

Some Reflections on the Research Project of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Affairs (Zagreb) in Relation to Australia: 'Croatian Migrant Communities: Belonging and Multiculturalism'*

Rebeka Mesarić-Žabčić and Dubravka Mlinarić
Institute for Migration and Ethnic Affairs, Zagreb

Abstract

In this article the authors offer an overview of the scope, methods and aims of the research project 'Croatian Migrant Communities: Belonging and Multiculturalism' (funded by the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sport), and especially in relation to the Croatian community in Australia. The desired result of the research project is to enable greater levels of contact between the Croatian community in Australia (and elsewhere) and Croatia, as well as the fostering of scholarly, cultural economic and other forms of co-operation.

1. Introduction

Emigration from one country to another is always determined by the context of its economic and political development, as well as the development of the host countries. In contemporary Croatian scholarly terminology, the concept of 'emigrant' is understood as constant over-seas emigration, primarily to the

* This article was written as part of the research project 'Croatian Migrant Communities: Belonging and Multiculturalism' and is based on preliminary results of field research conducted in Spring 2003. At the behest of the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sport, the research project will continue until July 2006. Thus more exhaustive results concerning issues related to the Croatian migrant community in Australia can be found in the works of Dubravka Mlinarić and Rebeka Mesarić-Žabčić in: Saša Božić (ed.), *Hrvatske migrantske zajednice, pripadnost i 'multikulturalizam'* [Croatian Migrant communities, Belonging and 'Multiculturalism'] (Zagreb: IMIN, Jesenski i Turk, in print). Additional information can also be found in the following partially annotated bibliography, which contains almost 600 works from different genres and theoretical fields: Dubravka Mlinarić, *Prilozi za bibliografiju o hrvatskom iseljeništvu u Australiji i Novom Zelandu* [Contribution for a Bibliography about the Croatian Migrant Community in Australia and New Zealand] (Zagreb: IMIN, in print).

countries of North and South America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. As a traditional emigrant country, Croatia divides its emigrants, depending on the period of emigration, into the categories of old and new (up to the First World War and afterwards) (Heršak, *et al.* 1988:88). In this study we focus on Croatian migrants in Australia and their activities within Croatian associations, with particular emphasis on the younger generation of Croatian migrants.

In the Republic of Croatia, various experts deal with issues related to our emigrants, at different levels and from different aspects, in many institutions. On the other hand, the largest Croatian institution that deals with emigrants, *Hrvatska matica iseljenika* (The Croatian Homeland Foundation), concerns itself with maintaining practical and cultural-educational co-operation with our emigrants in Australia.¹ In Australia, research on Croatians and the Croatian language is conducted at the Croatian Studies Centre at Macquarie University in Sydney, the only tertiary institution of its type, for which its staff, Luka Budak and Boris Škvorc, deserve credit. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the Centre in 2003, an agreement was signed which allows for the continuation of the Centre's work, as well as for new levels of co-operation between Australian and Croatian students and scholars.² In addition, distinguished scholars and young professionals of Croatian origin, such as Val Čolić-Peisker, Vesna Drapač, Ilija Šutalo, Kruno Martinac and others, are active in Australia. By way of contributing to new research on Croatian migrants in the world, the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Affairs in Zagreb inaugurated, on 1 July 2002, the research project 'The Croatian Migrant Community: Belonging and Multiculturalism'.

As a sub-project of the said project, the Croatian Ministry of Science and Technology has announced that research will be conducted on Australian Croatians. Though many titles have already been published about that large migrant population, in both Australia and Croatia, the aim of this research project is to compare migrant communities as special groups with (more or less) the same or similar experiences and situations. Seen from the historico-geographical perspective, what is specific about this research project is that the acquired results will contribute to

new scientific analysis and understanding of historical processes and facts, as well as contemporary social position and activities, pertaining to our emigrants. With that in mind, here we will briefly outline the overall activity of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Affairs, and the aims and tasks of the project.

