POLES APART

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An Intergenerational Study of Selected Samples of Postwar
Polish Immigrants in South Australia

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PREFACE

"Poles Apart?" is the result of six years of contact with first and second generation Poles in South Australia. From this contact I know that I have been the beneficiary, for in this microcosm of Anglo-Australian and Polish interaction, I have been considerably integrated into their way of thinking and living through reading of Polish history and literature, experience of ethnic cultural and religious events, and participation in formal and informal social activities.

The Polish second generation respondents in this study I know have been patiently waiting to peruse what has been researched about them. I sincerely hope that out of this research, they may learn something of themselves which has been pieced together by one who is not, in the ethnic sense, one of "them".

Although care has been taken throughout this study to analyse in detail types and not individuals so as to maintain the pledge of confidentiality which researchers must make, nevertheless I feel sure that those individuals who actually participated in this sociological research will be able to read themselves into this work. Indeed, I hope they will be able to do this. It is in this way that the ideal types and the voices of the Polish second generation will come alive and continue to be part of the everyday reality which this thesis has been able to capture only in a narrow span of time. It is in this way, too, that they may learn something of a wider first generation than they may perhaps have had the opportunity to meet, and above all, of the future third generation to whom the subjects of this study will represent the link back into the Polish past that they will sometimes want to experience.

This thesis would not have been possible without the generous assistance of so many people. To Dr. J.J. Smolicz (Department of Education) I owe a tremendous debt, for it was he who guided me with his flashes of insight and firm encouragement whenever I faltered. To the late Dr. G.L. Buxton, who was tragically killed while on study leave soon after I began this research, I am grateful for initial ideas in the field of Australian immigration. Professor A. Gough (Department of History) also contributed helpful suggestions throughout. Dr. J.M. Tregenza and others in the History Department's postgraduate research group acted as a sounding board for ideas put forward in my research papers delivered at five seminars during 1972-1974. Another different perspective came from staff and postgraduates in the Department of Education to whom I gave a sixth research seminar in 1973.

There are many others to whom I owe acknowledgement for more specific assistance. Mr. H. Lemaniak was tireless in his work of translating material from Polish into English onto cassette tapes for me and in his reading of a few chapter drafts; Mr. P. Leppard (Statistics Department) gave very valuable assistance, sometimes at short notice, in the complexities of computer programming; and Ms. M. Secombe (Department of Education) offered helpful suggestions on overall structure and content in the latter stages. Mr. R. Smith,

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SUMMARY

A full understanding of the nature of Australian society demands a thorough knowledge of the process of adaptation of the first and second generations of immigrants. This research has been an intergenerational study of selected samples of postwar Polish immigrants in South Australia, with its prime focus upon the second generation. Using an historico-sociological approach, the ethnicity and assimilation patterns of the second generation have been examined against the background of the historical fortunes of the emigré first generation and the "two worlds" in which its children have been raised. Two central themes predominated - one was the process of cultural transmission between the first and second generations with its implication for the future third generation; and the other was the relative influence of the two socialisation processes of ethnicisation and assimilation in the upbringing of the second generation. The issues involved in the study were probed using four different research methods, namely those of self-administered questionnaire, structured interview, documentary source material and participant observation.

In Chapters 2 and 3, there is an examination of the society in which the first generation was raised, and an analysis of who, when, why and how many Poles have arrived in Australia. The Australian and Polish cultural values in which the second generation has been born and bred are interpreted in Chapters 4 and 5. Following the details of sampling procedure and samples, the theoretical framework of the research is presented in Chapter 7 and the adaptation of the second generation explained in terms of the degree of ethnicity-maintenance and Anglo-assimilation using a "3 x 3" matrix.

There follows in Chapters 8 and 9 a detailed analysis of the linguistic, cultural, structural and ideological components of ethnicity and assimilation with reference to the two second generation samples and their parents. The various modes of adaptation outlined in Chapter 7 are further investigated in Chapter 10 in the form of portraits of the four "ideal types" isolated in this research: Polish-Australian, High Ethnic, Anglo-Assimilate and Alienate. Their precise proportions in Australian society cannot be calculated; rather it is shown that these types, with certain personal characteristics and from particular home backgrounds, do actually exist in Australian society. The interesting and significant variations in their patterns of ethnicity and assimilation demonstrate the limitations of such collective labels as "ethnic-Australians" or even as "second generation Poles". Such blanket terms serve only to throw confusion into discussion on the process of cultural transmission and to lead to misconceived and ill-directed conclusions in such important areas as education and social welfare.

Chapter 11 explores where the gains and losses lie in the adaptation process of the second generation - gains and losses for Australian society, for the Polish community and for the individual himself. The gain in the case of the tertiary students lay in their linguistic, educational and occupational breakthrough.

However, it has been achieved only at the expense of significant damage to individual ethnic cultural (and particularly linguistic) systems. Thus the rather meagre knowledge, and often lukewarm evaluation, of many Polish cultural items on the part of the second generation augurs ill for the chances of cultural transmission to the third generation. Where the links of cultural transmission are likely to remain the strongest will be in the homes of High Ethnics and Polish-Australians, particularly if their firm intentions, and those of their parents, to marry fellow Poles are realised.

DECLARATION

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university and, to the best of the author's knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text.

ROGER McL. HARRIS

CHAPTER 1

THE SETTING FOR THE STUDY

1. Introduction

Australia is a land of immigrants. From the arrival of
the earliest Australians some 30,000 years ago, to the arrival of
the British in 1788, the doubling of population in the 1850's and
the recent addition of three million people since 1945[1], Australia
has become a new homeland for immigrants from many different coun-
tries. Indeed, it is essentially valid to claim that no other
phenomenon has had as significant an impact, particularly since
1945, on Australian history and society as that of immigration.

The Australian immigration programme to World War II
was characterised by two main features. The first was that the
impact of immigration on Australian history and society had been
predominantly a British one. It has been said that Australians
often boasted that their country's population was "90% Australian
and 98% British". Ever since the days of first settlement, the
tone and texture of Australian society - its institutions,
language, traditions and ideologies - remained essentially British.
While substantial numbers of Chinese, German and Scandinavian
immigrants entered Australia in the nineteenth century, of Italians
during the 1920's and of Jewish refugees in the late 1930's,
immigration from Britain continued to be the mainstay in terms of
both numbers and priorities of the Australian immigration programme.

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[1] These events have been labelled by a former Minister for
Immigration as "the four great chapters" in the history of
the Australian people. A.J. Grassby, Australia's Decade of
Decision, Immigration Reference Paper (1973).

The second characteristic was the spasmodic nature of the
immigration intakes. The Australian immigration policy, in fact,
has been likened to the habit of the boa-constrictor which gulps
down its victims and then rests for long digestive periods.
Following the arrival of British settlers in the 1830's, during
which decade the population of Australia increased from 70,000
to 190,000, there was a lull until the mass influx of immigrants
during the gold-rushes in the 1850's. Then there was a digestive
period until the late 1870's, when further waves of immigrants
entered Australia, and these were again reduced to ripples by the
economic slump of the early 1890's. The net annual increase of
population due to migration exceeded 20,000 in each of the years
from 1876 to 1891. Over the succeeding seventeen years to 1908,
however, Australia on balance lost 13,200 people.[2] During the
1920's, immigration resumed on a relatively large-scale basis,
stimulated by the Empire Settlement Act of 1922 and to a lesser
degree by the restrictions placed upon mass immigration into the
United States by the "percentage laws" of 1921 and 1924.[3] From
1922 to 1928, there was again an annual gain of approximately 40,000,
only to be followed during the Great Depression by a net emigration
of almost 20,000 over the six years to 1935.

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[2] R.J. Cameron, "Immigration and the Labour Shortage", The Australian
Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 1 (March 1950), p. 104.

[3] For analysis of these restrictions, see H.G. Duncan, Immigration
and Assimilation (Boston, 1933), pp. 497-550.

After World War II the Australian immigration programme underwent a remarkable change; firstly, because it allowed for the arrival of the "refugee settlers"[4] who represented the first large group of <u>assisted</u> immigrants of non-Anglo-Saxon origin; and secondly, because never before had there been such a <u>sustained</u> intake of immigrants to Australia. The political catchcry of the time, "Populate or Perish", meant that additional population was actively sought in order to counteract the declining birthrate, accelerate economic development, provide greater military strength and to bring relief to as many Europeans as possible displaced by war.

From the displaced persons camps in Europe, 182,159 refugees entered Australia between July 1947 and December 1951.[5] In addition, a series of immigration agreements, beginning with those between Australia and Great Britain on the 31 March and 26 May, 1947 and followed by agreements with Ireland, Italy, Germany and the Netherlands, provided for assisted passages for suitable immigrants from those countries. Restored economic conditions in northern Europe giving rise to a considerable demand for labour substantially reduced German and Dutch emigration to Australia after 1960. Consequently, Australia was forced to search elsewhere for immigrants. The relaxation of restrictions on Italians in the

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[4] This term comes from the title of J.I. Martin's book, <u>Refugee Settlers: A Study of Displaced Persons in Australia</u> (Canberra, 1965).

[5] International Refugee Organisation <u>Statistical Report</u> (December 1951) referred to in J. Vernant, <u>The Refugee in the Postwar World</u> (London, 1953), p. 706.

TABLE 1 : NATIONALITY OF PERMANENT AND LONG TERM ARRIVALS TO
          AUSTRALIA: 1947-8 TO 1972-3

Years	Germans	Dutch	Italians	Greeks	Yugoslavs	U.K. and Colonies*	Total Intakes
1947-8	373	565	788	1,811	466		46,569
1948-9	1,039	1,250	5,954	1,491	3,599		114,818
1949-50	1,092	4,008	12,650	1,721	10,399		184,889
1950-1	2,692	16,863	15,934	2,227	7,493		153,290
1951-2	7,156	10,128	21,883	2,679	2,363		130,462
1952-3	5,749	13,996	20,719	1,979	532		95,890
1953-4	10,755	9,822	15,256	5,361	672		86,468
1954-5	12,342	11,579	19,718	12,885	735		124,180
1955-6	7,644	14,126	31,603	11,198	1,173		132,628
1956-7	5,881	9,557	20,490	9,709	1,220		120,601
1957-8	5,272	6,876	13,989	6,545	1,099		107,978
1958-9	7,300	8,445	13,626	5,436	1,688	29,632	116,697
1959-60	10,090	10,143	17,022	6,650	1,709	34,849	133,684
1960-1	10,862	7,132	19,485	8,006	2,637	45,345	138,481
1961-2	3,209	3,753	17,761	12,221	2,829	36,434	118,532
1962-3	3,044	2,568	14,379	11,778	3,859	47,464	137,235
1963-4	4,020	3,328	14,022	16,063	4,786	62,765	159,554
1964-5	3,885	2,940	11,829	17,896	4,947	77,110	180,701
1965-6	4,205	3,184	12,907	16,029	7,845	81,116	189,795
1966-7	3,964	2,910	14,380	10,513	7,823	83,005	189,915
1967-8	4,392	3,294	16,877	9,701	9,650	73,075	197,898
1968-9	3,779	3,731	14,877	12,427	13,096	87,404	237,475
1969-70	4,414	3,572	11,590	11,847	26,805	82,696	253,652
1970-1	4,072	2,916	8,956	10,957	26,558	72,740	244,790
1971-1	2,959	2,330	7,255	6,785	12,209	66,357	211,788
1972-3	2,727	1,662	4,811	4,642	8,554	62,214	192,426

*Citizenship of the various countries of the British Commonwealth was
 not recorded until 1958-59.

Source: Australian Immigration : Consolidated Statistics : 1969, 1973.

mid-1950's led to increased numbers from that country in the later 1950's and 1960's, and the numbers of Greeks also rose considerably from 1960. Throughout the 1960's, the number of Yugoslavs entering Australia slowly increased until the removal of restrictions by the Yugoslav Government led to a sudden rise in the period 1969-1971, making Yugoslavs second in numbers to the British in these years. During the early 1970's there have been increases, though far less dramatic than in the instance of the Yugoslavs, in the numbers of Turks, South Americans and Asians arriving in Australia. Despite these substantial intakes of non-British immigrants since 1947, however, immigration from Britain has continued its traditional role as the backbone of the Australian immigration programme (see Table 1).

Apart from the economic "push" in the north-western and southern European countries resulting in emigration to Australia, there has also been the political "push". Nowhere is this more clearly evident than in the immigration to Australia of such Eastern European groups as Hungarians after the October 1956 revolution and Czechoslovaks following the invasion of Prague in 1968. In Poland, the "Polish thaw" which followed the fall of the Stalinist-type Communist Party leaders in October 1956, and the tightening of the Party's grip once again from 1961, are both reflected in first the increase, then the gradual reduction, in Polish intakes into Australia in those years[6] (see Table 2).

[6] The tightening of party control may also explain the upturn in the naturalisation rate of Poles in Australia due to the Phenomenon of "catharsis naturalisation". See E.F. Kunz, "Political Events 'At Home' and the Concept of Catharsis Naturalisation among Refugees", International Migration, Vol. 9, Nos. 1 - 2 (1971), p. 64.

TABLE 2 :   NATIONALITY OF PERMANENT AND LONG TERM ARRIVALS
             TO AUSTRALIA IN SELECTED YEARS - POLES, HUNGARIANS
             AND CZECHOSLOVAKS.

POLES		HUNGARIANS		CZECHOSLOVAKS	
Years	Numbers	Years	Numbers	Years	Numbers
1955-6	173	1953-4	53	1966-7	112
1956-7	277	1954-5	182	1967-8	148
1957-8	1,038	1955-6	194	1968-9	3,525
1958-9	1,779	1956-7	9,131	1969-70	2,156
1959-60	1,484	1957-8	3,176	1970-1	406
1960-1	1,409	1958-9	352	1971-2	236
1961-2	1,295	1959-60	235	1972-3	120
1962-3	960				
1963-4	926				

Source: Australian Immigration : Consolidated Statistics, 1973

The sustained intake of immigrants into Australia has been
affected not only by economic and political pushes from the home
countries, but also by the economic situation within Australia
itself; that is, the "pull". Each of the economic recessions of
the early 1950's, early 1960's and early 1970's is reflected in the
reductions in those years of the annual immigration intakes into
Australia (see Table 1), for very closely linked with depressed
economic conditions has been the reduction in overall immigration
targets set by Commonwealth Governments in Australia.

By 1971, therefore, a remarkable change in comparison with
the 1947 situation had occurred in the composition of the Australian
population. At the 1947 census, 78% of the 0.7 million non-
Australian-born residents had been born in the United Kingdom and
Ireland. By the 1971 census, the number of non-Australian-born
had reached 2.6 million but the proportion born in the United
Kingdom and Ireland had declined to 42%, almost half of the

proportion it had been in 1947. In 1971, the 2.6 million overseas-born in Australia's population of 12.75 million represented about 20% (i.e. first generation immigrants). One quarter of the six million children born in Australia since 1945 had one or both parents born outside of Australia (i.e. second generation immigrants). Thus a ratio of between one-in-three and one-in-four of the Australia population by this time was either an immigrant or the child of an immigrant.[7]

The adaptation of these newcomers and their offspring into the host society is a subject of considerable interest to all concerned in the process. In Australia, however, systematic research of this adaptation has only recently begun, since the impact of non-British immigration itself has been felt only in the last two decades. True understanding of the nature of Australian society in the past and in the present, and particularly in the future, demands a thorough knowledge of this process of adaptation of the first and second generationsof immigrants into this country,

There has existed a common belief in Australia, as in most immigrant receiving societies, that although the first generation has particular problems in adjusting to new mores, traditions and codes of behaviour, the adaptation process has virtually reached completion by the second generation; that to all intents and purposes, the second generation of immigrants is culturally indistinguishable from the Anglo-Australian population and is, in fact, "Australian".

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[7]A.J. Grassby, Australia's Human Resources and Australia's Decade of Decision, both Immigration Reference Papers (1973); and "Foreign Languages in the New Australian Society", paper presented to the Modern Language Teachers' Association of Queensland (August 1973).

It was through interest in the "ethnic-Australian" nature of the upbringing of the second generation of non-British immigrants in Australia that this research was initiated in 1971. The accuracy of comments to the effect that Australian-born children of non-British immigrants were "Australian" appeared increasingly doubtful.[8] The fundamental question was: to what extent were these children "ethnic" and to what extent "Australian" or, to be more precise, "ethnic-Australian" and "Anglo-Australian". One's initial reaction was that ethnic Australian children were not as completely "Australian" as most Australians, and perhaps even as they themselves, might think. It seemed certain that the process of adaptation took place over more than one generation and, in most instances, probably over at least three generations. The importance of culture appeared particularly vital in the way it was able to function as a sieve which affected the way people perceived events. One of the central themes of this study, therefore, became that of cultural transmission, the handing down of cultural heritage and tradition from one generation to the next: what aspects are transmitted, how, by whom and at what age; how is each evaluated by the second generation; and what aspects are likely to filter through to the third generation? This study, then, became focused on the middle link of the intergenerational

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[8] As far back as the Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political Science in January 1953, J. Craig had claimed that Australians could no longer accept the glib assumption that second generation immigrants would automatically and painlessly become "good Australians". Canberra Times, 26 January, 1953.

immigrant chain, the bridge between the past and the future - the second generation. Through the eyes of this middle link, the past (first generation) and the future (third generation) are, in a sense, also investigated in this research.

A second main theme of particular interest was the relative influence of the two socialisation processes of ethnicisation and assimilation in the upbringing of the second generation: did growing up in two worlds always engender culture conflict and tension, as previous research had led one to believe; or was the second generation individual able in some way to strike a balance between his ethnic and Australian environments?

Most studies on immigrants in Australia have been primarily concerned with questions of assimilation.[9] Working from within the traditional Anglo-conformist climate, educationists have continually emphasised deprivation, and researchers, degree of assimilation. By implication, therefore, they have painted a negative picture of ethnicity. The assumption has always been that progress along the road of assimilation necessarily has meant a corresponding decrease in ethnicity; that is, assimilation and ethnicity have been assumed to be mutually exclusive.

Where this research differs in this respect from earlier studies is in the belief that ethnicity is something positive and indeed valuable for all Australians, not just those who belong to

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[9] I.H. Burnley, "The Absorption of Immigrants in Australia", in C.A. Price (Ed.), Australian Immigration: A Bibliography and Digest, No. 2 (Canberra, 1971), p. A44.

ethnic groups. Assimilation and ethnicity are not regarded as
being mutually exclusive. The two socialisation processes of
assimilation and ethnicisation in the instance of the second or
1b generation individual proceed simultaneously, ethnicity in the
second or 1b generation not being as constant as it is generally
conceived to be in the 1a generation.[10] Uneven progression in
these two socialisation processes, and differences in the number
and quality of socialising agents available to each individual,
can be expected to give rise to interesting variations in the
assimilation and ethnicity patterns of the second and 1b
generations.

What is of particular interest in this respect is the
distinction between "political" and "economic" immigration, and
their general characterisation as "wave" and "chain" migration
respectively.[11] The consequent effects that the political type

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[10]Migrants of the second generation refer to those born in Australia
of immigrant parents; 1b migrants refer to those born overseas but
who migrate to Australia before speech patterns in the language of
their country of birth have become firmly established (usually around
the age of 12 years); 1a migrants refer to those also born outside
of Australia but who have fixed speech habits by the time of migra-
tion (over 12 years of age). This differentiation is employed by
M. Clyne in "The Maintenance of Bilingualism", The Australian Journal
of Education, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1968), pp. 125-130, and in
"Teaching German to German Migrants' Children", Babel, Vol. 5,
No. 1 (April 1969), pp. 5-8.

[11]Political migrants are those who migrate for political reasons, some
examples being the Displaced Persons, the Hungarian wave in 1956-8
and the Czechoslovak one of 1968-70. Economic migrants are those
who migrate in order to gain better job prospects for themselves
or increased educational opportunities for their children. The
Southern Europeans, for example, tend to migrate in "chains" whereby
over a period of time entire extended families and even villages
move to a new country of settlement. C.A. Price estimates that
more than 80% of Southern Europeans who came to Australia between
1890 and 1940 migrated in this way. Southern Europeans in Australia
(Melbourne, 1963), p. 134.

of migration exhibits on the upbringing of the children in the

host society represent one of the main problems to be examined in

this study.

It was originally intended, therefore, to examine more than

one ethnic group. However, it soon became quite evident that if

this research was to be undertaken in any depth and in any meaning-

ful way within a certain period of time, then the focus would need

to be upon only one ethnic group.

The advantage of studying an Eastern European ethnic group

was that these immigrants had been settled in Australia long enough

to study the end product of the adaptation process of the first

generation, yet short enough to analyse the initial phases of that

process among the second generation, many of whom by the early

1970's were, in the educational sense, progressing through upper

secondary and tertiary educational institutions. The other

advantage of studying such an established and stable ethnic

community was that it was not being constantly restructured by

vast numbers of recent arrivals (as were most of the Southern

European ethnic communities). Thus intergenerational relationships

could be analysed without cultural or social interference from new

arrivals.

Among the large influx of displaced persons into Australia

after World War II, by far the most numerous were immigrants of

Polish nationality who comprised over one third of all refugees

resettled in this country under the International Refugee

Organisation Displaced Persons Scheme (see Chapter 3). Merely

from the numerical point of view, then, the Poles must be considered

a significant group in any study of immigrant adaptation. From

an historical point of view also, the Poles were considered a
fascinating group upon whom to focus attention. They came from a
country which has been historically the junction between East and
West, and consequently has often been the path along which
conquering nations and peoples have passed. The tenacity with
which the Polish culture and identification survived throughout
123 years of tripartite division between Russia, Prussia and
Austria from 1795 to 1918 was remarkable (see Chapter 2). It was
anticipated that these historical circumstances would have had a
significant effect upon the psychology of Polish immigrants forced
to begin a new life in Australia, and on the upbringing of their
children in this new land. There was the further factor of the
author's involvement and contacts with the Polish community,
particularly the youth organisations. There were, therefore,
reasons of numerical significance as well as historical and personal
interest in the decision to focus attention on the Polish first and
second generations.

2. Previous Research

In all immigrant-receiving countries, there is a great
volume of literature written from many different perspectives on
various aspects of immigration. The difficulty for the reviewer
of this literature is where to begin. For the purposes of this
study and its objectives, it was decided to concentrate upon the
literature in three main research areas: studies on Polish
immigrants in Australia; studies on the adaptation of the immigrant
second generation in general; and studies on the meaning and
use of the concept of ethnicity.[12]

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[12]In this review section, full details of literature stated merely as
references are presented in the Bibliography and only authors and
dates of publications are given here.

(1) Studies on Poles in Australia

While there have been several notable studies on Poles in other Western, immigrant-receiving countries[13], little has been published in Australia on immigrants of Polish origin. Johnston's work (1965, 1969, 1972), from a psychological approach, on Polish immigrants in Western Australia is extensive, and provides interesting insights into the assimilation of her samples of parents and children. Her main theoretical contribution lies in the distinction between "external" and "subjective" assimilation: the former implies "the immigrant's lesser distinguishability from members of the host group", and the latter denotes "the immigrant's psychological identification with Australians in areas which initially set them apart". Thus it is possible to have immigrants who are only externally assimilated, or subjectively assimilated, or assimilated both externally and subjectively. As Buckland has claimed, Johnston's work, particularly The Assimilation Myth, is "a challenge to the postulation that second generation migrants assimilate as a matter of course".[14] Yet Johnston's work is not fundamentally concerned with the phenomenon of ethnicity-maintenance, nor does it broadly tackle, beyond the identification level, those social facts with which the sociologist is particularly concerned.[15]

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[13] For example: Zubrzycki (1956); Gillis (1954); Wood (1955); and P. Fox, The Poles in America (New York, 1922); J.A. Wytrwal, America's Polish Heritage (Detroit, 1961); V. Turek, Poles in Manitoba (Winnipeg, 1967).

[14] In a review of The Assimilation Myth in the Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7 (October 1971), p. 104.

[15] For further comment see J.J. Smolicz, "The concept of tradition - a reply to R. Johnston", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1975), pp. 28-9.

From the historical viewpoint, there are the works of Paszkowski and Szczepanowski. Paszkowski's studies (1969, 1971) are primarily concerned with biographies of noted individuals of Polish origin in Australian history, although the first section of his book, Polacy w Australii i Oceanii, 1790-1940 (1962), does provide an historical sketch of Polish immigration to Australia before World War II. The work edited by Szczepanowski (1971) is a collection of chapters written by representatives of various Polish organisations which were formed in South Australia after 1948. Both are valuable editions in their own field, although for the purposes of this study, they were relevant only to Chapter 3. The same can be said for Zubrzycki's article "Polonia Australijska" in Kultura (1958), which nevertheless presents important historical and statistical material on the Polish community in Australia.

In the respective works of Harvey (1970), Wiseman (1974), Zubrzycki (1964), Martin (1965, 1972) and Kunz (1971), Poles are included, though the information one can glean from these studies is rather specific and limited for the reason that their focus is on Poles only as one group among many other ethnic groups. There are, therefore, very few publications dealing to any great extent with Polish migrants, particularly from an historico-sociological perspective. In an important sense, therefore, it is hoped that this study will contribute to the slowly increasing body of knowledge on the assimilation and ethnicity patterns of European migrants in Australia in general, and of second generation Polish people in Adelaide in particular.

(2) Studies on the adaptation of the second generation

Research on first generation immigrants contains numerous attempts to construct typologies of immigrant assimilation. Taft and Doczy (1962) based their six types of Hungarian intellectuals on subjects' preferred domicile for the rest of their lives; Johnston (1965) used respondents' scores on external and subjective assimilation to identify five types of Polish immigrants; and Martin (1965) examined background factors, and items of social and cultural assimilation and identification, to compile each of her migrant types who shared "a series of characteristics which [seemed] to hang together for good psychological and sociological reasons". Again, Mostwin (1972) based her analysis of five types of first generation Poles in America on consistency of replies to questions concerning subjective identification, and Richardson (1974) used assimilation levels that had been achieved after seven years of residence to construct his typology of five types of British settlers in Australia.

Detailed studies of the adaptation of the immigrant second generation in the context of two worlds, however, are rare. Taft and Johnston claimed in 1967:

> Very few studies appear to have been carried out on the assimilation of the children of immigrants - other than general observations that the children are usually more assimilated than their parents ..., or that second generation children are correspondingly more assimilated.[16]

[16]"The Assimilation of Adolescent Polish Immigrants and Parent-Child Interaction", Merrill-Palmer Quarterly of Behaviour and Development, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1967), p. 111.

Judging from this scarcity of literature on the subject, few researchers have considered that the immigrant second generation is suitable as a topic for investigation, or indeed, even warrants detailed study. Although the strains and stresses for first generation immigrants have long been recognised, even if not fully documented or understood, the "mental agonies" of the second generation have been described by one American writer as being "ten times more poignant".[17]

The traditional interpretation has been that, in living in two worlds, the second generation immigrant suffers "culture conflict", which is a manifestation of an internal identity struggle, and/or "culture tension", which refers to strained inter-personal relationships.[18] Young wrote in the American Sociological Review in 1936:

> They may appear assimilated in their public life, but in their private life they remain hyphenated in attitudes, with the result of an inevitable duality of personality ... the old and the new are clearly at war with each other, causing many serious tensions, restlessness and maladjustments.[19]

Another viewpoint of the 1930's summed up the position of the second generation as a marginal one:

[17] J. Valentine, "Of the Second Generation", Survey, Vol. 47, p. 956, quoted in Duncan, op. cit., p. 693.

[18] The distinction between these two concepts has been drawn by R. Johnston in a paper, "Culture Conflict and Culture Tension", presented at the Sociological Association of Australia and New Zealand Conference in 1968. Similarly, R. Taft has distinguished between "internal conflict", representing a conflict between psychological processes, and "external conflict", representing a conflict between the individual and his environment: "Ethnically Marginal Youth and Culture Conflict: a problem in cross-cultural science", paper presented at the first International Conference for Cross-Cultural Psychology, Hong Kong, 1972.

[19] P. Young, "Social Problems in the Education of the Immigrant Child", American Sociological Review, Vol. 1, No. 3 (1936), p. 421.

> Since children of immigrants are inculcated, usually
> unconsciously, with the attitudes and values of their
> parents and at the same time are exposed to the influences
> of American culture, they often find themselves in a conflict
> situation. They are torn between two conflicting sets of
> attitudes and values, neither of which they can completely
> understand and appreciate ... they are marginal individuals.[20]

Duncan in 1933 emphasised the inevitability of the conflict resulting

from this marginal situation:

> The second generation are subject to forces for Americanisation
> which they are powerless to stop ... The inevitable changes
> resulting from ... outside contacts cannot be permanently
> resisted, and often the second generation children become
> promoters of rapid changes. They are in two culture worlds,
> and conflicts inevitably arise with both the home group and
> and outside group.[21]

He saw these conflicts occurring in the areas of language, education,

occupation, recreation, social life and religion. From a state of

disorganisation, the individual "isolates disturbing factors,

substitutes satisfactory elements, effects compromises, and begins

to adjust himself to the forces about him."[22] According to Duncan,

the process of adjustment of the second generation to its two world

situation takes place over four stages: conflict, disorganisation,

reorganisation and assimilation. The final state, assimilation, is

claimed to be "so natural that they [the children of immigrants] never

give it a thought"[23], although the author did acknowledge that there

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[20] S. Koenig, "Second and Third Generation Americans" in F.J. Brown
and J.S. Roucek (Eds.), One America (New York, 1937), p. 511.

[21] Op. cit., p. 695.

[22] Ibid., p. 705.

[23] Ibid., p. 706.

are some second generation individuals who become only partially

assimilated. He believed that the explanation for the lack of

complete assimilation lay in the negative experiences which these

individuals had had with Americans of the old stock. The implication

here is that it is not for positive reasons that such individuals

retain parts of their ethnicity, but for defensive ones, acquired

in response to the hostility of Anglo-Americans.

Apart from these more extreme and impressionistic views on

the phenomenon of culture conflict, there have been a few scholarly

attempts at analysing the types of adaptation which second generation

individuals are able to make to their "two worlds" situation.

Sleszynski (1921) is one writer who believed that American-

born children of immigrants were not "thoroughly American".

Depending on the different attitudes and reactions they exhibited

towards the highly organized structural life of their ethnic

communities, these second generation individuals could be theoretically

divided, according to Sleszynski, into five "more or less distinct

groups".[24]

The first group conforms to the standards of the ethnic

community, and remains a part of it. These individuals are usually

from the lower socio-economic levels of society and from large

families. Most individuals in this category struggle to make economic

ends meet as unskilled workmen, though a few do become professionals

or small shopkeepers in their own community. Social life is limited

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[24]"The Second Generation of Immigrants in the Assimilative Process",
The Annals of the American Academy, Vol. 93, No. 182 (1921),
pp. 156-161.

to the ethnic community, and they usually marry within their
own ethnic group.

The second group breaks ties with the ethnic community.
They make very little, or no, use of the ethnic tongue, may come to
despise the language and traditions of their parents, and often they
deliberately leave home and change their names. Some hold their own
within the "outside" society, others, after renouncing their ethnic
heritage, acquire only that which is cheapest in the life of the
host society.

The third group displays no interest in the ethnic community
but is not as opposed to it as are those in the second group. In
fact, they are often proud of their heritage, and because they are
individuals who have made a valuable contribution - for example, as
an artist, writer or musician - to the host society, they are
"claimed" by their fellow ethnics.

The fourth group includes those who have gained recognition
within both the host society and the ethnic community. They usually
hold positions of leadership in both spheres, in occupations such as
banking, business, law or medicine, serving hosts and ethnics. They
keep in touch with the ethnic community because of financial or
political interests there. At the same time, they can speak the
ethnic language fluently and are acquainted with the culture of
their ethnic group.

The fifth group is largely composed of social workers who
may not have had a liberal education but can speak the ethnic tongue
and are familiar with the traditions of the ethnic community. Most
take part in the social and religious life of the ethnic group and
also participate in the activities of the host society.

The resultant typology drawn from these five categories is an interesting one, though very general in that it lacks a firm basis for demarcation between groups. Thus, in real life, it is doubtful whether these categories are as distinct as the writer, from his qualitative and highly generalised observations, would have us believe. Secondly, his second generation individuals were those who were born and raised in the large industrial centres of the United States of America containing what he terms "foreign colonies".[25] The context in which the writer's personal observations were made is quite different, particularly in the educational sense, from that pertaining to a study of the second generation in Australia. However, his central thesis is a valuable one: that the reaction which the second generation makes to the standards, interests and attitudes found in the ethnic community varies with the individual.

Child's classical study (1943) on second and 1b generation Italian males in America also showed that there were individual differences in the assimilation pattern of children of migrants. Three types of adaptation were distinguished according to the approach that the 19-20 year old subjects employed in coping with American culture:

(a) "rebels" - those who displayed a negative attitude
towards the Italian group and clung to American culture;

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[25] For a description of these "foreign colonies", ibid., pp. 157-8.

(b) "in-groupers" - those who showed an affiliation with

the Italian group and were negative towards America and

Americans;

(c) "apathetics" - those who oscillated between the two

reference groups without really belonging to either.

They had turned away from the Italian group, but had

not accepted the American one in their "retreat from the

conflict situation".[26]

Another American writer, Bernard[27], distinguishes four ways

in which an ethnic person "tortured by conflicts of biculturality"

may attempt to adjust himself: he may (a) reject the American group,

remain in his ethnic community and seek its cultural perpetuation;

(b) attempt to destroy both, since so long as either exists he will

have no peace; (c) try to work out a way of reconciling both cultural

worlds; or (d) attempt to select what is beautiful in both cultures.

The lines of demarcation, however, as with Sleszynski's types, remain

unclear, particularly the differentiation between groups (c) and (d)

above. The argument of Simirenko (1969) is that, while there may be

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[26]I.L. Child, Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict
(New York, 1970) p. 151. Child speaks in terms of the second
generation individual being "forced to decide"with which group he
is going to identify himself, since taking one path or the other
necessitates abandonment of those rewards which are offered to
him by either group for acquiring its patterns of behaviour,
pp. 63'-75. For a comparison between Child's second generation
and Johnston's first generation types, see R. Johnston,
Immigrant Assimilation (Perth, 1965), pp. 156-159.

[27]"Biculturality : A Study of Social Schizophrenia", quoted in
Brown and Roucek, op. cit., p. 513.

several types of adaptation within any one "actual generation",
these "tend to polarise into the dominant and the opposed types",
forming "two distinct generation units".[28] He labels these units
the "colonists", those who continue to participate in the life of
the ethnic community founded by their fathers, and the "frontiersmen",
those who abandon the ethnic community and pursue goals within the
wider mainstream of American society.

Johnston's studies in Western Australia revealed that the
Polish adolescents in her sample, "as second generation immigrants,
were a lot of happy, well adjusted people without any signs of social
disorganisation."[29] The title of her monograph, The Assimilation Myth,
reveals the author's perspective on the second generation, which is
nevertheless assumed to undergo a gradual process of assimilation,
as seen in her attempt to measure its assimilation "rate". While
her subjects are all collectively labelled as second generation,
strictly speaking most were 1b immigrants, since "only the youngest
of them were born in Australia".

It was Johnston's deliberate intention to keep the interview
as brief as possible "in order not to tire them [the children] too
much". The result, however, was that the measurement of assimilation

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[28]Simirenko employs K. Mannheim's differentiation between the
"actual generation" made up of youth experiencing the same concrete
historical problems, and "generation units" which are groups within
the same actual generation which work up the material of their
common experience in different specific ways. "Mannheim's generational
analysis and acculturation", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17,
No. 3 (September 1969), pp. 292-299.

[29]R. Johnston, The Assimilation Myth (The Hague, 1969), p. 65.

(external and subjective) was narrowly based on only the areas of
food, language and social contacts. On the criterion of subjective
assimilation alone, the children were classified into three groups:

(a) those who "fully identify with Australia" (59%);

(b) those who identify with both Australia and Poland
    (26%); and

(c) those who "reject the Australian group altogether" (15%).

Since both (a) and (c) contained the majority of those who were
categorised as identifying with "more Australia than Poland" and
"more Poland than Australia" respectively, the use of the labels
"fully identify" and "reject ... altogether" seem rather extreme.
These two groups can be compared with Child's "rebels" and "ingroupers".
The third group (b), however, is not comparable with Child's
"apathetics". Johnston comments:

> It would seem that Polish children do not reveal the
> non-identifying type of second generation immigrants
> postulated in some other studies.[30]

That author claims that, since children are "hampered by the
restraining influences of their parents" in the sphere of external
assimilation, subjective assimilation "is the only reliable guide
to progress made".[31] Yet the construction of a typology of second
generation immigrant assimilation on this subjective criterion alone
also appears rather unreliable, subject as it is to extremes of

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[30]Ibid., p. 59. It would appear that the explanation may lie rather
in the methodology of the study, although the reader is not informed
of the "special questions" asked in the interviews, p. 49.

[31]Ibid., p. 54-5.

personal bias concerning the interviewee's conception of his own identification and of what he imagines the interviewer would like to hear. The most appropriate method would surely seem to be a combination of both what the subject himself thinks and feels and what the researcher measures (see Chapter 7).

Studies on the adaptation of second generation immigrants, therefore, have either been narrowly based as far as their measuring instruments are concerned, (Johnston, Child), unclear as to their bases for demarcation between different types (Sleszynski, Bernard), or incomplete in the theoretical range of alternatives available in their typologies. In respect to this latter comment, Simirenko, Child and Johnston all recognise the two positions of belonging to the minority group or to the host society; but while Simirenko does not examine other positions which he admits exist but which he dismisses as only transient types, Child interprets his third group as oscillating between these two basic reference groups without really belonging to either, and Johnston depicts her centre category as having dual identification. Is it not possible, given more broadly based measuring tools, to find individuals in all four categories? Almost as if suspecting that the lack of the non-identifying type in her sample is rather unexpected or unusual Johnston concludes:

> In view of the crucial differences in typing of immigrant children, more thorough research is needed to clarify the position of the children alleged to live in a state of cultural flux without a cultural identification.[32]

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[32]Ibid., p. 88.

Wiseman's thesis (1974) on the social integration and educational attainment of boys of Italian, Polish and Dutch parentage in six Adelaide secondary schools produced some interesting comparative data, particularly in the area of ethnic language competence and use. However, in that author's own words, as in Child's research on second generation Italians in America,

> the results ... do not appear to provide a useful qualitative or quantitative addition to the evidence and discussion which is developing on this topic of the child being socialised in two worlds. The factors influencing the choice, the identifications and relationships flowing from these, require more detailed and personal ideographic study.[33]

It is with the questions raised, though not resolved, in each of the above studies that this research is concerned.

(3) Studies on the concept of ethnicity

A literature survey of studies of minority groups reveals that the concept of ethnicity has been used in two distinct ways - as a descriptive, categoric fact of birthplace, and as a subjective property. Many researchers simply use the concept in the first sense. To Vallee, Schwartz and Darkness (1957), ethnicity refers to descent from ancestors who shared a common culture based on national origin, language, religion or race, or a combination of these. In their analytical essay on immigrant experience in Canada, they define the concept as "an ascribed attribute, like age and sex, defining status and role in certain situations". Some writers, such

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[33] R. Wiseman, "A Study of the Academic Attainment and Social Integration of Students of Dutch, Italian and Polish Parentage in South Australian Secondary Schools", Masters thesis, The University of Adelaide (1974), pp. 230-1.

as Chimbos (1972) and Slann (1973), use the concept of ethnicity as simply meaning country of origin. King (1968) refers to ethnicity in his study of school adjustment in Ontario in the context of language spoken in the home, while Marston (1969) defines the concept "along two inter-related but analytically distinct dimensions", mother-tongue (the language a person first learned in childhood and still understands) and birthplace. He considers that these two criteria are more meaningful and more convenient in his particular study than the more common dimension, ethnic origin.

Other researchers, however, view the concept as meaning more than simply an ascribed attribute. Gordon (1964) regards it as a convenient term for "a"sense of peoplehood" (from the Greek word "ethnos" meaning "people" or "nation"), and thus a group with a shared feeling of people-hood is an "ethnic group". Vecoli (1970) means "group consciousness based on a sense of common origin", Goering (1971) "a feeling of both belongingness and rejection", and Humphrey and Louis (1973) "the feeling of 'we-ness' among an immigrant group".

One of the most lucid contributions to refinement of the concept is a paper by Lyman and Douglass (1973). They explain that while a kind of fundamental "social contract" binds groups together in a plural society, "a kind of uncommunicable essence of ethnic solidarity" also operates to keep them apart, a "silent but shared understanding" which can neither be communicated to nor adopted by an outsider. A good example is the current emphasis on "Soul" among American negroes:

> 'Soul' can be experienced by blacks, but not explained
> to whites. At best, a fellow traveller of the black
> community can, after long and intimate association,
> develop an empathic understanding, while never sharing
> fully in the communion which 'soul' provides for those
> who 'have' it. 'Soul' constitutes an invisible social
> cement binding blacks together and separating them and
> their unique experience from other groups.[34]

Sharing in such an ingroup "communion" is taken as a sign of one's

ethnicity. There is one sense, therefore, in which ethnicity is

ascriptive - in so far as accident of birth introduces an individual

to a lengthy progress of socialisation into a particular ethnic

heritage.

However, Lyman and Douglass further define ethnicity as a

feature of identity able to be used as a stratagem by an individual

in working out his own life chances in an ethnically plural society -

it is a feature available for employment by him in a social encounter

and subject to presentation, inhibition, manipulation and exploita-

tion. Ethnicity is, therefore, an acquired and used feature of

human identity. It is both a mental state and a potential ploy in

any encounter, although it will be neither if it cannot be invoked

or activated.[35]

This last paper is an example of what Martin calls "exploratory

theoretical contributions" which, from her survey of articles on

immigration and ethnicity appearing in the sociological journals

in the 1950's and 1960's, she claims far outnumber papers using new

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[34]S.M. Lyman and W.A. Douglass, "Ethnicity: Strategies of Collective
and Individual Impression Management", Social Research, Vol. 40,
No. 2 (1973), p. 346.

[35]Ibid., pp. 349-350.

empirical material to test or generate theoretical propositions.[36]

At the 37th Summer School of the Australian Institute of Political

Science, Lippmann spoke out against discussion on

> the rather foolish controversy whether ethnicity is a
> good thing or a bad thing... The important thing is to
> recognise that ethnicity is a concrete reality with which
> we must cope and we must seek a better understanding of
> what it means and how we may live with it.[37]

Martin has written in Community and Identity:

> Writers meticulously preface their presentations
> with ritualistic expressions of regret for the neglect
> of empirical research, but examples of productive
> interplay between research and theory - building are
> few.[38]

At the risk of being ritualistic, this author must also draw

attention to the paucity of research on variations of adaptation of

the migrant second generation in general, and on the nature and role

of ethnicity in particular.

Research papers (mainly in the field of psychology) which

include ethnicity as a factor predominantly use the concept in the

sense of "ethnic identification". Reed, Campbell et al., and Matthews

and Prothro[39] all used responses to two questions to construct an

index which they believed did "convey most of what we have in mind

when we speak of a person's 'attachment' (whether affective or

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[36] J.I. Martin, Community and Identity (Canberra, 1972), p. 4.

[37] Australian Institute of Political Science, How Many Australians?
Immigration and Growth (Sydney, 1971), p. 115.

[38] Op. cit., p. 4.

[39] J.S. Reed,"'The Cardinal Test of a Southerner': Not Race but
Geography", Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 2 (1973), p. 234;
A. Campbell, et al., The American Voter (New York, 1964), p. 168;
D. Matthews and J. Prothro, Negroes and the New Southern Politics
(New York, 1966).

instrumental) to his group" (Reed) and "indicate the closeness or
'we feeling' that an individual senses with regard to his membership
group" (Campbell et al.):

    (1) Would you say that you feel pretty close to ......
          in general or that you don't feel much closer to
          them than you do to other kinds of people?

    (2) How much interest would you say you have in how ......
          as a whole are getting along in this country? Do you
          have a good deal of interest in it, some interest, or
          not much interest at all?

Goering (1971) also asked two questions which he thought would best
probe what he termed "self-rated ethnicity":

    (1) Do you think of yourself as ......?

    (2) Do you feel that being ...... is important to you?

All such definitions of ethnicity almost totally ignore the distinction
between _feeling_ ethnic (in the sense of identification) and _being_
ethnic (in the sense of accepting and activating the cultural values
of the given group). A more broadly based index employed by Pavlak
(1973) incorporated a set of eight items selected "to reflect various
aspects of the relationship of an individual with his ethnic group".
These items included opinions on ethnic customs and traditions;
language retention; pride in representing oneself as ......;
pride in being born ......; avoidance of ...... school students
grouping together; willingness to go to a meeting of a ......
organisation; feeling of ease in ...... company; and interest in
having your children learn ...... at school.

    Other attempts at researching ethnicity have been rather
rudimentary in nature. Nahirny and Fishman (1965) have commented
that a perusal of the diverse and _ad hoc_ selected criteria in scales
designed to measure positiveness or intensity of identification with
ethnicity made "painfully evident the simplistic character of this
procedure". Their particular bone of contention, however, was with
scales which tried to gauge ethnicity _across_ generations.

Two research studies utilising a more broadly based concept of ethnicity are those by Taft, and Humphrey and Louis. In recognising the inadequacy of measuring on a single continuum only the strength of an individual's feeling of Jewishness, Taft adopted a multi-facet approach to tap differential adherence to various aspects of traditional Judaism.[40] Although he claimed he was researching "ethnic identification" (a social psychological framework), his questions were really also on what have been termed in this study the structural, linguistic and cultural aspects. Similarly, his "Identification with Australia" scale was comprised of satisfaction, identification and acculturation items (significantly, not structural ones), which three aspects he thought measured "the degree to which a person feels and behaves like a well-integrated Australian".

Humphrey and Louis (1973), in research on the relationships between ethnicity and voting behaviour among Greek-Americans in the late 1960's, devised indicators for:

(1)   ethnic identification: the degree to which they felt pride in their heritage, adhered to orthodox religious practices, enjoyed company of other Greek-Americans, believed in endogamy, affectively responded to Greek or Cypriot political ceremonies, and valued educational programmes for transmitting Greek culture from one generation to another.

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[40] R. Taft, "Jewish Identification of Melbourne Jewry" in P.Y. Medding (Ed.), Jews in Australian Society (Melbourne, 1973), pp. 61-102, 290.

(2) ethnic social behaviour: whether respondent's marriage was endogamous, how a person ranked his own knowledge of Greek language, degree of association with Greek-American and other associations, extent of in-group friendships, and subscriptions to Greek newspapers and magazines.

They maintained that one of their main reasons for making the distinction between these two components was to refine the definition of "ethnic consciousness". Unfortunately, such refinement may escape the reader. The cultural, structural and identificational components of ethnicity appear very confused; and the general ideology or group values of the first category and the personal and activational characteristics of the second are not entirely clear cut, since within category one is included the individual's own personal adherence to orthodox religious practices while his other cultural and structural associations are listed in category two. The authors' conclusion was that:

> Ideally the concept of ethnicity should include both ethnic identification and ethnic social behaviour.[41]

Quite clearly then, their items covered, though rather indiscriminately, each of the four components of ethnicity which this study examines: the ideological (or identificational), structural, linguistic and cultural (see Chapters 7-10).

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[41] C.R. Humphrey and H.B. Louis, "Assimilation and Voting Behaviour: A Study of Greek-Americans", *International Migration Review*, Vol. 7, No. 21 (1973), p. 45.

3. Sources and Methods of Research

> The more sociological history becomes, and the more
> historical sociology becomes, the better for both.
> Let the frontier between them be kept wide open for
> two-way traffic.[42]

In the continuing discussion on the relationships between

history and sociology, in which, for instance, Toynbee has asserted

that the two disciplines are "irreconcilably contradictory"[43] and

Bierstedt that they are "complementary rather than contradictory"[44],

this study in its approach falls on the side of those who maintain

that they are complementary. The research has been undertaken in

the belief that "history without sociology is blind and sociology

without history is empty".[45] It is, therefore, an historico-

sociological study in which the tapping of certain types of

information has required different research techniques. As

W.G. Runciman claims:

> the survey should ... be regarded as a continuation of the
> historical discussion which precedes it. Indeed, the
> dependence of the two kinds of evidence is reciprocal:
> only a survey can furnish quantified evidence for the
> stated attitudes of a class or nation as a whole; but
> a survey has little or no meaning except by reference
> to the events which have shaped the social context in
> which it was carried out.[46]

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[42] E.H. Carr, What is History? (Ringwood, 1961), p. 66.

[43] A Study of History, Vol. 9, quoted in R. Bierstedt, "Toynbee and
Sociology", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 10 (1959), p. 103.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Attributed to Immanuel Kant, quoted in Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 103.

[46] Relative Deprivation and Social Justice (London, 1966), pp. 5-6.

Thus it is the assumption behind the approach to this study that genuine understanding of the adaptation of the second generation of Polish immigrants to their "two worlds" in relation to the historical fortunes of the first generation can only eventuate through an alliance of historical and cultural study with other research methods. The methods employed can be classified in the following way:

(1) documentary research;

(2) questionnaire;

(3) interview; and

(4) participant observation.

(1) Documentary Research

This research can be divided into three types.[47] The first type gave information about the general population which was utilised to form a background setting. An understanding of the tone and texture of pre-war Polish society from which the first generation came, the upheavals in Poland, the shuffling of population during and after the war, and the subsequent migration of certain people to Australia, was vital for an appreciation of the experiences and mentality of the immigrants which undoubtedly have had a profound effect upon the upbringing of the second generation[48] (see Chapters 2 and 3).

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[47] This threefold classification of documentary source material is suggested by C.A. Moser and G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation (London, 1971), pp. 240-4.

[48] Such information was gleaned from journals, books, Statistical Yearbooks of Poland, Australian immigration literature, newspapers, census material and so on, as well as from informal interviews with researchers at the Australian National University in Canberra and with first generation Poles in Adelaide.

Since this study focuses on the "two worlds" of the second generation, it was also essential to document, albeit very briefly, both the Australian and the Polish environments. The educational initiatives and the views of both Polish and Australian leaders on assimilation, cultural transmission, ethnicity maintenance and ethnic education were studied[49] (see Chapters 4 and 5).

