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Source / Izvornik: **Global Knowledge, Memory and Communication, 2019, 68, 652 - 673**

Journal article, Published version
Rad u časopisu, Objavljena verzija rada (izdavačev PDF)

https://doi.org/10.1108/GKMC-02-2019-0017

Permanent link / Trajna poveznica: https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:270:364138

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Download date / Datum preuzimanja: **2024-04-17**

Repository / Repozitorij:

Croatian Emigrant Press - Repository

DIGITALNI AKADEMSKI ARHIVI I REPOZITORIJI

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www.emeraldinsight.com/2514-9342.htm

Received 14 February 2019
Revised 24 May 2019
Accepted 1 July 2019

Cultural societies and information needs: Croats in New Zealand

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Abstract

Purpose – The purpose of this paper was to explore how small immigrant communities in host countries collect, disseminate and present information about their home country and their community, and the role of formal societies and clubs in it.

Design/methodology/approach – This paper presents the results of a case study of the Croatian community in New Zealand. To illustrate how cultural and technological changes affected information dissemination and communication within the community, the case study presents both historical and current situations. Methods used in this case study included a content analysis of historical newspapers published in New Zealand by the Croatian community, content analysis of current webpages and social networking sites, and interviews with participants who have management roles in Croatian societies and communities in New Zealand. Data were collected from December 2018 to February 2019.

Findings – Formally established clubs and societies, but also informal groups of immigrants and their descendants can play a significant role in providing their members with information about the culture, social life and events of the home country. They also play a significant role in preserving part of the history and heritage which is relevant, not only for a specific community but also for the history and culture of a home country.

Originality/value – The methodology used in the research is based on data from community archives and can be used for studying other small immigrant communities in New Zealand or abroad. The case study presented in the paper illustrates how the information environment of small immigrant communities develops and changes over the years under the influence of diverse political, social and technological changes.

Keywords Immigrants, New Zealand, Information, Community archives, Croats, Cultural societies, Communication

Paper type Research paper

Introduction and previous work

Immigrant communities have diverse information needs when it comes to keeping connections to their home countries and staying informed about historic and current culture and events. These needs and methods of addressing them vary depending on the migration circumstances, everyday life conditions, stage of migration, generation of descendants and all the nuances of interaction between those factors. Any research on an immigrant population faces the challenge of studying such a diverse and heterogeneous study population (Caidi *et al.*, 2010, p. 498). Our research aims to show how the information environment of small immigrant communities develops and changes over the years under the influence of diverse political, social and technological changes. Cultural societies are an

Global Knowledge, Memory and Communication
Vol. 68 No. 8/9, 2019
pp. 652-673
© Emerald Publishing Limited
2514-9342
DOI 10.1108/GKMC-02-2019-0017

important part of that environment. Community archives within these societies serve as records of those changes as well as sources of current information for their members.

In this section, we discuss previous works on immigrant communities in relation to information needs and information sources, information environments and community archives. As all three aspects are well represented in the literature and are wide and complex in its essence, it is not the intention of this paper to cover previous works extensively, but rather to point to the main arguments that guided our research.

Literature shows that information needs and sources, especially for the new arrivals, mainly revolve around everyday life context. For example, Sirikul and Dorner (2016, p. 535) concluded from their study on information behaviour of the Thai immigrants in New Zealand that main information needs of the participants were for employment, English language learning, housing, health and making connections and that their main information sources during settlement were family, friends and the internet. These findings are very much in line with a number of other research papers (Shoham and Strauss, 2007), even if they studied different national groups, and in different geographical and other contexts. Sibal and Foo (2016) examined the information behaviour of the diasporic Filipino community, bringing into discussion public governance, education and the pedagogical component of technology use. They concluded that that a majority of their participants were "already digitally connected, but found the need to introduce them to a plurality of information sources – including the institutionalised and authoritative ones manned by the government" (p. 1582). Previous researchers show that the internet is often immigrants' main source of information. In addition, social networking sites (SNSs) (such as Facebook) play a significant role not only in seeking and using information but also in forming connections and contributing to social inclusion in general. Khoir *et al.* (2015, p. 95) argued in their study, "Capability in information behaviour will generally result in a positive settlement process that reflects social inclusion." Personal connections are often used as trusted sources of information (Fisher *et al.*, 2004; Su and Conaway, 1995). Silvio (2006) researched information needs of immigrant southern Sudanese youths and showed that participants seek easily accessible information, preferably from interpersonal sources. Ethnic local newspapers are also perceived as trusted sources of information, abroad and locally (Karanfil, 2007). Lin and Song (2006), for example, investigated the ethnic press and how it tells geo-ethnic stories which are "culturally relevant and locally vital information to immigrants in the host society." An interesting point they raise is about the mindset of many media publishers who target primarily first-generation readers.

In previous research, information behaviour of immigrants is explored both from the aspects of new and settled immigrants and their descendants. The latter is not as present in the literature as the former. However, the descendants' notions of home and host country are quite different from what their parents and grandparents experienced. That difference means that the strength of their information needs and their topics of interest will also differ from previous generations in their family. Authors such as Boyd (2002), Alba (2005), and Waldinger and Feliciano (2004) explored a second- and third-generation immigrants. Waters *et al.* (2010) examined theories of immigrant assimilation by exploring the effect of acculturation types on socioeconomic outcomes in young adulthood. The question of boundaries is raised by Alba (2005, p. 41) who points:

> [. . .] the construction of immigrant native boundaries is, in each society, a path-dependent process that hinges on the materials available in the social-structural, cultural, legal, and other institutional domains of the receiving society, as well as on characteristics and histories that the immigrants themselves present.

The information environment in which immigrants seek, access, use and interpret information is an important part of acculturation and can be very complex. Srinivasan and Pyati (2007) used the term "diasporic information environment" to capture the complexity of the information environment of immigrants that includes "the place-based, lived realities of immigrant communities while also acknowledging the existence of complex, globalised diasporic information environments." There are many important actors in the immigrants' information environment; libraries, archives and museums are certainly some of them and so are community archives. Caidi and Allard (2005) advocated a holistic approach to how information service providers meet the information needs of immigrants.

The role of cultural clubs and societies in the information environment of immigrants and their descendants is of special interest to this paper. Formally established clubs and societies, and also informal groups of immigrants and their descendants, can play a significant role in providing their members with information about the culture, social life and events of the home country. Those societies also play a vital role in preserving communities' history and heritage and that is relevant not only for a specific community in a specific place but also for the history and culture of a home country. Previous research confirms the important role cultural or religious centres can have in immigrants' lives. Sirikul and Dorner (2016, p. 545) showed that the Thai temple had an important role in terms of meeting the social, emotional and information needs of their participants. This finding is closely connected to the issue of trust where communities can be seen as safe and trustworthy sources of information about the host country and the home country. This idea of perceiving an immigrant community as a safe place has its counterpart in immigrants not wishing to have anything to do with their ethnic societies for various reasons. Ang (2011, p. 15), for example, explored some of these tensions between concepts of diaspora and heritage concluding that:

> [. . .] it is understandable that many people with histories of migration may actually choose to discard their diasporic attachments in favour of new, hybrid identities that are not chained to the gravitational pull of ancestral origin.

