings such as self-doubt and varying behaviour expectations about traditions and beliefs (Eckermann 1994). The greater the 'overlap' in different social settings, the lesser the need to culture switch (Black and Hughes 2001:4).

Religion plays a crucial role in group identification. In many countries, particular religious denominations have close links with the culture, ancestry and identity of people, and this continues to be reflected among some immigrants in Australia (Black and Hughes 2001; Mitchell 2005; Smolicz 2001; Hughes 2001). Some people experience a strong sense of belonging and desire to claim religious affiliation without necessarily aligning themselves to religious practices and beliefs (Mitchell 2005). To them religion is more about maintaining continuity with past generations (Mitchell 2005). The

transmission of these codes of belonging to children through christening and communion is important to them. The individual's contact with religious codes, symbols and values enhances familiarity with them. Religious practices such as Sunday rituals are a vital aspect of communal life, provide a social meeting point, mark out communal boundaries and act as a 'community-maintaining exercise' (Mitchell 2005:7).

Religion is entangled with social and ethnic identification (Ata 1990; Mitchell 2004; Sanders 2002; Black and Hughes 2001). Mitchell (2005) points out that religious ideas and practices form part of social identification through cues and memories that mark life cycle, social or volunteer events. Given that a significant feature of immigrant groups is the tight connection between social capital and social networks (Sanders 2002; Mitchell 2005), it follows that ethnic-based social capital generates high levels of trust, mutual support amongst community members, effective social organisation and collective action (Sanders 2002; Black and Hughes 2001). Social capital can lead to collective action with positive consequences for the individual participants and the group as a whole. For example in times of communal difficulty and crisis, symbolic religious identification, as opposed to active participatory affiliation, is more intense (Sanders 2002; Mitchell 2004). Religion is a significant factor that motivates people to live near each other because they are attracted by the services provided by the religious organisations and it even determines their choice of schools and sporting activities (Bouma 1999; Mitchell 2004). Core values amongst religious ethnic groups sometimes result in religious values taking precedence over language maintenance (May 2001; Clyne 2003; Smolicz 2001). The role played by Templers in the creation of localised forms of identity construction is explored in the next section.

The Swabian-Palestinian Templers in Melbourne

The Melbourne Templers are consistently documented in post-war Australian studies of German-speaking communities as Swabian speakers and original pietists (Clyne 1991, 2003; Christa 1995; Fernando 1985; Imberger 1979). In their early days in Australia, they were known as 'Palestinian Templers' (Vondra 1981:179; Gohl 1991; Sauer 1991). In the assimilation years Calwell described their community as a 'religio-economic society' (Calwell 1949 in Gohl 1991:43).

The Templers have exhibited three markers of identification: first and foremost as a religious group, secondly they have maintained a cohesive social community and thirdly as a Swabian ethnic group with a rather unique collective memory of their diaspora background (Clyne 2003; Christa 1995; Ruff 1990; Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Sauer 1991; Glenk 2005). Each of these aspects of being a Templer is explained further.

Firstly the Templers' strong religious core values dominate all other complex and multiple layers of identification. The Temple Society Australia is an independent, non-dogmatic Christian community (Ruff 2000 TS Religious Perspective). The Templers have subordinated their ethnic identity and German language maintenance to their main religious aims but at the same time stress the importance of German-English bilingualism (Hoffmann in Vondra 1981; Ruff 1986, 1987, 1990; Sauer 1991; Lange 1995). This is supported by Ata's (1990) study of religious ethnic groups in Australia which primarily identifies the group as religious Templers rather than Germans (Ruff 1990, D. Ruff [Templer Sommerfest] 2000, pers. comm., 12 March).

Secondly within four decades of settlement, the Temple Society in Melbourne has set up a well-established social infrastructure. It covers a wide range of religious, educational, social and sporting activities. These include German language schools, social clubs, choirs, tennis tournaments, bowling evenings, a children's playgroup, youth holiday camps, tours, excursions, community picnics, dances, working bees, and fundraising fetes and bazaars (Ruff 1985) as well as aged care (Uhlenbruch 2004). Limited in-depth sociological studies exist about the extent to which these activities facilitate language and culture maintenance (Fernando 1985).

Thirdly the Templers in Melbourne share a diverse cultural background. There are indications of an emerging and changing identity formation in pre and post-migration literature (Christa 1995; Glenk 2005; Temple Society Australia Heritage Group 2005; Gidal 1995; Eisler 2001; Carmel 1973; Goldman 2003; Clyne 2001). German ethnicity is one element of their self-identification. In twentieth century British Palestine the

Templers were described as Germans (Glenk 2005; Sauer 1991). As immigrants in Australia, their pre-migration experiences consist of living in self-contained German colonies in historic Palestine where they used Arabic when working with Arabs. That represents part of their collective memory punctuated by many years of internment in the Tatura camp that constituted 'a German linguistic and cultural oasis on Australian soil' (Christa 1995:133; Glenk 2005; Temple Society Australia Heritage Group 2005; Gidal 1995; Eisler 2001; Carmel 1973; Goldman 2003; Clyne 2001).

Templers in Melbourne are defined as Swabians in sociolinguistic and historical studies (Clyne 1991; Christa 1995; Sauer 1991; Ruff 1984). The Templers and many other diaspora communities left a Swabian-speaking region in Germany called Württemberg in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when Germany was made up of widely different local principalities (Marquardt 1998; Medick 1998 in Marquardt; Dalby 2002; Fernando 1985; Crystal 1992; Sauer 1991). Consequently Templers have a strong connection with nineteenth century Württemberg as a political region, as well as the spoken Swabian dialect (Clyne 2003; Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Glenk 2005; Vondra 1981; Fernando 1985). The image of the Templers as nineteenth century Swabian 'artisans and craftsmen' (Lange 1995:199) has carried over into some twentieth century accounts (Christa 1995) even though many had become industrialists, economists, farmers and professionals when they arrived in Australia (Lange 1995; Eisler 2001; Gohl 1991; Smith 1984).

The collective memory of the Templers in Melbourne consists of 'more than a hundred years of wandering' (Vondra 1981:177) and their twentieth century experiences of forced displacement; sudden deportation; internment, 'disorientation' (Hoffmann 1987:18 in Ruff) and the loss of their homeland which was their prosperous pre-war settlements in historic Palestine (Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Hoffmann 1991; Sauer 1991; Ruff 1986, 1987). The Templers have a strong 'bond of tradition and heritage' (Hoffmann 1981:177 in Vondra) that goes back to historic Palestine and nineteenth century Germany. Templer historical literature represents a collective memory of the era of the founding of the Temple Society in the early 1860s prior to its nineteenth century diaspora (Sauer 1991; Ruff 1990). The founder of Temple Society was elected as a member to the 1848

Frankfurt National Assembly (Sauer 1991; Ruff 1990). He represented Christian religious idealists and enthusiastic liberals in South Germany (Ruff 1987; Taylor 1985). The failure and dissolution of the parliament as a 'coalition of idealists and impossibilists' (Taylor 1985:86) coincided with the founding of the Temple Society, their official expulsion from the State Church and their emigration to Palestine, which became home to several generations of Templers (Temple Society Australia 2005; Glenk 2005; Sauer 1991; Lange 1995; Ruff and Beilharz 2001).

Subsequently the Templers identify strongly with the twentieth century pre-war era in historic Palestine that is considered their golden era or 'Blütezeit' (Carmel 1975:80; Eisler 2001; Glenk 2005). Similarly the Templers from southern Russia remember their pre-Stalin settlements in the steppes of Olgino as a paradise (Arndt 1975; TGD 2001; Romankin-Arndt 1993; Sawatzky 1990; Dyck 1993).

Nevertheless the Templers maintained transnational links with their homeland Germany for trade and higher education (Sauer 1991). In the 1930s the Templers in Palestine were unpopular with the Nazis and Hitler, who resented their religious ties and focus on the Holy Land (Van Sommers 1966). In Australia they have been admired for their 'courage, faith and idealism' (Vondra 1981:177; 1970). In more recent time they are publicly recognised for their remarkable German ethno-specific aged care facilities, the Tabulam and Templer Home for the Aged in the local government area of Knox, Victoria (Uhlenbruch 2004; Agg 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the process of adaptation by immigrants to a new country. It has focused on Eckermann's (1994) cultural ecology approach based on the natural process where people adapt to their new environment as a matter of economic, social and spiritual survival. The settlement process of making adaptation decisions was applied to the Templers in Melbourne who represent a microcosm of established European post-war immigrant groups in Australia. Adaptation processes were explored in relation to the

impact of the forgotten post-war assimilation years, community language retention, and identity formation.

The preceding discussion showed that the Templers achieved successful adaptation and re-establishment of their close-knit religious society in spite of oppressive and negative influences in the early decades of assimilationist thinking. Existing research on language maintenance amongst the German-speaking Templers in Melbourne has raised a paradox of ambivalent attitudes towards language and culture maintenance. Trends of rapid language shift to English in the last twenty years stand contradicted by some evidence of language revival or a situation of stable bilingualism motivated by well maintained transnational links. Clyne (1991) believes that the Temple Society Australia favours their religious core values over and above language and culture retention. However, evidence exists of transmission of the Swabian dialect and the community language of German to the next generations. The extent to which such language maintenance has occurred amongst Templers, and the factors that have facilitated such a trend require further research. Attitudinal studies of long-term European immigrants towards the effects of assimilationist thinking are sparse.

This chapter shows that identity negotiation is an extension of basic acts of immigrant adaptation whereby people 'adapt, change and adjust, maintaining some of the old patterns, modifying others and creating new ones' (Eckermann 1994:25). A migration history fraught with dislocation and involuntary migration trauma characterise Templer language retention and identification processes. They led to a complexity of multiple layers of identity. The extent to which multiple identity and idealised accumulated memory amongst Templers of their pre-migration history facilitates community strength, resilience and sustainability requires further investigation.

In the light of the remarkable achievements of the Temple Society Australia during the last half century, through exceptional adversity, it seems both harsh and presumptuous to suggest Templers are still faced with an unresolved dilemma of successful adaptation or gradual assimilation. I believe the Templers have, however, experienced a quiet and

private dilemma of adaptation or assimilation that stems from the denial and unacknowledged rights of their linguistic and cultural self-identification. Despite their idealism, faith and courage the continuity of the Temple Society Australia will be jeopardised without a strong awareness amongst its members of how various generations of immigrants have tried to adapt, fit in and maintain aspects of their language and culture to form new emerging identities.

Three research questions which require further investigation and arise from the issues in this chapter are:

1. How have the dilemmas of adaptation and assimilation affected Templer settlement in Australia?
2. What forms of language retention, loss and transmission have occurred in the Temple Society Australia?
3. How does identity formation amongst Templers affect community strength, sustainability and new localised emerging forms?

These questions will be addressed in Chapters 4 to 6. The next chapter focuses on the methodology underpinning the thesis.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

The study of what ordinary people in a community think and feel, the story of their lives (Edwards 1994:67), can provide deep insights into cultural continuity and the processes of assimilation and adaptation in Australia's multicultural society. This study is an attempt to tell the stories of the Templers living in Melbourne and their search for continuity. People have a story to tell and researchers are sometimes seen as 'story tellers' (Holloway 1997; Glesne and Peshkin 1992:8; Stake 2003, 2005). Since this study is about describing social behaviour, values, attitudes and feelings, I have chosen a qualitative research design rather than a quantitative approach. Qualitative research generates rich and complex social information and is thus considered the more suitable method for accessing the participants' personal stories and to provide more insightful data about their social world (Guba and Lincoln 1994, 2005; Oliver 1997; Patton 1990; Kellehear 1993:33; Yin 1994, 2002; Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Denzin and Lincoln 2003, 2005; Patton 2002).

In this chapter I firstly describe the qualitative case study design of the research and provide a framework for the selection of the Temple Society Australia (TSA) as a case. I then discuss issues related to the collaborative participant-researcher approach and describe the sampling procedures used to interview 69 participants. The following section presents the data collection methods from several sources such as interviews,

observations and archives. Subsequently I discuss the development of the data analysis and include the advantages of the computer-assisted analytical software I utilised. Next I consider some of the ethical issues and more rewarding aspects of the qualitative design. To conclude I then address the limitations of the design and the strategies for enhancing trustworthiness and credibility.

Qualitative design based on naturalistic paradigm

Naturalistic qualitative research means the study of people in their natural environment rather than in a controlled laboratory situation (Holloway 1997; Glesne and Peshkin 1992). In naturalistic inquiry the design, to some extent, emerges, unfolds and develops through the research project and the interaction between the inquirer and the respondents (Lincoln and Guba 1994; Denzin and Lincoln 2003, 2005). It is about the ethnographic, qualitative study and representation of various aspects of everyday life (Denzin and Lincoln 2005: xv). Naturalistic inquiry, also termed constructivism by Lincoln and Guba (2005), requires the inquirer to be cast in the role of participant and facilitator in the process. Thus for the positivist the aim of the inquiry is to explain, predict and control whereas constructivism aims to understand and reconstruct knowledge via vicarious experience. As the constructivist inquirer in this study, my role is that of 'passionate participant' as facilitator rather than 'disinterested scientist' who controls and manipulates (Guba and Lincoln 2005:196). The naturalistic/constructivist approach thus enables knowledge and social constructions to be elicited and refined through 'active engagement' between the facilitator/researcher and the research participants (Guba and Lincoln 2005:196). 'New paradigm inquirers' (Guba and Lincoln 2005:205) who favour such an approach are increasingly concerned with the feelings and emotions of human experience as opposed to more conventional social scientists who favour objectivity.

Assumptions

I based my choice of naturalistic qualitative research on several assumptions:

- that the world is socially constructed, consisting of complex and interwoven social interactions which are difficult to measure (Glesne and Peshkin 1992)

- that qualitative researchers are in a position to secure valuable and rich descriptions of the social world (Denzin and Lincoln 2005)
- that through commitment to an emic position, personal involvement, and empirical participation in the research setting, the qualitative researcher can learn to understand the particular meaning of participants' lives (Denzin and Lincoln 2005)
- that the research participants are valued stakeholders in the research project and
- that the data collection and analysis requires multilingual competency in German, English and Swabian dialect

As a qualitative researcher I was able to immerse myself in lives of the Templers, explore the range of their behaviour, search for patterns and uncover some of their social complexities. The research methodology selected for this research is ethnographic, which involved an on-going attempt to place specific encounters with the Templer community events and understandings 'into a fuller, more meaningful context' (Tedlock 2003:165 and 2005). As such, my role was that of facilitator/ethnographer, I worked collaboratively with the research participants in various ways in collecting data, interpreting data and solving problems (Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Tedlock 2003, 2005). The ethnography was designed to explore how immigrant Templer lives were constructed by the larger societal context in which their lives were embedded (Hsin-Chun Tsai 2003). In effect, it helped 'go beyond describing "what is" and to explore how "what is" has been structured by the deeper characteristics such as ideologies and social control in society' (Hsin-Chun Tsai 2003:2).

Case study as research design

This ethnography is a case study. As a case study it helped elicit insightful information about the attitudes, perceptions and beliefs of the group of Templers and how members of the group interacted with each other and the broader community (Stake 2003, 2005; Denzin and Lincoln 2003, 2005; Oliver 1997; Yin 2002a; Tsai 2002). Such an approach was influenced by the lack of empirical research of this nature in the Temple Society Australia since the late 1970s and 1980s (Fernando 1985; Graessle 1986; Imberger 1979).

A case study is an in-depth investigation of an issue at a specific instance and location (Yin 2002a). A case is an exploration of a system bounded by place and time (Creswell 1998; Stake 2003, 2005). The case of the Templers is a specific, 'bounded system'. The more the object of study is a specific, unique, bounded system, the greater the usefulness of the knowledge that is created among investigator and research participants (Stake 2003, 2005). The Templer population resides largely, although not exclusively, in clusters around the Bayswater and Bentleigh suburbs of metropolitan Melbourne (Clyne 1991:97). These factors contribute to the 'bounding' (Stake 2005:459) of the case and make it an extremely suitable choice in terms of geographical accessibility and as a ready-made closed group system consisting of several generations.

Naturalistic, ethnographic case materials to some extent parallel actual experience (Stake 2005). The Temple Society Australia represents a microcosm of diverse migration communities in Australia and has been selected as an ideal case to study some of the typical multicultural issues associated with immigrant settlement. The case represents a small-scale community that went though hardships and traumas of wartime displacement, regrouped through adverse conditions and re-established itself over a period of sixty years (Ruff and Beilharz 2001; Glenk 2005). The advantage of the selection of this case study was its ability to depict the experiences, processes and lessons from a multicultural situation that concern cross-cultural adaptation, language maintenance and change, group identity; heritage issues; bicultural influences; and group dispersal, dislocation and continuity.

Case studies can take a number of forms. They may be intrinsic or instrumental.
The intrinsic case is one where, in all its particularity and ordinariness, the case itself is of interest, whilst the instrumental case study is one that provides an insight into a broader issue or refines a theory (Stake 2003). This study contributes to both these areas.

The uniqueness of the Temple Society makes it a noteworthy intrinsic case study in its own right. The community has the unusual and interesting reputation, states Clyne

(1991:96), of being the most closely-knit of all the German-speaking communities in Australia and for maintaining the German language for the longest period of time of all the 20th century German-speaking groups in Australia. Clyne (1991:99) alludes to the Temple Society as being of special interest because it is the only German speech community in Victoria with a highly developed infrastructure of group-specific activities in education, health and welfare. This has facilitated data collection and access to the participants.

Description of the study

The data collection of the study took place intermittently between 1996 and 2006[4] in the south-eastern and eastern suburbs of Melbourne. The study was designed to explore how Templer individual's and families' lives were constructed by the social and policy influences over time, and the decisions they made as they settled and established their immigrant and religious communities. The project involved the collection of in-depth information from Templers in Victoria and utilised a variety of social sciences tools such as surveys and interviews in the languages of the participant's choice such as English, standard German and Swabian dialect. Other common ethnographic techniques utilised were the observation of 'what is ordinary' (Stake 2005:453) in the Templers' natural community settings of community, social and religious activities.

Researcher-participant

My status as a birthright Templer and official member of the Temple Society Australia meant I had already developed a 'membership identity' (Angrosino 2005:733) with the case study group. Consequently I had a 'participant perspective' (Kemmis and McTaggart 2003:373) which provided a privileged perspective of the social and religious life of the Templer community and assisted in gaining the full collaboration and support of the Regional Council, the central administrative body of the Temple Society.

[4] Ill health and family trauma caused by a life threatening disease intervened in the data collection and reporting

Participant observation using an insider or 'emic' (Fielding and Moran 2006:1) viewpoint was a useful tool, particularly suited to case-study research in that it yielded a rich, detailed and in-depth picture of the social relationships in the community, facilitated access to participants, and improved the level of trustworthiness between researcher and participant. The warm and friendly reception I was given by all the people interviewed made the fieldwork stage as participant-researcher a deep, personally enriching experience. The high level of mutual trust developed as a researcher-participant enabled me to ensure that the interview respondents, especially the elderly were treated with dignity.

As a bona fide participant-researcher I was given access to observe and participate in a wide range of activities in the Temple Society including religious, community and administrative activities. I was freely able to observe, record and report what I saw at insider events. Qualitative researchers, especially participant-researchers have more personal relations with the research participants (Oka and Shaw 2000) and reciprocity was more keenly noticed among them. The positive encouragement I received from participants led me to believe that the research process I used had enhanced and not diminished the participants' respect for the social sciences and acceptance of myself as a researcher.

Ethnic and religious affiliations are an important part of immigrant communities' identity (Ata 1990). They form complexities of inner workings and personal networks that are difficult to understand from an outsider point of view (Ata 1990). The acquisition of knowledge and access to the special meanings of Templer language, culture and religion proved initially challenging for some researchers (Fernando 1985). Understanding the nuances of formalities, religious piety and complex kinship relationships was facilitated by my participant-researcher status and my bilingual Swabian-German skills.

Snowball technique

Members of the Temple Society Australia who lived in Melbourne were the target population of my study. The technique of snowball sampling is especially useful,

according to Trochim (2000) when trying to reach populations that were inaccessible or hard to find such as elderly ethnic people with limited English language. Consequently Templers who were interviewed were recruited through snowball referrals in the community. This sampling strategy suited the nature of the closely-knit social group of the Templers (Clyne 2003).

Sampling procedures

My sampling frame consisted of a list of members I obtained from the Temple Society Australia Regional Office in Bentleigh. Initially I sent a personal open letter of invitation for interviews (see Appendices 1 and 2), in both English and German, to approximately 100 prospective participants and made some follow-up telephone calls to those respondents I knew well. These fairly personal networking strategies, generated sufficient interested participants to commence interviewing. Subsequently participants, who had enjoyed the interview experience, suggested other friends and relatives who might be interested in taking part in the project. The snowball sampling method worked well because of the close family and social networks, and generated good, information-rich interview participants (Patton 1990; Creswell 1998; Glesne and Peshkin 1992). In many cases respondents contacted the recommended interviewees and prepared them in advance. This was an advantage as it generated willing participants and illuminating interviews. Eventually, after interviewing 69 Templers, and collecting survey sheets, data collection reached the point of saturation and the information became repetitive (Charmaz 2003; Glesne and Peshkin 1992).

Sixty-nine participants over the age of 18 were interviewed as outlined in Table 3.1.

Table 3. 1 Gender and Birthplace of Interviewees

Age	Overseas born - male	Australian born - male	Overseas born - female	Australian born - female	Total
19-29	-	3	-	2	5
30-39	-	2	-	5	7
40-49	1	2	-	4	7
50-59	3	-	9	-	12
60-69	7	-	3	-	10
70-79	6	-	10	-	16
Over 80	5	-	7	-	12
Total	22	7	29	11	69

The majority were born overseas (n=51) and about a quarter were born in Australia (n=18). The majority of the overseas-born Templers were aged over 50 (n=50), whilst all the Australian-born participants, who represented their offspring and partners, were less than 50 years of age (n=18). That trend aligned with the aging population of Templers who settled in Australia during the post-war mass migration era. There was a fairly even spread across gender. Of the overseas-born sample just over half (n=27) were interned in Victoria during World War II in 1941 and the remaining participants (n=24) migrated to Australia in the late 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.

One participant was from a rural area outside the Melbourne Metropolitan Area and travelled to the Melbourne suburbs to take part in the study. The majority of participants were official members of the Temple Society Australia. Two Templers, who were not financial members of the society, were included on the basis that they self-selected themselves for the study and approached the researcher. Three non-birthright Templers, born in Australia, who had married Templers were also interviewed.

I examined multiple forms of information from different sampling sources that exhibited what different people said, in various settings for the purpose of triangulation (Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Stake 2003). The collection of data from various sources is discussed next.

Data collection

Interviews

In order to set up a friendly, cooperative atmosphere, interviews were conducted in private homes or offices with individual members, couples, family groupings and in one case a focus group of six friends during an embroidery session. Languages used were English, German or Swabian which was often used alongside English to convey certain ideas. The participants' choice of language in interviews encouraged relaxed and spontaneous responses which tended to be self-revealing and personal. All interviews were recorded, with the participants' consent, on audio micro-cassette, to facilitate accuracy of the subsequent analysis. The burden of listening to many immigration stories of personal turmoil and tragedy during interviews was remedied via peer-debriefing during the data collection phase and brief interludes from interviewing.

The purpose of the study, procedure, confidentiality and participants' rights were discussed prior to the interviews and were provided to participants in the open letter (see Appendices 1 and 2) written in both English and German.

The trigger questions and prompts in the interviews loosely focused around Goldlust's (1993) and Taft's (1973) multi-dimensional model of ethnic identity that included themes of religious involvement; primary social relations (including mixed marriages); community contact within the TSA and outside, positive emotional and psychological feelings about the TSA; support for the German language and culture; defence of TSA continuity; significance of regions and place identification; and language use (actual and preferred) in various domains (see Appendix 3). I also administered an additional interview schedule to key persons (see Appendix 4) who held positions of responsibility in the community.

Demographic, immigration history and language surveys

At the end of the interview the participants were asked to complete two language use survey sheets (Appendices 5 and 6) and a personal profiles survey to collect demographic data and immigration history (Appendix 7).

The language use survey sheets required interviewees to complete a self-reporting assessment chart to indicate their knowledge of different languages, preferred language use, actual language use and domains of language use e.g. home, family, work, religion, official and social (Fishman 1991).

In compliance with the theoretical considerations outlined by Pauwels (1986:7), I designed a self-evaluation 'bilingualism and language competence' report where respondents ticked boxes to indicate their spoken and written language competences in various languages known to be used by Templers. Pauwels' (1986) investigation concentrated on the use of languages and language varieties, and on the location of bilingualism. She was concerned with bilingualism as it related to the individual only rather than 'societal bilingualism' (Pauwels 1986:7). I concurred with her definition of bilinguals as 'those people who make use of more than one language and who recognize themselves, and are recognized by others as using more than one language, regardless of their degree of competence in those languages' (Pauwels 1986:7). As a consequence more importance was attached to the self-evaluations of the informants' linguistic competence (Pauwels 1985; Clyne 2003). Similarly my investigation concentrated on the respondents' language use and on the location of bilingualism in various everyday domains rather than their linguistic 'degree of competence' (Pauwels 1986:7).
The interview schedules, personal data and language use survey sheets were trialled in advance on a small number of participants and modified before applying them to other participants in this study.

Archival sources

Additional data were collected from the internal archives of the Temple Society which proved to be useful for triangulation. Data collection from these sources was valuable because those documents and records formed an accessible and stable source of information. They provided rich information because they appeared in the natural language of their setting. As a researcher I was fortunate to find a wealth of internal archives consisting mainly of monthly circulars and internal writings covering a period of over a century in German and English.

A useful source of document data was the "Rundschreiben" later renamed "Templer Record", a bilingual monthly Templer circular that included contributions of religious and historical interest, community news and separate sections for the aged, youth and children (Ruff 1986; Sauer 1991).

The main defining feature in the qualitative research methodology was the concern for naturalness. The archival data were subjected to content analysis similar to the categorisation of observations of natural behaviour (Kellehear 1993). During the analysis of records in the internal archives I conducted a search for general emerging trends and themes, some of which were subsequently used as coding categories (see Appendices 8 and 9). The complexity of deciding on sampling strategies for such a large amount of information was overcome by the decision to analyse a selection of monthly Templer circulars, the "Rundschreiben" and the "Templer Record". Sample Records were selected on a date basis, in ten-year intervals from the 1950s up to the present. The sampling of units within each written circular was based on the language; use of German and English, and the target audience and subject matter of the article written e.g. editorials or articles written by or for the elderly or youth on matters pertaining to religion, administration and Australian lifestyle. Other emerging trends identified in the archival search were major Temple Society milestones during the settlement in Australia; Templer association with outside institutions; regular community events; bilingualism, multilingualism and language use; and variations in specific articles depending on the age groups of target audiences. These trends provided a useful framework for establishing coding categories

in the later analysis stage of the study. They also showed distinctive changes over time and were compared with Australian government policy changes and trends in the areas of immigration and multicultural issues.

Direct observation

Another method used for the data collected was that of direct observation and taking field notes as a participant at Templer functions. Initially, I tried to cover a wide range of Templer activities involving administrative meetings, religious events, interest groups, small social clubs and large community functions over a period of more than one year which subsequently extended over several years. The observational fieldwork provided a broader view beyond the interview transcripts and archival data on the participants' attitudes, feelings and everyday experiences. I kept an audit of memo notes throughout the data collection. These activities provided further useful forms of triangulation for checking the accuracy of data (Creswell 1998; Stake 2003).

The members of the Templer community had been informed of my study through the Templer Record and it was quite common for them to approach me during my notetaking to check whether I was writing up personal observations. Such interactions were goodnatured and appeared to be motivated by simple personal curiosity. These incidents frequently led to discussions with Templers which enhanced trustworthiness of the data interpretation.

Data analysis

Computers are useful in the organisation of quantitative data, especially in understanding a large text dataset such as the numerous interview transcripts in this case study (Creswell 1998; Charmaz 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2005). Given the large amount of qualitative materials collected for the case study I found several advantages in using computer programs to assist data storage and management (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Seidel et al 1995; Creswell 1998).

The information collected on the Personal Data survey sheets (see Appendix 7) and language surveys (see Appendices 5 and 6) was collated with the aid of EPI Info 6, a useful word-processing database and statistics program generally used in the public health field. This enabled me to calculate some of the statistical data from the aggregate Personal Data Sheets that respondents filled in during the interview sessions. EPI Info 6 computer software was selected for its flexibility and ability to generate various combinations of statistical data from the survey sheets for cross-reference with other qualitative data. This process was useful in the identification of emerging trends across generations of Templers.

Data collection, some transcription and translation occurred concurrently. All the field note entries were transcribed into the Ethnograph Version 7.0 (Seidel et al 1995) computer software program. The taped interviews were transcribed into Ethnograph in either English or German. Swabian dialect interviews were translated into standard German during transcription. Ethnograph provided an organized storage file system. Whilst I initially required extra time and effort to gain competence in using the computer assisted qualitative data management software, the fact that Ethnograph was a particularly good fit with the analytical process of my research made it a great advantage. With the aid of that computer program I was able to transform my transcribed interview files, memos, observation notes and diary entries, into numbered data files to facilitate reading and analysis.

My approaches to the data analysis involved inductive and abductive coding. Inductive analysis in qualitative research typically involves immersion into the details of the unstructured data such as naturalistic interviews and then inductively seeking the findings, and coding structures (Cavanagh 2002; Patton 1990). I used the strategy of inductive coding where the codes were induced from the text; and abductive coding which involved moving back and forth between the data and the ideas.

Cavanagh (2002) argues that in some sense all coding is abductive because every code is the result of continuing interaction between the participants' and researcher's ideas.

Ethnograph was particularly useful because it forced me to look at my database of transcripts line by line and think about the meaning of each sentence or idea and make connections. The computer software was also used to remove identifiers from personal data thus transforming them and protecting the confidentiality of the participants.

Repeated close examination of the coded interview data generated an analysis process that was cyclic in nature. The computer software was helpful in the sorting and shifting phase and allowed me to notice new things about the data whilst still keeping track of large volumes of coded material. The selection of coding categories was based on themes relevant to the aims of the study; themes similar to those I used in the interview focus questions (see Appendix 3); as well as others that emerged from the data. The next step was to examine the coded units and identify those with similar characteristics.

Thus following the data reduction of writing up field notes, transcribing tapes and coding via computer software, the data reconstruction (Heath 1997) involved the development of categories and findings, integration of concepts, and making connections to existing literature in order to draw conclusions. The coded Ethnograph data were compared with my recorded insights in the form of memos, statistical survey information form EPI Info 6 and the content analysis of the document archives, to enhance the credibility of the interpretation.

Ethical issues

I acknowledge that all researchers need to pay serious attention to ethical issues. Stake (2003) reminds us that the value of even the best research does not outweigh injury to a person exposed. He further asserts that qualitative researchers are guests in the private spaces of the community being studied; therefore their manners need to be good and their code of ethics strict.

The ethical issues in this study concerned informing participants, obtaining consent, protecting the safety and welfare of the participants, acknowledging the respondent's

bilingual limitations, and ensuring participants that the research results were intended for positive outcomes. The aims and purpose of the project were made available to all participants in the German and English languages via a plain language statement (see Appendices 1 and 2) and informed consent was sought with the aid of consent forms (see Appendix 10) which were signed by all interviewees. Computer programs facilitated the removal of all identifiers from personal data collected, in accordance with ethical requirements to maintain confidentiality. Each interviewee was given the option to respond in German, the Swabian dialect, English or a combination of these languages in order to make them feel sufficiently at ease to participate fully.

Permission was sought from all respondents to use the tape recorder and pen and paper for note taking during interviews. In some cases respondents asked the researcher, a few days after the interview, to change their replies. Each of these requests was taken very seriously, and resulted in follow-up home visits so that replies were re-recorded onto audiocassette in accordance with the participant's wishes. Field observations were only recorded with pen and paper not tape recorded in order to avoid excessive intrusion on people's privacy. Throughout this research one of my main hopes was that the outcome of the study would benefit the Temple Society. I tried to maintain close contact with key members of the society, discussing my progress and making the results freely available to the Temple Society archives, during and at the completion of the project. This process of member checking was intended to further validate the findings and avoid unintended injury to stakeholders.

Several ethical dilemmas concerning the various roles taken on by the researcher throughout the data gathering and fieldwork stages were highlighted by Glesne and Peshkin (1992). At one stage I found myself drawn into internal emotionally charged disputes concerning future trends of the TSA or the heritage value and status of a 50 year old Templer building. I had to make a conscious attempt not to become an advocate and to remain at a distance. I avoided becoming drawn into disputes or championing any cause that appealed to me and was directly related to the outcomes of my research. Self-restraint, diplomacy as well as an ethic of caring were required at those times.

Limitations

Several limitations existed in this study. Firstly an in-depth study of this nature required time-consuming collection and processing of data. Participants were interviewed in their homes, which were spread throughout a large eastern and south-eastern metropolitan region of Melbourne. The result was time-consuming travel to each place of interview. In addition the participant-researcher status of the interviewer resulted in a family-style welcome that exceeded the interview time and incorporated German-style afternoon tea (Kaffee und Kuchen), but generated useful insightful information. The advantage was that it enhanced the acquisition of trustworthy data (Glesne and Peshkin 1992; Stake 2003, 2005). The large amounts of time spent with the 'research others' (Denzin and Lincoln 2005:21) meant they were more likely to be frank and comprehensive about information they were sharing with the researcher.

The second limitation was that the information generated from the bounded system of the Temple Society represented depth of information rather than breadth. For example the views of members of the local Australian neighbourhood on issues that relate to Templer settlement in the area are not represented. The main Templer community is centred in the Melbourne suburbs. Thus interviews were restricted to Templer participants who lived in or around Melbourne. The few families in rural Victoria and Queensland were not included. Two small Templer communities in Sydney and South Australia were not included in the study. Templer residents in Germany were excluded, although the exploration of transnational attitudes in relation to links with overseas Templers was included.

One time lapse in the initial research plan was caused by a personal family health crisis. It involved a significant lapse of several years and occurred mainly between the data gathering and data analysis stages. The researcher kept regular contact with the Temple Society Australia throughout the unanticipated delay. Encouragement was provided by key personnel in the Templer community to continue the analysis of the data and complete the study. This not only served to enhance the credibility and authenticity of the already collected field data, but also made the project's continuation worthwhile. In

addition the issues explored in the case study continued to be of pertinence to the field of intercultural studies in Australia.

Trustworthiness and authenticity in data collection and analysis

Several techniques to improve trustworthiness were utilised. Authenticity, which referred to the capacity in research participants for 'positive social change' and forms of 'emancipator community action' (Guba and Lincoln 2005:207) was achieved through providing some of the participants with rough drafts of the data analysis for member-checking and discussion of the analysis results. The opportunity for Templers to provide feedback to some of the written up case study results ensured the incorporation of stakeholder views, perspectives, claims and concerns (Guba and Lincoln 2005:207). In this way the voices of the research participants were heard and their stories were represented fairly, with respect and with balance (Guba and Lincoln 2005:207).

Further trustworthiness and authenticity were enhanced by means of triangulation. Triangulation requires the use of multiple perceptions such as a variety of data sources, investigation methods and investigators, and even the incorporation of various disciplines to improve the credibility of the findings to clarify meaning (Stake 2003; Flick 1992; Creswell 1998; Darlington and Scott 2002; Janesick 2003). Many writers on qualitative research methodology (see Yin 2002a and 2002b; Creswell 1998; and Glesne and Peshkin 1992) advocate, for good case study research, the use of many different sources of information e.g. interviews, documents and archival records.

I was able to do justice to the complexity of the lives of the research participants through the convergence of information from different sources such as participant observation, interviews, surveys, document collections, informal discussions, unpublished documents by and about Templers, videos and a taped radio broadcast (Graessle 1986). All sources of evidence were reviewed and analysed together to increase the trustworthiness of the research data (Yin 2002). I achieved further triangulation by collecting data from a variety of perspectives including interviews of different groups and individuals within the

community such as committee officials, administrators, religious elders all of whom I called 'key persons' (see Appendix 3); and ordinary members across a range of age groups. These various ways of triangulation allowed the same patterns to emerge via different data sources and methods. The data were thus verified from different points of view.

Another strategy in the data gathering stage of my study that enhanced trustworthiness and credibility was the unstructured, conversational approach in the interviewing stage. The approach elicited deeply insightful discussion about personal experiences (Guba and Lincoln 2003; Patton 1990:39 and 289). The credibility of the interview data was ensured via strategies such as diary writing and field notes; methodological notes about decision-making procedures and personal motivations and experiences; and tape recordings of interviews. Maintaining an audit trail, or carefully examining the process as well as the product of the inquiry, (Glesne and Peshkin 1992) was another important technique that I applied to promote trustworthiness.

Prolonged observation provided scope; persistent observation provided depth within the case study. Because I was accepted as a member of the group and had a personal interest in being an active Templer, I easily built trust and a good rapport with the participants. My prolonged engagement with the Temple Society involved me sufficiently long to soak in the 'culture' of the Templer community. It enabled me to be aware of misinformation and overcome distortions.

My personal involvement, empathetic understanding and the naturalistic mode of research has enabled me to tell the untold stories of Templers. The results are a narrative rather than a report which serves to make the notions of identity formation, cultural continuity, and the dilemma of adaptation or assimilation amongst the Templers more 'accessible, tangible and imaginable' (Glesne and Peshkin 1992:8).

The data gathering methods involved multiple sources such as semi-structured interviews, personal profile and language surveys, participant-observation and documentary analysis.

Conclusion

Throughout the research project I was essentially interested in how Templers who settled in Australia see and experience the world. Darlington and Scott (2002:20) stated that such qualitative research 'requires us to be very aware of the lens which we bring to the task.' They went on to suggest that one of the most fascinating challenges of qualitative research is to try to look at one's own lens at the same time as one is looking through it when attempting to perceive the world as others see it. My role as an insider was personally challenging. However, systematic and thorough applications of the principles of qualitative research improved the design and methods used in this study. The case study approach and emic perspective enabled me to explore the processes of assimilation and adaptation from the research participants' points of view.

The choice of research design was a qualitative case study based on a naturalistic paradigm with underlying assumptions that the world consisted of a complexity of social interactions. My role as qualitative researcher was to construct a narrative of the social experiences of the Templers in Melbourne so that they could know more about their experiences of migration and resettlement. Strategies used to enhance the credibility of the data gathered and the research analyses were triangulation and member checking. Data were collected via multi-lingual interviews, participant observation and document analysis of internal Templer archives. Large quantities of data gathered were handled via electronic text analysis. Computer software greatly facilitated data reduction and reconstruction to produce findings, which were available for member checking to uphold the ethics of the study and to ensure the emotional safety of the research participants. Careful attention was paid to other ethical issues in the form of respect for confidentiality and gaining informed consent of participants.

In the words of Darlington and Scott (2002:20), the excitement of qualitative research "resides not so much in reaching the destination, for we can never completely enter the world of the other, but in the voyage and what might be found on the way." In this sense my study not only helped me academically as a researcher, but also broadened my personal mindset as a Templer and gave me fresh ways of seeing the issues of cultural and religious identity formation as explored through participant-research case study.

This study investigated emerging themes, which arose out of the multi-source data collection and computer analysis about the feelings and attitudes of ordinary Templers living in Melbourne. The aim of the selected methodology was to effectively unravel the hidden stories about the Templers' dislocation and resettlement as a religious and culturally diverse community, their adaptation, assimilation, language retention and identity formation. The next chapter provides a demographic profile of the participants across three generations, and focuses on the adaptation and assimilation of the Templers in Melbourne.

Chapter 4

The impact of assimilation on adaptation and language

Introduction

This chapter is the first of three stages of analysis that focus on the attitudes of the individual Templer participants towards their assimilation and adaptation in Australia, immigrant language retention and loss, and Templer identity formation. It has become clear from the data that immigrant adaptation involved various ways of thinking. Nine distinct ways of thinking have been identified in the daily decision making processes of Templers as they settled in Australia. These are:

- Assimilationist thinking
- Re-establishment thinking
- Idealised thinking about the past
- Religious thinking
- Ethnicity thinking
- Bilingual thinking
- Diaspora thinking
- Transnational thinking
- Community building thinking

An examination of each of the nine themes is conducted in the context of the three research questions presented in chapters four, five and six. Inevitably some overlap

occurs across these ways of thinking about settlement in a new country, due to the inherent nature of human dilemma, human aspirations and identity formation.

The present chapter provides a twofold analysis. The first section provides a demographic profile of the 69 Templers interviewed in Melbourne for the case study of the Temple Society Australia (TSA) that spans the period from 1995 to 2006. Participants are divided into three cohorts or age groups which emerged naturally, based on the similarity of responses they provided to interview questions. These generational groups afford an insight into the different attitudes and life stages represented amongst the Templers.

The second section in this chapter includes an analysis of participant observation from 1995-2006, interviews conducted between 1996 and 2002, surveys and Templer archives. It deals with immigrant assimilation and adaptation with a particular focus on the differences between the Templers born in Australia, and those who were born overseas and arrived in various distinct groupings since 1941. The conclusion presents a summary of the findings on the dilemma of assimilation or adaptation. The intention of the data analysis is to highlight important Templer issues and emerging themes 'in action,' as well as to provide some explanations with reference to wider themes current in the literature on immigration communities.

Demographic profile of Templers interviewed

A profile of the Templers interviewed was based on the Personal Data Survey sheets. According to Table 4.1 the Templers interviewed for this study fall into two broad cohorts: those who were born overseas and those born in Australia.

Table 4. 1 Birthplace and age of participants at time of interview

	AGE							
Birthplace	**19-29**	**30-39**	**40-49**	**50-59**	**60-69**	**70-79**	**Over 80**	**TOTAL**
Germany, Holland, Russia	0	0	1	3	0	1	4	9
Melbourne, Australia	5	7	5					17
Betlehem, Galilee						1		1
Cyprus			1					1
Haifa, Palestine				3	2	4	3	12
Jaffa, Palestine				5	3	2		10
Jerusalem, Palestine					2	2	2	6
Nazareth, Palestine							1	1
Palestine				1	2			3
Sarona, Palestine						2	1	3
Tiberias, Palestine						1		1
Wilhelma, Palestine					1	3	1	5
TOTAL	5	7	7	12	10	16	12	69

Of the overseas-born participants Table 4.1 illustrates that the majority (n=42) were born in pre-war Palestine. A further nine reported their place of birth as Germany, Holland and Russia. Interview data revealed that they joined the TSA as adults by marriage and religious conversion, and a few were born to displaced Templer families in Germany during the World War II.

Table 4. 2 Age of participants at time of migration to Australia

Year of Migration	Under 12	13-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	TOTAL
1941	9	11	6	1			27 *(52.9%)*
1948			1				1 *(2.0%)*
1949		3	3	1			7 *(13.7%)*
1950-1959	3	2	4	4	1		14 *(27.5%)*
1960-1969						2	2 *(3.9%)*
TOTAL	12 *(23.5 %)*	16 *(31.4%)*	14 *(27.4%)*	6 *(11.8%)*	1 *(2.0%)*	2 *(3.9%)*	51 *(100%)*

According to Table 4.2 the largest group of 27 (52.9 percent of the overseas-born) Templers arrived in Australia in 1941. They were deported from the German colonies in historic Palestine and interned as civilian enemy aliens in Camp 3, the family section of the Tatura War Time Internment Camps in rural Victoria. They were released between 1946 and 1948 to settle in Australia, except for a minority, who were repatriated to Germany.

A further 24 of the Templers interviewed arrived in Australia after World War II from Palestine and Germany to rejoin their relatives and the Templer community.

Table 4. 3 Templer participants born in Australia

Year of birth	Number of Templers interviewed
1949	1
1950-1959	8
1960-1969	7
1970-1979	2
TOTAL	18

According to Table 4.3 all other Templers interviewed (n=18) represent second generation immigrants and in three cases, their Australian marital partners. Eight were born in Australia during the 1950s, while the other eight were born in the 1960s and 1970s.

The age and gender of participants who were interned are recorded in Table 4.4.

Table 4. 4 Age groups of interviewed Templers during internment in Australia

Age on arrival	under12	13-19	20-29	30-39	Total
Number of Females	5	4	4	1	14
Number of Males	4	7	2	0	13
Total	9	11	6	1	27

According to Table 4.4 almost a third of the participants (n=27) in this case study represent the first Templers to arrive in Australia as wartime internees. Of this group, the majority were under 19 years of age on arrival in Australia. Nine of them were under the age of 12 years. Only seven were adults on arrival. These children and teenagers represent the 'one-and-a-half generation' (Kandiyoti 2003:2) that was born in the home country but was raised in the adopted host country. They are the in-between generation. The Templers spent between five and seven years in the Tatura family internment camp, depending on how soon they found employment on the outside after the war. Consequently many children spent a large part of their youth in detention where they went to school, studied German and lived in a close-knit Templer environment.

The adults who were interned were aged between 20 and 39 which meant they were detained for a significant part of their early adult years. They represented the earliest arrivals of the first migration generation of Templers who grew up overseas.

For the purpose of this analysis and based on similarity of responses, the 69 participants were further divided into three cohorts that consisted of:

- **Interview Group 1 –First generation immigrants (n=22):**
    - Seven participants born in Palestine and in Germany, who arrived as adults and were interned in Tatura in 1941. They represented the first migration generation group born and raised overseas.
    - Included were 15 persons, who were born in Palestine and had been interned there, in Africa or elsewhere, or had been evacuated to Cyprus and who were adults when they arrived in Australia between 1948 and 1967. They were received by established individual Templers and an organised TSA in Australia, but had already experienced civilian Templer internment outside Australia.
    - All were in their seventies and eighties at the time of interview.

- **Interview Group 2 –The one-and-a-half migration generation (n=29):**
    - 20 participants born in Palestine, who were children or teenagers on arrival and interned in Tatura in 1941. They represented the one-and-a-half migration generation partially raised in the home and the host countries.
    - Included were nine people born in Palestine, who arrived as children or teenagers via Germany after World War II between 1949 and 1958, with the exception of Case 005 who arrived in the 1960s. They did not have the cultural Templer immersion in internment but experienced German language and culture immersion overseas.
    - These were aged in their fifties, sixties and early seventies at the time of interview.

- **Interview Group 3 - The Australian-born second generation (n=18):**
    - 18 participants born in Australia between 1949 and 1974 represented the second generation immigrant Templers born and raised in the host country.
    - At the time of interview these participants were under fifty years of age.

Table 4.5 illustrates that two significant residential clusters of Templers are in the eastern and southeastern suburbs of Melbourne. In 1996 three Templer halls, community centres and sporting facilities, including one home for the aged, are located in the suburbs of Bayswater, Boronia and Bentleigh in the Knox and Glen Eira Local Government Regions (LGA) respectively, which are situated in the eastern and southeastern regions of Melbourne. A quarter of the Templers interviewed (n=18; 25.9 per cent) live in the LGA of Glen Eira and in the surrounding southeastern suburbs.

Table 4. 5 Residential areas of interview participants in Melbourne regions.

Postcode	LGA (Local Government Area)	Region	Frequency	Percent
3053	City of Melbourne	Inner City	1	1.4%
3139	Shire of Yarra Ranges	Eastern Suburbs	1	1.4%
3150	City of Monash	Southeastern Suburbs	5	7.2%
3151	City of Whitehorse	Eastern Suburbs	1	1.4%
3153	City of Knox	Eastern Suburbs	26	37.7%
3155	City of Knox	Eastern Suburbs	11	15.9%
3156	City of Knox	Eastern Suburbs	2	2.9%
3165	City of Glen Eira	Southeastern Suburbs	5	7.2%
3172	City of Kingston	Southeastern Suburbs	1	1.4%
3178	City of Knox	Eastern Suburbs	2	2.9%
3186	City of Bayside	Southeastern Suburbs	3	4.3%
3193	City of Bayside	Southeastern Suburbs	2	2.9%
3201	City of Frankston	Southeastern Suburbs	2	2.9%
3363	Hepburn	Regional Victoria	1	1.4%
3444	Macedon Ranges	Regional Victoria	1	1.4%
3765	Shire of Yarra Ranges	Eastern Suburbs	3	4.3%
3796	Shire of Yarra Ranges	Eastern Suburbs	2	2.9%
Total			69	100.0%

The majority of the participants (n=48; 69.4 per cent) live in and around Knox in the astern suburbs where the main Temple Society hub of facilities is situated.

Templers' responses to three research questions

The data were analysed in terms of the research questions. The interview schedule employed in the case study (see Appendix 2) focused considerable attention on the level of social, cultural, linguistic and religious involvement in Templer and other outside community activities during the early and more recent years of settlement. In addition to an analysis of interview transcripts other sources such as the language use surveys, personal data surveys, participant-observation field notes and archival content analysis of the Templer Record, the monthly circular of the Temple Society Australia, were also consulted.

The material gathered in relation to all of these sources will be employed to explore the research questions in terms of assimilation, language contact and identity formation. The three research questions that will be addressed are:
1: How have the dilemmas of adaptation and assimilation affected Templer settlement in Australia?

2: What forms of language retention, loss and transmission have occurred in the Temple Society Australia?

3: How does identity formation amongst Templers affect community strength, sustainability and new localised emerging forms?

The following section on assimilation and adaptation discusses the first research question:
How has the dilemma of adaptation and assimilation affected Templer settlement in Australia?

Former internees and post-war European arrivals spent their early settlement years in Australia under the assimilation policy, which discouraged cultural differences. At this time German language organisational, cultural and publishing activities were suspended

(Clyne 1991). Most of the Australian born Templers experienced the assimilationist era during their school years when monolingualism was upheld.

