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Triangulating Public Administrational and Genealogical Data. The Case of Australian Migration Research

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Abstract: *»Triangulation von Verwaltungsdaten und Genealogien. Ein Beispiel aus der australischen Migrationsforschung«* In this paper, data triangulation is used as a means of verifying, and further exploring, paradigm challenging data that emerged unexpectedly in a research project. The field of this study is Australian migration sociology. The discovery of data which suggested contradictions to the accepted notion that the Australian population was historically "98 percent" British origin, has also lead to what can be seen as a return to the traditional, but seemingly forgotten (in English speaking countries), relationship that existed between ethnography, history and sociology. The rediscovery of connections between these now separate disciplines, and the strengths and critiques that can be made of the now unfamiliar (in sociological but not anthropological/ethnographic research) tools of marriage records and family genealogy is the subject of this paper.

Keywords: Process-generated Data, Historical Sociology, Research Paradigms, Genealogy, Triangulation, Historical data, Mixed Methods.

1. Introduction

The methodological dilemma that formed the stimulus for this paper was the discovery of data which contested the historically homogenized ethnic basis of the non-indigenous Australian population. The data which caused the initial dilemma was uncovered as part of methodically seeking to verify what has become accepted as fact, and has formed the basis of theorizing and critiquing Australian migration policy, patterns and processes for at least the last sixty years. This is the presumption that up until the end of World War II Australians was predominately of British origin, exemplified by the popular phrase, "98 percent British" (Alexander 1953; Bosworth 1998).

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2. Speaking from Australia

This paper is written by an Australian, initiating an Australian academic career, via an Australian centred doctoral research focus, in Australia. Hence the statements made regarding academic disciplines may need to be mentally prefaced by readers with "Australian". The discussion of sociology, history and ethnography/anthropology outlined here, are reflective of my Australian experiences. Explorations of academic literature originating in the United States and United Kingdom, and conversations with academics from these countries indicate that the lack of cross disciplinary connections discussed exist in these two places as well. Conversations at the 2008 RC-33 conference suggest some similarities, but also quite different configurations have developed in European academia. The simple fact that there was an Historical Sociology session at this conference indicates a different approach to the relationships between history and sociology in Europe compared to that which dominates in Australia.

Writing requires a process of systematically reorganised telling of research stories. However as with most of life this is not generally how situations evolve. Hence I confess that the tools used and the fact that I was not so much discovering new sociological tools as rediscovering old connections between now separate academic fields occurred in the reverse order to that with which these topics will be discussed, exemplifying the critiques of sociology by writers such as Gans (1992) and Merton (1967) that sociology as an academic discipline has commonly failed to actively build on past theories, ideas and (as is the focus in this essay) methodologies.

Rather than being a paper about the use of methodology per se, the focus here is on a real-life research dilemma that occurred when unexpected data appeared to challenge accepted foundational beliefs. This challenge lead to the seeking out of what have become uncommon research tools in modern (Australian) sociological investigations, the use of genealogy and marital records. The initial data seeking was undertaken as background research to a larger, methodologically triangulated (Seale, 1999) study involving interviews and archival research focussed on post World War 2 British migration to Australia. Rather than planning to triangulate in regard to the data discussed here, stumbling over unanticipated information created a semi-moral dilemma (should such data just be ignored as it potentially challenged my thesis examiners?), combined with a sense of adventure in regard to unexplored possibilities that could perhaps start to be revealed. The content findings of this research have been the subject of two other publications (Young et al 2007; Young 2008) but are briefly outlined in this paper so readers are able to contextualise the methodological processes applied.

In order to explore this subject, consideration will firstly be given to the lost connections between history, ethnography and sociology, followed by a brief overview of the particular paradigm that unexpected data challenged. Consid-

eration will then be given to the application of the now uncommon tools used to assess the implications and validity of the unexpected data, including offering assessment of the strengths of using these tools.