She emphasises the need to move from "roots" to "routes" in the understanding of diaspora.

Community-based archives are another building block of immigrants' information environment. As Caswell *et al.* (2017) define them, community-based archives serve:

> [. . .] as ways for communities to make shared, autonomous decisions about what holds enduring value, shape collective memory of their own pasts and control the means through which stories about their past are constructed.

They can form around ethnic, racial or religious identity, gender and sexual identities, economic class and geographic location (Caswell *et al.*, 2017).

Daniel (2015, p. 37) explored ethnic archiving and the role of ethnic organisations in documenting and preserving the history and cultural heritage of ethnic groups, pointing to "weakening of the traditional signifiers of ethnicity such as immigrant institutions, foreign language press, or language use." In their research on the role of community archives and their archival practices, Zavala *et al.* (2017) concluded that they are vital to sustaining diverse communities and their histories. They also discussed how changing demographics affect community values and identities and, in turn, the sustainability of an organisation. Caswell *et al.* (2017) raised the question of the sustainability of community archives and emphasised the need for community–institutional partnerships.

The world has become increasingly mobile, and digital technology impacts many areas of immigrants' lives. Consequently, there is also a shift in dynamics between passive and

active participation in documenting and preserving a communities' history. Daniel (2010) discussed factors that enabled the evolution of cultural minorities from an object of archival collections to active participants in their formation and use, such as changing political context that is more open to cultural diversity and digital technologies which enable easier participation in forming and using community archives. A concept of ethnicity as provenance presented by Wurl (2005) questions conventional archival values of ownership and custody, moving therefore from custodianship to stewardship.

This brief overview of the literature shows that immigrant communities and their information needs and practices impact not just how individuals meet their information needs in everyday life, but also how their needs and practices shape culture and history as seen through immigrant communities. Any research of this topic should take into account cultural, social and technological changes affecting the information landscape of immigrants and relationships between the notion of a home and a host country. The questions still open for exploration are who should address cultural information needs of immigrants and how to collect and preserve the tangible and intangible heritage that exists within immigrant communities.

The focus of this paper is on immigrants' cultural societies and their role in the information environment of immigrants. We argue that cultural societies and clubs can play an important role in terms of providing:

- a trusted source of information for their members;
- a place to keep connections or re-connect with another country and culture;
- a place that documents the development of the community; and
- an organised structure for collecting and preserving immigrant's heritage, tangible documents and items, and intangible memories and knowledge.

Therefore, we set out to investigate the perspective of immigrants' cultural societies: how cultural societies perceive their role and what activities they offer for their members. A case study we used puts specific emphasis on settled immigrants and second and third generations of descendants. To understand both historical and current perspectives, we looked at the history and development of the Croatian immigrant community we used as a case study and their changing relations between home and host country, affected by social and political changes and technological development.

The following section describes the research design and gives details of objectives, question and methodology.

Research design

Research objectives and questions

The aim of this paper was to explore how small immigrant communities in host countries collect and disseminate information, and what is the role of formal societies and clubs in that process. This paper presents the results of a case study of the Croatian community in New Zealand. The Croatian community was chosen for a case study because it faces similar sustainability challenges as many other small immigrant communities: declining number of active members, managing volunteer-based activities and isolation from a home country. This specific community was of interest also because of its history and structure. It has a long established history in New Zealand, and its members are mainly settled immigrants and their descendants who are well integrated New Zealand residents and citizens. The community also lived to see many cultural and political changes in the home country over the decades and has faced structural changes in terms of a number of members, their age,

generation of descendants and, accordingly, their information and cultural needs. Apart from that structural change, significant social and technological changes (re)shaped the communication of this community. To illustrate how all these changes affect information dissemination and communication in general, the case study will present both the historical and current situations.

The research questions that guided this research are as follows:

RQ1. How Croatian societies and clubs in New Zealand access and collect information?

RQ2. What kind of information? From which sources?

RQ3. How Croatian societies and clubs in New Zealand organise, present and disseminate information to their members?

RQ4. In what form? Through which media?

By answering these questions, we indicate implications for the wider information sector including home and host country heritage sector, namely libraries, archives and museums, and government sector working with their communities abroad.

This study focused on how information flows inside the communities. What remains to be explored in another study are relations between communities and outside information sources in a home country, for example, embassies, government offices, immigrant associations based in a home country, publishers, libraries, archives and museums. This paper emphasises the perspectives of community leaders. Our aim was not to investigate the opinions of individual members at this point; this was left to be thoroughly explored in another study, although we have some insights into the opinions of members from informal conversations and previous research of the authors.

Methodology

A qualitative case study approach was used in this research in accord with Gorman and Clayton's (2005, p. 47) definition of the case study approach which is as follows:

> [...] an in-depth investigation of a discrete entity (which may be a single setting, subject, collection or event) on the assumption that it is possible to derive knowledge of the wider phenomenon from intensive investigation of a specific instance or case.

Methods used in this case study included:

- the content analysis of historical newspapers published in New Zealand by the Croatian community;
- the content analysis of current webpages and social media sites; and
- interviews with participants who have a leadership or management role in Croatian societies and communities in New Zealand.

We analysed the content of historical newspapers to explore how newspapers were used as a communication channel in the early stages of Croatian immigrant communities. We looked at the topics and the ways they were presented. The purpose of the content analysis of current webpages and social media sites was similar, except for the present context; again, we wanted to explore how those sites are used as a communication channel, what topics are covered and how they are presented. To complement data from the content analysis and gain a deeper understanding from the perspective of people who lead the societies in question and are most often responsible for maintaining websites, we interviewed four

participants who have a leadership or management role in four main Croatian communities in New Zealand.

The content analysis of both historic newspapers and current webpages and SNSs was carried in the following manner. The historic newspapers were identified by searching catalogues of New Zealand libraries. All available issues were browsed to identify the main topics and ways of communication. Archives of the Croatian societies were visited and, in one archive, several issues of the historical newspaper were identified and analysed. On the websites of Croatian societies, all the available issues of two newsletters were analysed. On SNSs (Facebook and Instagram) posts and interactions from October to December 2018 were analysed: number of posts, number of interactions, language and content.

Interviews were constructed as semi-structured and consisted of five questions. Space was allowed for other potentially relevant topics participants brought into the discussion. The questions asked were: What kind of information do you usually disseminate to the members of your society? In what form? How do you access information of relevance? How do you decide what, when and how to disseminate to members? Do you have any obstacles in searching for, accessing or interpreting information?