The second type of documentary source presented information about individuals. In this connection, membership lists of the Polski Klub Akademicki (Adelaide University Polish Club), The University of Adelaide enrolment statistics and student educational records were used. In addition, files of newspaper cuttings accumulated by the author over a five year period, and by the Polish Historical Society in Australia from 1968, were consulted for information on individuals of both generations in the Polish community.

The third type comprised personal documents such as memoirs or letters.[50] Not many of these were actively sought, but the few

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[49] This information came from journal articles, newspapers, Parliamentary debates, Good Neighbour Council literature and Australian Citizenship Convention Digests. The Polish view was documented using sources in the Polish language newspapers, teachers' journals, speeches and minutes of conferences of the Federal Council of Polish Organisations in Australia. These documents were translated by Henry Lemaniak onto tape and then transcribed by the author later onto paper.

[50] The use of personal documents in sociological research was pioneered by W.I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki in The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York, 1927). Zubrzycki used individual life histories to supplement the objective accounts and observations of the members of his research team. Settlers of the Latrobe Valley (Canberra, 1964), pp. 41-2, 187-238. See also J.J. Smolicz, "Humanistic Sociology : A Review of Concepts and Methods", Paper No. 7, Department of Sociology, La Trobe University (1974), pp. 44-61.

which were utilised for this study provided a richness that could not have been achieved by the more conventional methods of research. They gave insight into personal characteristics, experiences and beliefs which added another dimension to the human picture (see Appendix G).

(2) Questionnaire

In this study there are two samples of the Polish second generation:

(1)   The Tertiary Sample (n = 112);   and

(2)   The Non-Tertiary Sample (n = 31).

Full details on sampling procedure and on the samples themselves are presented in Chapter 6.   All subjects (n = 143) completed a questionnaire written in the English language.   The questionnaire for the Tertiary Sample contained questions on personal characteristics, education, parental migration, linguistic experience, assimilation and ethnicity.   It was mailed or given personally to all Adelaide University students who were considered by name-count to be of Polish origin, and to other tertiary students known to have at least one Polish-born parent and to be connected with the Adelaide University Polish Club.   A reminder letter was mailed to the non-respondents approximately three weeks later.   The questionnaire for the Non-Tertiary Sample was given out to those present at meetings of the Bialo Czerwone Kolo (The White and Red Circle) and practice sessions of the Tatry Polish Dancing Group.   The completed questionnaires were personally collected in the following weeks.   (For the covering letter and questionnaires, see Appendices A and B).

Question design and interviewing technique were both
practised in two earlier studies in which the author had
participated : one involved formally interviewing 20 Year 7
students of Italian parentage at Trinity Gardens Primary School
and their parents; and the other involved formally interviewing
32 Year 10 students of Polish parentage at Woodville High School.[51]
Insight was also gained through personal distribution of
questionnaires during 1971 and 1972 to immigrants of many nation-
alities who were undertaking fulltime English language courses of
eight weeks offered at the South Australian Institute of Technology[52];
and through another study which the author supervised in 1972 on
20 Greek families in Adelaide.[53]

Mail questionnaires used to be widely condemned because
of the difficulty in securing an adequate response.[54] This

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[51] The research on Italian families was conducted with I. Donohoue
in 1971. The study on Poles was undertaken by the author early
in 1973 in conjunction with G. Geracitano, G. Hambley and J.J. Smolicz
and involved students of not only Polish but also Italian and
Anglo-Australian parentage. The author interviewed the Polish
students in a structured situation during school hours, each
interview lasting approximately 20 minutes.

[52] Questionnaires were given to 114 subjects (43 Eastern Europeans,
71 others) in six of the first seven groups held at the Institute
between 20 August, 1971 and 22 December, 1972.

[53] See Salagaras, S., Humphris, G. and Harris, R. McL., "Cultural
Tension in Greek Families in Adelaide", Greek-Australian Review,
August 1974, pp. 27-28.

[54] A vast amount of literature has been published on this subject.
One of the most authoritative articles is C. Scott, "Research
on Mail Surveys", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society,
Vol. 124 (1961), pp. 143-205.

difficulty remains a serious consideration, although recently a
number of mail surveys using varieties of methods to secure
co-operation have achieved reasonable response rates. In many
situations, the merits of mail questionnaires are strong enough
to weigh the balance in their favour. The method is of special
value when the population to be covered is rare and scattered.
In this study, it was not known in the initial stages whether many
of the subjects chosen by a name-count on university enrolment
lists were of Polish parentage. Using some other technique,
therefore, would have involved a considerable time spent in
pursuing "dead ends".

At first sight, mail questionnairing seems a particularly
quick method of conducting a survey. It certainly takes little
time to send out questionnaires; one must make considerable
allowances in time, however, for late returns and responses to
follow-up methods. Mail questionnairing also allows for intra-
household consultation which is of considerable advantage when,
as in this research, information is needed concerning not only the
subjects but parents as well. In situ interviewing does not usually
yield the same accuracy in questions on parental background, many
aspects of which the subject would have to guess. The same holds
for questions which require a considerable amount of thought and
reflection rather than an immediate answer, and there were
certainly many of these in the questionnaire. Both of these points
were often mentioned in conversations with Polish subjects, and
are in this instance obviously very important advantages of the
mail questionnaire procedure.

It is possible that some people may answer certain
questions - perhaps those of a personal or embarrassing nature -
more willingly when not face to face with an interviewer who is
a complete stranger. Whether mail questionnairing gives a more
accurate picture is another matter, although some evidence available
does suggest that respondents make critical comments and report the
less socially acceptable responses somewhat more readily on a mail
questionnaire.[55]

The limitations of the questionnaire procedure, however,
must also be mentioned. One is that answers have to be considered
as final. There is little opportunity to probe beyond a given
reply, to clarify an ambiguous one or to overcome unwillingness to
answer a particular question. The mail questionnaire, in comparison
with the interview or participant observation, is essentially an
inflexible method. Again, there may be a danger of "contaminated"
answers, of replies being influenced by discussion with others or
even being written by others. However, this is a risk that has to
be taken in research which extends over a number of years. Another
disadvantage is that there is no opportunity to supplement the
subject's answers with observational data. These limitations on
the questionnaire method, however, were at least partially overcome
by the use of two other research procedures: the interview and
participant observation.

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[55]Moser and Kalton, op. cit., p. 258.

(3) Interviews

> If we want to know how people feel: what they experience
> and what they remember, what their emotions and motives
> are like, and the reasons for acting as they do - why
> not ask them?[56]

The interview is the most commonly used technique in social

research. The advantage of the interview lies in its flexibility,

the possibility of rephrasing questions (provided the schedule is

not of the ultra-formal type) to make sure that they are completely

understood, and of probing further if a respondent's answer is not

fully clear. Another merit of the interview is that it provides

an opportunity to gauge the validity of responses. Not only what

the respondent says but also how he says it can be observed by the

interviewer, who can pursue contradictory replies and, if necessary,

challenge the subject's statements in order to obtain valid answers.

What was most significant in the context of this study was

the fact that the interview is a most appropriate procedure for

obtaining information about "complex, emotionally-laden subjects or

for probing beyond public attitudes to the more covert, private

sentiments".[57] In attempting to come to terms with the adaptation

patterns of second generation immigrants, a relatively loosely-

structured interview was thought to be the most appropriate. The

interview schedule was structured, but only to the degree that it

presented a skeleton on which to hang the flesh. Merton has claimed

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[56] G.W. Allport, quoted in M. Jahoda et al., Research Methods in
Social Relations, Part 1 (New York, 1951), p. 152.

[57] Ibid., p. 158.

that the impersonal and limited nature of questionnaires as
research instruments makes it necessary to use, wherever possible,
interviews in order to explore the thinking, nuances and quali-
fications which lie behind objective responses.[58]

Forty-five of the tertiary students were given depth
interviews at The University of Adelaide during late 1973 and 1974.
Each student was seen at least twice, usually three times; the
author, in researching the various dimensions of assimilation and
ethnicity, interviewed the students on average twice each, and
was assisted by J.J. Smolicz in researching the nature and extent
of cultural transmission between the students and their parents,
which usually took another interview visit. For the individual
student, therefore, the total time for these interviews was on
average approximately four hours (for the Interview Schedules,
see Appendix C).

In all of the interviews, notes were taken on roneoed
sheets of the interview schedule and elaborated upon after
interviewees had departed. On the question of use of a tape
recorder, it was decided that interviewees would be less inhibited
if their replies were not taped. On the other hand, it was
considered that, if the interviewee saw the interviews as being
so important that, severally, they took on average four hours,
he would have every right to wonder why notes were not being made.
Thus the comments, insights and quotations of the speaking voices

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[58]Hence Grace terms his questionnaire schedules the "first stage
of inquiry" and the interview, the "second stage of inquiry".
G.R. Grace, "Vulnerability and Conflict in the Teacher's Role" in
J. Eggleston (Ed.), Contemporary Research in the Sociology of
Education (London, 1974), pp. 214-227.

were noted, sometimes in detail, as these were thought to be as "telling" in this qualitative study as any tables and figures. Apart from interviews with subjects in the actual sample, interviews were also held with prominent members of the Polish community, leaders of the Polish youth clubs in Adelaide, and researchers at the Australian National University in Canberra.

(4) Participant Observation

> Neither the prestige of your subject
> And the power of your instrument
> Nor the extent of your learnedness
> And the precision of your planning
> Can substitute for
> The originality of your approach
> And the keenness of your observation.[59]

Observation has been termed the classic method of scientific inquiry. The method certainly has its critics, yet it appears that those researchers who actually have used this technique, while admitting its defects, all vouch that the merits outweigh them, particularly when participant observation is combined with other methods as a supplement or as an equal research tool.

Underlying this study was the assumption, founded upon the insights of humanistic sociology[60], that cultural knowledge

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[59] Entitled "An Anonymous Composition", this contribution was published as the first item in the "Bialo Czerwone Kolo Newsletter" of April 1973, coincidentally around the time of distribution and collection of questionnaires at the club's meetings!

[60] See F. Znaniecki, The Method of Sociology (New York, 1968); and J.J. Smolicz, "Humanistic Sociology", op. cit.

acquired from the subjects differed from the knowledge of nature

gathered by scientists, in that cultural phenomena do not exist on

their own but belong to individual human beings. The researcher's

task, therefore, was to find out how the various "cultural facts"

functioned in the human consciousness, and how the individuals

themselves viewed the current social reality and their place in it.

Apart from what should be observed, there are two other

broad questions which confront the participant observer – how should

observations be recorded; and what relationship should exist between

observer and observed, and how can such a relationship be established.[61]

The recording of observations was not done <u>in situ</u>, but immediately

after the events. This approach was to a large degree dictated by

the role the author took as a participant observer. Studies based on

such a technique

> are the products of a more or less complete 'emotional
> consolidation with the society'. Purely behaviouristic
> studies, on the other hand, are products of a sustained
> aloofness from the interests and emotional life. If
> there is value in a combination of the two approaches,
> participant observation would seem to provide a means
> of achieving it. And objectivity, far from being
> sacrificed, is increased. The investigator, forced to
> analyze his own roles, is, on the one hand, less misled
> by the myth of complete objectivity in social research
> and, on the other, more consciously aware of his own
> biases.[62]

In this research, I was presumably guarded from being too

closely involved simply by the nature of the groups being observed:

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[61] Jahoda, op. cit., p. 134.

[62] F.R. Kluckhohn, "The Participant Observer Technique in Small
Communities", <u>American Journal of Sociology</u>, Vol. 46 (1940-1),
p. 343.

they were Polish in composition and relatively small in size.
Therefore, in this sense, I remained an outsider. But this was more
often than not an advantage. I was able to ask questions, for
instance, that a member of that community would not have ordinarily
asked. In fact, members of the community often explained things to
me even when not asked, and this situation was extremely advantageous.
And for this purpose, I needed to play a semi-detached role, to join
in activities whole-heartedly, but still to have it recognised that
I was interested in research; in other words, to make full use of
my "stranger value".[63]

My actual role in two of the Polish youth groups, the
Adelaide University Polish Club and The White and Red Circle
was as an active financial member. I attended meetings and other
club activities regularly for five years with the University Polish
Club and two years with the Circle. In addition to membership in
two youth organisations, I also participated in various other
formal and informal Polish groups over a five year period, attending
camps, club and family dinners, dances and Balls, various parties,

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[63] W.F. Whyte, "Observational Field-Work Methods" in M. Jahoda et al.,
Research Methods in Social Relations, Part 2 (New York, 1951), p. 498.

seminars and cultural evenings.[64] It was at these functions that
I was able to observe the intermingling of the Polish first and
second generations.

My aim was not only to observe, however, but also in the
early stages to gain acceptance by my presence and interest in the
clubs and in particular, the wider Polish community. It is this
point which I consider to be one of the most important that I had
to face in the initial stages, for the distrust and suspicion of
political immigrants and their children towards anyone wanting to
probe the past tends to outweigh in depth and breadth any counter-
vailing feelings of curiosity and interest on the part of the
investigator. Martin, in Refugee Settlers, claimed that she was
"certainly an object of much suspicion" at the time of her arrival
despite carefully prepared explanations, "it was weeks before the Displaced
Persons at the hostel would do more than cast [her] a hostile or, at best,
a curious look from a safe distance", and after six months of living
with them, still 33 (out of 71) case histories remained incomplete

[64] Some examples were : a camp at "Mazowsza" on Hindmarsh Island (1972);
visits to Polish Saturday School (1972); University Polish Club Annual
Balls (1971-76) and Annual Dinners (1973-5); The White and Red Circle
Dinner (July 1973) and Pool Party (March 1973); Autumn-Fall Ball
(April 1973); visit to Niedzielski Concert (June 1973); Polish Ball
(June 1973); discussion leader at "Polish University Students : their
attitudes and values" discussion evening (July 1973); selling Dom
Polski Arts Quiz raffle tickets (1973); attendance at formal Polish
language classes (first term 1974); visit to Slask Dancing Group
performance (March 1974); Easter Church Service (April 1974);
SPK (Polish Exservicemen's Club) Ball (July 1974); University
Polish Club's luncheon at Seppeltsfield (August 1974); cultural tour
to Sevenhills (October 1974); guest speaker at "Being Polish in
Australia" symposium (July 1975); First Communion Church Service
and Luncheon at Dom Polski (October 1975); and numerous other
meetings and social evenings of both Polish youth clubs, visits
to Dom Polski and attendances at Tatry Polish Dancing Group practices.

due largely to indifference or suspicion.[65] Similarly, one of the greatest difficulties in Zubrzycki's Settlers of the Latrobe Valley was the overcoming of suspicion among respondents from Eastern Europe, particularly those from the Baltic countries, the Ukraine and Poland.[66] In her phenomenological study of Poles in Wellington, Gillis also found that "casual interviewing and entering as fully as possible into the life of the community [were] useful avenues for establishing rapport".[67] It must be granted, however, that the subjects in each of the above three studies were all of the first generation, while the respondents in this research were second or 1b generation, the majority of whom were students at tertiary education institutions.

The research methods employed in this intergenerational study, therefore, are varied since this type of combined approach is considered the most suitable given the character of the population, the researcher's "outside" status and the complex nature of the problem under investigation. It is also considered that a combination of methods helps increase reliability.[68] Data gathered by means of

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[65]Op. cit., p. 2-9.

[66]Op. cit., pp. 35, 39-40. See also C.A. Price, The Study of Immigrants in Australia (Canberra, 1960), pp. 57-63.

[67]The Poles in Wellington, New Zealand (Wellington, 1954), p. 66.

[68]Most texts on social scientific research recommend a variety of methods of inquiry. One example is:

> ... for most sorts of social research except a matter of counting simple facts about certain social categories, more than one method must be used" (my italics). M. Stacy, Methods of Social Research (Oxford, 1969), p. 101.

questionnaire were supplemented by the interview material, and
the interpretation of both was considerably aided by the researcher's
historical and cultural study as well as by his observation of the
Polish community and participation in it.

CHAPTER 2

POLISH SOCIETY BETWEEN THE WARS

Poland has been historically the junction between East and West. But while she has included elements from both, she has regarded herself as "the outpost of the Western world in the East of Europe".[1] The Polish tradition has emphasised the role of Poland as a guardian of Christianity and of western culture against the eastern barbarians and Polish writers have often spoken of their country as the bastion of European civilisation. The most popular heroic episodes of Polish history, in fact, have involved the defence of western Europe – Polish troops stopped the Tartar advance in 1241; the Polish king, Jan Sobieski, is remembered for saving Europe from the Turks in 1683; and the Polish Army, under Pilsudski, halted the Russian Bolsheviks in 1920 at the gates of Warsaw in what the Poles have labelled "the miracle of the Vistula".

The paradox in the Polish situation, however, was that, although Western in ideas, in terms of economic development and social structure the country was, since the wars of the seventeenth century, more similar to the backward East and South. Economic development in Poland had been considerably retarded during the partition era of the nineteenth century, and any achievements that

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[1]F. Zweig, Poland Between Two Wars (London, 1944), p. 9.

had been made by 1914 were devastated by two wars.[2] The backward-
ness of Poland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found
its expression in a continuous stream of emigration and overpopulation
of villages.

One of the most significant aspects of Polish society between
the wars was its heterogeneous ethnic character. Only 65.5% of the
population of Poland was actually Polish, the remainder being made
up of 17.8% Ukrainians, 4.1% Germans, 3.4% Byelo-Russians, and 7.5%
Jews whose numbers in practice merged with the other ethnic groups.
The other 1.7% was comprised of mainly Lithuanians, Russians and
Czechs.[3]

The Poles themselves, prior to 1918, had been minority groups
within the Russian, Prussian and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Experience
of this minority position did not prevent, however, considerable
inter-ethnic tension in the period between the two world wars.
Polish statistics of 1937-1938, for instance, show that while the
most sizable ethnic minorities were allowed their own schools,[4] these
were not as numerous as some of the minority ethnic leaders would
have wished. Allegations of a degree of anti-Semitism were also
made rather frequently, particularly in the early 1920's and after

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[2] During the 1914-18 war: 87% of the area of Poland had been the
scene of fighting; 1,800,000 buildings (churches, schools, farm
dwellings), and 21 million metric hundred weight of corn, were
destroyed; 63% of railway stations, 41% of railway bridges, and
81% of the water-supply system were in ruins. J. Radziwill,
"Poland Since the Great War", The Slavonic Review, Vol. 12, No. 35
(1934), pp. 293-303. The 1919-20 war added to the devastation.

[3] R. Portal, The Slavs (London, 1969), p. 421.

[4] C.R. Barnett, Poland: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture (New
York, 1958), p. 45.

1935. The language laws of 1924 granted minorities the right to use
their own language in courts and public institutions, but they did
not apply to the Jews. In view of the frequent Jewish majorities
in some of the most prestigious faculties in the universities, there
were voices calling, as in Hungary and Germany, for the restriction
of Jews in educational and professional life, although Polish
governments never enacted avowedly anti-Semitic measures.
Fundamentally, the two bases of anti-Semitism in prewar Poland were
religious and economic. Except for the United States of America,
Poland had the largest Jewish population in the world in the 1930's.
The proportion of Jews to the total population, however, was higher
than in the United States where they constituted only 4%.[5]

The presence of this minority group and the other diverse
groups within the one state, and the consequent minority nationalism
and boundary disputes, created considerable social tension throughout
the interwar period, particularly during the 1930's. Does this
suggest that Poles who migrated to Australia brought with them a
deeply ingrained distrust of other ethnic groups, a frame of mind
which would greatly impede the extent of their interaction with these
groups and with Australians? Or had their common experiences during
the war and displacement camps made them aware of the advantages of
banding together in mutual help, and of intermingling with native-
born Australians? It is understandable that Polish immigrants in
Australia after 1947, finding themselves in a minority position as

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[5]R.L. Buell, Poland: Key to Europe (New York, 1939), p. 228. See
also C.S. Heller, "Assimilation : A Deviant Pattern Among the Jews
of Interwar Poland", The Jewish Journal of Sociology, Vol. 15, No. 2
(1973), pp. 221-237.

their parents and grandparents had been at an earlier date,
approached the issues of assimilation and ".second-rate" citizenship
with caution.

Yet, again there is the paradoxical situation in that, while
they were wary of accentuating Australians' prejudices against
"foreigners" and were thus receptive to assimilationist pressures,
the Polish immigrants were equally as keen to preserve their ethnic
heritage (see Chapter 5). The older generation had experienced the
constant suppression of Polish language, culture and religious
instruction by the Russian and Prussian administrations of the late
nineteenth century. Although these powers looked upon the Polish
language as "only a peasant dialect, the Pole cherished it as the
vehicle of the whole cultural tradition, the symbol of national
regeneration".[6] The teaching of the language, therefore, continued
privately, and was maintained defiantly until the end of the
partition era. The Poles traditionally have used the Polish
language at first as a romantic, then after the 1863 revolt, as an
aggressive instrument for creating a national consciousness.[7] Thus

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[6] A.P. Coleman, "Language as a Factor in Polish Nationalism", The
Slavonic Review, Vol. 13, No. 37 (1934), p. 171.

[7] After 1830, the Polish language was strongly censored and
discouraged, and Polish culture suppressed. The University of
Wilno, the nucleus of Polish national consciousness, was closed.
After 1863, Russians in their area enforced Russian as the official
language of instruction and administration (from 1868) and in courts
(from 1875). Bismarck's "Kulturkampf", brought about by the menace
of encroaching Polish culture, was an attempt to destroy Polish
language in schools (1873) and in administration and in law courts
in Prussian Poland. In 1886, all teaching of Polish was abolished,
and in 1900, religious instruction in Polish banned. Ibid.,
pp. 164-170.

after Independence in 1918, the school system was rapidly built up
to inculcate Polish cultural values and nationalistic sentiments in
the next generation. It was the task of unified education in the
schools of the new Poland to amalgamate the three different
mentalities developed during the previous period.

The interwar school system emphasised the humanistic and
individualistic aspects of education and was centred around a broad
general studies programme. "Learning and education [had] been held
in high regard for centuries by Poles of all classes",[8] and after
Independence, the intense eagerness for education resulted in serious
overcrowding in schools, an over-production of highly qualified
intellectual workers in society, a lowering of intellectual standards
of education, and among large numbers of students, an ardent desire
to raise their social status through education.[9] Thus one can
understand the drive behind Polish migrants, especially the young
second generation, for high status through educational achievement
in Australia. It is a cultural inheritance from Polish society
generally, as well as a migrant drive of Polish refugees in particular.
With the understanding that the Polish language always has been the
central strand in the Polish national consciousness, and in the light
of Toynbee's assertion that "the awakening of the national idea is
usually the result of compulsion",[10] the "social cement" role of

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[8] Barnett, op. cit., p. 331.

[9] R. Dyboski, "Cultural Problems of the New Poland", The Slavonic
Review, Vol. 12, No. 35 (1934), p. 309.

[10] A.J. Toynbee, Nationality and the War, p. 283, quoted in Coleman,
op. cit., p. 155.

Polish culture among Polish communities in Australian can be more easily appreciated. The manifest expression of this role is to be found in the many, very active, ethnic clubs and in the Saturday Schools.

The democratic ideal of seven years' elementary schooling for all in Poland was proclaimed by decree in 1919, but the new Polish Government was faced with such an enormous task of creating a unified education system that after ten years of independence, complete seven-year schools numbered only one tenth of the elementary schools in existence.[11] Even by 1939, the majority of Polish children were still receiving only four years of education.[12] The enforcement of compulsory attendance from 1919, and reinforced in 1923, gradually led to an increase in average attendance from 68% in 1921 to 91% for the whole of the country in 1938.[13] By that time, the total figure of registered children in Poland, which was over $3\frac{1}{2}$ million by 1929 – more than 10% of the total population – had risen to nearly twice that number.[14] This achievement was made by 1939 despite a lean period from 1928-9 to 1935-6 when the Ministry of Education reduced by 56% its expenditure on education and school attendance actually decreased because the increase in the numbers of teachers did not keep pace with the rise in the numbers of children

[11] R. Dyboski, Poland in World Civilisation (New York, 1950), p. 243.

[12] Barnett, op. cit., p. 333.

[13] Polish Facts and Figures, No. 9 (25 August, 1944), p. 28.

[14] Dyboski, Poland, p. 243.

of school-going age.[15] In the elementary grades, almost one

quarter of the time during the entire seven years was devoted to

the study of language and literature, including one foreign language,

and geometry and arithmetic followed in significance.

The School Reform Bill of 1932, while extending the number

of years of elementary schooling to seven, pared at both ends the

length of secondary schooling from the traditional eight years to a

two-tier arrangement of a four-year "gymnasium" and a two-year

"lyceum". The main task of the gymnasium from which the student

graduated with the "little matriculation" was to furnish a general

education. From this institution students could be enrolled in any

kind of vocational school but if they wished to attend a university,

it was necessary also to be a graduate of the lyceum.

The curriculum of the gymnasium continued the broad, general

education of the elementary grades, with increased requirements for

languages and sciences. Required courses included religion,[16] Polish

language, Latin (in later years, this was often dropped for a second

modern language), a modern language, usually French or English[17]

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[15] Nash, C, "The Influence of Socialist Ideology on Some Aspects of
Education in Poland", Masters thesis, University of New South Wales
(1975) p. 14. The Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland (1939-41)
gives the number of graduates from teachers' training colleges as
6,170 in 1927-8 and decreasing to 4,943 in 1933-4 and 4,184 in 1934-5,
p. 143.

[16] The Polish school had the function of training children in a religious
spirit which included also the principles of ethics and morality. It
is interesting to note that all schools were under the general super-
vision of the Ministry of Religious Denominations and Education.

[17] Barnett, op. cit., p. 334. Dyboski, however, comments that English,
always much less known in Eastern Europe than French, remained in
the background in Polish schools, in spite of all its advocates, and
that it was only in the first few years of World War II that "a
general desire to learn English set in among both young people and
adults like a tidal wave", op. cit., p. 244.

(and in later years German), history, geography, biology, physics, chemistry, maths and physical training. The lyceum, on the other hand, prepared students for university, and was divided into four departments of classics, humanism, physico-mathematics and natural science. The emphasis at all levels was upon the acquisition of knowledge, and in the higher grades, the development of critical ability was also stressed. The state supported most of the elementary schools, but about two-thirds of the secondary schools were supported by private institutions.

In Poland, according to Swietoslawski, "the desire to be graduated from a university or at least from a secondary school was so universal that the annual increase in the number of students attending four-year high schools (gymnasiums) and two-year junior colleges (lyceums) was relatively greater than in many other European countries".[18] Furthermore, a high percentage of these students graduated from both the gymnasium and the lyceum. In 1935-6, for example, the total number of graduates from secondary schools for each one million of population of Poland was 395.4, while the equivalent figures for Germany and France were 389.7 and 284.9 (for Sweden, the figure was a high 537.5). Two years later, the figure for Poland had markedly increased to 536.1.[19]

Vocational schools were established to meet the increasing demand for skilled labour and technicians as factories were rebuilt

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[18] W. Swietoslawski, "Education", in B.E. Schmitt (Ed.), Poland (Berkeley, 1945), p. 263.

[19] Ibid., p. 264.

and new industries established after 1920. They were mostly organised by local municipal authorities, by factories and, to a small extent, by private associations and industry. Some were maintained by the Government, although generally the contribution was in the form of teachers' salaries. The vocational school system surpassed by over 50% the number of secondary schools giving a liberal education; but the total student population in these schools, although it doubled within the ten years after World War I, still remained less than a half of that in the non-vocational schools. This was a consequence partly of the under-developed character of the Polish economy and partly of the national mentality, in which class prejudice still favoured official careers above business ones.[20] The school reform law of 1932 provided for four types of vocational school : technical schools (industrial, artisan, agricultural, gardening training); commercial schools; schools for teaching women household skills and handicrafts; and continuation schools for young people already at work in industrial and commercial enterprises.

Before World War I, there were only three institutions of higher education which gave instruction in the Polish language, all in the Austrian sector. In 1918, the two Russian institutions in Warsaw were converted into Polish ones, and soon afterwards, new state universities were established at Posnan and Wilno. In addition, seven professional schools on the university level were organised by the government and six privately supported universities were

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[20]Dyboski, op. cit., p. 246.

established. According to the Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland (1939-41), there were 50,000 university students in 1938-1939.[21] In the 1930's, there was 1 university student for every 700 people in Poland, which was an extraordinarily high proportion for a relatively backward country, the corresponding figure in England being 1 : 1,013.[22]

Although in some European countries, including Germany and Italy, there was a restriction on the number of enrolments for tertiary education in order to prevent overproduction of professionals, in Poland opinion favoured permitting people to continue freely with their studies. The underlying assumption was that, if some became unemployed, they would be forced to use initiative in creating new enterprises, thereby aiding the country's development; that is, increases in the output of university-educated individuals was seen as a gain for the nation.[23] However, the two largest faculties were law and philosophy, the latter embracing all the humanities, and these were hardly the two most important for a developing state.[24] Training in all institutions of higher education was very specialised, and of a relatively high standard when compared with that of other countries.[25] Successful completion of four years of university study

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[21]P. 138.

[22]A. Polonsky, Politics in Independent Poland 1921-1939 (London, 1972), p. 32.

[23]Swietoslawski, op. cit., p. 270.

[24]Polonsky, op. cit., p. 32.

[25]Swietoslawski, op. cit., p. 271.

qualified students for the degree of "master", which entitled such
graduates to practise in the majority of academic professions, while
the degree of "doctor" was awarded for original and independent
research.

Summarising the achievements of the Polish Ministry of
Education in the interwar years, then, the table below presents the
numbers of educational institutions and students in Poland in 1919
and 1939.[26]

TABLE 3 : TYPES AND NUMBERS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, AND NUMBERS OF STUDENTS IN POLAND IN 1919 AND 1939				
Type of Education-al Institutions	1919		1939	
	No. of schools	No. of students	No. of schools	No. of students
Nursery schools	none	none	1,650	79,000
Elementary schools	26,000	3,000,000	29,000	5,400,000
Secondary schools	700	220,000	2,230	470,000
Trade schools	none	none	1,216	91,000
Universities	15	26,000	35	50,000

Within those twenty years, illiteracy in Poland was reduced from
35% to 18% in respect to the entire population (cf: Italy 27% and
Spain 48%).[27]

There was within Polish society a fairly rigid class struc-
ture. The middle and upper classes, in domestic policy, tended to
support the status quo. The moves in the direction of social welfare,
land reform and economic development were generally considered

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[26] Polish Facts and Figures, No. 9 (25 August, 1944), pp. 29-30.

[27] Ibid., p. 28.

sufficient. The workers were more radical, but they were generally

less interested in politics. Their demands were for bread and

butter objectives, rather than any ideologically based changes in

the socio-economic structure. The peasantry was even more divorced

from the national political system.[28] Its primary orientation was

towards the village and the Roman Catholic church. There was, and

always has been, a strong tradition of communal life in Poland

centred around small villages in close proximity of each other.

Australian society, however, differs quite markedly in its lack of

small settlements close together. The absence of closeknit community

spirit and communal social life has been one of the most difficult

aspects for immigrants to adjust to in Australia.[29]

Within the Polish class structure, there was considerable

prejudice on the part of the middle-class urban dweller and the

aristocrat towards the peasant on the one hand, and the worker on

the other. This was the result of the cultural gulf between the

classes, and was strongly reinforced by the lack of access of the

peasant and worker to higher education. The figures given by Portal

on the social origin of students receiving higher education show only

8% and 9% for peasant and worker respectively, compared with 58%

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[28]This was particularly the case after the 1926 coup. Zweig argues
that peasant leaders were the real leaders in government to 1923.
Witos, leader of the largest Peasant Party, was twice Prime
Minister in that period. During 1924-6, the political position
of the peasantry declined, until the third Witos Cabinet was over-
thrown by Pilsudski in an attempt to restore the old rule. Zweig,
op. cit., p. 128.

[29]In his study of immigrants in the Latrobe Valley Zubrzycki discovered
that homesickness was often expressed in the form of a longing for
the social life of the close communities in Europe. Settlers of the
Latrobe Valley (Canberra, 1964), p. 159.

intellectual and 25% miscellaneous.[30]

The population increase in Poland between the wars (29.9% between 1920 and 1939) was one of the highest in Europe. In 1930, the rate of increase in the German Reich (population of 65 million) was 6.4 per 1,000, while in Poland it was 16.7 (population 32 million).[31] It was basically, therefore, a young population and the predominantly rural bias of its distribution resulted in severe over-crowding in country areas. At the time of the 1931 census, over two-thirds of the total population lived in rural regions (cf: Great Britain, 20%), though the rural character of the population was considerably stronger since the vast majority of towns were only small in size. Considering the rural and youth biases of the population, it is not surprising that Poland was an emigration country. Between 1919 and 1938, over two million people left Poland, the majority going to France, Germany, Canada, South America, the United States of America or Palestine.[32]

In this migration, the Jewish element averaged about 26.6% of the total, or more than twice the proportion which the Jews bore to the Polish population as a whole.[33] Duncan claims that approximately

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[30]Portal, op. cit., p. 426. "Miscellaneous" is not defined. J.F. Morrison states that in practice about 24% of the qualified secondary school graduates received some sort of scholarship in 1936-37. The Polish People's Republic (Baltimore, 1968), p. 28.

[31]Radziwill, op. cit., p. 301.

[32]Though there was also a high re-immigration rate, especially of Poles from the nearer European countries. The peak of emigration was reached 1926-30; during the Depression (1931-1935), the rate fell by one quarter. Zweig, op. cit., p. 20.

[33]Buell, op. cit., p. 311.

95% of the immigrants from Poland in the early 1930's to the United States of America were Jews.[34] An equivalent proportion of Polish-born persons emigrating to Australia at this time was also Jewish (see Chapter 3).

Polish emigration has been closely linked with Polish history. Before World War I, emigration was an important means of easing the population pressure. Every year about 250,000 emigrants departed from Poland for overseas destinations, while about 600,000 went to neighbouring continental countries, for the most part as seasonal workers. At first emigrants were political refugees, leaving the home country after the partitions of 1772-1815, the insurrection of 1830-1832 and that of 1863. Increasingly throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century, emigration was for economic reasons. The pattern and volume of emigration changed; it was characterised not so much by the flight of individuals for political reasons, but rather by the mass movement of closely-knit primary groups, and often of whole communities, motivated by economic factors.[35]

Between 1932 and 1935, the number of Poles returning to Poland, many of them Polish Jews from Germany, exceeded those leaving the country. The decline in emigration had a depressing effect upon the economy of Poland in that it increased the pressure

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[34] H.G. Duncan, Immigration and Assimilation (Boston, 1933), p. 290.

[35] For a detailed analysis of Polish emigration over the last two centuries, see J. Zubrzycki, "Emigration from Poland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" Population Studies, Vol. 6, No. 3 (March 1953), pp. 248-372.

of population within the country, and decreased the amount of

emigrant remittances which at one time constituted an important

active item in the Polish balance of payments.[36]

These problems were an additional blow to the already

depressed economy of the country. During 1931, 1,387 factories shut

down, while the production index dropped from 100 in 1928 to 54 in

1932 and for a brief time to 46.5 in 1933.[37] Despite the progress

of agrarian reform, the fundamental agricultural maladjustments had

not been remedied by the early 1930's. Still in 1931 there was

64.9% of the population who derived a livelihood from agriculture

(cf: France in 1931, 34.5%; Sweden in 1930, 32.2%; and Germany in

1933, 24.5%).[38]

Yet, although population pressure had not been relieved to

any great extent, a basic levelling process had been going on in the

1920's. The 1931 census showed that there had been substantial

decreases in the numbers of "dwarf farms" and large estates since

1921, when 2,100,000 peasant farmsteads. of 5 hectares each, com-

prised 64.6% of all farms but a mere 14.8% of the land.[39] Landhunger

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[36] Buell, op. cit., p. 222.

[37] S. Arnold and M. Zychowski, Outline History of Poland (Warsaw, 1962), p. 182.

[38] Concise Statistical Yearbook of Poland (1939-41), p. 14.

[39] In 1921, 1,109,000 farms were of less than 2 hectares; 1,002,000 were of 2-5 hectares; and 30,000 were of 5 or more hectares. In 1931 the corresponding figures were: 741,000; 1,136,200; and 14,700. Buell, op. cit., p. 211.

was a source of increasing conflict between landowner and rich

peasantry on the one hand, and the remaining villagers on the other.

This gulf became mirrored in the political arena where, in 1923,

many members and deputies broke with the Polish Peasant Party

("Piast") and formed the Peasants' Alliance, which with the radical

"Wyzwolenie", voiced the demands of the middle and poor peasantry

in their struggle for land.

The standard of living in Poland for both the worker and

peasant remained very low throughout this period. The margin between

survival and starvation depended for both classes on the ability of

industrial development and agrarian reform to keep ahead of population

growth. The basic contradiction was that Poland had the population of

an industrial country, but the economic structure and industrial level

of an underdeveloped agricultural country. Some idea of the relative

poverty of the rural sector of the population can be gauged from the

fact that farmers and their families comprised 64% of the population

in 1929, but consumed only 47% of the real income available.[40] The

annual wages of agricultural workers, and independent peasants, were

hit severely by the depression, the worst in eighty years.[41]

The main cause of poverty was the shortage (especially in the

south) of land, in conjunction with low level of agricultural

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[40] J. Taylor, The Economic Development of Poland, 1919-1950
(New York, 1952), p. 125.

[41] Annual wages of Polish agricultural workers fell from an index of
100 in 1928-9 to 69 in the next year, and further, to 47 in
1932-3. G. Kagan, "Agrarian Regime of Prewar Poland", Journal of
Central European Affairs, Vol. 3, No. 3 (1943), p. 241. Although
agricultural workers made up the smallest sector of the peasantry
(14.5%), Taylor concludes that earnings of independent peasants
(accounting for another 70.5%) follow the same trend, op. cit.,
pp. 67-71.

technique, high birthrate and restrictions on emigration to the

United States, Brazil and Canada (through quotas). The solution

adopted was a double one, involving redistribution of the land to

form economically feasible units[42] and absorption into industry of

the rural surplus population. The close interrelation between

industrialization and agricultural reform was one of the main charac-

teristics of Polish development between the wars.

The standard of living of the employed industrial worker,

though low, was higher than that of the peasant, and improved steadily

over the period 1928-1936.[43] Unemployment, however, was relatively

severe in certain industries, and although the peak of depression was

reached in 1934, unemployment continued escalating until 1937. From

that time, public works, especially the formation of the Central

Industrial District in mid-1936, for economic as well as demographic

and military reasons, provided considerable alleviation of distress

caused by unemployment.

The low standards of living of the common people earlier in

the period, however, contributed to considerable social unrest.

Waves of strikes and demonstrations periodically swept the country.

In early November 1923, during the inflation crisis, the workers'

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[42]In 1931, 25.5% of holdings were under 2 hectares, 38.7% between
2-5 hectares, and 24.8% between 5-10 hectares. Thus only 11% of
holdings were above 10 hectares in area. Taylor, op. cit., p. 73.
Despite considerable land reform, however, in Zweig's opinion the
position of the peasant was not eased, op. cit., pp. 133-135.

[43]Real wages of industrial workers slowly rose from an index of 100
in 1928 to 132 in 1936. Though wages declined over this period,
the cost of living fell even further. These figures, however, do
not include the partially or totally unemployed, and are therefore
overfavourable for workers as a whole. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 127-129.

general strike in response to the orders of Cabinet for the Army

to take over railways and postal services led to riots and bloodshed

in Tarnow and Boryslaw, and complete control of Cracow for a night

by workers.[44] Frustration and disillusionment with political

instability, and the sacrifices demanded from the population for

financial reconstruction, resulted again in more serious strikes in

May 1926.[45] Probably the most critical strikes and revolts were in

the mid-1930's. In Cracow, more blood was shed, and there were many

casualties during the attempts of Switalski, then Provincial Governor

of Cracow, to break sitdown striking. Other grave rioting took place

in Czestochowa with many casualties, and in Lwow (19 April, 1936)

during which some were killed and many wounded. The distress of the

peasants, especially in the most depressed areas of Central Poland,

was evident in the numerous riots at this time as a result of

continuing agricultural depression during which agricultural prices

dropped from an index of 100 in 1928 to one of 43.8 in 1935.[46] These

strikes involved organised refusals to provide town markets with farm

products, accompanied by acts of terrorism against strikebreakers.

Throughout the regime of Pilsudski there was no, or at least only

very insignificant, genuine representation of the peasants and the

attempts of his successors after 1935 to conciliate them failed in

the face of the prolonged agricultural distress.

The position of the Jewish segment of the population was a considerably better one. In the Republic established after World War I, the Jews, while constituting less than ten per cent of the total population, controlled nearly half of the commercial enterprises in the country. The typical economic position of the Jew was that of small entrepreneur,[47] and the concentration of two-thirds of the Jewish population in cities where they dominated commerce and handi-crafts prevented the natural overflow of rural people to those cities from establishing themselves in small businesses. This imbalance accentuated not only the economic problems but also the very serious social tensions. Against the background of this industrial unrest in interwar Poland, the extreme dislike and fear on the part of Polish immigrants of strikes and industrial strife in Australia in the latter 1960's and 1970's can be the more easily understood and appreciated.

The dominant values in Polish society between the wars were those of the aristocracy and middle-class. Morrison defines the essence of the belief-system as emphasising individualism, romanticism, social formality, Polish nationalism and patriotism, Catholicism and the Western cultural heritage. It stressed great respect of the fine arts, science and scholarship, and intense pride in the national artists and scientists of the past.[48] The fundamental Western orientation of Polish society at this time would have made the task

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[47] The representative economic unit in Poland generally was small; for example, in 1938, there were 374,153 retail shops in the country, 92% of which were one-man enterprises. Shops selling foodstuffs accounted for over half this total, while those distributing clothing made up another one-fifth. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 104-5.

[48] Morrison, op. cit., p. 8.

of adjustment of Polish emigrants to Australia at least slightly easier in the realm of basic values than that of the more Eastern-orientated countries.

Barnett sees the significant attitudes and form of behaviour of the Polish people revolving around the value placed on individual dignity, initiative, originality and self-expression. In short, the most important trait is individualism; the ideal person is independent, strong and self-reliant. Moulded by historical forces, Polish individualism bears the stamp of more than a century of subjugation during which Poles lived on the defensive and glorified their ability to withstand overwhelming pressures. The need to maintain personal autonomy is a particularly important aspect of a Pole's behaviour as a member of a group. If he identifies himself with a group, he feels he must defend it from outside criticism and attack. Just as he believes in the uniqueness of every individual, he feels that his own particular village community or political party is unique.[49] This ingrained trait holds important implications for the study of Polish communities and organisations abroad.

Deeply embedded in what has been called the Polish tradition is the importance attached to intellectual activity. Learning and education are viewed as ends in themselves and have been held in high regard for centuries by Poles of all classes; to have broad intellectual interests is the hallmark of "culture" and sophistication. The first three prime ministers of Poland in this interwar period

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[49]Barnett, op. cit., pp. 397-9.

were all chosen from the ranks of university professors, as also were many premiers and cabinet ministers. A university course was "the door through which most must go to gain high position."[50]

Super has summarised in this way the aspects of the Polish tradition most valued by Poles through the ten centuries of their written history: religion, especially the Catholic faith; chivalry; Christian character and behaviour; individuality or personality; freedom, personal and national democracy, more as a social order than as a way of personal life; dignity and propriety, including courtesy; honour and self-respect; intellectual and social culture, with an accompanying respect for learning; personal bravery or courage; idealism; hospitality; the claims of family; cleanness of body; the rights of others; a good opinion before the world; and love of rural life, the land and the out-of-doors. Negatively, the Poles do not hold as highly as others the following values: material gain and advantage; personal comfort; order; organisation; time; uniformity and conformity; discipline; and centralised national strength.[51] In Super's opinion, it is the intelligentsia who are the heirs of this tradition, its embodiment, its interpreters and exponents; it is they who, more than any other social class, will pass the tradition on to the next generation of Poles.[52]

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[50]P. Super, The Polish Tradition, An Interpretation of a Nation (London, 1941), p. 105.

[51]Ibid., pp. 25-6.

[52]Ibid., p. 55.

Among these core values of interwar Polish society, one contradiction becomes apparent which has significance for social relationships within the family. On the one hand, there was the strict discipline exerted by the father, especially in peasant and worker families, which required the unquestioning obedience of the child; on the other, there was the expectation of the child to become self-reliant, strong-willed and independent:

> The dual emphases on unquestioning obedience and independence subjected the child throughout the formative period of his life to two opposing pressures, creating strong tensions that often resulted in serious clashes between parents and children.[53]

Within the context of Polish families in Australia, one wonders how much more serious these clashes have been, or whether the need for survival as a unit of a minority ethnic group has mitigated the seriousness of any parent-child conflict.

One attitude common at least during the 1920's was the suspicion shown by the Polish people towards the State. When Independence was achieved after 123 years of partition, the belief was that the State was basically something inimical, and that one had always to be on guard against it. Poles expected great things, the view being that the new State had come into existence to give rather than to take.[54]

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[53] Barnett, op. cit., p. 348. In both the upper-class, urban families and peasantry, an inheritance system that allowed the father to divide his possessions in any way he chose served to intensify antagonisms and to lead to friction between brothers. It was also the source of many intra-family lawsuits - during the interwar period, the majority of legal suits were between members of the same family.

[54] Zweig, op. cit., p. 16.

The former Russian area produced citizens who were old hands in the underground movement, socially-minded and extremely suspicious of all administration. Those in the Austrian-ruled area were inclined to be democratic in outlook, accustomed to hold the rule of law in great respect, and more educated in self-government than in other regions. The Prussian sector was nationalistic in outlook, liked order and discipline, was to a great extent under the influence of landed proprietors and clergy, and was successful in business and trade.[55] This basic difference in social and political ideas was one of the main factors leading to the large number of government parties, and ultimately to the fall of parliamentary democracy in Poland. For the weaknesses of the many coalitions, all extremely unstable in the severe inflationary environment of the time, finally led to Pilsudski's coup d'etat on 12-13 May, 1926. "The struggle was one of the shortest in the history of revolutions, and the issue of it one of the most decisive."[56] For the following nine years, the Polish government like that of its neighbours became the personal administration of one man. Yet when Pilsudski died in 1935, he was

> mourned by a nation which owed to him more than to any other
> its resurrection from the grave of partition, and its
> salvation from the perils which beset its early steps.[57]

[55] Ibid., pp. 17-18.

[56] W.F. Reddaway et al. (Eds.), The Cambridge History of Poland: From Augustus II to Pilsudski (1697-1935) (London, 1941), p. 599.

[57] Ibid., p. 615.

The governmental instability of the interwar years in Poland no
doubt helps explain the conservative political attitudes of the
majority of Polish immigrants in Australia. Also the experience
of regional disunity in Poland must have played a part in their
settlement pattern in Australia, and probably accounts for the
rather disturbed attitudes of many Poles towards governmental and
administrative decentralisation in this country.

Poland's history and culture have been sufficiently different
from those of her neighbours to prevent a sense of close identifi-
cation with any particular state. The ardent nationalism of the
Polish people has reinforced this feeling of separateness. Further-
more, the frontiers of state have bordered on countries with which
Poland has had poor relations (chiefly over border disputes, the
consequence, of the lack of natural barriers). Geographically,
Poland has always been alone, separated from friends. One wonders
what effect this lack of identification with any other nation except
Poland has on the attitudes and behaviour of Polish emigrants. Does
it, for example, help explain the noticeably slow rate of naturalisation
of Poles in Australia as discovered by Kunz?[58]

The central core of the interwar Polish value system was
undoubtedly the strong sense of national identity and the deep love
of the country. Through 123 years of partition, and for centuries
before that, the Polish people clung tenaciously to their mother

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[58]See E.F. Kunz, "Some Basic Determinants of Postwar Refugee
Naturalization in Australia", Australian and New Zealand Journal
of Sociology, Vol. 7 (1971), pp. 38-57; and "Political events 'at
home' and the Concept of Catharsis Naturalization among Refugees",
International Migration, Vol. 9, Nos. 1/2 (1971), pp. 55-67.

tongue, which has always held prime place in that country's system of cultural values, their religion and their culture. Poles believe that a man born a Pole cannot stop being one, and the children and grandchildren of Polish emigrants are often claimed to have "a Polish nature" which will come to the fore in the important moments of life. They believe also that the taking of citizenship of a country other than Poland does not in any way affect one's "Polishness" ("Polskosc"), the essence of which has been so often exalted in the national folk-lore, literature and music. This fundamental belief is in contrast with the Australian viewpoint of the 1950's that the receiving of citizenship in the naturalisation ceremony implied significant progress along the path of "assimilation" of the Anglo-conformist type (see Chapters 4 and 5).

The issue which arises in the Australian context is one of definition: Is the Australian-born child of Polish-born immigrants considered to be "born a Pole"? What is the "Polish nature" or "Polishness", especially as it manifests itself as a transplanted quality in Australia? Oppression in partitioned Poland during the nineteenth century created "a proud intelligentsia tradition of heroic self-sacrifice in the name of national ideals, a tradition that has since been absorbed by all classes of society."[59] Perhaps the greatest enemy to the survival of "Polishness" is the Australian indifference; perhaps the most intriguing paradox of all is that "Polishness" needs oppression to survive in a "foreign" country?

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[59]Barnett, op. cit., p. 410.

Poland Is Not Yet Lost[60]

While we live she is existing,
Poland is not fallen;
We will win with swords resisting,
What the foe has stolen.

We'll cross where Warta's surging
Gloomily its waters,
With each blade from sheath emerging
Poland's foes to slaughter!

Hence unto the field of glory,
Where the life blood's streaming;
Where with talons red and gory,
Poland's eagle's screaming.

Poland! Shall the foe enslave thee
Sadly and forever;
And we hesitate to save thee?
Never, Poland, Never!

(Chorus) March, March, Dabrowski,
From Italy's Plain;
Our brethren shall meet us
In Poland again!