3. Lost Connections Between History, Sociology and Ethnology

Prior to the 1960s, when there was a substantial growth of academic disciplines and departments in western academia, the disciplines of sociology, ethnography/anthropology and history were closely inter-related. These three disciplines were seen as contributing complimentary strengths to social theorizing and understanding (Brunt 1999; Lyon 1997; Skocpol 1984). Anthropology or ethnography (the two terms being used interchangeably in most literature related to this discussion) provided the in-depth detailed understandings of human cultural and social experiences and structures. History located current human social experiences, identifying longitudinal understandings of how social structures had developed and evolved. Sociology was the theorizing branch of this triumvirate, constructing social theory and analysis based on the empirical information provided by the other two disciplines. Figure 1 illustrates these roles and connections.

Figure 1: History, Sociology and Ethnography
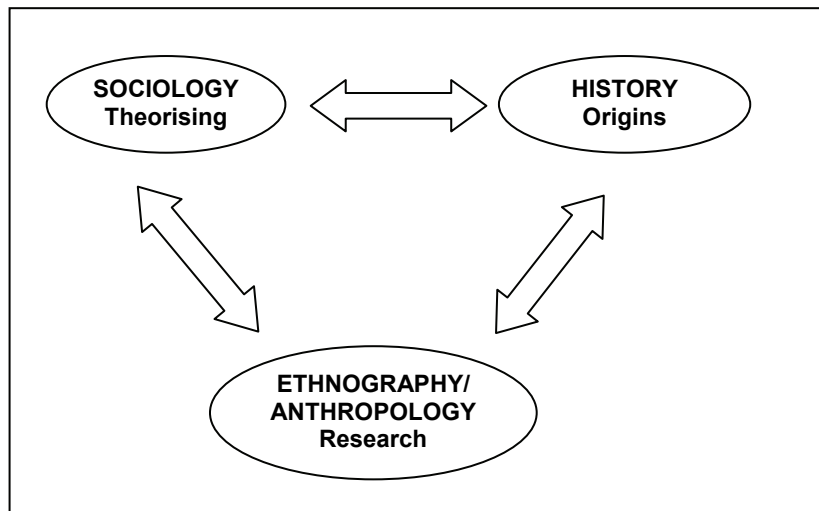
The theorizing of the founders of sociology, including Marx, Weber and Durkheim (Abrams 1982; Skocpol 1984) drew strongly on historical data and

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the longitudinal perspective that history can offer. The Chicago School of the 1920s and 1930s can be seen to have involved a strong collaborative relationship between sociology and ethnography, with the detailed empirical research of urban ethnographers underpinning theoretical developments (Powers 2004).

Writers such as Brunt (1999) attribute the devolution of these cross disciplinary connections to the development of separate academic departments, identities, and individual careers through the 1960s. Brunt notes that in the United States the outcome of this change, in partnership with the transcendence of numbers and hard data that occurred around the same time, was that sociology became focused on data and statistics. The rich texts produced by ethnographers based on interviews, observations, genealogical data and the like, were labeled as soft data and identified as less factual than lists of numbers and statistical computations.

Australian sociology can be seen to have devolved in almost the opposite direction to that identified as characteristic of the United States (and Germany based on discussions with German colleagues at the 2008 RC 33 Conference). The extent, character and origins, of what seem to be intriguing differences between developments in native English speaking academia, compared to other western countries merits further investigations. However, these are beyond the scope of this paper. Much of Australian sociology fits within the field of what has come to be known as cultural studies. This is a field that some Australian critical theorists have accused of being poorly grounded in empirical research (Beilharz 1995) and ahistorical to the point of "amnesiac" according to Milner (1997: 137). However migration in Australia has largely been written about within this field, with a large proportion of this rooted in personal accounts and experiences of migrating and being a migrant in Australia. Analyses have been dominated by understandings of ethnicity and ethnic difference; concepts which in Australia (and other countries (Brubaker 1998)) have been seen as central to understanding migration, the core focus of my doctoral research.

4. Migration, History and Sociology

The initial point of departure for the research that sparked the subject of this paper, was an exploration of the experiences of post-World War II British migrants to Australia. While migration is the cornerstone of the non-indigenous Australian population, somehow post-World War II British migration has become conceptually separated from previous eras of migration. In beginning my research it seemed that understanding post-World War II British migrants experiences of becoming and being migrants in Australia, in fact a very young nation, implied a need for a more longitudinal, historical exploration than had been the norm in Australian migration research.