2. The activity of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Affairs

The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Affairs is a public scientific institution that is financed by the Croatian Ministry of Science and Technology, and specialises in multi-disciplinary research in migration and ethnic affairs. The Institute was founded in 1984 as the Centre for Research in Migration and Ethnic Affairs. It received its present name in 1987 when it merged with the Migration Research Centre, founded in 1967 as part of the Institute of Geography, University of Zagreb, and which merged in 1977 with the Pedagogical Studies Centre at the Institute of Social Research, University of Zagreb, and the Migration and Ethnic Affairs Centre, which has existed since 1965.

The aims of the Institute's scientific research is to investigate external and internal migration, the Croatian migrant community, various aspects of ethnicity and issues pertaining to minority groups, and its basic activity involves an inter-disciplinary approach. In 1996 the Institute adopted a new research program entitled 'Croatian Migration, Minorities and Ethnicity', which encompasses the research expertise of various scholars, including sociologists, historians, political scientists, geographers, psychologists and linguists.

Apart from fundamental research, researchers organise scientific and scholarly discussion on the aforementioned topics, publish the results of research conducted, co-operate with scientific and scholarly institutions, as well as with various experts in Croatia and abroad. Moreover, the Institute allows for young scientists and scholars to practice their craft and complete higher degrees.

The Institute also publishes a quarterly scientific journal, *Migracijske i etničke teme (Migration and Ethnic Themes)*, which

publishes works on a wide range of issues relating to migration, ethnicity and identity from the various aspects of the social and humanistic disciplines. It also publishes inter-disciplinary articles. The Institute is a member of two international associations, the Association of European Migration Institutions and the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism. The Institute has a library that contains approximately 9,000 books and 230 scientific and scholarly journal titles, as well as some 100 publications of its own.

Though Croatian and Australian social scientists have conducted various types of research on the activity of Croatian migrants from different perspectives, the Institute focuses primarily on the social, cultural and political differences of migrant communities in western Europe and other continents. It is possible to differentiate them according to the activities of the 'diaspora', 'Croatian migrants' and 'émigré Croatia', for which the wider scientific, political and general public show great interest.

3. Croatian migrant communities: belonging and multiculturalism

As institutionalised forms of national communities of migrants, Croatian migrant associations provide only one type of insight into the activities of Croatian migrants. Owing to the specific legal regulations which govern their establishment and public character, as well as their executive bodies, it is possible to correlate these associations more easily. Needless to say, other forms of migrant activity, beginning with individuals themselves, also shape the activity and identity of a large number of Croatian migrants of different generations.

Research conducted thus far by renowned scholars has shown that Croatian migrant associations have an influence on the intergration of Croatian migrants in the host society, their attitude to naturalisation, assimilation or remigration. Hence the Institute, as part of its new research project, 'Croatian Migrant Communities: Belonging and Multiculturalism', seeks to compare the origins of Croatian migrant communities on all continents, evaluate the number of Croatians in western European

countries, North and South America, and Australia, and thereby determine their geographic division in those countries. Focus is given to the influence of host societies on Croatian migrant communities, as well as the influence of migration on the emigrant society, on the one hand, and the immigrant society, on the other. National, international and transnational trends and processes are also taken into account. The next dimension of research will establish the structures, shapes and ways of organisation undertaken by Croatian migrant communities, and the perception of their own future maintenance and development. The results will indicate whether there exist (and if so, why) differences between Croatian communities in countries with different models of political belonging, as well as differences between Croatian communities in relation to the time and manner of their establishment, distance from their homeland, specific economic position and so on.

Research conducted on the ground is done by means of semi-standard questionnaires, and the answers are used for exclusively scientific purposes. The particular value of direct contact with respondents is that it allows for an insight into the everyday lives of individuals, but also the problems and successes of their associations, clubs or societies.

4. The everyday lives of Australian Croats in the sub-project 'Croats in Australia'

Given that the project includes research on Croatian communities on all continents to which Croats have emigrated over a long historical period, one particular theme of research deals with studying the contemporary activities of Croatian migrants and organisations in Australia.