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[60] The national anthem originated among Dabrowski's Polish Legion fighting under Napoleon in the hope of obtaining the support of France for the cause of their fatherland. The first King of Poland (according to legend), while hunting, saw a huge white eagle hovering over a nest of young and making a strange cry. These pure white birds were unknown in the land and therefore the King looked upon them as a prophetic sign. He built his home at the site, called it Gniezno ("nest-town") and chose the white eagle as his emblem.

CHAPTER 3

POLISH WAVES TO AUSTRALIAN SHORES

1. The Overview

The history of Polish emigration to Australia is largely a political story. From the days of the partition of Poland in the 1790's, right through the nineteenth century to World War I, and since the end of World War II, those Poles who have arrived on Australian shores have been mainly political emigrés. Those who arrived between the wars migrated mainly for religious and economic reasons, the vast majority of them being Polish-born Jews.

J.R. Forster and his son, George, were the first Polish-born people to create a link between Australia and Poland in 1772. They were not immigrants, but were aboard Captain Cook's ship "Resolution", a naturalist and an illustrator respectively. J. Forster edited and translated into German the Pacific voyages and journals of Cook, and also those of Hunter, White and Bligh. In 1838, a former officer in the Polish army, A.K. Drucki-Lubecki, arrived in New South Wales and two years later brought out from England his brother-in-law, Count Lucian Plater, his wife and daughter, and also his brother, Ferdinand. Paszkowski claims that Drucki-Lubecki and the Platers were the first known Polish settlers in Australia.[1] There were other Poles among the larger migrant waves of Germans from 1838 to South Australia although neither their precise number nor their names are known. These families were from the Silesia, Pomerania and Poznan areas and were Catholic in religion. However, the claim has been made

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[1] L. Paszkowski, Polacy w Australii i Oceanii, 1790-1940 (London, 1962), p. 22.

that many of these Poles "who were with Kavel's community, soon became absorbed by the German element."[2]

From the early 1840's there arrived in Australia trickles of political emigrés from partitioned Poland. Some emigrated following the failure of the 1831 insurrection, and many more followed after the revolutionary movements of 1848, especially from the western border regions of the Grand Duchy of Poznan during the 1850's. Others came to Australia after the 1863 uprising against Russian domination, while the political tension in Europe as a result of the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) led to the arrival of the last large group of Polish migrants among whom were young men escaping specifically to avoid being forcibly conscripted into the Prussian army. A great many of the Poles in Australia at this time, therefore, were freedom fighters and soldiers, whose educational attainments tended to be higher than those of the general population in Poland.[3] Many of these emigrés, even though they continued to regard their stay in Australia as temporary, took on respected positions in the community life of mid-nineteenth century Australia.

In 1844, a group of 31 Poles from a locality called Dabrowka Wielka[4] settled in South Australia in Sevenhill East, an area which

[2]A. Lodewyckx, Die Deutschen in Australien (Stuttgart, 1932), p. 171, quoted in The Advertiser, 28 February, 1972.

[3]Paszkowski, op. cit., p. 15.

[4]The Advertiser, 18 February, 1972.

was subsequently known as Polish Hill River. This settlement became

the best known example of an organised Polish community in Australia.

In 1870, they brought out from Europe their own Polish priest,

Father L. Rogalski, and built their own church dedicated to the

Polish saint, St. Stanislaus Kostka,[5] distinct from the Jesuit

monastery and St. Aloysius Church three and a half miles to the

west near Sevenhill. They also had their own library and their

own school for the children of the district, which later in 1886

became a government school, Sevenhill East.[6] The interesting point

about this Polish community is that it was composed of migrants who

were peasants and had a low standard of formal education.[7]

Szczepanowski calculates that by the 1870's in Polish Hill

River and the surrounding districts there were approximately thirty

five farms belonging to Poles.[8] Rogalski's estimation in May 1871

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[5]The church was blessed on 30 November, 1871, and continued until
its closure during World War II. Early in 1972 a committee was
formed among the Polish community in Adelaide to renovate the church
building. The title deed of the church was handed to this
committee by the Archbishop of Adelaide (Dr. J.W. Gleeson) on
19 February, 1972.

[6]From 1886, the government appointed and paid the teachers, who
were still Catholic. It was closed in 1925 due to the lack
of children as a consequence of the depopulation of the area.
It had always been a one-teacher school, and throughout its
existence, the majority of students had always been Polish.
Even in 1915, out of a total of 20 students, 16 were of Polish
parentage. For details on this school 1871-1925, see S.M. Szczepanowski,
"The First Polish Settlement in South Australia - Polish Hill River",
Honours thesis, The University of Adelaide (1974), pp. 36-41,
79-81.

[7]Paszkowski, op. cit., p. 27.

[8]Szczepanowski, op. cit., pp. 20-21.
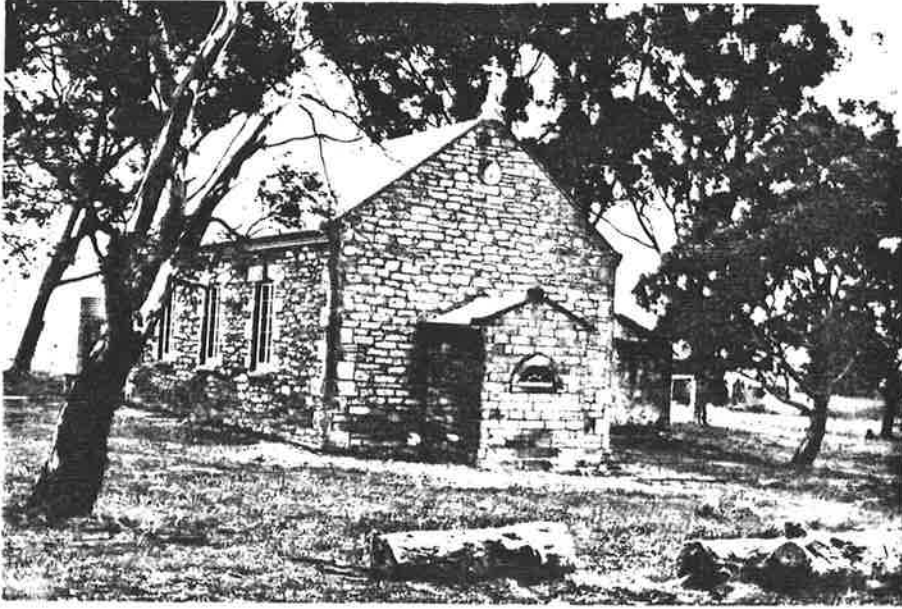
St. Stanislaus Kostka Church: Sevenhill East
Built by Polish settlers in "Polish Hill River" and blessed on
30 November, 1871. Renovated in 1972 by members of the Adelaide
Polish community. On the right can be seen the remains of the
Polish school building, attached to the church and built in 1880
(photograph taken 1974).

Chaplet of Brother Ignatius Danielewicz: Sevenhill
Erected near St. Aloysius Church, Sevenhill, for the favours granted
him by God and in honour of his patron and founder of the Jesuit
Order, St. Ignatius Loyola. Built of stone without mortar. Gothic
archway, above which appears the date, 1870, the year of his last
vows and completion of the chaplet. Danielewicz was a Polish Jesuit
Lay Brother, who arrived at Sevenhill in 1863, and died 8 April,
1901, after 38 years of service in Australia. He, and Rogalski,
were buried in the crypt beneath St. Aloysius (photograph taken
1974).

of the number of Polish "souls" living in Sevenhill and Hill River was two hundred.[9] According to a detailed record of Catholic missions in Moran's History of the Catholic Church in Australasia (published in 1896), there were in Hill River itself in the early 1870's twenty-six families and an established Polish Mission.[10] By the 1880's, however, the inefficiency of small farms resulted in many Poles moving further north to acquire land around Petersburg (now Peterborough) and Dawson, so that by 1900, only a few Polish farmers actually remained in Hill River.[11]

Apart from this significant settlement in South Australia, there was another community of nearly 40 Poles in Cracow in Queensland during the 1860's.[12] In addition, there were also Polish centres in Brisbane, Ipswich, Sydney and Melbourne by the 1890's.[13] Among these Polish immigrants to Australia in the

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[9] L. Rogalski, "Uwiadomienie Dla Polakow", The Chaplet and Southern Cross, 1871, p. 432, quoted in Szczepanowski, ibid., pp. 29-30.

[10] P. 528. Cardinal Moran himself visited Sevenhill on 13 September, 1887.

[11] Szczepanowski, op. cit., pp. 73-74.

[12] This community was situated 400 kilometres north-west of Brisbane, and it was here that the first Dom Polski in Australia was built. However, the settlement was destroyed by bushfire and only a few survivors returned to Brisbane. See J. Zubrzycki, "Polonia Australijska", Kultura, No. 3/125 (1958), p. 76.

[13] Mentions of the existence of these communities appear in letters of Rogalski, and quoted in Szczepanowski, pp. 63-66. Little has been recorded, however, of the activities of these settlements. For details on the Polish settlements in New Zealand at this time, see I.H. Burnley, "The Poles" in K.W. Thomson and A.D. Trlin (Eds.), Immigrants in New Zealand (Palmerston, 1970), pp. 125-151.

nineteenth century were

> a few doctors, teachers, musicians, engineers, adventurers and gold-seekers... But most were tradesmen - carpenters, butchers, shoe-makers, tailors and some farmers.[14]

The actual demography of these Polish intakes is difficult to assess. Since Poland as a recognised state did not exist between 1795 and 1918, people of Polish ethnicity who arrived in Australia in the nineteenth century were for official purposes listed as Russians, Austrians or Germans. Thus the information available on early Poles in Australia[15] focuses mainly on those who were the most prominent in the exploratory, scientific and literary life of the colonies.

One of the most prominent of the early explorers of Australia was Count Paul Strzelecki who arrived in Sydney in April 1839. Following his discovery of gold in New South Wales that year, and his explorations in New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania, he published his book, Physical Descriptions of New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land, in London in 1845. It was Strzelecki who named the highest peak in Australia after the famous Polish patriot and hero of the Polish and American wars of independence, Tadeusz Kosciuszko (Mount Kosciusko). Strzelecki's name is associated

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[14] The Advertiser, 18 February, 1972.

[15] The following information on prominent Poles in Australia has been collected from a variety of sources; a summary is readily available from the Australian Encyclopaedia, Vol. 7, pp. 158-9, and further details are given under the entries for each of the individuals. See other articles written by Paszkowski listed in the bibliography of this thesis. Also Wiadomosci Polskie, 16 August, 1952.

with a range discovered by him near Westernport in Victoria, a peak on Flinders Island in Bass Strait and a creek in South Australia. Another of the early arrivals was a major in the Polish army, Seweryn Korzelinski, who published in Cracow in 1858, Opis podrozy do Australii i pobytu tamze od r. 1852 do 1856 (A Description of a Journey to Australia and of a Sojourn there from 1852 to 1856), containing vivid descriptions of life in Melbourne and on the Victorian goldfields. His second book, Children of the Queen of Oceania, was published in Warsaw in 1878. Sygurd Wisniowski was another Pole who wrote about Australia in Dziesiec Lat w Australii (Ten Years in Australia), published in 1873 in Lwow. In his ten years (1862-1872), Wisniowski participated in one of William Landsborough's expeditions, worked as a journalist on the Ravenswood Miner in Queensland and discovered gold near Ravenswood in an area he named New Warsaw and which Australians later came to call "The Poles' Diggings".

Other Poles distinguished themselves in the study of Australia's natural history, among them G.J. Broinowski who wrote Birds of Australia, published in 1890 in six illustrated volumes, W. Blandowski, J. Lhotsky and J.S. Kubary. In 1911, L. de Noskowski arrived in Australia and became music critic for the Sydney Mail and for the Sydney Morning Herald. Later, in 1924, he founded the Australian Phonograph Monthly, a magazine which lasted, however, for only five years. In 1906, Dr. Jan Danysz, the eminent Polish-born bacteriologist, was invited to Australia to conduct experiments on rabbits with an introduced virus of the "Pasteurella" type.

The first official figure of the number of Poles in Australia can be extracted from the 1921 Census, for by this time

Poland had established its status as an independent nation, and Polish-born individuals were given separate classification in the Australian census. In that year, 1,780 declared themselves to be of Polish-birth. J. Lyng in Non-Britishers in Australia estimates that at this time there were also "7,717 native-Australians who were of partly or wholly Polish descent".[16]

The length of residence of Polish-born persons in Australia in 1921 and their distribution throughout the States are presented in Table 4. The figures show that, while almost one half had arrived in the years since Federation, there were of those still living in 1921, 43% who had come to Australia before 1891. Forty-six persons, in fact, had immigrated before 1861.

TABLE 4 : LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN AUSTRALIA OF POLISH-BORN PERSONS AT THE 1921 CENSUS

Length of Residence	Decade ending in the year	NSW	Vic.	Qld.	SA	WA	Tas.	NT	Total	%
0-9 yrs.	1921	249	157	110	15	13	1	–	545	30.6
10-19 "	1911	123	83	44	11	29	4	1	295	16.6
20-29 "	1901	65	44	15	3	19	–	–	146	8.2
30-39 "	1891	180	113	43	17	32	4	3	392	22.0
40-49 "	1881	51	39	78	49	24	1	–	242	13.6
50-59 "	1871	21	27	22	6	–	–	–	76	4.3
60-69 "	1861	10	11	0	13	4	2	–	40	2.3
70-79 "	1851	–	1	1	4	–	–	–	6	0.3
Not stated		18	5	6	5	4	–	–	38	2.1
Total		717	480	319	123	125	12	4	1,780	100.0

The numbers of Polish-born in Australia almost doubled between the two censuses of 1921 and 1933 (3,239) and again by 1947 (6,573). Between 1937 and 1939, 2,518 Polish citizens, mainly Jewish, arrived in Australia. Naturally, few Polish nationals entered Australia during the war years (see Table 5).

[16](Melbourne, 1935), p. 247.

TABLE 5 : PERMANENT AND LONGTERM ARRIVALS - POLISH NATIONALS: 1937-1973					
Year	Number	Percentage assisted	Year	Number	Percentage assisted
1937	572		1955-6	173	0
1938	930		1956-7	277	4.3
1939	1,016		1957-8	1,038	1.0
1940	114		1958-9	1,779	0.7
1941	160		1959-60	1,484	0.4
1942	28		1960-1	1,409	1.7
1943	16		1961-2	1,295	1.2
1944	25		1962-3	960	0.9
1945	42		1963-4	926	2.0
1946	346		1964-5	1,002	2.0
1947-8	1,920	62.2	1965-6	1,146	2.7
1948-9	14,179	86.4	1966-7	564	12.7
1949-50	38,247	96.6	1967-8	487	19.7
1950-1	14,145	94.8	1968-9	356	37.0
1951-2	1,688	47.8	1969-70	395	35.6
1952-3	356	18.8	1970-1	320	40.6
1953-4	124	5.6	1971-2	601	19.3
1954-5	148	0	1972-3	488	14.3

Sources: Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 190, p. 578.

Australian Immigration: Consolidated Statistics, 1969, 1973.

Just after the Second World War, 1,457 Polish exservicemen arrived under the Polish Ex-Servicemen's Scheme. They were mostly members of the Polish forces demobilised in England and assisted by the British Government for re-settlement overseas. Many of these exservicemen, not only Rats of Tobruk but also those who had fought at Monte Casino, Anzio, Normandy and similar war theatres, and others who had served in the Air Force, went to Tasmania late in 1947 to work under the Hydro-Electricity Commission.[17] Another 5,803 Poles,

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[17] Sir Claude James, then the Tasmanian Agent-General, toured Army camps in Britain informing Poles of conditions with the Hydro-Electricity Commission in Tasmania. Wages were offered at £5 per week, "a princely sum in 1947", and 3/- per day camp allowance which would almost cover food and accommodation costs. They were employed mainly on the constructionof projects at Tarraleah, Butlers Gorge, Waddamana and later, Trevallyn. The Examiner, 2 December, 1967; The Standard, 26 June, 1970; The Mercury, 10 October, 1967; and The Australian, 11 June, 1968.

predominantly Polish Jews,[18] arrived without government assistance between 1947 and 1954.

The main wave of Polish immigrants, however, was the Displaced Persons who arrived between 1947 and 1951 under the auspices of the International Refugee Organisation.[19] Still by September 1945, there were almost two million Displaced Persons scattered throughout Europe, of whom over one million, or 50% of all known refugees, claimed Polish nationality. The dispersion of these Poles was as follows:

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[18] Information received from E.F. Kunz of the Australian National University.

[19] The general history of the Displaced Persons immigration is documented elsewhere and lies outside the scope of this thesis. Useful sources are J. Vernant, The Refugee in the Postwar World (London, 1953); M.J. Proudfoot, European Refugees, 1939-52: A Study in Forced Population Movement (Evanston, 1956); L.W. Holborn, The IRO : Its History and Work, 1946-1952 (London, 1956); H.B.M. Murphy, "The Assimilation of Refugee Immigrants in Australia," Population Studies, Vol. 5, Part 3 (March 1952), pp. 179-206; pp. 174-206; and R. Broomhill, "Australian Postwar Immigration Policy, 1945-1949, with particular reference to the role of A.A. Calwell", Honours thesis, The University of Adelaide (1970).

TABLE 6 : POLISH DISPLACED PERSONS BY NATIONALITY AND LOCATION: 30 SEPTEMBER, 1945.

Location		Number	Location	Number
Austria		26,069	Denmark	5,735
U.S. Zone	15,197		France	100,000
Br. Zone	6,525		Italy	7,554
Fr. Zone	3,588		Norway	14,050
Soviet Zone	759		Sweden	10,275
			Switzerland	9,258
Germany		816,012	East, Central and	
U.S. Zone	253,981		South Africa	20,000
Br. Zone	510,328		India	5,000
Fr. Zone	51,703		Iran	40,000
Belgium		1,748	TOTAL	1,055,701

Source: M.J. Proudfoot, European Refugees : 1939-1952, pp. 238-9.

The Australian National University "10% Survey"[20] puts the total number of Polish Displaced Persons arriving at 59,820, while Department of Immigration statistics show 63,394. Because to be recorded as a Pole was an advantage, while to be listed as a Russian

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[20] The "10% Survey", originally begun by J. Zubrzycki and continued by C.A. Price and E.F. Kunz, involves former Displaced Persons who under the resettlement scheme of the International Refugee Organisation arrived aboard 12 of the approximately 158 ships chartered specifically to transport Displaced Persons to Australia. The main considerations in the selection of the ships were:

(1) the distribution of nationalities on the ships corresponded as closely as possible with the distribution of nationalities in the total intake;

(2) the arrivals included groups intended for settlement in all mainland states; and

(3) all transports selected disembarked between 1/1/1949 and 31/12/1950, when 85% of the refugees arrived. Staggered arrival dates were used partly in order to secure a sample corresponding to (1) and (2) and partly to even out possible quality changes in the migrant intake which may have occurred as a consequence of the diminishing availability of Displaced Persons in Europe.

These details have been published in E.F. Kunz, "Some Basic Determinants of Post-War Refugee Naturalisations in Australia", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol. 7 (1971), pp. 40-41; and "Political Events 'At Home' and the Concept of Catharsis Naturalisation among Refugees", International Migration, Vol. 9 (1971), pp. 60-61.

or Ukrainian could have resulted in forced repatriation, it is

reasonable to assume that the true number of Poles would have

been closer to the minimum than to the maximum figure.

Apart from the precise number of Polish immigrants, however,

what is important to appreciate is the double selection process

in the circumstances leading to particular types of Polish Displaced

Persons arriving in Australia.

Firstly, the Polish survivors of World War II were not a

representative cross-section of the prewar Polish population. The

successive deportations to the east and west of professionals,

intellectuals and teachers from Poland after the Ribbentrop-Molotov

Pact on 28 September, 1939,[21] the Katyn Forest massacre of 10,000

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[21] Prisoners of war, military personnel abroad, deported labour, civilian prisoners, refugees, etc. (excluding those in the USSR) not repatriated before 1945 numbered 1.99 million, of which the greatest part was the labour deported to the German Reich during the war. German statistics gave the number of "employed" Polish citizens as of 30 September, 1944 as 1,690,316, which included 28,316 prisoners of war. Persons deported from Eastern Poland into the USSR between September 1939 and June 1941 totalled approximately 1.5 million. Zielinski, H., Population Changes in Poland, 1939-1950 (New York, 1954), p. 5. Chaim Kaplan wrote in his diary of the deportations to Germany:

> The new proclamation 'invites' the Polish population between the ages of fifteen and forty five, both men and women, to register voluntarily on the list of candidates for transport to Greater Germany to work in the fields. If they don't they will be forcibly seized and sent involuntarily. And do not think that some sort of injustice is being done to anyone. All in all two hundred thousand farm labourers are now working in Greater Germany, and that is not enough (entry for 9 May, 1940).

> These are the days of the grain harvest in the fields of the Reich, and for this reason innocent passers-by are being caught like dogs in the street and sent to the harvest fields. So this has been a day of chaos, especially in the principal streets of Warsaw" (entry for 12 August, 1940).

Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan, translated and edited by A.I. Katsh (London, 1966).

Polish officers and intellectuals in May 1940,[22] and the decimation

of intelligentsia in the Warsaw uprising in 1944, ensured that

certain segments of the population would be under-represented in

the number of survivors.[23]

Secondly, those who were transported to Australia were not

representative of the Polish survivors in general. Since it was

well known that Australia wanted labourers, those with high

educational and professional qualifications who had the chance to

emigrate to other countries did so, particularly to Britain,

America and Canada. Many of the Polish professionals who were at

that time hopeful of soon being able to return to their homeland

naturally chose in transit countries close to "home", and because

of their allied status, found these countries especially willing to

receive them. Similarly, large numbers of Polish exservicemen and

their families remained in Britain. (In London, a society was

formed exclusively for Polish generals and full-status colonels.)

This is in sharp contrast with the Australian experience - only

1,457 Polish exservicemen came here, and only one general. This

latter person, during the war had been chief of the Polish underground

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[22]The disappearance of the elite of the Polish army was not only a
great blow to Poland's military effort, it deprived the country
of a large number of intellectuals. Among the prisoners, besides
regular army officers, were many reserve officers, civil engineers,
scientists, doctors, lawyers, etc. - to mention only the camp of
Starobielsk, one of three camps where the officers were first
quartered in 1939, 400 Polish army doctors were interned. See
"Murders in Katyn" in Polish Facts and Figures, No. 2, 25 March,
1944, pp. 19-21.

[23]Five million six hundred thousand Poles were exterminated by the
Germans, close on 3,600,000 of them (mostly Jews) in concentration
camps; over one million were interned in the USSR; and two and a
half million were deported to Germany. See Vernant, op. cit.,
pp. 73-78.

in France, and in Australia was President of the Federal Council of Polish Organisations for 16 years (General J. Kleeberg).

The Poles in Britain comprised mainly refugees who were kept active during the war through service on battlefronts. The selectivity of their individual backgrounds and their positive outlook made this group an elite, who through difficult times, kept active and retained discipline and faith in the future. Many had their families with them. Zubrzycki, in his analysis of the Polish population in Britain, found that of 135,770 Polish nationals listed by the Home Office, 74% were males, 26% females, and that some 11-18% were under the age of 18 years. A reflection of the very strong selectivity of the Polish vintages which ended up in Britain was that, of just over 100,000 Poles who enlisted in the Polish Resettlement Corps, as many as 10% held professional qualifications.[24]

Those Poles still in Germany in 1947, on the other hand, were the disadvantaged in most respects. Most had reached that country as forced labourers, a category recruited mainly from among the less educated, or as prisoners of war. Devoid of leadership and noted for the depressed and apathetic mood of many in their ranks, these people, most of whom had been displaced for nine or ten years, were numerous among the Displaced Persons who eventually were cared for by the International Refugee Organisation. If a partial International Refugee Organisation listing of 80,000 Poles in March 1948 is any guide, the Poles in Germany had a somewhat

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[24] J. Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants In Britain (The Hague, 1956), pp. 63-8.

better sex balance of males to females (2:1) than those in Britain (3:1). However, only about 4% of these refugees were professionally qualified.[25] It was mainly from this pool that Australia recruited her 60,000 Poles.

Those who arrived during and after World War II were, therefore, a diverse mixture, all with one thing in common: they were political refugees, displaced by the twin dangers of Nazism or Communism. As well as those in wartorn Europe, some had lived as refugees in India, Africa and the Middle-East, and others served in Polish units alongside the servicemen of the United Kingdom. Thus the postwar wave comprised servicemen, prisoners of war, forced labourers, deportees, internees, refugees to neutral countries who rejoined Polish units as the war progressed, and survivors of death camps, Christian and Jewish.[26]

The drying up of the Displaced Persons immigration during 1951-2 cut the numbers of Polish nationals arriving in Australia from 14,145 in 1950-1, to 1,688 in 1951-2 and 356 in 1952-3. The easing in the political situation in Poland following the fall of the Stalinist leaders in October 1956 led to gradual increases in immigration into Australia during what has come to be known as the "Polish thaw". The tightening of the Party's grip once again around the turn of the decade, however, reduced the numbers of

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[25] Holborn, op. cit., p. 305.

[26] E.F. Kunz, "Refugees and Eastern Europeans in Australia", in C.A. Price (Ed.), Australian Immigration : A Bibliography and Digest, No. 2 (Canberra, 1971), p. A52. For an analysis of the displacement of Poles, see Zubrzycki, Polish Immigrants, op. cit., Parts 1 and 2.

Poles arriving in Australia, and apart from a slight peak in 1964-66, there has been only a relatively minor trickle since that time (see Table 5).

The magnitude of the immediate postwar flood can be seen in the fact that by 1954, the number of Polish-born in Australia had increased by more than eightfold over the 1947 census figure (6,573) to 56,594. The "Polish thaw" numbers increased this total to 60,049 by 1961, while the figure since then has remained relatively static, or even, by the 1970's, is falling slightly as a consequence of the passing of those who had arrived a generation earlier.[27]

The foregoing analysis has presented an overview of when, why and how many Polish emigrants came to Australia. But exactly who came? What were the demographic characteristics of these waves, the nature of the Polish immigration? Firstly, an analysis of census data, despite their limitations,[28] provides a general picture from 1921 to the present. Secondly, more detailed information is presented using the results of the Australian National University "10% Sample" on the nature of the Displaced Persons wave of 1948-51. (The characteristics of the parental samples in this study are given in Chapter 6.)

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[27] 1966 Census: 61,641; 1970 (estimate by C.A. Price and P. Pyne in Price (Ed.), op. cit., p. A79) : 60,224; 1971 Census : 59,700.

[28] The main limitations of such data have been very fully explained by P. Pyne and C.A. Price in Price (Ed.), op. cit., pp. A92-A112.

2. The Polish-born population in Australia : 1921-1947.

The Polish-born immigrants who arrived in Australia after World War I favoured the more densely populated eastern states of Victoria and New South Wales. In these two states were located 67% of all Poles in Australia in 1921, and 90% in 1947.

The increase by the 1947 census was solely due to a jump in the proportion in Victoria (1921 - 27%; 1947 - 61%), the proportions in all other states actually declining over the same period, particularly in New South Wales (40% to 29%) and in Queensland (18% to 4%). By 1947, Victoria contained twice as many Poles (but considerably less Australian-born) as New South Wales and 51 times as many (but only 3 times Australian-born) as South Australia. The explanation for these variations in settlement distribution lies in the dominance of the Polish element in Judaism in Victoria, particularly Melbourne, and the magnetic influence which that state had upon the strongly Jewish intakes of the interwar period.

The increasing trend towards the urbanisation of Australia as a whole can be documented from the percentage distribution of Australian-born in metropolitan urban, other urban and rural areas. When making comparisons between censuses, variations in boundaries between these three divisions must be always kept in mind. Yet it is clear that although the proportions in metropolitan urban and rural areas were approximately equal in 1921, the percentage residing in rural areas was a third of that in metropolitan urban centres by 1966. The changes in population of other urban centres is more difficult to assess, but to the extent that there has been this persistent long term drift to urban from rural life the movement has been to metropolitan rather than provincial cities. The same

can be said for the Polish distribution, though the drain between 1921 and 1947 from the provincial urban centres was also greater than that for Australian-born. In 1921, the proportion of Poles in rural, as compared with metropolitan areas was one third; by 1947, the figure was one twenty-third. By the latter census, 92% of Poles in Australia were in the metropolitan cities, while the Australian-born proportion was only one half. Thus the Poles were heavily over-represented in the large cities.

Within States, Melbourne, Sydney and Perth were the strongest attractors of Poles in the 1920's and 1930's. Queensland's provincial centres showed at that time a vastly disproportionate percentage of Poles resident in them, a slightly higher number in fact than in Brisbane itself. This situation was far from being apparent in any of the other states. A similar discrepancy occurred in the rural areas of South Australia, where over half the Poles were in country divisions in 1921, mirroring the predominantly rural character of South Australia at that time. By 1933, South Australia and Queensland were on a par with the highest percentages of Poles in rural areas of any of the States, 35% and 34% respectively (the national average for Poles being 7%).

As is the tendency with most immigrant groups, males outnumbered females in this interwar period. In 1921, the percentage of males compared with females was 68:32. From that time, the sex imbalance evened gradually to 56:44 in 1947, the proportion of males still being higher than that among the Australian-born population (50%).

Data on age cross-tabulated with birthplace indicate the relative age distributions of Poles compared with the Australian-born population. The Polish section of Australia, for example, in

1921 was much older, 58% of its members being above the age of 45 years (Australian-born 16%). The respective figures by 1947 had evened slightly, 42% compared with 18%.

Classified by religion, the great majority of Polish-born persons in Australia before the mid-1940's were Jewish, emigrating from their country of birth because of the extending German influence in Europe. Lyng commented that "far the greater number of Poles [were] Hebrews" in the early 1920's,[29] and Price has since calculated the proportion of Jews among the Polish-born population in Australia in 1921 to be 80%.[30] Since no census before 1954 asked questions on religion, it is difficult to assess precisely the Jewish proportion before that year. However, Polish emigration statistics for 1926-1929 and 1931, presented in the table below, illustrate the predominance of Jews among those arriving in Australia during those five particular years (93%), as well as the concentration of persons in the two occupational fields in which Jews were known to have predominated in Poland - industry and commerce (see Chapter 2).

[29] J. Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia (Melbourne, 1935), p. 138.

[30] C.A. Price, "Jewish Settlers in Australia, 1788-1961", Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal and Proceedings, Vol. 5, Part 8 (1964), p. 361.

TABLE 7 : EMIGRATION FROM POLAND TO AUSTRALIA BY RELIGION AND
OCCUPATION: 1926-9 AND 1931

Religion and Occupation	1926	1927	1928	1929	1931	Totals
Religion:						
Hebrew	286	390	140	215	44	1,075
Catholic	11	16	5	2	-	34
Orthodox	-	3	1	-	-	4
Other	5	1	-	1	-	7
Not specified	37	-	-	-	-	37
Occupation:						
Agriculture	2	14	9	3	-	28
Industry	49	122	53	31	4	259
Commerce	41	39	15	9	1	105
Service, domestic	8	2	4	4	-	18
Professions	8	4	3	1	1	17
Communications, transport	1	-	-	-	-	1
Occupation inadequately specified	3	15	10	6	-	34
Members of family	139	177	44	115	35	510
Not specified	88	37	8	49	3	185
Total number of emigrants in each year	339	410	146	218	44	1,157

Sources: Quarterly of the Scientific Institute of Emigration
(Warsaw); and Bulletin of the Bureau of Emigration.[31]

Further breakdown by district of origin of emigrants from Poland to
Australia in 1925-9[32] and 1931 shows that these largely Jewish

[31]The table has been compiled using statistics in these publications,
incomplete issues of which are located in the Archives of the Polish
Historical Society. The total number of emigrants from Poland to
Australia in 1925 was listed as 80, although the only breakdown
given was by district of origin, not by religion or occupation.

[32]Only figures for two months of 1928 were given in the Quarterly
of the Scientific Institute of Emigration. Knowing that the
total for the twelve months was 146, the breakdown by districts
was estimated using the proportions in each district for these
two months.

settlers came in the main from Warsaw, Bialystok, Lodz and Lublin
in central Poland (see Table 8).[33]

District of Origin	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1931	Totals
Central Poland:							
Warsaw	40	238	184	61	92	10	625
Lodz	17	27	65	3	11	9	132
Kielce	4	5	11	–	5	–	25
Lublin	1	11	20	7	16	5	60
Bialystok	12	27	75	69	71	16	270
Eastern Poland:							
Wilno	–	4	5	–	3	3	15
Nowogrodek	–	5	14	3	12	–	34
Polesie	–	1	11	–	3	1	16
Wolyn	–	8	7	–	–	–	15
Western Poland:							
Poznan	–	1	2	–	–	–	3
Pomorze	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Slask	–	–	4	–	1	–	5
Southern Poland:							
Krakow	–	2	4	–	1	–	7
Lwow	6	10	7	3	2	–	28
Stanislawow	–	–	–	–	–	–	0
Tarnopol	–	–	1	–	1	–	2
Totals	80	339	410	146	218	44	1,237

TABLE 8 : EMIGRATION FROM POLAND TO AUSTRALIA BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN: 1925-9 AND 1931.

Sources: Quarterly of the Scientific Institute of Emigration
(Warsaw); and Bulletin of the Bureau of Emigration.

[33]Detailed tables (from Australian naturalisation records) in the
work of Price on Jews in Australia give the towns and provinces
from which Polish Jews came and the capital cities and states in
Australia where they settled over the period 1887 to 1940. In
the period 1881-1920, approximately 12% of Eastern European Jews
settling in Australia came from Warsaw alone; one third of these
immigrants became tailors, mostly in Sydney. Price, "Jewish
Settlers", op. cit., p. 359, Appendices IIIc and VIIb.

As far as occupational status is concerned, the proportion
of Poles in Australia classified as employers was consistently
higher than that of the Australian-born. The percentage of male
Poles in this category steadily rose from 17 in 1921, to 22 in
1933, and to 33 in 1947, a reflection of the increasing number
of Jews among their ranks. The Australian-born figure remained
fairly stable on 5% over this period. The self-employed classification
reveals a similar trend. During the 1920's and 1930's, one fifth to
one quarter of male Poles were working on their own account, compared
with the Australian-born average of around 7-10%. The reverse trend
is naturally evident with the employee category. While only one
quarter to one third of male Poles were employees, the Australian-
born proportion was approximately one half.

The relatively well-off situation of Poles in general in the
prewar period is also reflected in their income status recorded by
the 1933 census (the only one prior to the 1970's to ask questions
on income). The percentage of Polish male breadwinners earning
£103 or less was 39%, while that of Australian-born male bread-
winners was 52%. At the top end of the income scale, the figures
for those earning an income of £260 or more were 22% and 13%
respectively.

Another indicator of socio-economic position is educational
standard. This index is a much weaker one than occupational or
income status, since information is available only on ability to
read and write English, not on educational attainment, and was
asked for only in the census of 1921. Nevertheless, the ability
to read and write English does hint at the capabilities of immigrants
for maintaining and being promoted in employment, increasing income,
and integrating successfully into Australian society at both the

primary and secondary levels. The proportion of Poles in Australia in 1921 claiming to be able to read and write English (71%) was surprisingly not very far below that of the Australian-born sector of the population (82%).

It therefore appears that many of the Polish-born in Australia in the interwar years were reasonably well-off before they migrated, and were able to bring their money with them. The very circumstances of their emigration suggests they were people who had sufficient intelligence to sum up the situation in Poland and Europe in the 1920's and 1930's and to draw conclusions. And being religio-economic migrants, they would have had at least some time to prepare for migration.

3. The Polish-born population in Australia : 1948-1953.

The character of the Polish sector of the Australian population underwent marked change with the arrival of the Displaced Persons. Only 8% of the Poles living in Australia in 1954 had arrived in the prewar era; 79% had arrived in the period from July 1948 to June 1951. There was, therefore, an almost complete swamping of the "old guard".

Who were these Displaced Persons? This question is a particularly difficult one to answer, since official statistics on Displaced Persons selected by Australian immigration officers abroad were not only meagre in detail, but by nature of the operation less accurate than figures of more stable groups compiled under less hurried conditions. Neither the situation in wartorn Europe, nor the pressures under which refugee selection and transportation to Australia were carried out, were conducive to

accurate statistical compilation. The selection papers of the International Refugee Organisation were not themselves unreliable for there were too many penetrating questions on them to introduce frequent inaccuracies, and the related interview was exhaustive and carried out by co-nationals with local knowledge. But later documents and lists were not based on these papers, and the category jumping that went on between successive documentations reflected the eagerness of refugees to adjust to the exigencies of the moment. The shipping lists of Displaced Persons coming to Australia are of this nature and are not at all reliable as research material for a study of the characteristics of refugees, particularly of their occupations. Some pages of shipping lists this author examined in Canberra, for example, recorded all males as "labourer" and all wives as "domestic".

There were other factors which contributed to the incomparability of statistics on Displaced Persons. The terms used in questions on which characteristics were based were frequently inconsistent - one document may use "nationality" or "ethnicity", another "citizenship", another "country of last habitual residence", or yet another a vague combination of any or all of these. Further complications arise in working with sets of statistics which employed differing category definitions, or dealt with related, but unlike universes. Some examples of these were the lack of a uniform procedure to clarify to which category the large number of Polish Ukrainians belonged (either as such, or as Poles, or as Ukrainians); the variation in inclusiveness of the category "others" depending on the details given in the statistics; wives married in transit, who could truly appear as German or Austrian, or be lumped under the nationality of the husband, or be declared "stateless".

Moreover, International Refugee Organisation figures of

Displaced Persons bound for Australia included not only those who

left through the Australian Government Scheme but also others who,

though they were in possession of IRO eligibility cards, emigrated

without assistance, or accepted assistance from charitable or

religious organisations in preference to being part of the govern-

mental scheme. But Australian statistics classified all these

cases collectively as "unassisted", and their past IRO connections

remained unrecorded. Therefore, discrepancies between lists

compiled at different times are expected, particularly when

comparing IRO statistics of Australian destination with Australian

Displaced Persons Scheme arrival statistics.

However, given all of these limitations,[34] the nature of

the Displaced Person wave is able to be analysed more accurately

than from general census figures by examining data based on the

"10% Survey" of Displaced Persons arriving in Australia in 1949-1950.[35]

Among those of Polish nationality, the ratio of men to women was

1,314:1,000. The age structure of the Polish intakes testifies to

the historical circumstances which surrounded the Poles' flight and

their resettlement in Australia. Polish males in the three

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[34] For pointing out many of these limitations, this author owes
acknowledgement to E.F. Kunz of the Australian National
University.

[35] The statistics are from a file of 28 tables of cross-tabulations
of characteristics derived from the "10% Survey". This file is
kept in the Department of Demography, Research School of Social
Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra.

quinquennial cohorts between the ages of 25-39 were over-represented, while, in marked contrast, the 20-24 age group was very small. This reveals a national group which, within the Displaced Persons context, was relatively advanced in age, and serves as a reminder of the long years of displacement which most Poles suffered. This fact is also emphasised by the relative proportion of 0-4 year olds. While among the total Displaced Persons intake this cohort of males came fifth (11.4% of all males) behind the four larger cohorts in the 20-39 age groups, among Polish Displaced Persons, the 0-4 year old males (16.6% of all males) as well as females (21.3% of all females) ranked second only to the 25-29 age group (23.9% and 25.4% respectively). These figures show clearly the postponed nature of the Polish "camp baby boom" in the years between 1945 and 1949.

Cross-classification of birthplace and nationality in the 10% Survey reveals that only 68% of the Polish nationals were actually born in Poland, while a further 25% were born in Germany and Austria (18.8% of all males).[36] These were the young children who were born almost exclusively in camps in these two countries. Kunz has calculated an excess of females born in Germany of 2,220, and by assuming that at least 2,000 of these would have been German wives married to Poles in transit, and that they would have been mainly in the 20-39 age cohorts on arrival, he concludes that it is

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[36] The proportion of 18.8% compares with the figure given above of 16.6% of males under the age of five, and adding a part of the additional 3.4% who were 5-9 years old, would virtually make up the small difference.

not impossible that one in every eight females between 20-39 years

may have been a German or Austrian born wife who acquired her

husband's nationality on marriage.

Religion

Zubrzycki has referred to the impossibility of assessing

from census data alone the religious composition of immigrants who

arrived between 1947 and 1954, as the former census did not give

cross-classifications involving religion.[37] The 10% Survey,

however, does give a religious breakdown as far as the Displaced

Persons alone are concerned, and any contradictions between this

breakdown and that of the 1954 census can to a certain extent be

explained. For example, the decrease in the Orthodox proportion

(11.9% in the 10% Survey to 4.7% in the 1954 census) is due

entirely to the fact that while in transit, Polish-born Ukrainians,

and perhaps a number of USSR-born Ukrainians, gave their places of

birth as Poland. They did this so that they would not be considered

as coming from the USSR and be forcefully repatriated to the Ukraine,

by that time annexed to the Soviet Union. Once in Australia, such

dangers were not so imminent; as a result, it appears that almost

all Ukrainians who on arrival had listed themselves as Polish-born

by 1954, influenced in Australia by strong nationalistic sentiments,

reported their birthplace in the census as the Ukraine (of

Ukrainians in the 10% Survey, 51.2%, or 8,780 in number, gave

their birthplace on nominal rolls as Poland).

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[37] J. Zubrzycki, Immigrants in Australia: a Demographic Survey
Based Upon the 1954 Census (Melbourne, 1960), p. 57.

Again, the sharp increase in the Jewish proportion
(0.6% in the 10% Survey to 16.0% in the 1954 census) is due to the
high Jewish content of the pre-June 1939 arrivals (those still
surviving), and the 1939-1947 and 1947-1954 non-assisted arrivals.
In addition, each of these intakes would have greatly contributed
to the "no reply" category in the 1954 census (10.3%) which was
thought to have contained a high Jewish element. It has been
calculated that there could have been up to 1,000 Jews of Polish
birth among the Displaced Persons who registered themselves as
Catholics in transit and on arrival, but who gave in the 1954 census
either a "Hebrew" or "no reply" answer. A re-allocation of 1,000
Displaced Persons from the Catholic to the Hebrew category then
results in the estimated breakdown shown below. This shows the
Jewish content of the Displaced Persons wave as 2.5%.

TABLE 9 : RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS AMONG POLISH-BORN DISPLACED
PERSONS (INCLUDING POLISH-BORN UKRAINIANS) AND
DISPLACED PERSONS OF POLISH NATIONALITY

(Estimate based on the 10% Survey: and the re-allocation of
1,000 reported Catholics to the Hebrew category)

Denomination	Polish Born		Polish Nationals	
	Number	%	Number	%
Protestant	723	1.4	1,500	2.5
Catholic	42,971	83.2	53,430	88.4
Orthodox	6,149	11.9	3,620	6.0
Hebrew	1,310	2.5	1,320	2.2
Indefinite	52	0.1	80	0.1
No Reply	465	0.9	480	0.8
Total	51,670	100.0	60,430	100.0

(In this table, the much larger number of Polish nationals
as against Polish-born is due mainly to children born in Germany.
They substantially enlarged the Catholic, and presumably through
German Lutheran wives, the Protestant proportions. The smaller

proportion of Orthodox among Polish nationals is due to many

Polish-born Ukrainians stating their nationality as Ukrainian.)

Education

The historical factors giving rise to the various Polish
displacements and the selectivity of the emigration waves which
brought the refugees to Australia resulted in an educational
structure which sharply contrasted with the distributions in other
Displaced Person groups. While almost all the other nationalities
tended to be over-represented in the highly qualified categories,
most Polish refugees in Australia were poorly educated and had
only a slight sprinkling of the intelligentsia among their number.
A few examples which have been calculated in Canberra from a
comparison of samples of male Displaced Persons aged 19-60 years
on arrival and the 1966 census are presented below.[38]

TABLE 10 : ESTIMATED EDUCATIONAL STANDARD OF ESTONIAN, LATVIAN AND POLISH MALES WHO ARRIVED UNDER THE AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT - INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE ORGANISATION SCHEME: 1947-1954			
Educational Standard	**% Distribution of male Displaced Persons aged 19-60**		
	Estonians	Latvians	Poles
0-8 years	43	48	85
9 years to Matric.	41	37	12
Tertiary Students	5	6	1
University Graduates	6	6	1
Academy Graduates	5	3	1
Totals	100	100	100

[38] Kunz has estimated that about 10% of all adult male Displaced Persons
were either professionally qualified by academic degrees, or were
university students whose education was interrupted by the war. "The
Engineering Profession and the D.P. Migrant in Australia", International
Migration, Vol. 7 (1969), p. 23.

Although tertiary graduates among the Polish arrivals comprised only around 2%, the intake of Poles was so large that the actual contribution of that 2% was quite substantial.

Occupation

The unreliability of occupational data as stated on shipping lists has been discussed above. An approximate indication, but only a very approximate one, can be gauged from the following table comparing occupations of Polish Displaced Persons (by birthplace and by nationality) with those of the total number of Displaced Persons as given on shipping lists.

TABLE 11 : OCCUPATIONS OF POLISH AND ALL DISPLACED PERSONS (AS GIVEN ON SHIPPING LISTS)

Occupation	Male Displaced Persons (%)			Female Displaced Persons (%)		
	Poles by Birth-place	Poles by Nation-ality	Total Displaced Persons	Poles by Birth-place	Poles by Nation-ality	Total Displaced Persons
Rural	20.3	16.9	14.0	5.4	3.5	2.0
Professional and semi-professional	1.5	1.4	2.1	0.9	0.7	1.3
Administrative	0.1	0.1	0.4	-	-	-
Commercial, clerical	2.1	1.7	2.9	1.2	1.8	2.8
Domestic, protective	1.8	1.7	2.0	14.1	9.7	12.2
Craftsmen, operatives	32.7	27.1	27.4	6.3	4.5	5.5
Labourers	33.4	26.9	29.0	4.3	3.3	4.2
Indefinite	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5
Not gainfully employed	7.3	23.5	21.6	67.2	67.0	61.5
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

A more accurate assessment of occupational background of the males[39] can be gleaned from the selection files of a sample of four

[39] Figures from the Department of Demography, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University.

ships transporting 1,816 male Displaced Persons, including 545 Poles

(by nationality), to Australia (see Table 12).

TABLE 12 : OCCUPATIONS OF POLISH AND ALL DISPLACED PERSONS ON
4 SHIPS (AS GIVEN ON SELECTION FILES):   MALES ONLY

Occupation	Poles	Total Displaced Persons	Occupation	Poles	Total Displaced Persons
Architect	-	5	Accountant/Auditor	-	1
Engineer	3	32	Economist	-	4
Scientist	-	3	Manage., executive	1	18
Veterinarian	-	5	Clerk	7	61
Agric. For. or Hort	-	14	Salesman	3	28
Medical Prac.	-	4	Proprietor/Shop-keeper	2	18
Nurse	-	1	Farmer	9	39
Univ. Teacher	1	1	Pilot	-	2
Clergy	1	6	Blue-collar unskilled	302	644
Law	1	14	Blue-collar skilled	131	566
Painter/Sculptor	1	5			
Author/Journalist	-	3	Attendant	-	3
Musician Actor	-	4	Military Officer	5	26
Draughtsman	2	7	Student	47	183
Technician	1	9	Teacher	3	15
			Unknown	25	95
			Total	545	1,816

The statistics show that 55% of the Poles were unskilled, and another

24% skilled, blue-collar workers. What is particularly noticeable is

the absence of certain professional categories among these male Polish

Displaced Persons.

Thus the available evidence suggests that, as far as premigration

background is concerned, the postwar Polish immigrants were predominantly

of rural origins, relatively poorly educated and in the lower occupation-

al categories. Further evidence to confirm this conclusion comes from

the Latrobe Valley study by J. Zubrzycki, who used four indices of

premigration socio-economic status.[40] With the figures for Polish

immigrants in parenthesis, these indices were as follows:

> (i) father's occupation (74% rural; 4% professional,
> administrative, clerical and commercial; 11% craftsmen
> and operatives; 11% protective and unskilled labourers).
> (ii) educational attainment (70% primary education only).
> (iii) premigration occupation (43% rural; 8% professional,
> etc.; 23% craftsmen, etc.; 28% protective, etc.).
> (iv) premigration residence (59% rural; 41% urban).

R. Johnston's sample of Poles in Perth showed a very similar

educational pattern: 72% had primary education only, 27% had

between 8 and 12 years of education, and only one person had a

university education.[41]

4. The Polish-born population in Australia: 1954 to the present

The arrival of the postwar political refugees dramatically

changed the overall character of the Polish population in Australia.

They brought with them very few material possessions, and the 1954

census reflected a far more depressed socio-economic condition than

had earlier censuses. The Polish population was also far younger.

Not having had the opportunities to establish itself, a much

higher proportion were employees than before the war, with corres-

pondingly low income and education.

In comparison with the distribution of Australian-born

through the States, Poles have been over-represented in Victoria,

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[40] Settlers of the Latrobe Valley (Canberra, 1964), pp. 54-55.

[41] Immigrant Assimilation (Perth, 1965), p. 68.

to a lesser extent in South Australia and only slightly in Western

Australia and the Australian Capital Territory (see Table 13).[42]

States	1954		1961		1966		1971	
	Polish-born	Austr-born	Polish-born	Austr-born	Polish-born	Austr-born	Polish-born	Austr-born
New South Wales	30.8	38.4	30.8	37.7	30.4	37.2	30.3	36.4
Victoria	37.9	27.1	39.6	27.0	40.1	27.0	39.5	26.5
Queensland	6.7	15.1	6.3	15.4	6.2	15.5	6.3	15.6
South Australia	11.7	8.9	11.6	9.0	11.8	9.0	11.8	8.7
Western Australia	9.1	6.4	7.9	6.6	7.7	6.8	7.8	7.3
Tasmania	2.8	3.7	2.7	3.6	2.5	3.6	2.4	3.4
Northern Territory	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.6
Aust. Cap. Territory	1.0	0.3	1.1	0.5	1.3	0.8	1.3	1.0
Totals	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.1	100.2	99.5	99.5

TABLE 13 : PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POLISH-BORN AND AUSTRALIAN-BORN PERSONS THROUGHOUT AUSTRALIAN STATES: 1954-1971

Within the states, the metropolitan cities continued to hold

the vast majority of Poles who were over-represented in these cities

in comparison with the native-born population. Yet statistics on the

distribution of the prewar population in Poland reveal that Poland,

except for the industrialized central regions, was primarily an

agricultural country at that time (see Chapter 2). Thus the majority

of Poles in Australia have undergone migration not only from country

[42] Is there any other reason for the over-representation of Poles in the southern mainland areas than a more congenial climate? A glance at questionnaires shows that climate is one of the more common "likes" of Poles in Adelaide (see Chapter 9). The rather strong under-representation in Queensland ($2\frac{1}{2}$ times less) lends weight to this factor, although there may well be other reasons.

to country, but also from rural to urban existence - a dual
re-settlement process.