According to some authors, Historical Sociology has only relatively recently begun to be applied in the field of migration sociology (Joppke/Morawska

2003; 2004). While HSR has had numerous articles relating to migration over the time of its publication, having surveyed the field it does appear fair to note that the development of an international network of researchers across the fields of sociology and history, with an interest in locating current migration phenomena within historical contexts, is more recent. Yet, the impact of time and history are integral to conceptualizing an understanding of migration. At the very least new arrivals/migrants become old arrivals and residents, with their descendants forming a proportion of the non-migrant population within what are very short timeframes (Green 2006). Hence simplistic migrant: non-migrant dichotomies and homogeneities are distorted with rapidity, belying such dualities.

5. The Accepted Australian Migration Paradigm

The key pivot point in Australian migration discussions has become World War II. The dominant paradigm, and the main public and political narrative since that time, has been one that presumed that the Australian population, prior to 1945 was, in the populist parlance, "98% British origin" (Alexander 1953; Bosworth 1998; McGregor 2006). That up until the end of World War II the Australian population was mainly 'Anglo-Australian', that is born in either Britain, or Australia, of British origin (Jayasuriya 2007; Menadue 2003). This presumed ethnic homogeneity is generally seen as having been the result of two core policy processes, on the one hand a favouring of British migrants through processes of supporting their migration to Australia, and on the other, exclusionary policies that barred or restricted non-British migrants (Price 1974). In the analyses of Australian migration theorists, as the supply of British migrants declined in the decades following World War II, Australian governments were forced to look elsewhere for migrants to fulfil their aims of intense population growth. This has lead to Australia becoming the multicultural nation that it is today (Jayasuriya 2007; Menadue 2003). However these non-British, non-Anglo migrants were it was assumed, imported into what was a homogenous, British origin population.

This belief in the pre-existing ethnic homogeneity of the pre-war population in Australia can be seen to have become what van Gigch calls an "implicit quantification" (van Gigch 2003: 204). It has become no longer necessary to directly state such in writing about ethnicity in Australia as it has become contained in textual and subject meaning. Examination of this presumed, pre-existing ethnic homogeneity of Australia was initiated as a process of substantiating these claims.

6. Public Administrational Data

6.1 Identifying a Problem

Having decided that it was necessary for academic rigour to locate data that could substantiate the presumed Britishness of the Australian population across time, it proved unexpectedly difficult to locate such. Australia is a relatively young nation, with the first fleet having landed and began to establish the settlement of Sydney only in January 1788 (Shaw 1974). However finding national level data beyond the relatively recent point of Australian Federation in 1901 proved far more difficult than anticipated.

All the Australian colonies collected data on their populations prior to Federation, prompted by the reality that migration to Australia had been largely government assisted and British governments and their colonial outposts were concerned to track the evidence of such support (Haines/Shlomowitz 1991; 1992). However pre-federation colony based data can be difficult to compare at a national level due to factors such as differences in the years of collection and categorisation. Eventually it became clear that a national level of data would be relatively difficult to assemble and that a state or colony based investigation would be required to extend the timeframe of empirical data. The Australian Bureau of Statistics has detailed historical place of birth population data, accessible on-line on a state/colony basis from the mid nineteenth century. This at least extended the timeframe for consideration back an additional fifty years. Hence the decision was made to actively identify South Australia (the state of residence of the author) as a case study and to use state based historical data as the supporting data for the presumed "98 percent British" concept in this state. South Australia is anecdotally considered to have a more British character and origin than other Australian states.

This historical data was compiled and various aspects graphed and tabled. The graph in Figure 2 presents the data on the place of birth of people residing in South Australia between 1861 and 1981, who were not born in Australia or Britain. As can be seen only 3.7 per cent of census respondents can be identified as neither born in Britain or Australia in 1901, and by 1947 this percentage was even lower at just 1.7 per cent. Between 1975 and 1981 when Australia is particularly considered to have become multicultural, the proportion of South Australians who identified as being neither British nor Australian born hovered around 11 per cent.