To begin with, it is worthwhile mentioning the problem of a lack of research in Croatia on the contemporary activities of institutional migrant organisations in Australia, to which attention has already been drawn earlier. We deem it necessary to sensitise the public and direct research towards reflecting on 'alienation' and the interpretive level.

Access to mainly Anglo-Saxon literature and an overview of Croatian bibliographies on the topic of Croatian migrant

communities in over-seas countries provides a framework for determining points of departure for research, as well as for proposing specific research thèmes. We have consulted a large portion of titles and part of the rich sociological data and studies on the assimilation and perception of one's own country of origin, or at least the country of origin of one's forbears. We have prepared the groundwork for research by conducting pilot research, according to which we have held discussions with several persons of different ages, gender and economic status, as well as with representatives of various groups, all of whom live in large Australian cities. The results have assisted us in formulating a final questionnaire with which we want to investigate the structure and organisation of the population, and draw special attention to changes in perceptions of Croatia in terms of age, gender, education or the social structure of Croatian migrants. A detailed bibliography has been drawn up, with an emphasis on the most recent research on both over-seas immigration in general and migrant organisations at the institutional level. In our analysis we have also incorporated the most recent statistical data, which are important for a demographic interpretive analysis of social associations, especially in urban areas. We analyse the contemporary state of affairs on the basis of direct contact with local Croatian migrant organisations in Australia, as well as statistically analysed data received through a survey.

On the basis of research conducted thus far, our aim is to reconstruct the historical context of emigration and offer a qualitative-quantitative analysis of emigration, in which the great geographic distance did not have a determining significance. The concrete aim and purpose of this research is to obtain an overview of the various ways in which Croats in Australia organised themselves institutionally, to reconstruct the forms of their activities according to the time and manner of arrival, but also to consider the contemporary political situation in both the countries of emigration and immigration. Since there are many and various social organisations which are active in Australia, it is worthwhile investigating which institutions represent the most integrative social factor in the migrant Croatian population. This should also be placed in the context of political and social

changes in Croatia, and in accordance with political and social trends in the country of immigration. The next aspect we have given attention to is the co-operation between Croatian migrant communities and local government representatives.

It is certainly worthwhile to attempt to align the institutional with the non-institutional activities of migrants, and thereby establish the importance of institutions in society. We sought to investigate whether some public spaces are characteristic of the informal gathering of social groups (based on ethnicity, age, interests, social factors and regional origins), and whether they develop different groups of informal forms of behaviour within those groups, as well as other different interest groups that exhibit behaviours ranging from co-operation to conflict.

Research tasks are geared towards the reconstruction of the historical development of institutional work, with specific attention given to the different periods in which Croatians migrated to Australia, age, gender, the economic and educational structures of migrants, and a comparison between the activities of religious and civil organisations. We will endeavour to contrast reactions to the more recent aspects of multiculturalism from the older generation in relation to the younger generation, as well as correlate their institutional and individual activities. We are also interested in the reception of migrant activity by the younger population of migrants (second, third and fourth generations) and the level of their inclusion in various initiatives, as well as self-initiated projects. Special place is reserved for an analysis of the significance of renowned Croatians, artists, painters, university professors, poets, sportspersons, business people and others, and their position within contemporary Australian society.

Utilising the methods of observation with co-operation, discussion with the descendents of Croatian migrants and organisation activists, the method of life stories and an analysis of local newspapers, we have endeavoured to take heed of the concepts of identification or assimilation of Croatian migrants and their descendents on three levels: at the levels of social groups (different forms of sociality, informal social groups, organised forms of social groups), families and individuals. We have tried to attain personal statements as reflections of the life

experiences of specific groups sharing the same origins, and thus recognise in them the subjectivity of statements on the relation between the individual and social 'worlds, the private and the public, personal and social cultural concepts, categories, values and ideas. In that way we have endeavoured to incorporate individual perspectives in our research, especially of exceptional individuals in those communities, which absorb and evaluate the key cultural and social trends of everyday experiences in that type of community. By means of an analysis of data gained, combined with a methodology, it is possible to gain some insight into the views and stereotypes on the perspective of the new generation of 'Croatsians' in Australia, seen especially through the prism of contemporary global process, on the one hand, and assimilationist phenomena, on the other.