The post-1947 wave brought many younger immigrants from
the camps of Europe, thereby completely restructuring the age
pyramid by 1954. Whereas in 1947, 42% of the Polish-born in
Australia were 45 years or more (Australian-born 26%), in 1954 only
18% were above the age of 45 years (Australian-born 21%). The bulk
of the Polish population was in the middle age brackets. Statistics
on age are to be analysed with caution, however, for most of the young
are lost through classification of children of immigrants before 1971
according to country of birth (many in Germany, or in Australia).[43]
The normal distribution would show the bulk of the population in the
younger age groups with a gradual tapering with increase in age.
The aging of the postwar wave since 1954 naturally has again
resulted, with no further large additions, in an "old" Polish
population. Compared with the Australian-born in 1971 below the
age of 45 years (73%), the Polish-born have only 29% in that range,
the greatest proportion (41% being at that time between 45 and 55
years of age (Australian-born 11%).

Classified by religion, the postwar Poles in Australia have
been predominantly Catholic. Since 1954, when religion was first
tabulated with birthplace, approximately two-thirds of Poles have

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[43] J. Zubrzycki estimated that there were approximately 12,000
Polish children born in camps in Germany among the immigrants
aboard International Refugee Organisation transports. In addition,
there were born in Australia between June 1947 and June 1954 about
14,000 children of Polish parentage. See Zubrzycki, "Polonia
Australijska", op. cit., pp. 78, 89.

described themselves in censuses as Catholic, while the corres-
ponding sector among the Australian-born in 1966 was one
quarter. Next highest among the Polish-born has been the Hebrew
religion, accounting for approximately 16-17% (Australian-born
0.3% in 1966). The only other group of any significance has been
the Orthodox one, making up 3-5% of the total Polish-born population
(Australian-born 0.7% in 1966).

The demographic analysis above helps to give an appreciation
of what characteristics distinguished the Polish-born generally in
Australia from the native-born. It cannot, however, tell a great
deal about socio-economic status, which (when compared with pre-
migration background) is a useful indication of gauging how the
migration process affected the immigrants, to what extent the first
generation was déclassed by migrating and in what environment the
second generation has been raised. Official statistics can give
only a general picture for Poles collectively. In the individual
instance, sample surveys are the sole means of acquiring the
relevant information.

The most valuable indicator of socio-economic standing is
occupational status. The great majority of Displaced Persons were,
upon arrival in Australia, required by a two-year contract to enter
manual occupations.[44] Their experience and educational qualifications

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[44]During 1949-1951, the following contract form was used:
I hereby certify that the personal particulars supplied by me to
the Australian Selection Officers are true in every respect and
that I have made myself familiar with the conditions under which
displaced persons can emigrate to Australia. I fully understand
that I must remain in the employment found for me for a period
of up to two years and that I shall not be permitted to change
that employment during that period without the consent of the
Department of Immigration.

Full name (Blocks)
Signature
Date
See Kunz, "The Engineering Profession...", op. cit., pp. 29-30.

"were generally disregarded when placing them into contract employ-ment, and statistics of the time referred to them in toto as 'unskilled'" (see Table 12).[45] A considerable number, however, were professionally qualified individuals, some of whom were able to enter Australia by camouflaging this fact during the screening for manual workers by Australian emigration officials sent to refugee camps in Europe. With the Displaced Persons intake, the high male employer proportion of 1947 (33%) was markedly cut. Only 6-8% of Poles have classed themselves in that category in censuses since then. The Australian-born figure before and after World War II remained relatively stable around 5%.

Conversely, while one third of male Poles before the war were classified as employees, the equivalent percentage in 1954 was 80 (the Australian-born proportion remained slightly below one half). Most of these employees were employed in the more "essential" secondary industries - those associated with the supply of building materials and the construction of public utilities and defence needs. Single or married women without children were employed mainly as nurses, nurses' assistants and domestics.[46] There has also been a rise in the number of female Poles in the employee classification. From a figure of 18% in 1947, the percentage doubled by 1954, while the Australian-born population remained constant around 16-17% over

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[45] Kunz, "Some Basic Determinants...", op. cit., p. 45.

[46] For the percentage distribution of Displaced Person contracted labour in Australia, see Sydney Sun (August 1950), quoted in Murphy, op. cit., p. 183.

these seven years. By 1971, the percentage of Polish females in
the employee category had again increased to 42, while the equivalent
Australian-born figure had also risen to 32.[47]

Zubrzycki's analysis of the 1961 census figures on occupation[48]
shows that male Poles were considerably over-represented, compared
with the total male workforce, in the craftsmen and foremen, oper-
atives and process workers, and labourers categories. At the other
end of the occupational scale, they were over-represented only in
the managerial and self-employed shop proprietor groups. This
tendency of Poles (and Southern European ethnic groups) to cluster
at the lower end of the occupational spectrum leads Zubrzycki to
conclude that their effective assimilation in Australian society
may be seriously retarded by their low degree of structural
assimilation.

The second main census indicator of socio-economic status,
educational achievement, was investigated in the censuses of 1966
and 1971. On this indicator, Poles, despite their over-representation
at the lower end of the occupational spectrum, have slightly higher
educational standards over their population as a whole than the
Australian population in general. In 1966, 41% of Polish-born

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[47] Many persons whose main activity was not a labour force one (e.g.:
housewife, full-time student) were drawn into the labour force
statistics for the 1971 census by virtue of part-time or occasional
labour force activity in the week prior to the census being taken.
The Commonwealth Statistician stated that there were substantially
more of such persons at the 1971 than at the 1966 census and that
they were predominantly females.

[48] J. Zubrzycki, "Some Aspects of Structural Assimilation of
Immigrants in Australia", International Migration, Vol. 6 (1968),
pp. 102-110.

people had completed the Junior High School/Intermediate Certificate or higher qualification; in the total Australian population, only 28% had attained this level of education.[49] At the 1971 census, almost equivalent proportions of the Polish-born (79%) and Australian-born (81%) populations over the age of 14 years were classed as having no vocational qualification. At the other extreme, 2.7% of the Polish-born had a university degree, while the corresponding figure for the Australian-born element was 1.7 (see Table 14).

TABLE 14 : HIGHEST LEVEL OF QUALIFICATION OBTAINED BY POLISH-BORN AND AUSTRALIAN-BORN PERSONS OVER THE AGE OF 14 YEARS: 1971 CENSUS

Highest level of qualification obtained	Polish-born		Australian-born	
	n	%	n	%
no vocational qualification	46,741	79.4	5,500,669	80.5
trade level	6,863	11.6	603,649	8.8
technician level	1,442	2.4	230,273	3.3
non-degree tertiary	1,266	2.1	224,788	3.2
bachelor degree	1,266	2.1	111,351	1.6
higher degree	400	0.6	11,876	0.1
not classified by level	866	1.4	145,578	2.1
Total	58,844	99.6	6,828,184	99.6

The socio-economic position of Poles in Australia is partly a function of their length of residence, in addition to such factors as premigration socio-economic status, mode of migration and "drive" upon arrival. The postwar intake has now had the time to establish itself and to improve its position. That a number of Poles have

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[49] This high figure for the Polish-born in comparison with that for the total Australian population reflects the very different age structures of the two groups. A mere 6% of Polish-born in Australia in 1971 were under 25 years of age. Thus the vast majority of the Polish-born had had the opportunity of completing their education, whereas within the Australian population in general, a large proportion were still at school.

been able since expiration of their bond to work their way up the
occupational ladder is suggested by the gradually rising proportion
in the "employer" and "self-employed" categories during the 1950's
and 1960's at the same time as the total number of Poles has
remained virtually static. Since a number of these Polish former
refugees were Jewish, the findings of Taft and Goldlust from a
sample survey of Melbourne Jewish refugees is of relevance on
this point.[50] Although starting with nothing other than their
skills and talents, over three quarters of their sample (half of
whom were of Polish origin) had already attained by 1967 a status
higher than that of either skilled manual worker or routine white-
collar occupation (clerk or salesman). They were largely self-
employed or worked in small family businesses.

For many other Poles, however, the barrier of age, the
difficulty of mastering the English language, or the lack of
acceptance of qualifications meant that they were forced to
continue in manual occupations long after the expiration of their
bonds. While they themselves were unable in this period of
déclassement to regain their former status, they could nevertheless
pass their values, belief in the importance of education and high
achievement motivation to their children. In the study by Taft,
Strong and Fensham on the educational motivation and achievement
of Australian and immigrant males in the upper levels of 63

[50] R. Taft and J. Goldlust, "The Current Status of Former Jewish
Refugees in Melbourne", Australian and New Zealand Journal of
Sociology, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1970), pp. 28-48.

Victorian schools in 1967-8,[51] the authors were able to single

out three groups of Polish parents - middle class Jews with

moderate education but high ownership of businesses; a small

highly educated, Catholic upper-middle class group; and a rather

poorly educated group of skilled and unskilled workers. All of

these groups were strongly oriented towards university studies,

with few of their sons attending junior technical schools. The

academic success of the Polish students was high, and they had a

strong science-medicine preference. Their expectations to enter

a profession or to own a business, and their income expectations

were very high. Compared with the other national groups investigated,

the children of these Polish parents showed very high upward

educational mobility (see Chapter 11).

By 1971, 71% of the Polish-born population in Australia

had been settled in the country for 17 or more years. Perhaps

it is only now, therefore, that one can start talking about Polish

communities in this country, now that a sizeable proportion of the

first generation has had time to consolidate its economic position

and to continue its social and cultural traditions, and the second

generation to learn and maintain them.

[51]R. Taft, P. Strong and P.J. Fensham, "National Background and
Choice of Tertiary Education in Victoria", International
Migration, Vol. 9 (1971), pp. 36-54.

CHAPTER 4

THE AUSTRALIAN VIEW

The two socialisation processes of ethnicisation (Polonisation) and assimilation (Australianisation) in the instance of second generation immigrants growing up in Australia necessarily are closely linked with the attitudes of the host society. It is therefore important to arrive at an understanding of "the Australian view" towards European, and in particular Polish, immigrants in Australia.

In the case of the Poles, Australians have always been generally favourable towards Polish independence and the immigration of Poles to their country. The Polish insurrection of January 1863, for example, evoked a reaction in Australia (mainly Melbourne) which at times exceeded the responses within European countries closer to Poland.[1] A group of Polish political exiles concentrated in Melbourne played a significant part in generating sympathy for the Polish cause. The prominent leaders were a former Polish army officer of the 1831 insurrection, Severin Rakowski, and Captain George Woinarski. The activities involved public meetings during 1863 and the first half of 1864, the sending of volunteers to Europe to take part in the uprisings (between May and September, 11 former Polish soldiers left Melbourne for Europe), the collection of funds for the Polish cause, and the formation of a Polish

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[1] This reaction in Australia has been documented by L. Paszkowski in "Australian Echoes of the Polish Insurrection of 1863", Polish Catholic Weekly (2 November, 1963), pp. 9-12.

Society of Victoria. The public meeting of 10 August, 1863, in
St. George's Hall drew one thousand sympathisers, who, according to
Rakowski, were mainly "the ordinary people ... nobody from the
merchant class attended." The Polish cause was backed by the
Melbourne newspapers, The Herald, The Age and The Argus.
Following a meeting on 23 November at which the Polish Society
was formed, The Age wrote:

> ... we should be sorry to see Australian help for Poland
> confined to that extended by her exiled sons. A gallant
> battle for liberty is a matter for the countenance and
> aid of every race. The people of England and of France
> are sending help, though they cannot yet get their
> Governments to do it; and Englishmen at the antipodes
> must not be content to look stolidly on ...
> Here in Australia we cannot aid the Poles very much,
> but let us aid them as best we can.[2]

Similar compassion for Poles deprived of their freedom was
embodied in New South Wales during World War I in the Polish War
Victims' Relief Fund, to which the state government under W.A. Holman
contributed a pound for every pound donated by the public. Nellie
Melba spent the war years singing in country halls, working for the
Red Cross, knitting for the troops and giving concerts in the cities
for war charities - for which she was created Dame of the British
Empire in 1918.[3] One of her concerts in Sydney in 1916, at which
she appeared in Polish national costume, contributed approximately
£6,000 to the Polish appeal.

On 15 April, 1915, the Federal House of Representatives
assented to a motion which read:

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[2] The Age, 27 November, 1863.

[3] G. Hutton, Dame Nellie Melba (Melbourne, 1962), p. 26.

> ... this Parliament of Australia conveys its fraternal
> greetings to the peoples of Poland in the hope of the
> early realisation of their ideals as a united nation.[4]

The _Australian Encyclopaedia_ claims that this appeared to be the

first official statement from the Allied side hinting at an

independent Poland as one of its war aims, a statement made almost

three years before President Wilson announced his "Fourteen Points".[5]

The arrival of the "refugee settlers" after World War II -

a break with tradition in the history of Australian immigration

policy in that they were the first large group of assisted migrants

of non-Anglo-Saxon origin - engendered many diverse reactions among

different sections of the Australian populace. The attitude of

Australians, however, towards the influx of non-British Europeans

probably favoured the Poles more than any other refugee ethnic group.

The main reason was that they arrived in Australia with allied status,

a position which was not enjoyed by the majority of the new arrivals,

such as the Hungarians, Roumanians, Ukrainians, Bulgarians and the

citizens of the Baltic States. Many Poles had served under Allied

command and had played important roles in the Battle of Britain, in

the Middle East, in Italy and in defence of Tobruk. During these

campaigns, the Poles had proved themselves to be reliable and

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[4] _Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates_, Vol. 76 (15 April, 1915), p. 2351.

[5] One of these "Fourteen Points" sought the creation of an independent
Poland with free and secure access to the sea. The _Australian
Encyclopaedia_ incorrectly states that the Australian resolution
was made in 1916, and thus was only two years before Wilson's
statement of war aims made on 8 January, 1918. _Australian Encyclopaedia_,
Vol. 7, p. 158-9.

courageous, and often technically and academically well-educated.
Australian politicians frequently recognised these qualities,
claiming they were "fine fighting men ... A Polish squadron was
one of the finest in the Battle of Britain"; they had "fought and
died with Australians in the Middle East ... Australians speak
highly of them, of their courage, and of their comradeship";
they were not "from an ignorant peasant class, ... they manned an
armoured division during the war, and to maintain such a force, it
was necessary to have thousands of highly skilled craftsmen and
highly educated men"; they "flew with the RAF in every theatre of
war in Europe, and played their part in winning Europe back to
democracy ... they [also] served in the British Navy throughout
the world".[6]

Other random examples of politicians' views reveal further
factors favouring Polish immigration, namely those that would assist
their adjustment to Australian society: they were imbued with "the
spirit of democracy"; they would make "excellent Australian citizens,
especially those who, after their escape from Poland, married English
and Scottish lasses"; and many had been in Britain since 1940 and would
be able to speak English.

In addition, it was believed that Polish immigration could
help solve Australia's urgent domestic problems of the immediate
postwar era - underpopulation, shortages in housing and labour,
economic underdevelopment, and settlement of the North for defence

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[6] These statements appear in the Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates
of 1945-1947.

reasons. They would have "small families"; they could be accommodated "in barracks, provided we tell them honestly what is here, they will be happy to accept the opportunity"; they could be "profitably settled" in the underdeveloped areas of the Northern Territory; they could grow most of their own fruit and vegetables, and until their crops grew, could be fed on the tons of "M & V" and "bully beef" left over in the hands of the Commonwealth Disposals Commission; and they could work on "the construction of water conservation works, electric power undertakings, roads and bridges in Tasmania", and on the pipeline supplying the Kalgoorlie mines.[7]

Apart from politicians' opinions on Polish immigration to Australia, it is difficult to document "the Australian view" towards Poles as one specific ethnic group. Gallup Polls and other general surveys of the population at large do not focus on specific ethnic groups. Newspaper reports occasionally appear on particular migrant individuals, or on particular ethnic groups, though these are usually confined to a particular locality and are generally very praiseworthy if rather patronising and implicitly assimilationist in tone. The Examiner, for example, asking the question in 1967 of what had happened to Poles in Tasmania over the past two decades, claimed that they were getting on well with Australians, "having the same honesty and simplicity of character".

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[7] Ibid.

Apart from the fruits of the Poles' economic endeavours over the years, Tasmania was seen to be

> ... reaping the real benefits - the second generation. The children of these [Polish] migrants, completely accepted by their mates, doing well or ill as Australian children do, having the same accents and attitudes, are the best citizens of all - native-born Australians.[8]

In another similar article three years later, Father J. Kachi believed Poles were very happy in their new country: "having a spirit of freedom and democracy in their veins, they are easily assimilated into the customs and ways of Tasmania".[9]

In Maitland, New South Wales, The Mercury labelled the Polish community "the most organised and the most publicised group in the area".[10] State Minister for Transport and Member of Parliament for Maitland, M. Morris, wrote to F. Dangel, President of the Polish Association of Maitland, on 23 July, 1968:

> We are proud to have in Australia so many settlers from various European countries who have made an enormous contribution to the development of Australia in the last twenty years. I have always been proud of my meetings from time to time with you and with members of the Polish association. Your friendship and helpfulness at all times is extremely valued.[11]

The Federal Minister for Immigration in 1966-67, H. Opperman,

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[8] The Examiner, 2 December, 1967.

[9] The Standard, 26 June, 1970.

[10] 13 July, 1972.

[11] Personal correspondence kept by the Polish Historical Society in Adelaide. In July 1970, Morris became the first Australian to receive life membership of the Polish Association of New South Wales. The Mercury, 6 July, 1970.

addressed a Melbourne exhibition to mark the millenium of Polish

Christianity:

> ... for a thousand years, the Polish people have remained
> steadfast and united - steadfast in their faith and united
> as a people ... The nation has been woven together by the
> Church. To this, because of the character of the Polish
> people and the quality of Poles as settlers, Australia
> owes a debt.[12]

The Daily Telegraph announced in December 1967 that the "Poles are

a well assimilated group, settled into the normal life of the

country" and that "community leaders agree there are few problems

among the Polish Australians".[13]

These articles and many others in the same vein give some

idea of the standing of Poles in certain localities, though their

journalistic flavour can hardly be taken as being always

sociologically accurate, nor can a single writer's viewpoint be

taken as being representative of "the Australian view". In order

to understand more deeply the attitudes of Australians to the

presence of Poles and their offspring in Australia, therefore, it

is necessary to take a broader perspective and analyse a variety of

sources having some bearing upon non-British Europeans in general.

In the light of this overview, and of the specific instances

documented above, a more historically and sociologically valid

picture can be presented as to the nature of the Australian

environment in which first and second generation Poles have resided

in the postwar period.

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[12] "Polish Called Good Neighbours", Crow's Nest Advertiser,
5 January, 1967.

[13] 24 December, 1967.

The Policy of Organised Assimilation

Australian policy and public opinion traditionally have been strongly Anglo-conformist in respect to the assimilation behaviour of immigrants. There has always existed a strong pressure upon immigrants to shed, almost overnight, their cultural past, and to conform as quickly and completely as possible to the Anglo-Saxon core culture. That this was true of the post-World War II period, even though the Federal Government actually assisted the mass influx of non-British Europeans, is evidenced by the official policy of "organised assimilation" at that time. The Federal Government established the Department of Immigration and various councils, including an Assimilation section, in co-operation with it, and extensive machinery was set up for the specific purpose of assimilating the "New Australians".

The two most important aspects of settling immigrants into the Australian community were the proper after-care of the new settlers and the necessity to create a favourable climate of opinion among old Australians. It was with these dual tasks in mind that the Good Neighbour Movement was established throughout Australia. The role of the Good Neighbour Councils was foreseen as a humanitarian one to

> listen sympathetically to the problems of the newcomers and
> give general guidance on the early difficulties which
> people from Europe have to overcome, [and to] dedicate
> themselves to the tasks of 'selling' to the Australian
> public the value of helping in the work of migrant
> integration.[14]

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[14] South Australian Good Neighbour Council Annual Report 1961-2,
quoted in L.E. Ardlie, "Australianisation to Melting Pot: A
Study of the Work of the South Australian Good Neighbour
Council", Honours thesis, The University of Adelaide (1967), p. 13.

Yet it was not only the Australian public who were to be influenced to accept more readily the presence of large numbers of non-British Europeans. The "New Australians" themselves were to undergo a considerable dose of systematic instruction on the English language and the Australian "way of life". English language classes were established in the camps in Europe, on board ship, and at the reception and holding centres in Australia. Such courses could be continued in various ways after the immigrant had left the centres - Continuation classes, Correspondence classes, radio lessons, and through the medium of periodicals (for example, The New Australian and The Good Neighbour). The aims of the official migrant education programme were two-fold:

(1) to provide a basis for oral fluency in English on which a newcomer could build; and

(2) to provide information on Australia and Australians which would make adaption to the new environment easier.

In practice, the first aim invariably predominated because the difficulties of translation made the second objective almost unrealizable for those with little or no English.[15]

Finally, although "populate or perish" was the political catch-cry of the immediate post-war era, the Australian public as a whole were likely to support an immigration programme only if their economic and social standards were not disrupted. This was an attitude deep-rooted in the Australian community. It had been

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[15]Education News, Vol. 3, No. 1 (February 1951), p. 5.

often brought into the open in times of tension, as for example the goldrush period of a century earlier, or during the 1920's in Queensland (culminating in the Ferry Report of 1925). The Government was particularly wary, therefore, to stress that it would accept Europeans who would make "good Australian citizens".[16]

By 1950, however, the realisation that rapid assimilation could not be effected solely by official action led to the foundation of Australian Citizenship Conventions to be held annually, when all bodies concerned with immigration and assimilation would "meet together to pool their experiences and to plan collectively for the future".[17] These Conventions came "to symbolize an annual session in a clearing-house of ideas incidental to assimilation".[18] In one sense, they may be viewed as a microcosm of Australian opinion on immigration - every year there were comments on how these Conventions were the most representative of any gathering of Australians, and how the Digests were statements "of the present day unanimity among Australian citizens of all religions, all political views and all walks of life towards the nation's immigration drive".[19] The general aim of the Conventions was, in

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[16] Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (1945), p. 4912.

[17] Australian Citizenship Convention Digest (1950), p. 2.

[18] M.L. Kovacs, "Immigration and Assimilation: An Outline Account of the I.R.O. Immigrants in Australia", Masters thesis, University of Melbourne (1955), p. 232.

[19] For example, Australian Citizenship Convention Digest (1954), p. 1.

the words of one of the Chairmen, "to enable the Minister and his officers to find out what the people are thinking".[20] And in 1953 it was claimed that ninety per cent of resolutions carried by previous Australian Citizenship Conventions had been implemented by the Government.[21] For these reasons, the Convention Digests would appear to constitute a useful source from which a more detailed analysis of Australian opinion, or at least the attitudes of those most closely concerned with immigrants, can be made. The period from 1950-1970 has been segmented into three relatively distinct sections for the purpose of further analysis.

I THE HIGHTIDE OF ANGLO-CONFORMISM (1950-1955)

At the 1950 Convention, almost 50 resolutions, "all designed to assist the quick assimilation of migrants into the Australian community", were carried after two days' deliberation (1950: 19). One of these resolutions stated:

> The people of Australia should strive, through their governments, their associations and as individuals to remove all obstacles - physical, social, national and racial - that prevent the prompt and complete assimilation of all immigrants (my italics. 1950: 19).

Another proclaimed:

> We, the members of this convention, promise to do our part in seeking the interest and cooperation of our respective organisations in the assimilation of as many immigrants as the Government introduces (1950: 19).

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[20]Ibid., (1965), p. 27.

[21]Ibid., (1953), p. 24. For convenience, further references in the following three sections to these Digests are placed in the text.

Numerous references to "assimilation" can be found in these first six conventions. What was meant by the term at that particular time?

One way of finding this out is by perusing addresses of the Minister for Immigration. At the very first convention he claimed that it was "most desirable that migrants become assimilated quickly". He saw assimilation as a two-way process, but not in the interactionist meaning, for he was not advocating that Australians make any adjustments to immigrant ways, only that they "must prove to be good neighbours". It was stressed that success was to be judged not merely by the numbers of immigrants, the increases in production, or the greater security for the country, but also "by the manner in which we take them into community life, and by the greater happiness we give them" (1950: 4). His idea was the "welcoming hand" concept, which was embodied in the formation of such an organisation as the Good Neighbour Movement and in the establishment of the Australian Citizenship Conventions themselves.

Another way of analysing the meaning of assimilation is to look at statements by representatives of the State Education Departments. One example is that of the Tasmanian Secretary for Education, who again at the first convention claimed that

> every effort must be made to overcome the tendency for new arrivals to segregate themselves, so that they could be assimilated into our population and absorb our culture and ideas as rapidly as possible (my italics, 1950: 8)

Clearly what is meant here by assimilation is its Anglo-conformist interpretation.

A further indicator of Anglo-conformism is the nature of the recommendations passed at the conventions. These were all

framed with the specific purpose of assisting the assimilation of migrants. One stated that migrants should be kept informed of conditions under which they may change their names if they so desired (1951: 37); another that sporting organisations give demonstrations to arouse the interest of migrants to play cricket and Australian football as well as the sports with which they were familiar; in particular, they were to be encouraged to play bowls (1951: 40). Each year, resolutions were carried that migrants be exhorted to meet Australians; that they become naturalised as soon as possible; that the housing shortage, "one of the chief obstacles to assimilation", be quickly overcome; that the situation in hostels where only foreign languages were spoken be discouraged.

The term "assimilation", as applied to the process of introducing migrants into the community (1950) and as a generic description of the absorption of migrants (1952), was in both those years recommended in preference to "integration" (1950: 19; 1952: 32). Also in those two years, the term "New Australian" was approved as a suitable label for a migrant, although in 1952, it was thought that the newcomer from Britain should be more properly described as a "British migrant" (1950: 19; 1952: 32). The children of migrants, however, were to be referred to not as "New Australian" but as "Australian" children. (1953: 32).

There was some concern in 1953 that any increase in radio presentation "to aid assimilation" would tend "to present assimilation as a novel rather than as a natural feature of Australian community life" (1953: 32). Yet delegates were keen for publicity through as many media as possible to be directed towards explaining to

migrants exactly what was meant by assimilation. They also

recommended that the Australian people "be informed of precisely

what is happening as a result of immigration, particularly in the

field of assimilation" (1953: 31). In 1954, the 80 recommenda-

tions were comprised of 40 on naturalisation, 1 on migrant

education which included 32 subheadings, and 28 on assimilation

activities; the following year 50 resolutions were carried, all

of them "to encourage immigration and assimilation" (1955: 20).

Two further indicators of the Anglo-conformist orientation

were the emphasis on royalty, and the desire for the continued

predominance of British migrants in the annual intakes. Resolutions

in 1952 and 1953 recommended that migrants be encouraged to take

part in demonstrations of loyalty during the Royal Visit (1952: 30;

1953: 29). At the 1953 Convention, the Queen's crown and portrait

were the centrepiece at the assembly hall, and although this was

to be expected in her coronation year, no doubt the secondary motive

was to set the example for newcomers in loyalty for the Crown, to

encourage them to take out their citizenship as soon as possible.

This was the special emphasis of the next year's Convention, when

delegates met "to consider ways in which newcomers to this land

from Europe might be encouraged to realise the fullness of

assimilation in citizenship" (1954: 3), and when the naturalisa-

tion ceremony was "the highlight of the convention programme" (p. 5).

In 1954, half of the resolutions carried were directly concerned

with naturalisation (pp. 27-29). By 1953-4, the mandatory five

year's residence stipulation would have been almost over for the

earlier arrivals, and the desirability of accenting the advantages

of citizenship would have been clearly apparent to all.

Several references were also made in this period to the desirability of British immigration. It was the Minister for Immigration at the very first convention who set the tone:

> This is a British community, and we want to keep it a British Community living under British standards and by the methods and ideals of British parliamentary democracy (1950: 6, 18).

Maintenance of the high proportion of British immigrants was one of the two basic points in the programme of the Menzies Government, according to the Minister, and with the dwindling of nominated British migrant numbers, it was decided to bring to Australia selected, unnominated British settlers.

II THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION: ASSIMILATION TO INTEGRATION (1956-1961)

During this period, the vision of the delegates remained very broad and forward-looking and the development of the Australian nation as a consequence of immigration continued to be strongly emphasised.[22] What is interesting, however, is the appearance of a further factor in the stress in Convention themes and displays on the growth of Australia; namely, the recognition of the positive contribution on the part of immigrants not only numerically, but also in many spheres of social and cultural life.[23]

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[22] For example: the 1958 photographic display "Tomorrow's Australians"; 1959 stage tableau; 1960 pageant "We The People", 1961 stage tableau, photographic display, convention literature "sunflower pattern" covers and theme "The Way Ahead".

[23] No doubt by then the Displaced Persons (1948-51) had more time and energy to demonstrate talents other than those concerned only with earning their crust in the manual occupations which they all had to take in the first two years after arrival. Also, the heavy migration of Dutch and German settlers in the first half of the 1950's probably impressed Australians through the similarity of their modus vivendi with the Anglo-Saxon, and through their skilled craftsmenship.

The 1956 motif "Together we Build" pinpointed the change in this particular theme from earlier Conventions. In 1957, papers by four leading Australians were requested by the Department of Immigration and were used as the basis for discussion: significantly, three of these dealt directly with the part migrants were playing in the economic development of Australia (p. 24). The stage tableau of 1958, the settings entitled "Europe in Australia" outside Albert Hall (in Canberra) in 1959 and the ninth tableau in the 1960 pageant, all underlined the migrant contribution to Australian development.

A second novel and very interesting theme emerges in this period. There appears to be a striking concern to demonstrate how successfully migrants had "merged" into their new country. Both the 1957 and 1958 stage tableaux depicted the assimilation of migrants and how they merged into Australian life. The photographic display of 1958 was entitled "Tomorrow's Australians", and the one for the next year graphically illustrated the success stories of migrants from Britain and Europe, showing how effectively they had adapted themselves to conditions very different from those in their homeland.

This ostentatious display of the "success" of the assimilation process could be regarded as a recognition, albeit faint at this time, that although Australia was achieving its numerical targets, assimilation (in the traditional Anglo-conformist sense) was not progressing as rapidly and as painlessly as it had been initially hoped. Other evidence from Conventions in this period seems to support this view. The year 1956 did not merely signify the change towards recognition of the positive contributions of migrants, it also pinpointed change in Convention discussion content. Previous Digests informed readers that delegates had gathered in Canberra to reaffirm their support

for the humanitarian objects and ideals of migrant assimilation.
The delegates in 1956, however, were asked not only to discuss
"the restricted area of assimilation", but also actually to
"criticise and discuss, and improve if necessary, the Government's
entire policy..." (p. 3). Nonetheless, Price declared in his
background paper of that same year that difficulties faced in the
assimilation of migrants were "little more than the growing pains
of healthy adolescence" ,, (1956:   27).

Three years later, for the first time, migrants were
asked to prepare two of the background papers as bases for
discussion. In terms of the theme of recognition of migrant
contributions, it is significant that they were asked to present
main papers. The fact that one of the papers was entitled
"Assimilation or Integration?" is, however, even more significant.
The second paper drew attention to the probable difficulty in
future years of attracting migrants, that Australia would continue
to get an increasing number of migrants only if she made the
transition period "less painful" than at present (1959:   21). It
seems that the seeds of doubt were being firmly planted. And it
is enlightening that this doubt should be underlined by migrants
themselves.

A further indication of changing attitudes at this time
was the questioning of the term "New Australian" which had been in
constant use for a decade. It was two Dutch migrants again who
first drew attention to the label, which they said gave "a feeling
of meaning an inferior class" (1959:   27). Darling, in summarising
views of discussion groups, reported that, although the label was
intended originally as a term of "exquisite politeness", the fact

that migrants regarded it as "an insult" indicated that Australians
should try to avoid using it. In fact, Darling went further than
this in stating that immigration policy should aim at "integration
of new settlers rather than assimilation" - at building into
a new unity the capacity of old and new Australians rather than
attempt to force all newcomers into the pattern of Australia "as
it used to be" (1959: 28). This marked an important signpost
on the road from Anglo-conformism to integration in the sense of
a more meaningful interaction between cultures. That this change
was indeed occurring, is confirmed by examination of the Digests
of the next two years.

In 1960, two of the four papers were again very much
concerned with the concept of "assimilation". Dovey spoke on the
report of a special committee (of which he was Chairman) which
wrote in glowing terms on how successfully migrant children were
assimilating. The very setting up of a special committee on such
an investigation seems to indicate there was a need for "proving"
this point, for the report, although warmly received by the
Convention (1960: 38-9) has subsequently been critised for its
methodology.[24] The second paper was by two Italians. Entitled
"Understanding - the Key to Assimilation", it drove home at this
time the simple fact that assimilation did need a key, that it was
not an inevitably painless, completely self-explanatory process.
The authors appealed to Australians to cast aside the prejudice

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[24]C.A. Price (Ed.), The Study of Immigrants in Australia (Canberra, 1960).

which, although "not universal in Australia", existed and found

expression in newspapers and in conversation (1960: 26). The

summary of the views of discussion groups recorded that delegates

generally had favoured "a two-way process of integration and had

endorsed the idea of acquainting all children with the cultural

heritage of Europe" (my italics, 1960: 38).

At this point of time, however, there still appears some

doubt in interpretation, for while migrants were to be left to find

their own pace and tempo, and it was

> amazing and gratifying to hear how far this wise belief
> in moderation [had] penetrated through to all the Australian
> people,

they were still to be "invited and encouraged to become good

Australians" (1960: 39). Further clarification came the following

year. Brown in one agenda paper claimed that

> while the assimilation of migrants was a desirable objective,
> it need not and should not clash with the rights of migrants
> to lead their own lives and maintain their own national
> attachments alongside their gradual identification with
> Australia. (1961: 23).

The meaning of the term "assimilation" was itself changing, and

although it was still being used by some delegates, it often had

an interactionist tone - it was very gradually being realised that

one could be "a good Australian" without sacrificing all European

traits.

Many, however, preferred not to use the term because they

saw that to most Australians, assimilation meant Anglo-conformism.

The Deputy Leader of the Opposition thought integration was now the

more popular word (1961: 13). Discussion groups felt that the

term "assimilation" was now outmoded - "we should discard it in

favour of 'integration' which has less sign of prejudice about it"

(1961: 40). The Convention was informed that the foreign language

press itself had criticised the term, that "editors believed
integration fully covered the process of mingling the two cultures
into the Australian way of life without the use of the term
assimilation, which they felt carried the suggestion of the complete
elimination of one culture in favour of the other" (1961: 48).
Similarly, the terminology used to describe migrants themselves was
also undergoing transformation. The Prime Minister suggested the
term "New Australian" could be improved by dropping the word "New"
(1961: 8-10, 48). A discussion group generally agreed with him,
and declared that migrants, whether naturalised or not, should be
called by their own name (1961: 48). A member of the Immigration
Planning Council claimed he would prefer to see not only "New
Australian" but "migrant" dropped in favour of "newcomer"
(1961: 50). These opinions on changes in terminology are
interesting, for they indicate a transformation in attitude
towards greater acceptance of the immigrant and away from the
desire to emphasise difference. If "assimilation" was seen as
outmoded, then it followed that so also was "New Australian".
One of the delegates actually stated that during the last 5 or 10
years "there had been a remarkable change in public opinion.
Immigrants were now better accepted, and national groups were
cooperative" (1961: 44). Another urged a Gallup Poll among
all migrants to find out what they preferred in terminology
(1961: 41); yet others stressed the "vital part" that the foreign
language press could play in the future immigration programme
(1961: 48-49); and there was a recognition that migrants had a
role to assume upon arrival "to help us to make an Australian way
of life and an Australian personality, Australian beliefs and
traditions" (1961: 44).

The beginning of the transition from the concept of Anglo-conformism to that of integration, therefore, manifested itself in the Australian Citizenship Conventions in this period 1956-1961, particularly in 1960 and 1961 when an interactionist approach became the subject of debate. This showed itself in the preference for a "melting pot" type of solution, although its full implications, in terms of the persistence of a degree of cultural pluralism, were not fully realised at this time.

III THE EMERGENCE OF INTERACTIONISM (1962-1970)

The characterising point about the Conventions after 1961 is that each is concerned with more specific, more sharply-defined themes. These themes, all clearly stated at the Conventions and some of them written as titles on Digest covers, pinpointed particular problem areas of the immigration programme in need of special attention.[25]

This noticeable concentration upon specific themes heralded a change in thinking on the part of all those concerned with the immigration programme. The perspective of the Conventions was now altering: they were becoming more self-critical, more realistic, more rear-vision-oriented, and therefore far more useful as a cauldron for the ideas and experiences of practitioners. No doubt the realisation slowly dawned that, whereas in the 1950's Australia could take a high immigration target for granted, she could no

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[25]For example: Citizenship (1962); Migrant Youth in the Australian Environment (1963); Every Settler a Citizen (1965); Australia, New Dimensions (1966); 20 Years Past - The Years Ahead (1968); The Community and the Migrant (1970).

longer afford to do this in the 1960's. The decline in the early

1960's in the numbers of North-western European groups, the rise in

the numbers of Southern European groups who were not as "close" to

the Anglo-Saxon way of life and increasing recognition of the

phenomenon of "transilient migration",[26] would have driven home

more forcefully the fact that Australians could no longer expect

migrants to undergo so rapid and complete assimilation. External

factors, therefore, in addition to what was being observed in

practice at home, were aiding the trend away from Anglo-conformism

towards some form of interactionism. Admittedly this form, which

continued mainly under the label of integration, was still rather

grudging in terms of the degree of European immigrant influence which

was to be allowed to impinge upon traditional Anglo-Australian ways.

The old zeal for simplistic solutions of the assimilationist

type was definitely fading, however. Instead of lauding things both

present and future,[27] delegates began to look back over the last

decade or two to see what they could learn from past experience.

The 1968 Convention, "20 Years Past - The Years Ahead", symbolised

the rear-vision mirror: by this time, delegates were willing to

admit that lessons could be learned; and immediately after the

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[26]Transilient migration occurs when members of a highly mobile and
skilled labour force move between different countries without
necessarily settling permanently anywhere. A.H. Richmond,
"Migration and Social Change", in H. Roberts (Ed.), Australia's
Immigration Policy (Nedlands, 1972), pp. 29-41.

[27]For example, themes in the period 1956-61: Together We Build (1956):
Tomorrow's Australians (1958); The Way Ahead (1961).

Convention, the Good Neighbour Council delegates gathered for further discussions to review the role of the Movement (pp. 53-56). Their concern over the role they should be playing suggests that their "welcoming hand approach" of the 1950's was now out-of-date.

There was also a trend towards a more analytical understanding of immigration problems, and this could be derived only from detailed surveys and comprehensive research. Certainly the Conventions of the latter 1960's appeared to assume a more academic flavour. In 1962, 1963 and 1965, the Convention members had heard addresses by guest speakers; from 1966, convention papers, written by a number of influential academics, were reintroduced as the bases of discussion. For the first time, in 1970 most of the Convention proceedings were held at the Australian National University and the majority of delegates accommodated in university halls of residence - the shift of venue symbolised the shift in the Convention flavour of the latter 1960's.

What evidence is there in this period 1962-70 of the consolidation of a policy of interactionism? Terminology changes continued to be debated; in 1962, the Prime Minister repeated his point of the year before, that Australians were all "neo-migrants" and that he did not like the "artificial distinctions" between new and old Australians (p. 7). Still three years later, discussion groups were recommending that terms like "new Australian" and "settlers" should be avoided (1965: 40). More importantly, the debate, "assimilation" versus "integration", was steadily turning in favour of the latter term, despite frequent mention by delegates of the term "assimilation".

In a very significant report of the first discussion group in 1962, delegates were of the opinion that "the Australian

character and the Australian culture on which it rested were both

pretty tough walls to breach" (pp. 25-27). Some believed migrants

were not making any substantial cultural contributions as migrants,

but they were being "sucked into the mould, leaving its shape and

design undisturbed". Others, however, did see some change - in

fine arts, food and wine, entertainment, fashions - which was

subtle and occurred without Australians realising its full extent.

The mild and restricted nature of the interaction associated with

the term integration was well summarised in the conclusion of this

group. The whole group nevertheless did agree on "one overwhelming

and wholly satisfactory change" that had occurred in the ideological

field: Australians were now more tolerant and broad-minded than

before the war. They also agreed that Australians should be

encouraged to accept more of the new European influences, and that

any barriers between migrants and Australians should be broken

down. It was admitted, however, that this process should not be

forced, and too much or too rapid an adaptation by Australians

could not be expected.

The next year, Menzies labelled assimilation "this wretched

word" (1963: 6), and a member of the Arts Council proclaimed his

belief that suggestions for compulsory military service were simply

an expression of the desire to forcibly assimilate migrants, and

"this will not work" (1963: 60). Of significance at this time

were the changes in the aims of the Conventions as stated on the

inside covers of the Digests. Each Digest until 1963 stated that

"Australia's most representative Convention" had met annually since

1950 "to assist the assimilation of migrants into the Australian

Community". In 1963, this aim became "to assist the integration of

migrants into the Australian Community", and in 1965, "to assist

the integration of new settlers with the Australian Community".

Similarly, readers before 1963 were informed that the Digest was

distributed to all interested in immigration and was available to

those "whose energy and time is given to the nation's service in

the field of assimilation". In 1963, this was altered to read

"all ... interested in immigration and especially in the vital

field of assimilation", and two years later, "assimilation" was

replaced by "integration".

In 1965, Sir John Allison claimed:

> The use of the term 'assimilation' reflects what I hope is
> an outmoded Australian attitude and I believe it is an
> indication of our growing maturity of mind that we are
> now beginning to talk of 'integration' instead (p. 26).

He appealed to Australians to preserve the best of their traditions

while at the same time adopting the best of what migrants brought to

> create in the Southern Hemisphere a united nation of
> nations with all that is best in European culture and
> traditions - a Europe in the sun, without national
> barriers and with a common citizenship" (1965:   25).

This highly idealised notion of interaction would in his opinion

be "a great exercise in integration, not a one-sided effort at the

assimilation of our settlers" (my italics, 1965:   25).

The discussion groups following this guest speaker arrived

at some interesting conclusions. The majority of one group felt

that the word "integration" (connoting enrichment) was a better word

than "assimilation" (absorption) to describe "the ideal" (1965:   28).

But it was generally felt by other groups that no really vital issue

was at stake on this matter of terminology, that there was, in fact,

the danger "of creating problems of absorption of new settlers where

none in fact [existed]" (1965:   38).

This is another very important turning point. Until now, delegates at Conventions had been very concerned in discussions about terminology. But the recognition of the fact that the really important issues, the practicalities of the situation, were in danger of being blanketed by debates on semantics surely does pinpoint a maturing of Australian opinion. By 1970 in fact, one guest speaker stated that colloquially, "integration" and "assimilation" were interchangeable, and Woodward, in summarising the convention proceedings, could say that concern for integration rather than assimilation was merely "an underlying assumption" in all the previous discussion (pp. 23, 70).

What other indications are there, then, apart from changes in terminology, that Australian attitudes were shifting away from the Anglo-Conformist standpoint? One interesting trend is the increasing number of guest speakers who themselves were migrants, revealing that the migrant viewpoint was considered not only worth hearing, but also worth utilising as a basis for discussion. It is to be noted, too, that whereas in 1959 and 1960 the five migrants involved with convention papers were publicised openly as migrants who migrated from particular countries in particular years, those who wrote papers or spoke as guests in the years after 1961 were not. This was in line with Convention feeling that migrants should not be labelled so as to set them apart from Australians, but should be called by their names - not displayed as window showpieces, but considered, in an interactionist context, as people helping to develop Australia and Australian culture.

The trend towards interactionism manifests itself also in attitude changes on various specific issues. In the early 1950's

opinions were generally against national communities and groups,
Saturday Schools, dual citizenship, and speaking the mother language
in homes or public places. As the climate of opinion underwent
metamorphosis in the next two decades, gradually more positive
expressions crept into discussions on these very same phenomena.
For example, the desire to encourage migrants to become naturalised
as soon as they were eligible in the 1950's was less in evidence in
the early sixties. By 1965, discussion groups were in agreement in
recommending that no pressures of any kind should be applied to
hasten naturalisation, and that the Government should not persist
in requiring migrants to renounce their allegiance to their original
countries. In fact, it was felt that if a number of migrants failed
to be naturalised, it would not matter because the next generation
would "undoubtedly be Australian" (1965:   30-34, 41-43).

It was in the 1960's,too, that favourable attitudes began
to emerge concerning ethnic structures. These were gradually being
recognised as useful buffers for the settling of newcomers and
agents for preserving ethnic cultures. Three such examples are
national societies, Saturday Schools and the ethnic press. One
of the discussion groups of 1962 considered the functions of
national organisations and after debating the advantages and
disadvantages concluded that they were "beneficial" (pp. 27-28).
A delegate believed it was clear from the many comments made
"that national groups were gratefully accepted " (p. 38-9). By
1968, "there was pretty general support for these communities"
(1968:   37). The Good Neighbour Council gathering after the
convention was told that "a more specific and a more rational use
of the various migrant and ethnic groups" would be needed in the

future (1968:   53).   By 1970, there was "very strong recommendation"

not only for more encouragement but also direct assistance to be

given to ethnic groups, since the "intolerant and openly critical"

attitude of the postwar days had now "given way to acceptance and

encouragement of ethnic associations" (pp. 72, 45, 29, 48, 50, 57,

56, 65).

Few references appeared in the 1960's concerning Saturday

Schools but those comments which were made show lukewarm support

for them.   In 1962, some doubt was expressed in discussion groups

as to their value, and as to whether they placed too much stress

on past loyalties to the detriment of new.   But the "consensus of

opinion was that they did have a place and could be of value" (p. 31).

The feeling of discussion groups the next year was that the

Australian school system seemed to be meeting the demands of the

current situation, but that the "youth organisations might do more

by indirect and informal education to hasten the whole process of

integration" (1963:   33).   One delegate noticed this lack of

comment on what migrants themselves did to keep up their ethnic

cultures, and suggested that the Government should support the

teachers in migrant Saturday and Sunday schools (1963:   55).

Discussion on the role of the foreign language press, on

the other hand, was relatively frequent and favourable.   Each year

in the 1960's there appear references to the valuable role it was

playing in publicising Australia overseas, in assisting migrants to

learn Australian customs, in providing a safety-valve in migrants'

own languages through "Letters to the Editor", and in the opportunity

it offered for Australian authorities to get "closer to the migrant"

(1962:   28).   Even though some doubt was expressed in 1965 that the

ethnic press could be doing more in the teaching of English and in

publishing articles to help migrants to interpret fairly events in

Australia, there was also the opinion of another group that "one

of the amazing successes of immigration" had been valuable work by

the foreign-language press, which did not always receive the full

support of Government and people (pp. 36, 42).

Perhaps the most significant indication of an interactionist

orientation, however, are the number and types of educational changes

recommended by Convention members. In place of almost exclusive

attention in the 1950's on the teaching of English to adult

migrants, the emphasis in the 1960's gradually shifted to encompass

migrant children and increasingly also Australian children. Not

only was it a recognition that the Australian public had to be

educated to accept large-scale immigration and to appreciate

migrant cultures, but also that Australian children were actually

to be instructed alongside migrant children in the cultural heritage

of European countries. Discussion groups had endorsed the idea in

1960 (p. 39), though this appeared to have been a rather novel plan

at the time. Groups discussed it again in 1962 (p. 31), suggesting

that more stress ought to be placed on languages, history and

geography, and something of the arts and cultures of European

nations. It was suggested that Australians would be able to "get

closer" to migrants "much more quickly" if they understood the

importance of learning languages, and could really communicate with

migrants at "the conversational level" (1962: 41).

Again the next year, groups thought "integration required

the adoption of measures uniformly applicable to the children" of

both migrant and Australian families (1963: 33). One delegate

believed something could be done to raise the standing of the

migrant child among his peers and at the same time, educate

other school-children, by including the background and cultures

of European countries in social studies curricula, particularly

at the primary school level (1963:   50). In 1965, the opinion

was expressed that the learning of English should not be acquired

at the expense of eliminating the knowledge of the parents' native

language. If more European content could be included in school

curricula, then Australia would be able to promise prospective

migrants that their children could have the opportunity to

cultivate their own traditions and language (1965:   26). The

plea was repeated in 1966 (p. 52), in 1968 (pp. 42, 44), and in

1970 (p. 52). One of the last points mentioned in summary of

convention discussion was the emphasis in integration, not on

trying to persuade migrants to forget where they came from, but

on making them feel proud of their heritage (1970:   72). It is

important to note that repeated pleas on the subject of the teaching

of ethnic cultures by individual speakers at these conventions

showed that very little notice was being taken of such views.

Hence the need for continual repetition and re-statement.

By this time, other educational changes were being

suggested. Two group chairmen drew attention to the injustice of

streaming migrant children on the basis of tests in the English

language before they had become acclimatised to their new country

and proficient in that language (1970:   52, 53). One group also

recommended that all trainee teachers should be given courses in

sociology so that they would be able to understand more deeply the

problems affecting students in an evolving society, and particularly

those affecting migrant children (p. 52).

Another change was the attitude towards research on migrant youth. The Director General of Education in New South Wales stated in his address in 1963:

> So far as my own State is concerned - and I think that this is true of most other states - we deliberately refrain from collecting any statistics in regard to school pupils from overseas. Once they are enrolled in school they are, from our point of view, Australian children (p. 21).