The interviews, participant-observation, field notes and archival content analysis of the monthly circular, the Templer Record, highlight four major themes. They include: Assimilationist thinking, Re-establishment thinking, Idealised thinking and Religious thinking.

Assimilationist thinking

Many post-war immigrants faced a dilemma caused by the Australian government's assimilation policy which required new immigrants to fit in as quickly as possible (Birrell 2001; Castles 2002; Jupp 2001). Assimilationist thinking generated considerable pressure on immigrants to drop their pre-migration culture and become Australian. Immigrants fluctuated between maintaining their language and culture in private and taking on new ways in order to fit in (Clyne 2002, 2003). In other immigration countries such as the United States of America 'forceful assimilation' tended to 'delegitimize the culture and language of the parents by teaching the children that their parents' language had less value than English' (Portes and Rumbaud 2001:271). This applied to Templers in Australia too. In addition, as part of the Templers' quest for adaptation the decision to become Australian citizens was often made for pragmatic reasons rather than patriotism.

In terms of assimilationist thinking a number of sub-themes emerged. These included 'trying to fit in', 'coming out' and 'better off naturalised'.

Trying to fit in

Most immigrants, when they arrive in a new country, try to adapt. They go through an arduous, but natural, transformation process which is never finished (Eckermann 1994, Kuzmickaite 2000, Markus 2001). Immigrant adaptation is a matter of economic, spiritual and social survival where people constantly make choices in order to cope with the new environment (Eckermann 1994) and fit in.

The study indicated that individual Templer families made considerable efforts to embrace the 'Australian Way of Life' (Tavan 1997:82) as part of assimilationist thinking during the first few decades after their arrival. Community volunteerism was encouraged by the host society in the belief that it would assist the assimilation of foreigners. Members of the first generation immigrants reported that this took place especially through their children's activities such as school committees, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. In rural areas they joined folk and art events such as country choirs and expos, the Country Fire Brigade, the Farmers Federation. One person [CASE031 Lines: 323-349] even took part in Anzac Day commemorations.

Participants in their seventies and eighties at the time of the interview reported:

> Mit Australiern also am Anfang... ich war im Mothers' Club, ich war bei den Scouts und ich war bei den Girl Guides und ich bin, ich meine wo ich das zweite Jahr in Australien war, von da war ich am street stall, beim Basar in der Schule [CASE002 Lines: 113-122].
> *(With Australians, in the beginning, I was in the Mothers' Club, I was with the Scouts and I was with the Girl Guides and I was, I mean, the second year when I was in Australia, I was at a street stall for the school fete).*

> Acht Jahr bin ich im Mothers Club (I was in the Mothers' Club for eight years) and I was, I don't know for how many years, with the Girl Guides. I was treasurer there [CASE004 Lines: 526-528 focus group of six].
> *(It was)* not for me, you did it for the children to know the background of the others and it was interesting [CASE004 Lines 596-598 focus group of six].

Such assimilationist activities also affirmed the Templers' model of co-operative living. Some felt it was easy to assimilate in Australia, as one man pointed out:

> The involvement in Palestine was actually much greater because it was part of your daily activities. There was no other... us being of a different group altogether. And that is, what you call it, assimilation wasn't possible there...where

> out here the assimilation of any Templer into the Australian society is much greater than what it used to be over there [CASE022 Lines: 458-470].

and a woman commented:

> I think you can mention that they can be proud of the role we are playing in the community. They assimilate easily, all our religious side, with any other community and they are well-respected throughout Australia [CASE012 Lines: 506-515].

In the post-war years losing the immigrant language was considered a successful indicator of assimilation because this made immigrant differences invisible (Kaplan 2001; Clyne 2003). Some tried to live up to external pressures from politicians and local schools. They felt they had done a good job at assimilating and yet still remained different. It was interesting that they still preferred to conduct their case study interview in German.

> Jetzt sind wir assimiliert. Jetzt sind wir akzeptiert, aber immer noch, die wissen das... wo wir her kommen, ja [CASE047 Lines: 99-102].
> *(Now we are assimilated. Now we are accepted, but still, they know where we come from.)*

and

> Ja der, ich glaube, der (Victorian Governor) unterstützt unsere Haltung, dass wir uns vermischen mit der australischen und anderen Gemeinschaften... und wir haben sogar eine Lehrerin gehabt, die uns verbieten hat wollen, dass wir daheim... dass die Kinder daheim deutsch schwätzen [CASE047 Lines: 163-170].
> *(Yes I think that he (Victorian Governor) supports our position, that we mix with the Australian and other ethnic communities... and we even had a school teacher who wanted to forbid us speaking German at home with our children.)*

Others found it easy to fit in because they had learnt English at school in British Palestine:

> (Englisch), das war compulsory in der Schule. In den letzten zwei Jahre hat man Englisch gelernt, deshalb war es so leicht für uns hier [CASE046 Lines: 561-578].

({English} that was compulsory at school. In the last two years you learnt English and that's why it was so easy for us here.)

Templers tried to promote public recognition of their attempts to fit in to the Australian way of life, such as presenting their children in scout uniforms at the opening of the Bayswater Templer Community Centre and reception of VIPS in the 1960s. Participants in the first generation reported:

> Dann habe ich gesagt ob unsere Buben in Uniform da helfen dürften, um die Autos auf und zumachen, und sie haben's auch, weisst du, mit den Uniformen. Wir waren dann noch arg fremd, und das hat für die Regierungsleute einen sehr guten Eindruck gemacht [CASE002 Lines: 209-225 female age 80-89].
> *(Then I said, if our boys could help open the car doors and they did it, you know, in their (scout) uniforms. We were still very foreign and that made a very good impression on the government officials.)*

Some Templers dressed in traditional German dress in country festivals during their early years of settlement.

> Ich glaube, die Australier waren mehr begeistert wie wir von den schönen Dirndeln [CASE004 Lines: 575-577 focus group of six]. *(I think the Australians were more enthusiastic than we were about those beautiful Dirndls.)*

"Coming out" as accidental immigrants

The immediate post-war immigrants suffered a legacy of hardships. The most difficult years for the Templers were after leaving the camp. The early Templers in Australia talked about 'coming out' of camp rather than arriving in a new country as immigrants (Case 002, Line 332; Case 001, Line 30-41). After World War II they became 'accidental immigrants' (Farges 2004:2; Draper 1978; Knowles 2000) in a society that was hostile to Germans. They were soon joined by other Templers who had been sent to Germany on wartime internee exchanges or had been interned elsewhere in the world (Sauer 1991). 'Fortunately, the Australian government moved away from the destructive friend-versus-enemy thinking very soon after the end of the war' (Ruff 1987:16). However negative

attitudes persisted in the general community at large. Ethnic families had a foreign education and vision which labeled them different and xenophobic taunts in public places engendered experiences of alienation (Peters 2003). Cultural and linguistic oppression against newcomers took place in the early settlement years. As a consequence many migrant children were denied the 'safe haven' a family usually provides (Peters 2003:5). Dispersal policies during assimilation meant Templers had to live apart and find agricultural jobs in rural and remote areas. Under post-war assimilation the Australian Government took no responsibility for the social welfare of the 'Germans from Palestine' (Sauer 1991:321). Because of their 'distressed economic situation' the Templers had to settle wherever the opportunity of making a livelihood presented itself in the 1940s and 1950s (Sauer 1991:318). In addition the Australian government did not allow 'consolidation of immigrants in ethnic language groups' (Sauer 1991:318).
In desperation they tried to regain a sense of belonging and identity.
One man in the one-and-a-half generation reported:

> Well, in the beginning, when we first came out of camp, of course we stuck together and we mixed nearly only with German Templer families, and well, they had the same fate, they had the same difficulties in the first... the same experiences in the life outside camp; coming out from a very enclosed way of living and into this country, and their experiences as Germans, as Templers [CASE001 Lines: 30-49].

Those Templers who were already over 70 and 80 found it very hard to feel at home in a strange country, especially as 'most were penniless' and depended on their children, grandchildren and the Templer Community for care and support and in addition many were dispersed throughout rural Victoria and even New South Wales (Sauer 1991:321). Immigrants were often made to feel lonely and out of place. This was supported by comments made by first generation participants of post-war hardship such as distance and social isolation from other Templers, language difficulties and hostilities towards Germans. Typical comments were:

> Aber sonst sind wir isoliert da unten. Wir haben sonst kaum eine Verbindung außerdem, was ich gerade gesagt habe, das ist die telefonische Verbindung mit

Bentleigh, unseren Freunden und solchen und unseren Bekannten in Bayswater, und Verwandten [CASE047 Lines: 45-51]. *(But otherwise we are isolated down here. We hardly have any ties other than what I just said, that is communication by telephone with Bentleigh, our friends and such and our acquaintances in Bayswater, and relatives).*

Die Verbindung mit den Australiern in jener Zeit, anfang fünfziger war sehr, sehr schwierig, weil der Hass gegen alles Deutsche immer noch so viel war, dass man's überall jeden Tag gespürt hat [CASE047 Lines: 79-84]. *(The relationships with Australians in that time of the early fifties was very, very hard because the hate against everything German was still so strong that you felt it everywhere, every day.)*

Maybe in the beginning you had not so good chances because they said you are German. They didn't like us very well. I was once knocked back when I asked for a job in the beginning...in the beginning. And that man said to me, "No we don't take Germans" and I was hurt. It was a full-time job [CASE008 Lines: 631-639].

Wir waren so... zu weit weg, dass sie (die Kinder) mit den Templern nie viel gemixt haben [Case 015, Lines: 40-42]. *(We were too far away, so they {the children} never mixed with Templers.)*

Ich war ganz mutterseelenallein [Case004 lines 987-988 focus group of six]. *(I was all alone.)*

...wir sind verfolgt geworden. Sie (die Australier) haben uns beinahe angespuckt, nimmer gegrüsst... [Case 015, Lines: 462-467]. *(... we were persecuted, they (the Australians) nearly spat at us, never greeted us).*

Assimilation pressures were oppressive. People who migrated immediately after the war to join the Templers in Australia felt they were scrutinized both by the authorities and the community at large. One person commented:

Yes but the observation...we were there... our captain in the aeroplane, our captain visited us. You know we were there a month. What a nice guy, he came at home and visited us. How are you going, and what are you doing? Much later we found out that was just to make sure we were not, you know, we were not Nazis escaping. It was very much a question of assimilation. There were no Asians. At that stage it was very much White Australia [CASE049 Lines: 127-140].

and

We've gone through all these processes here in Australia as individuals and as a community and that makes...We were not even allowed to talk in German at the beginning which makes it very difficult to have this common language and you could not converse in German outside the home. It was frowned upon. I've experienced indignation in trams and buses. If you tried to talk to your parent right beside you the bus would...I was fourteen, fifteen, sixteen...and it was quite obvious that people felt this...it was '49, '50, very close to the war and it was... we were aliens. We were sort of still very much under observation. It was different because we came from Germany, different to the ones who came out of the camp [CASE049 Lines: 102-125].

Despite geographic dispersal families made every effort to connect with the main Templer activities in Melbourne. Some succeeded; others expressed regret that their children grew away from the Temple Society. As one woman pointed out:

Wir haben schwer versucht. Was wir nach Melbourne hin und her gefahren sind. Wir sind bestimmt zwei, dreimal um die Welt gefahren. Wir haben auch unsere Kinder zu jeder Weihnachtsfeier, zur jeder Feier sind wir herunter gefahren, especially für die Kinder. Da haben wir so arg probiert sie im Tempel aufzuziehen. Das war uns das Allerwichtigste [Case046 Lines: 437-446]. *(We tried hard. How we drove back and forth to Melbourne. We definitely drove around the world two or three times. We took our children to every Christmas celebration; we drove down to every celebration event especially for the children.*

We tried so hard to bring up the children in the Temple. That was the most important thing for us.)

Assimilation was both forced and encouraged. In contrast to the first generation Templer immigrants who felt it was forced upon them by the host society, the one-and-a-half generation that came out of the camp as children and teenagers voluntarily tried to live up to assimilation expectations. In America, immigrant youth were more likely than the parent generation to give in to peer pressure to fit in (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Similar trends were evident among school-aged Templer children and teenagers on coming out of camp. They pointed out:

> In the internment camp we spoke entirely German. I hadn't got to the point of learning English yet. So when I came out it was a very abrupt transition to school in English and at first I knew nothing. It took several weeks before I could understand really anything. Hands had to do a lot of talking and so on. Interesting thing was that there was no animosity. The local kids were good and they let us ride on their bikes and do all sorts of things. It wasn't...I felt no problems. It was just an experience. But it wasn't something that I hated or disliked or something like that [CASE009 Lines: 588-606].

> I think it's fine for ethnic communities to do their thing. I think it's even better if they don't only do their thing but they're a part of the Australian society as well and I think we are. And especially our age group, we were forced, very much encouraged to assimilate as fast as possible. So for us it was an imperative for survival to assimilate as fast as possible [CASE013 Lines: 804-816].

In relation to 'assimilationist thinking' (Lewin 2001:755) of the 1950s, public pressure was exerted on newcomers to be good citizens. How one became assimilated as a good citizen was not well understood by members of the public and even less by the immigrants (Jenkins 2001Murphy 2000; Tavan 1997). Consequently the Templers practised low-key living. Invisibility of individual immigrants and ethnic groups in the mainstream society were considered indicators of successful or accelerated assimilation

(Price 1966; Lewins 2001; Jupp 1995; Jenkins 2001; Galligan and Roberts 2003; Castles1996, 2002; Peters 2000; Evans 1995; Jupp 2001). There was also evidence of an official government campaign to welcome Templer newcomers. However such campaigns did not necessarily extend to the general population which remained hostile in areas of large Templer residential clusters. One man's comment demonstrated that paradox:

> Officially we were welcomed from about 1956-7 onwards when our Boronia hall was built. At that time, the local government representative officially declared us welcome and by that time they had got to know us basically and from then on, officially we were declared welcomed. But this didn't change the relationship with people [Lines: 61-78]... The situation with local people was... is set from the time when we got here.... we weren't welcome here in Boronia by the local people and we stayed unwelcome for many years so that we just stuck to ourselves [CASE003 Lines: 41-54].

This contrasted with easier acceptance in rural areas immediately after internment described by another participant:

> No, well we were always well accepted. We never had, we never had problems with the civilians in (rural town) oder irgend wo anders. Ich kann mir nicht denken, dass ich da ein Problem gehabt habe *(or anywhere else. I can't think that I had a problem there or anywhere else)* [CASE 028: Lines 139-149].

Better off naturalised

'Citizenship education campaigns' took place during the assimilation era so that foreigners could become just like Australians (Jenkings 2001:225). Two indicators of successful and accelerated assimilation were naturalisation and invisibility of ethnic groups in the mainstream society (Price 1966; Lewins 2001; Jupp 1995; Jenkins 2001; Galligan and Roberts 2003; Castles1996, 2002; Peters 2000; Evans 1995; Jupp 2001). Strong assimilation pressures existed in schools and the work place (Evans 1995; Peters

2000; Galligan and Roberts 2003). Post-war citizenship uptake amongst European immigrants and especially German-speakers was low (Evans 1995; Peters 2000; Galligan and Roberts 2003), even though on a personal level some of them felt that hesitancy in taking up naturalisation was perceived as hostile, ungrateful or even as a rejection of the Australian way of life (Peters 2003).

In contrast to that trend, this study showed high naturalisation uptakes amongst Templers in the 1950s and 1960s for a range of pragmatic reasons. In addition special conditions applied to ex-internees to enable them to get naturalised after 12 months residence [Case 015 Lines: 580-586; Case 022 Lines: 732-734] so that overseas payments for confiscated properties could be made.

Various practical lifestyle reasons for taking up Australian citizenship early in their settlement were given by individual Templers. These included the impossibility of returning to their homeland, educational advantages for their children, and economic reasons such as property ownership and to receive overseas compensation payments. They also expressed the need for a sense of belonging to a place after the trauma of repeated geographic displacement to align with the nationality of their Australian born children, and for a better future.

Some typical comments of the first immigrant generation were:

> Also es war mehr, nein, nein absolut, und dann habe ich gesagt, nach Palestine kommen wir nicht zurück, Deutschland will ich meinem Mann nicht antun. Wir bleiben hier und in dem Land, wo du bist, für das schaffst du. Das war der Grund [CASE 046 Lines 688 to 690]. (*Well it was more, no, no absolutely, and then I said we won't go back to Palestine, to Germany I don't want to do that to my husband. We'll stay here and in the country where you live and where you work.)*

> Der hat's uns gesagt du kannst keinen Besitz haben als Deutscher [CASE 046 Lines 704-705 Lines: 23-31]. *(They told us you can't own property as a German.)*

Nein, wir haben gesagt, wir sind jetzt hier und dann werden wir Australier und dann haben unsere Kinder alle die Vorteile und die haben alle mit Scholarship geschafft, und so weiter [CASE004 Lines 994 to 1000 Lines: 48-59 focus group of six]. *(No, we said, we are here now and then we'll become Australians and then our children will benefit and they all got scholarships, and so on.)*

Das war hauptsächlich wegen dem Geld, das man von daheim gekriegt hat. Die haben gesagt, wenn man nicht 'naturalised' ist, dann bekommt man nichts... [CASE004 Lines 1001 to 1003 Lines: 60-73 focus group of six]. *(That was mainly because of the money we got from back home (property compensation payments). They said if we're not naturalised then you get nothing.)*

Man hat es immer von sich weggeschoben und dann, wo die Kinder in die Schule gekommen sind, dann hat man gesagt, das ist dumm, wenn die Kinder eine andere Nationalität sind [CASE004 Lines 1018 to 1020 Lines: 84-95 focus group of six]. *(You always put it off and then when the children went to school then you said it's silly if the children are of a different nationality.)*

I lived all my life outside Germany. Well I was out here. I took it as granted that I would stay out here anyway and that it would be my home
[CASE 022 Lines: 138-145].

Ich glaube, dass wenn man das ganz, als Ganzes ansieht, wenn man als Australier immer noch den Kopf hoch halten kann und im Allgemeinen sagen, das Land hat Zukunft, wir haben unsere Kinder da. Die haben auch eine gute Zukunft. Sie haben etwas gelernt und da können wir stolz darauf sein, dass wir da sind [CASE047 Lines: 594-603 two interviewees]. *(I think that if you look at the big picture, when you can still hold up your head as Australians and say this country has a good future, we have our children here. They also have a good future. They are educated and we can be proud of that we are here.)*

> We never wanted to be in a place which wasn't...wie sagt man da? Wir haben nicht wollen in einem Land wohnen... bleiben wo man nicht hingehört. In Palästina waren wir Deutsche, mehr als Deutsche, waren wir Deutsche und haben nicht dazu gehört. Und das soll aufhören [CASE047 Lines: 826-829 two interviewees]. (*...how to say it? We didn't want to live in a country where we don't belong. In Palestine we were Germans, more than Germans. We were Germans and didn't have a sense of belonging. And that has to stop.)*

Amongst the one-and-a-half immigrant generation, many participants reported that they were minors and had no choice but to be naturalised with their parents.

Others in the one-and-a-half generation who had been interned in Australia as children or teenagers gave pragmatic reasons for naturalisation such as better work and study opportunities. They also expressed a mindset of assimilationist thinking to counteract the status of being aliens. Typical participant comments from the older members of that generation were:

> Ja, *(Yes)* it's a new country. For us it was new and we had to make a start here. You don't make a start and you work yourself up and then leave everything and go somewhere else again [CASE028 Lines: 724-730].

> Because there was no point in being an alien because everything, job prospects, schooling, everything was easier if you were naturalised. And the pressure to assimilate... there was no point in remaining...I mean a German? What was a German in that time? There was no status. No benefit [CASE013 Lines: 958-968].

> It was pretty clear-cut at the time. We were going to stay in Australia and we were going to become Australians. It's worked out well [CASE026 Lines: 1011-1016].

Naturalisation was a lonely and sometimes painful experience rather than a celebration. Several one-and-a-halfers comments were:

> But it hurt when I had to hand in my passport. I was no longer German. It's strange and I really thought about it. And they stamped it invalid but they wouldn't give it back to us [CASE026 Lines: 843-849].

> To me it was a natural progression and there was no sense in prolonging the agony of indecision. I knew I wasn't going to go back to Germany [CASE005 male age 67 Lines: 545-550].

> I loved being German and Germany was my homeland. I cried when I left Germany. And it really upset me to think that now I was no longer German. Very strong German feelings, I don't know why but when they said and now you're an Australian that's when I cried [CASE011 Lines: 693-702].

Out-marriage formed grounds for naturalisation for both members of the first and one-and-a-half generation. They commented:

> I made up my mind I was married to an Australian. I had an Australian wife, you see. There was no other choice for me, I would say, you know [CASE028 Lines: 707-713].

> Because when I came here my husband was already naturalised [Case 012 Lines: 362- 364].

Very few chose not to be naturalised. Only three participants from the one-and-a-half generation reported that they were not naturalised Australians and retained their German citizenship [CASE 23 male age 60-69 Line: 574 and CASE 33 Line: 586-588 male age 70-79 and female age 60-69].

A content analysis of monthly circulars in the Templer archives indicated further communal support for naturalisation. The main article in the Youth Group

(Jugendgruppe) section October 1956 copy of the Rundschreiben (#116 Christian Imberger), written in German was titled, "Sollen wir Australier werden?" It listed the benefits of naturalisation and concluded:

> '...denn wir sind dann keine "Outsiders" mehr.' *(...then we won't be outsiders anymore.)*

Immigrant adaptation involves daily problem solving decisions that assist in the settlement process (Eckermann 1994). Whilst the one-and-a-halfers in the Temple Society, like many other European post-war immigrants in Australia, became 'expert in the art of assimilation' (Manne 2001:3) the second generation Templer immigrants felt different. The assimilation policy had long gone (Kaplan 1996) but the Australian-born Templers were still haunted by a 'downward assimilation' spiral (Portes and Rumbaut 2001:65). Their ethnicity had thinned and their religious purpose of belonging to the Temple Society had weakened as they became victims of assimilation. Second generation participants representing the Australian-born children pointed out:

> You see also I think things are definitely different from our generation compared to the previous one. But I mean obviously our children are going to be even... have even less strong ties to the Templers than what we are, because of the fact that we are assimilating regardless of what we try doing [CASE021 Lines: 192-204].

> ...the Templers have been more assimilated into the Australian society. They don't make a point of living together like they did and especially post-war... you know, one guy bought a whole parcel of land and ended up selling it to his friends or relatives or goodness knows who else. Whereas that...and the young people don't seem to be taking over the houses of the oldies. Especially around here (Bayswater) most of the houses that would have had Templer families are being ripped out and having flats built on them. So unless the young ones go into those flats you get this wide spread [CASE025 Lines: 1076-1092].

> Well (the Temple Society) was brought together by a doctrine of faith and I don't think it should have changed from that. It needs to seek its spiritual goals firstly and foremostly, however its strength has been its more soulish community-knit which in turn has gotten weaker as the younger ones have assimilated into the broader community...because nothing holds them quite as strongly as what it did their parents [CASE027 Lines: 456-468].

Content analysis of journals held in the Temple Society Australia archives in Bentleigh indicated that keeping in touch during the immediate post-war year years was facilitated by a German language monthly circular distributed to all Templers. The first copy of the Rundschreiben was dated 15/11/1946 three months after coming out of camp. The old version of the Rundschreiben was a double-sided foolscap hand-typed sheet and used the familiar German 'du' form of address. It informed members via religious articles, central administrative reports and financial reports about overseas compensation. By July 1967 the circular was renamed the Templer Record and appeared in booklet form. In 2006 it consisted of 50 pages of community and religious news.

The contents of the circular provided insights into Templer attempts to get to their new environment. Up until 1952 the youth section of the Rundschreiben presented regular articles in German on the European classics and German culture: Hamlet, Beethoven, Ballet, Mozart opera, Goethe, Storm, and Stuttgart. In February 1952, the Rundschreiben Issue no. 60 began to feature a separate Jugendgruppe (youth) section which gave a voice to the one-and-a-half generation. Table A1 in Appendix 11 illustrates that subsequent sections presented many topics in German on the Australian way of life e.g. agriculture such as sheep, wheat, wool; Australian animals and plants; local historical figures; naturalisation; the English language and weekend getaways such as Mount Buller. These topics served to assist Templer adaptation and assimilation into their new host society.

Despite the assimilation pressures and early settlement hardships, Templer immigrant families were determined to re-establish their community in Australia. The challenges

that confronted the Templers and how they dealt with them are examined in the following section.

Re-establishment thinking

Clyne (2004, 2005) describes the Templers as one of Australia's old established immigrant communities. He acknowledges that those who came to Australia during the assimilation period of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s had greater settlement difficulties than the more recent arrivals who entered a multicultural nation already accepting of cultural and linguistic diversity. It was a time of 'complexity, frustration and transition' (Brown in Jenkings 2001:2). At the same time the post-war mass migration period produced many 'self-contained immigrant communities' (Mosely et al 1997:165) that established themselves without government support or funding.

Post-war Australia was a huge country with an abundance of opportunities for farmers, tradesmen, businessmen, technicians and academics. Prior to World War II, the sleepy outer eastern suburb of Bayswater was 'patronised by orchardists, poultry keepers and nurserymen' (Monash University 1999:3). Similarly in the 1950s and 1960s the eastern suburb of Bentleigh was on one of Melbourne's booming transport, industrial and residential routes (Bouzo 2005; Collins et al 2001). In 1956 as many as 1,067 Templers had settled in Victoria. By 1958 the Templers had established both formalised and informal communities in Melbourne's suburban Bentleigh, Boronia and Bayswater, and in Sydney, Tanunda in rural South Australia and Wangaratta in rural Victoria (Sauer 1991).

In their quest for successful adaptation, they were confronted by many cultural and economic barriers and, like other immigrant groups, they used family and community resources to overcome them (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Sauer (1991) points out that during the 1950s the Templers agreed through their formally constituted communities that the religious aspects alone would not guarantee the solidarity of individual communities. They also depended on 'family ties, financial interests, the experiences of

their shared past, the linguistic ties and many other aspects' (Sauer 1991:319) to re-establish their faith community in Australia.

Two sub-themes that became apparent under re-establishment thinking were 'strong ties create urban Templer village life' and 'Mitmachen *(participation)* - readiness to help and sacrifice for community service'.

Strong ties create urban Templer village life

The development of social networks plays an important role in successful immigrant adaptation. Smaller, tighter networks or 'strong ties' (Rose et al 1999:13) with family and friends within the ethnic group lead to protected immigrant communities, or urban village life (Rose et al 1999; Kuzmickaite 2000; Hagan 1998). On the negative side this can create inward-looking communities with limited resources for their own development. By contrast lots of loose connections or 'weak ties' (Rose et al 1999:13) outside the Templer communities are useful to their members because they open up connections, and are more likely to introduce new ideas and opportunities to their members than closed networks. Participants' comments in interviews indicated that strong ties amongst Templers created a closed ethnic community with lots of loose connections outside their group.

The first generation all developed strong ties with other Templer family and friends. Some people had no ties outside the Temple Society and were inhibited by the lack of English language. Many reconnected with Templers in their older years when they shifted from interstate or retired from work. They said about their socialising:

> Komisch aber absolut mit den Templern mein ich auch. Ich weiss nicht, ob das ist, weil wir älter sind, und eben mit allem dem noch aufgewachsen sind und so weiter, aber hauptsächlich mit Templern [CASE015 Lines: 25-31].
> *(Funny but entirely with Templers is what I also think. I don't know if it's because we are older or just grew up with them all and so on, but mainly with Templers.)*

> Ja... Nachbarn sind alle good friends, aber wir sprechen mit keinem... gar nicht [CASE040 Lines: 9-12]. *(Yes... neighbours are all good friends but we speak with none of them... not at all.)*

Social contact outside the Community was described as 'very little', 'hardly ever' and very, very loose' [CASE 033 married couple]. These were transient, weak ties mainly through work or children marrying out. Typical comments were:

> For the last few years we have mixed more with Templers than with other people but when our children went to school we did quite a lot of mixing with the parents from (school) and then when my husband was in business we had to do a lot of entertaining and we mixed a lot with business people [CASE030 Lines: 20-29]. but still we are warmer or more familiar with Templers [CASE030 Lines: 61-63].

> Ja mit Australiern, so lange ich gearbeitet habe. Da sind wir immer laufend zusammen Freitagabend, zusammen in die Pub gegangen [CASE020 Lines: 28-32]... und ich weiss, ...wenn man über Fussball reden muss und Sport und so weiter [CASE020 Lines: 97-102]. *(Yes with Australians as long as I was working. Then we regularly went to the pub together on Friday nights... and I know when you have to talk about football and sport and so on.)*

The one-and-a-half generation still preferred Templer company overall, but socialised more with other Germans. They kept weak ties with Australians through work, business, study and university. A few had married Australians or other Germans which strengthened their outside ties. Many described their socialising as 'fifty-fifty' [CASE 035] with outsiders and Templers. Representative comments were:

> I feel more comfortable with Templers here but I feel not uncomfortable with Australians. If I have to decide a preference then I name Templers [CASE003 Lines: 83-88].

> ...my experience has been much the same. It's gradually developed over the years. Of course I am very German but social contacts with Australians and non-

> Templers have increased, particularly in my professional life I had a lot more contact with Australians than with Templers; almost exclusively with Australians. But since I've retired and I've devoted my services more to the Temple Society it's swung round the other way, where I have fewer contacts with non-Templers than I have with Templers but this varies from time to time; maybe from week to week [CASE001 Lines: 87-104].

> Well we don't mix much with non-Templers unless it is business associated. With Templers we mix mainly in related circles [CASE005 Lines: 15-19].

> Our circle of friends consists of, first of all relatives within the Templer group, with other Templers who are friends. I am very active in the German club here...and in the... especially in the choir. And there of course we again have a lot of, made a lot of friends which and in addition our social life, or a great part of our social life takes place within the German club. And that leaves very little time really for Australian friends and therefore we have acquaintances but we don't have any close Australian friends [CASE023 Lines: 15-33].

Whilst the workforce was one avenue for developing social ties with outsiders, an analysis of the Personal Data survey forms showed that many participants found collective employment opportunities which further enhanced strong in-group ties. In the post-war decades a boom in the food production industry sector provided work opportunity for immigrants (Bouzo 2005). According to responses to the personal data survey forms many first and one-and-a-half generation Templers worked in Four'n Twenty Pies at Ascot Vale, Victoria and at the Sunbeam Poultry Farm in Bayswater.

As they got older both first and one-and-a-half generation Templers tended to socialise more within their immigration community. Typical comments were:

> Und jetzt erst nachdem ich seit zwanzig Jahre retired bin, habe ich eigentlich keinen,... wenig Kontakt mit Australiern [Lines: 45-48] ... und immer, wenn man ein gewisses Alter hat, gefällt's einem immer am besten zu Hause [CASE020

Lines: 71-76]. *(And now that I'm retired for twenty years I actually have very little contact with Australians... and always when you reach a certain age, you like it best at home.)*

I think as we're getting older we mix more and more with Templers and we're dropping more and more acquaintances that we've had outside the Temple Society. No we still have them but not as many. And I think we're sort of honing back on the Templers [CASE026 Lines: 17-25].

There was a gradual shift in the one-and-a-half generation towards the mainstream Australian community expressed by one woman who could almost stand back and look into the Community from the outside. She commented:

I feel sometimes in certain areas, the Templers in the core itself are somewhat inward looking and somewhat restrictive, whereas I can still sit on the perimeter and look at it from a different viewpoint and still call myself a Templer. And that's the thing that I appreciate and that's why I'm still there. If that wasn't there I'm not sure that I would be feeling like I do. It's still OK [CASE043 Lines: 999-1011].

The second generation of Templers, born in Australia, displayed strong ties with both Templers and non-Templer Australians, but not with other Germans. More common out-marriage made many feel less marginalised and they adapted socially to both the Templer in-group and the broader society. Several under forty-year-olds said about socializing patterns:

It'd be fifty-fifty because of (wife's) background. We mix with... like... our generation with the Templers as well as her family's generation. And with me being Australian I've got all my family and then plus around here in the suburbs...and with the kids going to an Australian school ... [CASE018 Lines: 23-33].

> Well I would probably list that as fifty percent Templer contact, social...and fifty percent, I suppose most of them would be... colleagues [CASE025 Lines: 17-27].

Geographic distance from other Templers was a barrier to in-group social contact [CASE027]. The Templer playgroup, youth group, Sunday School and German School facilitated strong ties with Templer friends amongst the second generation but were balanced with 'outsiders' [CASE 043 line 25] at school, university and work. Typical responses were:

> I'm obviously in the youth group. They're a very good group of friends and I think it's good to have your closest group there. I know outsiders, they're good friends and I think that's important too, to make sure you've got acquaintances there as well because we are part of the Australian community too. I think it's good to deal with a greater number of people...high school and then university [CASE043 Lines: 21-33].

> I mix quite a lot with Templers. A lot of the things that I'm currently doing and committed to doing within the Temple Society involve a lot of people like the choir or like services or like after a while I was involved with Sunday School and, and also teaching German School so I've got to know whole families, so I feel very comfortable with them and I suppose I do mix with them, but in terms of social occasions I would also meet an awful lot with Australians [CASE010 Lines: 16-30].

> I mix a fair bit with Templer friends, through playgroup, through all the camps, German school ...all that. We basically grew up in the Templers as a social community. And the other friends that I always mix with are school friends while the children were at primary school particularly health centre friends with whom I still am in touch, parents, my neighbour [CASE034 Lines: 16-28].

One of the younger members of the second generation, who married out, felt uncomfortable and scrutinised by the older Templer generation and consequently mixed more with non-Templers. She maintained about her socialising:

> Oh, outsiders much more. They don't... I just felt like I don't get judged because from the time I was young I always was, how can I say it...well I was... we were always judged. Du böses Mädele *(you bad girl)* and all this sort of thing, you know [CASE048 Lines: 53-60].

Others felt pressured to mix with Templers:

> But there's also this commitment all the time. I was also saying if you mixed with the Templers all the time, you would be involved every weekend. I mean, you have to make a decision sometimes. Sometimes you have to let them know that you're not coming [CASE043 Lines: 62-74].

In the climate of the post-war decades, immigrants found it difficult to find a voice at work, school, government and other public domains however soccer became an exception where ethnic penetration into the Australian society was common (Mosely et al 1997). The sporting contribution of immigrant groups to the Australian society was an area of achievement rarely acknowledged and represented a mini theatre of broader social assimilationist stages from its rise to demise (Mosley et al 1997). This is also the case for the TSA. The Knox City Soccer Club (http://www.knoxcitysoccerclub.com.au/hist 2003) for example owed its historical foundation to the Templer Society and mirrored the Community's relationship with the broader society.

In 1951 the one-and-a-half generation of Templers living in Bayswater and Boronia formed the Bayswater Soccer Club and constructed the Templer soccer grounds (http://www.knoxcitysoccerclub.com.au/hist). Mosely et al (1997) points out that it was common for ethnic communities to find resources for the soccer facilities and they savoured significant victories against their local rivals, developing ethnicity labels that were hard to shake off. For example in 1954 the Templer-based soccer club, often known by other clubs as the German team, had a remarkable winning record in the Amateur Soccer Federation of Australia (Mosely et al 1997). Soccer became known for its ethnic

strength. For decades the Templers asserted their strong internal ties and resisted opening the running of the club to outsiders. It was not until the late 1960s, after much internal debate, that the club accepted non-Templer administrative help.

The decline of European immigration in the 1970s led to the 'de-ethnicising' of immigrant sports (Mosely et al 1997:170). Eventually in the late 1960s and early 1970s the club was renamed and moved away from the Templer Community Centre grounds in Bayswater. Not until 2005 was the founding ethnic Templer member recognised by the local Knox Council in a sporting exhibition for his significant sporting contribution (see Templer Record December 2005 No. 679).

In other areas of community life a strong expectation existed amongst Templers to participate in community life. Volunteerism and social capital are examined in the following section.

"Mitmachen" - readiness to help and sacrifice for community service

Qualities which had characterised the Templers for generations were identified by Sauer (1991:321), a non-Templer historian, as 'readiness to help and sacrifice as well as their commitment towards the Community'. This ethos is certainly expressed by the participants in this study. For example:

> O, dass man teilnimmt an den religiösen Veranstaltungen, und den anderen Veranstaltungen, dass man sich bereit erklärt, mitzuhelfen, wo's notwendig ist. Und wenn ein working-bee angesagt ist, dass man hergeht und mitarbeitet. Und das ist das wichtigste, dass man mitmacht. Das hat schon der Dr. Hoffmann (TSA President) immer gesagt, "Mitmachen!" Teilnehmen, das hält auch die ganze Gemeinde zusammen dann. Ich denke immer an die, die unsere Halle gebaut haben, das war schön. Da hat man sich gegenseitig richtig kennengelernt bei der Arbeit, und das war eigentlich immer eine schöne Sache [CASE020 Lines: 606-628].
>
> *(Oh, that you participate in religious functions and the other functions that you make it clear to yourself to assist wherever it's necessary. And if a working bee is*

announced, that you go and work there. And that is the most important thing that you participate. That's what Dr Hoffmann always said. Participation, taking part; that also holds the whole community together. I always think of those, who built our hall; that was great. You really got to know each other through working side by side and that was actually a great thing.)

After building a small hall in Boronia, the Templers launched one of their largest community volunteer projects: the building of the second hall at Bayswater in the 1960s. It was built entirely with volunteers, generated high social capital and was considered a highlight by some:

> I'd say that our biggest participation was some 35 odd years ago when we built the Bayswater hall... and the bowling alley... You remember your father was there. He was then the founding member...You know that, that took up a lot of my time [CASE023 Lines: 361-382].

Self-sufficiency and high social capital or volunteering are characteristic of the Temple Society which re-established itself in Australia almost entirely via internal community support and a marked absence of government funding. Clyne (2003:12) described the Temple Society in Melbourne as communities characterised by 'dense networks based on in-marriage and a strong institutional infrastructure' that includes religious centres, German community language schools, an old people's home, and other extensive social and cultural networks.

An analysis of all the interviews revealed that an overwhelming number of people (n=63, 91 per cent) participated in a huge and diverse range of Templer community service activities (see Table 4.6) e.g. serving on Regional and Community Councils, supporting the Altersheim (Home for the Aged) and Tabulam with working bees, serving on the Jugendgruppe (Youth Group), organising social and sporting activities and a range of religious, recreational and language programs for the children of Templers. Most participants said they took part in many more volunteering activities than they listed.

Four people said they did not participate due to geographic distance, excessive business duties and one was not an active member.

Table 4. 6 Templer volunteering work indicated by interview participants

Templer community service activities	**No. of people who said they participated**
Regional Council (meetings, auditing); community councils; Templer Record	27
Altersheim and Tabulam (Home for the Aged), and related committees eg. working bees, Bastelstunde (craft sessions) Annual Bazaar	12
Elders committee and Saal (divine service); Kaffeesaal (Religious community afternoon) and flower roster; Frauenverein (Ladies Auxiliary); Choir; Brass band	16
Jugendgruppe (Youth group); Youth camps	15
Children's activities e.g. Christmas plays; Playgroup and Mutter-Kinder (mother-children) activities; Kids Club; Sunday School; German Language School	18
Building the Bayswater hall and bowling alley; General working bees; Arbeitsdienst (monthly working roster)	33
Tennis club; Kegeln (Bowling); Ski club	14
Special functions and activities e.g. TS 2000, Amalgamation Fest; Regular annual outside representation e.g. Christkindl Markt (Christmas Market), Malvern Dolls' Fair; Country Victoria	7
Inability to attend due to distance/business commitment or inactive member	4

The majority of members had consistently carried out active volunteering for many decades and even suggested it was becoming a burden sometimes. The motivation for Templer community service was to rebuild the Community. Typical comments were:

> Yes I was always there from the day the Jugendgruppe *(youth group)* was formed...1949. I was continuously... I was always involved in the committee, holding positions... always. Only for a short time when I started my own business...for two years I was out of it. Otherwise I have always been involved and dann *(then)* through community service [CASE033 Lines: 408-417].

> Yes it can get a bit much, can't it...Yes, there is a lot that you can get involved in [CASE041 Lines: 481-486].

> No, I would say we participate in anything that is being put on [CASE044 Lines: 308-310].

Templers in all three groups have an impressive record of community service outside the Temple Society especially in their children's schools (see Table A2 in Appendix 12). The reason for high social capital in the mainstream Australian community was threefold according to participants' comments: they had a highly developed volunteering mindset and social conscience limited only by the lack of English language skills; there was considerable assimilationist pressure to volunteer especially at the children's schools; and some had a heightened awareness of deprivation during wartime detention and wanted their children to have better opportunities. Typical comments were:

First generation:

> So lang Kinder in die Schule gegangen sind, hat man im Mothers' Club geholfen, gell. Da hast du überall mitmachen müssen. Aber ich habe keine große functions angenommen, weil ich immer gesagt habe, ich kann nicht genug Englisch. [CASE047 Lines: 456-463].*(As long as the children went to school you helped in the Mothers' Club, you know. At that time you had to participate everywhere. But I didn't take on any big functions because I always said I didn't know enough English.)*

One-and-a-half-generation:

> At school, the children's, you had to. It was compulsory; you had to...working-bees and fundraising activities [CASE005 Lines: 259-271].

A former internee pointed out:

> I guess the kids took up quite a bit of our time for many more years than I care to remember. We went swimming because I was very conscious of the fact that I never learnt swimming properly...so mainly because of the time we spent in the camp...I always felt that as a shortcoming so we made sure our kids they learnt [CASE023 Lines: 409-425].

The participants demonstrated a strong culture of volunteerism and social capital and that older Templers preferred to put their volunteer efforts into the Temple Society whereas some second generation Templers had equal loyalties to such involvement in the society and outside (see Table 4.7).

Table 4. 7 Importance of community service amongst interview participants

Group/Templer immigrant generation	**Number of people who said Templer activities more important.**	**Number of people who said non-Templer activities more important**	**Number of people who said both equally important**	**Total who commented**
Group 1: first generation	20	0	3	23
Group 2: one-and-a-half generation	17	1	8	26
Group 3: second generation	7	-	7	14

Table 4.7 illustrates that the first generation expressed a strong life-long commitment to Templer community service of (n=20 out of 23, 88 percent). There was an increasing trend amongst the one-and-a-half (n=17 out of 26, 65 percent) and second generation (n=7 out of 14, 50 per cent) towards more involvement in community service activities outside the Temple Society. The younger, Australian born Templers devoted less time to TSA community service than previous generations but still valued community service within and outside the Templer community.

Some typical comments in the first generation were:

> Templer Sachen sind natürlich wichtiger [CASE047 Lines: 470-472].
> *(Templer things are naturally more important)*

> Wir waren noch nicht so arge Australier damals, deshalb hat's eine ziemlich lange Zeit gebraucht, bis wir uns mehr als Australier gefühlt hatten. Wir fühlen uns heute noch mehr als Templer, als Australier [CASE047 Lines: 473-479].
> *(We hadn't been in Australia that long then, therefore it took a long time before we felt more like Australians. Even today we feel ourselves more as Templers than Australians.*

The one-and-a halfers commented:

> Automatically, whether it's a Templer or it's not a Templer. That's for me not the issue. If it's a human being then we try and help [CASE014 Lines: 562-566].

> I think they have both been equally important because we see the Templer association as, you know, our historical, our ethnic origin, our spiritual links and we see some of the other, at least that's how I see it, some of the other organisations I belong to as friendships I've been involved in over many years and our involvement in the broader community. So there's none more important. The problem is there's never enough spare time. You've got to divide your time amongst all of them [CASE043 Lines: 878-896].

A second generation person maintained:

> I believe to put my hand to whatever I am doing at the time [CASE027 Lines: 418-422].

However those in the second generation who felt strong ties to Templers expressed their commitment with the most intensity:

> The other (non-Templer activities) would have just been for the social contact. For the social contact, yes but not really your heart and soul in it [CASE017 Lines: 794-801].

and

> For me the Temple Society is really, the main... I mean when I look at the past weekends, the past month or so every weekend, there's been something for the Temple Society. There's nothing else in my life that would demand so much [CASE041 Lines: 519-526].

The Templers attempted to re-establish their community without government support. Throughout their re-establishment thinking, it became increasingly clear that the Templers were not allowed to form closed settlements as they had done in Palestine (Sauer 1991). The psychological adaptation from their pre-migration experiences into the new life in Australia is explored in the next section.

Idealised thinking or accumulated memory

Accumulated idealised memory of pre-migration experiences is common amongst displaced enemy alien internees in Canada and Australia who subsequently became 'accidental immigrants' (Farges 2004:2; Draper 1984; Knowles 2000; Burke 2004; Wolff 2001; Hoerder 2004). The Templers experienced a sudden rupture of 'home' and 'host' countries (Kandiyoti 2003:1) because their homeland, historic Palestine, no longer existed after World War II due to massive political upheavals. The British Mandate in Palestine was replaced by the founding of Israel in 1948. Templer return to their homeland was prohibited and contributed to their presence as involuntary immigrants in the foreign country of Australia (Glenk 2005). In reaction to sudden rupture, loss and disorientation through unexpected geographic and cultural dislocation, involuntary

immigrants form their life stories based on before and after, or there and here thinking (Farges 2004). This type of thinking sometimes becomes idealised and happy memories of the past almost become glorified. The Templers' country of origin no longer existed on the world map, except in their memories.

In the context of idealised past-orientated thinking the following sub-themes emerged: 'the unforgettable German Colonies', 'going home to Tatura,' and 'pseudo-homecoming back to Bayswater.'

The unforgettable German Colonies

Architectural historian Goldman (2003:26) described the strong presence of the seven Templer colonies in Israel almost half a century after their departure:

> "Anyone walking through a former German Colony in Israel immediately feels its 'special-ness' in terms of 'sense of place,' the genius loci, that which makes it unique unlike any other place in the country. The uniqueness of the location immediately stands out"
>
> Goldman 2003:26

The first generation preserved the connection with their roots through shared accumulated memory which, over time, took the form of idealised thinking about the German Colonies in historic Palestine. A first generation man in his eighties pointed out:

> Ja, ja, ich denke in Palästina, die Templer Kolonien, das war die Blüte der ganzen Tempelgesellschaft in den dreißiger Jahren. Also da waren viel Jungen da...Von dreißig bis vor dem Krieg...das war ein sehr schönes... waren viele Veranstaltungen da, und Sportvereine, Musikvereine. Wir waren in Musikvereinen, gemischtem Chor, Männerchor, überall da war ich dabei. Und das war eine, eine Blüte, für die Tempelgesellschaft. Ich denke immer das war die schönste Zeit von den Templern [CASE020 Lines: 1059-1083].
> *(Yes, yes, I think in Palestine, the Templer Colonies, that was the golden era of the whole Temple Society in the 1930s. Well there were so many young people from the thirties up until the war...that was a nice...there were so many events there, and sports clubs, music clubs, We were in the music clubs, the mixed choir,*

the male choir, I took part everywhere. And that was a golden era for the Temple Society. I always think that was the finest time of the Templers.)

According to Eisler (2001), approximately 5000 European Christians lived in the Holy Land immediately prior to the World War I. About half of them were Germans. Following an ideological break and excommunication from the mainstream German Lutheran Church in the mid 1800s, the Templers' migrated from Germany to Palestine in 1869 as a united faith community determined to pursue the noble ideal of freedom of belief (Sauer 1991). Consequently, the majority of those German-background settlers were the Templers (Carmel 1973, 1975; Smith 1984; Eisler 2001).The significant contribution made by the German Templers in the development of Palestine in the late 1800s and early twentieth century has been documented by Israeli, German, Templer and other writers (Carmel 1973, 1975; Eisler 2001: Sauer 1991; Gidal 1995; Glenk 2005).

People's memories of the homeland provided a vivid historical snapshot of life in the Colonies and indicated what a high profile the Templer Colonies had:

> Weisst das Kulturleben innerhalb der Gemeinde...das war so hervorragend und gerade die Verbindungen mit den anderen Kolonien. Immer war das Tempelfest und die Fußballspiele mit den Vereinen zusammen. Die sind zu uns gekommen, wir sind zu ihnen. Da war immer eine Party abends und so weiter...den Abend vorher. Und die... am meisten haben wir diese deutsche Passagierschiffe gehabt, womit amerikanische Touristen gekommen sind, solang die nach Jerusalem sind und Nazareth und so weiter, da waren die drei, vier Tage in Haifa. Dann haben die abends Konzerte gegeben und das war etwas Wunderschönes. Und dann Fußball hat man gespielt und die Mannschaften von der "Resolute" und wie die Schiffe alle geheißen haben. Ja, wir waren bekannt. Die haben schon geschrieben, vierzehn Tage vorher, von irgend einem Hafen, dass sie dann und dann hier sind und dass sie spielen wollen (all laugh) [CASE020 Lines: 1086-1114].
> *(You know the cultural life inside the community...that was so outstanding and particularly the ties with the other Colonies. There was always the Templefest and the football matches with the clubs together. They came to us and we went to*

them. There was always a party in the evenings and so on...the night before. And those...most of all we had these German passenger ships on which American tourists came, as long as they went to Jerusalem and Nazareth and so on, then they were three or four days in Haifa. Then they put on concerts in the evenings and that was something wonderful. And then you played football and the teams from the 'Resolute" and however all the ships were called. Yes we were well known. They already wrote two weeks in advance from another port that they would be there at such and such a time that they wanted to play.)