However, the surprising data is that of the pre-1901 population. In the 40 years prior to 1901 the proportion of census respondents who are identified as neither British nor Australian born is between 8.2 per cent and 5.6 per cent, never falling below five per cent. The obvious suggestion that was presented by this statistical picture was that if proportions of 11 per cent could be interpreted as having a significant impact on the culture and identity of 'Australianess' in

the mid to late 20th century, surely similar percentages, within a smaller population base one hundred years prior would be notable, and seen as impacting on the composition of both this historical population and successive ones as well.

Figure 2: South Australian population not born in Australia or Britain, 1861 to 1971
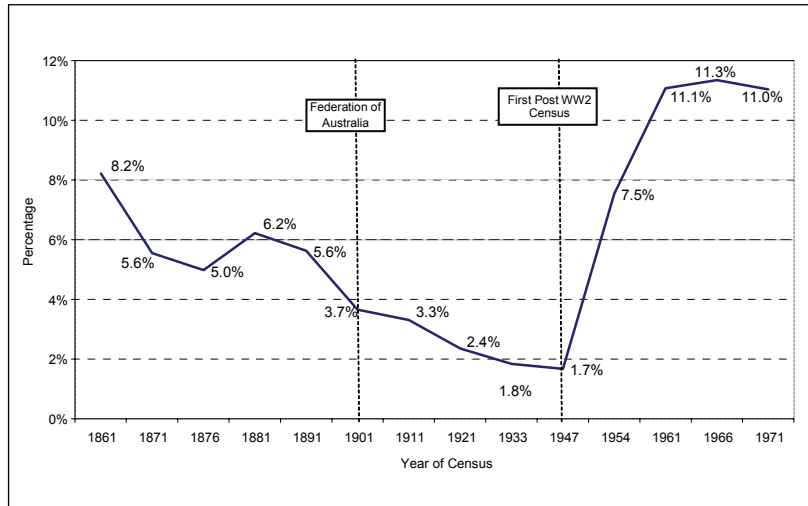
6.2 Re-Checking the data

Initially this data was quite startling and second, third and even fourth checking of the data and computations was undertaken to check that the graphical picture was indeed correct. It was also rather un-nerving as this data appeared to be quite contradictory to the dominant discourse which, as has already been discussed, has a long history of underpinning analyses in Australia. This was non-paradigmatic data (Denzin/Lincoln 2005). Data which contested the accepted beliefs and understandings underpinning a range of accepted Australian migration related theorizing. At one level it would have been easy to have decided to ignore this data as the product of statistical anomalies; however academic integrity, and Bauman's (2000) call for sociology to challenge even its own accepted status quos, encouraged further investigation.

Initially rechecking the data was the first step undertaken as a means of addressing the unexpectedly challenging data I seemed to have found. Making sure that all the numbers were accurately recorded, and transferred from the original data tables to my own, was crucial. At any point in the copying and

computational process it could have been possible that errors had occurred that were creating an erroneous result.

Having done this, three further steps were undertaken. These will be briefly outlined and then discussed in further detail in the next section. The next step was to articulate questions prompted by this new/old data; *who were these people? What were their origins? Why were they here (in South Australia)? Did they have offspring? What might be the implications of them staying and producing descendants on the ethnic profile of my focus generation of post World War 2 Australians?* These questions moved from the timeframe of the data I was analysing (pre Australian Federation in 1901) to the implications of such data on future generations and data emerging from these persons.

The second step was to interrogate the data I was using further in order to reveal any nuances that might throw further light on who these people were, and thirdly, data triangulation, seeking other forms of data that could be seen to relate to the non-British persons completing pre-federation census', needed to be identified and analysed. The aim of these steps was to substantiate the validity of a possible challenge to the dominant Australian ethnic origins paradigm. It was possible that at any point in this pathway evidence could have failed to emerge of the continuity of non-British persons in the historical population. My challenge was to seek evidence that continued to suggest alternate understandings of aspects of Australian history, to the point that further investigations in such a direction could be argued for.

6.3 New Questions from Old Data

Questions that arose from this pre-federation data were ones of identity and long term impacts. *Who were these pre-Federation, non-Anglo, South Australians?* Were they predominately the German Lutherans who are known to have been recruited to the state by early colonizers (Hilliard/Hunt 1986)? Were these just short term visitors or sojourners in the state who returned to their families and countries of origin? Or, was there a possibility that at least some of these men had stayed and produced offspring implying that the predominately British origin Australians in following eras were more ethnically mixed than had been commonly assumed?