He believed that this refusal to identify a segment of the school population as "migrant" was deliberate and correct.

Yet he could only "suspect", because of the lack of "reliable statistics", that the migrant component of school enrolments decreased rapidly at the senior levels and could only "gain an impression" of the incidence of migrant students on school rolls! (1963: 19-21). Tully in the same year referred to the lack of any studies on national clubs in Australia, suggesting it would be useful to have such studies (1963: 31). By 1965, the Good Neighbour Council of Victoria was undertaking "a close study of migrant youth" in that State (1965: 19). The Minister for Immigration announced three years later "a full scale review of migrant education " (1968: 16). One of the authors of the convention papers in that year was able to state that migrants as a group were above-average in scholarship because this had been "well documented" at secondary school level; he could still, however, give only "a firm impression" of the situation at tertiary level because he knew of "no relevant statistics" (1968: 30). Again, in 1970 in one of the theme addresses, the paucity of research available was pointed out, although the author was able to say that individual differences in school children were being increasingly recognised, and methods of teaching and testing were becoming better suited to cope with these

differences (pp. 17, 21). The need for more research was heavily stressed by discussion groups and in the summary of the discussion (1970: 50, 52, 70, 71).

Policy and Practice

Perusal of Australian Citizenship Convention Digests over the period 1950-1970 suggests a gradual change in orientation from a climate of Anglo-conformism to one of limited interactionism or integration. Jupp wrote in 1966, "The pressure to assimilate is probably not as great in Australia as it was",[28] and in 1968 Rooth continued:

> It does appear that during the past twenty years Australians have changed their attitudes in favour of foreigners.[29]

Again, Taft four years later (1972) claimed

> ... public opinion seems to be undergoing a change, and it is the writer's impression that an interactionist orientation is the prevailing one today. That is, it is now considered, in official circles, that it is better not to attempt to pressurise immigrants to become Australians at too fast a rate.[30]

From recent publications and from the press, any number of such statements can be extracted, enough to suggest, despite their very impressionistic character, that strongly assimilationist

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[28] J. Jupp, Arrivals and Departures (Melbourne, 1966), p. 145.

[29] S.J. Rooth, "Participation in Community Life by the European Migrant", a paper prepared for the Australian Council of Social Services Annual Conference (May 1968), pp. 23, 25.

[30] R. Taft, "Ethnic Groups", in F.J. Hunt (Ed.), Socialisation in Australia (Sydney, 1972), p. 83.

attitudes are probably now not so prevalent nor so vehemently

expressed as they were a generation ago. The few isolated

segments of "opinion-research" available since World War II lend

further evidence to the shift in attitude. Gallup Polls in the

fifties and sixties generally have indicated an increase in the

numbers of Australians who thought that the immigration target at

that time should at least be maintained. In their summary of the

Melbourne findings of Oeser and Hammond (1948) and Huck (1964),

Richardson and Taft concluded that

> it is probable that there has been a general increase in
> positive attitudes towards immigrants since 1948,

and that "this tentative conclusion" is supported to some extent

by their own results in Perth (1960 and 1966).[31] A study under-

taken by the author in conjunction with J.J. Smolicz on the

attitudes of 369 Adelaide University students of non-migrant

origin to ethnics, and their languages, cultures and structures,

confirmed the change towards interactionism. Over 80% of the

Anglo-Australian students were in favour in principle of the idea

of cultural interactionism, rather than Anglo-conformism or cultural

pluralism of the ethnocentric type, and of cultural interpenetration

of ethnic cultures and the Australian (Anglo-Saxon) core culture.

The great majority of students also believed that the Australian

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[31]A. Richardson and R. Taft, "Australian Attitudes Towards
Immigrants: A Review of Social Survey Findings", International
Migration Review, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1968), pp. 49-50.

way of life was being affected at least "to some extent".[32]

With this shift in orientation towards interactionism, a number of policy initiatives in various aspects of life, particularly education, could be expected. For instance, espousal of an interactionist policy indicates concern for the preservation of ethnic languages and cultures, for quite obviously, these must be maintained long enough to ensure that the Anglo-Australian core culture has something with which to interact. Thus the multilinguistic and multicultural policies of some schools (such as Kilkenny Primary School and Brunswick Girls' High School) and the migrant studies courses at several tertiary education institutions (such as Adelaide College of Advanced Education and La Trobe University) are the first stirrings in the educational sphere.[33] That there has been a demand for such courses at the tertiary level of education was evidenced in late 1972 when, in reply to an advertisement distributed nationally concerning a prospective diploma course in migrant education in New South Wales, 700 inquiries were

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[32]Three per cent thought "very much", 30% "quite considerably", 49% "to some extent", 17% "only a very little" and only 1% "not at all". All the students in the sample of 369 were born in Australia of Australian-born parents. The subjects were obtained by means of quota sampling; quotas for each faculty at The University of Adelaide were determined from available data and arranged so that, for the whole institution, faculties were represented in the sample in the correct proportions. For a brief report of this study, see R.McL. Harris and J.J. Smolicz, "Anglo-Australian Views of Ethnics", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1976), pp. 148-151.

[33]On Kilkenny, see The Advertiser, 3 April, 1973; on Brunswick, see reference by A. Grassby, A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future, Immigration Reference Paper (August 1973); and on La Trobe University see The Age, 5 December, 1972 and L.F. Claydon, Renewing Urban Teaching (Cambridge, 1973).

received. After expecting an enrolment of 32, the Armidale Teachers'

College had to revise its programme to make provision for more than

100 students in its external diploma which began in February 1973,

the first time a professional qualification in migrant education had

been offered in Australia.[34]

At the governmental level, a few spokesmen in the last few

years have referred to the need for respect of ethnic languages and

cultures. In particular, some of the pronouncements of a former

Minister for Immigration, A. Grassby, had almost a cultural

pluralistic tone:

> I wanted older established Australians to realise that
> the social and cultural rights of immigrant Australians
> were just as compelling as their own rights. Until we
> all grasp that point, the concept of The Family of
> Nations is going to remain more of an ideal than
> reality.[35]

In August 1973, Grassby announced he was considering the

introduction of a series of integration fellowships for teachers in

countries from which Australia received immigrants. The plan was to

invite to Australia bilingual teachers who could teach the language

and culture of their country to Australian and migrant children.[36]

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[34] Sydney Morning Herald, 23 May, 1973.

[35] The Australian, 15 June, 1974.

[36] Sydney Morning Herald, 31 August, 1973. In January 1974, Grassby
left for Italy on the first stage of his recruiting campaign, and
having come to an agreement with Italian authorities on the exchange
of teachers, announced that the programme could begin by the next
January. The Canberra Times, 5 January, 1974 and The Australian,
28 January, 1974. This scheme greatly depended on the recommenda-
tions of the Commonwealth Government Committee on Professional
Qualifications which included recognition by Australian educational
authorities of overseas teaching awards held by teachers from a
number of countries, including the Scandinavian nations, the
Netherlands, Italy, Yugoslavia, the Philippines and Brazil.
The Age, 19 July, 1972.

Early in May 1974, a national ethnic heritage programme, which would co-ordinate the efforts of 8 Federal Government departments, cover new projects in preschools and schools dealing with migrant children and assist the 2,300 ethnic organisations in Australia, was announced by the then Minister for Immigration.[37] Three months later, the Federal Minister for Education officially approved the formation of a committee to inquire into the teaching of foreign languages in Australian schools and to seek the extension of the teaching of migrant groups' languages. His view was that:

> the Australian community needs to be jolted and educated out of its Anglo-Saxon narrowness and self-satisfaction - and access to another language and another way of thought possessed by many citizens would help.[38]

Another interesting development has been the presentation of grants to leading migrant figures to assist them in their work, often on ethnic groups themselves. A March 1974 issue of Kultura, for instance, carried a reference to several Poles in Australia who had received such grants: Andrzej Chciuk (a yearly allowance of $6,000); Mrs. Harding, who is writing her third book under the maiden surname of her mother, Zofia Kruk ($2,000); J.J. Smolicz ($6,000); Lech Paszkowski, and W. Placek ($2,000).[39]

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[37] The Australian, 9 May, 1974.

[38] Sydney Morning Herald, 30 August, 1974.

[39] Number 3/318 (March 1974).

Beyond some grand pronouncements and a few halting moves, however, not very much has changed towards recognition of ethnicity as a positive attribute.[40] Alterations in policy and practice have tended to lag behind the gradual shift in opinion. The "fever of ethnicity"[41] is nowhere near as advanced as it is, for example, in North America. The flood of non-British European migration to Australia did not come until 50 years after the American "New Immigration". Nor has the Aboriginal rights movement yet been anywhere near as consolidated as the Negro response.

The Australian education system can be said to be an Anglo-conformist sieve[42] in that it has made scanty allowance for linguistic and cultural differences among the school population. One teacher of Italian origin wrote in a letter to the editor of the South Australian Teachers' Journal:

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[40]The virtual non-recognition of ethnicity as a positive entity has just begun to rouse ethnic groups themselves in defence of the right to preserve their ethnic languages, cultures and structures. For examples, see R.McL. Harris, "The Rediscovery of Ethnicity - Its Sociological and Educational Significance", Dialogue, Vol. 9, No. 1 (May 1975), pp. 50-65. See also D. Storer (Ed.), Ethnic Rights, Power and Participation (Melbourne, 1975). In the United States of America, the trend towards greater "concern with their ethnic integrity and recognition of its worth" has been most evident among Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews and Italians, with little activity from the Polish, German and Irish groups. J.A. Morsell, "Ethnic Relations of the Future", Annals of the American Academy, Vol. 408 (1973), p. 85. T. Radzialowski, however, claims that the awakening of Black pride and interest in Black history led to a reawakening in the Polish community around 1969, particularly in a number of Detroit areas, and that this Polish revival was strengthened by the cultural upsurge in Poland during the 1960's. "The View from a Polish Ghetto", Ethnicity, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1974), p. 147.

[41]The phrase is borrowed from R. Alter, "A Fever of Ethnicity", Commentary, Vol. 53, No. 6 (June 1972), pp. 68-73. For a summary of some of the literature on this fever, see Harris, op. cit.

[42]For such an interpretation of the Australian education system, see J.J. Smolicz, "Is the Australian School an Assimilationist Agency?", Education News, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1971), pp. 4-8.

> As a child from a different ethnic group, I have been
> forced to accept the cultural heritage of this country
> at the expense of having had to abandon my Italian
> heritage... As a teacher I see children of different
> ethnic groups forced to accept only one way of life
> and being prevented from becoming more universal
> individuals.[43]

The implication behind this statement is that the process of becoming a "good" Australian was one of cultural abstraction: one could not become a plain, unhyphenated Australian unless one lost the will and the ability to communicate in the ethnic tongue and to participate in ethnic customs. The humanities and social science courses in schools have traditionally been heavily Anglo-Saxon oriented. While the student has learnt about the deeds of British governors in Australian colonies, the glory of the British Empire and perhaps a little about South Asia (because the British were once in India and Malaya), how little emphasis has been placed upon Leichhardt and Strzelecki, the Polish Commonwealth in the 16th and 17th centuries or the modern histories of Greece and Italy! Similarly, the non-recognition of ethnic languages in the Australian school has resulted in the native tongues of migrant schoolchildren degenerating into "kitchen languages".

One effect of this cultural and linguistic uniformity is gradually to whitewash the migrant youth of any cultural uniqueness: either he conforms to the prevailing Anglo-Australian standard or he becomes an isolate. A Greek-born teacher cites an example of her experience in such a dilemma:

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[43] 11 September, 1974.

When I first went to primary school, there was no
recognition of cultural differences. I had some terrible
traumatic experiences. One day my mother packed some
Greek cakes in my lunch and my teacher made me throw
them in the bin. It happened twice. I was very upset,
but I could not explain, and my mother could not explain
because she could not speak English that Greek cakes
were different to Australian cakes.[44]

A further effect of cultural and linguistic uniformity is
to force the migrant child to seek comfort and identity in a group
of ethnic peers. One practice in the secondary school, for example,
which has formally accentuated this ethnic fragmentation is selection
for stream placement, which has been achieved in the past predomin-
antly by means of the IQ type of test. Studies have shown how
disproportionately large numbers of migrant, particularly Southern
European, children are shepherded into low stream classes[45] because
of linguistic difficulties in handling the tests. It is in this way
that such school practices lead to consequences which, ironically,
are exactly what Anglo-conformists do not want to happen - migrant
concentration and exclusive ethnic friendships.

The term "migrant education" is still officially conceived,
as it was in the 1950's, as being synonymous with "teaching English
to migrants". It appeared as a heading in Australian Citizenship
Convention resolutions for the first time in 1953 and again in 1954.
Prima facie, it seemed a novel addition, particularly since any
heading referring directly to the teaching of English, such as

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[44] The Advertiser, 3 April, 1973.

[45] See J.J. Smolicz and R. Wiseman, "European Migrants and Their
Children", Quarterly Review of Australian Education, Vol. 4,
No. 2 (June 1971), p. 19.

"English Language" (1951) or "Learning English" (1952), did not appear in resolutions after 1952. Upon closer examination, however, it becomes apparent that "migrant education" meant exactly the same thing.

The initiatives in the Child Migrant Education Programme announced in April 1970, and those announced in July 1974,[46] have been also concerned solely with the teaching of English to migrant children. The worthy advances made in this aspect of the programme were outlined in a published Immigration Reference Paper entitled Integration: A Task For All Australians, yet at the same time it is to be noted that no reference was made to the other side of the "interactionist coin": the teaching of matters ethnic, both to migrants and Australians. "Migrant Education" was viewed by the author as merely instruction in the English language and in aspects of life in Australia:

> I would emphasise that, while English language instruction forms the major part of migrant education courses, there is increasing emphasis on the need to introduce more material designed to give the migrant a better knowledge of life in Australia and the rights and responsibilities of Australian citizenship.[47]

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[46] 1970: the Department of Immigration was to pay for the salaries of special teachers, for the purchase of equipment and materials and for teacher training, while the Federal Department of Education was to provide advice on technical and educational aspects of the migrant education programme. Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates, 23 April, 1970. 1974: the Minister for Education announced publication of the first section (for 8-12 year olds) of an Australian-developed course of teaching and learning materials to be used with migrant children learning English. Media Release, "New Materials to Help Migrant Children Learn English", 9 July, 1974.

[47] R.E. Armstrong, Integration: A Task For All Australians, Immigration Reference Paper (1973), p. 5.

Analysis of the above documentary evidence, whether from newspapers, Citizenship Convention Digests, books, surveys of opinion or addresses, reveals a certain confusion over the actual meaning of concepts used to describe "the Australian view" towards European immigrants. It is this lack of understanding of the concepts and their practical implications which has contributed to the tendency for policy and practice to lag behind public opinion.

Theoretically, Australian policy to European immigrants and their children can be based on one of three orientations.[48] Traditionally, these are defined as:

(1) Anglo-conformism or monism (which proclaims the pre-eminence of the Anglo-Saxon core culture and particularly of the English language and asserts that newcomers must forget their old customs, values and languages);

(2) interactionism (which favours sufficient interaction between native born and immigrants for each to influence the other); and

(3) cultural pluralism (which can be interpreted as permission for ethnic groups to continue their own communal life and preserve their own unique cultural heritage and language).

The first and third orientations are relatively clear: Anglo-conformism admits no possibility of a long-term linguistic

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[48] C.A. Price (Ed.), Australian Immigration (Canberra, 1966), pp. A3-A4. See also M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York, 1964), pp. 84-159.

or cultural rival, while cultural pluralism presupposes that more than one way of life and more than one group linguistic system can coexist more or less independently of each other within the same political framework. It is the second orientation of interactionism which is, from the evidence documented in this chapter, the least understood.

Interactionism can be interpreted as two (or more) ways of life, cultures, languages or traditions gradually approaching each other and getting more alike as each acquires some elements of the other as a result of more or less intensive sharing and interchange. These interacting cultures could be viewed as being in a state of dynamic equilibrium with only a very distant and problematic prospect of an eventual fusion of the reacting entities into one homogeneous cultural system. The process of convergence and mutual adaptation could also be viewed, on the other hand, as only a brief transitional stage towards a final synthesis of the different cultural strands into one meaningful unity. The emphasis of each is quite different: the first approaches the concept of cultural pluralism (except that the latter does not necessarily envisage any interaction and excludes the possibility of eventual union); the second interpretation assumes that cultural diversity is only temporary and takes as its ideal a monistic solution, with one single system eventually incorporating elements derived from a number of contributing systems.[49]

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[49] For a more detailed analysis, see J.J. Smolicz and R.McL. Harris, "Ethnic Languages and Immigrant Youth" in M. Clyne (Ed.), Australia Talks: essays on the sociology of European and Aboriginal languages in Australia, Canberra, Pacific Linguistics, (1977: in press).

It is important to realise, however, that this second view does not take account of the fact that some elements of culture, notably language, are not amenable to easy amalgamation. In such instances, a dual-system type of arrangement is formed through the co-existence within the individual of a twin system of cultural values; its two linguistic components are then activated by him in different cultural and social settings. Unless the formation of some kind of English-ethnic _patois_ or jargon is envisaged,[50] in the present generation of immigrants at least, the linguistic interactionist solution can only take a dynamic equilibrium, rather than a synthesis or "melting pot", form.

Smolicz[51] has drawn a useful distinction between the two concepts in suggesting that integration, as it is commonly interpreted, differs fundamentally from interaction in at least two ways. Firstly, it makes allowance for the retention of only certain aspects of ethnic ways, mainly for the internal use of ethnics taken as individuals rather than as more or less cohesive groups. Secondly, it envisages only scant provision for the

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[50]This outcome has been examined by such authors as Clyne, Forsyth and Rando, each of whom deplores the "interference" between languages. M. Clyne writes: "It would be to the advantage of migrant children if they were made aware of these ... forms of interference between the two languages and taught to avoid them." "The Maintenance of Bilingualism", Australian Journal of Education, Vol. 12, No. 2 (June 1968), pp. 125-130. E.C. Forsyth, "Bilingualism in Australian Migrant Communities", Quaderni (Melbourne, 1971), pp. 145-151. G. Rando, "The Influence of Australian English on Italian Spoken by Sicilian Migrants in Perth", Quaderni (Melbourne, 1971), pp. 171-176.

[51]"Ethnic Cultures in Australian Society: A Question of Cultural Interaction", Melbourne Studies in Education (Melbourne, 1976), p. 43.

percolation of ethnic cultural and structural patterns to influence

dominant and established Anglo-Australian usages and organisations.

Fundamental to the concept of interaction, on the other hand, is

the process of two-way interchange between Anglo-Australians and

ethnic-Australians, particularly in the cultural and structural

aspects of life.

Fruitful interpenetration of cultures cannot occur without

the perpetuation of the interacting elements - that is, interaction

is impossible without the continued persistence of cultural pluralism

in Australian society. It was the central theme of Gordon's

Assimilation in American Life that there could be no preservation

of ethnic cultures without ethnic structural-organisational

support.[52]

Findings from the study on Anglo-Australian students at

Adelaide University,[53] however, suggest that even the better-

educated Australian view is inclined to interpret the meaning of

the term interaction in a very limited way.

As far as retention of ethnic life styles is concerned, a

clear majority (73%) favoured the perpetuation of ethnic traditions.

In the linguistic sphere, again a substantial majority (67%) were

for the teaching of ethnic languages to ethnic children in the

family milieu, but less than half (43%) were for the retention of

such languages at the group level. Only a third (32%) of the

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[52] Op. cit., p. 158.

[53] Harris and Smolicz, op. cit.

respondents favoured the preservation of ethnic structures such as clubs and organisations. In fact, over two-fifths of the students who had been in favour of ethnic children learning their parents' native language at home stated that they were against ethnic groups maintaining their languages. It is this tolerance of cultural differences at the personal level, and the corresponding mistrust of them at the formal group level, which underlines the Australian fear of structural pluralism in relation to ethnic groups. Such fear does not augur well for the prospects of cultural pluralism in Australia. Although 82% of the students were for cultural interpenetration and 84% for cultural interaction of the synthesis-type, how they envisaged that interpenetration could occur without the preservation of ethnic structures and the transmission of ethnic languages and cultures to the second generation of immigrants remains a mystery, and shows how facile such "interactionist" sentiments can be.

This conclusion was reinforced by the fact that as many as three quarters of the students declared that they had been affected personally only "a little" or "not at all" by ethnic cultures. In fact, one fifth of them claimed to have been completely unaffected by the process of cultural interaction. In contrast, only one twentieth of the sample asserted that they had been influenced "very much". It is very significant, too, that the area of life in which these tertiary students considered themselves to be the most influenced personally by ethnic cultures was the non-ideational one of food and drink (61%). These items are the most readily transferable across cultural boundaries. On the other hand, only 17% claimed to have been affected by the values associated with the extended family

structures as found among some of the ethnic groups; similarly, greater appreciation of, and participation in, various forms of social life was rated by only 15% of the students.

Thus the large proportions of Australians in surveys who claim to uphold the interactionist standpoint now appear in a new light. It appears that, for the majority of supporters, the interaction in question is still very one-sided and not very different from the anaemic concept of integration, which so frequently carried with it the implicit assumption that any future Australian cultural synthesis would derive its ancestry overwhelmingly from Anglo-Saxon sources.

However, the results of this Adelaide study, while suggesting that the prerequisites for interaction are not yet fully satisfied, do reveal a considerable change in climate from that of the 1950's. A significant proportion of respondents favoured both interaction and ethnic perpetuation. The amount of hostile or negative evaluation of ethnics and their cultures was, in fact, very small. Furthermore, a significant minority held positive attitudes towards the idea of studying ethnic languages and cultures at school (50%), towards marrying someone of a different ethnic background from their own (49%), towards the children of immigrants being brought up equally ethnic and Australian (39%), and towards the maintenance of ethnic languages at the group level (43%). The existence of such trends among the more highly educated sections of the Anglo-Australian community are not to be underestimated. With greater political, educational and financial support at the official level for the concept of a viable two-way interaction, these trends in time may be able to

be translated into action to create a gradually evolving "new"
Australian tradition.[54]

The contention in this chapter has been that an appreciation
of the climate of opinion in Australia towards European immigrants
and their offspring is essential in order to understand the dual
socialisation to which the second generation immigrant has been
exposed in growing up in this country. It has been argued that
while changes in policy and practice have been only spasmodic,
the overall climate has undergone a gradual and, in many ways, a
very subtle shift from Anglo-conformism (complete assimilation)
to interactionism and, by implication, to a greater appreciation
of the importance of ethnicity - retention (at least certain
aspects of it).

In particular, Australians have generally looked with favour
upon the presence of Poles in Australia[55] ever since their first
group settlement in the Sevenhill area of South Australia 130 years
ago. Sympathy for Poles who had a "spirit of democracy" but not an
independent homeland had constituted the essence of this favourable

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[54] Smolicz, op. cit., p. 44. See also by the same author, "The
Concept of Tradition", Australian and New Zealand Journal of
Sociology, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1974), pp. 75-83.

[55] Cf. the position of Poles in the United States of America.
Greeley writes that "the Poles are still underdogs in the United
States and no-one seems to care very much... Poles are the last
available scapegoat in American society... [They] are appropriate
targets for humour... American social research has pretended that
the Poles do not exist. One searches in vain in the half century
since the Polish Peasant in Europe and America for any discussion
of the subject". A.M. Greeley, "Editorial", Ethnicity, Vol. 1,
No. 2 (July 1974), pp. 109-110.

climate of opinion before 1918. This was further accentuated after 1945, however, by a number of more specific factors - the allied status of Poles, the excellent war record of many of them, and the fact that, having suffered the longest displacement of all the nationalities before migration to Australia, their experiences of insecurity and instability were unsurpassed. This chapter, then, concludes with two very significant factors to keep in mind in an intergenerational study of Poles in the postwar period; firstly, the experiences of insecurity and instability of the Polish first generation before migration to Australia; the secondly, the traditionally favourable climate of opinion within Australia towards the presence of Polish immigrants.

CHAPTER 5

THE POLISH VIEW

"If you cannot prevent your neighbours from swallowing
you, you can at least secure that they will not succeed
in digesting you."

(Rousseau)

While "the Australian view" is a significant consideration
in understanding the process of socialisation of second generation
children of Polish parentage, it is also fundamentally important to
consider "the Polish view" towards the upbringing of the children
in their "two worlds" situation.[1] Such an understanding is most
appropriately attained through examination of the opinion of Polish
organisational leaders and the initiatives undertaken by the first
generation in the area of formal and informal education.[2] It is
also achieved through investigation of the climate of "Polish values"
structured by societies and individuals of the second generation
itself, such as youth clubs, scouts and dancing groups. Even these,
however, often remained under the influence of first generation
leaders.

The delegates of the Federal Council of Polish Organisations
in Australia at their first national meeting in January 1950 were

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[1] Most of the information contained in this chapter was obtained from
original sources in the possession of Polish organisations (some of
which are now virtually defunct) and individuals. It was also
considered important, therefore, to study this material because
of the danger of its probable extinction.

[2] Analysis of the opinions (as reported by the second generation)
of the parental samples in this study occurs in subsequent chapters
of this thesis.

certainly under no illusions as to the strength of assimilationist

tendencies on the part of the host society:

> Independent of political leaning, the policy of the
> Australian authorities is that new arrivals become
> soaked into the Australian terrain as soon as possible.
> They were expected to forget their home country as quickly
> as possible, and to become Australians as soon as possible[3]
> without any national ambitions other than Australian ones.

They were fully aware that their organisational activity would be

looked upon by Australian authorities "with an unfavourable eye".

It was therefore suggested that, in setting up organisations for

the preservation of Polish culture, the more unobtrusive the names

they gave to these organisations the more acceptable they would be

to Australians. There was certainly never any doubt about the

establishment of ethnic clubs. For while declaring complete loyalty

to Australia and even a readiness to defend its freedom and democracy,

they maintained that:

> We feel ourselves to be Poles, we wish to remain Poles, and
> we will remain Poles till our death, irrespective of what
> sort of attitude the Australian authorities take in this
> matter.[4]

With preservation of Polish culture and Polish identity as their

main concern, Polish organisational leaders naturally looked to the

upbringing of the next generation. It was at this first meeting of

Polish leaders that Zongolowicz drew attention to what he considered

to be the two main problems concerning Polish youth: (1) the "for-

getting" of the Polish language, and (2) the dangers of too much

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[3] Protokoly ze Zjazdow Delegatow Rady Naczelnej Polskich Organizacji w Australii (Minutes of the Congress of the Federal Council of Polish Organisations in Australia), 6-7 January, 1950, p. 11.

[4] Ibid.

alcohol! The first expression of concern, at least, found its more
permanent embodiment in the formation of the Education Commission
by the Federal Council in June 1950, and in the statement, "Concern
for the fortunes of Polish youth, its upbringing and education",
written into the aims (one of 7) of the official Constitution of
the Polish Federal Council itself.[5] The Education Commission,
under the directorship of first Naklicki, and then Zakrzewski, was
to formulate a programme of courses for adults and children, corres-
pondence courses and public lectures on Poland, and to create a fund
to raise finance for its activities.

At the second convention (1951), which was represented by
delegates from 17 Polish organisations, the main subject of debate
was "the cultural and material welfare of the Polish community in
Australia". The hope was expressed that "while preserving national
cultural attainments, Poles will contribute to the development of
this country".[6] The appearance in the ethnic press of 1951 of at
least two articles revealing grave concern at the indoctrination of
youth in Poland by their Communist leaders was also significant.
Just as the Communist environment in Poland was considered an
undesirable influence in the upbringing of Polish youth there in

[5]Protokoly, op. cit., 26-27 March, 1951, appendix pages.

[6]Wiadomosci Polskie, 7 April, 1951. Wiadomosci Polskie (Polish
News, Sydney) and Tygodnik Katolicki (Polish Catholic Weekly,
Melbourne) are the two main Polish newspapers published in
Australia. From January 1965, the latter changed its name to
Tygodnik Polski (Polish Weekly). For further information, see
M. Gilson and J. Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia,
1848-1964 (Canberra, 1967), pp. 25-31, 56, 93-123.

the true Polish tradition, so too was the assimilationist

environment in Australia seen as an impediment in the raising of

their own Polish youth in this country.

One of the most significant reports presented at the third

meeting of the Polish Federal Council in February 1952 was that of

the Education Commission which had been inaugurated in June 1950.

The Commission believed it should concentrate its efforts in the

following year on week-end and correspondence schooling for Polish

youth.

> We know that our youth is growing up in significantly
> harder circumstances than its Australian peers. It grows
> up not uncommonly in an atmosphere of bilingualism and
> bispiritualism. The parents live on memories of the old
> country (Kraj), the children on the other hand are full
> of Australian life, knowing very little or absolutely
> nothing about their ancestral country (Kraj ojczysty).
> Because of this reason, therefore, an inferiority complex
> often arises among them. We must exert ourselves so that
> the children will come to feel proud of their Polish
> descent. We must create a Polish cultural atmosphere
> for them so that they may come to know the beauty of the
> ancestral language, literature, and national traditions.[7]

At the same time, however, the Commission saw such efforts as

complementary to those of the Australian educational authorities.

> Polish children should attend their local Australian schools
> and learn the English language fluently so that they might
> in time, as the Prime Minister Mr. Menzies has said, take
> up even the most important positions in Australia. We
> should give them only that which the Australian school
> cannot give them.[8]

Such views provide the early evidence of the first generation

leaders on the need for interactionism, and demonstrate that their

standpoint was far removed from one of introverted ethnocentrism.

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[7] Protokoly, op. cit., 9-10 February, 1952, p. 13.

[8] Ibid.

Within a few years of arrival in Australia, the natural
fervour with which Polish leaders had initially established
organisations within their ethnic communities was beginning to be
stunted by the realities of the situation. Although Department of
Immigration figures showed approximately 60,000 Poles in Australia,
the Federal Council's estimation of those who actually displayed
interest in Polish organisational life accounted for barely 5,000
(approximately 8%). Several reasons for this low figure can be
elicited from the minutes of the third meeting.[9]

(1) Disillusionment with all organisations because of
experiences in Germany;

(2) Divisions among young Polish organisations in Australia;

(3) Unjustified criticism of present organisations by people
who themselves were not creatively endowed and who dis-
couraged the general mass through their negative attitudes
and polemics;

(4) The growth of materialism and pursuit of money among the
refugee population;

(5) The considerable distances between small Polish community
groups and those centres which already had organisations;

(6) Lack of advertising and practical effort on the part of
social organisations in particular localities, which was
explained to some degree by a lack of funds for journeys
and the lack of time of organisational leaders; and

(7) The small participation of youth, particularly the
university students. in Polish social life.

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[9] Ibid., p. 17.

This last reason is particularly significant, revealing the traditional respect for university education on the part of the older Poles, and the serious lack of such university educated people in Australia (see Chapters 2 and 3) as natural leaders of this refugee migrant population. Hence the blame, or at least a part of it, laid on those few Polish university students, at the same time, paradoxically, as Polish leaders were very proud of these students and followed their educational progress with intense interest.[10]

The means of overcoming the dearth of organisational activity were to raise the level of the Polish press to gain as wide a readership as possible, to calculate exact statistics about the scattered Polish communities, and to publicise names of leaders with whom Polish people could begin to work in organisational matters. It was also considered that appropriate authorities should set up transport and building cooperatives, business organisations, restaurants, coffee lounges and other such establishments in order to increase the attractiveness of Polish organisations.

While the Federal Council was concerned with ways and means of increasing organisational activity within the Polish population, other leaders, notably in the ethnic press, were continuing to publicise not only to Poles but also to Australians the goals of the ethnic community.

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[10] The Editor of Tygodnik Katolicki (Father K.E. Trzeciak) believed that the Commission should disseminate statistics on education, in particular, on numbers of Polish students in tertiary education institutions. He claimed that there were 30 Polish students at Adelaide University, and considered it would be very interesting and useful to know corresponding numbers at other educational institutions in Australia. Ibid., p. 14.

"We have a mission to accomplish", proclaimed the Editor of

Wiadomosci Polskie early in 1952,

> We must break down and clear away all friction and mistrust
> which may arise between our hosts and people in this
> difficult period of settlement. We shall thus try to
> provide a background against which our readers will see
> us clearly and with understanding.

Appealing in English to Australian readers to send in criticisms,

suggestions and contributions, he continued:

> There are many ways in which we can enrich each other
> spiritually and promote understanding: let us link arms
> and explore them together.[11]

Late in 1951, the issue of excessive publicity of immigrants

involved in crime raised the ire of one Polish writer to Wiadomosci

Polskie, who felt that this "unfair deal Australia is handing out to

the new settlers" was not simply confined to newspapers but occurred

frequently "in everyday conversation of some Australians who have

made new Australians the butt for a wave of belittling jokes".[12]

Six months later, an "old" Australian and a "Naussie"

(New Australian) each wrote to the Polish press deploring a particular

judge's remarks on migrants. The old Australian commented:

> New Australians, who have been bombarded with articles
> on the necessity of assimilation and their adaptation to
> the Australian democratic way of life, are certainly not
> being encouraged by such remarks ... It is becoming more
> apparent that many of our migrants are in a better position
> to teach us than we to teach them. We benefit much from
> their culture, initiative, industriousness and good manners.[13]

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[11] 26 January, 1952.

[12] 24 December, 1951.

[13] 21 June, 1952.

Allegations by an Australian Workers Union organiser in the Australian press in August 1952, accusing Polish migrants of a "Hate Australia Campaign", were hotly refuted in a letter from Polish organisations to Evatt and in the Polish press. Signatories claimed that such statements were doing "untold harm to the good relations between Old and New Australians' and also reflected on "the good name and reputation of Polish migrants generally".[14]

Despite these issues which occasionally hit the press headlines at this time, delegates to the 1952 conference of the Federal Council generally believed that there was by then an easing of Polish-Australian relations, and that the dogmatic attitudes towards the assimilation of migrants had softened.

At the fourth annual conference of the Federal Council of Polish Organisations, a representative of Polish youth in Melbourne drew attention to the fundamental differences in psychology and attitudes of the young and old within the Polish population. In the name of the older Poles, K. Zakrzewski stressed his strong belief that

> despite the understandable differences of approach to the great issues of the moment, particularly politico-ideological ones, between the young and the old, a greater mutual understanding and cooperation for the good of the Polish cause and the raising of the cultural and ethical level of the refugee community will develop harmoniously with two-sided goodwill.[15]

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[14] The Polish Bulletin, No. 12/13 (August/September 1952), No. 14, (October 1952) and No. 15/16 (November/December 1952. See also Wiadomosci Polskie, 6 September, 13 September and 1 November, 1952.

[15] Wiadomosci Polskie, 11 January, 1953.

By 1956 a marked change had come about in the nature and character of Polish organisations since the late 1940's. The early leaders were often those from England, France, or China, who found it difficult to agree among themselves because of their different Polish-English, Polish-French or Polish-Chinese approaches to Polish-Australian problems in community organisation. The majority of the Poles from Germany and Austria did not have the opportunity at that time to participate in community life as they were fulfilling their work contracts under bond, often in the more remote areas of the country.

After the contract period, Polish families were intent on establishing themselves and building homes, and by the mid 1950's, were beginning to rest from this activity and to search for places to meet and talk with old companions. The next period of building, therefore, entailed the establishment, not of Polish family homes but of Polish community centres ("nie Polskich domkow, lecz Domow Polskich").[16] The period 1956-60, then, was a new era in the formation of many community organisations and in the increasing numbers of participants in them. Into community life came the Poles who had had to undergo work contracts, and the character of these associations, both formal and informal, changed markedly; for example, it was noted that the composition of the 1956 conference of the Federal Council was of a different character than previous years, the delegates being more representative of the Polish "masses" and not simply a small percentage of socially active leaders.[17]

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[16] Wiadomosci Polskie, 14 October, 1956.

[17] Ibid.

The Editor of _Wiadomosci Polskie_ emphasised that there would soon begin another era of building which would involve the formation of Old People's Homes, for the old people's loneliness as a result of lack of family was greatly compounded by the loneliness of the foreign environment. It was the Editor's conclusion, however, that still the greatest concern of the Federal Council was the youth.[18]

One excellent article in the 3 June, 1956, issue of _Wiadomosci Polskie_ by J. Dunin-Karwicki gives a very good picture, rather than a string of platitudes, of what was actually happening to the Polish young. His reflections on the ethnicity of the children were occasioned by the 3 May celebrations, during which he observed their accent in speaking the Polish language, their conversation in the English language and the lack of older youth present. Karwicki lays the blame on the parents and the ethnic school:

> We came away with a peculiar impression when we heard the
> beautiful young girls and boys dressed in Krakowski costume
> of such Slavonic style speaking to each other in English
> during a Polish function ... We looked at ourselves with
> a feeling of guilt. Is this all we could transmit to our
> children from such a rich Polish culture? Is this Krakowski
> costume the report card of our effort? There were many
> beautiful costumes but the Polish language was meagre.
> It is not the fault of the children. The child is brought
> up in the home and the school. The mother and father should
> teach the child Polish words, Polish prayers and Polish
> customs. The Polish school should teach it how to read
> and write, and Polish history. All effort is for nothing
> if the parents or the Polish school do not fulfil their
> role...

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[18]_Ibid._

And where is our youth? Has it gone its own way? To what
has it become attached? The 3 May used to be a national
day for celebration by youth and children. Here, it has
become the national day for older people and their children.
Let us not push fault onto others. Let us be honest and
let us not deceive ourselves. It is our duty, the task is
awaiting us and we must carry it out. It is obvious that
the magnet of national feeling is too weak or it is not
being properly used.

Karwicki then discusses the agents of Polish cultural transmission
in Australian society - the home; the ethnic school; the ethnic
church; the theatrical, choral and dancing groups - and concludes
his tirade:

> There are no such misfortunes that can break us and no
> such sacrifices that we are not prepared to make as an
> offering for our homeland in time of misfortune.
> However, in happier times what is happening to us?
> We are putting on a pose of selfishness and we are
> closing ourselves off in a shell of indifference.
> Is this the right way?

Apart from a lack of dedication on the part of individual
parents, however, there was another fundamental reason for the
alienation of Polish youth from their ethnic elders, and this was
analysed by another writer to the press:

> In today's organisational life in the Polish community, there
> reigns a suffocating and unhealthy atmosphere. The older
> generation in large part has forgotten the lessons given
> it by the tragic events of the previous fifteen years and
> wastes its efforts on unnecessary divisions ... based on
> long passed and unpraiseworthy programmes of prewar
> political parties. Under these conditions, the young im-
> migrant generation, discouraged by the divisions and quarrels
> not understood by it at all the various meetings, has with-
> drawn from migrant community life.[19]

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[19] Wiadomosci Polskie, 12 August, 1956.

Why did these Polish leaders and contributors to the press

see the maintenance of ethnicity in their youth as vitally

important? Essentially, there were three main arguments, one on

the personal, another on the community, and the third on the

national level. The first and most fundamental argument makes the

point that the individual youth born of Polish parents will not

develop, psychologically or culturally, in a balanced manner if

his embryonic Polishness is not fostered. As one correspondent

in Britain put it:

> The question arises whether a child of Polish parents born
> in London is an Englishman, in Edinburgh a Scot, in Cardiff
> a Welshman. There is only one answer to this: he will be
> a British citizen only, without a nationality and a father-
> land if he is not made aware of the fact that he is a Pole
> and that his homeland is Poland. The lack of this aware-
> ness will create an incomplete individual, susceptible to
> various complexes and easily offended on the subject of
> his background ... Having awakened a feeling of national
> awareness, one must feed him on everything that is Polish,
> based on knowledge and truth. The awakened curiosity will
> find attractiveness in ancestral subjects and not only
> those easily externalised like singing, national dancing
> and reciting of poetry. An appropriately brought-up Pole,
> a Briton by birth, will choose for himself the road for
> the future on which the deciding factors will be the
> strength of the developed national feeling and the
> prevailing circumstances.[20]

The second reason for the maintenance of ethnicity in the

Polish youth stressed the role of youth in the continuance of

Polish communal and organisational life in a country remote from

the ancestral homeland. The alienation of youth from Polish

community activity was seen in 1956 as:

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[20]Wiadomosci Polskie, 30 September, 1956.

the most dangerous phenomenon for our future, and at the
same time, the gravest mistake of our youth. It is time
that by its massive participation in community life,
this youth ... introduce a draught of new ideas in order
that through its fire it may inject new life into our
organisations.[21]

The third reason for ethnicity maintenance among the Polish

youth takes into account the overview of the first generation in

Australia as refugees from a Communist-dominated homeland. It was

estimated that in the mid-fifties the number of Poles living

outside Poland was nearly nine million; that is, every fourth

Pole lived abroad. Thus the loss of a quarter of the population,

after the losses as a result of World War II, was seen by many of

the Poles abroad as catastrophic for the future of their homeland

if the refugees and their children became lost to Polishness.

Expressing this argument in a more specific way, one correspondent

in the Polish press claimed that the emigrés had two important

duties:

1. The maintenance of the purity of Polish culture and
   knowledge in order to balance the Communist Russian
   pressure and influence in the homeland; and

2. Through their existence as a 9 million strong group
   aware of Polish nationality and living abroad because
   of the occupation of the homeland, to maintain world
   opinion in awareness of the slavery of Poland ...
   These goals will not be able to be fulfilled by any
   organisation without the participation of youth. Rather
   it is only the Polish youth who will be able to fulfill
   them appropriately, and the responsibility to history
   rests on its shoulders.[22]

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[21] Wiadomosci Polskie, 12 August, 1956.

[22] Ibid.

This sentiment was also intimately conveyed in the diary of
W. Krauze in the entry for the end of May 1952:

... We beseech the Lord God that we may live to see the
day when your [his son's] memory or rather your mind will
be more developed and you can then better understand our
earthly life. For when we stand at the threshold of our
homeland, face to face with those dearest to us, then it
will be you, my son, not me, who will be able to tell
them about the experiences of past years... O Mother of
God, grant us health and perseverence, and when those
longed-for days do arrive when we shall be standing on
the free soil of our Fatherland, we vow to give you
thanks in prayer ... With faith in God we shall enter
right into the local way of life and we will endure
until the attainment of our goal. Our goal is this:
to return to the country of our fathers. Whether fate
has actually decreed this for us, God only knows.[23]

The concepts of ethnicity and nationality to the Poles were

different concepts from those held by Australians of British stock.

The English, not having had a major invasion of their own country

for 900 years, and not having had any large national minorities,

created a concept of nationality which covered both the belonging

to a state or country, and belonging to a nation. Thus it is

considered that every English citizen is an Englishman, or in a

wider context, a Britisher. To the Poles, however, the idea of

identifying the belonging to a state with the belonging to a nation

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[23]"z przezytch chwil emigracyjnych z tesknota za ojczyzna" (The
experiences of an exile yearning for his homeland). A diary
in Polish. Vol. 3, pp. 1-2, 12 (24-30 May, 1952). Another
writer, A. Boguslawski, expressed his love for Poland in this
way in Wiadomosci Polskie, 4 August, 1951:

I have yearned for Warsaw always; and I yearn for her now.
I feel as Mickiewicz felt, when he addressed the beloved
land of his birth:

'I see thy beauty in all its splendour
and write of it, for my heart is tender
with need of thee ...'.

is unacceptable (see Chapter 2). Nationality, as one correspondent

in Wiadomosci Polskie defined it, is

> something which lies very deeply at the bottom of one's
> heart, something which one got from the blood of one's
> mother and sucked from her breast, something which
> cannot be changed by registration in any office and
> cannot be changed by any police order, not even by any
> parliamentary act. It is not something concrete, but
> something very personal.

His conclusion was that one could be a very loyal Australian citizen

while being at the same time a Pole. The process of assimilation

should take place in two directions, Poles learning from Australians

and vice versa:

> If we are to live here happily as free people living with
> free people, and as equals with equals, then life in
> Australia should become a synthesis of those good values
> which many Australians have and those which we have brought
> with us.[24]

Another writer, critising the above correspondent for

equating assimilation with the receiving of citizenship, took a

wider definition of assimilation. To him,

> Assimilation is the transformation of the whole personality
> of a given person; it is the complete acceptance by him of
> the way of life of the assimilating nation; it is the
> ability of feeling without discomfort the same way as that
> nation; it is simply the acceptance of a second nature; ...
> it is a psychic and spiritual act; ... Thus it is de-
> nationalisation.[25]

It is not surprising, then, that this writer believed that it was

virtually an impossibility for a migrant to assimilate in the first

generation. Anyone who could be completely assimilated he did not

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[24] 21 October, 1956.

[25] Wiadomosci Polskie, 18 November, 1956.

consider would bring any benefit to the Australian nation, and would

not contribute anything to it or its culture. In the opinion of

this writer, Australians were gradually being convinced of this

fact. He considered nevertheless that children born in Australia

of Polish parents, although they would speak Polish, know Poland's

history and geography, and have some feeling for the land of their

fathers (even here, is he not rather optimistic?), would become

assimilated and be Australians. In addition, his view was that it

would not be good if things were different. It is on this state-

ment that one would expect a range of reactions, and in fact, the

writer in realising this, admitted that he would "probably create

a storm of protest". His reasons for holding such a view were

threefold:

(1) It is one thing to maintain nationality from generation
    to generation in one's own country (even though it be
    occupied and under partition) and a different thing to
    maintain a distinct national character in "a friendly
    settlement country of goodwill";

(2) he did not believe in a state within a state, which leads
    to anti-minority movements and often ends in tragedy,
    usually for the minority; (here he differs from the
    previous writer who considered an individual could be a
    Pole and a loyal Australian at the same time);

(3) one cannot bring up the young second generation in a
    spiritual vacuum, feeding it with abstractions and symbols.
    "We cannot be allowed to deprive them of that which we
    hold on to ourselves like a chick from an egg, the love

of the country in which we were born. What right have
we to such egotism?"[26]

In the instance of the second generation, therefore, this
particular correspondent put forward a different viewpoint from that
of the majority of Polish leaders of the time. How representative
his opinion (or that of the Polish leaders quoted in this chapter)
was of the general Polish community in Australia is difficult to
assess. However, the fact that it was published in the ethnic
press is itself significant and suggests that this view was
probably equally as popular as the more strongly ethnic one.
In support of this, one could employ as evidence the frequent
comments in the ethnic media of the 1950's and 1960's on the small
numbers of the Polish population who actively involved themselves
in their community's organisational life and of whose children
actually attended Polish schools and youth clubs.

By 1956, it is particularly evident from study of the
ethnic press that, after almost ten years of postwar Polish life
in Australia, phenomena such as assimilation, naturalisation, and
denationalisation were becoming more and more important in the eyes
of Polish leaders. Another writer in December of that year defined
assimilation as a two-way process, and quoted a Canadian author
on immigrant problems, Watson Kirkconnell (with whose opinion the
correspondent says C.A. Price of Canberra concurs), as claiming:

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[26]Ibid.

> There is nothing so shallow and condemnable as a person
> who rejects his descent. A one hundred percent American
> or Canadian is generally a person who has covered the
> tracks of his foreign descent in order to gain material
> benefit from the advertising of his loyalty. One cannot
> expect the contribution of any noble values from this
> type of misdirected patriotism.[27]

The concern over the meaning of assimilation and what was happening to the second generation was not restricted, however, only to writers in the Polish press. It was also the fundamental preoccupation of Polish educationists.

The Education Commission from its inception in June 1950 was determined to establish in all States its own sub-committees in an attempt to centralise Polish education throughout Australia. Efforts in this direction, however, were not successful, due to the difficulties of communication over long distances, and the formation of independent organisations and schools which were often not even aware of the educational initiatives of the Federal Council, or else had become disillusioned with the friction and tension in the Commission which had become evident even as early as the 1952 Federal congress.[28]

In South Australia, the Polish Association (established in mid-1949), the Polish Ex-Servicemen's Association and the sporting club, Polonia, all experimented in the early 1950's with schools. Many of these attempts were not successful. The most worthwhile results were achieved on the initiative of various dedicated individuals, whose schools were established in Alberton (later

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[27] Wiadomosci Polskie, 2 December, 1956.

[28] See Protokoly, op. cit., 9-10 February, 1952, pp. 12-13.

Ottoway) and Croydon, and were from mid-1952 supported by the

Polish Association of South Australia. To guarantee adequate

support for these schools, the executive of the Polish Association

organised a "Teachers' Circle" which was to cooperate closely with

the executive. In addition to the Teachers' Circle, a Schools

Committee and a School Inspectorate were also established. The

functions of the Inspectorate were to ensure that the teaching

programme was followed in the schools, the work carried out in the

various schools was coordinated, and that the inspectors regularly

visited the schools.[29]

During 1954, further schools at Royal Park, Pirie Street

in Adelaide, and Mannum were founded. Textbooks were beginning to

arrive from London for the younger classes. Also by this time,

schools were starting to present certificates to children who had

passed their courses, and efforts were made to ensure that these

certificates were the same in each school.

Near the end of 1954, a crisis developed between the Teachers'

Circle and the Polish Association as a result of personal disagree-

ments and the withdrawal of support of the Polish Association for

the five schools for which it had been responsible. In October,

the Teachers' Circle therefore broke away from the Polish

Association to form an independent Polish Education Society ("Polska

Macierz Szkolna"), whose aims were to be the preservation of the

Polish language, traditions and folklore, the maintenance and

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[29] W. Jadczak, "Historia Zwiazku Polakow w Poludniowej Australii"
in M. Szczepanowski (Ed.), Polacy w Poludniowej Australii
(Adelaide, 1971), pp. 26-9.

development of Polish schools, and the organisation of educational
undertakings with the assistance of the Polish community.[30]

For the first time in 1954, children from the Polish schools
participated in the Independence Day celebrations of 11 November.
In December, a sixth school was opened in Enfield in the local
Catholic Church, and in the same month, parents' committees were
organised in Enfield and Ottoway. With the beginning of 1955, it
was decided to establish libraries to serve each school.