By contrast the past-orientated thinking of the younger Templers was less idealised but rather based on curiosity about one's individual heritage. A one-and-a-half generation woman who was interned as a toddler commented:

> Well I would love to go back to where I was born, not necessarily because it's where the Templers come from but because it's where I was born. To me it would be interesting to see that once more, but the German part doesn't interest me [CASE035 Lines: 767-773].

A second generation young man pointed out:

> It's nice to sort of visit the land of your grandfather. He tells me stories of where they actually lived in Palestine. And I've seen bits and pieces in films... and pictures have come back where those settlements still seem to be... a sort of oasis in all the big building work in Israel around [CASE043 Lines: 1431-1440-8907].

and his one-and-a-half generation mother was pleased about public recognition of her past:

> I know some of them are on the National Trust now in Haifa. I think they (Israelis) managed to get the Koloniestrasse (Colony Street) under National Trust [CASE043 Lines: 1431-1445].

The pain that the first generation Templers felt on leaving the Colonies forever is reflected in a letter called Abschied *(Farewell)* (Nikolai Schmidt 11/4/1950 RS #39 Mai 1950), which was generated in the content analysis of the monthly circular

Rundschreiben. The following excerpt clearly indicates that the homeland that so deeply bonded the first and one-and-a-half generation Templers was in Palestine rather than Germany:

> Die letzten Grüße und Wünsche möchte ich heute beim Verlassen unserer langjährigen Heimat allen, die den Wert, den sie uns gab und diesen erfasst haben, entbieten. Alle werden mit Wehmut an das Land ihrer Geburt denken; an das Land in dem die schöne und frohe Kindheit und Jugendzeit vergangen ist: in dem wir so glückliche Zeiten erleben durften; in dem das Zusammenleben gereift ist und so gute Früchte gezeitigt hat; in dem wir am liebsten verblieben und verstorben wären; und in dem wir zur Freizeit, aber auch zu innerem Gebundensein aufwuchsen....
>
> So nehmen wir Abschied von einer religionsgeschichtlichen Episode, die nicht vergebens gelebt wurde und die noch grosse Bedeutung erlangen wird. *(Today I would like to offer the last greetings and wishes at the final departure from our homeland of many years to all those who have received and benefited from its worth. All of you will think of the land of your birth with nostalgia; of the land where we spent our beautiful and happy childhood and youth; where we were allowed to experience happy times; where our community life matured and bore such good fruit; and where we grew up in a state of free leisure, and also inner ties of commitment... And so we take leave from a religious historical episode that was not lived in vain and which will be carried on with even greater significance.)* 11.4.1950 Nikolai Schmidt.
>
> Circular/Rundschreiben No 39
> TSA, Canterbury Vic.

Just as some of the first and one-and-a-half generation Templers grieved for the loss of Palestine, so others remembered the period of internment with nostalgia.

Going home to Tatura

Because people spent years in internment camps, it divorced them from the events in the outside world. Lives were put on hold during internment, 'suspended in a kind of no

man's land' (Farges 2004:11). According to Hoerder (2004) societies that deny their memories of emigration and immigration lack the competence to come to terms with both the past and future-directed dynamics. One woman in her eighties talked about 'going home' when she revisited the internment camp many decades later. She pointed out:

> When I came home... it's disappearing now, when I came home... in Melbourne... from Tatura down there..... I thought we were going home to that stupid camp site there. Isn't that terrible? [CASE046 Lines: 713-717].

A one-and-a-halfer in his seventies confided:

> I call the trip to Tatura a pilgrimage. I have only missed four trips there in all these years and that was for special mechanical reasons like I couldn't get there. I call it a pilgrimage because the place where you spent your growing up years are crucial in how you developed your spiritual ideas. It influences the whole rest of your life [CASE052 Lines: 8-17].

Some first generation Templers who were in the Cyprus refugee camp after the war also had idealised nostalgia memories:

> We never forget it I think. Ja, we were happy...wunderbar, wie ein Ferienlager (Cyprus)...am Meer. Für die Alten war's ein bisschen hart im Sand da laufen und so... bloß im Zelt... und es war wahnsinnig heiß [CASE040 Lines: 518-536].
> *(...wonderful, like a holiday camp (Cyprus) by the sea. For the oldies it was a bit harsh there walking in the sand...living only in tents...and it was extremely hot.)*

For some Templers the internment camp represented a symbolic homecoming and others made a mini-journey back home to the Templer Centre in Bayswater. Some people in the first generation saw their return from outlying regions to the residential Templer Centre in Bayswater as a pseudo-homecoming. They looked forward to meeting regularly with their 'Schulkameraden' *(school friends)* [CASE002 Lines: 25-36], and felt it was a 'continuation of my childhood' [CASE012 Lines: 371-380].

A typical comment by a one-and-a-halfer couple who returned to Bayswater in the 1990s was:

> Well since we moved here *(Bayswater)* only recently I haven't got to know non-Templers and therefore we haven't formed friendships *(outside)* and we are not likely to because this was our aim in life to come to Bayswater and be with friends that we practically grew up with overseas, and had more contact with in our settlements in Palestine [CASE031 Lines: 43-52].

Templers were able to draw on their communal living experiences both in Palestine and during internment to help them build up their community in Australia.

Benchmarking community life from there to here

The first and one-and-a-half generations frequently referred to life in Palestine when discussing the re-establishment of the Community in Australia. Gradually they came to the realisation that conditions were different in Australia due to diversified and fragmented living. Still they felt the need to use the German Colonies "over there" as a model or benchmark for setting up the Community activities here in Australia. They applied that benchmark particularly to community involvement, attendance at Templer community events and religious Saal *(divine service)* and spiritual standards for daily life. Some characteristic comments included:

> In Palästina hatte man eine wunderschöne Zeit gehabt und man hat aufwachsen dürfen in der Gemeinde und es war wunderbar, aber ich bin jetzt gern hier. [CASE015 Lines: 624-632].
> *(In Palestine we had a wonderful time and you could grow up in the Community and it was wonderful but now I like it here.)*

> A lot of people do not involve themselves enough. In a way they are not used to... The involvement in Palestine was actually much greater because it was part of your daily activities. There was no other way...us being of a different group altogether. And that is what you call it, assimilation wasn't possible there, where out here the assimilation of any Templer into the Australian society is much greater than what it used to be over there [CASE022 Lines: 458-470].

> I think, the first time I joined the Temple Society I was very much impressed by the leadership in Palestine. He (Templer President) became a real life-long, very close friend of mine. Whatever they wrote, exactly I could conform with, but nowadays it's a different generation coming up and they have different opinions too in some respects which are not always mine but that is a generation problem [CASE024 Lines: 216-233].

> Distance and the children go to different schools. They have their different school friends which are very important. They go to different universities; they have their friends from there and from work. It was different in Palestine where the Germans stayed far more together and mixed much less with other people [CASE030 Lines: 1035-1043].

On the one hand pleasant memories of the past help ground immigrants, whilst on the other some of the Templers' idealised thinking was a genuine reflection of their remarkable pre-migration achievements. This is supported by actual historical accounts of pre-war German Colonies in Palestine written by non-Templers (Vondra 19981; Eisler 2001). They tell stories of ideal living conditions that created real peace, harmony and cooperation amongst seven German Templer settlements in Palestine. For example Vondra (1981:177) portrayed the story of the settlement of the Temple Society as one of 'idealism, courage and faith". Eisler described the immediate pre-war Colonies as die Blütezeit (golden era) for the Templers (Eisler 2001). Templers' pre-migration living took place in simply organised, like-minded faith communities which were culturally and socially isolated from the rest of the population. The result was that Templers were people with the same cultural background who shared the same religious motives based on practical daily living (Beilharz 2006 pers. comm. 6 May). Such conditions, where all social interaction was within the closed society and contact with outsiders was limited to business and trade negotiations, fostered the perpetuation of peaceful, cooperative and harmonious living.

Public recognition helps reconnect people with the past and at the same time ground them in the present (Taylor 1994). One example of such recognition was the showcasing of outstanding nineteenth and early twentieth century achievements of the Templer German Colonies displayed at the exhibition 'Templers in the Holy Land – Chronicle of a Utopia' which opened in Tel Aviv on 22 March 2006. Several one-and-a-half generation Templers from Australia made the overseas trip to visit the exhibition (Blaich and Haering, May 2006: 39).

Evidence that accumulated memory is transmitted across generations is shown in the comment by a second generation person:

> ...in terms of history it was quite an achievement. I've got a little bit, I suppose sense of pride [CASE034 Lines: 445-457].

However informal discussion revealed some resentment amongst older second generation Templers concerning the constant backward-looking of their parents. They believed the backwards benchmarking created unrealistic pressures about community building in an Australian environment where the formation of closed communities was not feasible.
In relation to community re-establishment in Australia and the constant there-and-here thinking, it must not be forgotten that the main function of the Temple Society was to serve its members as a faith community. Religious thinking is explored in the next section.

Religious thinking

The Temple Society is first and foremost a faith community. In Australia it is independent in as much it is not affiliated with any of the existing Christian churches or denominations (Ruff 1986). Its history is steeped in nineteenth century radical critiques of established religion and society. Its founders were swept up in the great German political movement of 1848-49 prior to migration to Palestine where the Temple Society was one of many European and German Christian groups. In Australia it became known as both a religious community and a German-speaking ethnic group (Clyne 1991, 2003,

2005). In Australian compendiums of religious bodies the TSA was entered in the section on Christian Churches and listed as 'unclassified non-Trinitarian' along with such groups as the Quakers (Van Sommers 19666; Ward and Humphreys 1995:207,214).

Each immigrant group has particular cultural values or 'core values' (Clyne 2005a:75; Smolicz 2001) fundamental to its continuation and belonging. For some cultures such as Greek, Polish and Chinese, language is a core value, for the Italians and the Irish core values include religion and family cohesion, for the Dutch it is social togetherness (Clyne 2005a). The TSA is first and foremost a religious society therefore one would expect the core value of religious thinking to be prominent in the consciousness and day-to-day thinking of Templers. In the Templer Record (issue number 616 April 2000), the Regional Head of the German Templers, during his visit to Australia, emphasised at a Templer function that "our spiritual heritage is a treasure that should be passed on – this we want to say to our younger generations' (Frank 2000:8).

Even though language, ethnicity and religion are intertwined, immigrant groups are often forced to attach less importance to the language as a component of ethnicity and more to other aspects such as religious values (Ata 1990; Dorian in Fishman 2001; Clyne 2003). The following section illustrates how the Templers perpetuated their cultural loyalties and traditions through religious thinking. The sub-themes that emerged are 'keeping the faith - lost hopes and dreams' and 'Templer core values'.

Keeping the faith - lost hopes and dreams

The first generation was steadfast and enthusiastic about the inspiration they found in the Templer faith. A woman interviewed when she was 85 expressed a typical religious fervour about how she came to Palestine and joined the Templers. She commented:

> Ich muss sagen, ich bin evangelisch aufgewachsen und evangelisch erzogen, und ich bin nach Palästina gekommen, und wo ich diese Vorträge, diese freien, unkomplizierten Vorträge hörte, da war ich mit Leib und Seele dabei. Und ich bin ein Templer geworden nicht erst, als ich verheiratet war mit meinem Mann, mit

einem Templer, sondern ich bin vorher ein Templer geworden. Guck mal, meine Freundin war katholisch, eine andere war etwas anderes, ich war evangelisch, aber Templer, das war das was ich immer gesucht habe [CASE002 Lines: 384-410].

(I have to say I was brought up Lutheran and I went to Palestine. When I heard those sermons I was convinced heart and soul. And I didn't become a Templer when I got married. I had already become a Templer before that. Look, one of my girlfriends, was a Catholic, another one was something else, I was Lutheran, but Templer, that was what I was always searching for.)

Once settled in Australia the first generation was faced with the multiple dilemma of how to transmit their faith, culture and language to the next generation. Content analysis of the Templer archives revealed that accumulated memory was kept alive across ninety years for example, in Rundschreiben No. 42, August 1950 an article on the key aspects of the Templer belief was published. An excerpt follows:

> Die Tempelgesellschaft ist als selbständige religiöse Gesellschaft in 1861 gegründet worden. Ihr Name wurde in Anlehnung an Epheser 2, 21-22 und 1 Petri 2, 5 gewählt. Ihr Losungswort lautet "Trachtet am ersten nach dem Reich Gottes und nach seiner Gerechtickeit, so wird euch das Übrige alles zufallen" (Matth 6,33). *(The Temple Society was founded as an independent religious organisation in 1861. It's name was chosen according to Ephesians 2, 21-22 and 2 Peter 2,5. It's motto is: Seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all else will come to you.)*
>
> (Richard Hoffmann 1950)

The first and one-and-a-half generations shared a common knowledge of the Bible and Templer faith that was not so clearly evident amongst the second generation Templers. Based on my participant-observation at community and religious functions the one-and-a-half generation, while speaking in English about Templer goals and daily living, used mutually understood shorthand comments or insider-talk such as 'trachtet' to refer to the Templer motto and the Templer hymn. One woman pointed out:

> I sing in German especially 'Trachtet ruft' because I know it by heart and not in English [CASE030 Lines: 182-185].

Some participants felt that in the early decades of settlement, the Templer community was too small and lacked the infrastructure to be sufficiently supportive to its members' spiritual and cultural needs. They reported that they looked to their community leaders for guidance on how to transmit the faith to their children. Participants in the first generation expressed regrets, and their unfulfilled hopes and dreams on looking back over their initial settlement years:

> Wir haben eben bloß den einen 'Elder' gehabt, bis dann später langsam wo noch mehr Elders gekommen sind. Da habe ich oft gedacht gehabt die (Kinder) können, die wissen das ja gar nicht... Wir haben daheim nicht in der Bibel gelesen... was wir getan haben Deutsch zu erhalten [CASE015 Lines: 165-172].
> *We only had one elder until later when a few more gradually came. I often thought back then, they (the children) don't even know that. We didn't read from the Bible at home. We tried hard to preserve German.*

Templer worship differed in several ways from mainstream Christianity in that it included 'minimal elements of outward (ritualised) observance' (Hoffman 1985 cited in Lange 1995:215). Nevertheless the Templer community leaders advised their members, mainly the first generation, to send their children to other religious denominations such as the Lutheran, Methodist, Uniting, Anglican and even Catholic churches for religious instruction. A typical comment by the first generation Templers was:

> Und sind sie (die Kinder) auch in andere Schulen, in andere Kirchen gegangen oder nicht? Ganz am Anfang sind, jetzt warte, sind meine Kinder zu den Methodisten gegangen. Da hat's gar nichts gegeben, noch nicht einmal ein Saal da draußen [CASE002 female age 80-89 Lines: 352-365].
> *And they (the children) went to other schools, to other Churches. Right at the beginning my children went to the Methodists. There wasn't anything out there not even a "Saal".*

The "Saal" was the in-group term used for the communal 'divine service' or 'sermon' (R. Hoffmann in Lange 1995:213) delivered by a lay elder in the Templer Society and was a term retained by Templers in Australia.

One of the religious rites retained by the Templers after excommunication was the confirmation of teenagers. On settling in Australia, the absence of an adequate community religious infrastructure combined with the geographic dispersal of Templer families made the transmission of religious aspects to youth difficult. It is interesting to note that despite the contact with other churches most participants had their children confirmed in the Temple Society. Community elders even made a special effort to travel interstate or to remote country locations to confirm young members. Typical comments of those who lived in rural Victoria were:

> Unsere sind ins Lutheran Church lang gegangen weil man ja weg waren, aber konfirmiert sind sie trotzdem hier auch bei den Templern [CASE004 female age 80-89 Lines: 238-245].*Ours went to the Lutheran Church for a long time because we were so far away, but despite that they were confirmed with the Templers.*

A first generation woman who settled and made a life with her young family after internment felt her son grew away from the Temple Society because of the German language. The lack of English language resources to inform her children about the religion meant she lost them. She reported:

> We went through a time when my eldest son got to know his wife and it... because he was a Templer he thought he was doing us (badly) and we said it doesn't matter for God's sake. It's your life and you have to make up your own mind what you want, because she was in Church of England. That's your business and they came. She kept saying I want to read about it. I want to read about it. We had nothing at that time in English. We lost them. We lost them too because doch doch, es war *(yes, yes it was)* Dr Hoffmann (TSA President) said to my husband long before he started giving his sermons in English, it's time. You're going to lose the young ones. You're going to lose them if you don't talk in English. That's the main thing. He always said it and it happened to our boys. They would have...

He was interested and we didn't have anything to give him [CASE046 Lines: 117-148].

People had to make compromises and sacrifices. Women in their eighties accepted the choices of their offspring in Australia even if not all of them joined the Temple Society:

> I had one daughter; she brings her children up as Templers. I like that but then the other daughter said I hope you are not offended. That doesn't mean they are not happy without it. For me it's now different I accept both ways. I said as long as you go take them to Sunday School... where it doesn't matter [CASE004 Lines: 1518-1527].

> Es freut mich, wenn sie kommen, aber wenn sie nicht kommen, dann sage ich das ist ihre Sache. Also da denke ich nicht man muss. Ich habe oft gesagt, man muss gar nicht absolut Templer sein wenn man an Gott glaubt und man versucht's rechte Leben führen [CASE015 Lines: 68-81].
> *(I'm pleased if they come but if they don't come then I say it's their business. I don't believe you must come. I often said it's not absolutely necessary to be a Templer as long as you believe in God and try to live your life accordingly.)*

In some families, the quest for successful adaptation led to decisions with conflicting tendencies. Economic, linguistic, cultural and religious establishment challenged their core values.

Templer core values

An analysis of patterns of ageing of some major Christian denominations in Australia revealed a distinction between 'attenders and identifiers' (Bouma and Hughes 1997:3). The identifiers were most people who identified with a particular religious group. The attenders were a subset of the identifiers and participated in more religious activities. They tended to be the older members of the denomination. Similar patterns emerged in relation to the religious thinking of Templers in this case study.

Younger members identified as Templers but were not active in religious events. Strong positive feelings about family heritage were part of the process of belonging to a group. Some young Templers identified with the Community firstly according to their heritage background rather than spiritually. Parents and grandparents said that not all their children were official members of the Temple Society but remained connected through family, community and heritage news. They pointed out:

> No, only two are. The others are interested in the family heritage [CASE012 Lines: 156-163].

> My daughter no... she is interested in what goes on. She wants to know what happened, well say of the nearest family, you know. She wants to know what goes on, not as much, as far as the religion is concerned but she wants to know what happened to this fellow, the ones she knows [CASE006 Lines: 279-297].

> Nein, nein, nicht. *(meine Tochter)* sie ist nicht *(Mitglied)* aber sie kommt und liest das Rundschreiben [CASE020 Lines: 481-487]. *(No, not, my daughter she is not a member but she comes and reads the Templer circular.)*

> Die sind bloss connected durch Verwandschaft und sie kriegen's Blättle. Q20: Au ja an Weihnachten geht der X (Sohn) auch in Saal mit uns [CASE040 Lines: 213-224]. *(They are only connected through family and they receive the Templer circular. Oh yes at Christmas our son goes to Saal with us.)*

An analysis of religious thinking in the interviews revealed greater religious commitment and participation amongst older Templers (see Tabel 4.9). Mainly the first generation could eloquently describe the two basic tenants of the Templer faith: freedom of thought and exemplary daily action (1 and 2 in Table 4.8). Only the first generation felt strongly about attending Saal (divine service) even if they did not understand the language and in addition expressed some concern about the loss of religious knowledge in Australia. All three groups felt that 'Zusammengehörigkeit', a feeling of solidarity, was a vital aspect of the Templer religious life. Members of the second generation articulated their faith more

in terms of maintaining community life and family traditions of their forefathers rather than as spiritual thinking.

Table 4. 8 Strong trend in group responses to questions about Templer faith

Core value	Group 1: first generation	Group 2: one-and-a-half generation	Group3: second generation
1.Freedom of religious belief	X	X	
2.Act out a good life/'love thy neighbour' principle	X		
3.Zusammengehörigkeit (belonging to a community)	X	X	X
4.Intellectual challenge of religious thinking		X	
5.Family tradition			X
6.Importance of regular attendance at Saal	X		
7.Transmission of faith to youth/sacrifice German language at Saal	X	X	

The following comments reflect each of the seven core values in Table 4.8.

1. Freedom of religious belief:

> Well, in principle we want them *(Templer children born in Australia)* to have their own freedom and happiness and we would like them to choose and we grant them that right and freedom because this is the core of what we stand for in the Temple Society. But of course we welcome it when they join the Temple Society later on as they become adults [CASE003 Lines: 122-131].

Well, in a way the Templer faith gives me the freedom to really think about religion and go the way I seem to be, what seems, seems fit for me [CASE001 Lines: 335-340].

and

Well we try to live as good Templers. We are very tolerant to everybody. That's what we learnt in Konfirmandenunterricht. In Palästina hat man das schon gelernt. Man soll tolerant sein gegen alle anderen Religionen. Man soll niemals denken, wir hätten's allein richtiger gehabt, hat der Herr Wurst (President) gesagt. Wir sollen immer anerkennen, dass die Anderen genau so vor'm lieber Gott gut wären, wie wir, bloß das eine sei wichtig, dass du's ehrlich meinst. Weil das übliche war denn, dass du den Herrgott verehrst wär nicht so wichtig. Aber wie du's meinst, wie ehrlich, das war wichtig [CASE047 Lines: 294-310]. *(That's what we learnt in confirmation classes. We already learnt that in Palestine. You should be tolerant towards all other religions. Our president Mr Wurst said we should never think we alone have the right answer. We should always acknowledge that others are just as worthy before God as long as we are honest. Because the important thing was not that you worship God but that you mean it, how genuine your intention was, that was the important thing.)*

2. Act out a good life/'love thy neighbour' principle:

It's part of your upbringing and you'd rather choose the people 'so lasset uns Gutes tun an jedermann' *(let us do good unto all men)*. That type of thing probably subconsciously you put it into practice in your daily life, at work or elsewhere. You know to treat people as you like them to treat you. To be fair and even handed, to live by it [CASE043 Lines: 617-631].

3. Zusammengehörigkeit (belonging to a community):

Also die Religion ist wichtig aber sehr wichtig ist auch's Zusammenkommen. Also das finde ich auch sehr wichtig...die Zusammengehörigkeit. Das ist vielleicht auch als Deutsche wichtig. Ich weiss nicht. Aber das Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl das ist immer... [CASE015 Lines: 387-401].

(Well, the religion is important but also community belonging is also important. Well that's what I find important too... the belonging. Maybe that is important as being culturally German. I don't know. But the sense of belonging is always....)

4. Intellectual challenge of religious thinking:

Intellectual challenge I think is the most important thing. I think that should be in any community. Once a community loses that I feel it will just drift apart [CASE005 Lines: 324-329].

5. Family tradition:

It's the enduring thing my family has been involved in [CASE027 Lines: 487-490].

6. Importance of regular attendance at Saal:

Ich bin mein ganzes Leben in den Saal gegangen, ob ich krank war oder nicht, aus dem einen Grund, wo ich gesagt hab, der wo Saal hält, strengt sich so an und das ist aller Ehren wert [CASE002 Lines: 261-268]. *(I attended Saal my whole life whether I was sick or not, for the single reason that I said, he who holds the service makes such an effort that he deserves every credit.)*

7. Transmission of faith to youth/sacrifice of the German language in Saal: one older woman said about the need for conducting Saals in German:

Ja, dann würde ich sagen, für mich... aber es macht mir nichts aus
... aber ich denke es ist so wichtig für die, die nicht mehr Deutsch können. Das ist mir wichtiger... ob ich es verstehe ... hauptsächlich die anderen. Mir macht's eigentlich nichts aus [CASE002 Lines: 296-310].
(Yes, then I would say for me...but it doesn't worry me...but I think for those who no longer know German. That is more important...whether I understand...mainly the others. It doesn't really matter for me).

and

Unsere Kinder, also die sind alle dargestellt worden und sind dann konfirmiert worden aber sonst...das hat mir schrecklich leid getan, wenn ich gedacht habe in der Schule haben wir viel Religion gehabt. Hier haben sie nicht viel Religion gehabt oder nie [CASE015 Lines: 140-146].

(Our children, well they were all presented and confirmed but other than that...I feel really sorry when I think how much religion we had at school. Here they didn't get much religion, or never.)

In summary, the first generation of Templer immigrants in Australia consisted of steadfast and enthusiastic participants in religious Templer life. Religious thinking was their core value or priority in the TSA. As the second generation began to shift from German to English, possibly a result of linguistic assimilation, Templer faith transmission to the younger members became both a concern and a challenge to the parent and grandparents generations, because of a shortage of bilingual and English religious literature. Whilst all participants identified with the TSA as a faith community, mainly the older generation felt that attendance at religious functions was a priority. The younger, Australian born generation focused more on the value of "Zusammengehörigkeit" or belonging rather than the religious aspects. Lack of expression of religious and spiritual values among the Australian born generation suggested a diminishing of religious knowledge.

Conclusion

In the first instance Templer adaptation decisions were influenced by assimilationist thinking of the early decades of their settlement in Australia. 'Coming out' of wartime detention centres, the Templers were first and foremost pre-occupied with regrouping and establishing the Temple Society in their new host country. Research into the dilemma of adaptation or assimilation in this case study indicated that the Templers went through four ways of thinking in their settlement adaptation processes: assimilationist, re-establishment, idealised memory and religious thinking. The responses of the three generational cohorts varied in relation to these ways of thinking.

The Templers experienced early settlement difficulties in relation to assimilationist thinking such as: post-war hostilities towards Germans, although they soon dissipated; cultural and linguistic oppression in the form of xenophobic taunts in public places; and enforced geographic dispersal to rural and remote areas. Consequently the older, first

generation developed strong tight networks of Templers based on close social interaction within the Temple Society and family life. Most outside ties developed by the first and one-and-a-half generations through work or their children's schools remained loose and weak.

Assimilationist thinking was one way of handling the dilemma they faced between maintaining their German language and culture and the pressure to fit into the Australian way of life as quickly as possible. The Templers never opposed the assimilation policy because their pre-migration experiences had made them accustomed to living under British rule. The first generation tried to promote public recognition of their attempts to fit in. They wanted Australians to believe they had assimilated even though they felt culturally different and spoke German in the privacy of their homes. They tried hard to live up to the perceived indicators of successful assimilation which were immigrant language loss and naturalisation. The Templer families were pressured to show their loss of language by local school teachers and public ostracism. Some Templers, in particular the first generation, understood assimilation to mean social acceptance; "jetzt sind wir akzeptiert *(now we're accepted).*

Assimilation was not always forced. Many one-and-a-half generation Templers felt encouraged rather than forced to assimilate and as children and adolescents they voluntarily tried to live up to assimilation expectations until they became masters of assimilation. Most Templers were naturalised in the 1950s and 60s for pragmatic reasons such as education, economics, out-marriage and their newfound status as exiles from their homeland. As a result their ethnicity thinned out but their religious purpose of belonging persisted. The second generation, born in Australia, developed strong ties both within the Temple Society and outside in the broader community.

Once their re-establishment thinking put into place newly constituted Templer communities, a strong belief arose that religious thinking alone would not guarantee the solidarity of their communities. For many first and one-and-a-half generation participants, community life came to resemble urban Templer village life with strong

inward-looking tendencies. A strong culture of volunteerism led to self-sufficiency and enabled an extensive infrastructure of Templer community services to be built up.

Accumulated idealised memory of the unforgettable golden age in the German Colonies of pre-war Palestine helped to ground those Templers who had been suddenly and traumatically uprooted from their homeland. Past-orientated thinking was transmitted to the Australian born generation who developed an intense curiosity about their ancestral heritage. Annual pilgrimages to Tatura represented a nostalgic homecoming for some whilst others came home to their Templer community life in their retirement by making a mini internal migration back to urban Templer village life in Bayswater.

The TSA case study represented an enclosed theatre of human dilemmas and aspirations. Religious thinking amongst the Templers kept the focus on the primary purpose of the society as a faith community. Early difficulties which the Community had to overcome in the transmission of religious core values to the Australian born generation were geographical dispersal, limited or no English language skills, Templer faith literature, inadequately established faith community infrastructure and the influences of out-marriage and language shift to English. Families tapped into other Church resources in the broader society for general religious education of their children but managed to regroup their adolescents back into the Temple Society. Considerable effort went into overcoming distances and including Templer families no matter where they lived.

The first and one-and-a-half generation confidently described core Templer values in terms of religious thinking and active community life. The older first generation in particular focused on the importance of attendance at Saal (divine service). In terms of religious thinking the first and one-and-a-half generations felt strongly about basic Templer tenets such as freedom of religious thought, intellectual challenge of spirituality and exemplary daily action. By contrast the Australian-born second generation articulated their Templer core values mainly as maintaining community life and family traditions.

The Templers made an outward show of assimilation but found quiet ways of adapting their aspiration of language, culture and religious maintenance. The community demonstrated a strong German culture. The impact of German language retention and shift in relation to the ways of thinking about adaptation are explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 5

The impact of language retention, transmission and shift on adaptation

Introduction

In the previous chapter issues concerning the assimilation and adaptation of the Templers were explored. This chapter develops the story of the Templer settlement and adaptation further in relation to the second research question concerning the impact of immigrant language retention, transmission and shift. According to Fishman (1999) ethnicity and language behaviour of immigrant groups are closely related. He suggests further that it is sometimes feasible to maintain an ethnic identity under conditions of language shift.

Discussion in the previous chapter indicated that the Templers made various adaptation decisions regarding their life in Australia in respect to assimilationist thinking, re-establishment thinking, idealised thinking and religious thinking. Two more ways of thinking that emerged from the data in this study were ethnicity thinking and bilingual thinking. The findings generated from the interviews, participant-observations, field notes and Templer archival content analysis, as well as 69 language survey sheets and personal data surveys will be discussed in relation ethnicity and bilingualism.

The second research question concerning immigrant language examined in this chapter is:

What forms of language retention, loss and transmission have occurred in the Temple Society Australia?

The varying attitudes of the three generational cohorts represented a shift in thinking from the decades when assimilation dominated public and official thinking to the post 1970s when a massive change in Australian public consciousness took place. The election of the Whitlam government in 1972 endorsed a new way of thinking called multiculturalism (Kaplan 1996; Jupp 2001). Policy makers began to see the value of ethnicity and linguistic diversity and gradually assimilationist thinking became increasingly unacceptable. Whilst immigrants were excluded from public life to the point of cultural, political and social invisibility during the decades following the end of World War II (Kaplan 1996), by the twenty-first century the state of Victoria in particular became recognised as one of the world's 'most successful culturally diverse societies' (Lekakis 2006:1). The adaptation decisions of the Templers, in relation to ethnicity thinking were fraught with complexities.

Ethnicity thinking

In Australia through widespread public usage, the term 'ethnic' (Mosely et al 1997:xvii) has come to refer to people of non-English speaking background, even though it is technically incorrect. Ethnic groups are usually united by common cultural, linguistic or religious practices. Dowd, Eckermann and Jeff (2005) point out that all people have ethnicity. They further assert that by labeling immigrant as "ethnics", Australia has perpetuated the "them-and-us" distinction. Nevertheless they state that the notion of ethnicity gave immigrants a voice. It allowed them to identify themselves by common factors such as their history, language, nationality and religion. Similar studies in America show that first generation immigrants were lumped under 'one-size-fits-all' (Portes and Rumbaud 2001:150) labels of ethnicity. The second generation began to reject broad ethnic labels such as Asian or Hispanic (Portes and Rumbaud 2001). They preferred to construct multiple identities based on their attachments and often competing

allegiances with local groups such as peers, schools, ethnic communities and within society at large (Portes and Rumbaut 2001).

Immigrants of German ethnicity had their situation further compounded. Anti-German sentiment was high in Melbourne during the immediate post-war years (Clyne 2005a). Post-war Germans in Canada and Australia had a tendency not to identify with ethnicity because of wartime hostilities and they preferred only linguistic identification (Meune 2004; Clyne 2003). In addition the legacy of assimilationist thinking meant that immigrants were expected to discard their cultural capital as if it was unwanted baggage (Peter 2003; Burstin 2006; Burstin in Fagenblat 2006).

It is important to bear in mind that in the 1930s the Templers in Palestine were unpopular with Nazism and Hitler who resented their religious ties and focus on the Holy Land (Van Sommers 1966). In addition Calwell exonerated the Templers from any political wartime stigma by the appointment of Judge Hutchins, Supreme Court Judge of Tasmania, who was given the task of political examination of the Templers (Reid 1953; Christa in Jürgensen 1995; Gohl 1991; Sauer 1991). Nevertheless the shadow of negative ethnic stereotyping lingered over the German-speaking Templers (Griffin 2006; Rutland 2005).

In the context of ethnicity thinking, emerging themes are 'German ethnicity – valuable cultural capital or unwanted baggage', 'the balancing act of being German at heart' and 'at home in Australia.'

German ethnicity – valuable cultural capital or unwanted baggage

At first the promise of multiculturalism was not embraced by all post-war European immigrants. Markus (in Fagenblat et al 2006) points out, in a similar study in the Jewish community, that little interest was shown during the formative years of multiculturalism by those communities that had already developed a reasonably successful institutional and cultural life with their own resources; and whose members identified first and

foremost with their religion. Like the Jewish community in the decades following the 1950s, (Markus; Goldlust in Fagenblat et al 2006), albeit on a smaller scale, the Templers used their transnational wealth received in the 1960s, high social capital in the form of volunteerism and strong community ties to develop and expand German Saturday Schools in three venues, an ethno-specific home of the Aged and an enormous range of recreational, social, sporting and religious facilities long before government funding was made available for such activities. Markus (2006) notes further that those southern European communities, mainly from Greece and Italy, whose cultures had until then had little positive recognition, took up positions on advisory boards and submissions with enthusiasm, and benefited from on-going immigration support through multiculturalism. After the 1960s the prospect of replenishing the Templer community via direct immigration sources no longer existed for the Templers in Australia. Ethnicity status issues were of no pressing significance to them and initially they had little to gain from the government's multicultural policies.

Observational evidence showed that, just like in the Jewish community according to Markus (2006), the Templers strongly avoided the label ethnic group, the required category through which government resources were allocated. Templers reminded each other that their primary focus was on their spiritual, not ethnic, identity so as not to diminish their religious identity. A typical comment was:

> We are the Temple Society and not the German society. I push that now [CASE033 Lines: 222-226].

The need for additional funding support for the German-speaking Templer Home for the Aged in the 1970s was successfully established through the German Consulate and other German-speaking infrastructures such as the Australian-German Welfare Society and the Commonwealth Department of Social Security (Uhlenbruch 2004) long after the Templers had already set up their ethno-specific aged care facility. Gradually, like the Jewish community, the Templers became more involved in multicultural funding and events for their specific needs such as community language schools, aged care and heritage activities.

Through my participant-observation in my role on various Templer committees I noticed that in terms of ethnicity, Templers reluctantly began to assert their status as a German-speaking community particularly in their dealings with multicultural government departments.

The legacy of assimilationist thinking left some people with feelings of obligation such as "lucky to be here". Others described how they made their cultural allegiance invisible to the outside world. Some of the one-and-a-half generation comments were:

> On the whole you are a guest here, more or less and you have to have the privilege to be in Australia. And if you come from Germany you have to behave...and you put your best foot forward [CASE004 Lines: 732-739].

The balancing act of being 'German at heart' in Australia.

The process of negotiating identity is multi-dimensional, based on a subjective belief in common descent, culture and sometimes religion (Goldlust 1993; Levine 1997; Giampana 2001; Meune 2004). It also changes over time (Goldlust in Fagenblat et al 2006). Immigrants and their offspring have accumulated memory that links them to the past and they often experience multiple loyalties which shift, compete with each other and require public affirmation (Burke 2004, Wolff 2001, 2003; Sanders 2002; Giampana 2001). The Templers expressed their multiple loyalties as a dilemma. A second generation Templer commented:

> I get a tear in my eye when I hear Advance Australia Fair. There's nothing like the dilemma in life as watching Germany and Australia playing a soccer match or a hockey match. I don't know who to support and I'm equally proud of one or the other if they should win through [CASE045 Lines: 496-504].

Many immigrants tried to escape the complexities of German identity. Such trends showed up amongst the Templers in Australia. Fernando's (1985:429) comprehensive study of the culture change amongst the Templers in Bayswater found a group's 'culture-

maintenance is negatively affected by external hostile pressures and resulted in 'psychological conflict'. She found that the self-ascribed German identity remained a problem for the grandparent, parent and child generations who all endured some anti-German sentiment and often chose a quiet approach to their ethnicity. She concluded the oldest generation didn't want to be German; the middle generation was simply Australian but that the youngest generation born in Australia was again more German. She also said that Templer identity 'refers strictly only to religion' (Fernando 1985: 428) and could not be conceptualized as 'ethnic'.

In my research participants were more at ease in asserting their German identity. However as a Community, the Temple Society displayed an ambivalent legacy of its Germanness. The feelings participants expressed about their German background ranged from strong positive loyalties to very negative ones (see Table 5.1). On the one hand people felt proud to be German and commonly used the expression 'German at heart' [CASES 006, 024, 040, 046], if rather apologetically i.e. 'I am not ashamed of it' [CASE 006 Line 403-411] due to wartime stigma. Others preferred to describe their German feelings in the context of dual or hyphenated identity that linked German with their country of origin, Palestine or their new host country Australia. Feelings of having grown apart from other Germans, or culture lag, especially on visiting Germany were expressed by some. At the other extreme strong negative feelings about having a German background were expressed, not in terms of bad wartime image, but rather as a social embarrassment when mixing with Australians. They felt the need to be secretive about their German background and some said they hated it.

Table 5. 1 Number of comments that expressed participants' feelings about their German background

Templer immigrant generation	Strong positive feelings; German at heart; proud to be German	Apologetic about being German; feelings of stigma	Strong hyphenated Palestinian-German feelings	Dual Australian and German feelings	Feeling culture lag; different from other Germans	Strong negative feelings; embarrassed; secretive; disliked being German
Gen 1	26	3	3	1	1	
Gen 1 ½	17	9		7	3	1
Gen 2	9			2		12
Total	52	12	3	10	4	13

Table 5.1 shows that in relation to feelings about their German background, distinct trends emerged in respect to the three groups that represented different immigrant generations. The most positive comments (n=26) about pride in their German background, even if apologetically, were made by the first generation of Templer immigrants in the first generation. Some representative comments were:

> In my heart I am always a German. My generation, as far as I am concerned, my feeling, my inner feeling is, I feel German. But I am not ashamed of being of German origin. *(N.B. This man requested a second interview to edit and re-tape this carefully considered response)* [CASE006 Lines: 404-412].

> Well we are Australians, but as (my wife) said we have stayed German in our culture, food, language. We are the same as the Australians to the outside world but real deep down we are very, very German [CASE026 Lines: 662-668].

A couple confessed:

> I'm still German at heart [CASE040 Lines: 294-295 first partner in couple].

> I'm Herz bin ich immer deutsch [CASE040 Lines: 296-297 second partner in couple] *(I'm still German at heart.)*

Many members of the one-and-a-half generation made a significant number of comments (n=17) about positive German feelings but these were increasingly qualified by the need to clear the wartime blame that apparently accompanied Germanness. One man who was interned in Tatura and later in Loveday in South Australia pointed out:

> I'm quite proud of (my German background). The so-called wrong-doings during the war, we are not part of. We were not of such a mind. As well we were not there physically during the war therefore we can quite clearly disassociate ourselves from that and we are, for that reason... we can quite honestly say we are proud to have our German heritage and that's why we try to keep and continue that. And that is why the Temple Society wants to be a righteous, practical religion and to put this into practice and then we are all right [CASE003 Lines: 574-593].

The one-and-a-halfers had a tendency to express their ethnicity in the form of dual loyalties for example:

> Yes, I would perhaps rationalise it this way; I am an Australian citizen. This is my country. There's no question about it. Here is my home and here I belong. But the cultural roots I have are German. There is also no doubt about that and that's why I can feel comfortable and accepted in both cultures [CASE001 Lines: 717-727].

Over a period of time international travel became more accessible to immigrants. On visiting Germany, some for the first time in their lives, a first generation immigrant and a few of the one-and-a-halfers (n=3) felt they had grown distant from mainstream Germans. They maintained:

> Well when I go to Germany... I notice that we are quite different. No we are different to the ones over there. We take life... it's easier now... we are not like...not so narrow-minded [CASE004 Lines: 695-703].

Another emerging trend amongst the one-and-a-half and second generations was a dilemma of loyalties in relation to their ethnicity and their faith community. Characteristic responses were:

> Another thing is the Germanness. That might be an issue that might come up eventually. The older generation is feeling the German is slipping away and in a way that's inevitable I think...I think that Germanness is interesting. It was always my theme that it was that that was holding the society together more than the religious belief. Well I'm sort of watching it now. Well it might or it might not. But it still seems to be the overriding thing at the moment that we've always got this thing that we're not an ethnic community. We're a religious society but yet I think the ethnicity is very strong bond [CASE041 Lines: 1213-1237].

The Australian-born participants in the second generation were more likely to express strong negative feelings (n=12) about their German background especially in the context of monolingual company. Clyne (2003) asserts that many Australians have retained a negative view of bilingualism. Some found it harder then the previous generation to justify their German background and even tried to align themselves with the monolingual mindset of the mainstream society. Some typical comments were:

> It sticks and it's still there. If I get a phone call, if my mum rings up, if I've got English speaking friends here and they don't know or haven't heard me speak to my parents, and understand that fully, that they speak German, and we speak German and we have a lot of German in our daily lives, I'll speak English to them on the phone. It's, yes, it's not because of embarrassment but I always feel that I'm being secretive and they can't speak. You feel like there's a barrier gone up because they can't understand me. Does that make sense? [CASE018 Lines: 1108-1124].

Those in the second generation who were adolescents in the 1960s and 1970s, felt that, in relation to their faith and ethnicity, Templer and Germany identity were inseparable. As a result they felt uncomfortable and different. They pointed out:

> It doesn't bother me so much anymore. I suppose that a lot of people tend not to ask that question these days anyway. I think that they are more accepting of different, different religious groups. But yes, I get the question a lot still now. Where were you born in Germany? Why do you know German...that kind of stuff. But yes I can remember specifically in high school I suppose, especially, hated it. Couldn't we just belong to the Methodists or something so you didn't have to go through each time and try and explain stuff that you didn't really understand yourself and you weren't able to put into words exactly [CASE025 Lines: 616-634].

> Well it changed. I can remember at school hating being a Templer and hating being German because whenever the question came up you always had this great long involved thing and I hated being different [CASE025 Lines: 606-613.

In an effort to avoid social exclusion it is common for individuals and families in an immigrant community to choose a particular adaptation decision without realising how many others do the same. Some chose a culture of silence reflected in the following comment:

> I think it's great to have that extra language. There's always a little bit of the cringe feeling because of the German war problems but, that's always been there and you didn't open your mouth very much. You just left it because it was too hard to tackle... because you had two sides to the story and you didn't want to open a hornet's nest so you basically kept quiet [CASE034 Lines: 463-475].

The result is a community that 'kept quiet' until its ethnic vitality became invisible in the broader society (Kaplan 1996).

According to the totals in Table 5.1, most Templers expressed many positive feelings about being German (n=52+3+10=65). Almost half as many (n= 12+3+13=29) expressed some kind of discomfort about their German ethnic background in the form of feeling

shame and apologising; marginalised though from other Germans through culture lag; and embarrassment when amongst Australians.

Several contrasting comments made by the second generation offspring indicated that they were more able to express their ethnic identity when policy makers and the community at large recognised cultural diversity. One reported:

> ...when I was a bit younger I was always embarrassed... always. I didn't speak in public at all because we had to speak German and I was too embarrassed to back then. But now it's far more acceptable outside. The community is far more accepting of that [CASE018 Lines: 1089-1099].

The younger members of the Australian-born generation who did not go to school during the assimilationist years also felt more comfortable about their ethnicity. They commented:

> I feel good about it. Basically because both of my parents are German so I'm just very proud of that. They're vastly different actually. I mean they're both from colonies outside of Germany [CASE017 Lines: 937-948].

> I feel very comfortable and positive about it. Well what German background I have is mainly what I've learnt through my parents and having been to Germany but nothing negative at all [CASE041 Lines: 659-665].

Adaptation over a period of time led Templers to develop a strong sense of belonging to their new home country. This is explored in the next section.

At home in Australia

Participants were asked to describe their feelings about being an Australian. Their responses indicated two trends that were general across all three groups, namely 'proud to be Australian' [CASE 034], or comfortable with a dual German-Australian identity.

On being Australian several older long-established people maintained:

> Wir sind ganz gern Australier [CASE047 Lines: 587-588]. *(We are quite happy to be Australians).*

> I feel at home in Australia. Somebody asked me once where do you want to be buried? I said of course in Australia because I live here, I belong here, and the children were all born here so I feel I am of German origin but I'm Australian too [CASE030 Lines: 569-576].

A one-and-a-half generation spouse born overseas commented about her partner:

> In fact quite often when people say where do you come from and he'll say Melbourne or what nationality are you and he'll say Australian [CASE035 Lines: 499-503].

while another commented:

> I think for our generation, like we were the youngest to arrive here, we grew up here in our formative years in this country and here it's home. ...Australia is my home. That's where I spent my formative years. [Lines: 1116-1134] ...I'm very proud of that and the reason I'm very, very proud of being Australian is because Australians don't have any big enemies anywhere in the world [CASE043 Lines: 1088-1093].

Several second generation Templers born in Australia maintained:

> Actually, I'm proud of being Australian. I was thinking the other day of the Olympics, that's how Aussie we are. You know that you feel really... straight away Germany isn't the team that you... That's right. It's the Aussie that you really...so yes I'm definitely quite proud I suppose you could say [CASE034 Lines: 480-492].

The most typical comments that described dual loyalty, for example, were from members of the second generation participants:

So I grew up here and I think that, um, in some areas the German background was an addition to my life, and if we're wise we draw on the additions and the things that are inappropriate we drop them [CASE027 Lines: 540-546].

I mean I tend to wear certain hats. You know I've had to. You really need to [CASE017 Lines: 1002-1005].

I don't know any different. I don't know, I just thought about that recently when someone was saying to... how you describe yourself. I'm an Australian of German background. Because there is a difference and people still say to me now, like at (work) there was also a part-timer who is of Dutch background. And we have this bond that nobody else seems to have and she seems to think it's a cultural thing. You think European. She said you may have been born here but you think European and she said there's a definite difference. So I suppose I would describe myself as an Australian of... because I can't say I'm a pure out Aussie even though I was born here because the traditions and the upbringing and the values are European [CASE025 Lines: 671-694].

Some researchers found that many people identified with a particular ethnic group through their primary socialisation with parents and other family members (Padilla in Fishman 2001). According to a similar study in America ethnic heritage ceased to play a viable role in the life of the third generation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). A few second generation participants reinforced this trend. They pointed out:

Actually to be honest my mum and dad are very, very, very staunchly German. They have very strong German ties. They don't consider themselves Australian. They're German in heart and, yes, I'm probably the other way round. I, although I acknowledge my German heritage and I'm not ashamed of it, I'm proud of that. But I'm not kidding if someone said to me what nationality are you, I would say I'm Australian. This is my heritage, this is my immediate family [CASE018 Lines: 1154-1171].

Whilst the Templers felt at home in Australia, the community had a German-Australian vitality which suggested an ethnic presence in the Australian localities where they resided. An ethnic presence suggests a multilingual presence involving the use of a community language plus English (Fishman 2001). The impact of bilingualism in the Temple Society is analysed in the next section.

Bilingual thinking

The Templers did a better job than all other post-war German-speaking groups at German language retention and transmission to their offspring (Clyne (1991; 2006 personal communication). However there was a speeding up of language shift from German to English in the last twenty years amongst second generation German-speakers in general and Templers in particular (Clyne 2005b; Christa 1995). Clyne (2005b) stated that the ripple effect of assimilationist thinking from government policies in the 1940s to the early 1970s created a paradox between Australia's linguistic diversity and the population's utilization of that diversity. He believed it significantly hampered Australia's language potential. First of all, the result was the development of a monolingual mindset in Australians. Secondly long-established immigrant groups like the Templers came up against considerable social barriers that hindered the maintenance of their community languages. Thirdly the advantages of bilingualism were still undervalued even in an increasingly multicultural and multilingual world. Clyne (2005b) points out that young Australians, including second generation immigrants, were consequently losing out in terms of their own opportunities in life and economic wellbeing.

Bilingualism occurred amongst immigrants where languages were in contact (Dalby 2002). Bilingual thinking and what it means to be bilingual has changed since the 1960s (Clyne 2005a; Portes and Rumbaud 2001). Bilingualism, especially full fluency, used to be an unusual condition amongst English speakers in the twentieth century (Dalby 2002). Immigrant children who grew up in multilingual communities 'could not have been monolingual if they tried' (Dalby 2002:91). Previous studies failed to distinguish between 'fluent bilinguals' who spoke both English and a foreign language very well; and 'limited

bilinguals' who spoke only one language fluently and have a diminishing command of the second one (Portes and Rumbaud 2001:116). Fifty or sixty years ago a bilingual person was expected to have 'native-like control of both languages' (Clyne 2005a:27). Clyne (2005) points out that people rarely did the same things in both languages, making equal command of two or more languages highly unusual. He said it was more common for a person to have stronger and weaker areas in each of their languages. In relation to social attitudes bilingualism used to be seen as a problem, especially with regard to schoolchildren. The new mindset in immigration countries perceived multilingualism, including the full spectrum of limited bilingualism, as a valuable national resource worthy of preservation (Clyne 2005a; Lo Bianco 2005; Portes and Rumbaud 2001). The cult of bilingualism has been growing to be ever more fashionable in the world of 'global connectedness' where multilinguals outnumber monolinguals (Lo Bianco 2006:33; Dalby 2002; Clyne 2005a; Borland 2001).