Seen from the aspect of different identities, we are interested in their perception of belonging and the generation of their own ethnic Croatian community (or some other level of identification). We will draw attention to the problem of legal-administrative relations by highlighting the practical functionality of the relation of Croatian migrant institutions with local government and non-government bodies in Australia, as well as with state institutions in Croatia.

One of the tasks of research is to re-examine the forms of symbolic identification at the level of local Croatian migrant communities and their relation to the migrant community as a whole (or at the federal level). The analysis and interpretation of changes in the perception and views on such institutions among the new generation of Croatsians is also possible to contextualise in relation to changes in the socio-political system, as well as in the framework of the conception of the culture of contemporary society and cultural complexities, their ideological social phenomenology and personal conceptions and experiences.

Issues concerning the everyday socio-economic, political and cultural experiences of Croatian migrants in Australia are raised by means of unanswered questions. Even many simple questions, such as the number of Croatsians in Australia, is difficult to answer in a straight-forward manner, thus an exact estimate of their number today is highly questionable. We did not examine the incomparable statistics of the 1991 and 2001 state censuses,

which were analysed by Australian experts, but it is a fact that, in spite of the approximations at issue, the estimated numbers in the literature vary to some degree.³ Hence we have focused on conducting research on the ground, with a questionnaire for representatives of associations and members of middle-aged or older generations, on the one hand, and representatives of the younger generation, on the other. We have tried to correlate perceptions and participation in institutional organisations of these two divergent groups. At the same time, individual responses have allowed us to establish the correlation between individual interests and institutional activity, through which both sides reflect their own vision of their identity.

Even though statistical analysis is not complete and unambiguous conclusions cannot be given, we can conditionally divide the reactions of members of the younger generation into three somewhat different, but not mutually exclusive, groups of answers and views. Responses were received from the whole of Australia, and especially NSW and Victoria, in which the highest concentration of migrants of Croatian origin live. The socio-economic and cultural differences of the younger generation are also conditioned by their parents, who belong to the 1960-1970 wave of immigration, or the later 1980-1990 wave.⁴ The demographic profile of the first and second generations, depending on the time of migration, differ according to the level of education, knowledge of the English language and formal professional status.⁵

Up till now we have collected 96 surveys which we handed out to members of the younger generation in NSW (78 questionnaires), Victoria (seven questionnaires), South Australia (three questionnaires), Western Australia (two questionnaires), Queensland (two questionnaires) and the ACT (two questionnaires). As a representative sample, we decided to put an emphasis on young Croatians and, in setting up the survey, directed questions towards young Croatian migrants, of different professions and with different educational qualifications, in three age groups: to 20 years of age, from 21 to 30, and above 30 years of age. We have collected responses from representatives of 32 Croatian migrant associations, including 20 from NSW, nine from Western Australia, one from Tasmania and one from the ACT.

5. Preliminary results

On the basis of material collected thus far, we can mention the following groups of responses. The first group of responses (received mainly via e-mail) are characterised by the unquestioning acceptance of the standard values and cultural norms of mainly urban Australian society, in which the respondents highlighted their duties in maintaining their livelihoods.⁶ As such, they do not emphasise their own ethnic identity wherever that is not necessary, and most often do not affirm their identity by participating in Croatian migrant associations, irrespective of their provenance (sports clubs, religious centres, cultural societies, regional communities). This small group is also characterised by practical multiculturalism, in which they live and work, as well as spend their free time. A large number of these migrants arrived in Australia during the past 10 years, or are members of the second or third generation of urban, highly professional and assimilated Croatians.