6.4 Further Examining the Data

Initial explorations in regard to the above questions included further analysis of the data that underpinned the graphic picture. In response to the questions of origins, it was clear that while the German migrants formed a not insignificant proportion of the non British, persons were identified as having been born in a range of European countries, although the second largest single ethnic group was the Chinese, a population who are largely presumed to have been excluded

from Australia by anti-Chinese immigration policies, particularly following federation (Price 1974).

Consideration of the numbers of persons representing specific ethnic groups revealed that these were often extremely small. For example, frequently less than one hundred persons were identified as coming from one country, and sometimes this was considerably lower with the Spanish, Hungarian, Belgium, and Portuguese born numbering less than fifty in the last two data sets for the nineteenth century. Consideration of the gender composition of these persons revealed that this was also a highly gender skewed sub-population, with the majority of non British-born persons being males. These findings gave hints as to why there was little historical evidence of non British origin communities in South Australia. Very few of these non-British migrants had the potential to intermarry and create closed ethnic groupings in South Australia, both because the numbers of persons in their ethnic grouping was generally low, but also because there were few females in any of the non-British ethnic groupings. Any progeny of these men would generally be from relationships formed with British origin women, with their offspring being of mixed ethnicity.

This analysis led to the next group of questions. *What evidence was there that any of these non-British-born men had stayed in the colony? And was there evidence that they had had a genetic impact on the supposed homogenously British origin Australians of following eras?*

7. Data Triangulation using Alternative Sources

While extensive searching of maritime records may have revealed movements in and out of the colony by these non-British men, consideration of the possibility that at least some of them may have stayed and even inter-married with British-born women, producing mixed-ethnic offspring, suggested the use of marital records and genealogy.

At this point, without being aware of it, the research methodologies being considered had started to return to those which have been core to the tool kits of the ethnographers who had informed early sociologists. The mapping and substantiating of family and genetic connections and claims, has been core to anthropological/ethnographic, work which informed early twentieth century sociology (Powers 2004).

Careful tracing of familial records are now predominately thought of as the domain of non academic family historians in Australia (Davison 2000). This seems to be significantly different to the German academic scene (Tebbe 2008) and perhaps to other European countries, although the Australian position can be seen to mirror that of other English-speaking countries. However these records can reveal facts that offer core challenges to accepted social histories. For example, the discovery of "black" ancestors in "white" families (Mills 1986) or the inclusion of outside persons in supposedly "pure" ethnic lineages

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(Adams/Kasakoff 1986). Genealogical research allows the group focus of much numerical and demographic to be tested from within, to be able to track the individual persons in a group in order to test the truth of claims such as historical continuity within populations. At its core, genealogical tools enable the basic building blocks of a society, people, to be studied (Anderson 1986).

Given an interest in continuing to explore the challenge to ethnic homogeneity of origins that the historical data sets had offered, and aware that "place of birth" becomes an inadequate tool for investigating second generation migrants (as an individuals place of birth is no indicator of their parents or previous generations birthplace) the choice was made to firstly investigate marital records to see if there was evidence of non-British men marrying British-born or origin, women in the state.

7.1 Marriage Records

An afternoon spent perusing a compilation of marriage records from between 1842 and 1916 in the state (Cobiac 2001), using the simplest criteria of surname origin, readily revealed close to twenty marriages that appeared to be of non-British origin men, with women of British origin in this era. Some of these marriages appeared to be second generation mixed ethnic marriages, as indicated by the mix of British sounding first names combined with non-British surnames and fathers, as only fathers are listed in these records (e.g. Nellie May Chin, whose father is identified as Ah Chin). Furthermore a list of marriages registered between 1862 and 1930 at a church in Port Adelaide of seamen presumed to be of northern European origins listed 43 such marriages, mostly to women whose surnames appear to be British origin. Hence there seemed to evidence that at least some of the non-British men identified in the historical data had stayed, and presumably produced children whose ancestry in the first instance could be considered only fifty percent British origin.