In relation to bilingual thinking amongst Templers, the following themes emerged: 'Schwäbisch is the best language,' 'the dilemma of German language transmission,' 'core values of language and religion,' 'insider talk' and 'nowadays I read more English.'

Schwäbisch is the best language

The Templers in Australia were exposed to at least three languages. The first generation balanced efforts to learn English with efforts to maintain their home language which was the Swabian dialect of southern Germany as well as literacy in standard German. Results of the case study indicated that these languages were used in the home, at Templer community activities, in the religious domain, and were supported by Templer language schools. Table 5.2 indicated that the shift from the use of the Swabian dialect in the home moved to English by the second generation.

Table 5. 2 Number of comments that reported language use in the home.

Generation Of Templers	Mainly German	Mainly Swabian	Mainly English or half and half
Generation 1	3	16	7
Generation 1 ½		13	5
Generation 2	3	4	11

The first generation made a deliberate effort to maintain their community language and tried to pass their cultural heritage on to their children. All of them used the Swabian dialect and only a few people used standard German in the home.

One man over eighty reported:

> Schwäbisch, das ist die beste Sprache [CASE047 Lines: 612-614]. *(Swabian, that's the best language.)*

Another pointed out:

> We spoke Hochdeutsch *(standard German)* [CASE006 Lines: 456-457].

Clyne (2003) indicated that communication amongst older people was an important factor in language maintenance because they move more exclusively in ethno-specific social networks; however, children brought the English language into the home. Older Templers preferred to speak German but pointed out that their choice of English or German was influenced by the presence of English-speaking in-laws of Templers who had married out. Typical first generation comments about the language used at home were:

> I speak Schwäbisch zu meine Kinder und sie antworten in Englisch, und zu den Enkeln [CASE004 Lines: 752-755] *(I speak Swabian to my children and they answer in English, and to the grandchildren).*

> Bloß wenn wir natürlich Besuch haben, mit (meinem Sohns) Verwandten und so...da muss man Englisch reden [CASE020 Lines: 714-717]. *(It's just when we*

naturally have visitors, with my son's relatives and such then we have to speak English.)

Ja, Schwäbisch, einmal auch Englisch je nachdem... aber im Grossen Ganzen habe ich mich immer bestrebt, dass sie (meine Tochter) auch als Zweitsprache Deutsch kann. Und das sollte man, nach wie vor, pflegen, damit sie es nicht vergisst [CASE020 Lines: 730-741]. *(Yes Swabian, or even English depending on...but on the whole I always strived for my daughter to know German as her second language. And we should preserve that at all costs so that she doesn't forget it.)*

Some spoke half and half:

...when the kids grew up we spoke Schwäbisch at home but in the later stages they were starting to speak English, and well, English was spoken, well both were spoken together...half and half sometimes [CASE022 Lines: 560-567].

During the assimilation era immigrant languages were considered a problem. By the early 1990s community languages were perceived as a valuable national resource and worth fostering (Lo Bianco 1990). Many Australian born participants went to school when community languages were considered unpopular and consequently were not motivated to keep up their German. An element of resentment accompanied their attendance at the Templer Saturday German School. Informal discussion with several members of the second generation revealed that they spoke only Swabian-German until they started going to school but then began to shift to English and they hid their German-speaking abilities from their peers at the mainstream schools.

In their attempts to settle in the host country, it is common for ethnic groups never to recognise the unique opportunity that childhood offers in acquiring natural fluency of the mother tongue (Dorian in Fishman 2001). In addition many post-war immigrants in Australia who grew up in closely-knit communities learning a dialect became highly sensitive to the prestige of language use when they realised the perceived 'inferior'

(Fernando 1985:218) status of their immigrant language (Lo Bianco 2005; Pauwels 1986). Sometimes they realised too late the advantages of using standard German rather than dialect. A first generation person commented:

> Wir haben erst jetzt gemerkt, dass wir hätten ganz vom Anfang an mit unseren Kindern Schriftdeutsch sprechen sollen aber da haben wir gar nicht drangedacht. Und sie haben ja Deutschunterricht gehabt [CASE040 Lines: 352-358]. *(Only now did we realise that we should have spoken standard German with our children right from the outset but we never thought of it. And they had German school anyway.)*

Language competence is related to language use. Spoken and written language competency varied for some individuals. Some first generation Templers pointed out:

> Ja wir sind schon in Australien länger als wir in der Kolonie waren. Ich habe jetzt das ganze Jahr mehr Englisch gelesen als Deutsch. ...Ich schreibe dann auch so ein Kauderwelsch....Wenn man sich ein bisschen mehr zwingen tut, dann kommt auch das deutsche Wort [CASE046 Lines: 533-555]. *(Yes we have already been in Australia longer than in the Colony. I have read more in English in the last year than in German... then I also write a mishmash...If you make a bit more of an effort then the German word comes.)*

To some degree the shift to English was facilitated amongst the first generation because most of them had studied English either in the Colonies in Palestine or in the internment camp. Typical comments that substantiated this were:

> In der Schule und da *(in der Internierung)* haben wir sechs Jahre lang Englisch gelernt. Also wir haben schon im dritten Jahr angefangen. Dort ist die Regierung das Britische Mandat geworden von den Türken, also da während ich in der Schule war [CASE015 Lines: 514-522]. *(At school over there and here (in the internment camp) we learnt English for six years. Well, we already started in Year 3. The British Mandate took over there from the Turks, while I was at school.)*

> Well actually I started my English lessons in internment camp [CASE033 Lines: 691-693].
>
> We couldn't talk. But we learnt the grammar. That helped a lot [CASE004 Lines: 804-806 focus group of six].
>
> But we could write [CASE004 Lines: 809-810 focus group of six].

Despite efforts to speak German at home some families used more and more English. German language retention depended on the presence of the older generation in particular grandparents. Typical comments about language in the home were:

> ...English. It used to be German but now English.... Schwäbisch, *(Swabian)* yes, when my mum was still alive [CASE007 Lines: 260-270].

and

> We speak German in our age group. With our children we try and speak German as much as possible so that they don't lose it and also with the grandchildren but if it gets important or there is a problem.... if I had to tell them off I did it in English. For a long time I didn't realise that.... to make sure that they understood. They understand that perfectly and they react... But we do try and keep our and their German knowledge up [CASE014 Lines: 655-672].

Code switching between English and standard German as well as English and the Swabian dialect was considered normal at in-group Templer settings according to my participant observation at community functions, religious activities, in private homes and during interviews. Others felt apologetic about frequently switching languages when in the company of more recent arrivals from Germany based on the perceived purist attitude that 'excessive' code switching can induce hostility (Clyne 1991). Code switching is demonstrated in the following comments:

> I was a teenager, 14 when I came to Australia. And that means and I still do... I think in English, not in German. However the very basics such as times, mathematics, I do that in German. Einmal eins, zweimal zwei, sechsmal sieben, I do that in German. I do read in English, I do not read in German. I speak German better than I speak English but not better in certain registers, it stops and I have to

> do it in the other language. It's what took off when I was 14 and I'm a little bit better than a 14 year old. But I have this difficulty of not speaking either language as well as I could. That's why I'm a bit slow [CASE049 Lines: 4-26].
>
> I don't know, well, some things are easier expressed in English or they come out first for me, some words. We really, when we speak Schwäbisch too, we use English words and expressions and things like that [CASE033 Lines: 646-652].

Informal discussion during participant-observation and the content-analysis of the Templer Record and Templer archives indicated copious nostalgia publishing and translations of German Templer literature carried out by the one-and-a-halfers. They produced memoirs and life stories in English and German, heritage stories and picture collections from Palestine and internment camp life; translated into English many religious articles from the Tempelgesellschaft in Deutschland (Temple Society Germany); and translated into German the English language contributions written by younger Templers for the Templer Record. The one-and-a-halfers were prolific writers and translation artists.

By the time the second generation had children bilingual parenting was in vogue in Victoria (Döpke 1992). Members of the Australian-born generation made a more noticeable shift to English. They also displayed a considerable tendency for German language revival especially in the form of standard German although some still used dialect. Others struggled with maintaining a German speaking household due to lack of higher levels of German competence. Some typical comments were:

> I speak Schwäbisch *(Swabian).* I've always used Schwäbisch *(Swabian)* and I never use Hochdeutsch *(standard German).* Yes, we started that when they were little and of course (my daughter) got lots of German. She got the most out of all three but then as soon as she started kinder and then started to play with English speaking children, slowly she started to play in English and with her it happened sooner than with other families who have both parents speaking German to them

because she'd already got half the English from *(my Australian husband).* [CASE018 Lines: 951-966].

I have made a real effort to speak German. We did when *(my son)* was little, Schwäbisch *(Swabian)* and he could speak Schwäbisch quite well until kinder days and then it sort of... the kids have had this almost resentment. They would not. It was like a, a resistance. The more you said come on we'll talk, the less they would answer you so we just gave it a miss. And now *(my son)* is starting to come back. He's quite happy to say a few things and I try but...basically English, but with a desperate attempt to get there [CASE034 Lines: 502-517].

Other families intentionally tried to speak standard German and not dialect or English at home. Consequently many of their children have a good passive knowledge of German where they at least understand the language. A typical comment about home language use was:

They (our children) understand a lot more than what they speak. Even (my daughter) understands a lot more than what she speaks. And she probably speaks the best [CASE018 Lines: 985-989].

At times the Swabian language was maintained with comfort, ease and humour by the second generation for example in the Templer Record No 577 September 1996 a Swabian cultural afternoon was listed as follows by an Australian-born Templer:

Schwäbischer Nachmittag

Einladung vom Chor und d'r Gemeinde Bentleigh
Vergesset net dass m'r eich am 19 Oktober zum Konzert und Essa erwartet. Es wär arg schee, wenn m'r viele Leit begriessa kennet.
F'r diejenige, die in Beyswoder wohnet und lieba net im eigna Audo komma kennet/wellet, wird's an Bus gäba. Bitte saget's glei bei d'r Anmeldung. Bis dann wisse m'r villeicht was es koschdet.
Was: Schwäbisches Konzertle, Essa, Beisammasei am Sampschtag, d'n 19 Oktober von 4.00-7.00 Uhr in d'r Bentleigh Halle

Wieviel: $10 pro Person (a Lodderie gibt's au)

Zum mitbringe: Getränke, Humor und viele Freunde

Ade-le

P.S. Yes the Swabian culture is coming alive… Understanding 'schwäbisch' is not a prerequisite; there will be explanations in English.

(Swabian afternoon

Invitation from the choir and the Bentleigh Community

Don't forget that we are expecting you on 19th October at a concert and refreshments. It would be very nice if we could welcome a lot of people.

For those who live in Bayswater and would rather not come by car there'll be a bus. Please let us know when you book. By then we'll know what the cost will be.

What: Swabian concert, food, togetherness on Saturday 19th October from 4'00-7.00pm in the Bentleigh hall.

How much: $10 per person (there'll be a lottery too)

BYO: drinks, good humour and lots of friends

bye)

All of the participants were bilingual or multilingual to some extent. There are many personal and societal advantages to multilingualism. It is now known that knowledge of two or more languages promotes cognitive development, academic performance and more rounded thinkers in step with a global economy (Clyne 2005a; Portes and Rumbaud 2001; Parry 2006). It was noted during informal discussion and participant-observation that the remarkably rich multilingual background amongst Templers was undervalued, played down or at best ignored by many Templers. Common languages known by the first generation were English, German, French and Arabic. However participants reported the last three as dormant languages because they no longer needed them. Other languages that people had learned overseas, in internment or at school in Australia were Russian, Greek, Spanish, Turkish, Latin, Japanese, Italian, Swedish and Indonesian. That languages are lost when they are not supported by regular use is demonstrated by the following comments:

> Französisch habe ich sehr gut können aber weil man es überhapt nicht getan hat....ich könnte dir heute noch Gedichte sagen, die wir gelernt haben aber so...wenn ich einen Satz bilden will in meinem Kopf, dann muss ich mich ganz lang besinnen, gel [CASE015 Lines: 502-509]. *(I used to know French well but because you never use it...I could still recite poems for you that I learnt, but if I want to form a sentence in my head then I have to think about it for a long time, you know.)*
>
> Ich konnte Arabisch. Ich konnte Französisch und habe Russisch gelernt. Ja, aber vergessen [CASE047 Lines: 635-639]. *(I knew Arabic. I knew French and learnt Russian. Yes but I've forgotten.)*
>
> And I used to know a little bit of Arabic, but that's not practical and I lost that when I came here. That's no more use [CASE033 Lines: 703-707].

Community language use in the home is a good predictor of future language use and maintenance (Clyne 2003; May 2001; Fishman 1991). In addition many immigrants and their offspring only use their other languages outside the home (Clyne and Kipp 2002; Clyne 2003). The Templers speak German beyond the home on a regular basis. Many participants across the three generation groups reported that they regularly spoke their community language in the homes of parents, older relatives and at community functions. The first and one-and-a-half generation commented:

> But with my brothers and sisters, with them it was always German. It still is. It still is now [CASE028 Lines: 750-758].
>
> ...when our parents are around, especially with the grandparents we only speak German. We speak Schwäbisch, yes [CASE043 Lines: 1135-1140].
>
> If I ever meet even with (my younger niece) I tend to talk German and she talks Australian but if we're together for a family gathering we talk German. I would

never get away with talking Australian in (my older brother's) seine family gatherings... very strong German tendencies [CASE011 Lines: 570-578].

But my mum and dad speak German with them (their grandchildren) [CASE018 Lines: 969-971].

The second generation maintained:

And the residents in the Altersheim *(Templer Home for the Aged)* we will speak German to them. 'Hello how are you?' in English, then it's all happening in German [CASE018 Lines: 977-981].

I always talk German, Schwäbisch with them (my mum and dad) [CASE034 Lines: 520-522].

The definition of a 'bilingual community' (Dalby 2002:xi) is one in which two languages are used adequately or well in daily life, even if not by all the people in the community. According to the majority of interview responses by participants, the Temple Society remains a bilingual community despite some indication of language shift to English by the second generation. Despite some concern amongst older Templers that the German language is diminishing, the Templer Society retains a strong trend of German language transmission which is further explored in the next section.

The dilemma of German language transmission

Language shift is often a one-way process as speakers of one language switch to another to meet their current needs (Dalby 2002; Clyne 2003), especially if there is no possibility of renewal through further immigration. For many post-war European groups their home use of languages such as German is declining (Clyne and Kipp 2002; Jupp 2003; Clyne 2003).

The oldest age group in an immigrant group maintains its language the longest. For example a high percentage of home users of German are aged 55 and over (Kipp and

Clyne 2002). The attitudes and efforts of the first immigrant generation play a major role in the transmission of the community language to subsequent generations. The results of an attitudinal exploration on the importance of teaching German to Templer children in Australia are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5. 3 Number of positive comments about children, grandchildren who studied German

Generation of Templers	Via Templer German School	Via mainstream schooling	Structured tuition in the home	Via tertiary education	Total
Generation1	11	7	2	6	26
Generation 1 ½	14	7	1	1	23
Generation 2	7	7		1	15

Table 5.3 indicates that overall German in the home was systematically supported by a schooling infrastructure in the Templer Society. The first generation made more use of the Templer Community Language School (n=11) than the mainstream school system (n=7) because German language tuition was not widely available in the early years. One person recalled

> (My son) wanted to do it in which course or diploma year I forgot, and it didn't fit. He had to listen to radio, we had no tapes that he had to listen to and he couldn't leave his studies in school... at the tech. So he had to give up. You had to pay to enrol to do it. It was really sad [CASE004 Lines: 858-866].

> Nein... es gab nur die Templer deutsche Schule... die haben kein Deutsch gehabt hier [CASE020 Lines: 828-830]. *(No they only had the Templer School, there was no German taught here).*

> It wasn't then a school for the Templers when they went to school. But my niece was taking her two children to Box Hill always to German lessons and they speak very nicely German and they write German too [CASE032 Lines: 379-385].

Some attempted home schooling of their children for German:

> She learned the German completely with me, twice a week. And I... even from the experience of my life she is still able to recite German poems because it sticks. I learned from German school in Jerusalem. What I did, singing for example with the teacher, be it French or English, that still sticks. So I told her you learn lieber *(better)* German poems from German books from Schiller. She learned 'Der Taucher' *(The Diver)* and so on [CASE006 Lines: 541-554].

Table 5.3 indicates that the first (n=11) and one-and-a-half generation (n=14) made a concerted effort to support the German language transmission via the two Templer German Schools in the eastern Melbourne suburbs of Bentleigh, Boronia and Bayswater. The largest group that reported they studied tertiary German consisted of the offspring of the first generation. They were the one-and-a-halfers who studied German for many years in internment and then went on to tertiary study on coming out.

The archive analysis of Templer documents written in the 1950s contains an article written about 'Die Englische Sprache' *(The English Language)* in the 'Jugendgruppe' *(Younger Set)* section of the Rundschreiben No. 107 May 1957 pages 4-5. It reveals a community concern about language shift to English. The Jugendgruppe represented the one-and-a-half generation. The following extracts highlight some of the issues and concerns faced by the community during their early settlement years:

> 'Wie wird die Templegesellschaft in Australien weiter leben ohne die deutsche Sprache?' *(How will the Temple Society be able to live on in Australia without the German language?)*

and

> 'Sie (die ältere Generation) haben deutlich erkannt, dass es bisher die Muttersprache war, die die Gemeinden durch alle Nöte in Süd Russland,

> Palästina, Heluan, Tatura, ja noch in Boronia, Bayswater und Bentleigh lebendig erhalten hat.'*(They, the older generation, clearly recognised that it was their mother tongue that kept alive the communities through all dire circumstances in southern Russia, Palestine, Helouan (internment in Egypt), Tatura, and even in Boronia, Bayswater and Bentleigh.)*

The article expresses the sentiment that German language loss would render the Community "kulturlos" *(without a culture).* It suggests as a solution to the dilemma:

> 'Können wir nicht auf English deutsch sein? Ist dies denn denkbar? Gibt es diesen dritten Weg?' *(Can't we be German in English? Is this at all conceivable? Is there such a third way?)*

Many second generation participants reported that they preferred their children to learn German either at the Templer School or in mainstream schools. Overall the total number of young Templers studying German apparently decreased. Reasons given by participants for not attending the Templer German School were distance, living in the country and trying to fit in with Australians. A changing trend across the generations was a stronger reliance on the mainstream education system for German language tuition. Some comments about children and grandchildren were:

> Mir tät's auch gefallen, wenn sie Deutsch könnten, aber wie gesagt, wenn sie bloß australische Freunde haben und kaum hier herkommen und so. Man sagt langsam Englisch. Ich meine es ist schade aber...[CASE015 Lines: 546-552]. *(I would love it if they knew German but they say that they only have Australian friends and hardly come around here and so on. Gradually you talk English. I think it's a pity.)*

> I reckon the best thing from what I've seen so far recently in terms of learning another language is teaching in Primary Schools ...and I think that's a good place. In a Primary School where kids are very open and they are very receptive. They can actually pick up a language and get an interest there and actually get the grass roots going from there [CASE017 Lines: 351-362].

Table 5.3 indicates a decrease across the generations in children going on to study German at higher levels. Participants indicated the reasons for not going on to study German at tertiary levels were because at the time Asian languages were the main ones available at school and they went on to study Japanese and Indonesian in their higher studies.

However the majority of the Templers interviewed said that German maintenance by children and grandchildren was important for the following reasons:

- to keep up with their heritage and culture
- knowing another language is good because all languages are important
- having a German background makes it an easier language to learn
- career prospects are enhanced
- they were likely to travel to Germany to visit relatives or work
- to talk to older relatives and those in Germany

Templer "Saturday Schools" in Bayswater and Bentleigh played a significant role in the German language maintenance of the Australian born generation. In the beginning during the assimilationist thinking era the schools consistently kept a low profile and commanded little respect even from policy makers, educators and academics (Tisdell 1995, 1998). With no government support, language materials or curriculum guidelines, the Templers drew on their pre-migration experience and contacts in Germany for the supply of suitable books. They were forced to make difficult decisions about how much or how little language and culture should be included in the curriculum. One woman described her concerns about reducing the German culture component of the curriculum in order to lighten the load on the students. She signalled a change from the way things were in the old country:

> Der Herr X hat Deutschstunden gegeben. Den habe ich auch teilweise mit Büchern versorgt und ein bisschen geholfen. Und mit dem Herrn Y habe ich mich verrechnet, weil der gemeint hat, unsere Kinder, wo am Samstag zwei Stunden Deutsch haben, die sollten auch viel deutsche Kultur lernen, aber dann habe ich

> gesagt, Herr Y das geht doch nicht, wenn die Kinder fünf Tage in die englische Schule gehen und dann sollen sie in den zwei Stunden so viel lernen, wie Sie in Haifa in der deutschen Schule gelernt haben [CASE002 Lines: 70-84].
> *(Mr X gave German tuition. I helped him a bit and supplied him with books. And I was disappointed with Mr Y because he thought our children should also learn much German culture in just two hour Saturday lessons. Then I said Mr Y that's not possible if the children spend five days in their English school and then they have to learn as much in those two hours as you have learnt in the German School in Haifa).*

It was not until the advent of multiculturalism that they were accredited with and financially supported by the Victorian Department of Education and Training to carry out partnership and network activities with other schools (Bouzo and Frank 2000). Informal discussion with participants who attended during German classes during the 1960s had a well-developed passive knowledge of German but experienced feelings of embarrassment and inadequacy in German language communication in areas beyond the domestic home-talk. This is possibly the effect of assimilationist thinking that undervalued multilingualism.

In relation to post-war immigrants Clyne (2003) points out that intergenerational language shift is higher in the second immigrant generation than in the first. In contrats to this many Templers expressed attitudes in favour of German retention. An analysis of the importance people placed on the need for younger generations to learn German showed that all members of the first generation felt it was very important for their children to learn German. In the one-and-a-half generation all but four felt it was an advantage or important for their children and grandchildren to learn German. All members of the second generation were quite confident and upfront about consistently saying German was a definite advantage. They all made an effort to ensure their children learnt at least some German. This reinforces the notion that linguistic diversity matters to 'world kids' (Lo Bianco 2005:1) of the twenty-first century.

Out-marriage, or marrying outside the community language group, has occurred at a high rate amongst German-speaking communities in Australia (Clyne 2003) except amongst German-speaking Templers (Clyne 1991). Out-marriage brings more English into the home. Seven of the participants across the three generations had married non-German speakers. Others mentioned spending time with Australian in-laws as a result of their children marrying out. Considering the strong German-English bilingual presence in the Templer community, the impact of bilingualism on out-marriage partners was analysed. The Table 5.4 illustrates a distinct shift in attitudes away from the need for the German language.

Table 5. 4 Responses to the question: Should marriage partners learn German?

Generation of Templers	Yes they should	No they shouldn't
Generation 1	10	5
Generation 1 ½	9	13
Generation 2	2	9

Most the older first (n=10) and many of the one-and-a-half generation (n=9) felt it was important for new marriage partners who have contact with Templer families to learn German. Most of the one-and-a-half generation (n=13) and the second generation (n=9) felt it was no longer important for non-Templer marriage partners to learn German. A range of positive and negative sentiments were expressed. Those who felt new members and friends should learn German said it would:

- be a good idea
- be highly desirable
- be nice
- help to break a few barriers
- be an advantage for the oldies
- be an advantage for the next generation to know German
- help people fit in
- give the partner a window into the other culture by knowing German

Even though they said yes they felt realistically it might not happen and that you could not make them learn German.

Those who felt it was not mandatory for new partners and friends to learn German pointed out:

- it used to be important after internment but it was no longer important
- it would be nice but it was not important; not nowadays
- language is not important at all, the religious side is the important thing
- it's a very personal thing; it's up to the person; it depends on what interest they have
- I don't think it should ever be thought to be compulsory; I don't think anybody should be forced
- it really doesn't matter; it makes no difference; it's irrelevant
- it's a hard thing to do. You can't just learn German

Generally people said they did not want to force the issue but were delighted if it happened. Some younger members summed it all up:

> I don't think it's important because everything now the Templers have almost completely changed over to English. It's only for the sake of the old ones that they still practised the German, German service and things like that and even funerals and weddings and all that [CASE028 Lines: 292-300].

> Well I have to say, I don't think it should ever be thought to be compulsory, but I think it would be a lovely thing if they want to do it. I just think it's a lovely thing and I always say oh good on you that's nice, but I don't think it should be essential, and I don't think they should feel bad about it if they don't [CASE010 Lines93-103].

In contrast to these attitudinal replies against learning German an analysis of what actually happened showed that most new partners actually learnt German either by making a concerted effort via tuition or just by mixing socially with Templer families. This could be seen as reverse assimilation of Australians to Templers. Typical comments were:

> It would help them to know some German to break down a few barriers. If they look specifically at my sister's marriage to X, he doesn't feel threatened any longer talking German because he has... he did learn German at school and he has a smattering and sort of, he's got a rough idea of what we're talking about. So I think he's, he's actually assimilated very well, I think, as long as we don't go overboard [CASE025 Lines: 73-87].
>
> ... well there's X's wife. He has made an effort to learn some German to talk to the in-laws [CASE042 Lines: 123-131].
>
> X hasn't learnt German. He actually... very early in our marriage wasn't going to learn German, didn't know how to speak the language, wasn't interested and my grandmother was the absolute opposite, and couldn't speak English... can't speak English, too old for it, all the reasons. The pair of them used to sit next to each other at dinner, and one would speak German and the other spoke English and they communicated beautifully. So X sort of got it, that he'd pick it up. There's a lot of common words and he just picks up the thread of the conversation to the point where when the arguments we were explaining he already understood anyway....I know my cousin's wife's exactly the same, and she did a bit more at German school but she too, I could be wrong. But she too... you don't have to translate all the time for her either [CASE045 Lines: 106-134].

Clyne (2003) considers language use in the home as a good predictor of future language use and maintenance based on the notion that if a language is not transmitted in the home it is not likely to survive another generation (Clyne 2003; May 2001; Fishman 1991). The Temple Society provides opportunities for language use beyond the home, at community functions, in joint committee meetings with other German-speaking ethno-specific groups, with overseas visitors by hosting exchange scheme candidates and for young people to be hosted to go to Germany to study the language. In this way opportunities exist for language revival beyond the home. Some of these conditions form an

ethnolinguistic vitality that could lead to some degree of bilingualism retention in the Temple Society rather than a diminishing use of German.

Varying competencies in spoken and written language can impact on the transmission of religious and cultural traditions in immigrant communities.

Core values of language and religion

Linguistic and cultural heritage are closely intertwined with religion in ethnic communities (Ata 1990). Every culture has certain core values that 'represent its heartland and act as identifying values for its members' (Smolicz 2001:770). Language is most effective as a core value when it is linked with other core elements such religion and historical consciousness (Clyne 2003; Smolicz 2001). Language strength or vibrancy is more likely to be maintained when the community language is used across different domains such as in the home, at social events as well as in religious sermons, hymns and prayer.

Because the Temple Society is first and foremost a religious organisation an in-depth analysis of the intersection between religion and language is warranted. The TSA is described in most of the Australian sociology literature as a small independent Christian society that grew out of the Pietistic movement within the Lutheran Church in the State of Württemberg in Southern Germany in the middle of the 19th century (Sauer 1991: Ruff 1990; Clyne 1991; Kaplan 1988).

During the reform years of Christianity in nineteenth century Europe, when the Templers broke away from the mainstream Church in Germany, they simplified congregational meetings on Sundays by eliminating traditional sacraments and included only what they considered was absolutely necessary to nurture the spiritual bond between people (Sauer 1991). These included three aspects of spirituality which formed the basis for the Templer Saal (Hoffmann 1875 translated 1996):

- communal hymn singing (as introduced during the Reformation)
- publicly spoken prayer

- reading of a text from Holy Scripture

Templers commonly referred to part of their divine worship or the religious sermon delivered by a lay Elder as 'Saal' (Hoffmann 1970 in Lange 1996:213 and 216), a term that dated back to the origins of the religious society in the Swabian Pietist movement. Pietism was a movement where lay people met in a Saal *(hall)* to read and interpret the Bible scriptures rather than follow the official Church interpretation (Fullbrook 1983).

In this case study an examination of what happened at religious functions in the Temple Society Australia revealed that generally Templers sacrificed German language maintenance in preference to the transmission of religious knowledge.

In relation to the bilingual approach used in the Templer Saal, Fernando's (1985:391) comprehensive study of the Templers in Australia stated 'the dual linguistic factor is a transitional and problematic one in terms of both culture and generation.' She predicted that with the passing of time and the older generation, the religious service 'may eventually be only in English.' An analysis of language use in the religious domain based on participant observation revealed increasing use of English in religious sermons. A bilingual approach in the delivery of religious sermons was evident in the 1990s where one section was spoken by an elder in German and then, rather than provide a translation, the ideas presented were further developed in English. The intention was to provide something for everyone in terms of reaching both the elderly German-speakers and the younger English speakers.

In the 2000s another change took place based on venue. English sermons were presented at the main Saals delivered in the Templer Community Centres and newly built chapel and German Saals were presented in the Templer Home for the Aged. Nevertheless Templer attitudes to language use in the religious domain, based on what happened in the late 1990s, provided a valuable insight during interviews (see Table 5.5). According to Table 5.9 in relation to the Australian-born generation, more than half of their comments

indicated that they preferred German or the language used didn't matter, even though considerable language shift to English had taken place.

Table 5. 5 Number of comments on the use of German and English in Saal

Generation Of Templers	Understand English better	Understand German better	Makes no difference which language	Prefer English	Prefer German	Problems with German
Generation 1		4	18		4	
Generation 1 ½	1	9	27	1	5	
Generation 2	10		8		3	4
Total	11	13	125	1	11	4

A favourable attitude towards bilingualism was displayed in Table 5.5 which illustrated that the majority of comments (n=125) indicated comfort with both German and English as it made no difference to participants. Typical comments were:

> I think you don't realise it any more [CASE004 Lines: 155-157].
>
> Yes, yes. No problem [CASE012 Lines: 89-90]
>
> It doesn't bother me at all [CASE046 Lines: 203-204].

Older women sometimes struggled more with English in religious functions than men of the same generation who often had more exposure to the language in general during their working years. Some female members of the first generation struggled with English comprehension at Saal:

> Ich verstehe manche von den englischen Ausdrücken nicht, was sie schwätzen [CASE004 Lines: 164-167]. *(I don't understand some of those English expressions of what they talk).*

> I don't mind at all. Also, wenn dann bei mir andere sagen, heute habe ich wieder nichts verstanden oder bloss die Hälfte verstanden, das kommt drauf an wer spricht. Wenn man nicht ganz deutlich spricht, dann kann es sein, dass ich auch viel nicht verstehe [CASE015 Lines: 105-113]. *(I don't mind at all. Well when others tell me they didn't understand anything again or just half of it that depends on who spoke. If they don't speak really clearly then I might not understand much either.)*
>
> Also ich mag bestimmt gern in den Saal gehen aber it's not easy when it's in English because of the age [CASE047 Lines: 236-240]. *(Well I certainly like going to Saal but it's not easy when it's in English because of the age.)*

A male, first generation participant summarised the shift to English in religious services across the generations. He commented that with English he had:

> ...gar keine worries. Das war für uns wo wir noch unsere Alten gehabt hatten, unsere Eltern wo wir jünger waren. Dann hat man natürlich deutschen Saal gehalten. Aber jetzt haben wir so viele englische oder australische Schwiegertöchter oder Söhne und so. Und dann hat man mehr Englisch gesprochen aber, ich meine wir kommen gut mit. Und die verstehen weniger und weniger (Deutsch) [CASE040 Lines: 101-112]. *(...no worries at all. That was for us when we still had our oldies, our parents when we were still younger. Then you naturally conducted Saal in German. But now we have so many English-speaking daughters and sons-in-law and so on. And then you speak more English, but I mean I keep up quite well. And they understand German less and less.)*

While some of the first and one-and-a-half generations preferred German (n=4+5=8) in Table 5.5, many of the second generation commented that they understood English better (n=10) and that they had definite problems with Saal in German (n=4). A possible explanation for this is provided in an exploration of the terminology or register of language used in the religious domain (Crystal 1992).

Use of words in language indicates thought processes and ways of thinking (Crystal 1992). A register is a subset of language used for a particular purpose (Crystal 1992) for example various branches or denominations of Christianity use a specific functional system of vocabulary, jargon and style of Bible-speak.

The Temple Society has a rich religious history that contains intellectual concepts of spirituality linked to their basic faith tenets. These can be incomprehensible or even off-putting when heard in another language resulting in German and English language difficulties in Saal across several generations. The transmission of Templer spiritual traditions to subsequent generations in Australia is complicated by two factors. Firstly the Templer concepts of faith, truth and spirit are embedded in language of their original founders in nineteenth century Germany. Secondly the absence of religious rites and rituals requires a stronger dependence on intellectual language. This notion is supported by the members of the one-and-a-half generation who viewed the Templer faith as an "intellectual challenge" which was diminished or "dumbed-down" across the generations (see Table 4.8).

Dumbing-down refers to the decline of intellectual standard based on lack of creative stimulation (Sontag 2002). Based on comments in interviews, a shift to the English language and a possible lack of early Templer education has led to a slight dumbing-down of religious polemics or discussion and of the intellectual spiritual development amongst Australian-born members, who preferred to focus on community activities (see Table 4.6). This observation does not refer in any way to the rich and extensive intellectual religious discussion that takes place in circles of Templer elders and which was clearly beyond the scope of this research.

In relation to the use of religious language, informal discussion with participants revealed that older members used to make an ideological distinction between Kirchler (mainstream church-goers) and Templers, supported by Eisler's (2001) research on Templers in historical Palestine. In addition one of the younger members of the second generation expressed concern with Templer religious-speak when interacting with

outsiders. A preference was raised for switching to expressions such as 'going to church' rather than 'to Saal' in order to be better understood by the mainstream Australians.

In order to shed more light on this aspect of Templer religious bilingual thinking, a linguistic analysis of commonly used faith-related expressions was conducted on the Templer Handbook (Lange 1995) translated from German to English in the mid 1990s. The finding was that the term 'church' had largely been eliminated from Templer literature (Glenk 2000; Lange 1996; Hoffmann 1875 translated 1996). In relation to the historic theological development of Templer spirituality, Table 5.6 listed words used to describe the institutional Christian church in nineteenth century Germany as opposed to the Templers people's church.

Table 5. 6 Religious descriptors used in Templer literature (Lange 1996)

Insitutionalised Christianity	**A people's reform group**
State Church; Catholic Church; Evangelic Church; Evangelic State Church; Protestant State Church of Württembberg;	A people's church that grew out of a Pietist community of brethren
German Evangelic Church	The Friends of Jerusalem (1859) The German Temple (1861)
Church goers	Templers; followers of Jesus (Lange 1996:213)
The Church	The Temple Society; the Templars; the Templers; Tempelgesellschaft; 'the spiritual Temple' (Lange 1996:171)
Kirchler	Templer
Pastor; preacher; priesthood	Elders

Further, in discussion of current religious activities in the Templer Society, 'Saal' (Lange 1996:213) was used to describe the traditional community Sunday religious meeting. Other labels used were 'worship service' (Glenk 2000:IIIa); 'divine worship,' 'divine service,' 'congregational meetings on Sundays and Holy days' (Hoffmann 1875/1996:46)

and 'presentation service' replaced the word 'baptism' (Lange 1999:212; Hoffmann 1996;34).

It took many years for some older people to get accustomed to language shift in religion. A one-and-a-halfer pointed out:

> Well twenty years ago I had difficulty, not difficulty, but some difficulty in fully grasping an English Saal let alone writing an English Saal, but I'm now at home in both languages. At times the English comes easier than the other [CASE001 Lines: 215-223]

During several visits to the Temple Society archives in Bentleigh it was evident that both the theological and historical literature from the mid 1800s onwards had been stored and preserved. Much of how the Temple Society developed its theological path was documented in German. In addition there were many German language up-to-date theological publications and subscriptions such as 'Die freien Christen' *(The liberal Christians)* that aligned with Templer religious thinking. Consequently intellectual development in religious thought was, to some extent, dependant on German language literacy. The declining German language competence in general and German literacy in particular amongst the younger generations, has limited the access to such knowledge. Oral transmission through stories at home, at heritage events, at religious services and via structured youth confirmation classes was the main form of gaining religious knowledge.

It is common for long-term immigrant groups to express concerns about the continuity of community structures they worked so hard to build up (Jupp 2003). Direct observation and discussion at TSA committee meetings and community events indicated that the one-and-a-half generation believed that a significant strategy for community sustainability was improved access to TSA literature which was largely in German. A subsequent examination of Templer archives revealed significant translations of Templer literature done by the one-and-a-half generation from the 1990s onwards to improve access to the historical and religious knowledge of the Templer Society in Australia. Such texts included:

- The Holy Land Called by Paul Sauer 367 pages translated into English 1991
- The Templer Handbook produced by the Tempelgesellschaft in Deutschland 246 pages translated into English 1996
- The Temple Society and its Settlements in the Holy Land by Christoph Hoffmann (original founder) 168 pages translated into English 1996
- Memories of Palestine: narratives about life in the Templer Communities 1869-1948, 544 pages translated in to English 2004

In all Christian denominations sermons, hymns and prayer express religious knowledge central to the communities of worshippers (Zwartz 2006b; Ruff 2000; Glenk 2000) and can also assist with language retention. A second generation person commented:

> When they say das Vater Unser *(the Lords Prayer)* ...I don't know whether you say it with them or not? I think I prefer it in German but there's less of a problem having it in English there... There's a less clear cut line than there is with a song [CASE025 Lines: 194-207]

In 1996 the Templer hymn book was consistently bilingual for all hymns. In 2000 the successively updated editions of the Templer Hymnbook were revised to include a mix of both German and English hymns to reflect 'the changing culture within our Templer communities' (Glenk 2000:IIIb) 'without lightly abandoning values which had stood the test of time' (Ruff 2000:Ia.). Participant observation at Templer Saals confirmed that hymns were regularly sung in the German language, even when the sermon was in English. Music and singing is a significant carrier of culture (Tomalin and Stempleski 1993; De Fazio 2005; Thanasoulas 2001). Most of the first and one-and-a-half generation participants said they preferred to sing the hymns in German. Of the second generation, all but two (CASES 45 and 48), who were married to Australians, preferred to sing religious songs in German. Typical comments about singing hymns were:

> Das tue ich immer in Deutsch, immer in Deutsch...Auch das Vater Unser bete ich auf Deutsch [CASE015 Lines: 119-126 Generation 1]. *(I always do that in German...I also say the Lord's Prayer in German).*

> Mit den Liedern sind wir aufgewachsen, nicht. Warum sollen wir nicht deutsch singen. Die meisten können wir auswendig. Auf Deutsch, guck ein Mal, wenn was übersetzt wird, kommt's nicht einmal ganz so heraus wie's deutsch ist [CASE040 Lines: 132-139 Generation 1]. *(We grew up with those hymns, didn't we. Why shouldn't we sing German. Look when something is translated it won't be quite as it is in German.)*

The use of German in hymn singing sometimes acts as symbolic marker of group solidarity and subliminal form of language retention. Even attempts at urging the congregation to sing in English failed:

> Well at confirmation they ask specially if they sing in English because the confirmants had learnt it in English...We had Confirmations where the whole congregation sang loudly in German and they said they are not singing the words we know so they didn't sing [CASE030 Lines: 198-207].

Responses from the second generation showed an increasing interest in German, again motivated partly by a reverse assimilation pressure or ethnolinguistic vitality and cultural vibrancy of the community (Giles et al. 1977:308 in Clyne 2003:55; Landweer 2000, 2001). A typical comment was:

> This is one opportunity where I can use the German and a lot of those hymns are German hymns to me. I've grown up knowing them in German so singing them in English....'Trachtet ruft' *(Templer hymn)* in English doesn't quite work. It can be quite difficult to sing in English really when other people are only singing in German [CASE041 Lines: 254-265].

Several second generation Australian-born women pointed out their children, representing the third generation, also sang in German

> By preference German...I sometimes (sing English) because (my husband) will sing in English, just to keep him in mind because he gets lost. But my preference and my children (born in the late 1970s) too prefer to sing the hymns in German[CASE045 Lines: 194-202].

Use of a community language was a strong marker of group solidarity and sometimes led to the development of specific forms of in-group terms and expressions.

Insider Templer talk

Language is more than communication. The way an immigrant community uses language has strong exclusion/inclusion implications and marks solidarity, ethnicity and friendship with other non-English-speaking relatives (Giampana 2001; Clyne 2003, 2005; Landweer 2000, 2001; Liebscher and Schulze 2004). It is not uncommon amongst immigrant groups for certain words and expressions to tighten their sense of 'we-ness' (Ports and Rumbaud 2001:113) and link them to their common historical past.

All interview participants exclusively used the familiar 'du' form of address even those who were not known by the researcher. In addition participant-observation noted that some members of the second generation had difficulties using the formal 'Sie' form of address when talking to Germans outside the Temple Society.

Informal discussion during participant observation and many quotes from interviews revealed a high degree of code switching amongst Templers in conversations in both Swabian and English, and some were written in the Templer Record in English texts. The following unique ethnolect expressions, including their 'Templer' meanings and origins were used mainly by the first generation when they spoke Swabian:

- Arabic fruits and vegetables such as *gusa/(*zucchini*), betenjan* (eggplant*), bateich* (watermelon*), mishmish* (apricots*), bandore* (tomatoes*), shamam* (cantaloupe*),* used in family homes by first generation Templers many of whom know the spoken Arabic language used in the German colonies in the Middle East (Fernando 1985) . Informal observation in this study noted that these terms were used mainly by the first generation when talking Swabian to each other and by subsequent generation when interacting with older relatives. They were also used by the second generation who were not born in Arabic-speaking Palestine. Non-birthright Templers who married into the Templer society or joined after

migration from Germany to Australia also used these expressions. This was evidence of strong ethnolinguistic vitality amongst Templers and group solidarity.

- *Raigschmeckdr* was an original Swabian term that was used to define a stranger, immigrant or any non-Swabian person living in Swabia. The Templers commonly used the term to refer to a non-birthright Templer within the TSA and thus highlighted differences and emphasised their own Templer identification, solidarity and belonging. The use of this term in the Germany Colonies in pre-war historic Palestine was a clear descriptor for a non-Templer or newcomer from a different region of Germany or Europe. The sense of living in a segregated or marginalised German colony as a Swabian diaspora group in historic Palestine, under the Ottomans and later British Mandate, made it a useful term of inclusion that enhanced group identification of the close-knit and closed community status of the Templers. In more recent times in Australia it tended to take on the meaning of a non-birthright Templer, where a birthright Templer was commonly understood to be a person who came from the German Colonies in Palestine and not necessarily from Swabia. It was used more recently to describe someone who joined as a new member in Australia, married into the community, or interacted with Templer on a regular basis. It has carried negative connotations of exclusion and alienation.

- *Kirchler vs. Templer* was used by the Palestine born cohort that arrived as adults and some who were interned as young children. It represented a form of religious identification to mark a distinction within similar religious groups namely between Templer Christians and other mainstream Christians known as Kirchler in German (church-goers). The function of these terms served to reinforce a distinctive form of Templer identification.

The following list of additional insider expressions was used across all generations even amongst similar age-group peers and was used when talking in English:

- *Saal* was used by all groups including non-birthright Australian Templers in the religious domain to indicate a religious service. It originates from the Temple Society founders' 'critical confrontation with the form and content of rituals practiced by the Church' in the nineteenth century (Lange 1995:214). It is an important solidarity and accumulated memory marker that links the Templers with their early nineteenth century southern German Pietist ancestors who commonly used the term to describe the location of de-institutionalised religious meetings for personal scripture interpretation, a practice considered reactionary at the times.
- *Kaffeesaal* described a Saal or religious service that included the provision of communal refreshments and fellowship after the sermon.
- *Kaffee und Kuchen* was used in English language conversations and written English articles in the Templer Record to describe refreshments (coffee and cake) provided in an invitation to a Templer home or at Templer community functions and usually consisted of authentic German home-baked cakes.
- Greetings e.g. *grüss Gottle (a* greeting*), adele* (goodbye) were expressions of Swabian origin commonly used amongst all Templers. A recent switch has occurred to *hallo* (pronounced with German intonation) and *tschüss* (goodbye) especially amongst the second generation Templers and those who arrived as children who had contact with present-day standard Germany.

These terms were mainly transmitted orally. Language retention and loss needs to be considered in relation to both the oral and literary traditions in a community. An in-depth analysis of language retention and shift in written textual form follows.

Nowadays I read more English

Review of the Templer archives indicated that the official monthly TSA publication, the Temple Record had been in circulation in loose leaf form from 1946 to June 1967 and from July 1967 in booklet form. Before that it was called the Rundschreiben, which had its origins as a single foolscap page whose copies were hand-typed with carbon-paper. A brief description of the historical origins indicated that the first issue was on 15th

November 1946, three months after the first Templer came out of camp. It was clearly an important organ for holding together the soon to be dispersed members of the Temple Society. An extract from the first issue follows:

"No1

Rundschreiben an alle unsere Mitglieder und Freunde!

November 1946

Nun ist es bald 3 Monate her, dass die Ersten von Euch das Lager verlassen haben. Wir sind bestrebt, Euch alle zusammenzuhalten and legen Wert darauf, dass Ihr mit uns hier und auch Ihr untereinander in Verbindung bleibt, so dass Kräfte zusammengehalten werden für spätere Aufgaben, die wir unsere Gesellschaft und unseren Angehörigen in Deutschland und Palästina hier vielleicht noch leisten müssen. Diese Verbindung und den Zusammenhalt aufrecht zu erhalten möge das Rundschreiben fördern. Deshalb gebt es denen, die in Euerer Nähe weilen oder die mit Euch zusammenkommen, weiter. Es würde zu viele Arbeit kosten, das Rundschreiben jedem Einzelnen zugehen zu lassen. Daher Smuss jeder auf diese Weise mithelfen."

(Circular to all our members and friends. November 1946.

It is almost 3 months since the first of you left the camp. We strive to keep you all together and place value on the fact that you remain in contact with us, so that all personnel remain together for future tasks that we may have to carry out for our society and members in Germany and Palestine. In order to maintain this bond I present you with this circular. Therefore pass it on to those near you or with whom you come in contact. It would be too much work to send the circular to each of you. Therefore each one of you needs to help with this.)

Content analysis of the archival materials revealed that early copies were more like a letter written in the familiar 'du' form of address e.g. Rundschreiben No 4 dated 12 March 1947 was signed off from the "Vertretung der Templegesellschaft in Australien" *(Representative of the Temple Society in Australia.)*, It was produced entirely in the German language and contained religious articles as well as information on community

affairs. Early issues included large sections about setting up committees and conducting administrative affairs. The first 100 copies contained a main article of a religious nature, a report from the Regional Council or a report about overseas compensation from the Central Fund. Later issues dealt more with community life and contained separate sections targeted at the elderly, youth, teenagers, young children and the occasional class reunion group especially for the one-and-a-halfers .The earliest evidence of intercultural competence in relation to German-Australian was demonstrated via bicultural articles in the Jugendgruppe *(younger set)* sections in the mid 1950s. The first English contribution in this section was in 1963.

The first full English language article, other than mere titles or place names, was a letter of condolence to young Queen Elizabeth II in Great Britain on the death of her father King George VI in 1952. Discussion with participants indicated the letter was a mark of respect by the Templers who had lived under British rule in Palestine during their pre-migration period to Australia.

Gradually from the 1960s onwards more English articles replaced the German ones in the Templer Record. By the issue of the Templer Record No 629 June 2001, apart from some religious articles, poems or a report of a social event held exclusively for the first generation Templers, the only consistent German texts were Altersheimnachrichten *(Aged Care News)*; reports from the Sydney and South Australian communities presented with English translations and birthdays of the older generation (see Templer Record No. 629 June 2001:15) for example:

> 'Members and Friends:
> Geburtstage *(birthdays)*
> Wir gratualieren herzlich zum Geburtstag unserer Mitglieder'
> *(We convey warm birthday congratulations to our members.)*

Other headings were listed in English: Births Marriages; New Members; New Addresses; and New Telephone Numbers, except for Trauerfälle (bereavements).

Two years later the Templer Record issue No 650 May 2003:14-15 listed the heading Bereavements in English only but included Danksagungen *(expression of thanks)* in German.

Some members of the first generation of participants welcomed the shift to English for the sake of retaining young people in the Temple Society. An official policy existed to publish both German and English texts in the circular in order to be effective for older and younger community members (CASE13 Lines 432-461). Varying competencies in spoken and written German were evident across the generations. The one-and-a-half generation translated religious articles from the sister community in Germany into English and local aged care news from English into German for publication in the Templer Record. The second generation depended on older Templers, often the former internees, to do translations. Some Australian-born participants pointed out:

> ...articles are always in German and English. My articles are always written in English and someone very kindly goes and translates them. Someone came up when I first started and said I didn't realise your German was so good. Your endings are right and everything. How do you..? So I said I send them off in English and X translates them. There's no way I could write it in German. It's one thing reading it or talking. Yes, it's but it's another thing composing in Hochdeutsch [CASE042 Lines: 273-305].

and

> I think it's very good because everything like about the Altersheim *(Home for the Aged)* is translated in English [CASE048 Lines: 331-334].

Based on the interviews, attitudes in Table 5.7 concerning language preferences indicates the persistence of loyalty to German.