The second group of respondents is characterised by an explicit emphasis on their own ethnic-linguistic identity, even though this does not entail assuming their own Australian identity, but rather a separation between the two. This group of young people grew up in the divergent religious, ethnic and linguistic reality of Australia, but the influence of familial-neighbourly uniform values has coloured their views and shaped their value systems. They come from smaller Croatian communities, rural areas and well-established families, and have average or below average levels of education.⁷ In spite of the contemporary need for opening the wider labour market, they are characterised by a lower level of social and spatial mobility and emotional integration into the Australian community. They participate to a great extent in Croatian associations, even if passively, as the consumers of what is on offer. Though that which is offered often does not satisfy them, rarely do they make organisational initiatives. Central is the feeling of identification and belonging, the home, family and the ethnic community. They endeavour to preserve the 'petrified' packet of their own traditions and Croatian traditional values which their parents or grandparents brought with them.

Though long-serving leaders of numerous Croatian associations exert themselves in maintaining the associations, and even encourage the younger generation to take over some new programs, and thereby ensure their greater participation, the participation of the younger generation is to a great extent reduced to playing poker machines in Croatian clubs and football (they are not interested in bocce, an 'old fashioned' sport). At the same time, the capacity of a sufficient number of motivated and enthusiastic community leaders, who are most often the same people, are exhausted within the same communities. In recent times, some associations have explicitly attempted to impart leadership roles to younger members of the community. This has failed not due to the lack of inventiveness of the part of the younger generation, but is perhaps partly due to the lack of trust and reservations of the older generation.⁸ That example now serves as a discourse of negative disentanglement if the younger generation take the initiative, but also of experienced moderators of the work of associations if they do not prepare for the initiatives of the younger generation.

And finally, the third, and numerically smallest, group of respondents is probably the group that has best utilised the development of the positive perception of the Croatian community in Australia and the end of negative stereotyping. This group of educated and self-conscious young people are 'sure' and proud of their identity. They affirm and present their traditional linguistic-cultural identity with pride, not within the Croatian community, but in Australian society, which indicates that they respect the society in which they grew up. The younger generation endeavoured to critically judge the questions asked of them, single out the most attractive elements, examine their autochthonous status, and then present it professionally (regardless of financial possibilities, availability or some other problems, which others readily justify) and in the best light, as that which is best about their identity and the identity of the country from which they originate.

Their self-consciousness and self-confidence is expressed by their presentation of their heritage as a superstructure, as well as additional qualities which separate them from the rest of the Australian 'melting pot'. That with which they occupy

themselves, often in the form of folklore, music or art, they transform into a beautiful picture of the country from which they or their ancestors come from, and which is interesting in spite of the fact that, from the perspective of Australian public opinion, it is 'small and unimportant' and non-English speaking (Čolić-Peisker 2002:153). Obviously, the contemporary exogenic development of Australia as a 'newly settled country' and their desire to practice multiculturalism has helped them, because to be bilingual is the desired form of discourse. At the same time, this type of climate allows them to occupy themselves with that which genuinely interests them, and with that they affirm themselves by thinking in a modern way about the possibilities of the organised activity of associations.⁹

6. Instead of a conclusion

Though these preliminary hypotheses of the project are still being developed, and though the final results will be published in due course, on the basis of our experience thus far, research and the secondary literature, we have set down certain hypotheses about what we will expect to find out, and research results will either confirm or negate them. Apart from receiving results and other scholarly duties, we have an obligation to a whole series of wonderful people in the Croatian migrant community and the relations that have been set up on different levels.

We need to find an interesting area of activity for the young, such as education in Croatian, the central element of community identity, followed by sport and religious institutions, but also assist the older generation, whose numbers are increasing in the Croatian community, in forming a positive reception of the Australian 'majority', as well as developing a self-perception of their belonging, accepting them in the community as members which contribute to the diversity of the community's cultural values and its richness as a whole. Though these areas of activity were the primarily elements of community integration, they can be transformed, principally through sport and social life, into a motivational element for the Croatian youth.

Contemporary stratification according to different questions¹⁰ and the foggy nature of the unified activities of

the Croatian community, through conceived structures, social organisation, hierarchy, plans for the future and the transparent processes of strategic decisions,¹¹ are certainly not contributed to by the younger generation, who are already burdened by everyday urban experiences and the separation into the two cultures to which the community relates itself.