As a methodological tool, marriage records proved surprisingly revealing, as even with the briefest of details (full names and ages of brides and grooms, fathers names of both parties, and date and location of marriage) it was possible to clearly see non-British persons in the records. A researcher with a far better knowledge of the history of surname origins would no doubt have spotted many more examples as the approach used was to cautiously use surnames that were clearly non-British.

Marriage records, in common with all the other records which are the tools of family genealogists are powerful tools as they are in essence social facts. Data bases are built on this level of information, hence rather than being 'soft', unreliable resources, these tools can reveal the potential poverty and inaccuracy of numerical data, especially when the underlying philosophical and conceptual paradigms which shape perceptions and understandings of social data have not been uncovered and exposed to discussion of themselves.

7.2 Family Genealogies

Hence the secondary questions raised by the data discovered could be responded to. At least some of these non-British men had stayed in South Australia. The numbers of such men, and of their mixed ethnic progeny was unknown however. Systematic research, following the life paths of all the individual non British men identified in the marriage records, and then tracing their descendants would be one means of seeking to identify the extent of impact in the ancestral heritage of subsequent generations. Such research would be extremely time consuming, however this lead to the idea that it could not be unlikely that at least some of these men's descendants had been researched and identified already by family historians. That use could be made of such information as a case study of the possible numerical impact of these men in subsequent generations of South Australians ancestries.

The most readily accessible family genealogy of one of these men proved to be one which includes the author. This is the family genealogy that includes Antonio DeSouza, who arrived in South Australia in 1865 from the Portuguese Azores, and married Caroline Hill, who had arrived in the colony as a baby with her English parents (Organ, 1992). Together Antonio and Caroline had five children who survived to adulthood. Whilst only three of these children (all sons) produced offspring, by 1945 a total of 57 direct descendants of this couple were alive including children, grandchildren and several great grandchildren (Organ, 1992). This number of descendents occurred despite what are common occurrences in families of that era (Adams/Kasakoff 1986), including deaths of children, infertile or non-reproductive members, and both large and small numbers of children in families. Looking through this family genealogy it is possible to discern other non-British origin persons entering the family (via marriage) and one can also track the loss of visibility of the surname as large numbers of daughters were produced leading to the result that in the authors generation (six generations on) there is only one male who carries the surname DeSouza. Australian cultural practice has been that women take on their husbands surname when they marry, obscuring maternal lineages readily.

It is also possible to use the DeSouza genealogy as a "mathematical" (van Gigch 2003: 361) template to estimate the scope of mixed ethnic origins in the South Australian population of 1945. This mathematical data has been outlined in much greater detail in Young (2008). However in summary; if only half of the non-British men in the census closest to Antonio's arrival in South Australia stayed in the colony and produced offspring, by 1945 it is possible to suggest that a total of 138 950 descendants of non-British men could have been present in the South Australian population. Using this approach it is possible to suggest that at least 21.5% of the states populace at the end of World War II, had mixed British and non-British ancestry. A considerably different proportion to that indicated by the "98 percent British" catch phrase, and also substantially more than has been suggested even by writers suggesting greater percent-

ages of non-British origins to the Australian population, mid last century (Price 1963).

Given that the data presented here is quite different from that which has been commonly accepted, further research and investigation is needed. However the use of alternate, in the case of Australian migration studies, discarded methodological tools, reveals a range of factors that bear consideration, including the manner in which conceptual paradigms can shape what information is actually seen and interpreted.

Genealogy, is a powerful tool for exposing mythical beliefs in the membership of "bounded culture(s), framed by…genetic unity" (Adams/Kasakoff 1986: 76). Within the Australian migration paradigm, exemplified by the "98 percent British origin" phrase (Alexander 1953) rests a belief in such bounded and unitary origins of persons. Even if the pre-federation statistics had not been extrapolated from as they have been in this paper, the small number of non-British persons in early twentieth century Australia could still have lead to miscegenation and mixed ethnicity in later generations. Yet this has not been explored.