Participants were asked to describe in detail how they identify the information of interest, how they present it to their members and in which form and what obstacles they encounter in that process. Any issues raised during interviews were discussed. Interviews were manually transcribed and coded. We looked for main themes in transcripts and in the supplementary material provided by the participants. Participants gave additional information via follow-up emails. They also sent their newsletters or examples of emails they distribute to their members, to illustrate some of the issues discussed during interviews. These supplementary materials were considered as part of their answers and holistically analysed in search of themes and dissemination patterns. The interview data were collected from December 2018 to February 2019. Ethical approval was obtained from the researcher's university. No ethical issues were encountered during the research. Collected data were treated as confidential, and potentially revealing information was omitted from the cited responses.

Several informal conversations and visits to investigated societies also gave an insight into the context of the researched topic and enabled a better understanding of the context.

The following sections will describe the case study. First, the beginnings of the Croatian organisations in New Zealand will be presented to explain the setting for today's Croatian societies in New Zealand. Then, the results of the content analysis of historic newspapers published by Croats in New Zealand will be given, followed by the content analysis of communication on the societies' current Facebook pages. The final section will focus on the results gained from interviews with four leaders of formal and informal Croatian societies, clubs and groups.

Case study: Croatian community in New Zealand

The beginnings of Croatian organisations in New Zealand

Due to seafaring connections, Croats had migrated all over the world in the nineteenth century and one of the destinations was New Zealand. The immigrants were mostly from Dalmatia, the costal part of Croatia that was, at the time, a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The first recorded contact with New Zealand by Croats was frigate *Novara* that arrived in Auckland in December 1858. Out of 352-crew members, 168 were from Croatia. By 1883, there were 77 men from Croatia that became naturalised British subjects; they were mostly from seaport areas (Jelicich, 2008).

Besides seafaring connections, two main reasons for Croatian migrations at the time were economic reasons (Austro-Hungarian Empire trade agreements with Italy that were unfavourable for Croats,[1] phylloxera in the vineyards in the 1890s [. . .]) and oppression by the Austro-Hungarian Empire (restricted freedom and national identity of Croats).

There were five waves of migration. In the first wave were several men (so-called loners) that used to come with seafaring connections. In the second wave, from the end of the nineteenth century until the First World War, Croatian men migrated to work in the kauri gum fields. Some of them returned home after earning enough money to meet their debts in Croatia. There were approximately 5,000 arrivals in the second wave. The third wave was between the two World Wars and was mostly chain migration – second generation and migration of families (wives and children) to New Zealand. There were about 2,200 arrivals in the third wave. The fourth wave was after the Second World War and before the 1990s (when the Republic of Croatia declared independence from the Republic of Yugoslavia and became a sovereign state). The reasons for migrations in the fourth wave were economic and political. The fifth wave was from the early 1990s when migrants were mostly people with higher education and their dependants (Jelicich and Trlin, 1997).

First Croatian immigrants were settled in the north and worked as gum diggers; they usually lived in poor conditions, in camps, communicating in the Croatian language, with no or poor connections with the wider community. At the end of the nineteenth century, some of the Croatian immigrants started settling in urban areas, mostly Auckland and Dargaville. They worked mostly in crafts and trade. Some of them owned guesthouses and restaurants that were occasionally used as meeting places. Croatian associations were very informal and remained such until the 1920s. A bad situation in the gum fields was the reason for establishing the first Croatian organisation, Committee for the protection of rights of Dalmatian kauri gum diggers, in 1894. The Committee existed until 1898 – when it became obvious that it was not able to fight against the Kauri Gum Industry Act 1898[2]. There was an attempt at establishing a Croatian society of friendship in 1903 in Auckland,[3] and gum diggers in Dargaville made another attempt at establishing a Croatian club in 1907. They formed a Croatian Benefit Society, but there is no evidence of its functions and membership (Trlin, 1979). One of the biggest problems of Croats in New Zealand was that their real national identity was not recognised by New Zealanders; they were usually considered Austrians as Croatia was at the time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (though in their homeland Croats were exploited by the Austrians). The problem became worse during the First World War as "Austrians" were considered enemies. That is why Croats needed to stress their ancestry; they wanted to be recognised as Croats, some of them as Dalmatians or, later as Slavs, South Slavs or Yugoslavs, rather than Austrians[4]. The editorial in *Bratska sloga* (1899a) explains the need to recognise Croats by the host society:

> Anyone who has ever been to this country knows that Croats do not have their own association and that the Croatian name is not known in this country, although there are many of us here.

One of the early clubs was Slavonian Football Club (1914-1918 in Dargaville). The other was Sokol, a club officially approved by the New Zealand Minister of Defence in 1919 but was closed only one month after the approval. Yugoslav Progressive Association was established in 1925 by newly arrived immigrants from Croatia who were not satisfied with the political situation in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. At that time Croatia was a part of the Kingdom, a new state that arose after the First World War I. A Yugoslav club was established in 1930. Yugoslav Benevolent Society, established in 1932, was transformed into the Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society in 1933. The beginnings of the Wellington Yugoslav Club date from 1938. For political reasons, Croatian clubs were mostly named as

"Yugoslav" clubs, but members were Croats. For the same reasons, Croatian Cultural and Benevolent Society became Yugoslav Club "Marshal Tito" after the end of the Second World War (Marshal Tito was the president of the new Republic of Yugoslavia that was formed after the Second World War). All of the Croatian organisations in different towns (such as Wellington, Dargaville, Kaitaia, Hamilton or Auckland) were directed and led by local residents rather than being part of a New Zealand-wide organisation (Trlin, 1979, p. 178). The clubs were formal organisations that reinforced the immigrant's basic social contacts. Since 1990 Croatia has been an independent state, and today there are several Croatian associations in New Zealand. Some of them are Dalmatian Cultural Society in Auckland, Croatian Cultural Society (Croatian Club) in Auckland, Croatian Cultural Society in Wellington, Dalmatian Club in Dargaville and Canterbury Croatian Society. Croatian clubs today experience the problem of ageing and difficulties attracting second, third and fourth generations.

Historical newspapers published by Croats in New Zealand

There are two periods of publishing Croatian newspapers in New Zealand. The first is between 1899 and 1920 where we know of nine titles (many of which published only a few issues): *Bratska sloga* (1899a), *Danica* (1899), *Hrvatsko glasilo* (1903), *Napredak* (1906-1909), *Hrvatsko trubilo* (1908), *Glas istine* (1908-1910), *Sloga* (1912-1913), *Zora* (1913-1920) and *Novi svijet* (1919) (Jelicich and Trlin, 1997). The second period is in the 1940s, where we know of four newspapers: *Jedinstvo* (1942), *Slavenski glasnik* (1943-1949), *The United Front* (1942-1943) and *Vjesnik* (1946). As some of the titles are not available in any public library or other public institutions, there is a possibility that some of them do no longer exist[5].