Table 5. 7 Comments about language preference for written articles in the monthly circular Templer Record

Generation of Templers	Prefer written English	Prefer written German	It doesn't matter
Generation 1		4	15
Generation 1 ½	4	4	16
Generation 2	5	2	6

When questioned about which language they preferred to read in the Temple Record, participants generally said: no problems, no worries, it makes no difference. A one-and-a-halfer reported:

> Kein Unterschied. Was meinst du, dass ich manchmal nicht mal weiss ob ich's auf Deutsch oder auf Englsich gelesen habe [CASE040 Lines: 207-212].*(Imagine sometimes I don't even know if I've read it in German or English).*

In Table 5.7 a few members of the first generation (n=4) indicated that they preferred to read German but most of them (n=15) confirmed that it didn't matter which language was used. One man expressed his personal sacrifice for the sake of conversion to English. He expressed a typical attitude for his generation in relation to loss of religious knowledge by older participants due to language shift. He explained:

> I would love it in German. Ich hab's natürlich leichter...ich hab's lieber, wenn's in Deutsch kommen würde aber es kommt jetzt, im Laufe der Zeit wird es alles ja Englisch. Vielleicht noch zehn Jahre, dann findest du keine deutschen Niederschriften mehr in unserem Blättle. Das ist meine Ansicht. Meistens ist's so weit, dass wir's noch verstehen, was drin steht. Aber wenn einer einen höheren Vortrag haltet über irgend etwas, ein bisschen mehr Geistiges, dann versteht man's nicht so gut, wenn's in Englisch ist [CASE047 Lines: 366-383 deceased]. *(I would love it in German. Naturally it's easier for me...I prefer it in German but as time passes everything's just becoming English. Maybe in ten years you won't find any more German articles in our circular. That's my opinion. Generally we still understand what's in it. But if someone gives a more sophisticated*

presentation about something a bit more spiritual, then we don't understand it so well if it's in English.)

Several first generation women felt the shift to English was inevitable for the sake of the next generations:

> I mean I can see it has to go more to the English; otherwise they (younger ones) wouldn't take any notice [CASE004 Lines: 372-377 focus group of six].
> Das hätte schon früher sein sollen [CASE004 Lines: 380-381 focus group of six]. *(That should have happened earlier).*
> They lost quite a few because of that. Ich weiss von meinen Kindern. *(I know from my children)* [CASE004 Lines: 386-388 focus group of six].

Difficulties with the written language in the religious register were mentioned when recent German articles were received from the sister Templer community in Germany:

> I was thinking, this is for the older people who prefer to read German. Are they up to actually understanding these thought processes... I have the perception that German needs to be screened for not being too highfaluting, if it's targeted at the oldies [CASE013 Lines: 442-461].

Table 5.7 illustrated that the one-and-a-half generation made more comments (n=5) which indicated a definite preference for English, however the majority (n=16) indicated no particular language preference and that people were at ease with both written English and German. A younger one-and-a-halfer commented:

> Nowadays I read more English than German you know. It takes me three times as long to read the German, to understand it [CASE035 Lines: 301-306].

According to the second generation comments (n=5) in Table 5.7 more Australian-born people relied on English but considerable effort was required to hold on to information, decode it and avoid loss of knowledge across the two languages. Several young people pointed out:

> I struggle with the German. I will (just skip over the German articles) because it's much more concentration. I have to pick up the concentration I think to do that [CASE042 Lines: 267-272].

> I find that a lot of the written German is very demanding because I'm not in the flow of it anymore. Because it's not an everyday language to me anymore [CASE017 Lines: 629-637].

Language revival is about the effort to maintain the strength of ethnic languages from within a community. It has sometimes been connected with a community's attempts to reestablish its identity (Fishman 2001; Spolsky in Fishman 2001). There have been several accounts of ethnically motivated language revival movements in the twentieth century concerning Hebrew, Irish and New Zealand Maori languages (Spolsky in Fishman 2001). Evidence has also emerged of partial language revival activities amongst the Temple Society's younger members. According to Table 5.7 a few Australian-born Templers actually preferred German (n=2) while some others (n=6) had no particular preference for either language. The bilingual nature of the Templer Record played an important function in German language retention. It offered opportunities for Templers to practise their German. Insufficient data were available to establish significant trends of language revival amongst the Australian born however there certainly was an interest in keeping up their German language. Some second generation Templers actually preferred to read the German section of bilingually presented articles. Typical comments made by younger readers to support this notion were:

> I pick and choose which language I read. Sometimes I read the German and if I'm not quite sure what it means I look at the English just to check my own German [CASE045 Lines: 299-305].

Members of the one-and-a-half and second generations felt considerable concern about the effect of language shift on elderly people in the Community. One of the youngest women of the first generation commented:

> I feel sorry for the old ones because there is hardly anything left for them now. It's nearly everything in English [CASE030 Lines: 356-360].

A typical bilingual coping strategy was described by one first generation woman:

> I mean, say Altersheimnachrichten *(Aged Care News),* I read those in German. I don't read the English even though it's there. But say the editorial has, say, an explanation for a German poem or vice versa. I read both in that[CASE033 Lines: 276-286].

In relation to contact with other recent German immigrants or travel to Germany, there was also some evidence of culture lag. The Templers have maintained their ethnic language outside Germany for well over a century. Where language use was concerned, culture lag (Ogburn 2005) or 'fossilization' (Jupp 2003:8) of the community language distanced them from the present-day homeland or more recent German-speaking arrivals. Many participants reported that they still used words not common in Germany any more. Representative comments were:

> Often when we get a letter from Germany I say to (my husband) oh that's what they say. That's how they express... I mean how would we know all of that? How would we? [CASE014 Lines: 685-690].

> Or sometimes we're not up with the latest words. We stopped where we were, practically from my 19th year. I stopped in the German language and then you get a letter from Germany and people write something and I think, oh my goodness me I haven't heard that or that before [CASE044 Lines: 508-518].

There was a significant shift to the English language in the Templer Record but it still consistently contained German texts that supported German literacy comprehension. Most interview participants (n=68), with the exception of one elderly person, filled in Language Survey Sheets where they self-reported their Swabian, standard German and English proficiency, how often and where they used the languages. The surveys were

analysed in three distinct groups based on the three generational cohorts used throughout the study.

Tables 5.8; 5.9 and 5.10 indicates self-ascribed ability to speak and understand the Swabian dialect, standard German and English amongst participants.

Table 5. 8 Oracy: Self-reported language proficiency in Cohort 1 (n=21), first generation Templer immigrants

Speak and understand	Swabian	Standard German	English
Very well	18	19	11
Well	-	1	9
Some	1	-	-
None	1	-	-

According to Table 5.8 almost all (n=18) members of the total Cohort 1 (n=21) consisting of the first generation were equally fluent in dialect and standard German except for a few who were of non-German European background or non-Swabian. Just over half (n=11) coped 'very well' in English and just under half (n=9) spoke 'well'.

Table 5. 9 Oracy: Self-reported language proficiency in Cohort 2 (n=29), one-and-a-half generation Templer immigrants

Speak and understand	Swabian	Standard German	English
Very well	28	2	23
Well	-	5	6
Some	1	-	-

Table 5.9 indicates that the majority of the one-and-a-half generation spoke Swabian (n=28) and English (n=23) very well but only a few felt comfortable speaking standard German.

Table 5. 10 Oracy: Self-reported language proficiency in Cohort 3 (n=18), second generation Templer immigrants

Speak and understand	Swabian	Standard German	English
Very well	7	3	18
Well	6	7	-
Some	3	5	-
A few words	1	2	-

Table 5.10 indicated that English was the main language spoken by all members of the Cohort 3 (n=18), the second generation born in Australia, however almost all of them spoke Swabian or standard German.

Based on Table 5.9 cohort 2, the one-and-a-half generation was confidently bilingual but only 7 felt confident in speaking standard German well. Cleary they were fluent speakers of 'Schwäbisch' (*Swabian*), rather than 'Hochdeutsch' (*standard German.*) A few (n=6) of the older people in this group, who did not study in the Australian education system rated their English speaking ability as only 'well.'

The data presented in Table 5.10 indicated that most of the Cohort 3, second generation (n=17) rated themselves as bilingual to some extent, but there was some shift to English when compared with the first generation.

Whereas the majority of the first and one-and-a-half generations reported greater fluency in Swabian, there was a shift to standard German amongst the second generation. Interviews indicated that they spoke dialect at home and some formally studied the German language through their education to attain a higher level of proficiency. Some did not develop high levels of German literacy. The older members in this group went to school in the 1960s and 70s at a time when assimilation had a strong influence in the education system (Kalantzis in Hudson and Kane 2000), there were no languages other than English offered in schools; German was unpopular and ethnic Saturday schools were

no longer responsive to the needs of the Australian-born children of immigrants (Tisdell 1995). I believe the combination of these factors had a negative impact on young Templers' ability to develop their community languages to a higher level of proficiency.

A comparison of oracy and literacy shows a diminished ability in reading and writing German across the generations (see Tables 5.11; 5.12 and 5.13).

Table 5. 11 Literacy: Self-reported language proficiency in Cohort 1 (n=21), first generation Templer immigrants

Read and write	Standard German	English
Very well	18	10
Well	2	10
Some	-	-
A few words	-	-
None	-	-

According to Table 5.11 the majority of the first generation Templers (n=18) could read and write better in German than in English.

Table 5. 12 Literacy: Self-reported language proficiency in Cohort 2 (n=29), one-and-a-half generation Templer immigrants

Read and write	Standard German	English
Very well	23	20
Well	6	9
Some	-	-
A few words	-	-
None	-	-

Based on Table 5.12, the majority of the one-and-a-half generation were equally fluent in German (n=23) and English (n=20) literacy. Personal Data Surveys and interviews indicated that many of this generation underwent their schooling and further education in

both German and English. They actively undertook translation projects of Templer literature from German to English.

Table 5. 13 Literacy: Self-reported language proficiency in Cohort 3 (n=18), second generation Templer immigrants

Read and write	Standard German	English
Very well	3	18
Well	10	-
Some	2	-
A few words	2	-
None	1	-

All the second-generation participants in Table 5.12 had gone to school in Australia and were clearly literate in English (n=18). Just over half (n=10) reported their ability to read and write German as 'well' and a few (n=3) rated it as 'very well'. Interviews indicated that the reason for some degree of German literacy maintenance in the Australian born generation was their attendance at the Templer German Schools.

Overall there was a shift from German to English across the three generations. Crystal (1992) stated that bilingualism in communities was always changing either spontaneously or because of government pressure. Informal discussions with the older members of the second generation who went to school during the 1950s and 60s expressed regret that at the time German was unpopular, unavailable and limited their ability to develop their community language to a higher degree of proficiency.

Table 5. 14 Lifestyle domains and preferred language use of Cohort 1 (n=21), the first generation Templer immigrants

Domain where used	Swabian	Standard German	English
At home/with family	18	5	4
At work	1	6	14
At Templer religious events (Saal)	7	13	5
Socialising with Templers	19	4	3

Preferred language use in the first generation of Tempers, according Table 5.14, occurred in three language domains. They preferred to use Swabian in the home and with friends, standard German for religious functions and English at work.

Table 5. 15 Lifestyle domains and preferred language use of Cohort 2 (n=29), the one-and-a-half generation of Templer immigrants

Domain where used	Swabian	Standard German	English
At home/with family	25	3	13
At work	4	5	22
At Templer religious events (Saal)	3	20	19
Socialising with Templers	24	8	12

Table 5.15 illustrates a greater shift to the preference of English in the home, with Templer friends and at religious functions. Nevertheless the Swabian dialect was the preferred option for socialising with family and friends.

Table 5. 16 Lifestyle domains and preferred language use of Cohort 3 (n=18), the second generation of Templer immigrants

Domain where used	Swabian	Standard German	English
At home/with family	7	3	18
At work	-	6	18
At Templer religious events (Saal)	1	2	18
Socialising with Templers	12	3	16

Based on the Language Survey results participants in all three cohorts (see Tables 5.14; 5.15 and 5.16) reported that Swabian was the main language used amongst Templers at home, with family and when socialising with other Templers beyond the home. Tables 5.16 indicated that the Australian-born second generation used slightly more English (n=16) in socialising with other Templers than Swabian (n=12).

According to Tables 5.14 and 5.15 the many overseas-born participants used German, dialect and standard, in work situations. Informal discussion, supported by occupation data in the Personal Data Surveys, revealed that many of these were women who worked in Templer-owned or run businesses and food production factories. Table 5.16 and personal discussion showed that a third of the Australian-born Templers (n= 6, 33 percent) used German at work in the education sector of language teaching and tuition.

A high level of active bilingualism occurred in the Temple Society. Based on the Language Survey results presented in Table 5.17, all generations of Templers used German and English 'regularly' or 'sometimes' except for a few in the second generation.

Table 5. 17 Self-ascribed actual language use and frequency three generations of Templer immigrants

Cohort/Generation of Templer immigrants	Self-reported frequency of language use	Swabian	Standard German	English
Cohort 1 (n=21) First generation	**Regularly**	28	20	26
	Sometimes	-	8	3
	Hardly ever	-	1	-
	I used to	-	-	-
Cohort 2 (n=29) One-and-a-half generation	**Regularly**	28	20	26
	Sometimes	-	8	3
	Hardly ever	-	1	-
	I used to	-	-	-
Cohort 3 (n=18) Second generation	**Regularly**	9	6	18
	Sometimes	6	7	-
	Hardly ever	3	3	-
	I used to	1	1	-

Table 5.17 illustrated that only half of the second generation (n=9) actually used Swabian regularly but a third of them (n=6) used it sometimes, particularly in the company of older relatives, according to interviews. Most of those who used standard German said they did so in work situations, in particular German language teaching.

It is rare to find a community where bilingualism is stable or balanced (Crystal 1992). Some shift to English has occurred amongst Templers in the second generation but the high ethnolinguistic vibrancy suggests that the TSA is far from being a monolingual community.

Conclusion

The impact of language retention, transmission and shift on Templer adaptation resulted in two coping strategies, namely thinking about ethnicity and bilingual thinking. In terms of ethnicity thinking, the Templers had difficultly maintaining their German ethnic identity with comfort and ease during their early years of settlement in Australia. The result was a community characterised by its quietness and low public profile. The ethnolinguistic vitality and strength in the Temple Society was camouflaged to the point of invisibility. Many Templers were apologetic and self-conscious about their German background. They experienced a loyalty dilemma towards language and culture retention on the one hand and religious core value maintenance on the other. Members of the first immigration generation who lived as adults overseas found their ethnic identity was considered unwanted cultural baggage in Australia and became the quiet generation. In private they felt positive and proud of their German background. Most of them remained German at heart, became well-behaved guests on foreign soil and eventually felt at home in Australia.

For the one-and-a-half generation, who was born overseas and grew up in Australia, adaptation took on a balancing act of being German in Australia. They tried to find a third way to 'remain German in English'. They had strong loyalties to their German roots and were also content to be Australian citizens.

The second generation of Australian-born Templers experienced another dilemma. Their feelings of discomfort about their German identity were compounded by the belief that their Templer faith and German ethnicity were inseparable. If one could not be expressed publicly in the mainstream then the other needed to remain on the periphery of society.

The first generation was multilingual on arrival in Australia with some knowledge of English. They were convinced of the value of retaining their community language despite a strong monolingual push in Australia. That generation worked hard at transmitting both Swabian and standard German to the next generation via Templer community language schools and in the home. The older generation moved more in German-speaking ethnolinguistic social networks. The daily language use was largely the southern German Swabian dialect.

The one-and-a-half generation had high levels of English and German proficiency because many of them underwent schooling and further education in both languages. They became the generation of translation artists, the masters of nostalgia writing and publication. They tried to preserve religious knowledge in the Community through prolific translation of Templer religious and historic literature into English.

Efforts by the older generations to preserve the religious thought amongst younger members was affected by a shift away from German and limited access to theological resources. This was because transmission depended on oral language for several decades, the decline of German-English biliteracy amongst the Australian-born generation, and a general shift to English. Younger members related more to the Temple Society as a social community and less as a faith community.

The status of the Temple Society as a bilingual community has remained hidden and undervalued according to government census predictors which only took into account the language other than English spoken in the home. The Temple Society is a good example of an immigrant community where the German language and Swabian dialect is maintained beyond the home through regular contact with elderly relatives, at community

functions via some religious activities such as hymn singing, and at Templer community language schools.

Bilingualism was evident amongst all three generations in the study. There was some indication of language shift to English amongst the Australian-born generation and a slight diminishing of German literacy. All members of the second generation in the study spoke or understood German but read better in English. Their community languages oracy was maintained by regular Swabian socialising patterns in the Templer community and beyond the home. The evidence suggested that the language shift to English was influenced by two factors. The first was the government assimilation policy that emphasised monolingualism. The second was a difficult transition phase in Saturday Community Languages Schools when the target group changed from immigrant students to Australian-born children and the teaching approaches were no longer responsive to their needs.

Renewed interest in learning German emerged amongst the younger members of the second generation and their offspring as a result of positive recognition of differences through multicultural policies. They focused on standard German which facilitated a shift away from the Swabian dialect. Many second generation Templers made career choices involving their community language. This represented the valuable human capital resources of children born to immigrant parents in the German language education sector of the Australian economy.

A unique form of insider talk and code switching has facilitated German language retention and group solidarity. Exogamy or out-marriage was usually considered a good indicator of language shift to English, however the majority of those who married into the Templer Society eventually learnt German due to its ethnolinguistic vibrancy and therefore helped facilitate language retention.

For the Templers the dilemma existed between confidently claiming their place as a German-speaking community and presenting themselves as a fully English-speaking,

religious society. Templers had to overcome a large number of difficulties to maintain their community language. These included geographic dispersal, a mainstream monolingual mindset, undervaluing of European languages and competition with internal religious transmission which encouraged a shift to English. They have maintained several community language German schools for over 50 years, one of them being the longest continually running German language school in Australia, and extensive German ethno-specific aged care facilities. Whilst assimilationist thinking certainly had a negative impact on German language maintenance, the Temple Society retained a sufficient ethnolinguistic vitality to be labeled a bilingual community.

Fishman (2001:160) stated that 'intraculturally' amongst 'insiders' the language and ethnicity link was generally experienced positively within the group's collective consciousness. This notion was largely demonstrated by Templer attitudes in this chapter. Furthermore, the emergence of a distinctive Templer ethnicity revealed multiple identities which included German, Australian and religious facets. These will be examined further in the next section in the context of increased transnational movements and communication in immigrant communities.

Chapter 6

Identity formation, adaptation and community strength

Introduction

The previous chapter deals with Templer attitudes towards their ethnicity and multilingualism. In this chapter issues relating to identity formation, adaptation across time and space and the development of community strength in the Temple Society are explored. Ethnicity and bilingual thinking are incorporated into a multi-dimensional process of self-identification.

Migration to a new country involves a migration of identity. It involves leaving part of one's life behind to make a new life for oneself in a different place. So far six ways of thinking about adaptation and immigrant settlement have been explored: assimilationist thinking, re-establishment thinking, idealised thinking, religious thinking, ethnicity thinking and bilingual thinking. A subsequent three ways of adaptation thinking arose out of the interviews, participant-observations, field notes and Templer archival content analysis, and tell the stories about the emerging Templer identity. These are diaspora thinking, transnational thinking and community building thinking.

The findings in this third section in the analysis trilogy of chapters, address the third research question:
How does identity formation among Templers affect community strength, sustainability and new localised emerging forms?

This chapter is organised into three parts. The first examines the effects of the itinerant immigration history on the Templers in terms of multiple loyalties to many homelands and as diaspora immigrants. The second section defines the characteristics that shape the Temple Society as a transnational community. In the third section the process of community building is discussed in relation to concerns about handing over responsibility for community management to the second generation, membership replenishment; emerging forms of diversity in the Community and the steps to sustainability.

Issues related to ethnicity thinking amongst the Templers were analysed in chapter five and revealed dual Australian and German loyalties. The link between language, ethnicity and identity is often wrapped in kinship, responsibility to one's people, and emotional ties to one's heritage and 'beloved language' (Fishman 2001:160). The participants' loyalties to places of origin are explored in the following section.

Diaspora thinking

In the twenty-first century diaspora has made a dynamic comeback in debates about ethnicity, nationality and identity (Georgiou 2001). Diaspora has assisted in understanding migration and post-migration, re-territorialism and people's multiple sense of belonging and loyalties beyond national boundaries (Georgiou 2001). The term 'diaspora' whilst meaning 'dispersed person' (Mosely et al 1997:62), is frequently used in connection with the notion of homeland and an imagined desire to return. It implies a decentralized relation to ethnicity between scattered people who sustain a sense of community through various forms of transnational networks, communication and contact without necessarily relying on returning to their distant homeland (Peters 1999 in Georgiou 2001).

A diaspora from Germany created by early migration dates back several hundred years (Wolff 2000, 2001; Burke 2004; Hoerder 2004). Many diaspora ethnic Germans have a multi-dimensional sense of belonging to different places due to forced migration over

several centuries (Wolff 2003; Burke 2004; Werner 2004; Farges 2004; Hoerder 2004) and often experience dual 'Heimat' loyalties (Wolff 2001:28; Farges 2004:15). A large number of diaspora communities left Swabia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at a time when Germany looked a lot different to the unified country it is today. It was made up of widely differing local communities. These consisted of hundreds of small German states, principalities and duchies consolidated in the early 1800s into thirty-nine larger states that underwent centralization reforms to consolidate the new territories and populations (Griffin 2005).

The Swabian Templers, not unlike many other diaspora Swabian groups in Eastern Europe and America, identify with nineteenth century Württemberg (Marquardt 1998; Medick 1998 in Marquardt; Dalby 002; Fernando 1985; Crystal 1992; Sauer 1991). In the context of diaspora thinking emerging themes are:

- Multiple loyalties
- Bonds of tradition and heritage
- Loyalties to many homelands

Multiple loyalties

According to the psychologist Manne (2005) the identity myth decrees that a person must live up to the expectations of others. Myths are 'unquestioned assumptions' (Manne 2005:33) that impinge on a person's decision making. For the Templers, assimilationist thinking gave rise to the Templers' myth of the need to adhere to cultural and social pressures to conform and hide or give up their heritage. The celebration of cultural diversity, in particular in the state of Victoria, has challenged those unquestioned assumptions and myths and so allowed the identity of immigrant communities to emerge. Some are quite complex.

Many immigrants carry multiple identity markers. 'Identity is always a social and collective matter' (Yamani 2000:24) and consists of different layers. It is about belonging. The definition of belonging is a process that involves personal identification with a group (Guilbert and Laval 2006). Belonging involves social and emotional

attachments as well as the adoption of values, habits and feelings of solidarity with a particular group (Guilbert and Laval 2006; Yamani 2000). Consequently identity involves the process of self-identification and group formation. It often takes the form of self-ascribed hyphenated identities based on a subjective belief in common descent, culture and sometimes religion (Goldlust 1993; Goldlust in Fagenblat 2006; Levine 1997; Giampana 2001; Meune 2004).

Language, culture, religion, common ancestry, social networks and a sense of belonging to significant places are factors which make immigrants feel connected to each other. They form people's self-image and identity which also changes over time (Sanders 2002, Giampana 2001l; Kidd 2002). Lo Bianco (2005) points out that in past centuries a person's sense of identity was derived from traditional human categories such as faith, nations, ethnos, race and language. He states further that new emerging localised definitions of self-identification are supplementing, rather than replacing, old forms. The expansion of social networks across the family, work groups, the community and various social groups has resulted in more flexible many-sided forms of identity and self-image (Guilbert and Laval 2006).

A part of immigrant identity is the integral role of religion with social and ethnic identification (Ata 1990; Mitchell 2004; Sanders 2002; Black and Hughes 2001) as expressed by one man of the one-an-a-half generation:

> ...we see the Templer association as, you know, our historical, our ethnic origin, our spiritual links and we see some of the other, at least that's how I see it, some of the other organisations I belong to as friendships...[CASE043 Lines: 878-891].
>
> The support you get from a community you belong to I guess is what we've grown up in so we have a historical ethnic tie to it. But also having grown up as a Templer and been brought up in the examples of our parents and grandparents and how they lived their lives. You only see that as you get older. You see it as, particularly if you think back to my grandparents how they lived their lives and what they considered the true Templer spirit. I think it's rubbed off on us. And

> that's very important, but also the religious freedom, spiritual kernel, there; but it's not embracing the dogmas and their rigid, you know the rigidness of some of the established churches [CASE043 Lines: 957-978].

Additional feelings of belonging linked to historical and cultural traditions which generated a diaspora and intercultural identity are developed further in the next section.

Bonds of tradition and heritage

A feature of the diaspora thinking by Templers is their strong 'bond of tradition and heritage' (Hoffmann 1981:177 in Vondra) that goes back to historic Palestine and nineteenth century Württemberg. Most of them have lived outside Germany for 150 years as well as those who had earlier migration origins from Germany to Russia over 200 years ago (Sauer 1991; Lange 1995; Arndt 1975; Romankin-Arndt 1993). Unexpected circumstances took some of them back to Germany according to the following quote:

> In my husband's family which lived in Germany because they were exchanged during the war from Palestine to Germany and many families went with their young children. They, many of them, didn't come to Australia and they stayed behind in Germany and these children married in Germany [CASE032 Lines: 227-239].

Diaspora identities were expressed as follows by the first generation:

> Well my birthplace, I was born there but I hadn't been a long time in Palestine, put it that way because we were taken in World War I to Egypt, and from Egypt we were taken to Germany, and back from Germany to Palestine. I went to school there and in twenty years I was already in Germany and from Germany here. My stay here is the longest term of all others, but still I would say my place of origin is Palestine, but Germany was...is the most important part that I spent a real part of my life from a young man to a grown up person [CASE006 Lines: 671-690].

One elderly woman felt it was important for young Templers to visit the places of their grandparents and parents. She said it was:

> Very important because their roots should remain for generation, generation and generation and they will always say, our great, great grandfathers are from Germany. And this I found is very nice because you know from where you come[CASE032 Lines: 575-584].

The majority of elderly in the first generation said they would like their children, nieces and nephews to visit their ancestral places however many lamented that the young ones were not interested. Some comments were:

> They are not important any more. When I got here they were so important I thought maybe, us being in Palestine or something like that. Alright, I had my youth over there. But there is no affiliation or anything so what you call affinity, for the country over there. It was a host country anyway. It is now a more natural country for me here than the host country over there [CASE022 Lines: 793-804].

Nostalgia for a former Palestinian hometown was reflected in the following comment:

> Ja, aber *(yes, but)* if they would see it I would say that they would be more interested. I'm glad for every one that goes. One went, (my niece) and she said to me what shall I bring you from home and I said nothing unless you can bring me air or the smell or things like that and when she arrived with a bottle she said Tante X *(Aunt X)*, "here you are. There is the air von *(from)* Wilhelma" I have it. It's hanging in there. Oh gosh [CASE046 Lines: 741-753].

Food and culinary habits are important carriers of culture (Tomalin and Stempleski 1993.) Sometimes the most low-key, grassroots activities carry significant cultural identity information. An examination of the Templer playgroup's fundraiser Cookbook, "Deutsche Schule und Spielgruppe Rezeptheft' *(German School and Playgroup Recipe book)* for example contains Swabian, Palestinian and Australian recipes which represent multiple layers of identity [Field Observation CASE052 Lines: 43-47].

It was produced by second generation Templers with input from a one-and-a-halfer and proved to be a popular booklet. A text analysis revealed significant code switching

between languages. The title was in German with no translation, the recipe titles were either in German or English with no direct translations. Templers welcomed the book and could easily relate to its content and insider-language. The following excerpt from the section on 'Swabian-Palestinian recipes' described the multi-layers origins of the Templers and their 19th century diaspora identity:

> "What do Swabian and Palestinian recipes have to do with the Temple Society? Well, the Temple Society was founded in Swabia[5] and the majority of its members came from there. The name Schwaben (Swabia, Swabians) goes back to one of the old Germanic tribes, die Sueben. They were a branch of the larger tribe of the Allemanni who settled in what is now southwestern Germany. In the Middle Ages, the Duchy of Swabia comprised present Baden-Württemberg, Alsace (in France) as well as parts of Switzerland and Bavaria. Later this duchy disintegrated into a number of smaller principalities, the largest being Württemberg. Nowadays when referring to Schwaben, we usually mean Württemberg but there is also a district in Western Bavaria which is called Schwaben and the Swabian dialect is spoken....Swabians have migrated to many parts of the world. In the later decades of the 19th century a group of Swabian Templers settled in Palestine where they not only learnt the Arabic language but also the culinary arts of the people.'

Recognition of the multi-layered culture enticed individuals to offer the following German and Middle Eastern recipes: Flädlessuppe *(crepe-soup),* Schwäbische Kartoffelsuppe *(Swabian Potatosoup),* Spätzle *(noodles),* and Humus, Bedinschan Salad *(eggplant salad),* and Baclavar sweets.

The Templer food culture was partly linked to participants' diaspora experiences. Informal observation at community functions such as Sonnwendfeier *(winter solstice)* and the annual Family Picnic indicated that the food consisted of Arabic/Middle Eastern as well as German food as long as the one-and-a-half generation was involved in its

[5] It is more historically accurate to say the Templers originated from Swabian-speaking Württemberg than Swabia which existed much earlier in the Middle Ages.

preparation. Many of the Middle Eastern dishes disappeared when food preparation was taken over by the second generation who were born in Asutralia.

Whilst traditional bonds to various places of origin have been exhibited in Templer community life, additional attitudes towards multiple homeland loyalties are examined in the next section.

Loyalties to many homelands

Hyphenated identities are important symbolic expressions of social and ethnic identity. They incorporate regions or places of origin with birthright ethnicity. Giampana (2001:9) states they represent a 'balancing act' or desire to live across two worlds. Like a journey across the ocean, they keep alive an immigrant's past, whilst they adapt to becoming a new person in a new place. Similarly 'losing the hyphen' (Giampana 2001:11) symbolises the loss of the language, culture and identity.

In Australia, during the early years of settlement, the Templers took on a hyphenated identity that linked them with Palestine. They were known as German Palestinians especially by officials such as Arthur Calwell, the post-war Minister of Immigration (Gohl 1991: Sauer 1991). Five women over seventy preferred to be 'Palästina-Deutsche' *(Palestinian-German)* [CASE015 Lines: 420-427] and [CASE008 Lines: 834-841, pair of females]. They self-ascribed to a hyphenated identity label:

> Also, Palästina-Deutsche nehm ich an... In Palästina ist's gar nicht anders gewesen als, dass man deutsch war [CASE015 Lines: 420-437]. *(Well (we were) Palestinian-Germans I take it...In Palestine there was no other way but to be German).*
>
> Palästina-Deutsche, das sind die guten Deutschen gewesen immer (all laugh). Ja wir kennen uns als Palästina-Deutsche, so zusagen... ja, ja. Und wir waren immer stolz darauf, das muss man sagen [CASE020 Lines: 662-671]. *(The Palestinian-Germans, they were always the good Germans {all laugh}. Yes we know ourselves as Palestinian-Germans, so to speak... yes, yes. And we were always proud of it, I have to say.)*

Similarly some people in the first and one-and-a-half generations expressed their German diaspora ancestry as multiple layers of identity:

> I hadn't really made any differences between Deutscher und Palästina-Deutscher but yes I feel very strongly about being a German. Oh yes definitely [CASE033 Lines: 577-581].

In relation to German or a Palästina-Deutsche a one-and-a-halfer said:

> There is no difficulty at all to say that we feel quite at home to be both, no difficulty at all...Life is multidimensional [CASE003 Lines: 559-572].

Gradually some Templers referred less to their Palestinian past and identified more as Germans and Australians as reflected in the dualistic identity of one person:

> I've never had any conflict with this so I am still one whole person, but I don't think there is a sharp dividing line between. I can talk English and mix Schwäbisch in the same sentence. And the same philosophy goes deep right down. I have no conflict in being dualistic in that regard [CASE005 Lines: 342-354].

Yet another explained the adaptation of different identities depending on the social environment that included some diaspora thinking in terms of "old German Palestine style":

> Well we speak English of course because my wife is from Australia. Now when we go to my mother's place, I'm very pleased that I can still speak old German Palestine style. And I think that's nice. I notice that I need to have the right environment for that to flow without error. But if I try to put it on amongst Germans it doesn't work as well because their environment is different and I actually find myself speaking with south German pronunciation. I mean the Swabian pronunciation but in High German [CASE009 Lines: 521-538].

A degree of intercultural comfort and ease with multiple identities was passed onto the second generation who moved across borders. One Australian-born Templer commented:

> That's really interesting. I'm often really happy about, really sort of glad to have the heritage that I do and the German background and I often think, oh gee, you know it's just so nice to have that extra insight and that extra depth to my life and to my awareness but there are heaps of times when I think, gee I'm glad I'm an Australian [CASE010 Lines: 651-670].

Typically, ethnic identity involved factors such as "homeland" (ancestral home) or origins of individuals, their parents and kin, and symbolic factors that included holidays, foods, clothing, and even artifacts (Trimble and Dickson 2005). One significant layer of diaspora homeland was formed by the wartime internment camps where hundreds of Templers, especially the one-and-a-halfers spent as many as seven of their formative years. Templers interned in other parts of the world during World War II, or forced to flee to Cyprus after the war, doubtlessly have their own issues with nostalgic identification. In Australia a significantly large group felt nostalgia and an emotional attachment to the civilian Family Camp 3 site in Tatura, located 160km north of Melbourne near the Waranga Basin. It was evident that Tatura formed a strong part of the diaspora identity of those who were former internees.

Internment experiences were traumatic. Decades later, numerous unpublished accounts written by the internees themselves exhibited a willingness of the internees to refuse to be embittered, to put the past behind them (Fischer 1989, Ruff 1993; Schwarzbauer 2001; Beilharz 1991; Thaler 1991; Krockenberger 1991). Ex-internees expressed their high regard for the men who guarded them and their satisfaction with the food and treatment, especially at Tatura (Bevege 1993). Saunders (2000) nevertheless suggested that oral testimonies indicated unresolved issues of shattered lives.

> "The detention of 7000 individuals in camps, in the name of national security, undoubtedly caused extraordinary hardship, trauma, humiliation, finance loss and familial breakdown. No crime had been committed. No trial occurred, no evidence was heard in the open court. As a consequence the processes of reconciliation and coming to terms with the events remained elusive".
>
> Saunders 2000:166

Whatever way one chooses to interpret these events, the internees were left with a sense of discontinuity. In Australia, the massive post-war migration boom eclipsed the events of the internment of the Germans and the destruction of their communities. As soon as internment came to an end it was virtually forgotten. Internees were expected to quietly slip into assimilationist Australia and cease being German. After internment German internees could expect no form of rehabilitation. For many decades there was no public statement to exonerate them; no government declaration that internment had been a precautionary measure that did not necessarily pass judgment on the loyalties of individuals. Internees were virtually told 'to forget and shut up' (Fischer 1989:309-10; Bevege 221-3). They were disenfranchised, looked upon with open hostility among the Anglo-Australians around them. In short, the German-Australian community learned to keep quiet and out of sight.

The archive content-analysis indicated that Templers participated in the annual Tatura Remembrance Day held in German each November in the Tatura German Military Cemetery where, amongst 239 graves of civilian internees, many civilian Templers were buried (see Templer Record No 677 October 2005:28; http://www.walkabout.com.au/locations/VICTatura.shtml). The cemetery was sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany and maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Templers have continued to make annual pilgrimages to the site on that day and included visits to the local museum and original campsite (see Templer Record November 1995 #579 and November 2005 #678.) The majority of Templers who attended were the first generation overseas-born, in particular those who were interned.

Some women described the trip there as a magnetic pull to a homecoming:

> Und das war halt unsere Heimat. So lange war das für mich wie heimkommen, die ersten zwanzig Jahre. Die Luft war anders [CASE004 Lines: 1415-1419]. *(Well that was our home. For a long time that was for me like a homecoming, for the first twenty years. The air was different.)*

> Wenn ich dort eine gewisse Höhe erreiche...bist du dort bei Bonnie Doon, dann

bin ich daheim und dort drüben Hard to explain. Die ganze Atmosphäre ist different CASE004 Lines: 1443-1451]. *(When I reach a certain height there...when you get to Bonnie Doon, then I'm at home and over there...Hard to explain. The whole atmosphere is different.)*

Dort sind wir daheim [CASE004 Lines: 1166-1167]. *(That's home for us.)*

They continued to reminisce about the homescape of the campsite after half a century:

Person A: Ja und dann waren noch einige von den Zementbäder die hat man gehabt in den Küchen und den Hospitälern [CASE004 Lines: 1360-1364]. *(Yes there were still some of the cement baths they had in the kitchen and hospitals)*

Person B: Ganz noch nach den Bäumen hast du dich noch richten können, aber später nimmer. Gott, wenn ich dann einmal wieder gekommen bin... [CASE004 Lines: 1365-1369]. *(You could still orientate yourself quite well according to the trees, but not any more later. God, when I got there again...)*

Person C: Welche Bäume stehen da? Wo ist denn unser Baum? Die waren schon lle so gross und dann... Nein später, es ist immer schwerer geworden und dann.... ja man hat viel aufgeräumt. Vom roten Häusle da sind immer noch Backsteine gewesen...gelegen und dann hast du gesehen, da war das rote Häusle, also war der Eingang nicht weiter vor vom Lager, der Haupteingang ein [CASE004 Lines: 1372-1383]. *(Which trees are still there? Where is our tree? They were already all so big and then...No later, it always got more difficult (to work out the camp layout) and then...yes they cleaned up a lot. There are still bricks from the little red jailhouse...lying around and you saw here was the little red jailhouse, wasn't the entrance further from the camp, the main entrance.)*

The burial place of one's parents often marks a place called home. Consequently many one-and-a-halfers regularly visit civilian grave sites in the official German war Cemetery at Tatura:

Every year...we have our father there and now I've got my mother there too [CASE046 Lines: 756-759].

> Well I used to go until my brother died. Mein Vater ist ja dort oben im Grab. Aber jetzt kann ich nimmer gehen. *(My father is over there in his grave. But now I can't go anymore.)* [CASE004 Lines: 1168-1172].

Some made an effort to keep their younger family members connected and sought permission to bury an elderly relative in the German War Cemetery in Tatura as many civilian Templers, mainly elderly and children, were buried there too:

> I think it's very important. We had them all (my children) there thank God where Grandma was buried now, my mother. She got the permission to be buried in the war cemetery. First they said no and then they gave her Erlaubnis *(permission)*. It was beautiful [CASE046 Lines: 784-791].

The parents and grandparents tried to pass on the diaspora heritage stories of deportation and internment to their children and younger generations but many lamented that they were no longer interested in events at Tatura. Older people said:

> I think this ist individuell bei den Kindern. Ich glaube, die meisten sind nicht interessiert. Wenigstens, wenn man ihnen erzählt von früher, die kriegen eine Idee [CASE046 Lines: 735-740]. *(I think it's individual with the children. I think most of them are not interested. At least if you tell them about the days gone by they get an idea.)*
>
> They should aber *(but)* they've got no connection [CASE040 Lines: 572-574].
>
> It doesn't mean much to them [CASE040 Lines: 575-576].
>
> Tatura? Die haben keine Interesse. Ich glaube, mehr oder weniger ist das Interesse für die, die in dem Lager waren. Die Internierten..., für die war das sehr interessant und dann sind ja auch dort welche Gräber [CASE047 Lines: 919-925]. *(Tatura? They're not interested. The former internees...it was very interesting for them and we have some graves there too.)*

More recently historical internment museums in America and Australia have provided a public portal into the past to explain wartime events and the impact on people's lives. The rooms full of artifacts and emotionally powerful black and white photos tell stories of

bewilderment, despair, stoic dignity, fear, resignation, confusion and shock and they provide a vivid reality to museum visitors of the human contribution to multicultural societies (Overmyer and Giglierano 2000:253; Knee 2002).

The Tatura World War II Wartime Camps & Irrigation Museum was established by the Shepparton and District Historical Society in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Building bridges of friendship between the Templers and locals in Tatura, after decades of wartime animosity was a remarkable achievement. The museum won an overwhelming response from Templers who provided financial support as well as copious artefacts as museum donations:

> Guck einmal, I took all my things that I had vom Lager. Ich habe nichts hinausgeschmissen, nothing und wenn ich das anguck und denke mal gut wenn ich sterbe dann fliegt das Zeug hinaus. O nein, wir haben eine Theatergruppe gehabt. I've got a lot of things from there und ach ein Haufen Sachen. [CASE004 Lines: 1215-1224]. *(Look, I took all my things that I had from the camp. I hadn't thrown out anything; nothing and when I look at it and think when I die that stuff will be thrown out. Oh no, we had a theatre group. I've got a lot of things from there, oh, a heap of things.)*

For the first time after many decades, the local Tatura residents started to have close contact with the former German enemy aliens and personal friendships developed. Participants said:

> Ja. I've got a friend there. Actually I got in touch with her through the museum. I was the one that, that she started with us [CASE046 Lines: 762-769].
>
> Very much, yes...she's the chairperson of the Historical Society and I regard her as a personal friend [CASE031 Lines: 707-711].

On another level the diaspora narrative was preserved across the oceans. The older Templers in Australia welcomed the prolific Templer nostalgia publishing from the Stuttgart Templer region that regularly published German language Templer history. An elderly person commented:

> They (Templers in Germany) write a lot about historical things (in Die Warte) which are not appearing in ours (Templer Record). And I thought it wouldn't do any harm. It needn't be exactly a copy to have sometimes an article of our background, where we lived and how these things historically happened, which none of these young ones of course would know [CASE006 Lines: 605-616].

The immigrant adaptation process is a difficult one and people choose to keep some aspects of their past and to discard others. A one-and-a-halfer confessed:

> I never look back. The places I have been to are not important unless I need them for something I'm doing now [CASE005 Lines: 575-584].
>
> Well my constant battle is to make people aware that we live in changing times and unless we change we will not survive. We have to be able to adapt [CASE005 Lines: 685-690].

Through diaspora thinking a particular multi-faceted Templer culture is able to survive, transform and remain relevant even to TSA members who have not lived in the original homelands. Rather than erase the importance of concepts such as ethnicity and migration, diaspora places a different value on it (Georgiou 2001). After their parents and grandparents were involuntarily displaced and became accidental immigrants, the Templer offspring have become firmly placed in Australia. Grandparents and parents were the 'exilic' generation, whilst the second generation has become the 'new internationals' (Matthews 2002). Intercultural knowledge and skills based on diaspora thinking led to a transnational sense of belonging amongst Templers and generated a variety of unique international connections explored in the next section.

Transnational thinking

Diaspora groups are people accustomed to living their everyday lives within a mindset of transnational belonging across the world in terms of family relationships, social and religious affiliations and have highly developed intercultural skills (Vertovec 1999). The paradox of diaspora thinking is that dwelling in one place assumes a solidarity and

connection in another. It is not necessarily the single place that is important but rather it is the connections across a map of places that makes a difference (Vertovec 1999).

Transnationalism is defined as the process by which immigrants develop and keep up multi-layered social relations that link together their societies of both origin and settlement (Sahoo 2004). They maintain these ties through constant international mobility of people, as well as emotional, social, cultural, religious, family and financial networks which extend beyond political and national locations and form a distinct kind of 'deterritorialistion of the contemporary world' (Sahoo 2004:122). Diaspora has been a historical precursor to its present-day transnationalism. Most diasporas in the Temple Society have not been voluntary, however, individuals have maintained their transnationalist thinking and lives. The Temple Society is developing a stronger awareness of its status as a transnational community and was beginning to focus on an interconnected infrastructure that goes beyond family connections.

For immigrants to grow new roots in the host country and maintain their sense of self they needed to experience three factors; a sense of competence, usefulness and recognition (Dean 1997, 1997a). If assimilationism suppressed cultural differences, then later multiculturalism celebrated diversity and allowed immigrant's identities to emerge naturally (Kandiyoti 2003; Messimeri 2006). Symbolic forms of identity recognition enhanced their competence, usefulness and recognition. In relation to transnational thinking the following themes emerged from the interviews:

- Elasticity of belonging
- Back home tourism
- Transnational religious community
- One president, two regions
- Transnational thinking and language revival
- Mapping the transnational multiple history trail

Elasticity of belonging

Diaspora thinking amongst the Templers involves 'a certain elasticity of belonging and identification' (Kandiyoti 12003:1) that traversed countries and continents. It has taken the form of constant travels to the homeland i.e. Palestine to Germany, Australia to Germany and Germany to Australia and to Israel. Participant-observation shows up that in each year Templers from Australia travel to Germany and Israel to meet other Templers or visit places of significance to Templers. Accommodation is provided for itinerant Templers in Stuttgart, Germany and in Bayswater, Victoria. This represents 'a circular mode of living' (Kandiyoti 2003:1) or for the Templers it is a 'single social continuum' (Guarnizo et al 369 in Kandiyoti 2003:1) rather than separate 'here and there' communities. Like so many other diaspora groups (Kandiyoti 2003), the Templers have developed and sustained multi-stranded social relations across national borders that link their country of origin and various subsequent countries of settlement.

Only through prolonged participant-observation and TSA committee membership, interviews and archival analysis was I able to ascertain both the complexity of the transnational infrastructure developed by the Templers in Australia and the relative ease with which it operates completely independently of any of political, national, government or other institutionalised religious structures. "Back home tourism" (Guilbert and Laval 2006:7) is a common form of transnational travel undertaken by groups with a transnational sense of belonging.

Back home tourism

Templers move between the Tempelgesellschaft (TGD) in Stuttgart, Germany and the TSA throughout their daily lives with a unique mindset that it is one community across two regions rather than two nations. An Australian-born second generation Templer explained this mindset:

> I think about (the TGD) a lot because we were actually married by (the Temple Society President) in Germany and both times when we lived in Germany for a year, (my husband) attended services with me and we felt incredibly warmly welcomed by the people there and I have a lot of respect for what they do in terms

> of the content of their services; in terms of their personal commitment and engagement in the wider religious world in Germany. And I think, what individuals, some individuals do there, is quite remarkable. So I have a lot of respect for them and we get the Warte and we read that [CASE010 Lines: 848-864].

The nature of transnational ties amongst Templers is steeped in family traditions and emotional attachments to places such as Kirschenhardthof, Degerloch, Haifa and Jerusalem and Wilhelma, as well as personal attachments to Cyprus, and smaller towns in Germany and Israel.

The main sites that Australian Templers visit are the buildings and grounds of the earliest Templer community at Kirschenhardthof in Württemberg, Germany, and they go on cemetery maintenance tours in Haifa and Jerusalem and other smaller settlements in Israel (Lange 1995). Transnational tourism to ancestral places carries heritage stories that help bond people through a sense of common ancestry and identity. Overseas travel to historical Templer sites helps preserve Templer stories in the mindset of each individual. These feelings have been maintained across all generations of Templers in general and the Australian-born in particular as shown by their comments:

> Meine Tochter war schon zweimal in Deutschland...und sie interessiert sich sehr wo ich einmal gewohnt habe (in Haifa.) Ich habe ihr einen Plan gemacht von unserem Haus und wo man gewohnt hat und meinem Grossvater sein Haus [CASE020 Lines: 1183-1198]. *(My daughter has already been in Germany twice...and she is very interested in where I once lived (in Haifa). I drew her a plan of our house and where we lived and of my grandfather's house.)*

> ...but having been to Germany and Stuttgart and where the Templer Society grew up, (and to) Kirschenhardthof...yes and that was wonderful [CASE041 Lines: 1000-1008].

> I went to Germany. You see for me it was very significant to go to Germany and look at all those early Templer places. I mean partly because it really means something to me. And of course Hoffmann (Temple Society founder) is our great grandfather, great great grandfather. And it's all your family history as well as your community history so it was doubly interesting and important and also I've never studied history but I feel very interested in all of these things and I always feel I'd like to know a bit more than I actually know. And I'd really love to go to Palestine. The more I think about it the more I think, oh my gosh I don't even know where my mother walked when she was a young girl. And other people, my Australian friends say of course they visited the house where their mother grew up. I've never done that ... [CASE010 Lines: 943-980].

> I would say we would go there because it's part of your heritage. I mean I'd like to go and look at the historical kinds of things. But I'd like to go to Palestine too.Just to see it, to say I've been there. And then I can understand where they're coming from. That time they had the anniversary up at Tatura. Just being able to go to camp, Camp 3 was it? [CASE018 Lines: 740-751].

Heritage and language are seen as linked factors by the Australian-born:

> Because it is (the Templer kids') background. And (German) that's easiest for them to learn... it's only now that you take your identity...like it's part of you. To me it's part of me. But I think for the kids, I think those extra couple of hours that they have after school (to learn German) isn't such a big deal [CASE017 Lines: 1097-1122].

The first and one-and-a-half generations naturally maintained social and family links with Templers in Stuttgart. Consequently the impact of social, financial and information networks generated by their participation in transnational religious communities are discussed in the next section.

Transnational religious communities

Religious tourism is big business. Millions of people travel to Jerusalem, Lourdes and Mecca each year. On a much smaller scale Australian Templers who travel to Germany commonly included attendance at a Templer Saal in Stuttgart Germany. The first and one-and-a-half generations of Templers participated most in cross-border religious networks. They talked about attending religious events and community celebrations in the different countries as if they were going to local Templer events in nearby regions:

> I do because we know them (the Templers in Germany), because we have sort of taken part a number of times in their ceremonies and festivities, and their daily life, and because our relatives are members there, and active members [CASE014 Lines: 791-797].