Our aim is to examine the following problems and determine the extent to which the activity of Croatian associations and the younger generation in Australia are homogeneous, as well as the manner in which perceptions of associations change in the minds of the younger generation and which association activities interest them the most. We expect that results will show the extent to which the younger generation in Australia is active within the framework of Croatian social associations, whether changes in the interests of the young are accompanied by changes in the structure of activities offered within Croatian associations, and how current community leaders prepare new generations to take responsibility for the activity of Croatian associations.

We are interested in comparing the extent to which the younger generation, in relation to the older generation, are interested in the daily political life of Croatia. Since we assume that young Croatians are well integrated in Australian multicultural society, we expect that, in contrast to the older generation, the younger generation have tertiary educations, depending on the possibilities that the Australian society offers them. Moreover, owing to the preservation of ties with Croatia, the younger generation of Croatians in Australia, as well as the older generation, are prepared to engage in different forms of co-operation with Croatia.

With the aim of a comparative study of the diachronic activity of the migrant community and progress in public understanding of its reality and complexity, it is our wish that the conducted research and its results will occasion the implementation of new activities which will affirmatively influence the possibility of resolving existing problems linked to Croatian migrants. Moreover, it would be worthwhile to also conceptualise this research within the larger research and thematic wholes of the sociology of migration and migrant communities, with

which the afore-mentioned hypotheses, as well as the global social and cultural frameworks of interpreting diaspora life, would be supported by further examining knowledge acquired through empirical research. In this way, a dialogue would be established between the micro and macro levels of research, individual and general, empirical and theoretical perspectives of interpretation.

It is our wish that the results of this research will be concretely applied when establishing numerous contacts with the younger generation of Croatian migrants, which will enable us to become familiar with their individual activities, as well as the activities of Croatian societies and organisations. Also, research results will allow for, among other things, better and more successful co-operation between Croatia and the Croatian migrant community and their organisations and members in Australia. In the context of general stereotypes of émigré Croatia, which are neither scientifically nor theoretically viable, our aim is to liberate ourselves from their socio-psychological dangers, and thereby attempt to establish and attain results that will promote mutual cultural, economic and scientific co-operation. Our aim is that this project, already begun in the period stated at the beginning of this paper, will be understood as an initial, long-term project which, following its re-evaluation, will continue in the wider scientific community.

¹ This is evident from the soon to be organised multi-media exhibition, with the working title "Connecting Worlds: Croatia – Australia and New Zealand," as well as the organisation of summer language schools, and folkloric and cultural events in general, which Australian co-ordinators and leaders attend.

² The agreement concerns the continued financing of Croatian studies at Macquarie University, and was signed by the Croatian Ministry of Science and Technology, the Croatian Studies Foundation of Australia and New Zealand, and Macquarie University. The agreement covers the period up to December 2014, with the clause that, six months prior to its completion, negotiations will commence regarding a new agreement. The Croatian signatories were: Dr. Zdenko Franić, the Croatian Deputy Minister of Science and Technology; Prof. Vlasta Vizek-Vidović, the Vice-Chancellor (International Relations) of the University of Zagreb; the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, Prof. Neven Budak; and the Head of Department of the Croatian Language Department at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, Prof. Marko Samardžija. One possible avenue of co-operation would be the establishment of electronic teaching programs, as well as the co-publication of refereed journals. See *Hrvatski vjesnik (The Croatian Herald)*, 2 May 2003, pp. 8-9.

³ Owing to the incomparable criteria, namely, the definition of ethnic Croatians according to two standard categories (language spoken at home and country of birth), which excludes the categories of second and third generations, there are in Australia, according to statistical estimates, between 150,000 and 190,000 Croatians, including the 2001 list of first, second and third generations and 'not elsewhere identified' (who did not declare their South Slavic country of origin). Along with the afore-mentioned categories, a combined estimate of the actual sum total incorporates religious affiliations. (See Parić, 2001:245; Škvorc, 2002:144; Čolić-Peisker, 2002:163.) The estimates of some authors in encyclopaedias of up to 500,000 are probably the result of the nature of settlement of Croatians in quantitatively less dispersed communities. Seen from their local positions, they estimate their own numbers (Parić, 2002:76). Also questionable are the intentions of third and fourth generation Croatians to realise their identity through a Croatian 'minority' ethnic component which, up until the recent policy of multiculturalism in Australian society, represents an unacceptable and culturally-linguistic 'non-Anglophone' dimension with a different cultural context. (See Čolić-Peisker, 2002:153-160.) Moreover, it is important to note that the Croatian Almanac estimates that, at present, there are 300,000 Croatians in Australia, i.e. 4.29% of the total sum of Croatians.