At the end of the nineteenth century, Croats that lived in urban areas of New Zealand started to recognise their own information needs and those of other Croats, especially those working at gumfields. The first newspaper that was published by Croats in the Croatian language in New Zealand was *Bratska sloga* (Brotherly Unity). Croatian immigrant Antun Bulat, who was also the editor of the newspaper, published the first issue in Auckland on the 15 May 1899. Its co-editor was also a Croat, Matthew Ferri. Only four issues were published, fortnightly, mostly in the Croatian language. If we analyse texts in all the four issues, we could find four main topics: kauri gum market, promotion of the newspapers, short news and texts in English (mostly aimed to explain the problem of the Croatian nationality to New Zealanders, as Croats were incorrectly identified as Austrians).

Many early Croatian immigrants did not speak the English language. The editorial of the first issue of *Bratska sloga* says:

> There are very few who can make themselves understood in English [. . .]. It seemed to us necessary that some means should be provided to these people expressed in a language understood by them (*Bratska sloga*, 1899b).

The kauri gum market was very important for Croatian immigrants; as most of them did not understand the English language, they needed information in their own language. In the first issue, a text about the Kauri Gum Industry Act was published. Parts of the Act were translated and explained in Croatian. A letter from a reader published in no. 4 of *Bratska sloga* shows the importance of the information about kauri gum for Croatian immigrants:

> Dear Editor, today we wanted to sell kauri gum to a gum buyer [. . .]. The gentleman saw our gum and offered an unacceptable price [. . .]. We gave him the latest issue of Bratska sloga showing the current price of gum in Auckland [. . .] he did not know what to do so he agreed to pay our price. Afterward, he returned to his fellow gum buyers telling them that it is not easy to buy cheap gum

> from our people as we have our own newspapers and we know the price of gum in Auckland. (*Bratska sloga*, 1899a, 1899b, 1899c, p. 2)

The letter proves that the editors had correctly recognised the information needs of Croatian immigrants. Because of financial problems, only four issues of *Bratska sloga* were published. The reason was the small number of subscriptions (at that time there were about 1,500 Croatian speaking people in New Zealand), as well as the appearance of a serious financial rival *Danica* (another newspaper in the Croatian language). All the issues of *Bratska sloga* are available in the Alexander Turnbull Library on a microfilm and in some other libraries and private collections. Two issues are available on the website of project Publishing activities of Croats in Australia and New Zealand (https://hit.ffzg.unizg.hr/bratska-sloga/).

Another two significant newspapers from the first period are *Napredak* (Progress, 1906-1909) and *Zora* (the Dawn, 1913-1919), published mostly in Croatian. Although the rest of the print was black and white, *Zora* had a colourful design on its title page, with Croatian and New Zealand flags and Croatian coat of arms in the middle (Figure 1).

The quantitative content analysis of the newspapers shows the percentage of the column space of several categories in the three New Zealand Croatian newspapers from 1899 to 1916 (*Trupinić*, 2009, pp. 5-9). *Trupinić*'s analysis shows that texts about homeland were not so important for the editors of *Bratska sloga* (the category had only 3 per cent of column space), but became more important during the First World War (the category had 20.6 per cent of column space in *Zora* in the year 1916). New Zealand affairs were more important in the earlier issues (in *Bratska sloga* 11 per cent of column space) than in later issues (e.g. in *Napredak* in 1907 only 2.8 per cent of column space was for the category New Zealand affairs). Texts about the Croatian community were very important in *Bratska sloga* (44 per cent), but became less important in *Napredak* (e.g. 21.1 per cent for 1909) and *Zora* (16.2 per cent for 1914). *Bratska sloga* had a short life span so it had only 10 per cent of advertisements. The longer life spans of *Napredak* and *Zora*, but also the effort of avoiding financial problems, could be the reasons for more advertisements in *Napredak* (31.2 per cent for 1907) and *Zora* (33.48 per cent for 1915). *Bratska sloga* had more texts about legal issues (4 per cent) than *Napredak* (2 per cent) and *Zora* (0 per cent). The reason may be that the editors of *Napredak* (Mathew Ferri) and *Zora* (George L. Scansie) had their own agencies that were mediators between the members of the Croatian community and the host society (*Trupinić*, 2009, p. 8). Figure 2 shows the advertisement for Mathew Ferri's agency published in *Napredak*.

In the second period of Croatian newspapers in New Zealand (in the 1940s) there were four titles that we know of. Only one (*The United Front*) is available today in a library; all others are in private collections and community archives – mostly in a small number of copies (some even in fragments)[6].

The United Front was published by the Slavonic Council between 23 January 1942 and 10 July 1942. A total 20 issues of *The United Front* are available in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. The Slavonic Council was organised by delegates appointed from

Figure 1.
The title of *Zora* (*the Dawn*) on the title page of an issue from 1914

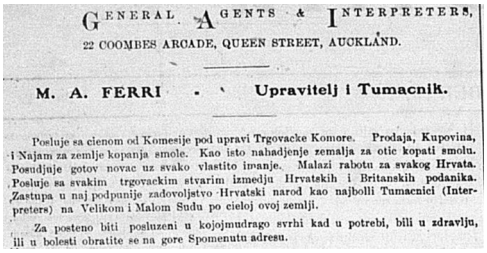
Croatian, Czechoslovak, Polish and Russian associations (Jelicich and Trlin, 1997) with the aim to promote the Slav unity in New Zealand (The United Front, 1942). Texts were mostly in English. Most of the non-English texts were in Croatian and occasionally in Serbian, Czech, Polish or Russian[7]. The use of the English language shows that the Croatian community had been integrated into the host society by the 1940s, although trying to retain the national identity. It is interesting to know how the editors of *The United Front* were aware of intellectual property rights; there is a note on every issue's title page that all the text can be reprinted or quoted freely if the source is mentioned (Figure 3).

After 1946, there were no Croatian newspapers in New Zealand. Some newspapers with New Zealand's Croats as a target audience were published in Australia, e.g. *Hrvat: the Croat* (Sydney, 1953), *Hrvatski domobran* (Sydney, 1958-1595) and *Hrvatski dom* (Melbourne, 1962-1975)[8]. During all the periods, there were newspapers published in Croatia that had subscribers in New Zealand. For example, *Pučki list*, published in Split, in 1891 had 300 subscribers in New Zealand (Bezić Filipović, 2006, p. 5). Croats from New Zealand wrote letters to the editors in Croatia. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many letters were published about the miserable life of Croats:

> There is too many of us here in New Zealand [. . .] the price of kauri gum is low [. . .] I've been here for five years and I've gone only through bad times [. . .]. If I only listened to my father! I shouldn't have come here![9]

Croatian population in New Zealand nowadays

In the second half of the twentieth century and at the beginning of the twenty-first century, Croats did not have problems with the English language, so their information needs could be satisfied through information published in English. According to the 2014 census, there were 2,637 Croats in New Zealand (0.06 per cent of the New Zealand population). Geographically, 68 per cent of them live in the Auckland region, 8.8 per cent in the Northland region and 8 per cent in the Wellington region. Half of the Croatian population in New Zealand speak more than one language (the percentage for the whole New Zealand population who speak more than one language is 20 per cent). Significantly, a 75 per cent of Croatian children (under the age of 15) speak only one language – presumably, English.