Further analysis indicated that members of all three generations participated in religious interconnectedness across the oceans:

> Since we've been there in '70 we were twice im Saal *(at the religious service)* [CASE046 Lines: 647-656 Generation 1].
>
> We have been to the Dankfest (in Germany) too. I have been to at least six or eight. (My wife) has been to three or four [CASE030 Lines: 820-823 Generation 1].
>
> We go every couple of years to Germany and we go to Saal or to Dankfest or something. We try and do that and we go to Dankfest if possible. We're going there next year... [CASE026 Lines: 886-894 Generation 1 1/2].
>
> I do because we know them because we have sort of taken part a number of times in their ceremonies and festivities, and their daily life. And because our relatives are members there and active members and ... [CASE014 Lines: 791-797 Generation 1 1/2].
>
> I stayed with X (family member in Stuttgart) for a while. I found them...she sort of introduced me ... I was only there for one or two weeks, I think Saal and oh s' Dankfest, yeah [CASE045 Lines: 627-635 Generation 2].

In addition to being a transnational religious community, links across the oceans were maintained by dense organisational networks.

One president, two regions

According to Vertovec (1999) another feature central to transnational communities are structures or systems of relationships best described as networks. He further describes those networks as both autonomous from, and dependent upon each other via a complex system of relationships. The Temple Society has developed a complexity of highly active networks spanning vast spaces on a religious, social, cultural, economic and administrative basis.

The Temple Society recognised the danger of relying solely on family connections because generational contact was dying out. Consequently, it created an infrastructure of links that has been maintained beyond family ties especially amongst the one-and-a-half generation.

Case study observations and interviews indicated that the one-and-a-half generation continued to build on infrastructure links developed by the first generation. These involved transnational communication via an internal network of media such as Die Warte subscriptions, Templer Record subscriptions, translations of literature, seminars and community proceedings. They also included official exchanges of office bearers, youth, religious elders and the provision of accommodation in Degerloch, Germany and Bayswater, Victoria for Templer tourism.

The organisational structure of the Templer Society spans national borders with the relative ease of a simply organised community. One President with one organisational constitution presides over the faith communities, which Templers prefer to call two Regions rather than countries. Electronic communication and frequency of overseas travel have enhanced joint decision making across borders. Each 'Regional Council' (Lange 1995:188) has a system of financial, administrative, religious and local community councils that interact across international borders on a regular basis, often

daily and weekly, as well as bilingual media publications (Die Warte published in Germany and the Templer Record published in Australia) with regular translations. Many Templers commented:

> We get the Warte and we read that [CASE026 Lines: 973-975].
>
> Yes I do once it arrives. I skim through the main articles and look at the community notices. As soon as it arrives in the office, I flick through [CASE035 Lines: 617-621].

Many Templers had never been to Germany before the 1980s but one first generation Termpler still felt at home on his first visit:

> Ich bin erst nach Deutschland gekommen in 1983. Da war ich retired and dann haben wir Deutschland angeguckt. Vorher habe ich Deutschland nie gekannt. Jeden von der Halle haben wir getroffen [CASE040 Lines: 444-451]. *(I first went to Germany in 1983. That's when I was retired and then we had a look at Germany. Before that I didn't know Germany. We met everyone in the hall {German Templer Community Centre}).*

Links between the transnational communities in Germany and Australia were maintained by families and individuals who kept up personal contact. These ties were also the Temple Society infrastructure in terms of official exchanges of publications and personnel. The following quotes indicate that such ties existed for decades:

> Ich tue Warte lesen...Wir sind auch in Deutschland gewesen 1961. Der X ist dann als Vertreter von der Gemeinde heraus geschickt geworden [CASE015 Lines: 561-569]. *(I read Die Warte. We were also in Germany in 1961. X was then sent as a local community representative.)*
>
> Ja, und ich weiss, dass seit der (Templer President in Deutschland) gestorben ist dass es ein grosser Verlust war. Mit dem war ich in Korrespondenz, und interessanten Korrespondenz mit dem. Der war auch ein bisschen älter wie ich, aber wir haben das, die gleiche Erlebnisse gehabt, dann ist das auf einmal eine gewisse Ebene immer gewesen. Ich bedauere sehr, dass er gestorben ist...und die Warte verfolge ich genau [CASE020 Lines: 894-906]. *(Yes I know since the (Templer President in Germany) died, it was a great loss. I used to correspond*

with him, and it was interesting correspondence. He was a bit older but we had the same life experiences and so we were always on the same level. I really regret that he died...and I follow Die Warte exactly.
Yes and we know (the President) rather well [CASE030 Lines: 810-812]. We have been there (Germany) many times and this makes a big difference you see, you have that contact [CASE030 Lines: 813-817].

Templers talk about their long-distance networks as if they were around the corner. Templer identity goes beyond a community bounded by one locality in one place. Overseas suburbs and street names where Templer Community centres are located such as Degerloch and Ahornstrasse are as well known to Templers as Elizabeth Street and Tucker Road in Bayswater and Bentleigh. For the Templers transnationalism operates independently of nationalism and is based on grassroots networks. The following comments by the one-and-a-half generation provide evidence of a strong community presence across transnational regions:

In Degerloch we stayed there a couple of years ago. And I've got a cousin living there. Before X had a cousin living there and... [CASE026 Lines: 989-993].
We lived there in Ahornstrasse, ach *(oh)* in Ahornstrasse. There were a couple of flats there, and we took part in everything [CASE044 Lines: 574-582].

We had a place, a permanent place while we were out there for the time where we could leave everything and just plan from there and then take off again for a week or so and come back and have a few days again or a week to catch up with everything else you know, writing and washing and everything [CASE028 Lines: 921-930].

Even the younger second generation of Australian-born Templers experienced close transnational connections. Amongst the second generation some were well connected and still had family ties:

Do I think much about them (Templers in Germany)? As I said that's one of the reasons why I want to get across there. My Opa's *(grandpa's)* got his half-brother

> in Stuttgart, and even through the rest of it, they obviously need to go to the closest place...throughout Germany actually, you know we've got a lot of relatives and friends also, they're good contacts and Stuttgart. At the moment I've had so much involvement out here.... They keep it up and also there are some more formal ties I can see there. And it'd be good. I think a lot of that, you know the social agenda is good [CASE017 Lines: 1205-1243].

To ensure that transnational ties would be strengthened for the second generation, the TSA initiated the Templer Youth Exchange Scheme. The scheme was welcomed by all generations as an important factor in the maintenance of both bilingualism and transnational community networks. People commented:

> Yes. That's a good idea for both sides. And I think that is mainly for the ones who take an interest also in the other lifestyle and the other language, English or German [CASE024 Lines: 867-872 Generation 1].
>
> It's fantastic. I think it's the best thing we've ever... the best thing that's happened for a long time. We were really, really pleased about that. We've met some of the people here and read their articles. It was really, really good [CASE026 Lines: 956-963 Generation 1½].
>
> I think it's wonderful. I mean, I was one of the original people who stuck their heads out and said this is what we need... and I was at an elders meeting and I think I said we could do something like that. And that's when we first batted the idea around a bit [CASE010 Lines: 823-839 Generation 2].

Transnationalism involves communication and impacts on language competence which is examined in the following section.

Transnational thinking and language revival

In the context of immigrant identity, increased transnational links have resulted in ethnic and language revival movements amongst offspring of immigrants in America (Spolsky in Fishman 1999; Portes 2001). In Australia the shift from various immigrant languages to English increased in the 1980s but in the early 1990s, the transnational experience and the perceived higher prestige of the standard form of the immigrant language led to

linguistic revival stimulated by language education and overseas travel (Rubino 2002; Clyne 2003, 2005; Giampana 2001; Lo Bianco 2005).

In-depth sociological studies on language revival amongst long-term immigrant groups in Australia are rare. In this study some examples of German language revival emerged amongst second generation Templers due to the Templer Youth Exchange Scheme which provided structured German language education opportunities for Australian-born Templers overseas.

Observation indicated that some returned Templer exchange candidates, in particular those who studied German in Australia, became fluent bilinguals and tended to speak standard German rather than Swabian dialect. The positive attitudes towards language revival or at least retention amongst younger Templers and the link with identity were reflected in the following comment:

> I think it's very good (for Templer kids to be taught German). I think to force them, I know it's for their own good like I did at the time but I can see enormous benefits now and if somebody says, oh yeah sure, and all the rest of it and that sort of stuff but you still need other languages...because it is their background. And the one that's easiest for them to learn. Yes but it's also like it, you know, it's only now that you take your identity, like it's part of you. To me it's part of me...but I think for the kids, I think those extra couple of hours that they have after school (to learn German in the Templer School) aren't such a big deal [CASE017 Lines: 1097-1122].

Although Australian-German links are common amongst the Templers their diaspora history included the German Colonies in British Palestine. The outbreak of war in Europe not only resulted in the displacement of the Templers but also dramatically altered the situation in Palestine (Smith 1984). The Templers found themselves in a state of exile when they were explicitly refused the right to return (Sauer 1991). Just as they did with Germany, the Templers maintained their diaspora links with other world regions where their colonies existed, in particular Israel.

Mapping the transnational multiple history trail

Diaspora thinking leaves a trail of collective memory, sometimes fractured memories, about another place and time that create new maps of desire and of attachment which produce a 'multiplicity of histories' (Vertovec 1999:7). The Templer presence in present-day Israel takes the form of property ownership of the old Templer cemeteries in Haifa and Jerusalem and emotional attachments to many other places where the Templers once lived (Ruff 1987). A quote for the official website of the Temple Society's sister community in Stuttgart, Germany describes the back home tourism linked to heritage:

> 'Immer wieder reisen Gruppen junger Templer aus Deutschland und Australien nach Israel, um in aufopferungsvollem Einsatz die beiden Friedhöfe zu pflegen.'
> *(Every now and again groups of young Templers from Germany and Australia travel to Israel as volunteers to maintain the (Templer) cemeteries (in Haifa and Jerusalem).*
> *Templegesellschaft in Deutschalnd e. V. (*http://www.tempelgesellschaft.de/)

Typical comments of one-and-a-halfers represent strong emotional attachments to childhood homes:

> Well I mean I've always been interested in history but from personal experience I was 14 when we left Palestine, I was 12 when the war broke out, so we had no problems finding our way around in Israel in '91 apart from the fact that the street signs were all in Hebrew and very little English underneath. We asked our way through difficult spots and we found our way round [CASE031 Lines: 636-647].

> I know some of them (old Templer houses) are on the National Trust now in Haifa. I think they managed to get the Koloniestrasse (the main street in Haifa) under National Trust. They have organised trips in the TGD. They've got one and they take you to all these places and explain background and show you places. You wouldn't be able to find some of those houses. I couldn't have found the houses [CASE043 Lines: 1442-1461].

The younger ones of the second generation still retain an interest in their Palestine heritage and links with Israel:

> It's nice to sort of visit the land of your grandfather. He tells me stories of where they actually lived in Palestine. And I've seen bits and pieces in films and pictures have come back where those settlements still seem to be a sort of oasis in all the big building work in Israel around. Somehow they've kept that [CASE043 Lines: 1431-1441].

An email received on 11/05/2006 from a one-and-a-halfer on an annual Templer Israel trip revealed strong feelings of belonging:

> 'Just a short note to you all from Jaffa. We are 'im Beit Immanuel' which is the old Templer house and school and the Ustinov House. There is so much history to be seen, absorbed and lived. We are all quite exhausted but enjoying our 'Palästina' experience immensely. Love and blessings from the holy land to you all.'

Some members of the one-and-a-half generation explained that their children had been on a cemetery maintenance trip to Israel:

> Well they have been there. (Our daughter) had a special experience because she went over with the working party and I said to her you be careful with those gravestones because your grandfather made a lot of them. He chiselled them out and he told me many times that the damn thing broke down the side and then melting the lead into the grooves [CASE031 Lines: 651-661].
>
> Yes our children have, some have [CASE033 Lines: 865-866].
>
> Yes I went with my Mum both times [CASE048 Lines: 827-828].

Those in the one-and-a-half generation who had not been back to their place of birth expressed a range of personal sentiments concerning visits to their places of birth:

> Well I would love to go back to where I was born, not necessarily because it's where the Templers come from but because it's where I was born. To me it would

be interesting to see that once more, but the German part doesn't interest me [CASE035 Lines: 767-774].

I think historically they're important. I'd personally like to go back to Palestine at some stage. I've never been back. (My wife) has. I've never been there but I'd like to. I've been, I've rushed through it on the way when I went overland but that was in 1962 and we couldn't get into Israel, not where the Templer settlements were. I'd like to go to Kirschenhardthof when I 'm in Germany [CASE043 Lines 1403-1420].

No, that's not important to me [CASE035 Lines: 784-785].

Significant multiple self-ascribed identities emerged for the Templers as they adapted to settlement in Australia. Diaspora and transnational thinking had an important impact on networking and bonding within the Templer society through their common ancestry and building bridges with other communities. How the Templers think about community building, its strengths and sustainability is further explored in the next section.

Community building thinking

Many established European immigrant communities in Australia have little prospect of membership replenishment through continued migration. Community strength depends on who replaces the pioneers of the ethnic community organisations; how to keep up high levels of connectedness; as well as decisions about which aspects of language and culture will be carried on by subsequent generations (Jupp 2003; Lo Bianco 2005; De Fazio 2005). The intersection of an immigrant and a faith community adds another dimension of complexity.

Given that migration can lead to dislocated networks, fragmented community life, and lack of stable self-identity, as well as resulting in increased psychological stress and decreased wellbeing, the Victorian Government in the twenty-first century has encouraged community strength and individual wellbeing amongst immigration

communities (Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs 2002; Department for Victorian Communities 2004; Black and Hughes 2001; SPRD 2004).

Community building thinking involves each generation in finding meaningful connections with its roots, and establishing social networks within the immigrant community. It is common for the older generations to feel anxieties about who will maintain the community structures they built up. Similarly, the second generation immigrants need to find new ways of adapting and engaging within their community. This is about networking on the basis of old ties and new contexts. The accumulation of social capital or networking has two forms namely, the development of internal ties or bonding of people as well as networking with outside groups or building bridges (Putnam 1995, 2000).

This section deals with the ways the participants thought about TSA continuity, internal bonding, external bridge building and changing community structures. A content analysis of copies of the Templer Record from 1996 to 2006, informal discussion during participant-observation and interview responses highlighted the following major issues:

- 'Quest for membership'
- 'The changing nature of communities'
- 'Focus on faith'
- 'Infrastructure takeover and makeover'
- 'Symbolic bonding and bridging'
- 'Community strength and wellbeing'

Quest for membership

Concerns about membership recruitment were directed in particular at the Australian offspring of first and one-and-a-half generation Templers, who were fringe dwellers and attended some functions, but were not official TSA members. In addition, participants were concerned about declining membership in general. In 1990 the membership of the Temple Society was 1,050 including associate members in Australia, and another 230 who lived in Germany (Ruff 1990). At the TSA Annual General Meeting 2006 it was

announced that there were 571 members, not including associate members. Participants in this research revealed two opposing opinions. Some older Templers felt rather disillusioned and even extremely pessimistic, because they could not see how the society would continue:

> I think the Temple Society is in danger of breaking up in the future. People going their separate ways and not thinking of religion as important any more [CASE019 Lines: 128-136].

> Weil die Alten werden weniger und die Jungen haben andere Beziehungen zu ihren Schulen, Freunden usw [CASE020 Lines: 1270-1275]. *(Because the oldies are getting fewer and the young ones have outside relationships with their schools, friends and so on.)*

Others expressed concerns but believed that a positive future for the Community would emerge as people adapted to new ways of thinking. A typical comment was:

> I think probably the questions they've been trying to deal with in recent years anyway; falling numbers, falling membership, keeping people together, you know trying to organise things that actually attract people and sort of unify. Like the issues at the moment of trying to unify the, the capital, the economic aspect of the Templers to make it a feasible thing. You know it goes hand in hand with the other issues so it's pretty broad I suppose. I think there'll be plenty of people who seem to have the dedication to keep that up [CASE034 Lines: 815-830].

Lists of new members in the monthly circular, Templer Record and researcher-participation in membership discussions at council meetings revealed three sources of new members:

- Young Templers over 18 years of age (freedom of religious belief deems that a person must be at least 18 years of age to make an informed decision about joining a faith community.)
- German-speaking immigrants, frequently older people who sought a spiritual or community anchor.

- Partners of Templers who married out.

On the quest for membership replenishment a range of comments reflected the need to attract the offspring of older Templers. Some first and second generation comments were:

> ...there is a drifting away from that main part and I think some of the young ones do not realise how, how much in life and so on, a community where you belong to, is worth. What it is worth? They forget about that. They run away from it and they get away from it. And don't, they never experience the nice part of it and so on and I think that they lose something CASE022 Lines: 956-973].

> The most important issue is, to keep it going, not to set up barriers to stop people from joining in. A lot of people who are on the periphery now need to be there for a while until they feel comfortable because it is a very exclusive little community to, to feel belonging to. I think it takes time to, to become an established member. I mean you still turn up at things and "Wer bist du?' *(Who are you?)* and "Wo gehörst du hin?' *(To which clan do you belong?)* I mean... but you've got to give it time...even to yourself to feel comfortable [CASE042 Lines: 1045-1062].

The German-specific Tabulam and Templer Aged Care facilities and the Community Language German Schools provided avenues for other German-speakers to get to know the Templers in Melbourne. Several German-speaking families and individuals joined the TSA through these avenues in recent years, and reflected the multi-layered identity of the Temple Society as a German background community. A typical comment was:

> You see we've got quite a few *(new)* members now. They are all German speaking members and they are very good members [CASE033 Lines: 998-1004].

Informal discussion revealed that a few older members attributed their concerns about declining membership to their offspring marrying outside the TSA. The Australian-born generation considered out-marriage was a normal part of life:

> Yes, (a few decades ago) life didn't exist past the Temple Society, that's right....But also I think, the people are not marrying as much inside the Templer

> community. They're marrying outside, so a whole other range of ethics if you want to call it, morals, experiences, whatever, come into it [CASE018 Lines: 1303-1327].

Direct observation indicated that new partners of Templers often joined the Society and became productive, active members. Another concern expressed by overseas-born Templers was the second generation's lack of interest in the religious and community affairs due to increasingly diverse lifestyles. Such diversity is related to the changing nature of community life which is examined in the next section.

The changing nature of communities

In the broader Australian society, some communities are geographically defined where people live in the same neighbourhood. Others are based purely around common interests such as environmental conservation, social justice or sporting interests. Another type of community is one that shares a common sense of identity such as age, culture or lifestyle and consists of networks rather than the traditional village concept. In the 21st century, the Temple Society Australia shares elements from each of these types of community. In addition the TSA is a faith community. Victorian Government initiatives support both ethnically based communities as well as diverse faith communities. 'What is important is that community members feel a sense of identity, belonging and connection - and a willingness to work together to achieve common goals' (2004:1 Victoria Department for Communities).

The maintenance of human social networks is dependent on several factors: residential proximity or urban village life; frequency of contact including face-to-face meeting; emotional closeness; kinship; and the existence of a core network (Hill and Dunbar 2002). These findings were based on fairly limited studies on effective social human networks whose size ranged from 250 to 5,000 individuals (Hill and Dunbar 2002). Insufficient research exists on the optimal size of small communities to retain their effectiveness; however, Levine's (1997) study of the declining Jewish community in New

Zealand found that small faith communities have the significant advantage of increased social solidarity amongst their members.

A postcode analysis of the Personal Profile Survey sheets completed by participants in this study revealed that many participants lived in residential clusters around the Bentleigh, Moorabbin, Bayswater and Boronia suburbs within proximity of Templer Community Centres, halls and aged care facilities. Indeed, one residential cluster of Templer homes in Elizabeth became informally known as the Bayswater Templer village. A typical comment was:

> It's good. Not just next door but...wir sind bloß zehn Minuten von meiner Schwester erntfernt und zehn Minuten von dem X *(*Bruder*)* Entfernung. Wir sind alle zusammen [CASE040 Lines: 583-588]. *(We are just ten minutes away from my sister and ten minutes from X {my brother}. We are all together.)*

All three generations of Templers expressed strong feelings in favour of a core of people living close together and near Templer facilities such as those located in Bayswater. In addition an inevitable trend emerged of residential dispersal and greater diversity of lifestyle amongst younger members due to employment, housing opportunities and outside social networks. A range of attitudes towards cluster living and increasing diversity and fragmentation existed amongst different cohorts.

Several first generation Templers had experienced forced dispersal during assimilation and indicated that their emotional bonds were strong regardless of residential proximity. Some of their comments about living close to each other and Templer centres were:

> Für mich ist das gar nicht wichtig, aber für manche glaube ich, ist es sehr wichtig. Warum? Weil die Leute einen Anhalt brauchen oder sich wo anlehnen können oder so, aber mir persönlich würde das gar nichts ausmachen [CASE002 Lines: 830-838]. *(For me that's not important at all, but for some it is very important. Why? Because people need to belong somewhere or have an anchor, but for me personally it doesn't worry me.)*

and

> It is not absolutely important but it does help to keep community spirit [CASE022 Lines: 912-915].

They believed the emotional ties were established during close living in internment:

> Man muss eben sechs, sieben Jahre eingesperrt gewesen sein [CASE004 Lines: 1462-1464]. *(One just needs to have been locked up for six or seven years)*

The majority of first generation participants felt a residential core around the Templer hub in Bayswater was important. As one elderly man pointed out:

> I think it is very important. Sobald Leute ausserhalb wohnen, dann haben sie Verbindung mit andere Leute...und dann ist das wieder, ist das im Hintegrund, die Templer, wenn sie zu weit weg wohnen [CASE020 Lines: 1247-1257]. *(As soon as people live outside then they get together with other people...and then it's in the background again, the Templers, if they live too far away.)*

The majority of participants in the one-and-a-half generation believed 'the preference should be for living closer together, rather than further away' [CASE001 Lines: 1004-1008]. A typical comment was:

> There must be a core that lives reasonably close together because we emphasise community life. ...we can't do without any connections to the outside Australian environment, but when you are close together you are forced to be honest and righteous and that's the aim of us...anything that helps and promotes all the virtues that we try to live by [CASE003 Lines: 985-998].

Limited availability of housing and land around Templers centres was considered a concern:

> It's the availability of land...the availability. You know when somebody gets married and wants to set up, build a house, there may not be a property available in the near vicinity [CASE023 Lines: 932-938].

Living near Templer centres certainly encouraged community participation. Some members of the second generation felt the choice of residential living around Templer

community centres was a dilemma in the context of Australia's diversified living. Some wanted to live near the beach whereas the Bayswater Templer hall is located further inland near the mountains, which would exclude members from community activities. One comment was:

> But the issue is that our Templer community is at Bayswater. A lot of things happen at Bayswater such as Kids Club, Saal... and we won't travel from the peninsula up to Bayswater like that. Yes it's difficult, the whole thing...You're sort of torn in that way [CASE018 Lines: 1196-1228].

Several members of the younger generation believed they did not need the same close-knit network of support as their parents had. A typical comment was:

> Pressures or whatever it is to be close isn't there. And I think looking at the previous generation from us they really basically only had Templer friends. So they had to be near them. I mean my in-laws had very few non-Templer friends.My parents had a lot of non-Templer friends. That's...I mean we've got friends here and friends there...There's no real stress to be very close to the Bayswater hall or the Boronia hall or the Bentleigh hall [CASE042 Lines: 974-990].

Older people believed their expectations of the younger members conflicted with rival interests that were not compatible with Templer community life. Most of the first generation was locked into a mindset that a person had one Templer identity in social, family, religious and even work domains. They believed that the multi-dimensional nature of their children's and grandchildren's lives competed with their participation at Templer events. Some typical comments were:

> Yes it is more difficult especially for the young ones because they have got so many opportunities in other areas, are even further out and you can't just always be stuck to one pattern, in one point. The first and foremost point is occupation [CASE022 Lines: 920-928].

> They try hard, but you can't stick always together. You must not forget the old generation is dying off and the young one is all over Australia and Australia is such a huge country [CASE032 Lines: 654-660].

Similar feelings were shared by several one-an-a-halfers who also saw the Australian-born generation distracted from Templer affairs by 'rival interests' [CASE013 Lines: 1176-1179].

Typical comments were:

> That's what makes it difficult for the young people because there are so many choices [CASE011 Lines: 918-921].

> Because all were born here, their circle of friends is quite often more with Australians, through school, colleges and university. When I think of X *(my son)*, he's got a huge circle of friends. It was not only the Germans, the Templers, he had others [CASE014 Lines: 1015-1023].

Some Australian-born Templers were torn between their parents' and grandparents' expectations of living a connected Templer life and the dictates of a lifestyle based on more diversified social connections. They commented:

> Yes much more difficult for the reasons of having to split yourself in half all the time if you're going to every community, every activity the children participate in, you are immediately locked into a friendship area or a commitment in that area. And it multiplies so much that your time has to be split [CASE034 Lines: 775-784].

> It gets in the way. I mean the reason why, the Temple Society have got together or the initial stages where people were co-depending on each other, whereas we are in a bigger society. We don't depend on each other to survive. We're not living that way... and yet on the other hand we're so much more mobile that even if we are living further apart there's no reason why we can't get to them [CASE041 Lines: 1140-1154].

Gradually the older generations tried to accept the changed environment in Australia and adapt to new ways of thinking based on the diverse influences on younger people's lives. A typical comment was:

> Well if they want to be a community they have to live near each other but mein Gott *(my God)*, you can't live always everywhere together. It is not Palestine. Palestine was such a small country and you had to live together because there was no other way to live. But here in Australia when the young people they got finished their studies, they get a job here and they get a job there and everywhere. It's not around the corner [CASE032 Lines: 590-602].

These attitudes were supported by a local government community survey (City of Knox 2005) that found, whilst people had increased leisure time, they in fact had limited free time because more activities filled their available leisure time. In reaction to that trend new ways of community building thinking emerged amongst second generation Templers who adapted to the needs of the Temple Society in the context of their busy and diverse lives. One person pointed out:

> But it's just for that reason because we're all so scattered and there are so many things going on in life that it might be nice to just have that one staple where everybody gets back together again [CASE041 Lines: 1162-1168].

and

> The situation's changing. People ...make an effort to go to functions. I mean there are so many functions on that you have a heck of a lot to choose from. And I don't think distance means much. I mean everyone these days has got cars...It's not the same as it was thirty years ago where not everyone had a car. I mean everyone's got a car, everyone's got a telephone. I fax my reports off to X (in the office). Things are different too. Yes the whole situation is [CASE042 Lines: 948-973].

and

> If the commitment's there it's not bad. It's balancing it out. I think that there's a lot of moves being made like the Country Vic and the Kids Club and a whole heap of things that are actually looking at now...right the Templers don't all live in a small

> group anymore. Let's look at taking things out to them...it's quite interesting with Country Vic that we end up with so many Melbourne people coming too. But it's great at the same time because it's...it's that connection again and yes it's important [CASE045 Lines: 779-794].

Gradually more second generation Templers acknowledged the value of living close to the Templer centres. Several positive views were provided by the Australian-born cohort:

> Yes, well that's quite a contentious thing. I do think it is quite significant to live close enough to a community centre to be able to participate regularly. I do think that's kind of at the heart of.... that's the only way to be Templer.... I totally believe you can be living somewhere in country Victoria and be a very good Templer but I think it makes it easier for you and I do believe we need a core of people who do live close enough to help maintain an impetus and a sort of a core[CASE010 Lines: 1059-1090].

> ...we have often commented how we just have people dropping in and after functions people come over and...just being here, it really is nice... it is quite nice to live that close and you do tend to go to more functions [CASE041 Lines: 1097-1109].

> Yes it's definitely an asset. The truth is it's easier to keep the community together and groups going if you live close by [CASE045 Lines: 763-768].

Australian-born second generation Templers tried to incorporate their Templer identity into the busy, multi-dimensional nature of their lives. New identity formation also extended for Templers into the intellectual and spiritual attachments to their faith community which is examined in the next section.

Focus on faith

Several Australian mainstream Christian communities expressed concern about their future in relation to declining congregation size and religious direction (Hughes 1997,

2001; Bruce 1999). For example members of the Anglican faith felt an uncertainty about how to act on a broader global level both as Christian individuals and as a Christian community. They believed that 'there is an urgent necessity to reinvent what we mean by the church community' and a need to overcome 'our silence in the company of strangers to our faith' (Bruce 1999:21). The present Templer case study raised similar concerns, albeit at a more local level, about the form of religious direction and relationships with outsiders. Issues regarding the spiritual future of the Community, voiced mainly by the one-and-a-half generation included:

- declining youth attendance at congregations.
- the offspring's inability to see how adherence to the Templer faith community makes a difference to their living in Australia.
- general concern about the religious direction of the Temple Society.

A review of some Templer religious education activities indicated that it reached the one-and-a-half generation and the children of the second generation who consisted of the third generation adolescents, however much of it bypassed the second generation. For example participant observation revealed that regular religious seminars were conducted for all members but were mainly attended by the one-and-a-half generation. Templer elders were aware of the need to be more outward-looking and less of a closed community. They were regular participants in inter-faith groups that were spreading in the local government areas of Knox (incorporating the Bayswater area) and Glen Eira (incorporating the Bentleigh area) and they took part in annual ecumenical religious services. A review of the Templer Record in the late 1990s and early 2000s and of the TSA website (www.templers.org) indicated that considerable progress was made by Templer elders in the area of adolescent confirmation, religious education including new initiatives such as residential seminar camps and the use of internet on-line religious resources.

Some research participants believed it was more important to focus on the Templer faith than the German background. Representative comments were:

> Yes it's a good thing to stick together but more as a religious group than a group of German nationality or German-speaking group [CASE031 Lines: 755-759].

> Another thing is the Germanness. That might be an issue that might come up eventually. The older generation is feeling the German is slipping away and in a way that's inevitable I think [CASE041 Lines: 1214-1220].

This highlighted a dilemma of competing aspects of religious transmission and support for linguistic maintenance discussed in the previous chapter.

In relation to the sustainability of the Temple Society as a faith community, older members focused on a need for greater religious or spiritual thinking. Some first and one-and-a-half generation comments were:

> The most important issue, I think, is being quite clear what it means to be a Templer…how a Templer is different from somebody else, not as a person, but maybe in outlook…and in his philosophy, in his view of life, in his ways of life [CASE001 Lines: 1049-1057 first partner].

> To be aware that you are a Templer and that means not only asking what you receive but what you can give and to really be aware what the principles of the Temple Society are and accept – *bejahen – (affirm)* them... and try to follow that and to commit yourself to it not only say it's nice for me, and I do something else at other times, but to commit yourself towards it and say what can I do with it and for it [CASE001 Lines: 1066-1080 second partner].

> Ja, die Lösung ist dass wir mehr zu unserer Religion halten. Dann kommt man zusammen [CASE047 Lines: 948-951]. *(Yes the solution is that we stick more to our religion. That's how you get together)*

According to informal discussions, the overseas-born Templers could clearly articulate the Templer philosophy (see Table 4.8) and spiritual needs as well as quote Bible passages by heart. A typical explanation was:

> I think our spiritual needs *(are the most important)*. Now if we cannot enthuse our people with the idea of the Temple, that we are temples of God, that it is our responsibility to live as though inspired by the divine, then anything else is kind of set as a community or social club or something but the heart of it's gone out of it and it wouldn't have a very good life. Our idea is timeless [CASE013 Lines: 1231-1247].

In the mainstream society, church boundaries in general are increasingly determined by theology and religious thought and less by local residential communities; church leaders are creating networks across geographical boundaries (Zwartz 2006a). Other researchers stress that an important part of immigrant identity is the integral role of religion with social and ethnic identification (Ata 1990; Mitchell 2004; Sanders 2002; Black and Hughes 2001). A one-an-a-halfer shared this sentiment in his comment:

> ...we see the Templer association as, you know, our historical, our ethnic origin, our spiritual links and we see some of the other, at least that's how I see it, some of the other organisations I belong to as friendships...[CASE043 Lines: 878-891].

> The support you get from a community you belong to I guess is what we've grown up in so we have a historical ethnic tie to it. But also having grown up as a Templer and been brought up in the examples of our parents and grandparents and how they lived their lives. You only see that as you get older. You see it as, particularly if you think back to my grandparents how they lived their lives and what they considered the true Templer spirit. I think it's rubbed off on us. And that's very important, but also the religious freedom, spiritual kernel [CASE043 Lines: 957-978].

Very few of the Australian-born Templers in their 40s and 50s were as familiar with Bible texts. In fact some indicated they needed basic Bible-reading education. Whilst the main driving force behind spiritual and secular activities in the Temple Society was the one-and-a-half generation in the 1990s, another significant aspect of the Community's sustainability was succession planning for its future operation.

Infrastructure takeover and makeover

Who to take over the responsibility for maintaining the organisational infrastructure and how to maintain connectedness in an increasingly diverse society were major issues expressed by participants. Anxieties and uncertainties were common amongst the first generation. One older person commented that it was important to hold the infrastructure together:

> ...dass wir zusammen halten. Wenn das alles dann aufhört, dann gibts nicht mehr, zum Beispiel, was sie gedacht haben und unser Office, das haltet die Leute zusammen... die Kegelbahn und Tennisklub, das Jungendlager und gemischten Chor und die meetings, die wir immer haben im Tabulam und Zentralkasse und Gemeindeleitung. Wenn das alles bestehen bleibt, dann werden wir auch weiter so sein [CASE040 Lines: 614-625 Generation 1]. *(...that we stick together. If it all finishes up then there's nothing left, for example what they were thinking of and our head office, that bonds people together...the bowling alley and tennis club, the youth camp and mixed choir and the meetings that we always have in the Tabulum (aged care) and Central Fund and Regional Council. If that all remains in existence then we will keep going like that too.)*

At the same time participants were concerned about the negative affects of increased diversity reflected in the following comment:

> The diversity that's coming into the Temple Society and how to cope with it. How to cope with the Temple Society in the greater community and trying to fit everything in the way, because it just doesn't work the way it used to work anymore. And how to cope with it and keep the same philosophies and the same ideas that sort of carried it through, and apply it to what's happening now. How you, what's it called, adapt the same ideas into life now [CASE018 Lines: 1366-1393].

As more Australian-born Templers began to play a prominent role in Templer events the relief of the older people was reflected in the following comment:

> Guck, als wir heraus gekommen sind und Skat (German card game) ein bisschen angefangen haben und dann hat einmal X ein Saal gehalten, und der Y, und dann habe ich gesagt zu meinem Mann, Gott sei Dank wir haben wieder jemand...und die Jungen...wo jetzt die nette junge Z Saal gehalten hat, dann habe ich nachher zur X gesagt, du weisst wie gut's mir ist? Jetzt ist's wieder gut und das ist es, was ich denke, dass mit der Zeit noch genügend Leute nachwachsen, und sich da dafür einsetzen. Guck die Alten sind noch da und trotzdem kommen wieder Junge die's schaffen [CASE002 Lines: 878-897]. *(Look when we came out here and started playing Skat (German card game) a bit and then X held a religious service and Y, and then I said to my husband, thank God that we've got someone again...and then the young ones...when recently that lovely young Z held a service, then I said afterwards to X, you know how good I feel? Now it's all OK again and that's what I think that as time goes by enough successors will get involved. Look the oldies are still here and the young ones who'll get it done are already coming.)*

An Australian-born participant expressed an optimistic point of view in the face of change in the flowing comment:

> ...a lot of the issues are already being addressed...say location, communities, the language. As I said to you after the last Saal, the society's changing or the patterns are changing and that's not necessarily for the bad. It's going to be different, not necessarily worse and I suppose as long as we can keep some sort of link like the children going to kids club now, and I think the kids going to German school and the teenagers group. All have a link and then it's up to them; at least they've had that bonding for a particular time...the tennis club as well for that matter. And then if they don't take part, well at least you can say they've had the opportunities. There's just so many more varied interests for everybody these days to fit everything in; anyway whether it's a Templer function or anything else into your busy life-style is difficult. But yes I can see a future for the Temple Society. [CASE025 Lines: 1124-1153].

To ensure continuity first and second immigrant generations need to talk to each other on issues of common interest (Megologenis 2004). Informal discussion and participation in Templer committees revealed the Australian-born and the overseas-born generations found a common ground for cooperation in the areas of Templer community events, aged care provision and arts/heritage projects. Gradually more opportunities arose for Australian-born Templers to contribute to TSA sustainability.

A content analysis of Templer Records since 1999 indicated significant infrastructure changes that involved many members of the Australian-born generation. These included: The JG *(Jugendgruppe/Younger Set)* was gradually replaced by alternative youth activities that catered more for younger and varying age groups, for example Youth Activities and Teenage Group (see Templer Record No 620 August 2000 pp31-32); Kids Club and Family Camps (see Templer Record No 648, March 2003 p23).

Intense activity in the TS2000 Committee over several years in the 2000s brought about major changes in the organisational structure. For example, the Community Councils based on geographical regions located at Bayswater and Bentleigh were replaced with thematic team-orientated management groups called Focus Groups that worked in the areas of:

- Property Management
- Communication and Promotion
- Elders Religious and Spiritual
- Heritage and Culture
- Welfare and Distant Communities
- Youth
- Social and Recreation
- Sydney Community

Each of these groups linked into a complex spider-web network of associated Interest Groups. The new Templer structure represented a remarkable best-practice model of cooperative management that tapped into the skills of many people at a grass-roots level;

focused on collaboration; stimulated creativity; and depended almost entirely on volunteerism.

Participant-observation indicated that the majority of participants in the new operational management Focus Groups consisted of second generation Australian-born Templers and their children, who launched into their new duties with considerable enthusiasm. These new structures indicated transformational thinking by the Templers as they tried to adapt to life in Australia.

A general trend in the broader society over the last decade, supported by State and Federal funding, has been massive growth in the festivals and events sector (Best Value Service Review: Festivals and Events 2005). The value of festivals and events, once known within the Temple Society as community functions, is that they provide opportunities for community participation, community dialogue, community expression and community connectedness. They are 'the public expression of a community's perception of itself and its vision for the future' (Best Value Service Review: Festivals and Events 2005:32). As such they define a community's sense of place and local identity.

A review of the Templer Record contents over the second half of the twentieth century indicated a plethora of celebrations and community events which had evolved and changed over time. Others which had remained constant for about 50 years with a similar location, content, format and cuisine, were important as carriers of culture and also signposted cultural changes in community life. For example Temple Society had a strong tradition of holding many secular community functions for all age groups. These included regular secular annual events e.g. Sommerfest; Sonnwendfeier (Winter Solstice Celebration); family orientated, religious celebrations linked to Christmas and Easter; and an abundance of others, like community picnics and bike rides, youth camps, and excursions to name just a few. Direct observation indicated that such functions were well attended by all age groups and generated increased community engagement in particular through volunteerism and creative use of people's resources and skills.

In addition to religious service provision such as weddings, funerals, divine services and religious seminars, the TSA also provided mental health seminars, aged care and welfare services, sporting clubs and facilities, musical events and German language schools. At times, religious and secular activities intersected for example an important aspect of the administrative Annual General Meeting that dealt mainly with financial and secular reports, was the initial religious opening of the proceedings. At other times religious services included social speeches delivered by overseas visitors. Consequently the essence of the Templer faith can be summed up as a pragmatic religion. Further exploration into the religious aspects of the Temple society is beyond the parameters of this study but would make a valuable contribution because of the interwoven nature of secular and religious activities.

Increasingly state and local government support for festivals and events required compliance with best practice models for example partnership across community groups was encouraged. For decades most Templer functions had been held independently of government support. During the life of the present research project I became increasingly involved in committee representation inside the Temple Society. Participant-observations provided valuable insights into fairly subliminal attitudes and changes that took place as greater links were forged with government agencies in the areas of youth, leisure, heritage, arts and community language education for example:

- Cultural Diversity Community Languages Schools programs and heritage projects through Victorian Multicultural Commission
- Community Arts Projects through the local government City of Knox
- Festivals and Events funding for Sommerfest through the Victorian Multicultural Commission

Historically the Templers had cooperated with outside bodies that had involved partnerships with the Australian German Welfare Association on aged care issues (Uhlenbruch 2004) and other German LOTE (languages other than English) providers, but now new challenges arose. Templers began working on these in partnership with

outside groups such as local primary schools, historical and arts societies, and Glen Eira and Knox interfaith groups (Templer Record 691, February 2007).

The promotion of Templer events traditionally occurred through the Templer Record and internal communication networks such as the 'telephone tree'. Increased outside contact became a reality through partnership with the City of Knox Council and Victorian State Multicultural Commission festivals and events. Templers were confronted with the challenge of presenting community functions as signature events.

A 'signature event' (Best Value Service Review: Festivals and Events 2005:11) is one that marks a community as unique and captures its aspirations. Sommerfest and Sonnwendfeier are two core Templer festivals that carry potential for wider community collaboration as Templer signature events. As such they would need tags of 'Templer Sommerfest' and 'Templer Sonnwendfeier' which made some committee members uncomfortable possibly due to the assimilationist legacy which had fostered a low-key culture amongst German-speaking groups.

In the early years of the twenty-first century the Temple Society has remained a vibrant and active community which has made remarkable attempts at engaging its Australian-born members and reducing barriers to broader community participation. Greater outside participation enhances a community's ability to understand its own characteristics and recognise its positive aspects. Sometimes those aspects take on a symbolic value for subsequent generations. Specific examples are examined in the subsequent section.

Symbolic bonding and building bridges

Certainly the Temple Society is first and foremost a religious society; however, for some people, symbolic religious affiliation is also about maintaining continuity with past generations (Mitchell 2005). Once some part of the ethnic population has been allowed to reach adulthood without acquiring the heritage language or some other identity markers,

'the group faces a thorny problem' of continuity (Dorian 2001:33 in Fishmann). Fortunately ethnic identity markers can be recovered and easily substituted for the ancestral language (Dorian in Fishman 2001).

Symbolic markers of identity play an important role in the preservation of a group's cultural heritage. Diasporic identities such as the Templers' are constantly producing and reproducing themselves (Matthews 2002). They are not necessarily located in ethnicity but rather are constructed through history and story telling. Identities cannot therefore be straightforwardly preserved or lost (Matthews 2002). A symbolic portrayal of an immigrant group's historical culture can consequently assist subsequent generations to identify with that group and thus enhances connectedness.

The main driving force for continuity of the Temple Society came from the one-and-a-half generation. This was confirmed in the analysis of responses to questions about the most important issues facing the Templer in these changing times. There was an overwhelming response from the one-and-a-half generation. Two issues they raised were:

- the increased need for the development of internal connectedness and bonding within the Temple Society
- the need for more public recognition by the outside community.

Some typical comments were:

> I think it's showing ourselves in the community as a group and making ourselves realise that we're here and not just some small group that you don't have to worry about at all. You know, make ourselves known, and be proud of it...I think it's important...that's why when they are working on getting the Temple Society accepted as a church this is important [CASE033 Lines: 927-942].

> I was going to say too, you know, for the young people to be proud of being a Templer, and to...yes to tell the outside world and to know what to tell the outside world. I mean I know it from myself [CASE033 Lines: 943-955].

In the last twenty years activities that focus on the 'Templer heritage trail' have preserved the Templer diaspora identity in unique and varied ways and have forged links outside the Community. Significant examples were:

- The Tatura Internment Museum and Templer Internment Secondary School curriculum resources
- Cultural Diversity activities in the Templer German Community Languages Schools
- Templer visits to Kirschenhardthof, home of the original founding Templer faith community, in Germany
- Academic links with Israeli historians
- The 'Fabric of Society' wallhanging (textile/arts project) about the Journey of the Templers

Each of these symbolic heritage identity markers is discussed below:

The Tatura Internment Museum and Templer Internment Secondary School curriculum resources

The Tatura Wartime Camps Museum, which was established with the help of the Templers in 1991, plays an important role in heritage preservation and recognition (Knee 2006). The Museum contains photographs, memorabilia, artifacts made in the Camp, intelligence reports, records, newspaper articles and books relating to the seven Internee and Prisoner of War Camps in the Tatura area during World War II (http://cx.mcmedia.com.au/~kneefam/ 1997). For the older generations it is a way of publicly acknowledging their past; for the younger generations, the museum provides a symbolic heritage link with the past. The process of transmitting symbolic identity markers that characterise a community is evidenced in the following quote by a one-and-a-halfer:

> We've been to the camp site and of course they realised how excited we were, my sister-in-law and my brother-in-law. Where we said this is where our hut was, this is where my dad stood, this is where my... And they were actually quite chuffed by the idea that we knew and were so excited [CASE026 Lines: 931-940].

> Yes, very important. Those ties should never be severed and it will give them a deeper understanding of the suffering their forefathers had to go through for them to have a good life now. You see those from the camp who decided to stay in Australia gave a better life to their children didn't they? [CASE011 Lines: 833-845].

The enthusiasm to retain such heritage was passed on to the second generation who pointed out:

> I'm interested in history so I found Camp 3 very interesting and I'd like to pass that on to my kids too. The cemetery thing I think is a personal thing. I've got an uncle who is buried there so there's a family [CASE041 Lines: 1078-1089].

> Yes and that was, I think, very important to go to, particularly for *(Australian husband)* and the kids because it actually gave them an understanding of the Templer identity [CASE045 Lines: 725-730].

The unique Templer internment history at Tatura was acknowldeged and included in the Education Department secondary school classroom resource, "German Language heritage Trails", launched in 1999. It was used on local Secondary Schools and incorporated school excursion to the Tatura Immigration Museum.

Cultural Diversity activities in the Templer Community Languages German Schools

Participant-observation at the Bayswater/Boronia Templer German School in 2005 revealed that as part of a Victorian State funded Cultural Diversity project, third generation Templer children i.e. the offspring of the second generation research participants, were involved in a school project on family reasons for immigration to Australia. The project produced a remarkable Cultural Diversity Quilt that highlighted the diversity amongst Templers and other German-speakers in Victoria and was showcased at Ethnic Conferences and reported on in the Victorian Parliament.

The communally produced textile quilt was created incorporating pictures and symbols from the internment camp and other facets of German cultural diversity. In addition new examples of how young offspring of Templers (representing the third generation) took on board a symbolic heritage connection were evidenced in the design and production of a Templer school emblem to supplement the one used sixty years earlier in the internment school.

Members of the Templer German Schools also proposed active participation in the form of school children's Cultural Diversity Project in the German Festival planned for 2007 at the Immigration Museum of Melbourne.

Visits to Kirschenhardthof, home of the original founding Templer faith community, in Württemberg, Germany.

Historical Templer sites and buildings that still exist outside Australia have gained popularity amongst Templers (Lange 1995). A visitor to Kirschenhardthof may still see some of the nineteenth century houses including the original community hall where the Temple Society was founded in 1861 (Lange 1995). One Australian born man had a clear sense of identity which distinguished between symbolic Community heritage activities and his Templer faith:

> But having been to Germany and Stuttgart and where the Templer Society grew up...Yes and (Kirschenhardthof) was wonderful....But I don't think it is likely to make you a better Templer, but we were definitely enriched by having been there. And I'm sure that happens to plenty of people. It's of value. I'm sure it gives you a better understanding of what the original ones were like and what they went through in order to follow this faith, their belief, you know it's not something you have to do but I think it fascinating stuff [CASE041 Lines: 1001-1031].

When asked if their children, the third Templer generation, should visit heritage places, another Australian-born woman said:

> I hadn't thought of it but yes they should. In an ideal world I think it would be great if we could go and see, then they would probably understand [CASE025 Lines: 959-964].

This second generation comment represents a symbolic connection with heritage places rather than the emotional homecoming expressed by the first and one-and-a-half generations in earlier sections.

Academic links with Israeli historians

Increased international travel opportunities generated a renewed interest in Templer sites and settlement stories in Israel. Many one-and-a-halfers and several Australian-born participants visited the historic German Colony settlements in Israel on guided Templer tours. Some attended cemetery restoration tours as Templer Exchange Candidates in Germany. They commented:

> Well, very important because you hear the stories...for the last how many years. Yes, I think that's, they're important in the sense that they're...that's what the Templers are [CASE025 Lines: 924-930].
>
> I'd like to go back one day and see where my mother actually grew up [CASE042 Lines: 827-829].
>
> I'd certainly like to visit the settlements. Yes, I'd really like to. I suppose with the current politics in the countries involved there I mean they are the natural apprehensions that you have there. I was talking to Tante X recently and she was quite young when they left and I think that was just such a nostalgic trip for them when they went back. And I'd like to do the same thing too [CASE017 Lines: 1277-1292].

Traditional heritage links formed new maps of social networks with other groups. Increased Templer travel, in particular by the one-and-a-halfers to Israel, generated new 'bridge building' ties with Israeli academics that resulted in a positive recognition of Templer roots in that country. The Templers became a valuable source of transnational knowledge. For example in August 2004 Dr Danny Goldman, architect and university

lecturer from Israel, visited Bayswater to deliver lectures and conduct research. An excerpt from the Templer Record No 664 read

> "Danny will speak about our old Templer Settlements and the important contribution the Templer movement made to the new State of Israel. The wonderful restoration (of Templer settlements in) Haifa thanks to the late Dr Alex Carmel and now Sarona is a tribute to our forefathers' hard work."

In February 2005 Dr Jacob Eisler visited the Temple Society Australia in Sydney and Bayswater, Melbourne (Templer Record No 668 and No 671) to conduct academic research in the Templer archives and deliver heritage lectures about the Templer colonies in Palestine. An excerpt from the Templer Record No 671 reads:

> "Dr Jacob Eisler thanks everyone sincerely for their hospitality and for sharing their photos and memories for his research on the Temple Society's influence in Palestine...He faxed his letter from Jerusalem, where he attended the opening of an exhibition he had prepared about German in the Holy Land, and sends his good wishes and best regards to all".