⁴ For a detailed classification of the chronology and motives of Croatian migration to Australia, see Parić, 2001:243-245.

⁵ This problem is also considered in the research project "Croatians in the Australian Community, Melbourne." See Parić, 2003:51.

⁶ Indeed, they accept with great difficulty their own feeling of not belonging in the Australian community because of their handicap, i.e. their recognisable accent (non-English speaking background) as a social marker, even though respondents were first generation Croatian migrants. In spite of this handicap, they do not try to make amends exclusively in the Croatian community. See Čolić-Peisker, 2002:161.

⁷ With possible erroneous statistical estimates and their interpretation, Škvorc notes that the level of completed tertiary education among second generation

Croatians in Australia is 10% less than the Australian average. See McMurray, 2000, *passim*; Škvorc, 2002:146.

⁸ The younger generation has, through several attempts, tried to demystify the function of the associations as emotional refuges, and sought to inaugurate them into economically pragmatic spaces which will affirm their own identity.

⁹ For a survey of the development of today's organised activities of Croatians in Australia, through associations, Catholic centres, schools and cultural communities, as well as the achievements of exceptional individuals who have created a public perception of the Croatian community, see Drapač, 2001:246-249.

¹⁰ In Tkalčević we learn, for example, of the motives of contemporary animosity between traditional associations and those which adopted the name 'Yugoslav' during the time of the former Yugoslavia.

¹¹ On these questions and their possible resolution, see Škvorc, 2002:139-152.

Bibliography

- Čolić-Peisker, Val., "Croats in Western Australia: Migration, Language and Class," *Journal of Sociology* vol. 38 (2002), no. 2: 149-166.
- Drapač, Vesna, "Croatian Australians Today," in: James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: The Encyclopaedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
- Heršak, Emil (ed.). *Leksikon migracijskoga i etničkoga nazivlja* [A Lexicon of Migration and Ethnic Terminology], (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1998).
- Hrvatski vjesnik* [The Croatian Herald], Melbourne, 2 May 2003: 8-9.
- McMurray, Christine, *Community Profiles 1996 Census: Croatian Born* (Balconnen ACT: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs, 2000).
- Parić, Linda, D. Boon, A. Henjak, I. Buljan, "A Demographic Profile of First and Second Generation 'Yugoslav Born' in Australia," *Croatian Studies Review* vol. 2 (2003): 51-96.
- Parić, Linda, "Croatian Migration Since 1970," in: James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: The Encyclopaedia of the Nations, its People and their Origins*.
- Škvorc, Boris, "Nekoliko napomena o broju Hrvata, hrvatskom jeziku, školama i hrvatskim medijima u Australiji" ["Some Comments on the Number of Croats, the Croatian Language, Schools and Croatian Media in Australia"], *Društvena istraživanja* [Social Research] vol. 33-34 (1998), no. 1-2: 189-208.
- Škvorc, Boris, "Ishodišta raslojavanja australske hrvatske zajednice" ["The Starting-Point for Distinguishing the Australian Croatian Community"], *Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik 2003* [Croatian Émigré Annual 2003] (Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika, 2002): 139-152.
- Šakić, V., J. Jurčević, M. Sopta, *Budućnost iseljene Hrvatske* [The Future of Émigré Croatia] (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 1998).
- Tkalčević, Mate, *Hrvati u Australiji* [Croats in Australia] (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1992).
- Tkalčević, Mate, *Povijest Hroata u Australiji* [The History of Croats in Australia], (Melbourne: Hrvatski svjetski kongres u Australiji, 1999).