GENERAL AGENTS & INTERPRETERS,
22 COOMBES ARCADE, QUEEN STREET, AUCKLAND.

M. A. FERRI - Upravitelj i Tumacnik.

Posluje sa cienom od Komesije pod upravi Trgovacke Komore. Prodaja, Kupovina, i Najam za zemlje kopanja smole. Kao isto nahadjenje zemalja za otic kopati smolu. Posudjuje gotov novac uz svako vlastito imanje. Malazi rabotu za svakog Hrvata. Posluje sa svakim trgovackim stvarim izmedju Hrvatskih i Britanskih podanika. Zastupa u naj podpunije zadovoljstvo Hrvatski narod kao najbolli Tumacnici (Interpreters) na Velikom i Malom Sudu po cieloj ovoj zemlji.

Za posteno biti posluzeni u kojojmudrago svrhi kad u potrebi, bili u zdravlju, ili u bolesti obratite se na gore Spomenutu adresu.

Figure 2. Advertisement in *Napredak* (1899) for M. Ferri's agency

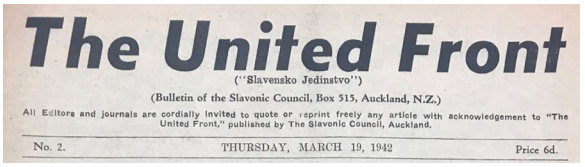

The United Front
("Slavensko Jedinstvo")
(Bulletin of the Slavonic Council, Box 515, Auckland, N.Z.)
All Editors and journals are cordially invited to quote or reprint freely any article with acknowledgement to "The United Front," published by The Slavonic Council, Auckland.
No. 2. THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1942 Price 6d.

Figure 3. The beginning of the title page of vol. 1, no. 2 (19 March 1942) of *The United Front*

That shows that the Croatian language is being forgotten in a population with Croatian origins. If we analyse statistics concerning education, 82.2 per cent Croats have formal education (compared with 79.1 per cent for the whole New Zealand population) and 27 per cent have bachelor's degrees or a higher level of education (the percentage for the whole New Zealand population is 20 per cent) (Stats NZ, 2013).

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, communication among Croats in New Zealand was mostly in the English language – even newsletters of Croatian clubs nowadays are published mostly in English, e.g. the newsletter of the Dalmatian Cultural Society (www.dalmatian.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Novosti-June-2018.pdf) and the newsletter of the Croatian Cultural Society (www.croatianclub.org/news/newsletters/). There is obviously no need for newspapers in Croatian. The third and fourth generations of Croatian immigrants speak English fluently; for many of them, English is the mother tongue and many of them do not speak nor understand Croatian. New immigrants that arrive in New Zealand in the twenty-first century are mostly highly educated with a good knowledge of the English language.

Communication through websites and social networking sites

According to the website and Facebook analyses, there are at least five Croatian clubs in New Zealand, with some of them having a small number of members. Two of them have websites, four are on Facebook and at least four communicate with their members through mailing lists.

The two biggest Croatian clubs are in Auckland: Croatian Cultural Society (www.croatianclub.org/) and Dalmatian Cultural Society (www.dalmatian.org.nz/). Those are the only clubs that have regularly updated websites. They publish newsletters, information about membership, events, etc. All the information on the websites is available in English. Both websites are up to date. Webpages in the menu on the website of the Croatian Cultural Society are Home, History, Info, News, Sports, Cultural, Media, Events and Contacts. Webpages in the menu of the website of the Dalmatian Cultural Society are Home, About Us, Culture & Classes, Members, Events, Groups, Gallery, Venue Hire, Contact Us and Latest News.

Both societies publish newsletters in a pdf format. The texts are mostly in English; only some titles and short texts are in both English and Croatian. The concept of both newsletters is similar. In the newsletter of Croatian Cultural Society, there are 9.3 pages per issue (mostly 8 pages, sometimes 12). All of the content is in English (only a few titles are in English). Sections are society notices and society information, photo gallery, events calendar, president's report, events and contacts. Events that are announced are mostly sports events and concerts, but there are also events such as the Kids Christmas Party or The Annual Croatian Picnic.

In the newsletter of the Dalmatian Cultural Society, there is on average 8.9 pages per issue. All the content is in English except the President's Report (it is published in each issue in both English and Croatian). Sections of the newsletter are New Members, Applications for Membership, Bereavements, President's Report, Member's Noticeboard and Upcoming Events. Examples of the announced events are Mother's Day Buffet Brunch, Dally Kolo Festival, New Book in the Library, Bingo – an Afternoon Out for Everyone, etc. (Table I).

Based on the analysis of SNSs, seven Facebook groups, three Facebook pages and two Instagram profiles connected with the Croatian community in New Zealand can be found. The Facebook public group "Croatian Cultural Society" (www.facebook.com/groups/282005698478244/) was created in 2011 and, by the end of 2018, had 921 members. The Facebook public group "Dalmatinsko kulturno društvo" (Dalmatian

Cultural Society, www.facebook.com/groups/117211678220/) has 924 members and was created in 2009 by the Facebook page Dalmatinsko kulturno društvo (Dalmatian Cultural Society, www.facebook.com/groups/282005698478244/). Another significant group (according to the number of members) of a Facebook group is Pioneer Dalmatian Settlers of the Far North (www.facebook.com/groups/525182714233477/) with 2,530 members at the end of 2018. A short content analysis of Facebook for the three groups aims to show communities' interests, their activities and interactions, as well as their use of the Croatian language.

If we analyse posts from the last three months of the year 2018, we can see that all the three Facebook groups are active and try to interact with their members. The two groups that represent Croatian clubs give mostly information on the societies' past and future activities. Most posts in the third group are about Croatian families and their ancestry. Table II shows the number of posts, number of interactions (likes, comments and shares of posts), number of photos, videos and events published in the period October–December 2018.

It is significant that only 2.5 per cent of all posts and 3.2 per cent of all comments are in the Croatian language. That shows the completely new picture, opposite from the one a century ago, of Croats in New Zealand who communicate in English. Even Croatian clubs do not encourage communication in Croatian, probably because they have members who do not speak Croatian. The posts the societies share on Facebook are mostly about social events, and the posts of a group about Dalmatian settlers are mostly about the origins of some Croatian families. There are 20.5 likes, 3.4 comments and 1.7 shares per post. Members are more likely to post comments if the posts are about Croatian families and their origins. The numbers show relatively high interaction on Facebook, concerning the size of the community.