By this time, too, it was evident that developmental stages
would have to be taken into consideration in the expanding schools.
To make sure of a common programme, three levels of teaching in the
schools which contained smaller number of pupils were formulated -
a lower, middle and upper - each with a two year education period.
In the larger schools there was set up a programme of six classes
of reading, writing and speaking the Polish language as well as
courses in Polish history and geography. Until this time children
had been taught in a rather haphazard way, the teachers often not
following any particular programme. Through the initiative of the
Polish Educational Society, all the schools in the years 1955-58
were systematised and their teachers taught according to detailed
programmes drawn up for all levels.[31]

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[30] The declaration of the existence of the Polish Educational Society
and its constitution was made on 11 October 1954. H. Lewicki,
"Poczatek i rozwoj Polskiej Macierzy Szkolnej w Poludniowej
Australii" in Szczepanowski, op. cit., p. 173. The twentieth
anniversary of this society was celebrated by an akademia on
22 September, 1974.

[31] Ibid., p. 176.

Another problem facing Polish school teachers was the lack of textbooks of sufficient quality and quantity. The ethnic press from the early 1950's cooperated in this regard in publishing supplements on education. For example, Tygodnik Katolicki from its first number devoted one page to the education of Polish youth entitled "Youths' Weekly" ("Tygodniczek dla Mlodziezy"). After a break, this page, from May 1953 to September 1954, was produced as a supplement. This contained well produced lessons for children; in all, 224 consecutive pages were printed which could be assembled as a book. In the same way a school primer was published in 1956, consisting of 79 pages of text and illustrations and 48 pages of instructions for parents who wanted to teach their own children. Wiadomosci Polskie also printed information for children and youth, the best of which was the supplement "The Polish Gazette for Polish Children" ("Polska Gazetka dla Polskich Dzieci").[32]

With this educational fervour and development until 1956, is it possible to appreciate the extent to which Polish families in Australia made use of the Polish educational facilities? One viewpoint can be gleaned from comments in the memoirs of an active teacher and later inspector of schools who played a significant role in the organisation of Polish education in New South Wales in the fifties.

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[32] S.M. Szczepanowski, "The attitudes of the Polish community to the education of children of Polish origin in Australia", unpublished paper, Department of Education, The University of Adelaide (1973).

The parents were often unwilling to send their children to
Polish schools, not because they objected to the teaching
conditions, but simply because of their lack of interest.
The parents wanted to learn the English language which they
needed. At home, they spoke nothing but English because
they wanted to pick it up from their children. At first,
such families were exceptions but as the years went by,
more parents followed such a practice despite my articles
in the press warning them against this ... The greatest
difficulty which even the most qualified teacher was
confronted with ... was the complete lack of interest
on the part of the parents towards the schools. Only a
few persons showed up at meetings of parents' committees.
There has been, and there is, no contact between the parents
and the teachers.[33]

Another viewpoint on the extent to which Polish educational

facilities were used comes from statistics compiled by the President

of the Education Commission of the Federal Council of Polish

Organisations in Australia. These statistics, presented at the

1956 Federal Council Conference in Sydney, are particularly

significant in that they are the only figures calculated on a

national basis in the twenty-five years of existence of Polish

schools in Australia. They show that in the whole of Australia

there were 55 Polish schools which had a total enrolment of

2,121 students and contained 84 teachers (for details, see

Appendix F1).

The years 1956 to 1960 were years of growth and development

for Polish schools in Australia. Never before and never after this

peak period were there so many schools and so many children in

attendance. Demographically, this is not surprising. Considering

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[33] J. Goebel, "Memoirs" (Manuscript in the collections of the
Polish Historical Society), referred to in S. Szczepanowski, ibid.

that many Polish migrants arrived in the years 1948-1951 with very

young children mostly born in Germany, or gave birth to their

children in Australia in the late forties and early fifties, it is

expected that if there was to be a flowering of the Polish elementary

school movement, it would be in the second half of the 1950's.

In many of the capital cities, as in Adelaide, special

contests in singing, dancing and poetry were organised for the

children. At first, these contests appeared very successful, but

in time, they proved to be too burdensome for the children (on top

of their school activities), and lapsed.[34] In addition to normal

lessons on Saturdays, the children were also being prepared for

the various Polish celebrations during the year. Special youth

groups were also organised for those who had progressed through the

Polish school system, or those who were not interested in the formal

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[34] One teacher who appeared to be succeeding in Brisbane explained her reason in Poradnik Nauczycielski (The Teachers' Advisory Journal), No. 7 (July 1966), p. 6. Her suggestion to other teachers was that, since children enjoyed dancing and theatrical activities at Polish school because they liked to be advised by Polish elders, teachers should capitalise on this. In this way, children would learn the Polish language and enhance their Polishness (The Editor agreed). This simple observation was supported by a survey conducted in a Saturday School in London involving 82 children aged 7 to 16 years. In analysing their answers to the question "Why do I go to Polish School?", it is evident that the replies of the 7-9 year old group - "I like to play with my friends there", "I enjoy dancing and singing in Polish" - suggest that teaching of the younger children should be connected with play, singing and story telling. For this younger group, Saturday School was mainly a place for play among one's peers. For those around 11 years, a certain dislike for Saturday School could be perceived as they found themselves already overloaded with work for the British eleven plus examination. From a survey by J. Otwinowski in Tydzien Polskie (London), and reprinted in Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 12 (October 1967), pp. 12-13.

school programmes but were interested in Polish dancing and singing.
Moreover, the development of the Polish scouting movement tended to
attract children already in the Polish school system, and therefore
further burdened the workloads of Polish children.

In Adelaide, this difficulty led to the attempt to combine
the scout movement with education. The scout leaders set up their
own Saturday Schools which did not come under the care of the
inspectorate of the Polish Educational Society. One of the main
differences of opinion between the two educational movements each
with their own schools was over the use of textbooks from Communist
Poland. The scouting leadership was, and still is, firmly opposed
to use in Polish schools in Australia of books printed in Poland.[35]

In the years after the rift over the use of textbooks, the
influence of the Education Commission of the Federal Council waned.
Many of the smaller Polish schools closed down, and the numbers of
children attending Polish schools decreased. One of the problems
was the lack of qualified and trained teachers in the Polish schools.
In the opinion of the Chairman of the Education Commission, these
teachers had the correct approach to children, but did not understand
how to conduct lessons in a varied and attractive manner. In South
Australia, for example, out of 22 teachers in 1967, only one was
a qualified teacher.[36] There was also a lack of experienced
inspectors who could give advice to these teachers in the methodology

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[35]See J. Martin, Community and Identity (Canberra, 1972), p. 82.

[36]Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 13 (January 1968), pp. 9-10.

of teaching. Another point about Polish education was that there was very little going on outside of the capital cities. Periodically, Polish schools would be established in some of the larger country areas in which Poles may have settled, but would not survive for very long. Usually this was due to the lack of dedicated teachers as, for example, in the case of three schools in the Latrobe Valley in the years 1964-66.[37] In some other instances, schools closed down as a result of divisions between parents, as occurred in Queensland during 1965.[38]

It was also recognised the Polish children entering the Saturday schools in the sixties were very different from those who had attended in the early and mid-1950's. These latter children had mainly been born overseas and had "disembarked from the ships with some knowledge and feeling for Poland" and at least some understanding of the Polish language. Children attending Polish schools in the sixties, however, had a considerably weaker feeling for Poland and did not know the Polish language to the degree that the teachers would have liked.[39] A further problem was the lack of school aids, such as wall maps, charts, textbooks, and due to a general lack of finance, many schools could not afford to subscribe to children's journals. The maintenance and operation of the Polish schools at a

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[37] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 7 (July 1966), pp. 2-3.

[38] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 4 (October 1965), p. 16.

[39] These points were made at the Teachers Conference of the Polish Educational Society in South Australia, 1 February, 1965.

satisfactory standard required large amounts of money, and the

existing educational organisations such as the Polish Educational

Society were not capable of carrying the burden alone.[40]

By the end of 1967, the Chairman of the Education Commission

of the Polish community in Australia regretfully admitted that the

Polish educational movement had "entered a period of closing, not

opening schools". During that year, one school had been opened,

but six had been closed. At that time, therefore, there were 42

schools with 91 teachers and approximately 1,200 pupils. Of these

42 schools, almost a half were schools which had only one teacher

and which were attended at most by only a few children. On the

length and regularity of attendance, the Chairman had this to say:

> After two, or at most, three years, they [the children]
> consider that they have had enough lessons and end their
> education with minimal results. And to take their place
> comes the next generation, only to repeat the same cycle;
> and I am not mentioning the fact that the average attendance
> fluctuates between 20 and 25 per cent.[41]

Ostrowski, in his survey of the fourteen schools in Victoria

which cooperated with the School Inspector of the Federation, also

found that children tended to leave Polish school after only a few

years' attendance. Of 450 children who attended the Polish schools

at three levels of education, 200 were in each of the first two

levels and only 50 in the third level.[42] In South Australia, the

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[40]The difficulties, particularly the financial ones, facing the
Polish educational movement of the 1960's were outlined in a report
by Goebel, Chairman of the Education Commission, published in
Wiadomosci Polskie, 5 November, 1967.

[41]Ibid. See also Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 13 (January 1968), pp. 9-10.

[42]Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 7 (July 1966), p. 2.

total enrolment had been 500 in 1960, whereas by 1966 this figure had fallen to 238.[43] It is not known on what basis Goebel, the Chairman of the Education Commission, estimated that 1,200 children attended Polish schools in 1968. Mackowiak's survey in 1956 had found 2,121 children in attendance at Polish schools at that time. A comparison between the estimates for these two years, therefore, suggests that school attendance declined by more than 40% over those 12 years.

From the point of view of the adult first generation, this decline from 1960 gave rise to further alarm over the assimilation and de-nationalisation of Polish youth. Two articles in particular in the ethnic press heralded this year as a turning point in the development of Polish schools. The Editor of Tygodnik Katolicki emphasised in an editorial on 5 March, 1960, how important it was for the second generation to learn and use their parental language, and how unreasonable it was to allow children to learn foreign languages in high schools and at the same time purposely to force them to forget the language which they had already learned. A long article in Wiadomosci Polskie on 9 October of the same year was written in a similar vein, proclaiming that if parents did not cultivate Polish customs and traditions at home, then they could not expect their children either to understand or to respect them. During the sixties, a number of indications of this concern are evident from the study of Polish literature of the period, and "the Polish view" on the upbringing of the second generation in·

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[43] Wiadomosci Polskie, 5 November, 1967.

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the 1960's and early 1970's is most appropriately documented by

examining in detail these indications of concern.

(1) There was an increase in the number of articles which

appeared in the ethnic press warning Poles that a too

rapid assimilation of Polish youth was occurring.[44]

(2) The Federal Council of Polish Organisations in Australia

published a special pamphlet entitled "Problems Concerning

Youth". This was mainly comprised of catch-cries and

platitudes, however, and did not present any practical

methods of how problems of rapid assimilation should be

handled. Very significantly, the Presidential Address

at the tenth congress of the Federal Council in November

1962 was specifically on the subject of "Youth", whom

President Kleeberg claimed was their "number one problem":

> For some time now, I have been visiting Saturday Schools,
> and on the basis of what I have seen, I must sound the
> alarm and at that, a loud alarm. This is not a criticism
> of our dedicated teaching fraternity which does what it
> can, but of parents who do not care whether their chil-
> dren undertake studies in ancestral subjects ... Acting
> in full awareness of our obligation towards the old
> country and nation, we must win this battle for the
> soul of the young generation if we are to exist as an
> organised Polish community in Australia ... Without
> the solution of this basic problem, Polishness in
> Australia will finish in our generation.[45]

(3) The Polish Philatelic Society of Australia, the sixth of its

kind to be founded outside Poland, was established in

Melbourne on 2 August, 1959. In the catalogue of the

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[44] S. Szczepanowski, op. cit.

[45] Protokoly, op. cit., 16-18 November, 1962, pp. 25-8.

second "POLPHIL" Exhibition in June 1961, its Chairman

wrote that one of the Society's three aims was to

interest Polish youth in the collection of Polish stamps.[46]

(4)   Another indication of concern over the assimilation of

Polish youth was the advocacy from various Polish leaders

of the teaching of the Polish language at institutions

other than Polish schools. At the tenth meeting of the

Federal Council (1962), Kleeberg stated that he had

approached the Australian authorities with a view to

establishing a chair of Polish Literature in Sydney and

the Polish community supplying a lecturer.[47] However,

since £40,000 had been the figure quoted, the reaction

from Polish leaders had been to shelve the idea until

the Millenium celebrations four years later.

It seems that a more immediate concern at that time (in 1962)

was for the Polish language to be included in school

curricula with full rights to Matriculation and to

university entrance. Significantly it was at a time

when the first wave of children of Polish parentage were

in the early years of secondary school. Accordingly, the

President of the Federal Council considered that it would

not only be so much easier for Polish children who were

being forced to pass exams in another foreign language,

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[46] Bulletin of Polish Philatelic Society of Australia, No. 2
(October 1959) and Polphil 61, Catalogue of the Philatelic
Exhibition, Parkville, 10-12 June, 1961.

[47] Protokoly, op. cit., pp. 8, 36.

but also an encouragement for the maintenance of the
ancestral language both in the home and in the Saturday
Schools.

At the Australian Citizenship Convention in Canberra in
1965, Dunin-Karwicki told delegates that the learning of
English by immigrant children should not be acquired only
at the expense of knowledge of their parents' language,
and claimed that school programmes should include far
more study of the history, geography and culture of the
various European countries from which immigrants came to
Australia.[48] The plea was again reiterated by Zubrzycki
in one of the convention papers at the 1968 Citizenship
Convention.[49]

(5) Probably the most significant indication of alarm over the
loss of Polish cultural heritage by Polish youth was the
convening of the first Educational Congress in Melbourne
in August 1964 involving teachers in Polish schools and
others concerned with Polish education. This Congress
established the Educational Commission of Poles in Australia
which was to bring into its scope of operation all the
Polish schools in Australia. It was also to produce
Poradnik Nauczycielski (The Teachers' Advisory Journal).
On the very first page of the initial number of

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[48] Australian Citizenship Convention Digest, 1965, p. 26.

[49] Australian Citizenship Convention Digest, 1968, pp. 23-27.

Poradnik Nauczycielski were stated the three objectives
of the Commission:[50]

(a) To coordinate the work carried out in all teaching
centres in Australia - school organisations, teaching
programmes, textbooks and school reports.

(b) To give advice and assistance through the medium of
this journal to teachers in lesson preparation,
information concerning new textbooks and instruction
about education.

(c) To collect statistics and information about particular
schools and to disseminate this information to all
other schools through this journal.

The overall aim of the Educational Commission was "to raise
the standard of education ... and through this, to help
maintain a sense of Polish identity in the youth". Quite
obviously, then, formal education was seen as the key to
the preservation of the Polish culture and identification
of the next generation.

But how successful was the Educational Commission of Poles
in Australia from the mid-sixties when its predecessor of
the 1950's had not been able to surmount the difficulties
which lay in its path?

In regard to the aim of offering advice and assistance to
teachers, it seems the Commission was useful. In the early

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[50] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 1 (October 1964), p. 1.

editions of its journal, articles of general interest
appeared on the history of the Polish Educational Society
from its beginning in 1905 in Warsaw (No. 8); of Polish
schooling in Great Britain (No. 11); of Polish schooling
in Brazil (No. 11); and cultural articles on 966 A.D.
(Nos. 5/6), Polish sayings (Nos. 5/6), the November
Uprising of 1830 (No. 7), the Third of May Constitution
(No. 10), the battle against the Teutonic Knights (No. 10),
the 150th anniversary of the death of Kosciuszko (No. 12),
Madame Curie (No. 13), Henry Sienkiewicz (No. 20), again
the 1410 Battle of Tanenburg (Grunwald) of Poles against the
Teutonic Knights (No. 24), again 3 May, 1791 (No. 28),
Polish Education Commission 1773-1973 (No. 28), Copernicus
and Father Kolbe (both No. 28).

In the first 20 numbers of Poradnik Nauczycielski were
published 37 examples of lessons and 41 methodological
and didactic articles, of which 9 were concerned with
teaching in composite classes.[51] It was the Editor's
opinion that if all these issues had been collected, the
journal almost took the place of a textbook. Many of the
lessons, especially those on history and geography, were
meant to be examples on which to base other lessons. The
Editor it seems was concerned to point out to the Federal
Council, which had recommended at its 13th meeting (1969)

[51] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 21 (January 1970), p. 2.

that the journal should be improved, the improvements he
had already made, exactly what had been achieved in 20
issues, and that the Federal Council itself should have
presented guidelines and suggestions as how further to
improve the journal.

How wide a readership did Poradnik Nauczycielski claim?
Early in 1966, the Editor admitted that it was read by
"a limited number of persons" and was not as popular as
the more established Polish weeklies.[52] A year and a
half later, he claimed that it had now become "a serious
quarterly".[53] When it had started in October 1964, the
journal had been only 8 pages in length with a total edition
of 80 copies so that each school could have one. By October
of the same year (the fourth issue), the number of copies
increased to 130, and by October two years later (the
twelfth issue), to 180. Copies of the journal were by
then being sent throughout Australia, and to New Zealand,
England and New Guinea.

The journal also occasionally reprinted articles published
in Polish magazines overseas. One notable example was the
survey conducted in a Polish Saturday school in London by
J. Otwinowski. This survey, conducted by means of ques-
tionnaires to 82 children aged 7 to 16 years, was entitled

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[52] Poradnik Nauczycielski, Nos. 5/6 (January/June 1966), p. 6.

[53] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 12 (October 1967), p. 17.

"Why Do I Go to Polish School?"[54] Another was the
research undertaken in Canada in 1969 on all Polish
organisations and parishes which revealed, _inter alia_,
41 Polish schools, 2,329 children in attendance and 114
teachers.[55] This study, analysed by R. Cogler and written
by M. Matachowski of Toronto, was a particularly detailed
one which would have given Polish teachers in Australia
considerable insight into Polish schooling in Canada.
Poradnik Nauczycielski noted in March 1971 (No. 25) that
a similar survey to the Canadian one was undertaken in
the United States of America, and advertised in the Polish
press and on radio and television. No results, however,
were published in the journal.

In contrast to these overseas surveys, the one attempted
in Australia by the Editor was not successful. The collec-
tion of statistics on Polish schools had been another of
the three stated aims of the Education Commission in 1964.
Although information on certain schools was published in
the journal, statistics on the state of Polish education in
general were at all times incomplete. This was not altogether
the Editor's fault. A questionnaire was sent to each school
in Australia with the first issue of the journal (October

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[54]Ibid., pp. 12-13. See footnote 34.

[55]_Poradnik Nauczycielski_, No. 21 (January 1970), pp. 9-11.

1964). By the third issue (May 1965), only 10 out of

57 schools had returned them. The Editor's comment was:

"This does not indicate that we are very well disciplined".

The response by October 1965 was not very different, the

worst offenders being Victoria (where three out of 20

schools had replied) and South Australia (one out of 9),

and the Editor sarcastically claimed that at this rate he

should have all the completed questionnaires by 1968 (in

fact, he did not even have them by then).

Late in 1966, a shortened version of the original ques-

tionnaire, containing only three questions, was sent to

31 schools. Again, the response was miserable - a mere

three were returned. By early 1967, the Editor announced

that he had "at last become bored with the constant reminders

and [was] laying down his weapons". He changed his attack.

In the next issue (April 1967), he asked for readers to

send in histories of Polish schools to publish in the

journal. He himself reprinted articles on the history of

Polish schools in Great Britain and Brazil; a few replies

were received and published (for example, New South Wales

in No. 10; Hobart in No. 11), though the Editor continued

to bemoan the fact that he always received information on

activities of Polish schools from the Polish press rather

than from the schools themselves. In the issue for the

beginning of 1966, he was able to publish reports of end-

of-school activities from only 5 schools who had replied

out of a total number of 46. Similarly, in the January

1968 issue, the Editor had received only one report for

the end of 1967 school year activities. It was a long

report, at the foot of which the Editor politely thanked

A. Harasimow from Perth for maintaining contact with the

journal (she had previously sent in a history of Polish

schools in Perth for the third issue in May 1965).

In the January 1969 issue, the Editor published a report

of the end-of-year school activities of the Melbourne

Polish high school, but yet again lamented that he found

this information from the weekly press. At the end of the

report on "Polish Schools in Canada", he commented that

while this survey had been a success, the Australian one

had waited three years for a mere third response.

In explaining the incompleteness of educational statistics,

the Editor placed the blame on the fact that, because of

a dearth of willing helpers and a complete absence of any

interest among parents, the ultimate responsibility for the

collection of information fell on the already overburdened

shoulders of teachers. During the week, these individuals

themselves had to earn a living, and then they were expected

to prepare lessons, teach them, mark papers and supervise

children on Saturdays. It is quite evident from the lack

of response to all appeals from the Editor that these

teachers either did not have any interest in the survey or

just did not have time for any additional tasks. The

collection of statistics, therefore, on the total educational

achievements of the Polish community in Australia still

remains to be made. (A rudimentary survey of all ethnic,

including Polish, schools was undertaken by Bilinsky on

behalf of the Migrant Languages Committee established by
the Federal Minister for Education in 1974. At the time
of writing this thesis, however, the report of the Committee
had not yet been published.)

The third stated aim of the Education Commission was that
of coordinating the work of Polish schools throughout
Australia. At the 12th conference of the Federal Council
in September 1967, the Education Commission presented the
following plan: in every state, there should be a school
inspector chosen by the Commission who would be paid, and
would visit schools regularly to give advice and assistance
to the teachers; he would also organise training courses
for non-qualified and postwar teachers, participate in
meetings of Parents' Committees and the local education
committees, and present regular progress reports; the
school inspector should be the representative of the Federal
Education Commission in this area,[56] the Commission to
consist of the Chairman, the Editor of Poradnik Nauczycielski,
and the school inspectors; it would meet every year before
the commencement of the school year to discuss and formulate
activities for the whole year; there should be a general
conference of all those concerned with Polish education
every two or three years at the same time as the Federal

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[56]The first National Inspectors Conference took place in Melbourne
in April 1969 with representatives from Victoria, New South Wales
and South Australia. Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 19 (June 1969),
p. 11.

Council met, and this conference would elect the Chairman and the Editor of Poradnik Nauczycielski, the former to be the representative on the Federal Council; and finally, the Education Commission should be an autonomous organisation and subsidised by a perpetual fund of the Polish Community in Australia.

Despite the fact that further national meetings of the Educational Commission were held in Adelaide and Melbourne,[57] the Commission was not able to implement and develop the wider action which had been planned in its early days. The main difficulty was in raising finance for any projected works. Every congress of the Federal Council approved a budget of between $400 and $600 for the activities of the Commission, but this latter body never received any money because the Federal Council itself found it difficult to raise funds. If it had not been for the material backing of private individuals and social organisations, Poradnik Nauczycielski would not have been able to be published.

(6) Another reflection of the concern for youth at this time was the increasing consideration being given to the high school phase of Polish education. From the early 1960's there were announcements in the ethnic press of Saturday high school courses being established in most Polish

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[57] Adelaide: January, 1968; Melbourne: January 1971; and the fourth conference was planned for January 1973. See Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 14 (May 1968), p. 8 and No. 25 (March 1971), pp. 1, 14.

educational centres. However, beyond these initial

announcements, there was usually little more written

about them.

In Melbourne, a Polish high school began in May 1966 with

20 students aged 13-20 years and 3 teachers. The syllabus

comprised study of the Polish language, Polish culture,

history and geography, and Polish literature. By the

end of 1968, there were 50 students, and by 1970, 70

students. The first graduation ceremony, which 200 people

attended, was held at the end of the 1969 school year.

This was for students who had completed four years of

high school courses after having spent up to eight years

at Polish elementary school. The Headmaster reported at

the third graduation ceremony that his school was running

smoothly without many financial difficulties and without

much of the fighting that was at that time taking place in

the Polish community.

> One does not make of the Polish high school in
> Melbourne either an Arc de Triomphe, or a prestige
> political football, or an arena for satisfying the [58]
> private ambitions of the organisers or the teachers.

An article in Poradnik Nauczycielski in January 1969 on

the Melbourne high school claimed that it was the first

one in Australia, and exhorted Sydney and Adelaide to

follow suit. In 1969, a high school started in Sydney

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[58] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 27 (September/December 1971), p. 6.
For details on the Polish high school in Melbourne, see No. 7
(July 1966), p. 7; No. 17 (January 1969), p. 9; and No. 25
(March 1971), p. 16.

with 10 students, and in the next year, it had 26
students and 3 teachers. Four subjects were taught –
Polish history, Polish geography, history of Polish
literature, and knowledge about modern Poland.[59] Lessons
were free, and the teachers were not paid. In Adelaide,
the first Polish Educational Society high school began in
1971 with an enrolment of approximately 40. However, an
article detailing the history of the Polish schools run
by the scouting movement in Adelaide claimed their school
had started in 1964. In its ninth year of operation in
1973, the older students were preparing themselves for a
matriculation examination in Polish run by the Polish
Educational Society in London.[60]

T.A. Podniesinski, a teacher in a Melbourne Polish school
and a speaker at the conference of School Inspectors of
the Educational Commission in October 1971, considered that,
throughout his several years of teaching, there were few

[59] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 23 (July 1970), p. 9. The Polish high
school courses have been similar in content. The standard subjects
taught are the Polish language, Polish history and geography, study
of Polish literature, and knowledge about modern Poland. The Editor
of Poradnik Nauczycielski mentioned in 1967 that another worthwhile
subject, since it forced students to read articles in Polish,
would be study of the Polish press, which was one of the courses
offered in Polish high schools in Canada. No. 12 (October 1967), p. 19.

[60] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 29 (May 1973), p. 16. Another reference
in the press had stated that in 1966 the Melbourne Polish high school
was the only one in existence in Australia. Wiadomosci Polskie,
4 December, 1966. In reply, W. Dembski pointed out the existence
of one in Adelaide which by 1967 had an enrolment of 30 students.
Wiadomosci Polskie, 12 February, 1967.

children attending lessons who were not able to speak
Polish (these few were of mixed parentage). In his view,
parents maintained that their children spoke in Polish
but they (the parents), in sending them to Polish school,
wanted them to learn to read and write in Polish. Polish
organisations had achieved worthwhile results in estab-
lishing schools and assisting parents in teaching the Polish
language. It was his opinion, however, that Polish high
schools had been set up rather late, for where, before the
early seventies, were the Polish youth to further their
knowledge and their reading if they found local press
articles not very interesting?[61]

(7) Presumably this lack of formal situations in which Polish
youth could meet others and further their knowledge of
Polish language and culture was one of the reasons why
the later sixties witnessed the formation of several youth
clubs in the main Polish centres around Australia. These
youth organisations were formed by Polish youth themselves
in most instances to cater for their own social, sporting,
religious and cultural needs.

In Queensland, the Brisbane Youth Circle was formed in
March 1967 with 19 foundation members. By August the
next year, there were 32 members and it was hoped that
the membership would double within the following year.
The club at this time took part in several cultural

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[61] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 27 (September/December 1971), p. 2.

activities, such as meeting Bishop Rubin at the airport;
forming a guard of honour at the airport when Maszowsze
arrived in Brisbane; visiting Polish scouts on their
Christmas camp and singing carols with them; and
participating in the Christmas Eve wafer-breaking fes-
tivities.[62] The President of this organisation, in his
address on Polish Soldier Day in 1967, drew attention to
the fact that the Polish elders thought the youth were
becoming denationalised because they spoke English with
each other. He explained that this was the language they
were taught at Australian school and it therefore was
easier for them. On the contrary, he claimed youth often
wanted to converse with elders in Polish but the latter
did not want to talk with youth.[63]

In Sydney, members of the academic circle were meeting
once a month by 1968 for discussion on cultural, economic,
historical, and political subjects concerning Poland. The
leading member of this club was (Miss) J. Dunin-Karwicki
and the membership was composed of graduates and students
of higher education institutions.[64]

The Polish Youth Orchestra in Sydney was formed in 1968
from musicians whose ages ranged from 10-18 years. The

[62]Wiadomosci Polskie, 11 August, 1968.

[63]Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 13 (January 1968), p. 14.

[64]Wiadomosci Polskie, 15 December, 1968.

repertoire of the orchestra (30 members) when it played to
audiences in Maitland in 1973 included popular Polish
folk songs and internationally well-known melodies, and
it performed in Polish military uniforms and in Polish
regional costumes. It had appeared on television and
Australian Broadcasting Commission radio programmes,
although its greatest moment had been when it played
before Her Majesty the Queen at the opening of the Sydney
Opera House.[65]

In South Australia, as a result of several inquiries
conducted among Polish youth which revealed a latent
desire to know one another and to cooperate in some form
of social, cultural and recreative activity, a youth
club known as "Klub Bialych Orlow" (The Club of White
Eagles) was formed and its first committee elected on
11 July, 1966. At a later meeting on 25 June, 1967, this
youth group changed its name to "Bialo Czerwone Kolo"
(The White and Red Circle). Its President later wrote:

> Previously youth organisations were founded under
> the aegis of older organisations. The young people,
> to whom the older ones had promised a great deal,
> became disenchanted after a certain time. They
> decided therefore to organise themselves completely
> independently, establishing co-operation with the
> older generation but avoiding all kinds of financial
> loans or making use of any kinds of donations.[66]

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[65] The Mercury (Hunter Valley) 6 April, 1971. White and Red Guitar-
Mandolin Orchestra Programme for its performance in Maitland,
17 November, 1973.

[66] A.S. Czechowicz, "Klub Bialych Orlow pozniej Kolo Bialo Czerwone"
in M. Szczepanowski, op. cit., p. 210-213.

The objectives of the club, as stated in its Constitution, were:

(a) to foster friendly relations and cooperation among its members and newly arrived Poles;

(b) to promote cultural interest and activities;

(c) to help foster and maintain among its members and the community a live interest and desire to learn and appreciate the Polish language and culture.

The club was centred at Ottoway where it had its own meeting hall. Over the years, this club's activities became increasingly social while the cultural element faded into the background or at most times was non-existent. Partly as a result of this declining cultural essence within the Circle and partly as a result of the social and cultural alienation experienced by those students of Polish descent attending The University of Adelaide, the "Polski Klub Akademicki" (Adelaide University Polish Club) was formed in 1971. Membership was open to all students, staff and graduates of the University and associate membership to students attending other tertiary education institutions in Adelaide. By August 1971, there were 52 nominal members of whom an average of 25 attended regular Monday meetings.[67]

The aims of this university club (from its Constitution) were stated as follows:

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[67] Gromada (the club's newsletter), August 1971.

(a) to provide a means whereby University students of Polish origin may meet for cultural, social and sporting activities;

(b) to acquaint students of other nationalities, especially Australians, with Polish history and culture; and

(c) to assist the assimilation of newly-arrived Polish students into university life.

Some of the other Polish youth organisations included the Tatry Polish Dancing Group in Adelaide which in 1965 grew out of the earlier formed Polish Dancing Group;[68] the Melbourne Polish Dance Group, Polonez, founded in 1965; the Polish Youth Dance Group in Newcastle; and the Maitland Polish Youth Club which was formed in 1967 and by 1969 had a membership of 40 people.[69]

In January 1967, there occurred at Healesville, Victoria, the first convention of delegates of Polish youth organisations from Hobart, Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney. Significantly, this gathering was summoned and organised by the Federal Council in cooperation with its Educational Commission. Their intention was to lay the foundation for a future national organisation, The Union of Polish Youth in Australia, and the declarations which emerged from this convention they hoped would considerably strengthen the ties already existing among Polish youth. One of these

[68] M. Mordwinow, "Polska Grupa Taneczna, Tatry" in M. Szczepanowski, op. cit., p. 246-65.

[69] For references to these organisations, see The Mercury (Hobart), 25 May, 1970 and The Mercury (Hunter Valley), 11 July, 1972.

declarations was that the main objective of youth
organisations was "to maintain youth in the Polish spirit
with particular emphasis on preservation of the language
and national traditions", and to avoid any participation
in political divisions. Another stated the purposes of
The Union of Polish Youth as:

(a)   cooperation with youth organisations in Australia;

(b)   arrangement of a convention of Polish youth at the
      time when the Federal Council meets. The convention
      should then elect delegates to put forward problems
      of youth to the conference of the Federal Council;

(c)   publication of a special youth journal in the frame-
      work of one of the Polish papers in Australia by a
      Secretariat of those elected members from the youth
      organisations situated in the same state as that in
      which the Federal Council meets.

Yet another appealed to all Polish organisations to give
as much assistance as possible to the youth clubs yet
without interference in their activities.

A fourth declaration of the youth gathering gave credit
to the Polish scouting movement, summer camps and the
educational, artistic, cultural and sporting organisations
having as their goal the preservation of Polishness among
the youth, and encouraged the youth to participate actively
in these affairs and in national religious celebrations.[70]

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[70]Wiadomosci Polskie, 12 March, 1967.

(8) A further indication of concern over Polish youth was the
acquisition of tracts of land for campsites by Polish
educational and organisational authorities. Before 1960,
many camps had been organised for children and youths,
although the majority were under the auspices of the
scouting movement, and hired periodically from similar
Australian organisations or from farmers. Four permanent
camping grounds were purchased between the years 1959 and
1968 and were equipped almost identically: Carlton in
Tasmania; "Polana" at Healesville, Victoria; "Bielany"
near the River Colo in New South Wales; and "Mazowsze" on
Hindmarsh Island in South Australia.

(9) One other movement worthy of note has been the offering
of the Polish language at post-secondary education
institutions and the granting of scholarships for
Polish youth to undertake tertiary studies. There began
in March 1967 at the Institute of Modern Languages within
the University of Queensland at St. Lucia, Brisbane, a
course in the Polish language which at that time was
claimed by the Polish Society of Queensland to be the
only one of its kind in Australia. No special pre-
requisites were required for the course which cost $20.
If a Polish student's parents could not afford this
expense, the Polish community in Brisbane offered
scholarships. The Polish Society of Queensland wrote
in the "Young Forest" ("Mlody Las") section of Wiadomosci
Polskie that:

> Participants in this course will strengthen
> our call for recognition cf the Polish language
> by universities as one of several languages
> already taught.[71]

In the late sixties, the Polish Technical and Professional

Club of Victoria was also offering a scholarship for a

student under 25 years of age, living in Victoria and of

parents who possessed or had possessed Polish citizenship,

to undertake university studies. The main basis of

selection was the matriculation examination result, but

knowledge of Polish language, history and culture was

also taken into consideration. The award, the Strzelecki

Scholarship, was worth $200, while the next three best

applicants won book prizes.[72]

A similar encouragement of Polish youth to attend

universities was in operation in Adelaide in 1971. Formal

balls and other functions were held jointly by the

Millenium Society, The White and Red Circle and the

Adelaide University Polish Club for the purpose of raising

funds for scholarships for Polish tertiary students in

need and for Polish students in matriculation wishing to

enrol at university. The target was set at $1,000 per year.

The Adelaide University Polish Club's newsletter, Gromada,

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[71] 26 March, 1967. During 1968, four members of the Brisbane Youth
Circle were among those enrolled in this Polish language course.
Wiadomosci Polskie, 11 August, 1968.

[72] Wiadomosci Polskie, 25 December, 1968.

proclaimed towards the end of 1971:

> We believe that only through education will our
> youth be able to achieve status and recognition
> in Australian society. Our Polish community can
> be strong and healthy only if we have smart kids. [73]

During 1966, F. Wittholz conducted evening classes in the

Polish language in Adelaide, and was paid by the South

Australian Education Department. According to Poradnik

Nauczycielski, this was the first official acceptance of

the Polish language and was a precedent for other states. [74]

In Tasmania in 1970 there was similarly a course in the

Polish language offered by the Adult Education Board, and

in 1976, another in Adelaide taken by Z. Dembski within the

language programme of the Department of Adult Education of

The University of Adelaide. [75] A very recent development

has been the organisation of a matriculation class in Polish

by the Strathmont Further Education Centre in South Australia.

This is being conducted by the Polish-born and English-

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[73] August 1971. Bialo Czerwone Kolo Newsletter (The White and Red
Circle Newsletter), September 1971. Gromada, October 1971 and
May 1973. Biuletyn Organizacyjny Millenium (Millenium Bulletin),
8 September, 1972, p. 21.

[74] Nos. 5/6 (January/June 1966), p. 16. This course in Polish language
is still being offered by F. Wittholz. His class, now under the
umbrella of the Department of Further Education, was held in Goodwood
Boys' Technical High School. When the author and his wife attended
classes in 1974, the majority of students (out of approximately 12)
were second generation Poles or women who had married Polish husbands.

[75] The Mercury (Hobart), 25 February, 1970. "Adult Classes 1976",
Department of Adult Education, The University of Adelaide, p. 21.
This latter course had been conducted in "Dom Polski" in Adelaide
during 1975.

educated nun from the Polish religious community of the Sisters of the Resurrection (Sister J. Wroblewska). This activity received encouragement with the recognition of Polish as a matriculation subject by the South Australian Joint Matriculation Board in 1976.

At the ninth national congress of the Polish Ex-Servicemen's Association in Canberra in 1965, Kleeberg again issued a warning that Poles in Australia should carefully preserve their national and cultural traditions and ensure that their children were taught the Polish language and history. Hadzel, the Federal Secretary, called upon the Polish community to donate books and money to two funds to provide, firstly, a reference library on Poland at the Australian National University, and secondly, reference libraries on Australia for the Jagiellonian University in Cracow and the Catholic University in Lublin.[76]

It was hoped that the collection of books at the Australian National University would accelerate moves for the establishment of a lectureship in Polish studies at the university. While one of the main organisers of the collection, J. Zubrzycki of the Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University, anticipated receiving 800 to 1,000 books, by November 1966 the total number of books had reached 3,000. This collection of

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[76] The Canberra Times, 4 October, 1965.

books in Polish or on Poland, valued at $15,000, was purchased by the Millenium Committee or donated by individuals and libraries in Europe, North America and Australia, in commemoration of one thousand years of Christianity in Poland.[77] There was grave concern expressed by one correspondent to The Canberra Times[78] early in 1967 that it was both unrealistic and unwise to propose the establishment of a Polish lectorate within a Department of Russian Studies, and that instead, Polish and Russian lectorates should be situated rather in a general Department of Slavonic Studies. Although an appointment in Polish Studies has not been made at the university, there is now a Department of Slavonic Languages in which the Professor is Polish speaking (among other languages), and in which a lecturer from the Department of Linguistics within the same school conducts a course in Polish language and literature.

One of the more objective viewpoints on the development of the Polish community and of the role of Polish education in Australia was that of M. Szczepanowski. What annoyed this correspondent to Wiadomosci Polskie was the ignorance of both the masses and the leaders of Polish migrant life about the findings of sociology on

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[77]The Canberra Times, 29 October, 1966. An exhibition of these volumes and other objects of art was on display in the Menzies Building of the Australian National University Library from 9-19 November, 1966.

[78]13 January, 1967.

the problems of migration.   In his view, articles, speeches and

discussion on future plans of the Polish community were based purely

upon emotion and patriotism and on very little knowledge of history

and on no knowledge of sociology:

> Consequently, I often gain the impression that many of
> these speakers often want to impress more by their
> eloquent prose and emotionalism rather than by presenting [79]
> well thought out advice and direction based on knowledge.

He was referring specifically to the assimilation of future

generations of Poles in Australia in claiming that sociological

research had already shown many times before that the process of

assimilation could not be avoided.   However, through careful social

planning, the Polish first generation was able to prevent "a complete

catastrophe".   In comparison with Znaniecki's earlier analyses of the

Polish-American community, Szczepanowski advocated the formation of

a Polish-Australian community which would survive for generations.

He admitted he did not know how to educate people who, without

suffering internal conflicts, would appreciate the values of both

countries, cultures and traditions.   However, he did advocate the

establishment of a Polish Institute of Scientific Research in

Australia which would take the leading part in advertising in the

Polish community the advantages of a Polish-Australian community,

collecting finance in a perpetual fund, undertaking research on

migrant problems and cataloguing library and archives material.

It would also cooperate with the Education Commission in translating

research findings into practice, educating generations of the

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[79]Wiadomosci Polskie, 24 December, 1967.

Polish-Australian community, and in disseminating information about Poland among Australians. The Polish Institute would have its own locale, a rich scientific library, archives and well-educated people able to devote all their time to this work.

> In my mind there is not the slightest doubt that if we do not find such a place, let us say, within the next ten years, then in a couple of generations there will not remain the slightest trace of our Polish presence.[80]

In reply, Z. Posluszny claimed that Szczepanowski, in putting forward his reflections in such a fatalistic light, would nullify all sincere efforts towards transmitting Polish language and culture to future generations in Australia. In principle, he agreed with the idea of a Polish Institute for Scientific Research, though he rather favoured working with Zubrzycki in his attempts at gaining a lectureship in Polish Studies for the "Polish-Australian community" at the Australian National University.[81]

Szczepanowski answered that Polish social action leaders apparently did not want to read sociological research because it would prove to them that it was in fact necessary, unfortunately, to look into the future from some sort of fatalistic angle. He agreed with Posluszny that the establishment of a Polish section in the Menzies Library at the Australian National University as a future library for a Polish Studies lectureship was a sensible move. He did not see, however, that this should be instead of an autonomous scientific institute. For example, the many chairs of Slavic or

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[80] Ibid.

[81] Wiadomosci Polskie, 28 January, 1968.

Polish Studies in England, Canada and America had quite a different role to play than such institutions as the Polish Museum in Chicago or the Kosciusko Foundation in London.[82]

On this point he was in agreement with G. Czechowicz, Chairman of the Polish Historical Society in South Australia. He also believed that a Polish Scientific Institute was needed in Australia, and that it should be financially supported as were Institutes in England, France and America.[83] T. Wittholz also supported Szczepanowski on the establishment of a lectureship in Polish Studies in addition to the formation of a Polish Scientific Institute. In his opinion, Szczepanowski had every reason to sound the alarm about the rapid assimilation of Polish people into Australian society.[84]

It is, indeed, significant that Szczepanowski's article "Reflections on Assimilation" provoked very little discussion in reply. This appeared to indicate that other readers either agreed with him that the children of immigrants were quickly becoming assimilated, or that they were not able to find research which could refute this main contention.

It is also worth noting the opinion of a professional teacher (F.R. Wittholz) who, as well as taking an active role in the Polish educational movement in South Australia, was also

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[82] Wiadomosci Polskie, 25 February, 1968.

[83] Wiadomosci Polskie, 12 November, 1967.

[84] Wiadomosci Polskie, 24 March, 1968.

conducting within the Education Department night classes in the Polish language and was in 1968 a member of the Federal Education Commission. In his view, acquaintance with the Polish language was gradually disappearing as it was being pushed further back into the role of a family language. The child had no need to express himself in writing in Polish, and reading in Polish was being limited to lessons on the Polish language, history and geography at Saturday School. However, he did not believe that the loss of the Polish language necessarily meant a break with all ties of Polishness.[85] Indeed, there is a lack of agreement on the extent to which a particular language is necessary for the preservation of culture and identity. Polish ethnicity is, however, a language-centred one, and the shift from language to artifacts and dances has been claimed to mark a departure from the authentic to residual ethnicity.[86]

This appeared to be the standpoint of another significant figure in the Polish community, General Kleeberg. For him, the deciding factor in preserving Polishness and the continued existence of the Polish community in Australia was the eventual transference into the host society of the values that the older Poles were transmitting to their youth through ethnic homes and organisations. In this process, the Polish school should be playing the important role

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[85] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 16 (October 1968), pp. 18-19.

[86] J.J. Smolicz, "Ethnic Cultures in Australian Society: A Question of Cultural Interaction" in S. Murray-Smith (Ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education 1976 (Melbourne, 1976), pp. 48-55.

of giving youth a balanced view of the Polish home and Australian
life in order to produce a rounded Pole who would also be a loyal
and useful citizen of Australia. He believed that the Polish
heritage could greatly enrich the Australian way of life, and that
Polishness for youth would never be a hindrance.[87]

The author of a report in Wiadomosci Polskie in 1968 on a
sociological study in Sydney on Polish youth claimed that the results
gave rise to "a certain uneasiness", despite the various quotations
of young people in the study proclaiming their ties with Polishness
(see Appendix F2). His point was that the respondents, due to the
method of collecting names and addresses, comprised those who were
already well informed about and involved in the Polish community.
One indication of this was the proportion (76%) who stated that they
had attended Saturday School, when in the community as a whole,
"only a few percent of children pass through Saturday School". The
writer was apprehensive mainly on two points: the low proportions
in this sample considering themselves as Poles and wanting to marry
Polish partners, and the implications that these findings had for
the remainder of the less well-informed Polish youth in Sydney who
either did not return their questionnaires or were not included in
the sample. His only consolation was the thought that, since he was
living with the ideas of another hemisphere and another era, he may
be wrong in his conclusions![88]

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[87]Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 17 (January 1969), pp. 1-2.

[88]Wiadomosci Polskie, 18 February, 1968.

However, another study on Polish children aged 6 to 17 years attending Saturday Schools in Adelaide at this time confirmed the general conclusions derived from the survey of Sydney youth (see Appendix F3). The objectives of this questionnaire study were to find out what interested the children, what they were indifferent to, and their attitude to Poland and Polishness, in the hope that a better understanding of these Polish school children would "make lighter the task of the teacher in bringing up the children". The results did not cast "a very satisfactory light on the many problems concerned with the relationship of the children and youth in the schools, Poland and their descent". Yet the President of the Polish Educational Society considered them to be a valuable source of information for teachers, parents and the community in general in doubling their efforts to preserve Polish schools and maintain the children in Polishness. For, as the questionnaires indicated, it was clear that at least these 139 children had not completely lost their sense of Polish identity.[89]

Apart from these few surveys which generated uneasiness among Polish leaders towards what was occurring in reality, official addresses continued to proclaim that the goal of the Polish community in Australia was maintenance of a sense of identity and that this goal was to be achieved through the Polish schools.

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[89]Wiadomosci Polskie, 5 May, 1968. The study was to be repeated in Melbourne but no results were published. Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 13 (January 1968), p. 15.

We are and desire to be loyal and good citizens of
Australia, but as much for the good of Australia as
for Poland, we do not want to allow denationalisation.
We strongly desire to remain Poles for as long as
possible and in the end, Australians of Polish descent;
that is to say, Australians informed of our Polish
origin and conversant in the Polish language. This is
the goal of the work of all Polish organisations, and
above all the purpose of the Polish Educational Society.
The youth in these Polish schools comes to know Poland,
her past and her culture, ... and will recognise the
beauty of Poland and grow to love the country. We
want our youth to get to know and love that which is
dear to us, or if they are unable to love this, at
least to respect the fact that we love it.[90]

The twentieth anniversary of the Polish Educational Society
in South Australia (1974) was the occasion for the blessing of the
flag of that society by Bishop Wesoly. In his address, the Bishop
raised the question:

Why exactly do you Poles ... teach your children Polish?
... I say that if you want them to be people of value,
then they must know who they are, they have to have their
own identity and be aware of it, so that they can be the
sort of people who can contribute something. ... If I
have two cultures, then as a human being my whole
personality is richer. I have a better view of the
world, I have a greater ability of evaluating and of
actually understanding many values. This can only be
some kind of treasure, but it is also a treasure in the
sense that I know who I am.[91]

In New South Wales, the President of the Maitland Polish
Association in the 1960's and early 1970's continually emphasised

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[90]Address by S. Sronek in welcome of Bishop Rubin from Rome, at that
time Bishop to Polish emigrés throughout the world, at Marayong on
25 February, 1968. Wiadomosci Polskie, 24 March, 1968.

[91]Bishop Wesoly is the current Bishop, resident in Rome, to Polish
emigrés throughout the world. His address in Adelaide on
22 September, 1974 was taped at the akademia.

in The Hunter Valley Herald and The Mercury that Polish organisations were not simply exclusive, nationalistic cliques for expatriate Poles. Instead, they were to play a vital role in the upbringing of the second generation:

> Associations such as our's show our children, when they grow up, what their past was and where they came from - you cannot let any child face the future without a past.[92]

In this process, the Polish school in particular was seen as an important key. The Maitland Polish School, established in 1953, served as the basis of Polish social activities in the Maitland area, in addition to teaching children the language, history, geography, dances and traditions of Poland. The aim of the school was to give the children "a sense of belonging to a proud race" and "an understanding of their parents' customs and beliefs", thereby helping to prevent misunderstanding in the home by bridging the gap between the generations.[93]

It is clear from available evidence, however, that the majority of Polish parents in Australia were not sending their children to Saturday School. It is difficult to appreciate fully through study of the Polish literature their reasons for not sending their children when the beliefs of the most prominent

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[92] F. Dangel, The Hunter Valley Herald, 29 November, 1973. He was also a Life Member and Vice President of the Federal Council of Polish Organisations in Australia, a Justice of the Peace and an alderman of the Maitland City Council. He was presented with an award from the Polish Government-in-Exile in London for devotion over the years to social work on behalf of the Polish community. See also The Mercury, 13 July, 1972.

[93] The Mercury, 27 and 28 July, 1964; 8 June, 1966; 13 July, 1972.

leaders in the ethnic community were in support of the role that
the schools were playing. Undoubtedly, though, these reasons still
centred around the problems mentioned earlier in this chapter of
poorly trained teachers, shortage of adequate school buildings and
facilities, lack of authority and leadership for various reasons
shown by state and federal educational bodies, and most importantly,
the feeling of injustice on the part of the children at having to
attend school on Saturdays when they saw others taking full advantage
of their weekend leisure. Perhaps the intermediate viewpoint is
the one published in Poradnik Nauczycielski in 1970 in which the
writer considered the school situation to be somewhat artificial,
and the only way of bringing up youth in the Polish spirit was
through summer vacation camps. It was at such times that:

> the susceptibility of the mind and its whole disposition
> in the direction of Polishness, [was] much greater than
> during the school year.[94]

On camps, the children could be free of "bilingual thinking" and be
completely under the influence of a Polish environment, doing rather
than learning. The numbers of camp sites bought by Polish communi-
ties around Australia, and the quite extensive use to which they have
been put, certainly lend evidence for the view that many parents
since the early sixties have believed in the importance of summer
camps as an extension of, even if not a replacement for, Polish
schooling.