Another strength which genealogy can offer sociological researchers is the manner in which factual links between past and present populations can be revealed (Adams/Kasakoff, 1986). To use a personal example, with fair skin, blue eyes and blonde hair the presumption that I, as a multi-generational Australian might have ethnic origins other than the "98 percent British" presumption, has never been raised. However, careful genealogical research reveals that I, along with several hundred other "Anglo-Australians" have a more complex genetic heritage than this presumption, based on just this one ancestor. What this research raises is the possibility that in all of these persons ancestries there may well be other surprising connections that have become obscured with the passage of time and generations. Yet this level of information is obscured in large data sets which by their very nature need to shape human data into homogenized and simplified categories. "Place of birth" for example reveals little about an individual's parents, except that their mother at least, was in the place identified when that person was born.

8. Paradigm Traps and Triangulation

Paradigms, or sets of beliefs (Denzin/Lincoln 2005), can shape even what is presumed to be hard data. For example Price (1963) calculated that around 11% of the white Australian population in 1947 were of non-British origins. His calculations were based on a very different approach to the genealogical tools used here as he employed net migration and natural increase statistics. However the different conclusions reached by Price and the model presented here may well be shaped by more than just the use of alternate data bases. Price seems to avoid the notion of mixed-ethnicity, referring instead to the produc-

tion of "ethnic groups" (Price 1963: 9). This is a mindset which pervades the writing on race and ethnicity not only in Australia but internationally, reflecting what some writers have suggested is a level of historical stigma, and the myth of "biologically distinct racial groups" (Spencer 2004: 361).

Four steps were outlined as having been undertaken in response to the discovery of paradigm challenging historical data. These were rechecking the data and computations undertaken, asking questions prompted by these figures, further interrogating the statistics; and triangulating this data with other information sources. All of these activities have been important. Asking unconventional and non-paradigmatic questions was crucial in inititating the search for further information within the data at hand and can be considered a form of theory or hypothesis triangulation (Seale 1999). Such questions required considering the possibility of alternate theories to the dominant paradigm, and a willingness to explore new hypotheses.

Further interrogation of the census data enabled greater understanding and insights to be gleaned. This of itself suggested new hypotheses for exploration and the elimination of at least one alternative, namely that given the gender skewing of the non-British persons in pre-Federation census' searching for multi-generational ethnic communities would be unproductive, as any men who stayed would need to marry and produce offspring with women born in a different country. This lead to considerations of data sources that could be used to support or negate the new hypotheses that were continuing to emerge. Seeking to connect formal, collated population data to qualitative unpublished information sources which had been the tools of ethnographers in previous eras (genealogy and marriage records) prompted an awareness that these sources of information offer powerful longitudinal records of a society. A society that quantitative, formal data collections such as census counts can only offer cursory, time specific and simplified insights into.

9. Cross Disciplinarity: History, Sociology and Ethnography

This returns the discussion to the start of this paper, the forgotten connections between History, Sociology and Ethnography. A longtitudinal awareness of migration as a current sociological phenomena, has necessitated the use of historical tools and resources. This included ethnographic tools which have become overlooked in Australian migration sociology of the late twentieth century, but which were in times past, key to ethnographic research, from which sociological theories were developed. This circular relationship, with inter disciplinary connections which fed off and into each other, has become denuded, impoverishing analyses, understandings and theorising.

For my research focussing on post World War II British migration to Australia the triangulations outlined in this paper have prompted a variety of understandings and analyses of this, more recent historical migration flow, than

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simply accepting and working within the dominant Australian migration paradigm would have offered. For example, rather than entering an ethnically homogenous population as dominantly presented, the historical explorations outlined in this paper, have reset the population that British migrants of the mid twentieth century were entering. The "knowness" of this resident population has been disrupted, suggesting multiple hypotheses and questions as to why the diversity discussed here was "forgotten", what political purpose such forgetting served, and for whom, in the Australian context.

10. Conclusion

The task of sociology asserts Baumann, is to look "behind walls" (Bauman 2000: 79), to seek out and investigate the surprises and hidden, even challenging, realities of societies. The use of tools more commonly used by family historians than academic sociologists in recent times, continued the accidentally discovered challenge to dominant paradigms that have underpinned Australian migration sociology, and to a lesser extent, history. However frameworks of bounded, homogenized, genetically unitary ethnicity and race also shape these discourses internationally (Brubaker 2005). This suggests that sociological research in these areas could benefit from reacquainting itself with tools that can improve our empirical underpinnings, and hence theory and analysis, through processes of triangulation.

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