Content analysis of the Templer Record and researcher-participation revealed the heritage exchange lectures hosted by the Temple Society Australia in Bayswater were well-attended by first and one-and-a-half generation Templers. Identity formation is not only about emotional attachments to one's ancestry and historical places, but also involves the three identity factors of competence, usefulness and recognition. The transnational recognition of the Templers' settlements and achievements built community strength. The Templers represented a valuable historical resource to the researchers and consequently enhanced the usefulness of their past. The lost Templer colonies were on the map again.

While valuable historical Templer links with the past were re-established on a global level, local heritage activities acknowledged Templer presence in the City of Knox in outer eastern Melbourne.

'Fabric of Society' – Journey of the Templers wallhanging art project

The joint local government and TSA heritage-arts project called Fabric of Society – Journey of the Templers focuses on the immigration journey of the Templers and involved thousands of hours of volunteer embroidery work to create a wallhanging textile mural (see Templer Record No 682 April 2006). This project, not yet completed, will represent an important step in raising the visibility of the Templers as German-speaking residents in the local government area of Knox for over 50 years (Knox City Council 2006:20-21).

These projects involved Templers working together and bonding with each other as well as forming partnerships, and increased working contact with groups outside the Society. This type of bridge building beyond the boundaries of the Temple Society played an important role in changing the landscape of local community life.

Conclusion

The processes of identity formation, adaptation and developing community strength led the Templers through three ways of thinking. These were diaspora thinking, transnational thinking and community building thinking. The identity of the Temple Society was manifested as a diaspora community with multiple layers of loyalties to many homelands. The Templers' diaspora thinking was represented by the strong traditional ties to post-war Germany, the German Colonies in historic Palestine, nineteenth century Württemberg and wartime Tatura that recreated the homescape of a barbed-wire internment camp marked only by cement foundation remnants of what used to be the detention centre.

Templer diaspora loyalties took the form of hyphenated identities such as Palestinian-Germans which were later dropped and substituted by dual Australian and German attachments. Diaspora thinking was about taking on a unique variety of intercultural connections, knowledge and skills, where people felt an emotional attachment, a sense of belonging, and even a right of presence in multiple regions on a global scale. Diaspora

belonging, for the Templers, existed across space and time and remained embodied in cultures, traditions, habits and language. In particular a German diaspora identity was maintained across several generations despite Templers living outside Germany since the mid nineteenth century and even mid eighteenth century for some. They took on additional layers of cultural identities through decades of migration from Europe to the Middle East and to Australia. Consequently they were carried across several generations not as fragmented 'historic capital' but rather as one continuum of Templer belonging that transcended national and political borders.

The main vehicles that carried their diaspora thinking through space and time were the Templer religious identity, kinship ties and strong group solidarity. Multiple layers of diaspora identity were transmitted to the Australian-born generation of Templers which led to a transnational sense of belonging that generated a variety of unique international connections and opportunities for them.

The Temple Society presented as a unique transnational community model with a multiplicity of histories. Templer transnational thinking took the form of a global mobility in the form of frequent 'back home tourism' to multiple homelands by many of its members. Transnational links remained supported by the Temple Society through a highly developed, fast-paced infrastructure spanning vast spaces in the form of religious, social, cultural, economic and administrative networks. The transnational faith network gave Templers the possibility of religious tourism to regions across the oceans that carried a 'just around the corner' familiarity for them.

Thus, through historical time, the Temple Society carried a diaspora identity. On a planet-spanning level it was a transnational community that bypassed international borders. On a spiritual and intellectual level the Templer Society's primary reason for existence was as a faith community devoid of all national ideology. In Australian history it was a long-established immigration community with diminished possibilities of membership replenishment through migration. Nevertheless the Community maintained a constant,

albeit rather small, recruitment source from people who found meaningful connections through their German-language or kinship ties as well as their faith.

Immigration settlement in a new country involved a process of adaptation that was applied across several generations. The Templers' adaptation process involved thinking about community building. The nature of their community structures were transformed more recently from geographic clusters that bonded the first and one-and-a-half generations into a diverse network of thematic focus and interest groups that carried relevance for the second generation. In terms of organisational structure the TSA was a model of best practice for effectively passing the operational management to the second immigrant generation.

The official acknowledgment of cultural diversity in Victoria allowed the multiple Templer identities, formerly suppressed under assimilationism, to emerge. Partnerships with outside groups in the form of heritage exhibitions in Haifa, Tatura and with the Knox local government increased the Community's sense of competence, usefulness and recognition. Such increased credibility improved the Templers' wellbeing and community strength, affirmed their multiple identities and shifted their status from invisibility to a quiet but firm presence as a distinct diaspora faith community in Melbourne. All generations, particularly the younger Australian-born Templers had new opportunities to participate through activities developed largely by the previous generation in the areas of history, heritage, Templer culture and German language learning via transnational exchange schemes, nostalgia publishing, exhibitions and museums.

Community strength and wellbeing were demonstrated by high levels of social connectedness through volunteerism. Its members displayed a strong sense of community via high levels of engagement in secular and religious community events across all age groups. Abundant heritage and arts projects provided symbolic links with the past, reaffirmed the multilayered aspects of the Templer identity and mirrored the unique aspirations of the TSA to the broader public.

Intercultural experiences are represented by a powerful sense of connectedness as well as feelings of being different (Kahn in Beilharz and Manne 2006). An emerging localised Templer identity was demonstrated through links formed outside the TSA by second generation Templers and their offspring. This was evidenced by increasing Templer participation in broader local and state government events and festivals, which highlighted how immigrants were different from, but still an integral part of, mainstream Australia. Increased civic awareness that citizens of other cultures exist in the nation is an important step in challenging the traditional Australian monocultural identity mindset. It plays an important role in the acceptance of 'a culturally diverse nationhood' (Allegritti in Phillips 2000:204).

As a faith community, the Templer spiritual philosophy of action in daily life is tightly interwoven with a myriad of welfare, education, recreational and religious service provisions. A need to reclaim the spiritual focus of the TSA was expressed by overseas-born Templers. This could take the form of religious education that is more responsive to the needs of the second generation who grew up under secular influences in Australia.

Reconnecting with their diaspora identity, strong transnational links and innovative community building have generated a sense of community identity, increased internal bonding and bridge building with outsiders. In these ways the small but vibrant Templer Society was effectively launched on the road to sustainability.

The following conclusion chapter synthesises the major findings of the three research questions in chapters four, five and six and provides a summary of the Templer immigrant story and the dilemma of assimilation and adaptation.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

Introduction

In this case study of the TSA the dilemmas of adaptation or assimilation and language maintenance or shift were examined. Sixty-nine Templers in Melbourne were interviewed and surveyed in a language of their choice that included English, German and Swabian dialect. The exploration of Templer archives and direct participant-observation at community and religious events provided additional insightful qualitative data.

The majority of Templers settled in Australia during an era when the government's assimilation policy 'embodied the ideal of total conversion and non-recognition of migrant culture' (Jenkings 2001:226) except for folkloric quaintness. The present thesis has re-opened the case of their settlement struggles and the impact of linguistic and cultural assimilation on subsequent generations.

In the preceding chapters the story of Templer settlement was presented through the voices of ordinary members. It was a story of exile, migration and displacement, and re-establishment. Discussed was the thinking that drove their attempts to assimilate, the dilemmas they confronted and the adaptation decisions they made on the way. Their adaptation strategies depended on various legacies in the form of religious aspirations, diaspora heritage, transnational links, rich cultural capital, linguistic diversity and

commitment to community service. They arrived in Australia, many as accidental immigrants, and re-established their community. It survived, flourished and adapted to change. Change in a community is achieved collectively, but collective change depends on the individuals who are the main driving factors of community identification.

The Temple Society's 65 years in Australia appeared to have the shape of an architectural construction. The adult first generation of immigrants who arrived with an established life experience represented the pioneers who laid its foundations. The main drivers that expanded and built it up were members of the one-and-a-half generation who were children on arrival and grew up both overseas and in Australia. Their Australian-born heirs, the second generation, redesigned and re-decorated it in keeping with changing trends. Three generation cohorts have represented distinct attitudes throughout the study.

This chapter firstly discusses the settlement processes of the Templers in relation to nine ways of thinking about immigrant adaptation that emerged throughout the study. Secondly several dilemmas that arose from linguistic and cultural assimilation pressures during the Community's re-establishment endeavours are highlighted, and their implications discussed. Thirdly a practical set of steps for identity formation that can be applied to other communities is generated. Fourthly collective identities and three individual profiles of several generations of Templers are synthesised from the nine ways of thinking. Subsequently some constructive suggestions are made concerning the sustainability of the TSA in particular, community strength in relation to immigrant communities in general, and new meanings of national identity. Lastly recommendations for future research are offered.

Nine ways of thinking about adaptation

Immigration is never easy for the individual and often involves some form of change and coping behaviour and subsequent dilemmas. Adaptation of immigrants is a matter of making choices in the areas of economic, spiritual and social survival (Eckermann 1994). It is a natural process of on-going problem solving where people try to maintain some of

their old ways from their countries of origin, modify some habits and create new ones. The Templers took this process through nine ways of thinking about adaptation. These are: assimilationist thinking, re-establishment thinking, idealised thinking, religious thinking, ethnicity thinking, bilingual thinking, diaspora thinking, transnational thinking and community building thinking.

This study illustrates that immigrants do not simply arrive in a new country, get jobs, find houses and send their children to school. Rather they go through a far more complex process incorporating nine ways of thinking about settlement adaptation. These nine ways of thinking are helpful in understanding the process of adaptation that immigrants struggle with in a new country. Whilst they apply to the Templers in particular as a religious ethnolinguistic group of accidental and voluntary immigrants, the nine strategies can also be applied to other groups, such as well-established post-war immigrants and new arrivals to provide insights into their settlement behaviour.

This thesis goes beyond the traditional concept that immigrants can assimilate or that they have already successfully assimilated. Adaptation is presented as a more realistic alternative to assimilation. In this study adaptation does not mean renouncing attachments to local cultures and past traditions as expounded by Gudykunst and Kim (1997 in Kramer 2003). Rather it is about the strategies that immigrants find to fit in whilst attempting to maintain some degree of attachment to their past traditions and culture. These nine ways of thinking represent the complexity of the immigrant settlement process and incorporate several dilemmas that participants faced on the way as they attempted to adapt and fit into the dominant society.

The dilemmas of adaptation or assimilation / language maintenance or shift

A dilemma poses a problem that offers two solutions, neither of which is entirely acceptable or comfortable (Schwarz et al 1990). Several such predicaments arose from a synthesis of the nine ways of thinking. The frustrations and complexities embodied in the

transition from one cultural and linguistic environment to another dictate that these dilemmas are not simply clear-cut alternatives of assimilation or adaptation, and language maintenance or shift. They are inter-related through complex webs of human relationships and perceptions; however, some are a result of stifling assimilation policies. The implications that arise illustrate that the assimilation of immigrants is a myth and that a bilingual community can maintain ethnolinguistic vitality across many generations despite conditions that induce language shift to English. Six dilemmas have been identified in the nine ways of thinking. They include:

1. Dispersal or re-grouping

The Templers' first dilemma was to overcome official assimilationist dispersal policies and agricultural employment, to regroup and re-establish their faith community in Victoria whilst individuals still maintained jobs and housing. Eckermann (1994) pointed out that the more change was imposed from the outside, such as the assimilation policies that characterised the years following the conclusion of World War II, the more traumatic were the changes. The Templers maintained tight networks of communication via monthly circulars and managed to set up community centres in the eastern and southeastern Melbourne suburbs of Bentleigh, Boronia and Bayswater. The families who remained in remote rural locations were kept in the network and made enormous efforts to drive their children to Templer community and religious events. Others rejoined the Templer hubs on their retirement. Nevertheless dispersal took its toll and resulted in diminished German language proficiency and religious commitment in some members of second generation Australian-born Templers.

2. To be the same or different

Secondly, in the early days of establishment, Templers went through a dilemma of ethnicity and assimilationist thinking that challenged their desire to uphold their cultural German roots. Successful assimilation meant the disappearance of differences and becoming the same as the host society. Many Templers interpreted assimilation to mean acceptance in the wider community. The pressures to fit into the Australian way of life as quickly as possible led them to develop an inward-looking attitude to preserve their

culture. This served to strengthen the cultural aspects of the community but limited their access to valuable resources on the outside. Their attempts to find a "third way" of "remaining German in English" resulted in a low-key invisible community that did not project its ethnolinguistic vitality to the outside world.

3. Language maintenance and linguistic assimilation

The third dilemma occurred from the 1940s to the 1970s when the legacy of assimilationist thinking significantly hampered the healthy development of the community's German language potential. Many second generation Australian-born Templers grew up in the TSA with extensive opportunities for German language retention in the home, with friends, relatives and at community functions via the Templer Community Languages Schools and a network of transnational connections. Despite this, many of them did not develop their language proficiency to a higher level of literacy and remained limited bilinguals.

With no government support and limited resources, community-based German language education was sometimes unresponsive to the needs of Australian-born children. In addition, cultural differences were publicly frowned upon and many young Templers were embarrassed and secretive about their second-language proficiency. While many developed a positive interest in learning German in later years when multiculturalism celebrated cultural diversity, their earlier language learning experiences were fraught with disruptions and negative perceptions.

Members of the one-and-a-half generation were bilinguals, proficient in oracy and literacy. The second generation retained limited bilingualism. In spite of the unpopularity of German, and assimilationist barriers to language maintenance, all the Australian-born participants developed spoken fluency in the Swabian dialect and German but often relied on the one-and-a-half generation for additional literacy translation assistance. Even though there appeared to be a strong shift to English in the written monthly circulars, administrative affairs and religious meetings, there was sufficient social interaction and

communication with German speakers locally, beyond the home and overseas, to stimulate German language retention.

In terms of bilingual thinking, the Templers maintained the German language for longer than was predicted for most other German-speaking immigrant groups (Clyne 2003). Functional oracy in Swabian and German was retained longer than fluent literacy in German. Clyne (2003) and Christa (1995) state that language shift to English amongst the Templers had sped up in the last twenty years. Findings in this study indicate that, despite many signs of shift to English, the Temple Society retains a significant bilingual vibrancy stimulated by transnationalism and regular German language contact across generations and beyond the home. A good possibility exists of maintaining a stable form of bilingualism in the TSA for several years to come. Further research into this area would be valuable to test this trend.

4. To speak German and not want to

The fourth dilemma concerned diaspora bilingualism, where many Templers retained their German language and Swabian dialect but had limited contact with other German-speaking groups, except for some externally imposed funding partnerships within aged care and Community Language education. Whilst living outside Germany for over a century, the Templers developed idiosyncratic styles of insider-talk which reinforced Templer solidarity but cut them off from valuable external linguistic resources. Despite positive attitudes towards bilingualism in general, some one-and-a-half and second generation individuals developed a perception that their Swabian dialect and Palestinian German Templer culture were incompatible with other German-speaking communities. As a result, with the exception of a few who sang in German choirs, participants tended not to seek out social contact with other German-speakers, and even felt uncomfortable or inhibited interacting in German. Despite high levels of ethnolinguistic vibrancy within the TSA such strong internal ties have hindered German language maintenance and encouraged the shift to English.

5. Competing core values of religion and language.

A fifth paradox involved the conflicting loyalties to the dual core values of religious transmission and language maintenance in the TSA. This study supports Clyne's (1991) contention that the Templers intentionally shifted to English in religious domains for the purpose of reaching Australian-born members, however it has provided some additional insights. Firstly religion and culture were intertwined and several bilingual activities facilitated language retention. Hymn singing at Templer congregations still takes place in German and is one factor that assists German language retention. Some age-based segregation of religious worship takes place in the TSA. For example Templer religious services are delivered in German to congregations in the Tabulam and Templer Home for the Aged. While this does not directly assist in the retention of the community language amongst the Australian-born generation, it still locates the Temple Society as a bilingual community.

Both the older, overseas born Templers and the Australian-born second generation equally expressed their willingness to forfeit their understanding of English and German respectively, for the sake of the other at religious functions. This presented a peculiar dilemma because the tenets of the spiritual foundation of Templer thinking rely to some extent on rational thinking rather than ritualistic worship. A perceived absence of intellectual religious discussion amongst the second generation is possibly due to some language shift, however further research is required to substantiate the influences of other factors such as secular trends in the broader society.

6. Who will take over?

The first and one-and-a-half generations have expressed concern about who would take over the organisational structure they built up over so many decades. This is a common worry among long-established immigrant groups (Jupp 2003).The final dilemma experienced by participants consists of opposing pressures of the maintenance of a residential core of Templers around the main hub of activity in Bayswater and also around the Bentleigh hall, and the increasing diversity lifestyle pull centred on other factors such as employment opportunities and broader social networks beyond the TSA

centres. Creative community building thinking enables the Templers to preserve a critical mass of residents who live in close proximity of each other and replaces the organisational structure of geographic communities with an innovative model based on Focus Group committees of volunteers designed around thematic interest networks. This has enabled them to maintain a plethora of age-related festivals and events that enhance social connectedness and increased second generation engagement within the Community.

Having identified six dilemmas that have confronted the Templers in their six decades of settlement, their resolutions to assimilation and language issues are discussed next.

Productive consequences of dilemmas

Dilemmas can lead to productive problem solving. The Templers had to make choices to resolve each dilemma. The preservation of their faith-based community structure has been the foremost priority throughout the attitudes portrayed in the study.

About assimilation

Several paradoxes arose in relation to assimilation. The first was that while some Templers believed they had assimilated and managed to fit into the Australian society, their differences did not disappear but rather became less visible. Their German presence disappeared from the public consciousness of the broader local community.

Secondly the participants' perceived concept of assimilation differed from that intended by post-war policy. They simply equated assimilation with acceptance in the broader society. Each time the Templers were faced with a dilemma generated by assimilationist pressures, they adapted through the various nine stages of thinking. In religious thinking they displayed a determination to retain their common spiritual vision. Their assimilationist thinking pushed them to conform to the government's assimilation campaign. It left them with a legacy of losses, in the form of some language shift, and

cultural victimisation. However, it was only one aspect of their broader process of nine ways of thinking which formed part of a continual adaptation process. Their high levels of citizenship uptake were motivated by pragmatic survival needs rather than a desire to become the same as the host society and forget their traditions and culture. In ethnicity thinking they found a quiet, low-key way to retain their cultural ways through the development of strong bonds inside the TSA.

Ultimately the Templers adapted rather than assimilated. The outcome of this study dispels the myth that assimilation was attainable in terms of the disappearance of differences. Paradoxically the Templer culture and language did not disappear even after more than 60 years.

About language retention

In relation to the dilemma of language maintenance and shift, there is no black and white outcome. It needs to be viewed within the notion that a bilingual community is one where the community languages are used adequately or well in daily life, even if not by all the people in the community. Significant indicators show that all the participants are bilingual to some extent and that the TSA has established considerable structures that facilitate on-going German language retention. While it is clear that only some of the participants report equal proficiency in German and English, the notion of bilingualism needs clarification. Equating bilingualism with the perfect and equal command of two languages is a flawed belief entrenched in monolingual assimilationist thinking.

An important factor in language maintenance is a positive attitude expressed by the majority of participants towards German language maintenance despite some limited proficiency in the second generation. The older generation expressed concerns about the shift to English in the TSA and lack of commitment to the TSA in the second generation. Their concerns are contradicted by the existence of strong internal bonds between Templers, the language learning potential offered within the TSA and the overall high level of ethnolinguistic vibrancy.

In contact with outsiders, a "cultural cringe" caused some members of the one-and-a-half and second generations who grew up in Australia to undervalue their bilingual competency. This was partly a result of the government's one-size-fits-all ethnicity, imposed during the multicultural era, which categorised the Templers together with other diverse background groups as German-speakers. Bilingual, ethnicity and diaspora thinking illustrated that Templers identified as 'old Palestine-style Germans.' As diaspora Germans they were different from other German-background immigrants in Australia.

It has become clear that Templers require an identity that is publicly recognised by outsiders and perceived as useful to insiders. While the dynamics of identity change over time, the Templers' collective identity formation has been disrupted and even suppressed through assimilationist thinking.

The strength of internal solidarity bonding has carried over to effective bridge-building beyond the TSA in Melbourne in some aspects. For example their idealised thinking crystallised into a symbolic preservation of their remarkable pre-migration heritage achievements. Transnational and localised forms of identity were created, preserved and reinforced via such symbolic features as artefacts, museums and heritage projects. The Australian-born second generation Templers expressed a desire to maintain traditional, cultural and heritage links with significant places such as Germany, Israel and Tatura.

Their community building thinking extended across several generations, reshaping the organisation's structure and subsequently the Australian born generation and their offspring began to take responsibility for its continuity. In the long run the key to community sustainability for Templers is effective identity formation that is recognised as useful by their own in-group and the outside society.

Identity formation in three steps

Identity formation is a collective matter. Based on the outcomes of Chapter Six in particular, identity formation is multi-dimensional and has three characteristics. The following framework is proposed:

1. The ability to define one's identity
2. The ability to feel good about one's identity
3. Commitment to one's identity or multiple identities

A community that cannot clearly articulate or define its identity risks losing its group cohesion. The group that defines its identification process but does not feel good about it is in danger of an identity crisis. The collective that fulfils steps one and two of the identity formation framework but lacks the ability to make a commitment to its various identities diminishes its sustainability. The community that fulfils all three steps strengthens its prospects of continuity.

Immigrants who can define their identities with clarity and confidence have higher levels of wellbeing and personal happiness. People who feel good about their collective identification processes have better self-esteem and social connectedness (Black and Hughes 2001; Department for Victorian Communities State of Victoria 2004). Multiple forms of identification are common in immigrant groups who have lived in different cultures. How people make sense of their multi-layered experiences can vary considerably.

Multiple Templer Identities

The Templers demonstrated a complexity of multi-layered identities. Table 7.1 illustrates multiple collective identities that have emerged from the nine ways of adaptation thinking by Templers in Melbourne. Each carries different levels of prominence that ranged from prominent to subliminal.

Table 7. 1 Multiple Templer Identities

Level of prominence	Multiple identity
Prominent	Religious identity
Fragmented	Diaspora identity
Under-stated	Bilingual identity
Subliminal	Transnational identity

Each collective identity in Table 7.1 is discussed separately.

Religious identity

According to Black and Hughes (2001) very few Australians rated religious identity as important. For the Templers their most prominent form of identification was as a faith community with shared spiritual aspirations. More specifically the Templer Society identified as an independent Christian community. It was independent in the sense that it was not affiliated or aligned with any other denominations. Freedom of religious thought or 'free-thinking' was a main tenet of the Templer faith, not to be confused with free and licentious behaviour. A significant demonstration of that freedom was the need to be an adult over eighteen years of age in order to make an informed, free-thinking decision to join the religious society.

The majority of the first and one-and-a-half generations demonstrated an undying commitment to the religious ideals and attendance at religious functions. Some members of the second generation in this group felt distanced and even alienated from the Temple Society because they saw their German immigrant culture intertwined with the TSA faith. Consequently during the assimilationist thinking era when having a German background was unpopular, they chose to reject both. As a result many related mainly to the Temple Society as a social community rather than a religious community.

Most Templers deliberately and purposefully asserted the group's religious identity even though the ability of overseas and locally born generations to engage in intellectual spiritual discussion varied.

Diaspora identity

A collective diaspora identity emerged that gave the Templers a unique immigration history. Rather than collectively expressing themselves as a diaspora community, they presented a conglomerate of fragmented identities based on various places of origin but with a strong German Colony in Palestine background. They demonstrated a multiple sense of belonging and loyalties to many world regions distinct from national and political boundaries such as Germany, Israel, Russia, Cyprus and East Africa. Many Templers rejected the one-size-fits-all ethnicity identity and rather expressed a diaspora affinity across time and space to nineteenth century Württemberg, pre-war British Palestine, pre-Stalin Russia and various sites of wartime internment. In sociology literature and in dealings with the Australian state funding authorities, the Templers were classified as a long-established immigration German group; a classification to which many participants could not comfortably relate. Rather they self-ascribed to a 'Templer identity' which could best be described as a unique German background diaspora community that located them both in a non-political, easily connected global space across several continents and that spanned several centuries of historic time. By continually living in small, close-knit communities in what sometimes resembled a nomadic existence of wandering for over a century, the Templers retained a range of linguistic and cultural characteristics that embodied meaningful and relevant connections to many places in their diaspora. Closely related to their identity as a German diaspora community was the notion of it being a multilingual community. However for most participants their languages other than Swabian, standard German and English were no longer useful and they fell out of practice in Australia.

Bilingual identity

A gap existed between linguistic practice and perception in the TSA. Most of the participants regularly use Swabian, standard German and English in their daily life. Testimony to this was: the requirement for some German-speaking ability in several community-related employment positions in the TSA; frequent contact with the German-

specific Tabulam and Templer Home for the Aged; many subtle bilingual forms of information dissemination in the TSA; the maintenance of German community languages schools and constant code switching between the Swabian dialect and English in daily conversations with Templer families and friends beyond the home. Nevertheless the collective bilingual identity of the Templer was understated, if not ignored and sometimes even denied.

Transnational identity

The bilingual status of the community created, and was created by, transnational practices within the Temple Society. Ease of electronic communication and global travel has increased the prominence of transnational communities. The Temple Society has maintained a transnational identity for over sixty years in Australia with naturalness and without public drama. It has become an entrenched, subliminal, rarely discussed part of the Templer identification process.

Many transnational links between immigrant communities and their countries of origin are supported by mainstream religious bureaucracies, and national movements, or are solely kept up by family ties. In the case of the Temple Society, the strongest transnational link was through a constitutional religious infrastructure which was completely independent of other organised religions. The multi-dimensional nature of the transnational links had an enduring effect. They were sustained by religious, cultural, kinship and social aspects of people's lives. In addition these links were supported by back-home and diaspora-tourism of family members between Australia, Germany and Israel. Significant transnational places were described as Templer regions irrespective of their status as national or political locations. Transnational communication was such that important constitutional decisions, a regular exchange of office bearers and even trivial daily interactions occurred with relative ease between the Temple Society head offices in Bentleigh, Victoria and in Degerloch (Stuttgart), Germany. In addition, heritage activities and property management took place between the Templer Regions in Germany and Australia, and with various cities in Israel such as Jerusalem and Haifa.

The Temple Society represents an important model of non-government transnationalism in the current climate of increased global cooperation. It was clear from the study that Templer identity and transnational links were multi-dimensional, inter-related and therefore strengthened and enduring.

In summary, these four collective layers of intentional and sub-conscious forms of identification complemented the more obvious division of identity profiles aligned with three generations of Templers in Australia.

Three generation profiles

Clyne (2003) points out that the choice of language reflects group solidarity especially in relation to a dialect, the standard form of the immigrant language and the host national language. Three key groups were prominent in the TSA, each with distinct characteristics. The three profiles broadly aligned with the three cohorts described in the preceding chapters as the first generation, the one-and-a-half generation and the second generation, however the human condition must allow for some overlap. Table 7.2 illustrates the three profiles that emerged were the inward lookers, the assimilation experts and the recovered assimilation victims who became the adapters.

Table 7. 2 Templer identity profiles according to generation groups

Generation cohort	Identity profile
First generation	The inward-lookers
One-and-a-half generation	The assimilation experts
Second generation	The adapters

A description of each profile follows:

The first generation: the inward-lookers

Many Templers' attitudes were locked into the 1950s myth that a quiet, even invisible community was a well-assimilated group. The oldest cohort, the first generation of

immigrants, represented the disoriented, suppressed newcomers who were dispersed, worked hard to re-group and eventually succeeded in re-establishing the TSA. They paid the price of lost hopes and dreams. They were the silent generation, who tried to live up to the assimilationist pressures not so much to fit in, but rather to gain overt acceptance in the wider society without completely discarding their language and culture.

They felt different, and increasingly experienced the need to suppress their German language and culture. They retreated into their Community for support and to keep their faith alive. Idealised memories of their achievements in their pre-migration German Colonies in British Palestine from which they were too suddenly uprooted helped to ground them. They responded to outward assimilationist pressures to discard their Germanness as unwanted baggage by creating a close-knit, inward looking infrastructure of familiar community activities that nurtured and supported them. Most remained proudly 'German at heart' even though they took up Australian citizenship. Eventually through their quiet presence in the society, they felt accepted by other Australians and at home in their new country.

Their high levels of connectedness within their community generated by volunteerism and family ties gave them a comfortable sense of Templer identity which they kept largely in the private domain of their lives. Many of the first generation established social links with non-Templers through work, but ultimately their Templer ties were the strongest. To a degree their low-key, inward-looking attitudes were transmitted to subsequent generations as a desirable way of being.

The one-and-a-half generation: the assimilation experts

The one-and-a-half generation, whilst born overseas, had the benefit of growing up in Australia and mastering both their immigrant community languages of Swabian dialect and standard German, as well as the English language. They felt encouraged to assimilate and voluntarily tried to live up to assimilationist expectations to take on the Australian way of life. Consequently they became experts in the art of assimilation. Even though

they made an overt demonstration to diminish their Germanness, they effectively played a balancing act between cultures that led them to find a third way of 'remaining German in English.' They had strong loyalties to the German-speaking Templer community and were content to be Australian citizens. Whilst they retained their German language as a collective group, they chose to prioritise religious transmission to the next generations over community language maintenance. Many in this group had highly proficient bilingual skills and became masters of translation and nostalgia publications of Templer historical and religious literature as part of a drive to pass on the culture and faith via the English language to the next Australian-born generation. They felt comfortable affirming multiple histories and a multi-dimensional sense of identity.

Many of this group had developed social ties beyond the Temple Society and some married out. However the majority maintained high levels of connectedness within the community. They renewed transnational links with Germany and Israel and perpetuated an elasticity of belonging across several global regions in different continents that bypassed the national and political boundaries. Even those who had lived and worked away from the main Templer hubs in the eastern and south eastern suburbs of Melbourne shifted back and reconnected with considerable comfort and ease in their later retirement years.

The second generation: the adapters

The second generation of Templer immigrants were born, grew up and went to school in Australia. They were thoroughly familiar with both the Templer world and Australian society. Many experienced their schooling during the assimilationist years when their parents and grandparents were preoccupied with building up the Templer communities. They often had negative feelings about their heritage and as such became victims of assimilation. English was their first language and all were partial bilinguals with varying levels of German and Swabian language proficiencies. Many of the older ones in the group felt embarrassed and uncomfortable about their German heritage and had limited opportunities to maintain formal levels of advanced German language education. Some were fluent in Templer Swabian insider talk but struggled with German competencies

when they mixed with outsider German background people. The younger ones went to school during the years when cultural diversity was celebrated in Victoria and were more enthusiastic about finding more extensive German language learning opportunities. Most of those opportunities facilitated the use of standard German and a shift away from the Swabian dialect.

In recent years this group demonstrated a renewed interest in their ancestral multiple diaspora heritages. A significant shift to English had taken place in Templer literature, however the Templer Record monthly circular was still a bilingual publication. There was a strong oral German-speaking culture in the community. Even those who married out into non-German speaking households still had regular opportunity to practice Swabian and German. In addition the second generation welcomed German language opportunities through the Australian-German Templer Youth Exchange Scheme and German language contact within the Temple Society. This could be considered a partial German language revival.

A symbolic rediscovery of their Templer identity led to a recovery from the negative effects of assimilation that was passed down through the generations long after it ceased to be a popular policy. In this sense the second generation represented the recovering victims of a long forgotten government policy. They were at ease as Australians and felt comfortable orbiting in and out of Templer circles. In this way they were adaptation experts who were able to fit in and feel part of both communities without appearing different. Several sought out new ways of connecting Templers and a significant number took an active role in the participation in the takeover of operational infrastructure of the Temple Society with renewed enthusiasm.

In summary, these three generational profiles illustrate additional identities that exist within a group such as the TSA. Insights generated by the TSA multiple identity lead to a new understanding of multiculturalism and national identity.

Conclusion

This case study allows the reader to appreciate the journey the Templers travelled; it revisits the struggles and triumphs that characterised their community development. It not only provides an insight into how the Templers were shaped by the many cultural, policy and social influences around them, but also defines the process of identity formation.

This conclusion makes predictions about the community sustainability in relation to the TSA, addresses the issues of community strength and belonging of immigrant communities in general and discusses new meanings of national identity formation.

For the Templers this study gives them the opportunity to tell their own narratives that had previously been ignored. It provides the possibility of getting to know themselves and their community better. Templers value simply organised community life, but their adaptation experiences in Australian have been quite complex. Insights are provided into their various adaptation strategies to fit in to the Australian way of life while maintaining aspects of their traditions, language and culture. Contrary to some of their own perceptions, true assimilation has remained a myth and the TSA still operates as a bilingual community.

Internationally, despite its small numbers, the Temple Society has recently been recognised in terms of Templer tourism spots and heritage exhibitions that showcased their remarkable achievements in the Middle East. Locally, the Templers have been part of the Australian landscape for a long time and have made their mark on basic institutions in the society. They have been both shaped by and have actively shaped the Australian society. The TSA overcame adversities and also built up a model structure. Overt recognition of this achievement has been limited. In a world where society is becoming increasingly fragmented, change is accelerating and diverse influences impact on individuals, the sustainability of a group such as the TSA depends on public recognition of a well-defined and comfortably perceived collective identity. Fragmented and understated identities fraught with negative perceptions will limit the TSA's ability to

sustain the engagement of future generations who need to see clear meanings and connections.

The importance of a clear expression of the multiple spheres of identity has increased during episodes of TSA partnership and contact with outside bodies such as heritage groups, community languages education support agencies, ethno-specific aged care, inter-faith dialogue groups and state and local government festivals and events.

In particular the Templers in Melbourne have taken steps to come to terms with their multiple identities through heritage preservation activities and the powerful influence of 'nostalgia rooted in memories of things as they once were but no longer are' (Kramer 2003:5). This study provides additional evidence to support Kramer's (2003:4) contention that people cannot 'deculturize' themselves and that they do not 'unlearn' or forget even as they succeed in a new adopted homeland.

The Victorian state policy that continues to acknowledge cultural diversity has played an important enabling role in celebrating the symbolic ethnicity and German diaspora heritage of the Templers. Rather than devalue the place of multiculturalism, the Australian-born participants have been able to translate multiculturalism into naturally emerging localised and transnational identities that provide a continuity of Templer identity even under conditions of language shift. Pride in past achievements coupled with a strong loyalty to Australia provides them with a strong sense of belonging.

Effective identity formation will not only serve to bond the existing generations but will assist in the engagement of subsequent generations and lead to building bridges with other groups outside the Society.

On the broader community level the TSA represents a microcosm that can be applied to similar communities, in particular long-term European communities who arrived in Australia during the post-war migration boom. The Templers' story and those of hundreds of other immigrant communities are the building blocks that have shaped

Australia's national identity. Strong communities are connected communities and are proud of their achievements in Australia. More recently in Victoria, multiculturalism has acknowledged locally emerging diversity and enhanced immigrants' sense of belonging, rather than impose broad ethnic labels on community groups.

On the national level, "multiculturalism" is out and the importance of "shared identity" is in (Heywood 2006; Robb 2006). Thirty years of multiculturalism has benefited many Australians, and their experiences provide valuable insights to build on the concept rather than reject it. Robb (2006) promotes a 'shared identity' that consists of 'one community' with common values. A shared national identity is reminiscent of cultural assimilation in disguise.

The findings in this thesis indicate that 'shared identities' have not been rigorously researched and represent an uncomfortable notion that undermines the sense of belonging for immigrants and their offspring. Such a notion glosses over the strength and vitality of multiple identities of immigrant groups and appears more like cultural assimilation in disguise. Rather, multiple and complementary identities in the multicultural setting highlight shared loyalties to Australia that are more likely to bridge diverse cultures and communities. In this way many immigrant stories are required to contribute to the building blocks that make up the nation. The challenge is for all Australians to replace imposed assimilationist and ethnicity thinking with localised forms of identity formation that lead to strengthened communities and harmonious nation building.

Recommendations for future research

Future research needs that have arisen from this case study concern multilingual and multi-faith community life as well as capacity building in communities.

Multilingual communities

In the area of language contact further research is required on languages spoken beyond the home to supplement the Government Census data that narrowly focuses on languages

other than English used in the home. This study has demonstrated a high level of German language use at Templer community functions and during visits to friends and relatives by people who speak mainly English at home.

In addition, language maintenance programs need to take a more proactive approach to assisting German diaspora and dialect speakers who are keen to use the language with their children. Consequently, an in-depth study into ways of improving the bilingual German competence of adult Australian-born Swabian dialect speakers is needed to assist bilingual parenting programs and language maintenance trends for future immigrant generations in Australia.

Given that the Temple Society is the longest, continually running provider of German LOTE (Languages other Than English) in Australia, an in-depth study of its historical development in relation to LOTE provision would contribute to the community languages education debate.

Multi-faith communities

Religious identity, for the Templers, represents their core value. This case study has revealed a high level of commitment to the Temple Society, but diminished intellectual and spiritual grasp of its faith, by the adult Australian-born Templers. An examination of the meanings and perceptions of the Templer religion and individual spirituality across several generations in the TSA would benefit the Community in its sustainability quest. Such research would contribute to the debate on the changing nature of individual religiosity in Australian society.

On a broader level research is needed into the importance of religious identity formation in small communities to assist the debate on the impact of Australia's spiritual and religious life on society.

Capacity building and community development

In relation to immigrant adaptation strategies and community building, the Templers have established a wealth of experience over more than half a century. A more specific investigation into the nature and origin of Templer festivals and events, their abundance and diversity, historic and current significance, secular and religious function, and the way in which they are targeted at various age groups would provide a valuable model for other community groups.

Diaspora groups such as the German-speaking Templers possess a great deal of cumulative memory and documented archives. A historical study of the social, economic, religious and political influences in nineteenth century Europe on the original founders of the Templer Society would make a valuable contribution to understanding the continuity of the Temple Society.

On an international level, empirical research into the model of transnationalism within the TSA would provide an insight into the nature of global co-operation that by-passes political and religious bureaucracy.

Many more case studies of multicultural and multi-faith communities are required in Australia to enable ordinary people to tell the extraordinary stories that make up the diverse history of the Australian nation.

Bibliography

Agg, A. (2006, 18/01/2006). $1.5m Boost to Knox Aged Care. *Knox Journal of the Fairfax Community Network,* p. 5.

Angrosini, M. V. (2005). Recontextualizing Observation: Ethnography, Pedagogy, and the Prospects for a Progressive Political Agenda. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research Third Edition.* (pp. 729-746). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Applebaum, A. (2003). *Gulag: A History of the Soviet Camps.* London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Arndt, N. (1977). *A Man from Olgino: Reminiscences (Tr. from German by Manfred Fast 1994).* Melbourne: Arndt Family.

Arnold, J., & Morris, D., General Editors. (1994). *Monash Biographical Dictionary of 20th Century Australia.* Port Melbourne: Reed Reference Publishing.

Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & and Tifflin, H. (1998). *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies.* London: Routledge.

Ata, A. W. (1990). *Religion and Ethnic Identity: an Australian Study Volume 3.* Richmond, Victoria: Spectrum.

Australian Places. (1999, November 2004). *Bayswater Victoria.* Retrieved 30 May, 2006

Beilharz, K. (1999). Kurt Beilharz Remembers. *Rowville-Lysterfiled Community News* (May and June 1999).

Beilharz, K. (2000). *As I See It.* Bayswater, Victoria: Snap Printing.
Beilharz, K. (2003). *Wilhelma Chronic.* Bayswater: Snap Printing.

Beilharz, P. (1994). *Postmodern Socialism - Romanticism, City and State.* Carlton, Victoria, Australia: Melbourne University Press.

Beilharz, R. (2006, 6 April). Personal Communication between researcher I.

Bouzo and R. Beilharz, Regional Head Temple Society Australia. Melbourne, Victoria.

Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology, 46*(1), 5-68.

Beykont, Z. F. (Ed.). (2002). *The Power of Culture: Teaching across Language Difference.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Publishing Group.

Birrell, B. (2001). Multicultural Literature. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 815-818). Oakley, Victoria, Australia: Cambridge.

Birrell, B. (2001). 1945-1972. In A. Markus (Ed.), *Building a New Community: Immigration and the Victorian Economy.* Crows Nest, NSW, Australia: Allen and Unwin.

Black, A., & Hughes, P. (2001, December). What is Meant by "Community Strength?" In C. Browne, K. Edwards, V. Watson & R. van Krieken (Eds.), *TASA (The Australian Sociological Association) Conference Proceedings.* University of Sydney: The Australian Sociological Association.

Black, A., & Hughes, P. (2004). *Getting to Know Your Community: A Guide to Using Local Data.* Melbourne: State Victorian Office, Department of Victorian Communities.

Blaich, H. (2006). Exiles and Emigrants: Epic Journeys to Australia in the Victorian Era. *Templer Record, 683*(May 2006), 38-39.

Blaich, H., & Haering, M. (2006). Relations Strengthened Between Israel and the Templers. *Templer Record, 683* (May 2006), 39-40.

Borland, H. (2001). *Multilingualism, Language Policy and the Role of Ethnic Community Broadcasting.* Paper presented at the Plenary Session: Saturday 10 November 2001, Victoria University of Technology, Melbourne.

Bouma, G. (2004). *The Challenge of Religious Revitalisation to Education for Shared Values and Interfaith Understanding.* Paper presented at the Education for Shared Values and Interfaith Understanding, University of Adelaide.

Bouma, G. (2007). *Australian Soul: Religion and Spirituality in the Twenty-first Century.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Bouma, G., & Hughes, P. (1998). Religion and Age in Australia. *People and*

Place, 6(1).

Bouma, G. D. (Ed.). (1996). *Many Religions, All Australian: Religious Settlement, Identity and Cultural Diversity.* Adelaide, SA: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, Australia.

Bouma, G. D. (Ed.). (1999). *Managing Religious Diversity: From Threat to Promise* (Vol. October 1999). Nunawading, Victoria, Australia: Christian Research Association.

Bouzo, I. (2005). *Gingerbread Men of Moorabbin: The Story of Erica Specialties 1957-1999.* Melbourne: Richter.

Bouzo, I., & Frank, D. (2000). *School Charter: Bayswater/Boronia Templer School.* Bayswater: Temple Society Australia.

Burke, M. (2004). *Re-Imagining German-Canadian Cultural Identity: eflections on Past Deconstructions & New Evidence.* Paper presented at the Assimilation-Integration-Acculturation? The German-Candian Case, Manitoba, Canada.

Burstin, H. E. (2006). Yiddish in Oystralia. In M. Fagenblat, M. Landau & N. Wolski (Eds.), *New Under the Sun: Jewish Australian on Religion, Politics and Culture* (pp. 76-86). Melbourne: Black Inc.

Burstin, H. E. (2006, June 10 2006). The Only Goy in the Village: Language Interest in Yiddish is Booming and Finding New Speakers all the Time. *The Age,* p. A2 15.

Calwell, A. (1949). *Hansard, Commonwealth of Australia, Parliamentary Debate, Senate and House of Representatives - Second Session of the Eighteenth Parliament, Fourth Period, volume 1, 23 September.* Canberra.

Carmel, A. (1973). *Die Siedlungen der Württembergischen Templer in Palästina 1868-1918 (Tr. from Hebrew by P. Leshem).* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag.

Carmel, A. (1975). *Geschichte Haifas in der türkischen Zeit 1516-1918.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Castles, S. (1996). *Multicultural Citizenship, Research Paper No 16, 1995-6, Parliamentary Research Service.* Canberra.

Castles, S. (1999). Globalization, Multicultural Citizenship and Transnational Democracy. In G. Hage & R. Couch (Eds.), *The Future of Multiculturalism.* Sydney: Sydney Research Institute for the Humanities and the Social

Sciences.

Castles, S. (2001). Multiculturalism in Australia. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 807-811). Oakley: Cambridge.

Castles, S. (2002). Migration and Community Formation Under Conditions of Globalization. *International Migration Review, Winter 36*(4), 1143-1169.

Castles, S., Kalantzis, M., Cope, B., & Morrissey, M. (1992). *Mistaken Identity.* Sydney: Pluto Press.

Cavanagh, T. (2002). *Qualitative Research Preliminary Exam,*. Retrieved 2/12/2003, Revised Fall 2002, from http://soegrad.colostate.edu/programs/prelims/QualitativeResearchPreliminaryExamStudyGuide.pdf.

Charmaz, K. (2003). Grounded Theory: Objectivist Methods. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry.* (pp. 249-291). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Christa, C. M. (1995). The German Templers in Australia. In M. Jurgensen (Ed.), *German-Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945* (pp. 130-139). Bern: Peter Lang.

Church, J. (2005). *Migration Per L'Australia: The Story of Italian Migration.* Melbourne: Miegunyah Press.

Clyne, M. (1988). The German-Australian Speech Community: Ethnic Core Values and Language Maintenance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 72*, 67-83.

Clyne, M. (1991). *Community Languages: The Australian Experience.* Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. (1997). *The German of Third Generation German-English Bilinguals in Australia.* Paper presented at the LOTE Seminar for German Teachers, Montrose Primary School, Victoria.

Clyne, M. (2001). German Language. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 385-387). Oakley Vic: Cambridge.

Clyne, M. (2003). *Dynamics of Language Contact: English and Immigrant Languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. (2005a). *Australia's Language Potential.* Sydney, NSW: UNSW Press.

Clyne, M. (Writer) (2005b). Wake up Australia! [Radio], *Lingua Franca.* Sydney NSW: Radio National, Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Clyne, M., & Kipp, S. (2002). Australia's Changing Language Demography. *People and Place, 10*(3), 35.

Clyne, M., & Markus, A. (2001). Attitudes Towards Immigration and Multiculturalism. In A. Markus (Ed.), *Building a New Community: Immigration and the Victorian Economy* (pp. 79-88). Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin.

Coles, R. (2000). *The Erik Erikson Reader.* New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

Colic-Peisker, V. (2002). The Process of Community and Identity Building Among Recently Arrived Bosnian Muslim Refugees in Western Australia. *Mots Pluriels, 21*(May 2002), 1-13.

Collins, J., Mondello, L., Breheney, J., & Childs, T. (2001). *Cosmopolitan Melbourne: Explore the World in One City.* Sydney: Big Box Publishing Pty Ltd.

Cook, M. (2006, February 20, 2006). Towards a Bilingual Nation. *The Age,* p. 12.

Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2000). *A Place in the Sun: Re-creating the Australian Way of Life.* Sydney: Harper Collins Publisher.

Cope, B., & Kalantzis, M. (2001). Productive Diversity. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins.* Oakley, Victoria, Australia.: Cambridge.

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design Choosing Among Five Traditions.* California: Sage Publications.

Crystal, D. (1992). *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language.* Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press.

Dalby, A. (2002). *Language in Danger.* London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.

Darlington, Y., & Scott, D. (2002). *Qualitative Research in Practice Stories from the Field.* Crows Nest, NSW, Australia: Allen and Unwin.

DeFazio, T. (2005, 1 October). *Culture is Cool: Developing Cultural Awareness in the Ethnic School Classroom.* Paper presented at the Victorian State

Community Languages Schools Conference, Doncaster Victoria Australia.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2003). *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry.* Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2005). *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research Third Edition.* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Department for Victorian Communities. (2004). *Indicators of Community Strength in Victoria, Strategic Policy and Research Division.* Melbourne: State of Victoria.

Department of Employment, T. (2005). *National Plan for Languages Education in Schools 2005-2008.* Canberra: Ministerial Council on Education.

Doepke, S. (1992). *One Parent, One Language: An Interactional Approach.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dowd, L. T., Eckermann, A.-K., & Jeff, L. (2005). Culture and Ethnicity. In J. Crisp & C. Taylor (Eds.), *Fundamentals in Nursing* (pp. 123-142). Sydney: Elsevier.

Draper, P. J. (1978). The Accidental Immigrants: Canada and the Interned Refugees, Part I. *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal, Volume 2* (Number 1 Spring), 1-38.

Dutton, D. (1999). *Citizenship in Australia: a Guide to Commonwealth Public Records.* Canberra: National Archives of Australia.

Dyck, C. J. (1993). *An Introduction to Mennonite History, Third Edition.* Waterloo, Ontario: Herald Press.

Eckermann, A.-K. (1994). *One Classroom, Many Cultures : Teaching Strategies for Culturally Different Children.* St Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin.

Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism.* London: Routledge.

Eisler, J. (2001). *Deutsche Kolonisten im Heiligen Land. Die Familie John Steinbeck in Briefen aus Palästina und USA.* Stuttgart - Leipzig . Hirzel Verlag.

Erikson, E. H. (1970). Reflections on the Dissent of Contemporary Youth. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis, 51.*

Evans, K. (1995). Transformations in Cultural Identity: Displaced Persons in Southern WA- Post World War II. *Royal Western Australian Historical*

Society Journal, 11(Part 1), 112.

Fagenblat, M., Landay, M., & Wolski, N. (2006). *New Under the Sun: Jewish Australians on Religion, Politics and Culture.* Melbourne: Black Inc.

Faist, T. (2000). Transnationalization in International Migration: Implications for the Study of Citizenship and Culture. *Ethnic and Racial Relations, 23*(2), 189(134).

Farges, P. (2004). *"Which Church Do You Go To?" The Difficult Acculturation of German-Jewish Exiles in Canada, 1933-2004.* Paper presented at the Assimilation, Integration, Assimilation? The German-Canadian Case, University of Winnipeg.

Fernandez, S. (1992). *Room for Two.* East Melbourne: Commonwealth of Australia.