By January 1971, still the upbringing of Polish youth was
the main concern of community leaders. Delegates at two important

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[94]No. 24 (October 1974), p. 13 (unsigned article).

conferences in that month, the Federal Council in Sydney and the

Educational Commission in Melbourne, recognised that:

> The maintenance of our new generation in Polishness is
> a goal of the first magnitude, a goal the achievement
> of which no sacrifice is too great. The matter is
> pressing. Is the 200th anniversary going to create
> a new partition, the partition of our youth by the
> country in which we live? This time the fault will
> be completely with us.[95]

The delegates at the Federal Council conference (the 14th) once more

called for effort and financial backing from all Polish organisations

to maintain the young generation in Polishness. The Vice-President,

J. Dunin-Karwicki, commented in his address on the decreasing

attendance at Polish schools and stated that the arrest of this·

decline was of great concern for the Federal Council. One worth-

while experiment of the late 1960's had been the exchange of visits

between groups of students from Polish high schools in Sydney and

Melbourne. Such excursions, like scouts and summer camps, contributed

to "the mutual acquaintance of our youth and the creation of future

foundations for organising the Polish community in this country".[96]

Among the recommendations of the congress of the Educational

Commission were:

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[95] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 25 (March 1971), p. 1. The question
contains a reference to the first partition of Poland in 1772.

[96] Protokoly, op. cit., 30-31 January, 1971. Dunin-Karwicki gave the
Federal Council's report because Kleeberg, who had been President
for 16 years, had died in a car accident on the night of 4 July,
1970, on his way to the annual Polonia Australiana Ball in Maitland.
See The Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate and The Sun,
6 July, 1970. Kleeberg had been a very respected man among the
Polish community in Australia, and his death was a severe blow to
the unity of Polish organisations in this country.

(1)   the construction of a middle school syllabus;

(2)   the foundation of lessons for grades five and six at
      elementary schools;

(3)   the dissemination of a unified syllabus for teaching in
      elementary schools; and

(4)   the publication of a bulletin every six months with the
      aim of maintaining ties with particular community centres
      around Australia.[97]

In October 1971, one of the main themes of the conference
of School Inspectors of the Educational Commission in Melbourne was
"Should the Polish language continue to be the language of teaching?"
The raising of this theme in itself, and the expression of it in the
form of a question, suggests that the Polish educational authorities
by this time considered the situation to be very serious. One speaker
commented: "Is this not a shame for the second generation of migrants
already to be learning the language of their fathers as a foreign
language?"[98]

By 1973, the evidence on Saturday school attendance led the
Polish Educational Society to present a rather pessimistic report
to the Federal Council's 15th Conference. In New South Wales, for
instance, in 1971 there had been 301 students in the Society's
primary schools, 29 in middle/high schools, 9 primary schools,
2 middle/high schools and 17 teachers; in 1972, 256 primary school

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[97] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 25 (March 1971), p. 1.

[98] Poradnik Nauczycielski, No. 27 (September/December 1971), p. 2.

students, 27 middle/high school students, 7 primary schools, 3

middle/high schools and 15 teachers. The report stated that the

numbers of youth in Polish schools was decreasing every year, the

main reason being apathy of the Polish community, both the organised

and unorganised sections, concerning the upbringing of youth in the

Polish spirit. It claimed that discussion at the Federal Council

level was too strongly dominated by political matters of internal

dissension.

> Youth is our future. It is to them that we must transfer
> our heritage, or we shall disappear as a nation. We are
> still going along in the same miserable direction. The
> young people are aware of our argumentation and walk away
> from us.[99]

Despite frequent statements, therefore, on the significance

of the role of Polish education and of Polish youth in the maintenance

of the Polish community in Australia, surveys, statistics and asser-

tions by those in positions of leadership continually underlined the

contradiction between ideals and practice. Yet the first generation

Polish leaders have not in the main taken an introverted, ethnocentric

stance. Pronouncements quoted in this chapter rather indicate that

these leaders have argued for cultural interaction founded upon a

culturally pluralist base.

To a large extent, the educational initiatives over the last

25 years of the Polish community and its organisational leaders can

be interpreted in terms of demography. The Polish "bulge" as it

grew older called for new developments at each of the different

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[99]Protokoly, op. cit., 27-28 January, 1973, p. 34.

phases: elementary schooling in the 1950's; secondary education in the 1960's; moves for the teaching of the Polish language at post-secondary levels and the formation of youth clubs of all types in the middle and latter 1960's. One wonders, then, what will be the future for formal Polish education as the children of the 1948-51 immigrants pass into adulthood and the first and second generation Polish community is not replenished at its youngest levels with new arrivals from overseas.

And what of the second generation individuals in Australia by the 1970's: are they really "Poles apart" from the first generation as some community leaders imagine? Simply because numbers at Polish schools are diminishing, does this imply a diminution in Polishness? It is with these and other questions in mind that samples of second generation Poles in South Australia were selected to be observed, questionnaired and interviewed concerning their ethnicity and assimilation patterns. After examining the society in which the first generation was raised, the circumstances of that generation's immigration to Australia, and the two worlds into which its children have been socialised, it is to the analysis of samples of the Polish first and second generations that the discussion now turns.

CHAPTER 6

THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATION SAMPLES IN THIS STUDY

1. The Sampling Procedures

Students attending tertiary education institutions (mainly The University of Adelaide) in Adelaide between 1971 and 1974, and who had at least one parent born in Poland, were the central focus of this research. While very little study has been done in Australia on migrant youth in their later teens and early twenties, it might be expected that it is from research on precisely this age group that the greatest refinement of current social scientific concepts concerning ethnic adaptation and cultural transmission could be derived. Compared with school children, they are more mature, and have experienced for a longer time the marginality of their position between the world of home and that of "outside" society. In the particular instance of those undergoing tertiary education, it may be assumed that, since they are no longer under the direct control of their parents as schoolchildren, and yet have not the responsibilities of adults who have completed their formal education, they are in a position from which they are able to view home, education, Australian society, and their parents' migration from a relatively detached standpoint.

Students with tertiary education are also chosen as the focal point of the study because, when dealing with the more subtle and complex levels of experience, it is easier to grasp the problems pertaining to the objectives of the research. Not only are those with tertiary education better informed, which may result in a larger variety of opinions, but they find it easier to express themselves which

facilitates research.[1]

That very little work has been done on tertiary educated second generation ethnics has probably been the result of the paucity of suitable statistics maintained by Australian tertiary education institutions (in particular, the lack of records on the birthplace of parents of such students), and also the difficulty of finding opportunities to interview and/or conduct questionnaire surveys on tertiary students who, unlike those at school, have neither set class periods nor compulsory attendance. The consequence of the first difficulty is that the researcher does not know exactly the total numbers in the particular population which he is attempting to net; the consequence of the second difficulty is that he cannot easily survey the entire population of tertiary education institutions and locate suitable subjects.

The researcher is, therefore, obliged to utilize some focus within the institution which will provide at least a nucleus of subjects of the required population which can subsequently be augmented. The two possibilities of augmenting the nucleus are by contacting acquaintances of subjects already netted, and/or conducting a name-count (i.e.: of Polish-sounding names) on enrolment lists. Each of these methods was employed in the gathering of the Polish Tertiary Sample. The Adelaide University Polish Club was used as the nucleus,

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[1] B. Szacki, "Two Kinds of Past-Time Orientation", The Polish Sociological Bulletin, Nos. 1-2 (1972), p. 65. Examination of material in questionnaires of the tertiary students, compared with that of the non-tertiary subjects, clearly illustrates this basic point.

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supplemented by contacts of the members of this club and by a name

count on The University of Adelaide's enrolment lists.

The Adelaide University Polish club was founded by students

at The University of Adelaide in 1971, but was never intended as an

association exclusively for students of that university. By its

very constitution, it was to include students of other tertiary

education institutions in Adelaide.[2] The original 1971 list[3] of

Polish tertiary students who were "claimed" to be members (financial

or otherwise) of the club actually contained 12 out of 52 who were

students of tertiary education institutions other than Adelaide

University. Many of these original 52 students were very irregular

attenders at club meetings and functions, and the nature of the

"membership" of the club was to continue in this way in the following

years. The close informal friendships within the context of the loose

organisational ties, combined with the pressure of tertiary study

experienced to differing degrees by the students, resulted in the club

having in these years a core of "regular" members as well as a number

of "irregular" participants.

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[2] See Chapter 5, p. 203-4. In fact, several of the executive of the
club have been students at institutions other than The University of
Adelaide, including the secretary in 1971 and 1972 (Western Teachers
College), the president in 1973 and 1974 (South Australian Institute
of Technology), the co-president in 1974 (Flinders University) and
the vice-president in 1975 (Flinders University). On the 9 April,
1976, however, because of university regulations on financial
subsidies to clubs, the Constitution was altered so that the
executive had to be comprised of Adelaide University Student Union
members. Other club officers were not included in this ruling;
thus the Liaison Officer and the Social Organiser in 1976 were both
Flinders University students.

[3] This list was supplied to the author by the President of the club
(G. Kruszewski) at that time.

In addition to these two elements in the Tertiary Sample, the method of conducting a name-count on enrolment lists yielded other subjects at the university who could not be labelled participants in either the "regular" or "irregular" sense. While it is useful in description of the structure of the Tertiary Sample to depict these different categories of student, in the analysis of results the demarcation line between the irregular participants and the non-participants was believed to be so blurred as not to be worth drawing. Diagrammatically, the composition of the Tertiary Sample can thus be represented in the following way:

FIGURE 1 : THE COMPOSITION OF THE POLISH TERTIARY SAMPLE

NR

R_N

R_I

R_I

R_M

R_M

Other Tertiary Education Institutions in South Australia

The University of Adelaide
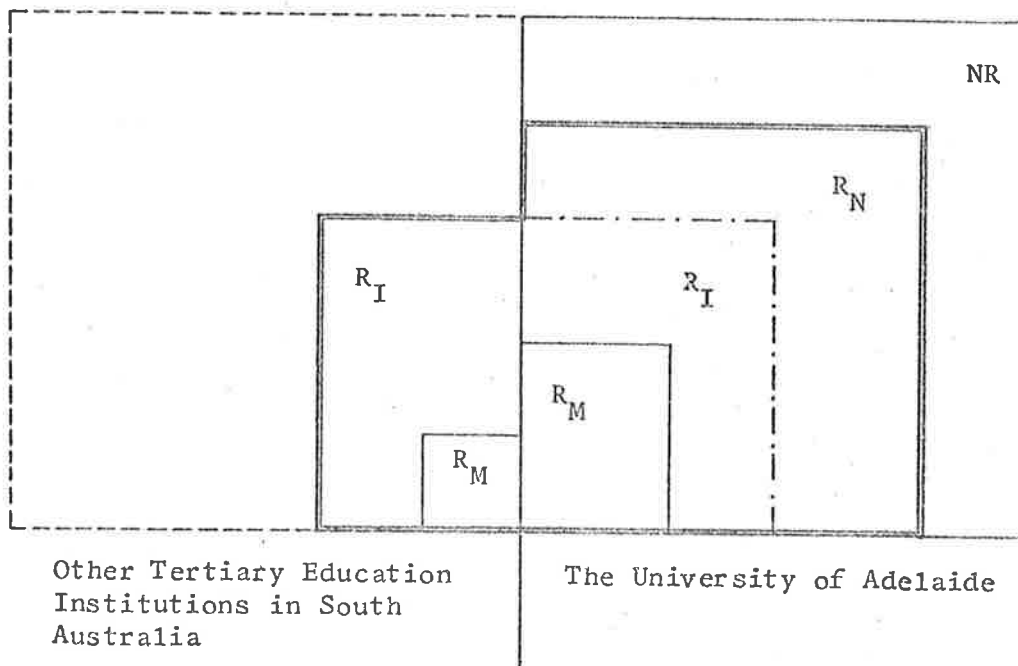
R_M Respondents classified as members of the Adelaide University Polish Club (n = 34)

R_I Respondents classified as "irregular participants")
) (n = 78)
R_N Respondents who are non-participants   )

NR Non-respondents (n = 41)

‖ The Polish Tertiary Sample (n = 112)

There were, therefore, 34 subjects who were categorised as members and 78 as either irregular participants or non-participants. This division between members on the one hand and irregular participants and non-participants on the other was one of the two main lines of demarcation in the Tertiary Sample of 112.

The second main division was between Adelaide University students and students of other tertiary education institutions in South Australia. Eighty seven subjects were enrolled at The University of Adelaide, 9 were students at the South Australian Institute of Technology, 8 at the Flinders University of South Australia, and 8 at Colleges of Advanced Education in Adelaide. By the nature of the selection of the Tertiary Sample, these latter 25 students were either members or irregular participants at the Adelaide University Polish Club. If this research had been exclusively based upon participation, then the sample would have included only the "regular" and "irregular" participants in the club. On the other hand, had there been more time, money and freedom of access to names and addresses at all tertiary education institutions in South Australia, then the above chart could have been completed by name-counts on all their enrolment lists.

The bias in the present Tertiary Sample as a whole, therefore, lies in the absence of non-participants from tertiary education institutions other than The University of Adelaide. For reasons implicit in the above discussion, however, the approach undertaken was the most practicable one available to the author at the time the study was commenced.

To complete the numerical analysis of the composition of the sample, the following breakdown by the two main lines of division is presented.

TABLE 15: THE POLISH TERTIARY SAMPLE BY TERTIARY EDUCATION
INSTITUTION ATTENDED AND DEGREE OF AFFILIATION WITH
THE ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY POLISH CLUB

Tertiary Education Institution attended	Members	Irregular participants and non-participants	Total
The University of Adelaide	29	58	87
Flinders University of South Australia	2	6	8
The South Australian Institute of Technology	2	7	9
Colleges of Advanced Education	1	7	8
Total	34	78	112

The name-count method of gathering the sample proved not to be very efficient, for in the drive not to miss any eligible Polish student, a considerable proportion (26%) of the total number of respondents (n = 158) was found to be ineligible for inclusion in the Tertiary Sample either because they were non-Polish wives of Polish husbands, or they were students of Australian parentage, or most commonly, they were members of other ethnic groups. It is very likely that a number of the 41 non-respondents would have been ineligible for the same reasons. An example of the first category was this student who was polite enough to reply:

> Dear Sir, I do not believe you are aware that I am Mrs ...
> and it is my husband who has an Eastern European background;
> he is not a student. I return your questionnaire unanswered.
> Cordially yours (signed).

As an example of the second category, one fifth generation Australian student lightheartedly commented:

> The questionnaire and letter you sent make me feel almost
> apologetic that I do not come from Eastern European parentage.
> However, if you travel east from Adelaide, bearing north, you
> eventually come to Ireland from where my forebears of several
> generations ago hail. After all, the direction of any location
> depends upon how you approach it ... As I suspect I don't quite
> qualify for your research and also to help you to cut costs, I
> will return your form. Thank you for an opportunity for deep
> contemplation, etc.

Another student telephoned to say that his family had been in Australia for 120 years, he had Anglicised Christian names, and he did not consider himself in any way Eastern European. Yet another obliged by attempting to complete the questionnaire:

> I am fourth generation Australian by birth. Many questions are not applicable but I have completed the questionnaire as fully as possible ... [In answer to question 16b] I am an Australian and know nothing of Poland.

It is also possible that the name-count method, while it included in the net ineligible subjects, missed eligible subjects who were (a) females married to non-Poles, (b) daughters of Polish mothers and non-Polish fathers, (c) students with non-Polish-sounding (e.g. German) names, or (d) students who have changed their names to Anglo-Saxon ones.[4]

Through the means previously outlined, 117 eligible replies were received of which 5 were incomplete. Two of these respondents wrote letters stating that they could not complete the questionnaire because their fathers only were Polish (and by implication, that they did not consider the questions pertinent to their situation):

> I do not wish to complete this questionnaire as I am English by birth and nationality, my father is Polish by birth but is a naturalised British person. I therefore [sic!] have no knowledge of the Polish way of life nor do I engage in any Polish activities.

> I find your questions very difficult to answer. To be more explicit, I am an Australian, my mother is Australian, and on the whole, her influence upon our life-style has predominated. Perhaps this is more so in latter years ... Socially, we couldn't be more divorced from the Polish community - my father more and more so with time.

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[4] The author believes, however, that his other method of working through contacts of the Polish Club greatly reduced the likelihood of missing very many eligible subjects.

The complete breakdown of the (estimated) total population was as follows:

Total number of questionnaires distributed		203
Respondents not "Polish"	41	
Unlocated	2	
First generation (known from university enrolment records)	2	
Total number ineligible	45	
Total number in the tertiary cohort		158
Total number of non-respondents	41	
Total number of eligible respondents		117
Incomplete replies	5	
Total number of complete replies		112

The number of eligible respondents (117) from the total cohort (158) yielded a response rate of 74%, while the total number of respondents of all types (41 + 117) from the total number of questionnaires distributed (203) gave a response rate of 78%. The length of the questionnaire (16 pages) was undoubtedly one of the most important reasons for the return rate not being higher than 74%. A second reason which was reported to the author by some of the respondents was the suspicion on the part of a few students of the research number system on the questionnaires, and a lack of understanding as to how they came to receive a follow-up note reminding them to return the completed forms. A third reason was the general scepticism about the value of social scientific research coupled with a particular aversion to questionnaires.

From the Tertiary Sample of 112, 45 students were given depth interviews. The fundamental concern was to interview subjects who were categorised into the "ideal types" derived from the scoring of

the respondents' questionnaires (see Chapters 7 and 10). A
secondary consideration was to interview as many of the Adelaide
University Polish Club members as possible. In this interview
subsample, there resulted an over-representation in females, although
in other characteristics, it compared closely with the total Tertiary
Sample. Thirty four attended Adelaide University, 3 Flinders
University and 4 each at the Institute of Technology and the Colleges
of Advanced Education. There were 20 males and 25 females, and by
birthplace of parents, 31 were of Polish-Polish, 9 of Polish-other
European and 5 of Polish-Anglo-Saxon marriages.

Although tertiary education students were the prime focus of
the research, it was considered that it would be informative from a
comparative viewpoint also to examine (though necessarily in less
breadth and depth) other youth who had at least one parent born in
Poland. It was felt that this would enable the author to approach
with more understanding conclusions founded on data gathered only from
those undergoing tertiary education. It was also considered that the
samples of youth could be arranged along the two dimensions which could
be expected to have the greatest influence on the adaptation of the
second generation - education and ethnic organisational membership.
Accordingly, 31 members of The White and Red Circle (Bialo Czerwone
Kolo) and the Tatry Polish Dancing Group comprised the Non-Tertiary
Sample. This sample was obtained by handing out questionnaires to
those present at meetings and practice sessions and then collecting
completed replies in the following weeks.

From the very beginning the intention was not to net samples
representative of the entire second generation of Polish immigrants
in South Australia. At the time this research commenced, it was not

possible to achieve such a sample, since the number and nature of

the total population was not at the time known. Only since the 1971

census data have become available has it been known that there are

14,424 Australian-born persons in South Australia who have at least

one parent Polish-born, and among these, 9,627 who have both parents

born in Poland (see Table 16).

TABLE 16: NUMBERS OF SECOND GENERATION POLES IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND
AUSTRALIA: 1971 CENSUS

Geographical location	Persons who have Polish-born fathers (a)	Persons who have Polish-born mothers (b)	Persons who have both parents Polish-born (c)	Total number of persons who have at least one parent Polish-born (a + b - c)
South Australia:				
Metropolitan	11,135	9,389	8,294	12,230
Other urban	1,096	1,399	971	1,524
Rural	444	571	356	659
Migratory	7	10	6	11
Total State	13,115	10,936	9,627	14,424
Australia	113,458	95,332	84,255	124,535

The aim was rather to achieve a satisfactory number of second

generation Poles undertaking tertiary studies and, for comparative

purposes, to net a less numerous sample of second generation Poles

in other situations. It is methodologically substantiated and done

in practice to use non-representative materials in sociology when

the objective is theoretical rather than the gathering of information

concerning a given population.[5] Non-representative samples were

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[5]Szacki, op. cit., p. 65.

employed in this research since it was not primarily concerned with
the distribution of opinions, but with the _nature_ of different types
of adaptation of the second generation of Polish immigrants.

The emphasis in the analysis of the research material was on
its _qualitative_ rather than quantitative nature.[6] The data extra-
polated from the questionnaires were coded and fed into the computer.
This information, however, was not analysed in any formal, statistical
depth[7] because of the nature and size of the sample, but was inter-
preted with the insights of humanistic sociology gained from depth
interviews and participant observation of the Polish youth clubs.
Very few studies, in fact, have attempted "to go behind the numbers
and feel a way into the various human situations they represent".[8]
Most have been rather dry descriptive surveys of, to take the most
common example, the numbers of ethnic children with English language

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[6]P. Robinson has stated that the researcher must engage in debate with
himself in an attempt to elicit the basis of his own perception.
Robinson's own bias, as a result of his particular training as a
social scientist, was "towards a scepticism with quantitative
methods, a belief that the constant search after the methodology
of the natural sciences has produced some sophisticated and elegant
statistical techniques, but has done little to enhance man's under-
standing of man." "An Ethnography of Classrooms" in J. Eggleston
(Ed.), _Contemporary Research in the Sociology of Education_ (London,
1974), pp. 251-252.

[7]H. Mayer wrote in his review of _Jews in Australian Society_ by
P.Y. Medding (Ed.):
    "'Commitment' [to Jewishness] is chopped up into a collection
    of discrete units, easily operationalised and codable ...
    The work becomes technically more impressive as its sterility
    increases ... The price of such an approach is the avoidance
    of any openly qualitative appraisals through the mindless
    multiplication of indexes of an alleged 'identity'."
The Australian, 13 October, 1973.

[8]B. Jackson and D. Marsden, _Education and the Working Class_
(Ringwood, 1966), p. 26.

difficulties. Only a very piecemeal and superficial image can be

constructed, however, by adding together the variety of statistics

> from the numbers who do this or do not do that, from the
> percentage who said that they believe in God, or who
> thought free love was "all right in its way". A sociological
> survey may or may not assist us here, but clearly we have to
> try to see beyond the habits to what the habits stand for,
> to see through the statements to what the statements really
> mean (which may be the opposite to the statements themselves),
> to detect the differing pressures of emotion behind idiomatic
> phrases and ritualistic observances.[9]

Thus it was not necessary, given the objectives and approach of this

study, to achieve large numbers of the Polish second generation.

Examples of notable doctoral studies on ethnics in Australia using

an in-depth approach on small samples are those by J. Martin, C. Cronin

and R. Johnston. Martin's intensive work on Displaced Persons in a

migrant hostel in "Burton" in 1953 involved a total sample of 71.

Thirty three case histories were incomplete, however, and the main

subsample was actually only 38. The follow-up study in 1962 was

based on 31 of the original sample of 38.[10] Detailed research by

Cronin on the Sicilian family in Sicily and in Australia was based

upon samples of 48 immigrant Sicilians and 15 second generation

adult Sicilian Australians.[11] A third study, Johnston's investigation

of Western Australian Poles in Perth, Northam and Collie, involved

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[9] R. Hoggart, Uses of Literacy (Ringwood, 1957), p. 17.

[10] J.I. Craig, "The Assimilation of European Immigrants," Doctorate
thesis, Australian National University (1954); and J.I. Martin,
Refugee Settlers (Canberra, 1965), pp. 3-8.

[11] C. Cronin, "The Sicilian Family in Sicily and in Australia: A
Study of Social Change", Doctorate thesis, University of Chicago
(1967); and The Sting of Change (Chicago, 1970), pp. xiii-xv, 133-141.

samples of 60, 21 and 21 respectively.[12] Another study on Poles in

New Zealand by W.M. Gillis for her Master of Arts in Psychology

used material from interviews with 40 subjects in Wellington and

questionnaires from 21 of those same interviewees.[13]

2. The Parents of the Polish Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples

Ninety two (90%) of the 102 fathers[14] of the tertiary students

were born in Poland. Of the remaining 10, 7 other fathers were born

in East Central Europe within the territory of "historic Poland"

(4 in Russia and 3 in the Ukraine). The other 3 fathers were born

in Hungary, Germany and France. In terms of language, religion and

birthplace of their parents, however, 7 of these 10 fathers were

Polish by ethnicity. The predominance of Polish fathers is consis-

tent with other studies on Polish youth and with 1971 census data,

and is expected given the methods of subject selection. The mothers

of the Tertiary Sample showed greater heterogeneity in birthplace.

There were still, however, 72 (71%) born in Poland, and another 11 in

East Central Europe. There were 9 born in Germany and 8 who were

Anglo-Saxon-born (6 in Australia, 2 in Britain). The other two were

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[12] R. Johnston, "Factors in the Assimilation of Selected Groups of
Polish Postwar Immigrants in Western Australia", Doctorate thesis,
University of Western Australia (1963); and Immigrant Assimilation,
(Perth, 1965), pp. 60-64.

[13] W.M. Gillis, The Poles in Wellington, New Zealand: A Phenomenological
Study (Wellington, 1954), pp. 12, 22-36.

[14] The Tertiary Sample contained ten pairs of siblings. There were
thus only 102 pairs of parents. In subsequent analysis, where
purely factual data are presented, the total number of fathers
or mothers is shown as 102, but where opinions of students are
sought concerning their parents and it is therefore conceivable
that siblings may give differing replies, then the total number
of fathers or mothers is given as 112.

born in Italy and France. The parents of the non-tertiary subjects were of very homogeneous background in terms of birthplace. Fifty eight (97%) of the 60 parents[15] were Polish-born; one mother was German-born and the other Australian-born.

The great majority of the fathers of the Tertiary Sample (n = 87, 85%) and of the Non-Tertiary Sample (n = 26, 87%) arrived in Australia in the peak years of Polish immigration, 1947-1951 (see Table 17).

TABLE 17: YEAR OF ARRIVAL IN AUSTRALIA OF THE FATHERS OF BOTH SAMPLES				
Year of arrival	Fathers of the Tertiary Sample		Fathers of the Non-Tertiary Sample	
	n	Countries from which they emigrated	n	Countries from which they emigrated
Unknown, but IRO assisted	1		1	
1947	2			
1948	9		3	
1949	37		5	
1950	31		12	
1951	7		5	
1952	4	Germany 2, England 2		
1956	2	England		
1958			1	Poland
1959	1	Poland		
1960	2	England 1, Poland 1	1	Poland
1964	2	England 1, Poland 1		
1965	2	England		
1966	1	Poland		
1967			1	England
1968			1	England
1970	1	Poland		
Totals	102		30	

[15]The Non-Tertiary Sample included one pair of siblings, and thus there were only 30 pairs of parents. Analysis of data follows the same principle as outlined in the previous footnote.

Among the families of the Tertiary Sample, 9 had spent some time in England before re-emigrating to Australia, and eight of them had had children born in that country (9 respondents born in England includes one pair of siblings). Two families with children had arrived from Germany in early 1952. The other 4 families had migrated directly from Poland between 1959 and 1966 and had brought with them their children born in the homeland.

Similarly, in the case of the families of the Non-Tertiary Sample, 2 had resided until the late 1960's in England where the respondents had been born, and the other 2 had migrated directly from Poland in 1958 and 1960 bringing children born in that country. In these samples, therefore, there were 4 families who could be considered as being part of the "Polish thaw" immigration to Australia between 1956 and 1961.[16]

As far as can be ascertained from information given in questionnaires and interviews, there were at least 15 subjects (including 2 pairs of siblings), who had either one or both parents involved in the deportations from Poland to Russia, and from there later in the war passed through such countries as Persia, Iraq, Egypt, Italy, Palestine, Africa and England. One of the fathers married an Italian wife, and three fathers later married Australian-born wives after arrival in this country. These 15 subjects gave the year in which their parents had left Poland as 1939 (6), 1940 (5) and 1941 (1). (Three did not answer.) The overwhelming majority of the remaining parents had spent at least one year in Germany before arrival in Australia.[17]

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[16] See Chapter 1, pp. 5-6 and Chapter 3, pp. 86-7.

[17] See Chapter 3, pp. 83-86.

Most of the parents were assisted in their passage to

Australia either by the International Refugee Organisation or by

the Australian Government. Eight families were assisted by relatives

and friends, all post-1951 arrivals, three from England and five from

Poland. Four families were non-assisted, again post-1951 arrivals,

three from England and one from Poland. Three other families were

assisted by other means.

Why did the parents choose to emigrate to Australia? Table 18

summarises the reasons as given by the second generation respondents.

TABLE 18: REASONS WHY PARENTS OF THE TWO SAMPLES CHOSE TO EMIGRATE TO AUSTRALIA IN PARTICULAR

Reasons as given by subjects	Tertiary Sample (n)	Non-Tertiary Sample (n)	Total N	%
1. Economic considerations	60	18	78	30
2. Political reasons	49	6	55	21
3. Educational and occupational opportunities for their children	42	13	55	21
4. Climate	15	3	18	7
5. Relatives or friends in Australia	15	2	17	6
6. To travel	6	1	7	3
7. To get married	5	1	6	2
8. Other:				
Next ship was heading for Australia	8	0	8	3
Entry requirements suitable	6	1	7	3
No specific reason	2	0	2	1
Miscellaneous	7	3	10	4
Total number of replies:	215	48	263	101

It is clearly evident from the table that economic and political

reasons and considerations about their children's future were by far the

most important influences leading to the parents' decisions to come to

Australia. Since the majority of the parental sample were Displaced

Persons from the camps of Germany, one may have expected "political

reasons" to have been more significant than indicated. Probably if

the parents themselves had been interviewed, they would have attached

more weight to this particular component. The political importance of

immigration naturally tends to be under-estimated by the second gen-

eration who did not experience the European 1940's at first hand.

The students were also asked how they would describe their

parents and were presented with four alternatives. The breakdown

was as follows:

Economic migrants	23
Political refugees	24
Voluntary political migrants	57
Familial migrants	3
Don't know	2
No answer	3
Total	112

In this question, the political element assumed a greater significance

in contradistinction to the economic one. Eighty one (72%) of the

second generation sample described their parents as "political refugees"

or "voluntary political migrants". The distinction between the two

categories of political immigrants was left open in the questionnaire,

and it is therefore interesting to note the proportions of students who

opt for one or the other. It appears that the students preferred the

voluntary category in reflecting that their parents did have the choice

of returning to their homeland after the war or of emigrating to

another country. In the other interpretation, the parents from the

1939-41 exodus had no such choice, and in that sense, could be

described as political refugees.

An interesting light is cast on this issue of choosing to come

to Australia by another question. Forty five (40%) students stated that

Australia, in fact, was not the first choice for country of emigration,

and gave other countries (67 replies) to which their parents would

have preferred to have emigrated. Thirty two replies mentioned

North America (Canada 18, the United States 13, North America 1),

14 South America (Argentina 7, Brazil 3, South America 4), and a

further 9 "America". Other countries stated were France (3),

New Zealand (2), South Africa (3) and England (4 students whose

families did go to England before coming to Australia). These

answers clearly reveal the preference of those Polish parents, who

did not have Australia as their first choice, for emigrating to

either North or South America.

Most of the parents of both samples were between the ages

of 20 and 40 years on arrival in Australia (see Table 19). Expressed

another way, the significant fact here is that 91 of 196 European-

born parents of the Tertiary Sample and 32 of the 59 European-born

parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample arrived in Australia below the age

of 30 years. At the other end of the age scale, only 16 parents in

either parental samples arrived over the age of 40 years, and in

fact, a mere 4 of these were over 50 years.

TABLE 19: AGE ON ARRIVAL OF PARENTS OF BOTH SAMPLES				
Age on Arrival	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)
Below 20	1	5	0	1
20-24	13	24	1	9
25-29	20	28	13	8
30-34	28	14	3	3
35-39	24	15	8	4
40	5	1	1	1
41-45	5	1	0	1
Above 45	3	2	3	1
Anglo-Saxon	0	8	0	1
No answer	3	4	1	1
Total	102	102	30	30

Nine percent (n = 12) of the fathers and 2% (n = 3) of the mothers

had completed their university studies. Another 16% (n = 21) of

the fathers and 9% (n = 12) of the mothers had had either an incomplete

university education or a tertiary education at teachers colleges and

sub-polytechnic type institutions. At the other end of the educational

scale, as many as one half of the parents had had only a primary

education (see Table 20).

TABLE 20: EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF THE PARENTS OF BOTH SAMPLES

Educational Status	Parents of the Tertiary Sample		Parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)
Incomplete primary	21	29	11	15
Complete primary	16	19	7	8
Incomplete secondary	24	18	6	4
Complete secondary	12	20	2	2
Incomplete university	6	2	1	–
Complete university	10	3	1	–
Postgraduate	1	–	–	–
Other forms of tertiary education	12	9	2	1
No answer (both Australian born)	–	2	–	–
Totals:	102	102	30	30

Considering the interruptions of the war years and the subsequent

displacement of the parents, this proportion with primary schooling only

is not unexpected. In actual fact, the fathers of the tertiary students

were far more highly educated than the total Polish male intakes of the

postwar years.[18] However, it is generally the case that parents of

tertiary educated students show a higher mean educational standard than

[18]See Chapter 3, Table 10.

do parents of the total population. In support of this, the parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample were not so highly educated as those of the Tertiary Sample, although the proportion of tertiary educated was still higher than that estimated for the total Polish population entering Australia after 1947.[19]

Few had the time, motivation or knowledge of the English language to continue with studies in Australia. Only six tertiary students indicated that one of their parents (5 fathers, 1 mother) had undertaken any study in this country. Only one of these parents had achieved notable occupational mobility, from being a fitter and turner before the war to a clerk, salesman and then a university lecturer in Australia following six years of education after arrival. (This person's wife was Australian-born and had a tertiary education herself.)

Among the parents of the Tertiary Sample, 22 fathers and 23 mothers were employed in non-manual occupations before migration to Australia (22% of that parental sample). The largest number of fathers in any one category of the Broom and Jones "Occupational Prestige Scale"[20] was 28 employed as skilled manual workers, while another 25 were categorised as unskilled manual workers (see Table 21). Within category VI, there were 15 fathers and 8 mothers who were classified as farm workers before migration.[21]

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[19]But numbers of tertiary educated parents in the sample were very small. It may also be the case that the respondents tended to over-estimate their parents' educational standard.

[20]See Appendix E2.

[21]A difficulty lay in classification of parents as "farm workers" or "farmers". Taking into consideration the fact that nearly all of the 24 fathers and 14 mothers of both samples had received only a few years of primary schooling, it was decided to classify all of the 38 rural workers (14% of the parents) in occupational category VI.

TABLE 21: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE PARENTS OF BOTH SAMPLES

Occupational Status	Parents of the Tertiary Sample (n)				Parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample (n)			
	Fathers before Migration	Fathers now	Mothers before Migration	Mothers now	Fathers before Migration	Fathers now	Mothers before Migration	Mothers now
I Professional	12	9	14	6	-	-	-	-
II Managerial and Farmers	3	5	0	1	1	1	0	-
III Clerical	7	8	9	5	3	-	1	1
IV Skilled manual	28	32	2	-	7	10	3	-
V Semi-skilled manual	4	25	5	17	1	8	2	7
VI Service and Unskilled manual	25	18	17	30	11	10	12	10
Student	11	-	3	-	2	-	-	-
Army	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	-	4	8*	8*	3	1	1*	1*
Home duties/none/no answer	2	1	44	35	2	-	11	11
Totals	102	102	102	102	30	30	30	30

*Anglo-Saxon born mothers.

Another 14 parents were students before migration, and 10 other fathers were listed as being in the army. It is probable that some of the latter had other occupations before World War II but that the subjects had given their occupation as in the army prior to migration. As far as can be ascertained from available data, however, at least 7 of these 10 were actually in the army as their employment, while another 2 were students in 1939 but were then drafted. The seven in the army included 2 soldiers, 2 lieutenants, 1 major-sergeant, 1 captain and 1 other unspecified "officer"; the two students were drafted as soldiers; the tenth father became an army transport driver.

By the early 1970's, 22 of the fathers and 12 of the mothers had occupations which could be classed as non-manual. The most significant alteration in comparison with the occupational scale before migration was the large increase in category V (semi-skilled manual), the result of differences inthe economic structures of prewar Poland and postwar Australia. This occupational rung is comprised mainly of operatives, process workers and employees in railway,road and sea transport. While prewar Poland was largely an agricultural country (see Chapter 2) and thus did not have many of such workers, one of the primary reasons for assisting Displaced Persons to Australia in the late 1940's was to provide manpower for the development of the country's secondary industries. It is not surprising to discover, therefore, that the number of fathers in category V was 25, and that 17 of the 18 in category VI were labourers. In addition, another 35 who were not coded as labourers were stated to have had labouring

jobs after arrival in Australia.[22] Twenty seven of the mothers were employed as domestic and other service-workers (category VI), while 11 of the fathers were employed in the early 1970's by the South Australian Railways and several others had had such jobs since arriving in Australia.

Among the parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample, 4 fathers and 1 mother were in non-manual occupations before migration (8% of that parental sample). The one father in category II was an office manager both before arrival and in Australia. The 3 other non-manual working fathers before migration comprised a clerk, stationmaster and policeman. Altogether, there were 9 fathers and 6 mothers in this parental sample who were farm workers before migration. The most significant shift following migration again occurred in category V which increased in the case of fathers from 1 to 8, and in the case of mothers from 2 to 7. By the 1970's, only one father and one mother retained their non-manual status, the remainder being in manual jobs. Thus the parents of the non-tertiary subjects are collectively of a more working class character than are the parents of the tertiary students.

Table 21 does not provide information concerning occupational mobility. A two-way table of the fathers' occupations before arrival ("pre-migration occupation") and at the time of completing the questionnaire ("Australian occupation") was constructed to furnish this data. A summary of the occupational mobility of the fathers of both samples is summarized below:

[22] It is likely that the fathers of many of the respondents who gave "none" and "no answer" replies for the question on other jobs in Australia would also have had labouring jobs, given the two year bond system which operated at that time.

TABLE 22:	SUMMARY OF OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY OF FATHERS OF BOTH SAMPLES FROM "PRE-MIGRATION OCCUPATION" TO "AUSTRALIAN OCCUPATION".		
Number of occupational categories moved up (+) or down (-)		Fathers of tertiary subjects (n)	Fathers of non-tertiary subjects (n)
Up:	+ 3	2	–
	+ 2	4	4
	+ 1	13	–
Same:	0	35	11
Down:	– 1	6	4
	– 2	12	3
	– 3	4	–
	– 4	1	–
	– 5	1	–
Sub-total:		78	22
	Army	10	–
	Student	11	2
	Other	–	4
	No answer	3	2
Total:		102	30

Twenty three fathers had undergone upward occupational mobility from their pre-migration occupation to their occupation in Australia in the early 1970's. All those who had moved up one occupational level (13) had shifted from category VI to category V, while those who had moved 2 levels (8) went from category VI to categor IV. Sixteen of these 21 fathers had been farm workers in Poland. The other two fathers who had experienced upward movement of three levels were, in Australia, a university lecturer and a shop manager.

Forty six of the fathers experienced "horizontal mobility"[23] over the time span under discussion. Many had, however, undergone

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[23]A.H. Richmond, Postwar Immigrants in Canada (Toronto, 1967), pp. 110-119.

temporary decline upon migration, but by the early 1970's, had worked

their way up to a position in Australia of equivalent status to that

which they had had before migration.

Another 31 fathers had experienced déclassement as a result

of migration, the majority having fallen one or two occupational

levels. The father who suffered the greatest decline (5 levels)

had been a school teacher in Poland; at the time of the survey, he

was deceased, but his last employment had been as a storeman. Another

father had fallen 4 occupational levels from the position of doctor of

medicine to a railway porter (also deceased at the time of the survey).

Those fathers who had been students or in the army before

migration were not included in the occupational mobility table

because of the difficulties inherent in such a classification.

However, the Australian occupations of the 13 male "students"

were 2 in category I, 3 in category II, 6 in category IV and 2 in

category V. Thus 8 of the 13 former students were in manual employment.

The Australian occupations of the 10 fathers in the army were 1 in

each of categories I and II, 3 in each of categories III and V, and

2 in category VI. Half of those formerly in the army, therefore,

were in manual occupations in Australia.

On the question of parents' knowledge of the English language

on arrival in Australia, the subjects replied as follows:

TABLE 23: KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH ON ARRIVAL OF PARENTS OF BOTH SAMPLES

Knowledge of English on arrival in Australia	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)
Quite fluent	9	13	1	2
Fair	15	11	3	0
Little	40	24	9	5
None or no answer	38	46	17	22
Anglo-Saxon-born	–	8	–	1
Total	102	102	30	30

Many of those who were claimed to have had a fair or fluent knowledge of the English language on arrival were those who had settled in Britain before immigration to this country.

Thus 78 (76%) of the fathers and 70 (74%) of the immigrant mothers of the tertiary students had little or no knowledge of English on arrival in Australia. The equivalent figures for the parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample were 26 (87%) and 27 (90%). These proportions are to be expected considering the sudden upheavals of the Polish population during the Second World War. They are also expected because few Polish parents had the opportunity to study English in their home country (see Chapter 2). Table 24 gives the number of parents who had taken English courses before arrival and in Australia.

TABLE 24: ENGLISH COURSES TAKEN BY PARENTS OF BOTH SAMPLES*

English courses taken	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)	Fathers (n)	Mothers (n)
At school in home country	8	18	2	2
Prior to embarkation	28	21	3	0
On board ship	24	19	1	2
At classes in Australia	55	39	8	10

*Duplicated answers by siblings have been excluded.

Fifty five fathers and 39 mothers of the Tertiary Sample, and 8 fathers and 10 mothers of the Non-Tertiary Sample, had found the time and motivation to attend English classes in Australia. Judging from comments made in interviews, however, it would seem that in a considerable number of cases, attendance had been only shortlived.

All except two tertiary students stated that their parents had been naturalised. One set of parents who had migrated directly from Poland did not intend to become naturalised. In the other instance, the marriage was a Polish (father) - English (mother) one and the parents had immigrated from England in the 1960's. (It is not certain whether the father had in fact been naturalised in England.)

The parents of 16 tertiary students had contacted in Australia agencies which dealt specifically with migrant problems. A total of 19 contacts were made, 12 with the Good Neighbour Council, 2 each with the Commonwealth Bank Migrant Service and the Department of Immigration, and 1 each with a suburban council, the Department of Labour and an unspecified agency. Two of these 16 students actually stated that their parents had been of help to the agency in the position of advisers and interpreters. Another 2 students claimed that the agencies which their parents had contacted had been of no help to their parents.

Seventy tertiary students and 25 non-tertiary subjects claimed that the church had helped their parents in some way. The following table lists the ways in which the church had assisted the parents.

TABLE 25: WAYS IN WHICH THE CHURCH HAD HELPED THE PARENTS OF BOTH SAMPLES			
Types of assistance	Tertiary Sample (n)	Non-Tertiary Sample (n)	Total N %
Preserving links with fellow nationals	60	14	74 32
Keeping alive native language and traditions	55	19	74 32
Making new friends	33	10	43 18
Integration into wider Australian society	14	3	17 7
Problems with children	6	5	11 5
Job difficulties	3	2	5 2
Finding accommodation	2	1	3 1
Other difficulties	5	2	7 3
Total number of replies:	178	56	234 100

It is evident that the type of assistance the Church was offering was valuable in maintaining social and cultural contacts with the ethnic past. To a lesser extent, the Church was able to help in the adaptation of the first generation to Australian life and in the solving of specific difficulties with children, employment or accommodation.

In the process of adjustment to Australian conditions, by far the most common difficulty in the subjects' opinion that the parents had to face was, not unexpectedly, the English language barrier. Fifty seven percent (53) of those who answered in the Tertiary Sample and 73% (19) of those who answered in the Non-Tertiary Sample listed this as "the greatest single problem" for their parents. Other difficulties mentioned by subjects in the two samples, with their frequency given in parenthesis, related to changes in culture and lifestyle (10);

employment (7); lack of understanding on the part of native Australians
(7); finance (4); climate (4); and building of a home (3).[24]

In the opinion of the tertiary students, 46 of the parents
found the process of adjustment to Australian life difficult, as
did 18 of the parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample. On the other
hand, 65 of the parents of the Tertiary Sample, and 13 of the Non-
Tertiary Sample, found the adjustment easy. In this respect, it is
interesting to note that 24 tertiary students believed that, in
relation to immigrants from other countries, Poles could better
adapt themselves to conditions of life in Australia. While the
majority of students (74) said the "same" and 5 said "depends", only
4 claimed Poles have more difficulty in such adaptation. Two of
these students were comparing Poles' difficulties with those of English
immigrants, and one with those of the German and French who were
generally better educated, voluntary immigrants. The fourth student
commented on the wide cross-section of people from different social
classes and districts of Poland which made the formation of community
organisation and assistance very difficult.

Despite the first generation's difficulty with the English
language and a few other specific problems, 98 of the tertiary
students (88%) and 25 of the non-tertiary subjects (81%) claimed
that their parents wanted to live the rest of their lives in Australia.
Nine others in the two samples said that their parents were undecided
on this issue, while 6 thought "probably no" and 3 "definitely no"

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[24]In the two samples, there were 12 miscellaneous and 24 no answers.

(2 no answers). The Tertiary Sample were also asked whether their parents had ever contemplated leaving Australia for another country. Twenty four students (21%) replied in the affirmative - 8 said Poland, 6 America, 2 Canada, 1 France, 1 England, 1 the Ukraine, 1 Europe (unspecified) and 4 did not state a country.

The parents of 50 (49%) tertiary students belonged to at least one ethnic organisation, while the corresponding figure for those who belonged to at least one Australian club was 22 (22%). In the Non-Tertiary Sample, 15 (50%) subjects had parents who belonged to at least one ethnic organisation, while 4 (13%) had parents belonging to at least one Australian club. The majority of parents of both samples had close primary relationships with fellow Poles, while a small minority had friends who were of various European backgrounds (for further details on the structural ties of the parents, see Chapter 9).

3. The Polish Tertiary Sample

The Polish Tertiary Sample of 112 was comprised of 67 males and 45 females. Seventy seven students were second generation and the remaining 35 were of the 1b generation; that is, all of the subjects were either born in Australia or arrived aged 12 or younger before their linguistic and conceptual development was complete in their ethnic linguistic and cultural forms. Sixteen students were born in Germany, 9 in England, 5 in Poland, 2 in France, and 1 in each of Austria, North Rhodesia and Lithuania. Of those born outside Australia, 24 (69%) arrived in this country at the age of 6 years or younger, while another 5 (14%) had had their early years of schooling in Britain. Thus 106 (95%) were enculturated almost entirely within

the Anglo-Saxon scholastic and peer group environment.[25] In later

cross-tabulation, those students born in Australia (77), England (9)

and North Rhodesia (1) are considered as one cultural group; those

born in Germany (15), France (2), Lithuania (1) and Austria (1) and

who arrived in Australia at the age of 6 years or younger as another

cultural group. The remaining 5 students born in Poland and 1 in

Germany, each of whom arrived in Australia between the ages of 8 and

12 years, were treated separately as another group who had had at

least a few years of education in a non-Anglo-Saxon environment.

The sample contained 70 students with a Polish-born father

and mother (P-P), 33 students with one parent Polish-born and the

other parent European-born (P-E), and 9 students with a Polish-born

father and an Anglo-Saxon-born mother (P-A).[26]

Eighty eight (79%) students stated that they were born in

cities or large towns. All except four of the sample (96%) were born

between 1946 and 1956, the others being born in 1940, 1941 and two in

1944. The sample mean age in 1973 was 21.7 years. Eighty eight (79%)

stated that they were Roman Catholic, while another 19 (17%) claimed

that they did not have a religion. Twenty five females (56% of the

female students) and 28 males (42% of the male students) attended

Catholic primary schools, 38 students attended metropolitan and 11

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[25]While most researchers who use only the questionnaire method of
gathering data stress birthplace, this study, being a cultural
one, also emphasises schooling which is considered such an
important socialising agent in Australian society.

[26]Full details of birthplace of parents were given on pp. 236-7.

country schools. Ten attended interstate or overseas primary schools.
The proportion attending Catholic primary schools was maintained into
the secondary phase of education. Still 24 of the females and 24 of
the males attended Catholic secondary schools. Another 51 went to
metropolitan state, 9 to country and 4 to interstate schools.

Twenty eight students attended two secondary schools, while
one other student attended three secondary schools. Thus there was
a total of 142 secondary attendances comprising Catholic 60,
metropolitan state high 61, metropolitan state technical high 5,
country 10 (Catholic 4, state 6), interstate 4 and Adult Matriculation
Schools 2. The most frequently mentioned independent Catholic secondary
schools were St. Michael's (12); Rostrevor (9); St. Aloysius (6);
St. Dominics, Cabra and Christian Brothers College (each 4); the
most frequently mentioned metropolitan state high schools were
Woodville (18); Findon (9); Adelaide Boys and Marion (each 5); and
Norwood (4).

At the tertiary level of education, 95 (85%) were university
students (87 at Adelaide and 8 at Flinders), 8 attended Colleges of
Advanced Education in Adelaide and another 9 the South Australian
Institute of Technology. The majority of the students were in their
second, third, fourth or fifth year of tertiary study, with the mean
number of years of attendance being 3.7. The breakdown by course of
tertiary study and by tertiary institution attended was as follows:

TABLE 26: COURSE OF STUDY BEING UNDERTAKEN AT TERTIARY EDUCATION
INSTITUTIONS BY THE POLISH TERTIARY SAMPLE*

Tertiary course	Total number of Poles at Adelaide University (estimated)	Respondents at Adelaide University**	Respondents at other tertiary education institutions***	Polish Tertiary Sample (coursed used in cross-tabulation)
Ag. science	2	1	–	1
Architecture	4	3	–	3
Arts	36	30	2	32
Dentistry	2	2	–	2
Economics	10	4	2	6
Engineering	12	11	–	11
Law	9	4	–	4
Medicine	12	7	–	7
Music	4	4	–	4
Science(s)	42	21	4	25
Non-university "arts"	–	–	10	10
Non-university "sciences"	–	–	7	7
Total	133	87	25	112

* All figures were calculated in the following way:

(1) Where only one course was coded, this was the one used;

(2) Where two courses were coded, and the second one was a postgraduate course, the first course was the one used;

(3) Where two courses were coded, but the second one was still an undergraduate course (ie: changed courses), the second course was the one used.