Table I. Comparison of newsletters of two Croatian societies (by the end of 2018)

Newsletter of:	Language	No. of issues available online	Latest issue no.	Frequency	Average no. of pages per issue
Dalmatian Cultural Society	Mostly English	11	192	Monthly or bimonthly	8.9
Croatian Cultural Society	Mostly English	11	59	Five times per year	9.3

Table II. Posts and interactions on Facebook (October–December 2018)

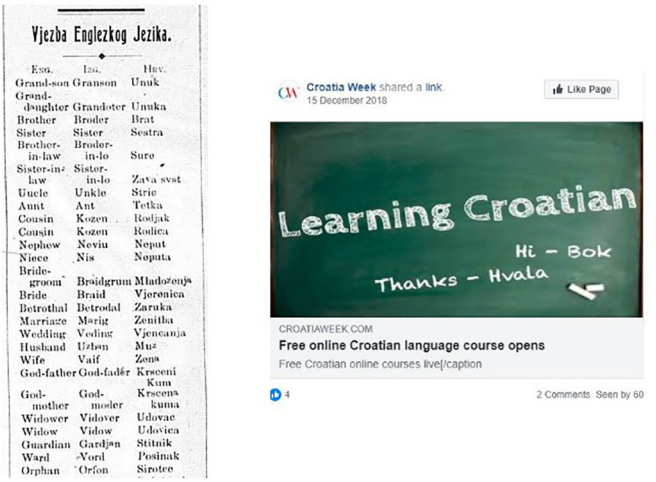
Facebook group	Members (Jan 2018)	Interactions on posts						
		Posts	Likes	Comments	Shares	Events	Photos	Videos
Croatian Cultural Society	921	33 (3 in Croatian)	598	81 (8 in Croatian)	44	7	49	5
Dalmatian Cultural Society	924	94 (1 in Croatian)	1,812	235 (9 in Croatian)	124	4	628	12
Pioneer Dalmatian Settlers of the Far North	2,530	31 (0 in Croatian)	826	222 (0 in Croatian)	104	0	43	4
Total	–	158 (4 in Croatian)	3,236	538 (17 in Croatian)	272	11	720	21

Other Facebook pages and groups connected to the Croatian community are as follows:

- Facebook page New Zealand Croatia Cricket (www.facebook.com/NewZealandCroatia/), 702 fans.
- Facebook group Canterbury Croatian Society (www.facebook.com/groups/188713555311302/), 65 members.
- Facebook page NK Auckland Croatia Womens (www.facebook.com/NKAucklandCroatiaWomens/), 14 members.
- Facebook group Kralj Tomislav Folklore Ensemble - Croatian Cultural Society of NZ Inc. (www.facebook.com/groups/40156182951/), 465 members.
- Facebook group Tarara Folklore Ensemble (www.facebook.com/villa.dalmacija.kolo/), 620 members).
- Facebook group Kaitaia Dalmatian Cultural Club (www.facebook.com/groups/1040522809374865/), 227 members[10].

It is interesting to compare Facebook posts to the texts published in the early Croatian newspapers. Although information needs have changed during the past century, some interests and information needs remain the same (or at least similar). For example, editors of early newspapers used to thank new subscribers by publishing their names. Facebook pages' administrators used to tag new members in posts to thank them. Another example is death notices of important members of the Croatian community with their short biographies that were published in old newspapers and are published on Facebook pages. Some other topics of interest now and a century ago are season's greetings, advertising new books, advertising language courses (with one difference – a century ago Croats needed to learn English and today they are interested in Croatian language courses, Figure 4), etc. Some examples of the posts and texts with similar content are available on the page of project *Croatian emigrant press* (https://hit.ffzg.unizg.hr/en/newspapers-and-facebook/).

Napredak, vol. 4, no. 6 (February 6, 1909); link shared on Facebook (Canterbury Croatian Society, December 15, 2018)



Vjezba Englezkog Jezika.

Eng.	Izg.	Hrv.
Grand-son	Granson	Unuk
Grand-dsughter	Grandoter	Unuka
Brother	Broder	Brat
Sister	Sister	Sestra
Brother-in-law	Broder-in-lo	Sure
Sister-in-law	Sister-in-lo	Zava svst
Uucle	Unkle	Strie
Aunt	Ant	Tetka
Cousin	Kozen	Rodjak
Cousin	Kozen	Rodica
Nephew	Neviu	Neput
Niece	Nis	Neputa
Bride-groom	Braidgrum	Mladozenja
Bride	Braid	Vjerenica
Betrothal	Betrodal	Zaruka
Marriage	Marig	Zenitba
Wedding	Veding	Vjencanja
Husband	Uzban	Muž
Wife	Vaif	Zena
God-father	God-fadér	Krsceni Kum
God-mother	God-moder	Krscena kuma
Widower	Vidover	Udovac
Widow	Vidow	Udovica
Guardian	Gardjan	Stitnik
Ward	Vord	Posinak
Orphan	Orfon	Sirotce

Figure 4. Example of comparing Facebook posts to the texts published in the early Croatian newspapers (*Napredak*, vol. 4, no. 6 (6 February 1909); link shared on Facebook (Canterbury Croatian Society, 15 December 2018))

There are two active Instagram profiles connected to the Croatian community: Dalmatian Cultural Society (www.instagram.com/dalmatiancultural/) and Tarara Folklore Ensemble (www.instagram.com/tarara.folklore/). The table shows a number of followers and number of posts, likes and comments from October to December 2018. All the comments are in English (Table III).

All the posts on the Dalmatian Cultural Society profile are about upcoming events, and most of the posts of Tarara Folklore Ensemble are about the ensemble and their performances. The ensemble is part of the Dalmatian Cultural Society. They use the two profiles for the two different purposes: one for announcing upcoming events and one for sharing photos of the ensemble (mostly photos from their recent tour in Croatia).

Collecting and disseminating information within the Croatian community

This part of the case study is based on semi-structured interviews with the leaders of four Croatian societies in New Zealand – some large in membership and formally registered, some small and informal groups. Four participants who have a leadership or management role in those communities were interviewed in January and February 2019. The purpose of this interview was to get an insight into the ways information relevant for the community is collected and disseminated to supplement previously presented results based on the analysis of historic and current publication channels, historic newspapers and websites and social media sites. It was not our intention to investigate the opinions and practices of individual community members at this point in the research. Our focus was on the community leaders' perspectives.

Participants were asked to describe how they identify the information of interest, how they present it to their members and in which form and what obstacles they encounter in that process. The analysis included manual transcription and coding of interview data looking at main themes and potential subthemes. Interviewees provided examples of newsletters and texts of emails sent to their community members to illustrate some of the points discussed or to give more information in response to a question. That additional information has been included in the analysis along with the email messages exchanged with the researchers. Therefore, the analysis included oral responses and content analysis of additional material and revealed the following themes of interest and relevance for the research objectives.

Type of information disseminated to the members of Croatian societies. Three main categories of information disseminated to the members of Croatian societies are noticeable here. The first category is information relevant to what is happening in the specific community, that is, mainly community news and social events and activities. For example, P2 explains:

> Most often we inform our members about events happening soon, celebrations of major holidays, New Zealand and Croatian. If we have received something relevant through Embassy or outside mailing list, we will forward that too.

On occasion, information related to the clubs' management is also disseminated.