Fernandez, S., Pauwels, A., & Clyne, M. (Eds.). (1993). *Unlocking Australia's Language Potential* (Vol. 4 - German). Canberra: National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Ltd.

Fernando, I. (1985). *Culture-change in an Ethnic Group.* Unpublished Master of Social Work, University of Melbourne, Melbourne.

Fielding, J., & Moran, J. (2006, 28th July). *Insider and Outsider Perspectives in Mixed Method Evaluation and Policy Formulation.* Paper presented at the Mixed Method Evaluation: from Synthesis to Policy, City University, London.

Fielding, N. G., & and Lee, R. M. (Eds.). (1993). *Using Computers in Qualitative Research.* London: Sage Publications.

Fishman, J. (Ed.). (2001). *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fishman, J. A. (1991). *Reversing Language Shift.* Adelaide, SA: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Fleer, M., & Raban, B. (2006, 2006-02-06). *"It's the Thought That Counts": A Sociological Framework for Supporting Early Literacy and Numeracy.* Retrieved 07/02/2006, 2006, from http://www.octf.sa.edu.au/octf/files/links/4_02_Raban.doc

Flick, U. (1992). Triangulation Revisited: Strategy of Validation or Alternative? *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 22*, 175-198.

Flick, U. (1998). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research.* London: Sage.
Forster, C. (1995). *Australian Cities: Continuity and Change.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press Australia.

Galligan, B., & Roberts, W. (2003). *Australian Multiculturalism: Its Rise and Demise.* Paper presented at the

Australasian Political Studies Association, School of Government, University of Tasmania.

Georgiou, M. (2001). Thinking Diaspora: Why Diaspora is a Key Concept for Understanding Multicultural Europe. *The Multicultural Skyscraper Newsletter, 1*(4), 3.

Giampana, F. (2001). Hyphenated Identities: Italian-Canadian Youth and the Negotiation of Ethnic Identity in Toronto. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 5*(3), 279-317.

Gidal, N. T. (1995). *Jerusalem, in 3000 Years, in 3000 Jahren.* Köln: Könnemann.

Giorgas, D. (2000, 24-26 July). *Community Formation and Social Capital in Australia.* Paper presented at the 7th Australian Institute of Family Studies Conference, Sydney.

Glenk, H. (2005). *From Desert Sands to Golden Oranges: The History of the German Templer Settlement of Sarona in Palestine 1871-1947.* Victoria , BC, Canada: Trafford.

Glenk, S. (2000). Foreword. In *Templer Hymnbook* (pp. iiia-iiic). Bentleigh: Temple Society Australia.

Glesne, C. (1999). *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction* (2nd ed.). New York: Longman.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction.* New York: Longman.

Gohl, E. (1991). *The Transportation of Members of the Temple Society to Australia for Internment.* Turramurra North, NSW: C. H. Gohl Publishers.

Goldlust, J. (1993). *The Melbourne Jewish Community: A Needs Assessment Study.* Canberra: Bureau of Immigration and Population Research, Australian Government Publishing Service.

Goldman, D. (2003). *The Architecture of the Templers in their Colonies in Eretz*

Israel, 1868-1948 and their Settlements in the United States 1860-1925. The Union Institute and University, Cincinnati.

Grässle, I. (1986). In Palästina das Heil gesucht, in Australien eine Heimat gefunden, Stationen der schwäbischen Templer. Stuttgart Germany: Südfunk 2.

Griffin, C. W. (2005). *The Evolution of German-Jewish Intermarriage Laws and Practices in Germany to 1900.* Unpublished Thesis submitted to the Department of History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts Degree, The Florida State University, Florida, USA.

Griffin, H. (2006). *Sing Me That Lovely Song Again.* Canberra: Padanus Books.

Guba, E., and Lincoln, Y. (1994). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In N. K. Denzin, and Lincoln Y. S. (Ed.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research.* London: Sage Publications.

Hagan, J. M. (1998). Social Networks, Gender, and Immigrant Incorporation: Resources and Constraints. *American Sociology Review, v63*(Feb 1998), 55-68.

Hage, G., & Couch, R. (Eds.). (1999). *The future of Australian Multiculturalism: Reflections on the Twentieth Anniversary of Jean Martin's The Migrant Presence.* Sydney, NSW: Research Institute for Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Sydney.

Heath, A. W. (1997). The Proposal in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report, 3*(1), 41 paragraphs.

Hill, R. A., & Dunbar, R. I. M. (2002). Social Network Size in Humans. *Human Nature, 14*(1), 53-72.

Hoerder, D. (2004). *Local, Continental, Global Migration Contexts; Projecting Life-courses in the Frame of Family Economies and Emotional Networks.* Paper presented at the Assimilation, Integration, Acculturation Conference: The German-Canadian Case, University of Winnipeg.

Hoffmann, R. (1952). Editorial. In *Rundschreiben* (pp. 2). Malvern, Victoria, Temple Society Australia.

Hoffmann, R. (1988). Templers. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : an Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 496-497). North Ryde, N.S.W: Angus & Robertson.

Hope, S. (2004). Exodus to the Holy Land. *Geographical* (July 2004), v76 i77 p63(74).

Hornung, P. G. (2007) Member of Heritage Group, TSA. Personal communication with I. Bouzo. Wantirna, Melbourne.

Hornung, P. G. (2002). *From Palestine to Cyprus.*Unpublished manuscript, Melbourne.

Howard, J. (1999). *Forward to New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*: National Multicultural Advisory Council.

Hsin-Chun Tsai, J. (2003). Contextualizing Immigrants' Lived Experience: Story of Taiwanese Immigrants in the United States. *Journal of Cultural Diversity, Fall 2003*, 13.

Hughes, P. (2001). *The Importance of Religious Identity.* Nunawading, Victoria, Australia: Christian Research Association.

Imberger, B. (1979). *"Language use and language maintenance in a small German religious community: a study of trilingualism and triglossia in the Temple Society, with special reference to mixed marriages" unpublished honours paper, Bachelor of Arts (Hons) in German.* Monash University.

Janesick, V. J. (2003). The Choreography of Qualitative Research Design: Minutes, Improvisations and Crystalization. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. E. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry.* (pp. 46-79). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Jayasuriya, L. (1997). *Immigration and Multiculturalism in Australia.* Nedlands WA: School of Social Work and Social Administration, University of Western Australia.

Jenkings, P. A. B. (2001). *Australian Political Elites and Citizenship Education for `New Australians' 1945-1960.* University of Sydney.

Jupp, J. (Ed.). (1988). *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins.* North Ryde, N.S.W: Angus & Robertson.

Jupp, J. (1991). *Immigration.* South Melbourne: Sydney University Press & Oxford University Press Australia.

Jupp, J. (1995). The Hidden Migrants: German-Speakers in Australian Since 1950. In M. Jurgensen (Ed.), *German-Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945.* Bern: Peter Lang.

Jupp, J. (Ed.). (2001). *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*. Oakley, Victoria: Cambridge.

Jupp, J. (2003). *The Polish Impact on Australian Society - speech delivered to the Australian-Polish Community Services*. Canberra.

Jurgensen, M. (Ed.). (1995). *German-Australian Cultural Relations Since 1945*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Kalantzis, M. (2000). Multicultural Citizenship. In W. Hudson & J. Kane (Eds.), *Rethinking Australia* (pp. 90-110). Cambridge UK: Cambridge.

Kalantzis, M. (2001). Recognising Diversity. In H. Irving (Ed.), *Unity and Diversity: a National Conversation* (pp. 130-148). Sydney NSW: Australian Broadcasting Commission.

Kalantzis, M. (2005). Conceptualising Diversity - Defining the Scope of Multicultural Policy, Education and Research. *Australian Mosaic, 10*(2), 6-9.

Kandiyoti, D. (2003). Multiplicity and its Discontents. *Genders, 37*, 18.

Kaplan, G. (1996). *The Meagre Harvest. The Australian Women's Movement 1950s-1990s*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Kaplan, G. (2001). Post-war German Immigration. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : an Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 377-379). Oakley, Vic: Cambridge.

Kaye, B. (1999). *Signposting the Future: Why the Idea of Lay Vocation in Society Has Become a Bad Idea for Australian Anglicans*. Retrieved 21/08/2006, from http://home.vicnet.net.au/~cranmer/news.htm/odyframe.htm

Kellehear, A. (1993). *The Unobtrusive Researcher - a Guide to Methods*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Kelsall, T. (2000). *Subjectivity, Collective Action and the Governance Agenda in Arumeru East*. Oxford, UK: University of Oxford.

Kemmis, S., & McTaggart, R. (2003). Participatory Action Research. In N. K. Denzin, & Lincoln, Y. S. (Ed.), *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry*. (pp. 336-396). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Kidd, W. (2002). *Culture and Identity*. New York: Palgrave.

Kidder, L. H., & and Judd, C. M. (1986). *Research Methods in Social Relations*

(5th ed.). New York: CBS College Publishing.

Kipp, S., & Clyne, M. (1996). Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Australia. *People and place, 5*(4).

Kipp, S., & Clyne, M. (2003). Trends in the Shift from Community Languages: Insights from the 2001 Census. *People and Place, 11*(1), 33-41.

Knee, L. (1997, 1 May 1997). *Tatura World War II Wartime Camps and Irrigation Museum*. Retrieved 23 August 2006, from http://cx.mcmedia.com.au/~kneefam/

Knowles, V. (2000). *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration 1900-1977*. Canada: Public Works and Government Services Canada.

Knox City Council. (2005). *Best Value Service Review - Festivals and Events*. Scoresby, Victoria.

Kramer, E. M. (Ed.). (2003). *The Emerging Monoculture: Assimilation and the "Model Minority"*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Kramsch, C. (1994). *Context and Culture in Language Teaching* (second ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *Language and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (2004). When in Rome: the Realities of Skill Development in an "Anglo" Education. *Journal of Research in International Education, 3*, 310-317.

Kramsch, C., & Sullivan, P. (1996). Appropriate Pedagogy. *ELT Journal, 50*(3), 199-212.

Kunz, E. F. (1988). *Displaced Persons: Calwell's New Australians*. Rushcutters Bay, NSW: Australian National University Press/Pergamon Press.

Kunz, E. F. (1988). Post-war Non-British Immigration. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : an Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins:* (pp. 100-106). North Ryde, N.S.W: Angus & Robertson.

Kuzmickaite, D. (2000). The Adaptation of Recent Lithuanian Immigrants in Chicago. *Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences, 46*(2 Summer), (6).

Lack, J., & Templeton, J. (1995). *Bold Experiment: a Documentary History of Australian Immigration since 1945*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Lam, H. (2005). Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation. *Bilingual Research Journal, Spring 2005*(Spring), 4p.

Landweer, M. L. (2000). Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality. *Serial : Notes on Sociolinguistics, 5*(1), 5-22, entry number 41832.

Lange, P. (Ed.). (1992). *Templer Handbuch*. Stuttgart-Degerloch: Tempelgesellschaft in Deutschland.

Lange, P. (Ed.). (1995). *Templer Handbook (Tr. by Temple Society Australia)*. Bentleigh, Victoria, Australia: Temple Society Australia.

Lekakis, G. (2005). Chairman's Report: Victorian Multicultural Commission. *Multicultural Victoria, 14*(9 Summer-Autumn), 3.

Lekakis, G. (2006). Chairman's Report Special Edition 2006: Welcome to the Cultural Diversity Week Special Edition of Multicultural Victoria. *Multicultural Victoria, 18*(13 Special Edition), 1.

Lett, J. (1990). Emics and Etics: Notes on the Epistology of Anthropology. In T. N. Headland, Pike L. P., and Harris M. eds. (Ed.), *Emics and Etics: The Insider/Outsider Debate* (pp. 127-142). Newbury Park: Sage Publications Inc.

Levine, H. B. (1997). *Constructing Collective Identity: A Comparative Analysis of New Zealand Jews, Maori and Urban Papua New Guineans.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Levitt, P. (2001). Transnational Migration: Taking Stock and Future Directions. *Global Networks, 1*(3), 195-216.

Lewin, F. (2001). Assimilation and Integration. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 752-755). Oakley, Victoria, Australia: Cambridge.

Liebscher, G., & Schulze, M. (2004, 26-29 August 2004). *Language Use and Identity: Analysing Language Behaviour of German-Speaking Immigrants in Kitchener-Waterloo.* Paper presented at the Assimilation-Integration-Acculturation? The German-Canadian Case, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.

Lincoln, Y. (1990). The Making of a Constructivist: A Remembrance of Transformations Past. In E. Guba (Ed.), *The Paradigm Dialogue*. Newbury Park: Sage.

Lo Bianco, J. (2002). *Brief Outline of the Australian Language Policy Experience.* Paper presented at the Consideration of Elements of National Language Policy, George P. Schultz National Foreign Affairs Training Centre.

Lo Bianco, J. (2003). Research Priorities: Heritage Languages in Policy Texts. On *Heritage Language Journal* [on-line journal]. California: UCLA Language Resource Centre.

Lo Bianco, J. (2005, 1 October 2005). *Quality and Controversy: What Does Australian Society Want from Community Language Schools?* Paper presented at the Victorian State Community Languages Schools Conference, Doncaster, Victoria, Australia.

Lo Bianco, J., Liddicoat, A. J., & Crozet, C. (Eds.). (1999). *Striving for the Third Place: Intercultural Competence Through Language Education.* Melbourne: Language Australia.

Mann, C. (2005). *The Myths of Life and The Choices We Have.* Surrey Hills, New South Wales: Koromiko Publishing.

Mann, C. (2005). Identity Myth - Are You the Person You Choose to Be, or Are You Living a Second-hand Life Dictated by the Expectations of Others? *Wellbeing, Spring*(101), 30-33.

Manne, R. (2001). My Country - A Personal Journey. In *The Alfred Deakin Lectures: Ideas for the Future of a Civil Society.* Sydney: ABC Books.

Markus, A. (1994). *Australian Race Relations 1788-1993.* St Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin Australia Pty Ltd.

Markus, A. (Ed.). (2001). *Building a New Community: Immigration and the Victorian Economy.* Crows Nest NSW: Allen and Unwin.

Markus, A. (2006). Multiculturalism and the Jews. In M. Fagenblat, M. Landau & N. Wolski (Eds.), *New Under the Sun: Jewish Australians on Religion, Politics and Culture.* (pp. 93-107). Melbourne: Black Inc.

Marquardt, F. (1998). "Schaffe, schaffe, Häusle baue": Hans Medick, the Swabians and Modernity. *Journal of Social History, 32*(1), 196(199).

Matthews, J. (2002). Deconstructing the Visual: The Diasporic Hybridity of Asian and Eurasian Female Images. *Intersections, October 2002*(8), 17.

May, S. (2001). *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language*: Longman.

May, T. (1993). *Social Research Issues, Methods and Process*. USA: Open University Press.

Medick, H. (1998). The Swabians and Modernity. *Journal of Social History, 32*(1), 196(199).

Menadue, J. (2003). Australian Multiculturalism: Successes, Problems and Risks. In L. Kramer (Ed.), *The Multicultural Experiment: Immigrants, Refugees and National Identity*. Sydney: Macleay Press.

Messimeri, V. (2006, 10 April). A Thinking Person's Australia. *The Age,* p. 7.

Meune, M. (2004). *German-Quebecers or German(o)-Quebecois? The Double Integration of People of German Descent in Quebec*. Paper presented at the Assimilation, Integration, Acculturation Conference - The German-Canadian Case., University of Winnipeg.

Migrant Information Centre Eastern Melbourne. (1999). *Making a Future: A Report on the Needs of Migrant Communities in the Eastern Region - Migrant Information Centre (Eastern Melbourne) Service Response 1999-2001*. Melbourne.

Mitchell, C. (2005). Behind the Ethnic Marker: Religion and Social Identification in Northern Ireland. *Sociology of Religion, 66*(1), 3-22.

Murphy, J. (2000). *Imagining the Fifties: Private Sentiment and Political Culture in Menzies Australia*. Sydney: Pluto Press.

Murphy, J., & Smart, J. (1997). *The Forgotten Fifties: Aspects of Australian Society and Culture in the 1950s*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Murphy, T. (2006). Lucky Country for Templers. *Moorabbin Glen Eira Leader,* p. 1.

National Multicultural Advisory Council. (1999). *New Agenda for Multicultural Australia*: Commonwealth of Australia.

Nicholas, H. (2000, 21 June). Teachers Have a LOTE to Learn. *The Age*.

Nieto, S. (2000). Placing Equity Front and Centre: Some Thoughts on Transforming Teacher Education for a New Century. *Journal of Teacher Education, 51*(3), 180(188).

Ogburn, W. F. (2005, March). *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved 27 March 2005, from <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article?tocId=9056822>.

Oka, T., & Shaw, I. (2000). Qualitative Research in Social Work. In K. Oda, N. Hisada & T. Sugimoto (Eds.), *Introduction to Social Work Research.* Tokyo: Chuo Hoki.

Oliver, P. (1997). *Research for Business, Marketing and Education.* Great Britain: Hodder and Straughton Ltd.

O'Sullivan, J. (2003). How Not To Think About Immigration. In L. Kramer (Ed.), *The Multiculutral Experiment* (pp. 25-54). Sydney: Macleay Press.

Ozolins, U. (2001). Language Policy in Australia. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 785-792). Oakley, Vic: Cambridge.

Multicultural Act Victoria, Act no. 100/2004, Parliament of Victoria(2004).
(Hansard) Parliament of Victoria, Parliamentary Debates, Legislative Assembly, 55 Sess. 425-426 (2005).

Parry, L. (2006). Double Agents. *The Age.*

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods* (2nd ed.). USA: Sage.

Pauwels, A. (1986). *Immigrant Dialects and Language Maintenance in Australia: The Case of the Limburg and Swabian Dialects.* Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications.

Perry, J. (Ed.). (1994). *Doing Fieldwork - Eight Personal Accounts of Social Research.* Geelong VIC: Deakin University Press.

Peters, N. (2000). *'Just a Piece of Paper: Dutch Women in Australia'- Studies in Western Australian History.*

Peters, N. (2003, 25 March). *From Aliens to Austr(alians): A Look at Immigration and Internment Policies.* Paper presented at the From Curtin to Coombs: War and Peace in Australia Seminar, Curtin University of Technology.

Phinney, J. S., Horenczyk, G., Liebkind, K., & Vedder, P. (2001). Ethnic Identity, Immigration, and Wellbeing: An Interactional Perspective. *Journal of Social Issues, 57 Fall*(3), 493-511.

Portes, A. (1997). Immigration Theory for a New Century: Some Problems and Opportunities. *International Migration Review, 31*(4), 799-825.

Portes, A. (2003). Theoretical Convergences and Empirical Evidence in the Study of Immigrant Transnationalism. *International Migration Review,*

37(3), 874-892.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The Story of the Immigrant Second Generation.* Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Price, C. (Ed.). (1966). *Australian Immigration: A bibliography and Digest.* Canberra: Australian National University.

Romankin-Arndt, V. (1993). *Templers in Russia: Between Mennonites and Palestine.* Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.

Rose, D., Carrasco, P., & Charboneau, J. (1999, 17 June). *The Role of "Weak Ties" in the Settlement Experiences of Immigrant Women with Young Children: The Case of Central Americans in Montréal.* Retrieved 1 Sept, 2005, from http://ceris.metropolis.net/virtual%20library/

Rubino, A. (2002). *Italians in Australia: Past and New Trends.* Paper presented at the Innovation in Italian Teaching Workshop, Griffith University, Queensland, Australia.

Ruff, D. (1986). *The Temple Society: An Overview.* Bentleigh, Victoria, Australia: Temple Society Australia.

Ruff, D. (1987). *The Temple Society: A Brief Historical Introduction.* Bentleigh, Victoria, Australia: Temple Society Australia.

Ruff, D., & Beilharz, R. (2001). The Templers. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People: An Encylcopedia of the Nations, its People and their Origins* (pp. 375-377). Oakley, Victoria: Cambridge.

Ruff, D. P. (1990). The Temple Society in Australia. In A. W. Ata (Ed.), *Religion and Ethnic Identity; an Australian Study Volume 3* (pp. 69-90). Richmond, Victoria: Spectrum Publications Ltd.

Ruff, D. P. (2000). Templer Hymnbook Introduction. In H. C. o. t. T. S. Australia (Ed.), *Templer Hymnbook.* Bentleigh, Victoria, Australia: Temple Society Australia.

Ruff, D. P. (2000, 12 March). Personal Communication at Templer Sommerfest between researcher I. Bouzo and D. Ruff, President Temple Society Australia re chapter title in Abe Wade Ata's (1990) book. Bayswater, Melbourne.

Rutland, S. D. (2005). "Buying out of the Matter": Australia's Role in Restitution for Templer Property in Israel. *The Journal of Israeli History, 24*(1 March),

135-154.

Sahoo, A. K. (2004). Transnational Networks of Indian Diaspora in Australia. *Published in Journal of Contemporary Asia and Europe, Centre for Asian and European Studies, Vol. 1 (2), 2004,*(2), 120-134.

Sanders, J. M. (2002). Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Plural Societies. *Annual Review of Sociology, 28*, 327-357.

Sauer, P. (1988). *The Story of the Beilharz Family: Revised Edition.* Sydney: Heinz W Beilharz.

Sauer, P. (1991). *The Holy Land Called (Tr. by Gunhild Henley).* Melbourne: Temple Society Australia.

Sawatzky, F. (1995). Growing Up in Bayswater. *Bayswater Inside Out,* pp. 8,9.

Sawatzky, H. (1990). *Mennonite Templers.* Winnipeg, Manitoba: CMBC Publications.

Schwarz, C., Davidson, G., Seaton, A., & Tebbit, V. (Eds.). (1990). *Chambers English Dictionary.* Edinburgh: W & R Chambers Ltd.

Seitz, A., & Foster, L. (1985). Dilemmas of Immigration - Australian Expectations, Migrant Responses: Germans in Melbourne. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology (ANZJS), 21*(3 (November)), 414-430.

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2003, Tuesday 14th October 2003). *(Why) Should Diversities be Maintained? Language Diversity, Biological Diversity and Linguistic Human Rights.* Paper presented at the Glendon Distinguished Lecture 2003, Glendon College, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Smith, P. A. (1984). *Palestine and the Palestinians 1876 - 1983.* New York: St Martins Press Inc.

Smolicz, J. J. (2001). Cultural Diversity. In J. Jupp (Ed.), *The Australian People : an Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (pp. 769-774). Oakley, Victoria: Cambridge.

Spolsky, E. (1991). *The Influence of Language on Culture and Thought.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Stake, R. E. (2003). Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (pp. 134-164). Thousand Oaks: Sage

Publications.

Stake, R. E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research Third Edition.* (pp. 443-466). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Struve, J. (2006, 10 July). *Spuren des Tempels: Die Württembergischen Templer im Heiligen Land.* Retrieved 14 August, 2006

Sutton, P. (2001). *Occasional Papers No. 01/2001 Aboriginal.* Western Australia: National Native Title Tribunal, Commonwealth of Australia.

Sydney Morning Herald. (1953). 2m pounds for People of the Temple. In P. Sauer (Ed.), *The Story of the Beilharz Family* (1988 ed., pp. 242). Sydney: Publisher Heinz W. Beilharz.

Taft, R. (1973). Jewish Identification of Melbourne Jewry. In P. Medding (Ed.), *Jews in Australian Society* (pp. 61-102). South Melbourne: Macmillan.

Taksa. (2003). *Trains, travel and Hard Work: The Umbilical Connections Between Migration and Industrial Heritage*: University of New South Wales, Australia.

Tavan, G. (1997). Good Neighbours: Community Organisations, Migrant Assimilation and Australian Society and Culture 1950-1961. In J. Murphy & J. Smart (Eds.), *The Forgotten Fifties: Aspects of Australian Society and Culture in the 1950s.* (pp. 77-89).

Taylor, A. J. P. (1985). *The Course of German History.* London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Taylor, C. (1994). The Politics of Recognition. In A. Gutman (Ed.), *Multiculturalism* (pp. 25-74): Princeton University Press.

Taylor-Powell, E., & Renner, M. (2003). *Analyzing Qualitative Data* (G3658-12 ed.). Madison, Wisconsin USA: University of Wisconsin-Extension, Cooperative Extension.

Taylor-Powell, E., & Renner, M. (2003, 15 October). *Analizing Qualitative Data.* Retrieved 12 March, 2005, from http://s142412519.onlinehome.us/uw/pdfs/G3658_12.PDF

Tedlock, B. (2003). Ethnography and Ethnographic Representation. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (pp. 165-213). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Tedlock, B. (2005). The Observation of Participation and the Emergence of Public Ethnography. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research Third Edition* (pp. 467-482). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Tempelgesellschaft in Deutschland. (1990). *Damals in Palästina*. Stuttgart, Germany: Tempelgesellschaft in Deutschland.

Tempelgesellschaft in Deutschland. (2001). *Damals am Kaukasus*. Stuttgart: Tempelgesellschaft in Deutschland.

Temple Society Australia Heritage Group. (2005). *Memories of Palestine: narratives about life in the Templer communities 1869-1948*. Bentleigh, Victoria: Temple Society Australia Heritage Group.

Thanasoulas, D. (2001). The Importance of Teaching Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom. *Radical Pedagogy, 3*(3), 23.

Tisdell, M. (1995). German schools and their contribution to language teaching in Australia. In M. Jurgensen (Ed.), *German-Australian Cultural Relations since 1945* (pp. 140-153). Berne: Peter Lang.

Tisdell, M. (1998). Socio-economic Aspects of Language Policies: An Australian Perspective. *International Journal of Social Economics, 25*(2/3/4), 134-145.

Tisdell, M. (1999). Teaching language through immersion: content-based subjects at tertiary level for prospective teachers of German. *Australian Universities Modern Language Association Journal (AUMLA), 91*, 83-85.

Tomalin, B., & Stempleski, S. (1993). *Cultural Awareness*. Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press.

Trimble, J. E., & Dickson, R. (2005). Ethnic Identity. In C. B. Fisher & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Applied Developmental Science: An Encyclopedia of Research, Policies and Programs*. Washington USA: Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Trochim, W. (2000). *The Research Methods Knowledge Base, 2nd Edition.* Cincinnati, OH: Atomic Dog Publishing.

Trochim, W. M. (2000, August 2). *The Research Methods Knowledge Base, 2nd Edition.* Retrieved 10 February 2004, from http://trochim.human.cornell.edu/kb/index.htm

Uhlenbruch, W. W. J. (2004). *50 Years of Serving Those in Need: A History of*

the Australian-German Welfare Society Inc 1954-2004. Melbourne: Design Print Integration.

Van Sommers, T. (1966). *Religions in Australia*. Adelaide: Rigby Ltd.

Verschik, A. (2004). Aspects of Russian-Estonian Code-switching: Research Perspectives. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 8*(4), p427(422).

Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and Researching Transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 22*(2).

Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation. *International Migration Review, 38*(3), 970(932).

Victorian Curriculum Assessment Authority. (2005). *Victorian Essential Learning Standards Level 1 Revised Edition*. Melbourne: Victorian Government, Australia.

Victorian Multicultural Commission. (2005). Community Round Up: Per L'Australia: The Story of Italian Migration. *Multicultural Victoria, 16*(11), 18-19.

Victorian Multicultural Commission. (2005). VCM's Awards for Excellence in Multicultural Affairs. *Multicultural Victoria, 14,* 8-13.

Victorian Office of Multicultural Affairs. (2002). *Valuing Cultural Diversity*. Melbourne: Department of Premier and Cabinet, State of Victoria.

Vondra, J. (1970, October 4). Idealism, Courage and 100 years Wandering. *Sunday Observer,* p. 35.

Vondra, J. (1981). *German Speaking Settlers in Australia*. Melbourne: Cavalier Press Pty Ltd.

Wagner, H. (2007). Personal communication with I. Bouzo. Bayswater: TSA elder.

Watson, D. (2005, 2 September). Politics is killing off our mateship. *The Age,* p. 13.

Werner, H. (2004, August 26-29, 2004). *'German only in their Hearts': Making and Breaking the Ethnic German Diaspora.* Paper presented at the Assimilation, Integration, Acculturation? The German-Canadian Case German-Canadian Studies Conference, University of Winnipeg.

Wertheim, M. (1999). *The Pearly Gates of Cyberspace. A History of Space from*

Dante to the Internet. Sydney: Doubleday.

Wolcott, H. F. (1990). *Writing Up Qualitative Research*. California: Sage Publications.

Wolff, S. (2000). *German Minorities in Europe: Ethnic Identity and Cultural Belonging*. New York: Berghahn.

Wolff, S. (2001). German Expellee Organizations Between "Homeland" and "At Home": A Case Study of the Politics of Belonging. *Refuge, 20*(1), 52-65.

Yamani, M. (2000). *Changed Identities: The Challenge of the New Generation in Saudi Arabia*. Washington DC: Royal Institute of International Affairs.

Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case Study Research Design and Methods 2nd Edition* (Second Edition ed. Vol. 5). California: Sage Publications Inc.

Yin, R. K. (2002a). *3rd Edition. Case Study Research : Design and Methods (Applied Social Research Methods)*: SAGE Publications.

Yin, R. K. (2002b). *2nd Edition. Applications of Case Study Research (Applied Social Research Methods)*: SAGE Publications.

Zwartz, B. (2006a, June 30). Crisis in Faith. *The Age,* p. 17.

Zwartz, B. (2006b, June 3). In Search of New Songs of Praise. *The Age,* p. 19.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Plain language statement: open letter to all interview participants (English version)

An open letter to all participants

Dear

I am doing a case study of the Templer Society Australia as part of some research for a degree from the University of New England.

I will be investigating what languages Templers use and how this has changed over time. Also I will be looking at adaptation ands assimilation issues i.e. I will examine how the Templer community fits into the broader Australian society. I want to find out in which ways we are different from it and in what we have become more like our Australian host society.

To do this I need to gather some information by interviewing Templers and also looking at back copies of the 'Templer Record' and some other historical documents. I would like to ask you a few questions on these subjects. The interview should take about an hour. It would be helpful if you permit me to tape record the session. All the information I gather will remain confidential and anonymous.

I would really value your contribution. Should you decide to take part I stress that in order to protect your rights and feelings you may stop the interview or even withdraw from taking part in the research at any time if you wish to do so. However, I expect that you will find the experience a relaxed and enjoyable one.

If you have any questions about what I am trying to do I invite you to contact me. You should also feel free to ask me during the interview or even to contact me later on.

The attached form is designed to protect you rights and privacy.

There is no need to respond to this letter as I will follow it up with a telephone call. Thanking you in advance for your interest and co-operation.

Yours sincerely,

Irene Bouzo

Appendix 2 Plain language statement: open letter to all interview participants (German version)

Ein offener Brief an alle Interview Teilnehmer

Liebe Frau/ Lieber Herr

Als Teil meiner Forschung im Rahmen meines Magisterstudiums an der *University of New England,* habe ich es mir zur Aufgabe gemacht, eine Studie über verschiedene Aspekte der Tempelgesellschaft durchzuführen.

Es liegt mir daran, die von den Templern gebrauchten Sprachen zu untersuchen und dabei festzustellen, wie sich dieser Sprachgebrauch im Laufe der Zeit verändert hat. Mich beschäftigen ebenfalls Aspekte der Adaption und Assimilation, d.h. ich möchte feststellen, wie sich die Gemeinschaft der Templer in die australische Gesellschaft im allgemeinen eingefügt hat. Dabei möchte ich untersuchen, bis zu welchem Grade wir uns von der australischen Gesellschaft unterscheiden und inwiefern wir uns unserem Gastland angepasst haben.

Um dieses Ziel zu erreichen, beabsichtige ich, Mitglieder der Tempelgesellschaft zu interviewen. Ich werde ebenfalls alte Kopien des *Templer Record*, sowie andere historische Unterlagen durchsehen.

In diesem Zusammenhang würde ich Ihnen gerne ein paar Fragen stellen. Das Gescpäch/Interview sollte nicht länger als eine Stunde dauern. Dabei wäre es mir eine große Hilfe, wenn Sie mir erlaubten, das Interview auf Kassette aufzunehmen. Alle Informationen werden selbstverständlich streng vertraulich behandelt. Alle befragten Personen bleiben anonym.

Für Ihre Mitarbeit wäre ich sehr dankbar. Selbstverständlich haben Sie das Recht, das Interview jederzeit abzubrechen oder auch aus dem ganzen Forschungsprojekt auszusteigen, wenn Sie das zu irgendeinem Zeitpunkt wollen.

Wenn Sie zusätzliche Fragen zu dem Projekt haben, beantworte ich sie gerne während oder nach dem Interview.

Das beigefügte Formular sichert Ihnen die Wahrung Ihrer Rechte und Ihrer Anonymität. Eine Antwort auf diesen Brief benötige ich nicht, zumal ich mich später persönlich mit Ihnen telefonisch in Verbindung setzen werde.

Für Ihr Interesse und Ihre Mitarbeit bedanke ich mich schon jetzt und verbleibe mit freundlichem Gruß,

Ihre

Irene Bouzo

Appendix 2 General interview schedule - questions 1-44

GENERAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Apply to all TSA members who accept to be interviewed)

Introduction

I'm really interested in anything that is important to Templers, particularly since they have been in Australia. I'll ask you mainly how things are now for you but I'm also interested in how you think things have changed over time.

A -ABOUT MIXING SOCIALLY WITH PEOPLE (primary social relations)

1. Can you tell me how much you mix with Templer family and friends?
2. How much do you mix with other Australian people or any other non-Templers? How have things changed over time?
3. Which groups do you mix more with /or less with?
4. Are you more at ease with any particular group?
   Do you feel more socially accepted by one group than another?
5. Would you like your children/family/our younger members to mix more with other Templers/ or less with them?
6. Do you ever invite non-Templers to any of our functions?
7. There are more people getting married outside the Temple Society.
   How important do you think it is for them to have a Templer marriage/wedding or even
   a Darstellung/presentation?
   Do you think they or their children should take part in Templer functions even if they are not members?
8. How important do you think it is for the non-Templer partner to learn German?

B SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR RELIGION

(religious involvement)

9. Do you go to Saal much? eg regularly, now and again, or just at special occasions such as funerals, Darstellung, Christmas, Easter etc.

10. How do you cope with the languages used for Saal, e.g. a Saal in German, a Saal in English, or a mix of German and English?

11. What is your language preference at Saal e.g. for English or German? I noticed a lot of people sing in German at Saal. Do you choose to sing the songs in German or English? Why?

12. What kind of religious instruction did your children / or the young people in your family receive? eg Templer Sunday School, family services, Kids Club, confirmation, something else outside the TSA? How satisfied are you with this?

13. In what ways do the teachings of the TSA affect your daily life?

14. For sure you receive the Templer Record/Rundschreiben? Which parts do you or your family enjoy reading? Why?

15. How do you find the religious articles in the "Templer Record"?

16. Does anyone ever read the children's section in your family?

17. How do you cope with the English and German language in the TR?

18. In the last (ABS 5-yearly) census the question about religion did not have to be answered. Can you recall whether you left it blank or how did you answer the item on religion?

19. Do you have any other religious affiliations or practices that you might wish to tell me of?

20. Is everyone in your family a TSA member? If not, in what ways are they connected?

C. ABOUT COMMUNITY VOLUNTEER WORK/INVOLVEMENT

(Community involvement)

21. Could you list any Templer clubs, committees or activities you participate in? eg choir, sports clubs, Frauenverein, councils etc.

22. Which non-Templer community groups do you participate in? eg school councils,

Rotary etc.

23. Which of the above Templer and non-Templer activities is or has been the most important one for you? Has this changed over time?

24. In community involvement, what do you think is the single most important Templer issue?

D YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT BEING A TEMPLER.

(Positive emotional/psychological involvement in the TSA)

25.What for you are the most important things about being a Templer e.g. the most lasting, sustaining, comforting, supportive things about being a Templer?

26. How would you describe your feelings as a German/Palestinian-German/Palästinadeutsche(r)/Auslandsdeutsche(r)?

27. Can you describe your feelings about being an Australian? (in terms of strong, positive, not so positive etc.)

E CAN I ASK A FEW QUESTIONS ABOUT OUR GERMAN BACKGROUND?

(support for German language and culture)

28. What is the usual language spoken at home? To what extent?

After all these years do you have any more difficulty speaking or writing German?

29. Do you know any other languages?

30. When did you start using them and stop using them?

31. Have any children in your (extended) family studied German at school? Was it the Templer German School?

32. How important do you think it is for Templer children in Australia to be taught German?

33. How do feel about the Australian-German Templer Exchange Scheme?

34. Do you think much about the TGD in Stuttgart?

35. Are you an Australian citizen? Were you naturalised? In which year? What made you take this decision?

36. How do you see our future relationship with the Templers in Germany?

F THE TEMPLERS HAVE MOVED AROUND SO MUCH.

(significant place/region identification)

37. Are there any places you identify with strongly as a Templer? How important are these places to you?

38. Would you like your children/the younger TSA members to visit these places?

39. Do you ever attend the events at Tatura? What does Tatura mean to you personally? Do you mix much with the local Taturans? Since when?

40. How important do you think it is for your children, grandchildren or the younger Templers to go to Tatura, see the historical museum there, and visit the German cemetery?

H THE FUTURE ***(defence of TSA identity/continuity)***

41. How important do you think it is to live near other Templers or Templer community centres?

42. Do you think it's getting more difficult for Templers to stick together than it used to be? Why?

43. Would you like your children or your relative's children to bring up their children as Templers?

44. What do think are the most important issues facing the Templers in these changing times?

This is the end of the interview. Thank you very much for your co-operation.

Do you know of any other Templers who might enjoy taking part in this survey?

Appendix 4 Interview schedule for key persons

Apply to key persons (TSA office bearers, elders)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY PERSONS

1. What kind of TSA association is there with outside bodies/institutions?

2. What kind of contact exists between the TSA and TGD?

3. Do you see the TSA as a resource to the host society? In what ways?

4. What are the regular TSA traditional events (recent) and what value/significance is placed on them? What is the significance of the term "Saal"?

5. What languages are actually used in the TSA i.e. official, formal, informal; written and spoken?

6. How important is Templer identification with certain places connected with their heritage?

7. What role does the TSA play in assisting member and friends with family history?

8. Can you suggest any resources to find out about:
   TSA history
   TSA background and demographics eg size, location, aims.
   Pre-migration experiences at language maintenance
   TSA landmarks from arrival in Australia onwards

Appendix 5 Language survey on self-ascribed competency

HOW WELL DO YOU KNOW THESE LANGUAGES?

(Confidential) Please tick

SPEAK AND UNDERSTAND

Language proficiency	**Swabian**	**Standard German**	**English**	**Arabic**	**French**	**Russian**	**Other**
Very well							
Quite well							
Not well							
A few words							
none							

READ AND WRITE

Language proficiency	**Swabian**	**Standard German**	**English**	**Arabic**	**French**	**Russian**	**Other**
Very well							
Quite well							
Not well							
A few words							
none							

Appendix 6 Language survey on self-ascribed use and domains

SOME MORE QUESTIONS ABOUT LANGUAGE USE

(CONFIDENTIAL) Please tick

1. Language competence	**Swabian**	**Standard German**	**English**	**Arabic**	**French**	**Russian**	**Other**
Are you able to write a simple letter?	N/A						
Are you able to read a simple letter?	N/A						
Can you hold a social conversation?							
Can you understand a conversation?							
Are you able to understand a Saal?	N/A						
Are you able to read TR articles?	N/A						
2. Preferred language	**Swabian**	**Standard German**	**English**	**Arabic**	**French**	**Russian**	**Other**
At home/with family							
At work							
For religious							

topics/ at Saal							
For officialdom	N/A						
For socialising with other Templers							
3. Actual language use	**Swabian**	**Standard German**	**English**	**Arabic**	**French**	**Russian**	**Other**
I regularly use							
I sometimes use							
I hardly ever use							
I never use (anymore)							

Appendix 7 Personal data survey

Confidential **Please fill in**

PERSONAL DATA

Respondent Number:

Date

BIRTHPLACE:

Age: Please circle:

19-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70-79 over 80

If applicable - year of migration to Australia.....

Age at time of migration: Please circle:

under 12 13-19 20-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70-79 over 80

Internment in Australia: .....yes / no

Marital Status

Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation of Spouse

What suburb do you live in? **Postcode**

Education Please tick

	SCHOOLING	TERTIARY
OVERSEAS (specify)		
IN INTERNMENT		
IN AUSTRALIA		
OUTSIDE INTERN'T		

Employment

Overseas..... In Australia.....

THANK YOU

(NB respondents under 18 need parental permission.)

Appendix 8 Content Analysis of Rundschreiben and Templer Record (trial version)

Date of issue	Title of circular	Language: German or English	Type of article	Nature of contents	Length	Writer	Target group	Other

Appendix 9 Content analysis of Templer Record - Final version of categories based on emerging themes.

		Language used		Topics								Target audience			
Year	Issue	German	English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	6	General audience	Children	Youth	Elderly

Key to Topics:

1. Religious teaching
2. Organisational administration
3. Language use
4. German culture
5. Local Australian culture
6. Temple Society heritage
7. Internal community wellbeing
8. Civic welfare

Appendix 10 Consent for research participant

CONSENT FORM FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Any questions concerning the project entitled

The dilemma of adaptation or assimilation: language maintenance or shift – a case study of the Temple Society Australia

can be directed to **Irene Bouzo** (Investigator)

of **Department of Education Studies** (Department)
University of New England

on **(03) 9762 9568 (off campus)** (Telephone No.)

I (the participant) have read the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this activity, realising that I may withdraw at any time. I agree that research data gathered for the study may be published, provided my name is not used.

....
Participant of authorised representative Date

....
Investigator Date

Appendix 11 Table A1 - Content analysis of TSA Rundschreiben (circular) in 1950s

Title of article/subject matter	**Language used**	**Section**	**reference**
Der Wilde (The wild man- William Buckley)	German	Youth	N.66 Aug 1952
Die Kelly-Banditen (the Kelly Gang)	German	Youth	1952
The Wheat belt of Australia.	German	Youth	1952
Australian Animals and Plants	German	Youth	1952
Australian Sheep Breeds	German	Youth	1952
Themes included: German authors, composers, poets, landscape of Stuttgart	German	Youth	1953
Das Australische Parlament (The Australian Parliament)	German	Youth	No. 95, 14 May 1955
Vortragsabend über Wolle (Australian wool presentation)	German	Youth	No 981, 15/6/1955
Fünf Minuten Englische Sprachserie (Five minutes English language series)	German	Youth	No 981, 15/6/1955
Aktuelle Probleme:	German	Youth	No. 90, 1954

Slang und Dialekt			
Aus der Australischen Geschichte (Snapshot from Australian history)	German	Youth	No 104. Oct 1955
Zucker in Australien (Sugar in Australia)	German	Youth	No. 105, 1955
Uran in Australien (Uranium in Australia)	German	Youth	No 103, Sept 1955
Australian naturalisation	German	Main	No 116, Oct 1956
Die Englische Sprache (discussion of future of Temple Society in Australia without German)	German	Main/Youth	No 123 21/5/1957
How to make a will and testament in Australia	German	Main	No 141 17/11/1958
Etwas über Wolle: die Wollauktion und die Wollkäufer (More about wool: auctions and buyers)	German	Youth	No 157 March 1960
Typisches Mount Buller-Wochenende (Typical Mount Buller Weekend)	German	Youth	No187, Sept 1962

Appendix 12 Table A2 - Templer volunteer work with non-Templer groups.

Non-Templer community group	Number of Templers who participated
Primary and Secondary Schools, fundraisers, fetes, working bees, Parents councils, reading, Mothers' Club	26
Lifeline counsellor	1
Musical choirs eg Melbourne Chorale, Gilbert and Sullivan Society, German Arion Choir	3
Sports Clubs eg soccer, swimming, squash	7
University clubs, committees	2
Neighbourhood Watch	1
Victorian Emergency Nurses Association	1
Australian aged care	2
Rural church community	1
Boy Scouts	4
Red Cross	2
Environmental societies	1
Rotary club	3
Ski Clubs	1
Meals-on-wheels	1

Appendix 13 History of the Society

Here is a brief summary of some historical facts on the TEMPLE SOCIETY

1861 The Temple Society was founded in south-western Germany by Christoph Hoffmann and his friends.

1868 Beginning of carefully planned migration of Templers to the Holy Land (then part of the Ottoman Empire). Over many years urban and rural settlements with church halls and schools, and commercial, trade, farm and transport enterprises were established in a number of locations including Jerusalem, Haifa and Jaffa. The faith and ideas of the Templers also spread to parts of Russia and the USA

1921 Those Templers interned in Egypt in WW I returned to their settlements in Palestine (now a British Mandate). The settlements soon flourished again.

1939 German Templers were interned in Palestine at the outbreak of WW II.

1941 Over 500 Templers from Palestine were deported to Australia where internment continued until 1946-7.

1948 Formation of the State of Israel. Templers cannot return there, those left had to leave. Most now live in Australia and Germany. 1948-50 Australian Templers consolidate in centres.

1950 Formation of the Temple Society Australia with Dr Richard Hoffmann as Regional Head.

Over the years church halls and community centres were established at Boronia, Bayswater and Bentleigh in Melbourne, at Meadowbank in Sydney and at Tanunda in SA

1970 Australian and German Templer Regions linked formally by the appointment of Dr. R. O. Hoffmann as President of the Temple Society.

1972 Templer Home for the Aged opened in Bayswater - greatly expanded since.

1979 Tabulam Nursing Home, located next to the Templer Home for the Aged, begun as a joint undertaking with the Australian-German Welfare Society.

Over 100 aged people are now cared for in our Homes.

1981 New Youth Group clubroom and schoolrooms completed at Bayswater.

1986 Templers in Germany and Australia celebrate 125 years of Temple Society.

1987 Sydney Templers secure several places in the St Hedwig Homes for the Aged of the Catholic German Community of St Raphael in Blacktown NSW, opened in 1989.

1988 Dr Richard Hoffmann retires. Dietrich Ruff is elected President of the Temple Society

1990's New initiatives: Templer residential unit development in Bavswater, Kids' Club, Australian-German Templer Exchange, Country Victorian Templer Groups.

2001/2 Dietrich Ruff retires. Peter Lange is elected President of the Temple Society

2002 The new Temple Chapel built in the Bayswater Community Centre. Extensive remodel of the TTHA.

Further information may be obtained from TEMPLE SOCIETY AUSTRALIA
Melbourne: Office of the TSA 152 Tucker Road Bentleigh VIC 3204 Tel: (03) 9557 6713 Fax: (03) 9557 7943; e-mail tsa@datafast.net.au .

Sources Temple Society Australia website: http://www.templers.org/
Accessed 26 October 2006

Appendix 14 About the Temple Society, Philosophical Concepts

We are a **religious** society because we believe that human beings have something of the divine within and so are spiritual temples of God. Our **name** derives from this concept, which contains a double implication:

(i) Each *individual* is called upon to recognize that he or she is a "temple of God", in whom God's Spirit lives (1 Corinthians 3;16),

(ii) People are called upon to act *together* as "living building stones of God's spiritual temple" (1 Peter 2:5).

The name **Temple** thus refers to both individuals and communities in the sense of Ephesians 2:19-22: *on the foundations of the apostles and prophets and in union with Christ Jesus, the cornerstone, we too are built up into a spiritual dwelling place (temple) of God.*

We are a **Christian** society because we try to follow the teachings of Jesus and his central message about the kingdom of God as recorded in the New Testament and as summed up by the twin commandments: *love God with all your being* and *love your neighbour as you love yourself* (Matthew 22:37-39).

In this central message of Jesus, the founders of the Temple Society saw a clear definition of humanity's task in the world. They believed, as we do today, that this task can be carried out more effectively in **communities** of people with the same focus (Matthew 18:20).

Accordingly, the **aim** of the Temple Society and of its individual members is the fulfilment of what Jesus envisaged as God's kingdom on earth by **putting his message of love into practice in daily life.** We have faith that our inevitable failings will be forgiven as we forgive those who hurt us. **Templers** are people who accept the responsibility of conscientiously working towards the achievement of this aim. Our **motto** is

"Set your mind on God's kingdom and his justice before everything else, and all the rest will come to you as well" (Matthew 6:33).

We are an **independent** society because we are not affiliated with any other Christian church or denomination. We are non-dogmatic and have no fixed creed, liturgy or sacraments. But we strive to establish and nurture Christian fellowship and recognize a bond with all those who work for the good of humanity.

Our **background** is German and many of us cherish our rich cultural heritage. However, we do not see ourselves as an ethnic group because our aim is religious and transcends nationality. The Temple Society in Germany and in Australia, though independent regions, share a common faith, aim and traditions.

The **Temple Society Australia** holds regular religious services at Bayswater, Bentleigh, Boronia and the Templer Home for the Aged, all in Melbourne; in central country Victoria and in Sydney NSW and Tanunda SA. These services are mainly in English. Sunday School and Kids' Club are held at most services in Melbourne. Templer Elders also hold presentation (of young children), confirmation, marriage and funeral services, religious discussions and seminars.

We operate a fully approved Age Care Facility for the Elderly, the Frail and the Invalid in our TABULAM & TEMPLER HOMES FOR THE AGED establishment, run in partnership with the "Australian German Welfare Society" at our Bayswater Community Center.

We have a care worker, a playgroup, German language schools, teenagers' group, youth group, camps, ladies' groups, a choir, tennis and bowling clubs, and run an exchange program with the Temple Society in Germany.

In Australia the Temple Society publishes the Templer Record monthly.

Source Temple Society Australia website: http://www.templers.org/

Updated 30 January 2001. Accessed 26 October 2006