Table III. Posts and interactions on Instagram (October–December 2018)

Instagram profile	No. of followers	No. of posts	Interaction on posts	
			No. of likes	No. of comments
Dalmatian Cultural Society	125	7	63	4
Tarara Folklore Ensemble	328	19	996	49

The second category of information is news from Croatia that might be of interest to the members:

> I try not to share any info which is not relevant to the members' heritage or interests. We don't share any news which is not related to Croatia or Croatians living/working abroad. The exception would be sports success made by a Croatian team/athlete while competing abroad. (P1)

The third category is information about members based on their personal stories and collections. Types of information sought from the members are often the ones about people, places and events. For example, the Dalmatian Genealogical and Historical Society encourages its members to deposit copies of family eulogies in their archive and wedding photographs as records of their families. "Future generations will be grateful indeed to learn about grandparents and great grandparents" (P4). Members are advised to add appropriate metadata to documents they bring. As P4 explained in a letter to their members, "It is vital to name all the people and give time and place so that in later years the descendants will know who is who".

Form in which information is disseminated. The participants indicated three ways of sharing information: via emails, communities Facebook page and newsletters:

> We have different generations in our community. With most people, we communicate through Facebook or email, but some need or want special phone calls, so we do that to keep them in the community. (P3)

Communication via emails is often seen as the most direct and easiest way to reach members. However, participants mentioned two issues in relation to this way of communication. First, there is a problem of regularly updating contacts and maintaining a database. The second issue was about establishing transparent and two-way communication with members who sometimes reply to emails with their opinions or suggestions but that does not reach others. Because this is not often the case, open communication is left to SNSs for those societies that use them. That topic led to a question of backing up emails and preserving emails as records. An awareness exists among the participants that this should be a regular practice, but no specific plan or strategy was described.

Newsletters are created and sent occasionally in print or electronic formats or published on the clubs' websites. They are seen as a record of activities, events and societies' history:

> We put everything that is happening in a newsletter, although it is basically not much more than an email text with information and links. We don't design them in any special way. We just publish them in pdf. But later that becomes a trace of what we did during the year and it is helpful when writing reports. (P3)

Club meetings and social events are also used as an opportunity for oral communication and sharing news. Although this was not mentioned explicitly in response to the question of the dissemination form, it came into the conversation that the physical space conveys information about the community history and identity. Often during social events, members observe the space and look at displays of photographs and symbolic icons, such as a coat of arms, flags and other identity and cultural symbols. In that way, physical spaces of communities stimulate visual information literacy. P3 explains:

> Kids come to the club with their grandparents and they ask questions. Who are these people on the photo, why are they dressed like that, is this New Zealand, what are they celebrating? And so the story becomes more personal to them.

Sources of information. The participants were asked to describe how, when and where they get information that they later distribute to their members. Their answers can be connected to the first finding on the types of information. For community news and social events, the main sources of information are the members of the society, especially those involved in organising activities. News about events in Croatia is gathered from online sources and social media, such as the Facebook page "Croatia News," online Croatian newspapers portals and TV programmes; this very much depends on the ability to speak the Croatian language. However, all participants indicated that word of mouth from family and friends is often the first that brings attention to specific events or circumstances.

"I get a lot of updates directly from Croatia as my entire family and many friends live there". (P1)

"Sometimes we are a source of information for others" (P3), one participant says, explaining that their group is also seen as a source of information, either for people coming to New Zealand from Croatia or for people looking for information on family members in New Zealand.

One important source of information is the Embassy of the Republic of Croatia in Australia, which also covers New Zealand. Information coming from this source is trusted and considered highly relevant, but getting that information on time implies having direct and updated contacts with the embassy, as P3 explains:

> For our community, the Embassy is considered the highly relevant source of information, and usually they choose and present information in a way that is tailored to our members' needs.

None of the participants mentioned sharing information between societies in different parts of New Zealand on a regular basis. This lack of information sharing seems like a missed opportunity, especially for smaller and less formal groups. For example, P2 says:

> It feels like a one-man band sometimes. I do most of the things and when I don't have time or will, things stop for a while. We are very isolated from other clubs.

Obstacles in searching for, accessing or interpreting information. Participants discussed several obstacles in searching for, accessing and interpreting information. For example, lack of *time* to actively search for information. That is sometimes followed by a lack of *motivation* or no specific need for more information coming from the community.

Language can be a barrier if participants with different levels of fluency in the Croatian language wish to consult information sources in the Croatian language or disseminate it without translation. This barrier may be especially impactful if official sources of information, such as government offices for the diaspora, distribute their information in Croatian only:

> You can translate information you find but you need to know what you are looking for, and that takes a lot of time. So if your need is not that important, you give up on searching in the end. (P3)

Apart from potential obstacles coming from translating information, *interpretation* of information and understanding the wider political and social context of news and events is seen as significant.

If community leadership does not have direct contact with people in the home country, it is hard to find ways to connect and people to connect to. Participants see it as their own shortcoming, explaining, for example, "I am very poor at finding direct sources of

information in Croatia, not just because of the language. I haven't linked to people in Croatia to get information". (P3)

The problem, however, is at the broader level and indicates that there are no *information networks* that could be easily accessed and ready to use by communities outside the home country:

> We could do much more. I guess I don't know what more we could do and how to keep our members more informed about what is going on in Croatia if they want to know more. (P2)

Isolation is a problem emphasised by smaller communities, "We don't get information from other clubs, we are often not included, sometimes even official information doesn't reach us". (P3)

None of the participants perceived to have obstacles in *sharing* information. They have a well-established communication network within the community. An obstacle can be if they are not presently online, as it is hard for newcomers to find them and connect.

A final observation on this theme is a potential lack of a plan or a *strategy* that might affect information flows within communities:

> Facebook started as a place to put photos, then information about consular visits, and it grew without any special plan. Now it is also a way for newcomers to find our community. We are not entirely sure what to put on there. (P3)

The mission and rules of these communities, especially formally registered ones, make it relatively straightforward to agree on what information to collect and disseminate to their members. For example, the Croatian Cultural Society in Wellington states in their *Book of Rules* (2.a) their objective:

> To promote and instil pride in Croatian identity and awareness in New Zealand by all legal means including promotion and cultivation of the teaching speaking and conservation of the Croatian Language and the teaching of Croatian history, literature, drama, folklore, customs, music and culture.

Significant social, political, cultural, economic and technological changes over the past decades have created an ongoing challenge for any ethnic community to find ways to best meet diverse information and cultural needs of their members. It also creates an ongoing challenge for information institutions and government offices to reshape bonds they have with the diaspora community and extend some of their services beyond the borders of a country.

Looking back at their society in the past and now, P2 adds:

> As the children have got older, and their life experience got different, and the technology they use, and their ability to Google anything and find it out, this club now has to look at how to serve their needs and still bring the community together.

The importance of community archives

Based on our case study, the importance of community archives can be discussed. Most of the societies have small archives and their archive managers are volunteers – mostly people who are retired and want to contribute to the community. We can identify two kinds of archive materials produced by Croatian societies: handwritten and electronic. Handwritten or printed material is available only physically in the societies or clubs. Electronic material is available on the websites and SNSs. The Dalmatian Cultural Society in Auckland is a good example of a society with a well-organised archive, as well as a museum and a library. The museum consists of numerous exhibits that

represent the history of Croats in New Zealand (e.g. photographs, kauri gum and folk costumes). The library collects all the books that are somehow connected with Croatia (mostly in English, but there are also books in Croatian). The archive of the Society contains not only printed materials, such as books and newspapers, but also unpublished material written by members of the Society. For example, there are several PhD theses about Croats in New Zealand. Also, there are examples of unpublished texts written by Croats who wanted to deposit and archive their family history (e.g. *One hundred years of Matijevichs in New Zealand*, written by Vin Matijevich and Carol Knight). A very important part of the archive are legacies of some important members (e.g. legacy of S. Jelicich consists of some Croatian newspapers that are not available anywhere but in the archive of the Society).

The Croatian Cultural Society in Wellington is currently running a project to organise the community history and collect documents that are often scattered in private collections. They face the challenge of capturing both tangible and intangible, documents and stories, evidence and memories, and a lack of professional skills to do it. That points again to a need for sustainable cooperation between societies, individual members and professional organisations in both host and home countries.

Materials that are available on the websites (e.g. newsletters and documents) and on the SNSs (mostly photographs) can also be considered as community archives. For example, the analysis of Facebook pages shows that the Croatian community in New Zealand is much interested in family history – there are numerous old photographs of Croatian people in New Zealand. We can discuss if a SNS can be considered an archive – it is organised by the community, but not by professionals, the photographs are not always searchable, metadata is missing, long term preservation is not provided. But the fact that those photographs are published on the SNSs and are commented and liked shows that there is a need for community e-archives in the Croatian community in New Zealand.

Concluding discussion

The purpose of the case study presented in this paper was to illustrate how the information environment of small immigrant communities develops and changes over the years under the influence of diverse political, social and technological changes.

Looking at this case study, both from the historic and contemporary perspectives, we can see the big change today – from the first immigrants more than a century ago, without knowledge of the English language and with the need for information in the Croatian language, to today's generations that are aware of their origins but are proficient in English. Croatians in New Zealand no longer need information in Croatian for their everyday life. If they do, they can use all the possibilities offered by information and communication technologies. Today, communication among people with Croatian origins in New Zealand is in English, mostly through websites and SNSs. The question is, therefore: What is the role of today's ethnic cultural societies in terms of meeting the information needs of their community and in preserving memory, history and cultural heritage?

By investigating the case study of the Croatian community in New Zealand, we have explored the role of cultural societies as an information source, as a meeting place and as an organised structure for preserving the community's history and heritage. Data sources ranged from the nineteenth century newspapers that only exist in one copy to current SNSs also easily perishable in the ever-changing and fragile digital domain; further on they ranged from personal collections, often hidden and hard to discover, to

societies' archives and records subject to diverse and often not systematic information management practices. The analysis of historical newspapers, current webpages and SNSs, and interviews with the management of the Croatian community, have shown that societies, clubs and groups could be seen as trusted information sources, which are in line with the findings of Sirikul and Dorner (2016), Caidi *et al.* (2010) or Fisher *et al.* (2004). SNSs of those societies are a significant information source and therefore relevant for information needs and information seeking of immigrants (Khoir *et al.*, 2015). Cultural societies and clubs enable their members to keep connections or re-connect with a country and a culture, and that is especially important for the second and third generations and their cultural information needs that are influenced by the acculturation process in their families and the complexity of their diasporic information environment. That can be compared, for example, with the findings of Srinivasan and Pyati (2007), Waldinger and Feliciano (2004) and Waters *et al.* (2010).

Finally, this case study revealed the importance of cultural societies as an organised structure for documenting, collecting and preserving the community's tangible or intangible history and heritage, which is in accord with Zavala *et al.* (2017) and Daniel (2015).

Looking at this case study in its entirety, we can conclude that the Croatian community in New Zealand is a good example of how immigrant cultural societies are relevant and needed, even though they inevitably evolve and change, especially in times of significant and disruptive political and social changes. Digital technology opened new avenues for communication with community members. It enabled community members to take a more active and participative role in shaping the profile of the community, in documenting and safeguarding their heritage and in maintaining a presence in a home country culture through a diaspora lens. However, to fully exploit potential in creating and maintaining community archives as sources of information, cultural meeting place and apparatus for safeguarding tangible and intangible community heritage, cultural societies face several problems: volunteer-based efforts, lack of professional knowledge or professional support, lack of time, lack of financial resources and, most of all, lack of information networking to overcome linguistic barriers, misunderstandings in interpreting information and information overload. Sustainability is, therefore, the main challenge that this small immigrant community faces in a digital age.

Although this study did not explore views of individual members, management of the cultural societies is much aware of the need to address changing information needs of a second, third and fourth generation of descendants.

It is evident that immigrant cultural societies can play a significant role in the development of their community, but also in preserving aspects of diaspora history and culture. They also offer a wealth of information on how social and technological changes influence communication in immigrant communities. These roles should be a matter of further research, especially in relation to a home country information sources and cultural heritage collections.

Notes

1. According to the agreement, vine could be imported from Italy without taxes, and that was not favourable for Croatian vinemakers. The agreement was called Wonderful Impertinence in New Zealand, as explained in a letter from New Zealand published in Pučki list on August 17, 1903 (Bezić Filipović, 2006, p. 22).

2. The act was very restricting for immigrants, therefore Croats (mostly Dalmatians).
3. According to a letter published in Pučki list, no. 2 in 1903 (Bezić Filipović, 2006, p. 19).
4. Dalmatia is costal part of Croatia, and Croatians are one of the South Slavic nations. The term Yugoslav refers to nations of Yugoslavia, part of which was Croatia (first Yugoslav state was formed in 1918, Croatia become independent from Yugoslavia in 1990).
5. E.g. all we know about Danica is from the texts published in Bratska sloga.
6. E.g. legacy of Stephen Albert Jelicich is in the archives of Dalmatian Cultural Club in Auckland.
7. The analysis is based on the issues available in Alexandar Turnbull Library.
8. According to the bibliography of Croatian newspapers in Australia (https://hit.ffzg.unizg.hr/en/bibliographies/), 93 titles have been published and there is a possibility of finding more titles in private collections.
9. Letter from M. Bobanac published in Pučki list, no. 15, 1904 (Bezić Filipović, 2006, p. 25).
10. We did not analyse all the Facebook pages and groups because some of them have a small number of members. Some had published only a few posts in the three-months period, and some are groups similar to the analysed groups (e.g. Kralj Tomislav Folklore Ensemble is part of Croatian Cultural Society, the two groups have similar interests, same target community and usually share same posts).

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