** In this column are included:

(1) 9 postgraduate diplomates (7 in education and 2 in computing science) who had taken as first degress 4 B.A., 3 B.Sc., 1 B.Ec., and 1 B.E.

(2) 9 higher degree candidates - 2 in business management, 2 music, 2 science, 2 engineering and 1 town planning.

(3) 2 students undertaking a second degree after completing a B.Ec. and a B.Tech.

(4) 8 students who had changed undergraduate courses from engineering (3), science (3), dentistry (1) and architecture (1) to arts (5), science (2) and economics (1).

*** This column includes 2 postgraduate diplomates in education who had taken as their degrees a B.A. and a B.Ec. at Flinders University.

There were ten pairs of siblings in the Tertiary Sample. Of these 20 students, 17 were at Adelaide University, while the other three, each a sister of an Adelaide University student, attended either the South Australian Institute of Technology (1) or a College of Advanced Education (2). Thirteen were females, seven males. Eight pairs were of Polish-Polish, 1 of Polish-European and 1 of Polish-Australian parentage.

The Polish Tertiary Sample was very evenly distributed throughout the suburbs of Adelaide. There were as many as 57 suburbs in which only one student resided, and a further 17 suburbs containing only two students (including 6 suburbs with pairs of siblings at the same address). The only hint of any concentration was in Croydon Park where there were 7 respondents (1 pair of siblings), and to a lesser extent, Edwardstown, Royal Park and Seaton (1 pair of siblings) where three families provided respondents in the Tertiary Sample. Ranking the suburbs of Adelaide as in Appendix E1 into six categories according to their status, 10 respondents lived in category 1, 16 in 2, 18 in 3, 20 in 4, 13 in 5 and 31 in 6 (4 questionnaires were anonymous). Thus the students, although the greatest number resided in the lowest category, were rather evenly spread over the higher and lower status suburbs of Adelaide.

Comparison of Adelaide University Polish respondents (87) with the estimated total Polish population at Adelaide University (133).

The main subsample of the Polish Tertiary Sample, those students who were attending The University of Adelaide (87), was compared with the total Polish population at that institution (133). The total population of 133 was estimated from the name-count under-taken on enrolment lists and adjusted by means of subsequent information

gained through returned questionnaires and from contacts in the Polish student body.[27] Data on both non-respondents and respondents were extracted from computer sheets of enrolment information held by the Statistics Officer of the University. The five main characteristics available were sex, faculty, country of birth, age and last school attended. The breakdown of the respondents' subsample, with the equivalent figures for the total Polish population in parenthesis, is presented below.

Sixty four per cent of the Adelaide University respondents were males (66%) and 36% females (34%). 68% were born in Australia (67%), 13% in Germany (14%), 9% in the United Kingdom (10%), 5% in Poland (5%) and 6% in other European countries (5%). The mean age of the respondent sample was 21.8 years (21.7 years). By last school attended, 45% had attended Catholic schools (43%), 52% metropolitan state (52%), and 3% country (4%) schools.[28] Two (2%) non-respondents who were undertaking higher degrees were not listed in the university statistics with a last school.

On each of these four characteristics, there is no difference between the respondents and the total population. It is on the fifth characteristic - faculty - that the only divergence occurs. While 34%

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[27] The total of 133 was the difference between the total number in the tertiary cohort (158) and the students at other tertiary education institutions (25). See pp. 231 and 256.

[28] The figures given here for last school attended are not necessarily those used in later cross-tabulation. For comparison with university statistics, last school was the factor required. However, in analysis in this thesis, it was considered that the school at which the subject had spent the most number of years was a more appropriate criterion.

of the respondents are studying arts and 24% science, in the total

Polish population the corresponding percentages are 27 and 32. The

respondents therefore are slightly over-represented in arts and

under-represented in science. An explanation for this bias may be

that arts students would be more familiar with this type of exercise

and more likely to respond to research questionnaires mailed from an

Arts department of the University.

Thus the sub-sample of Adelaide University respondents was,

except for this slight bias in favour of arts students, representative

of students of Polish parentage enrolled at The University of Adelaide.

However, even though the respondents do not differ from the total

population on these factual criteria, the author is aware that he

cannot claim that the opinions of the non-respondents will be the

same as those of the respondents.

Influence of the addition of the other tertiary students (25) to the Adelaide University respondent sub-sample (87)

The addition of the 25 other tertiary students increases

slightly the proportion of females in the Tertiary Sample from 36%

to 40% and correspondingly reduces the proportion of males from 64%

to 60%. Although the types of courses of the institute and college

tertiary students are not strictly comparable with those of the

university students, the addition of the 25 others also increases

the proportion of "arts" students from 34% to 37% and the proportion

of "science" students from 24% to 28%. On all other aspects dis-

cussed in this section, the addition of the 25 other tertiary students

does not alter the basic composition of the Adelaide University

respondent sub-sample of 87.

4. The Polish Non-Tertiary Sample

    The Polish Non-Tertiary Sample of 31 was comprised of 11 males and 20 females. Twenty one (68%) of the subjects were second generation, while the remainder were 1b generation. Six subjects were born in Germany, 2 in Poland and 2 in England. Of these 10 subjects born outside of Australia, 7 arrived in Australia under the age of six years, 1 born in Poland arrived at the age of 10 years, and the two born in England had their early years of schooling there and arrived at the ages of 10 and 11 years respectively. As was the case with 95% of the Tertiary Sample, the vast majority (97%) of the Non-Tertiary Sample therefore was almost entirely enculturated within the Anglo-Saxon scholastic and peer group environment.

    The overwhelming majority of the subjects were of Polish-Polish parentage (one mother was born in Germany and another in Australia). Twenty (65%) subjects were born in cities or large towns. The six subjects born in Germany were all born in the second half of the 1940's, while the remainder of the sample were born in the 1950's. The modal year was 1951 when 5 subjects were born, and the sample mean age in 1973 was 20.3 years. Thus the Non-Tertiary Sample was 1.4 years younger than the Tertiary Sample. All of the non-tertiary subjects stated that they were of the Catholic faith. The sample contained one pair of siblings of Polish-Polish parentage, and in addition, two Tatry members who were, separately, brother and sister of two students in the Tertiary Sample.

    Fourteen females (70% of the female subjects) and 7 males (64% of the male subjects) attended Catholic primary schools, 6 metropolitan, 2 country and 1 an interstate school (1 no answer). Unlike the Tertiary Sample, however, the high proportion attending

Catholic colleges at the primary level was not maintained at the secondary stage of education.

From a total number of 35 secondary schools listed, only 10 (29%) were Catholic schools, 17 were metropolitan high schools, 6 metropolitan technical high schools and 2 country schools. The most frequently mentioned secondary schools were Mt. Carmel College (3), Woodville High School (6), Findon High School (3), Adelaide Girls' High School (3) and Marion High School (2). Eight of the Non-Tertiary Sample were still secondary students at the time of completing the questionnaire. Of the remaining 23 subjects, the highest educational level achieved was known for 13 - 3 had left school after fifth year, 9 after fourth year and 1 after third year. The highest educational level achieved by the other 10 subjects was not given, though it was known that none of these subjects had matriculated. Of 14 subjects whose occupations were known, 9 were secretaries/typists/ stenographers, 3 were clerks, 1 a diesel fitter and 1 a laboratory assistant. The vast majority were single and living at home with parents, whose homes were mainly in the lower status suburbs of Adelaide. Of the 22 families whose suburb or residence was known, 10 were in category 6, 3 each in categories 4 and 5, and only a total of 6 in categories 1-3. Again there was very little hint of any concentration in certain suburbs - 3 families resided in Mansfield Park, 2 in Seaton and 2 in Clovelly Park.

As a result of the sampling procedure, all the non-tertiary subjects belonged to at least one Polish club: The White and Red Circle 17, Tatry Polish Dancing Group 14, Lowiczanki Choir 4, Polonia Sports Club 3, Dom Polski Cooperative Society 2 and the Polish Educational Society 1. The mean number of years of membership of

the Circle (for the members whose length of membership was known) was 2.5, while for membership of Tatry, 4.3 was the corresponding figure.

CHAPTER 7

MODES OF ADAPTATION OF THE SECOND GENERATION

Most studies on immigrants in Australia have been primarily concerned with questions of assimilation. Working from within the traditional Anglo-conformist climate, educators have continually emphasised deprivation of ethnic Australian children, and researchers, their degree of assimilation or culture conflict. By implication, therefore, they have painted a negative picture of ethnicity by stressing, for example, that the use of the ethnic tongue at home was one of the main factors involved in educational disadvantage. This latter theme continually reappears in educational writings of the 1950's and 1960's. The assumption has been that progress along the road of assimilation necessarily has meant a corresponding decrease in ethnicity; that is, assimilation and ethnicity were assumed to be mutually exclusive.

This mode of thinking appears clearly in the early work of R. Taft, who has been one of the most influential figures over the last two decades in Australia in research involving actual measurement of the assimilation of immigrants.[1] His method of gauging an individual's degree of identification has been to ask:

> How do you feel? (1) completely ethnic; (2) mainly ethnic, a little Australian; (3) about equally ethnic and Australian; (4) mainly Australian, a little ethnic; (5) completely Australian.

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[1] The series of studies on immigrants by that researcher is reported in his book From Stranger To Citizen (Nedlands, 1965).

The "mutually exclusive" orientation is also evident in American research such as the study by D. Mostwin.[2] Her typology of first generation Poles was founded on consistency of replies to three questions which probed whether the individual considered himself primarily Polish or American, whether he thought that Americans considered him Polish or American, and whether he thought that Poles in Poland considered him Polish or American. Into the questionnaire, after the first of these identification questions, was inserted the statement, "no third choice, please". This idea of the mutual exclusiveness of assimilation and ethnicity is reinforced by much of the popular writing on the subject in Australia. One example is the following comment in the Daily Telegraph in 1973:

> Australia's great social experiment of bringing hundreds
> of thousands of migrants here to help build the nation
> is more than a quarter of a century old. Now the chil-
> dren of those early settlers are taking their place in
> adult life. Through them can be judged the success or
> failure of the experiment. Do they see themselves as
> Australians, or do they cling to the customs of their
> parents' homeland?[3]

Other authors such as M.L. Kovacs and A.J. Cropley[4] have realised the dangers of "pressure-cooker" assimilation and the accompanying alien- ation of the individual from all social and cultural groups. They therefore recommend some degree of ethnicity reinforcement - but they still see it as mainly a temporary phenomenon engineered for the purpose of achieving a more smooth and efficient assimilation. The

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[2] "In Search of Ethnic Identity", Social Casework, Vol. 53, No. 5 (1972), pp. 307-316.

[3] "The Second Generation Australians", 2 October, 1973.

[4] Immigrants And Society: Alienation and Assimilation (Sydney, 1975).

processes are thus made to balance and adjust but the belief in their mutual incompatibility persists.

It is significant that writers like Taft and P.Y. Medding have only very recently recognised the weaknesses of such an approach which places one's identification in a position on a continuum between full integration with the immigrant group and full integration into Australian society, and thereby assumes the two identities to be mutually exclusive. Taft wrote in 1973:

> While, in practice, this may be the case, if we consider being Australian or being Dutch as a very general type of identity, it is possible to be partly one and partly the other... In a pluralistic society, it is even possible to be highly identified with both nationalities as well as to be hardly identified with either. Thus, an immigrant may be proud to be a 'Dutch-Australian' or he may not be proud of being anything.[5]

Medding also claimed in Jews in Australian Society that:

> The tension between two forms of identity – Australian national identity and Jewish identity – while not completely removed has been reduced, and the pressures of the society upon different ethnic groups and cultures considerably minimised... It seems both possible and legitimate for ethnic minorities to wear both identities simultaneously and to share both commitments without any internal tension or conflict. The two mesh rather than seem mutually exclusive.[6]

Where this study differs in its orientation from others is in the belief that ethnicity is something positive and indeed valuable for all Australians as well as for members of ethnic groups.

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[5] "Jewish Identification of Melbourne Jewry" in P.Y. Medding (Ed.), Jews in Australian Society (Melbourne, 1973), p. 66. See also R. Taft, "Ethnic Groups" in F.J. Hunt, Socialisation in Australia (Sydney, 1972), pp. 67-91.

[6] P. 10.

Assimilation and ethnicity are not regarded as being mutually exclusive. The two socialisation processes studied in this thesis are those of assimilation (Australianisation) and ethnicisation (Polonisation) and they are deemed to proceed simultaneously and concurrently. The course of ethnicisation of the second generation in Australia is rather uncertain and varies in intensity at different stages in an individual's life (see Chapter 11). It is, therefore, correct to assume that it is not as constant as it is generally conceived to be in the first generation. In the case of the first generation, too, this is an oversimplification, since ethnicity may fluctuate and recede in individuals who are isolated from their ethnic cultural sources and whose willingness and ability to preserve their own ethnic cultural systems are undermined by assimilationist pressures in their environment.

Culture conflict is likely to occur when there is uneven progression in the two socialisation processes involved in the growth of the second generation individual. What has happened is that only one process has been encouraged by assimilationist social and educational policies in Australia (see Chapter 4). The Anglo-conformist climate of values transmitted by educational institutions and propagated by the mass media have ensured that the ethnic cultural systems of the second generation have generally remained small and embryonic, and that the resolve of the parents to help maintain and develop further their children's ethnicity has been weakened. In the latter case, the low educational attainments of most of the European immigrants would also be a contributory force acting in the same direction, a situation again partly structured by the Australian government in its postwar emphasis on the importation of

manual labour and non-recognition of European professional qualifications (see Chapter 3).

If the "Australian view" has indeed become less assimilationist over the past generation, as has been contended in Chapter 4, then second generation immigrants are now being brought up in an environment which, in contrast with that of the 1950's, increasingly allows the development of both the Anglo- and ethnic-cultural and social systems, as well mutual interaction between them.[7] In different realms of culture, this may give rise either to the co-existence of a dual system type (such as that of balanced bilingualism) or to the formation of hybrid Anglo-ethnic systems. It has been argued by some people that this could lead, as the traditional interpretation has it, to increased uncertainty concerning personality and psychological growth. Yet it is also possible, and indeed more likely, that this permitted choice of development of both heritages could lead to other, not only less painful, but more culturally creative types of second generation adaptation.

When the two dimensions of ethnicity and assimilation are considered, four such types of second generation adaptation may be hypothesised. Taking into account a high score and a low score on both dimensions, these types can be represented as in Figure 2 below.

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[7] See R.McL. Harris, "Anglo-conformism, Interactionism and the 'Ethnic-Australian' Identity: Educational Implications", a paper presented at the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science Conference, Perth, August 1973.

For example, a second generation individual who scores "high" on both dimensions can be termed an "Ethnic-Australian"; one who scores "high" on ethnicity and "low" on assimilation, a "High Ethnic"; "high" on assimilation and "low" on ethnicity, an "Anglo-Assimilate"; and "low" on both, an "Alienate".

FIGURE 2: MODES OF ADAPTATION OF THE SECOND GENERATION ON THE TWO DIMENSIONS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION

Number	Ethnicity rating	Assimilation rating	Modes of adaptation
1	High	High	Ethnic-Australian
2	High	Low	High Ethnic
3	Low	High	Anglo-Assimilate
4	Low	Low	Alienate

For the purpose of analysis in this research, however, it was considered that a "3 x 3 matrix" presented a more valid picture of what was actually happening in real life.[8] Thus a "medium" category was built into the scheme to give a more distinct demarcation between the above four types.

FIGURE 3: A "3 x 3" MATRIX OF SECOND GENERATION ADAPTATION

8 The two divisions of "high" and "low" were thought to be too blunt, with very little difference between the high: high and low: low types. The division also over-emphasised, in the author's opinion, the number of students who scored highly on the ethnicity scale (see footnote 10).

Both of the dimensions were scored out of 100 points.[9] A "High"
rating on this numerical scale represented a score of 60 or more,
a "medium" rating between 41 and 59 inclusive, and a "low score"
40 or below. These points of division were purely arbitrary except
that, from a personal knowledge of many of the subjects through
participant observation, they appeared to be the most satisfactory.
Thus, the Polish Tertiary Sample on this scoring system was broken
into the following pattern, with the Polish Non-Tertiary Sample
given in parenthesis:

TABLE 27:   BREAKDOWN OF BOTH SAMPLES INTO THE 3 x 3 MATRIX OF
            ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION

		High	Medium	Low
	High	8 (1)	13 (4)	10 (5)
Ethnicity	Medium	8 (3)	27 (1)	4 (2)
	Low	31 (5)	9 (1)	2 (0)
		High	Medium	Low

Assimilation

In the Tertiary Sample were 8 Polish-Australians, 10 High
Ethnics, 31 Anglo-Assimilates and 2 Alienates. Thus there were 31
(28%) tertiary students who scored highly on the ethnicity scale
while 47 (42%) scored highly on the assimilation scale. Conversely,
while only 16 (14%) of the tertiary students rated a "low" score for
assimilation, as many as 42 (38%) were given a "low" score on the

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[9]For the Non-Tertiary Sample, the maximum score for each dimension
was 93; scores were therefore adjusted to make them out of 100.
See Appendix D.

ethnicity scale. In the Non-Tertiary Sample, the proportion of

subjects who scored highly on the ethnicity scale was slightly

higher (n = 10, 32%), while the proportion of those scoring highly

on the assimilation scale was less (n = 9, 29%) than the equivalent

groups among the tertiary students. Given the nature of the sampling

procedure, this was to be expected. In the Non-Tertiary Sample were

1 Polish-Australian, 5 High Ethnics, 5 Anglo-Assimilates and no

Alienates. Altogether, therefore, there were 51 tertiary and 11

non-tertiary subjects who could be categorised into the four "ideal

types" outlined above[10] - these subjects (n = 62) will be examined

in more detail in Chapter 10.

Here it is important to note that, although the figures are

not representative of the whole second generation, they do neverthe-

less reveal the presence among that generation of the above four types.

Particularly significant is the occurrence of Type 1, the Polish-

Australians. It confirms the theoretical perspective of this research

that assimilation and ethnicity-maintenance are not mutually exclusive.

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[10]If the demarcation line had been 50 on a "2 x 2 matrix", the
distribution would have been as follows:

Ideal type	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total	
	n	%	n	%	N	%
Polish-Australians	23	21	9	29	32	22
High Ethnics	28	25	12	39	40	28
Anglo-Assimilates	51	46	8	26	59	41
Alienates	10	9	2	6	12	8
Totals:	112	101	31	100	143	99

Indeed, the two processes are not intrinsically incompatible and may proceed together. However, it is equally as apparent that the two processes concerned need not proceed simultaneously: the large proportion of Anglo-Assimilates (n = 36, or one quarter of all subjects) bears testimony to this fact. That the Polish-Australian and High Ethnic types are encountered at all, given the Anglo-conformist climate of the recent past, indicates the persistence of ethnicity and the determination on the part of at least some ethnic children and parents, when combined with specific family circumstances and individual qualities, to maintain it at a relatively high level.

The Measurement of Ethnicity and Assimilation

The ethnicity and assimilation scales used in this study were compiled from replies given in questionnaires.[11] Both dimensions for the purposes of investigation were compartmentalised into four main components or indicators:[12] linguistic, cultural, structural and ideological. Hence both ethnicity and assimilation were viewed as multi-faceted, rather than unidimensional, phenomena. As was outlined in the review of previous research in Chapter 1, not simply the ideological aspect, but the other three areas as well must be examined. By analysing the concepts of ethnicity and assimilation

[11] For more detailed analysis of the concepts based on the questionnaires, interviews and participant observation, see Chapters 8 and 9.

[12] Taft speaks of the immigrant's relationship to his new group in terms of "facets of assimilation". From Stranger to Citizen, op. cit., pp. 4-7, 63.

through four different indicators, even though the placing of some
actual research questions in each of these categories may be rather
subjective, the blanketing of interesting variations in the stage
of development reached in each one may hopefully be avoided. It is
argued that these two complex concepts can be fully understood only
through detailed knowledge and study of their component parts. They
are all to some degree interdependent, and therefore only a lopsided
ethnicity or assimilation is researched if any of them are neglected.

Furthermore, it is essential to use both an "objective" and
a "subjective" approach (from the subject's point of view) in an
attempt to arrive at the closest approximation to the "real" situation.
The "objective" approach is adopted when assessment of the individual's,
say, degree of ethnicity is left to the researcher (in this sense,
the question on membership of ethnic organisations is "objective").
"Subjective" aspects of ethnicity are self-assessed by the individual
himself (for instance, self-identification). It is contended that
what the researcher measures, and what the individual himself thinks
and feels, are both vitally important.[13]

In the composition of the two scales of ethnicity and
assimilation, then, there was a concern to make them as broadly based
and as comprehensive as possible. At the same time, however, there
was also a concern to eschew "mirror-image questions" - questions
which would appear on both scales but with equal and opposite

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[13] Compare the empirical research approaches to the study of social
stratification. For example, see W.M. Dobriner, Social Structures
and Systems (Pacific Palisades, California, 1969), pp. 233-244.

weightings. Thus many questions were included in one scale and not the other (e.g. amount of reading of ethnic literature or preference for spending the rest of one's own life in Australia), though there were a few other questions which it was felt could be included in both scales but with unequal weighting (for example, the question of the desirability of cultural interpenetration in Australia or the opinion on whether children of immigrants should learn the parental language).

The scores obtained on the two scales, therefore, give in the author's opinion a fair indication of the levels of ethnicity and assimilation in any one individual at the point of time when the questionnaire was completed. Undoubtedly, the question of fluctuation over a time period arises: which of the indicators increases and which diminishes, why does such fluctuation occur, and in what type of individual is it likely to occur the most readily? Such questions, however, can only be answered by a longitudinal study, and the attempt to answer them lies outside the immediate scope of this research.[14]

Points were allotted for replies by the author after extensive reading on the topic and discussion with others. The result is the scoring system outlined in Appendix D. The specific areas of the questionnaire of relevance to the concepts of ethnicity and assimilation are summarised below.

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[14] By means of interviews, however, an attempt has been made in Chapter 11 to analyse reasons for this fluctuation of ethnic feeling.

ETHNICITY INDEX

LINGUISTIC INDICATORS   (23 points)

Advocacy of, and reasons for, the learning of the parental language
by children of immigrants; intention of studying Polish at school
and university if it had been offered as a subject; command
(understanding and speaking) of Polish; use (active and passive)
of Polish.

CULTURAL INDICATORS   (17 points)

Advocacy of allowances being made in schools for children of migrant
backgrounds; amount of reading of ethnic books and newspapers;
regularity of correspondence (writing and receiving) in the Polish
language; knowledge of ethnic cultural traits.

STRUCTURAL INDICATORS   (28 points)

Belief, and reasons for believing, in the usefulness of ethnic
communities and structures to both newcomers and Australian society;
regularity of attendance at Polish Saturday School; membership of
Polish formal organisations (number and nature); proportion of fellow
ethnics as friends and reasons for associating with them.

IDEOLOGICAL INDICATORS   (32 points)

Degree of self-identification as a Pole; preference for marriage
partner of Polish background; intention to visit and reasons for
visiting Poland; belief in the desirability of cultural interpene-
tration of the Australian (Anglo-Saxon) core culture by ethnic
cultures; belief in the traditional Central European respect for
learning.

ASSIMILATION INDEX

LINGUISTIC INDICATORS (18 points)

Command (understanding and speaking) of the English language; use (active and passive) of English; opinion against children of immigrants learning the parental language.

CULTURAL INDICATORS (17 points)

Self-assessment of degree of acculturation; opinion against schools making allowances for children of immigrants; belief that own opinions and actions in cultural and social spheres of life differ from those of parents due to differences in degree of assimilation; opinion that own school education was broad in terms of degree of specialisation; knowledge of Australian traits.

STRUCTURAL INDICATORS (31 points)

Self-assessment of structural assimilation into various areas of life in Australia; opinion against the usefulness of ethnic communities and structures to Australian society as a whole, and as a help for the maintenance of ethnic cultures and languages; membership of Australian formal organisations (number and nature); proportion of Australians as friends.

IDEOLOGICAL INDICATORS (34 points)

Preference for spending the rest of own life in Australia; preference for marriage partner of Anglo-Australian background; degree of self-identification as an Australian; no intention to visit Europe, or Poland in particular; opinion against the desirability of cultural interpenetration of the Australian (Anglo Saxon) core culture by ethnic cultures; degree of satisfaction with the nature of own education; opinion against the Australian government doing more for migrants; intensity and number of "likes" compared with "dislikes" about Australia.

The questionnaire and the scoring system to a certain extent reflect the influence of the Taftian model of assimilation. Examination of the "Assimilation Index" reveals the presence of two strands of thought:

(1) a concern with acculturation to Anglo-Australian ways and participation in Anglo-Australian life; and

(2) a concern with isolation of negative attitudes towards ethnicity. This is seen in items such as expression of opinion against children of immigrants learning the parental language; against schools making allowances for children of immigrants; and against the usefulness of ethnic communities and structures to Australian society, and as a help for the maintenance of ethnic cultures and languages.

It is considered, therefore, that the label, "Assimilation Index", is an appropriate one because of the presence of these two strands.

It would seem that the way in which the scoring system was constructed militates against the possibility of acquisition of high scores on both scales. The fact that nine individuals did score highly on both shows their high degree of adaptation to Anglo-Australian culture and structures without at the same time the adoption of negative views towards their own ethnicity. That is, such individuals scored very few points on the negative strand, but points registered on the positive Anglo-Australian cultural and structural questions were sufficient to give them a high assimilation score and hence to place them in the Polish-Australian category. Thus the emergence of such a type has been almost in spite of such questions as the Taftian self-identification one and of the

scoring of the negative strand. The Polish-Australian category

provides a living demonstration of the possibility of co-existence

of ethnic and Anglo-Australian ways without the concomitant

liability connected with negativism towards one culture while in

the process of acquisition of the other; that is, the acquisition

of one culture does not prevent retention of the other.

High scorers on the ethnicity dimension

In the Tertiary Sample, there were 31 students (28%) who

recorded a "high" rating on the scale of ethnicity (irrespective

of their rating on the assimilation index). Full details of the

responses of these 31 students, compared with those of the "medium"

(39) and "low" (42) scorers, are presented in Appendix H. However,

given the assimilationist environment in which these individuals

have been raised in Australia, it is significant here to record

their existence and to summarise the main features of this highly

ethnic subgroup within the second generation (the equivalent

figures for the "medium" and "low" subgroups respectively are also

given in parenthesis for comparative purposes).

All of the "high" scorers claimed a fairly good to very

good command of the Polish language in both understanding and

speaking (82% of the medium and 48% of the low scorers claimed

this level of competence), and nearly all used the mother tongue

in dialogue with their ethnic elders. All would have studied

Polish at school (90%; 62%) and almost three quarters would have

studied the subject at tertiary level (46%; 19%) had it been offered.

Again, all believed that children of migrants should learn to speak

the native tongue of their parents (97%; 67%). The high scorers

claimed a relatively frequent reading of books in the Polish

language, with three quarters stating that they read them "sometimes" (26%; 10%). The great majority (81%) thought that schools should make allowances for children of non-Anglo-Saxon background (69%; 43%).

While one third had mainly or all Poles as friends within tertiary education institutions (10%; 2%), almost three quarters had this proportion of Polish friends outside such institutions (41%; 7%). Only one student did not belong to any Polish club (49%; 79%); on the other hand, 45% were members of two or more Polish clubs (15%; 0%). Just over one half identified themselves as mainly or fully Polish (18%; 0%). Perhaps the most distinguishing single mark of the "high" scorers was the fact that as many as 55% intended to marry a spouse of Polish origin and none other (8%; 0%). All but one respondent would want especially to visit Poland on an overseas trip (85%; 52%). Interestingly, the "high" scorers also exhibited the strongest desire to spend the rest of their lives in Australia, with almost half responding with a firm positive answer on this issue (21%; 29%).

The personal characteristics of the "high" ethnicity subsample were as follows: 55% were females (36%; 33%); one third were born outside of Australia (23%; 14%); 84% had at one time attended Polish School (74%; 36%); and almost two thirds were members of the Adelaide University Polish Club (28%; 10%). Eighty four percent were from Polish-Polish marriages (64%; 45%); almost half were from families where both parents had been over 30 years of age upon arrival (23%; 29%); and almost half had fathers who had been in non-manual occupations before migration to Australia (21%; 21%). Thus the high scorers on the ethnicity dimension tended to come from homes where parents were of homogeneous ethnic origin, older and of higher socio-economic background.

High scorers on the assimilation dimension
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There were 47 students (42%) in the Tertiary Sample who
scored highly on the assimilation scale (irrespective of their
rating on the ethnicity index). While full details of their
replies, compared with those of students who rated "medium" (49)
and "low" (16) scores, are given in Appendix H, it is of interest
to summarise the salient features of the socio-cultural profile of
this highly assimilated subgroup (the equivalent figures for the
"medium" and "low" scorers respectively are placed in parenthesis
to highlight the differences between the three subgroups).

One quarter (n = 12) of the "high" scorers did not believe
that children of migrants should learn the native tongue of their
parents (only one "medium" scorer and no "low" scorers believed this),
and half thought that schools should not make allowances for children
of non-Anglo-Saxon origin (33%; 13%). Nearly all (96%) felt them-
selves to be completely or almost fully acculturated (73%; 19%). It
is in the structural area of life that the highly assimilated
students stood out the most distinctly. Within tertiary education
institutions, 85% had mainly or all Australians as friends (41%; 25%),
while outside of these institutions, 72% had this pattern of friend-
ships (27%; 6%). Only 40% did not belong to any Australian organisation
(59%; 81%). The "high" scorers perceived themselves to be considerably
more structurally assimilated than the other students in all five
areas of life investigated, but particularly in the cultural, sporting
and political spheres. Thirty percent did not value the presence of
migrant communities for helping to preserve ethnic cultures and
languages (8%; 0%).

Another distinguishing mark of the high scorers was their
self-identification, where two-thirds felt themselves to be mainly

or completely Australian (22%; 0%). Related to this feature was their stronger commitment towards spending the rest of their life in Australia, 79% giving a positive response on this issue (67%; 31%). Between two-thirds and three quarters of the "high" scorers were satisfied with both their schooling (57%; 44%) and their tertiary education (55%; 56%).

The great majority (83%) of the high scorers were born in Australia (76%; 69%), and half were of "mixed" parentage (33%; 13%). Almost two-thirds had attended government country and city schools (53%; 44%) as opposed to Catholic colleges. Eighty five percent were not members of the Adelaide University Polish Club (63%; 44%). It is worth noting that attendance at Polish Saturday School was of very little significance - while 45% of the high scorers on assimilation had not been to Polish School, 31% of the medium scorers and 38% of the low scorers had also not attended such an institution.

Distribution of Scores on the Two Scales

The range of scores for the tertiary students on ethnicity was 13 to 80 (non-tertiary subjects: 25 to 81) and on assimilation 23 to 74 (non-tertiary subjects: 32 to 82). The mean ethnicity score for the Tertiary Sample was 47.17 (Non-Tertiary Sample 54.00), while the mean assimilation score was 54.33 (Non-Tertiary Sample 52.03).

TABLE 28:   DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION SCORES FOR
BOTH SAMPLES

Score	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Ethnicity N	Assimilation N	Ethnicity N	Assimilation N
0-9	--	-	-	-
10-19	5	-	-	-
20-29	16	3	1	-
30-39	18	10	4	7
40-49	20*	24*	5**	7
50-59	22	28	11	8
60-69	17	42	7	6
70-79	13	5	2	1
80-89	1	-	1	2
90-100	-	-	-	-
Total	112	112	31	31

*Three students in each of these totals scored 40 and were
therefore classified as "low". With this adjustment, the
figures correspond with those given in Table 24.

**One subject scored 40. See comment above.

The two subjects in Table 28 who scored very highly on
ethnicity (81 and 80) were both females and were both of Polish-
Polish parentage. One was born in Germany in 1949, the other in
Australia in 1950. Both were High Ethnics, although their scores
on the assimilation scale were at the top of the "low" category
(39 and 40). Thus in the instance of these two females, an extreme
score on one dimension has not resulted in an extreme score on the
other. The same can be claimed for the 2 non-tertiary subjects who
each scored 78 on the ethnicity scale. One was male, the other
female, and both were of Polish-Polish parentage. Their respective
assimilation scores were 37 and 36, "low" although not very low.

What is the case of the 8 subjects who scored over 69 for
assimilation? Four were males and 4 females. Five were, surprisingly,
of Polish-Polish parentage, while the other 3 were of Polish-Other

European parentage (none were of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage).
Five of these 8 subjects again scored in the 30's for ethnicity,
but this time there were three who scored below 26 for ethnicity.
Thus although all eight were Anglo-Assimilates, it could not be
claimed that the very high assimilation score has been coupled with
a very low score for ethnicity in every instance.

There were 5 tertiary students who scored very lowly on the
ethnicity scale (between 13 and 19). Four were females of either
Polish-Other European (3) or Polish-Anglo-Saxon (1) parentage, and
one was a male of Polish-Polish parentage. The male could speak
Polish "fairly well" (his own estimate) and this enabled him to
score 11 of his total 19 points purely from linguistic indicators.
One of the females could speak the ethnic language and this too
enabled her to amass 9 of her total 13 points from the linguistic
component. The remaining three students accumulated around half of
their total ethnicity score from the ideological component. While
all five were Anglo-Assimilates with extremely low ethnicity ratings,
only one scored over 68 for assimilation and three were in the low 60's
on this scale. Again, therefore, the tendency was for an extreme
score on one dimension not to result in an extreme score on the
other dimension.

To summarise on this point - an extreme score (below 20
or above 79) on one scale tends to be in combination with an
opposite classification ("high" or "low") on the other scale, but
the actual score within these "high" or "low" classifications is
certainly not invariably an extreme one.

There were a number of subjects whose scores placed them

around the cut-off points of 40 and 60. Taking four points either side of these two figures,[15] there were altogether 15 subjects who could be considered "borderline cases" in that they were very near to being placed in an ideal type category. Of these 15, 4 were near to classification as Polish-Australians, 3 as High Ethnics, 7 as Anglo-Assimilates and 1 as an Alienate.[16] There were another 35 who were "borderline cases" but who were actually classified into ideal type categories: 8 were Polish-Australians, 8 High Ethnics, 17 Anglo-Assimilates and 2 Alienates.

To conclude this section on the distribution of scores on the scales of ethnicity and assimilation, the breakdown into the four components of each scale is given in Table 29.

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[15] That is, between 37 and 44, and between 56 and 63.

[16] Their scores for ethnicity and assimilation respectively were: 57:62, 64:56, 56:57, 58:56; 62:42, 56:36, 65:44; 26:59, 31:58, 42:67, 32:57, 29:57, 35:56, 32:56; 44:43.

TABLE 29:   DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES ON THE ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION COMPONENTS FOR BOTH SAMPLES

Ethnicity Components	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	Total
Tertiary Sample:								
Language (max. 23)	7	16	25	44	20	–	–	112
Culture (max. 17)	46	49	16	1	–	–	–	112
Structure (max. 28)	7	33	26	33	13	0	–	112
Ideology (max. 32)	4	20	30	34	16	6	2	112
Non-Tertiary Sample:								
Language (max. 23)	0	1	3	14	13	–	–	31
Culture (max. 17)	14	13	4	0	–	–	–	31
Structure (max. 28)	0	3	4	16	8	0	–	31
Ideology (max. 32)	2	0	16	6	3	2	2	31
Assimilation Components								
Tertiary Sample:								
Language (max. 18)	0	2	52	58	–	–	–	112
Culture (max. 17)	4	39	64	5	–	–	–	112
Structure (max. 31)	7	19	30	32	23	1	0	112
Ideology (max. 34)	3	9	22	39	34	5	0	112
Non-Tertiary Sample:								
Language (max. 18)	0	1	22	8	–	–	–	31
Culture (max. 17)	1	16	11	3	–	–	–	31
Structure (max. 31)	1	8	12	7	2	1	0	31
Ideology (max. 34)	0	4	6	9	9	3	0	31

Ethnicity and Assimilation Mean Scores

The ethnicity and assimilation scores can be examined in a different light. The mean scores for these two phenomena were calculated for a number of subgroups in both samples (see Table 30). Using analysis of variance tests, significant differences at the 5% level were found for the Tertiary Sample among the mean scores on ethnicity for Polish School attendance, and on ethnicity and assimilation for birthplace of parents. Students who stated that they had not attended a Polish Saturday School had a mean score on ethnicity of 39, while those who had attended recorded a mean score of 52.

The difference between the mean scores on ethnicity for the tertiary (39) and non-tertiary (50) subjects who had not attended Polish School is no doubt explained by the fact that the latter nevertheless were, by virtue of sampling, organisationally committed to some extent to the Polish community. Particularly if this tie was with the Tatry Polish Dancing Group, they could be expected to have had more ethnic feeling, and to score more highly on linguistic and cultural indicators, than the Polish School non-attenders at university who may not necessarily have had any contact with their ethnic community.

By birthplace of parents, the degree of ethnicity is significantly lower and that of assimilation higher when one parent is non-Polish than when both parents are Polish. This trend is again evident when one parent is Anglo-Saxon compared with the one parent being other European. Of all the variables examined in this study, birthplace of parents was generally the one which resulted in the most clear-cut differences when cross-tabulated with questionnaire data. It is for this reason that the variable is the one most commonly employed in the tabular presentation of results in Chapters 8 and 9. It is also the variable which has the most important implications for the process of cultural transmission, both from the first to the second generation and from both of these generations to the third (see Chapter 11).

TABLE 30: MEAN SCORES ON ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION FOR BOTH SAMPLES ON FIVE SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS.

Sample Characteristic	Tertiary Sample			Non-Tertiary Sample		
	N	Mean scores on ethnicity	Mean scores on assimilation	N	Mean scores on ethnicity	Mean scores on assimilation
Total	112	47.17	54.33	31	54.00	52.03
1 Sex:						
Male	67	45.13	54.93	11	57.55	50.55
Female	45	50.20	53.44	20	52.05	52.85
2 Birthplace of subject: Anglo-Saxon-born	87	45.33	55.08	23	54.00	51.09
"Young arrivals" (6 years or younger)	19	52.11	51.53	7	53.72	56.00
"Older arrivals" (8-12 years)	6	58.17	52.33	1	(56.00)	(46.00)
3 Parentage: Polish-Polish	70	51.66*	51.97*	29	55.76	50.86
Polish-Other European	33	41.76*	57.33*	1	(25.00)	(82.00)
Polish-Anglo-Saxon	9	32.11*	61.67*	1	(32.00)	(56.00)
4 Occupation of father before migration: Non-manual	31	52.19	52.23	11	56.82	48.73
Skilled manual	32	45.03	55.09	7	51.86	55.14
Semi and unskilled manual	23	47.52	53.65	6	55.33	52.83
Other	26	43.50	56.50	7	50.57	53.43
5 Attendance at Polish School: No	42	39.05*	55.52	10	49.80	49.60
Yes	70	52.04*	53.61	21	55.95	53.19

*Differences between means significant at the 5% level.

There was the tendency in the Tertiary Sample for females and those whose fathers had been in non-manual occupations before migration to register a higher mean ethnicity score than males and those with fathers in manual working occupations before migration. These differences, however, were not significant.[17] Nor were those among the mean scores for the Non-Tertiary Sample.

Tertiary students who were members of the Adelaide University Polish Club scored significantly more highly on ethnicity and more lowly on assimilation than those who were not members of that club (ethnicity means: 59 and 42 respectively; assimilation means: 49 and 57 respectively). Whether those students who were ethnically-oriented joined the club because of that fact, or whether they scored more highly on the ethnicity scale because of their membership of the club, is unclear. However, since the club began only in 1971 and the questionnaire phase of this research was done very soon after that, it is likely that the former explanation is the more relevant on this occasion. It appears that those who joined the club were already more firmly anchored in ethnic cultural and structural affairs and felt themselves to be more ethnic than those students who did not become members.[18]

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[17] In his research on Jews in Melbourne, Taft also found that the scores of males and females on most of the scales of Jewishness were very similar. "Jewish Identification of Melbourne Jewry", op. cit., p. 81.

[18] It appears, nevertheless, that the role of the Polish Club in bolstering ethnic feeling is not to be ignored altogether. See Chapter 11 and Appendix G2.

Those students who attended tertiary institutions other than
The University of Adelaide scored significantly more highly on
ethnicity and less on assimilation than the Adelaide University
students (ethnicity means: 53 and 46 respectively; assimilation means:
50 and 56 respectively). The differences in the mean scores on the
two dimensions reflects the diluting effect by the less ethnic "non-
participants" among the number of Adelaide University respondents, an
element which by the nature of the sampling does not appear among the
number of other tertiary students.

Finally, mean scores on the components of ethnicity and
assimilation of those tertiary and non-tertiary subjects who scored
high, medium and low on each of the dimensions are presented below.

TABLE 31: MEAN SCORES ON THE COMPONENTS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION OF SUBJECTS IN BOTH SAMPLES WHO SCORED HIGH, MEDIUM AND LOW ON EACH DIMENSION

Dimension rating	N	Language	Culture	Structure	Ideology	Total
Tertiary Sample						
Ethnicity:		(23)	(17)	(28)	(32)	(100)
High	31	19.70	8.90	18.70	21.53	68.57
Medium	39	15.95	5.93	13.23	15.25	50.18
Low	42	9.21	2.88	7.69	9.41	29.02
Total	112	14.43	5.58	12.62	14.74	47.17
Tertiary Sample						
Assimilation:		(18)	(17)	(31)	(34)	(100)
High	47	15.14	11.30	18.48	20.41	64.98
Medium	49	13.73	9.56	12.75	15.67	51.27
Low	16	13.13	6.25	6.88	9.25	35.00
Total	112	14.20	9.77	14.16	16.62	54.33
Non-Tertiary Sample						
Ethnicity:		(23)	(17)	(28)	(32)	(100)
High	10	20.40	8.20	18.00	22.30	68.30
Medium	15	18.07	4.93	16.73	13.60	52.13
Low	6	13.83	2.67	10.33	8.83	34.83
Total	31	18.00	5.55	15.90	15.48	54.00
Non-Tertiary Sample						
Assimilation:		(18)	(17)	(31)	(34)	(100)
High	9	14.11	13.22	18.89	22.44	68.44
Medium	15	13.13	7.80	11.00	18.07	50.13
Low	7	11.86	6.14	8.00	9.29	35.00
Total	31	13.13	9.00	12.61	17.36	52.03

All trends were in the anticipated direction, with subjects who rated "high" on the ethnicity and assimilation dimensions recording the highest mean scores for each of the four single components. The little difference between high and low scores on linguistic assimilation reflects the good command of all the tertiary students of the English language. On all other components, particularly the ideological and structural, very clear differences were exhibited by the low, medium and high scorers on the ethnicity and assimilation dimensions.

In this section, the distribution of scores obtained on the ethnicity and assimilation scales has been investigated, and the mean scores on these dimensions calculated for a number of subgroups in the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples. Close examination of these scores against the framework drawn at the beginning of this chapter illustrates the heterogeneity of these samples on both the ethnicity and assimilation dimensions. It might have been expected, for example, that the respondents in the Tertiary Sample, all undergoing tertiary studies mostly at the one institution, would show similar ethnicity and assimilation patterns, especially on the structural and ideological indicators. That this presupposition is certainly not the case is further demonstrated in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 8

ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION : LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

> "What is this 'Polishness' ? ... We know what its elements
> are - we know that it is the language, that it is some
> kind of cultural awareness, that it is some sort of
> feeling, that it is, well, I don't know, some kind of
> living experience. But in fact, try as we might, we
> are unable to define this in any way ... we all feel
> it, though it is difficult for us to express it."[1]

In an address in Adelaide, Bishop Wesoly, the Bishop to Polish
emigrés throughout the world, has outlined in quintessent form the
four indicators of ethnicity discussed previously (language, culture,
ideology and structure). Each of the indicators in this research was
studied using information from the questionnaires and further amplified
by means of the interviews.

The concepts of ethnicity and assimilation have, in fact, been
loosely defined in literature of the "exploratory theoretical" type
and narrowly investigated in applied research (see Chapter 1). Rarely
have insights gained from empirical research been productively
employed in attempts to refine these two very important phenomena.
The aim in the next two chapters is to analyse the empirical data in
order to contribute further insight to the understanding of these
phenomena.

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[1] Address by Bishop Wesoly at an "akademia" in Adelaide on 22 September,
1974, to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the Polish
Educational Society in South Australia.

1. LANGUAGE

It is significant that Wesoly, in his analysis of the elements of "Polishness", listed language as the first and foremost component. For the Polish ethnic group, language has traditionally remained the vehicle of a whole cultural tradition (see Chapter 2). Throughout the centuries, the Polish tongue continued as the central strand of Polish culture, symbolising from the fourteenth century "the Polish cause" and used in the nineteenth century as "the supreme instrument for the conscious rebirth of Poland and the symbol of Polish awakening".[2] It was directly upon the Polish language that Bismarck launched his "Kulturkampf" against Polish culture in the final quarter of last century.

The significance of language in relation to the rest of culture is a matter of debate among sociologists. Smolicz has summarised the more extreme positions in terms of the "constraint" and "reflective" schools of thought.[3] The former view gives prime place to language as the most fundamental and stable element of culture, a matrix which shapes an individual's particular ways of feeling, thinking and acting. The words and phrases of the native tongue impose a special structure upon one's perception of reality, and in this manner, it represents a constraint upon the extent to which individuals brought up in different linguistic traditions can communicate

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[2] A.P. Coleman, "Language as a Factor in Polish Nationalism", The Slavonic Review, Vol. 13, No. 37 (1934), p. 162.

[3] J.J. Smolicz, "Ethnic Cultures in Australian Society: a question of cultural interaction" in S. Murray-Smith (Ed.), Melbourne Studies in Education 1976 (Melbourne, 1976), pp. 48-51.

and interact with one another. This view, then, makes little allowance for the existence of any culture which is not totally grounded in, and dependent upon, its language. The "reflective" school, on the other hand, sees language as a reflector of, rather than a constraint upon, other items of culture, whether they be value orientations, social structures or economic forces. These two standpoints can be seen as extreme positions representing limiting cases of a generally much more complex situation.

Among ethnic groups, there are considerable variations in the role that language plays in the maintenance of culture. For example, the Jewish group appears unique in the way that it has been able to preserve its distinctiveness almost without the need for a special language to carry the rest of culture with it. On the other hand, other ethnic groups such as the Poles and Greeks have core values which emphasise the native tongue above all other national characteristics. The extracts from life histories of four Polish tertiary students in Appendix G illustrate the fundamental point that Polish language is more than merely a means of communication - it acts as the vehicle of many other cultural items. Thus command (in understanding, speaking, reading and writing), usage (in speaking and hearing, as well as in reading letters, books and newspapers, and in writing letters), and

attitudes towards the Polish language, are all examined here in

some detail.[4]

(1) Active Linguistic Experience - Speaking

The fundamental finding in this aspect of the study is that,

even in those families where the ethnic language is spoken by the

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[4]For comparative figures on Adelaide youth of Polish, Italian, Greek,
Dutch, Latvian and Anglo-Australian origin, and for details of all
samples investigated, see J.J. Smolicz and R.McL. Harris, "Ethnic
Languages and Immigrant Youth" in M. Clyne (Ed.), Australia Talks:
Essays on the Sociology of European and Aboriginal Languages in
Australia (Canberra, 1977, in press). Here, corresponding figures
are presented wherever possible for other samples of Polish youth:

(i) "Central Area Poles": Adelaide secondary school students;
38 of Polish-Polish (PP), 31 of Polish-other European (PE),
and 27 of Polish-Anglo-Saxon (PA) parentage. For full
details, see R. Wiseman, "A Study of the Academic Attain-
ment and Social Integration of Students of Dutch, Italian
and Polish Parentage in South Australian Secondary Schools",
Masters thesis, The University of Adelaide, 1974.

(ii) "Northern Suburb Poles": Adelaide secondary school students;
15 of PP and 17 of PE parentage. Interviewed by the author
in 1973.

(iii) "Canberra Poles": primary school students; all except two of
PP parentage. For full details, see S.D. Harvey, "Some
Aspects of National Language Maintenance among Children of
Dutch and Polish Origin in Canberra", Masters thesis,
Australian National University, 1970.

(iv) "Sydney Poles": Youth aged 14-26 years; 90 of PP and 15 of
"mixed" parentage. See Appendix F2.

Reference is also made to a sample of 369 Australian-born university
students of Australian-born parentage. See R.McL. Harris and
J.J. Smolicz, "Anglo-Australian Views of Ethnics", Australian and
New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1976), pp. 148-151.

second or 1b generation with ethnic elders, the language used with ethnic peers is almost invariably English. Of those tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage with living grandparents, 94% spoke Polish to them; 70% used Polish when talking to their older relatives, 69% to their parents' ethnic friends, 62% with their father and 56% with their mother. In contrast, only 7% spoke Polish to cousins of their own age. In the other four categories, no Polish without English was spoken (Table 32). A similar pattern emerges in the case of the Non-Tertiary Sample, illustrating the fact that the ethnic language survives in the second generation almost solely in the form of exchanges with ethnic elders.[5] There are indications that exchanges in both languages may occasionally take place, especially when older siblings are involved or when conversation takes place outside of tertiary education institutions in Polish homes or in Polish clubs. The young dancers of the Tatry Polish Dancing Group, for example, frequently used Polish in exclamations, jokes and other informal and spontaneous situations (these same people almost invariably talked English to each other when discussing "more serious" topics - it was the special atmosphere created by the Polish dance that released the tendency to express themselves in the ethnic tongue which, for everyday purposes, was reserved for speaking to parents and other ethnic elders).

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[5] Percentages of "Canberra Poles" always speaking Polish to ethnic elders were as follows: grandparents 57%; other relatives 65%; father 37%; mother 46%; ethnic family friends 66% (no children "always" spoke Polish to siblings and their ethnic friends). "Central area Poles" (in order of PP, PE and PA parentage): parents 42%, 16%, 0%; parents' ethnic friends 39%, 23%, 0%; siblings 0%, 3%, 0%; own ethnic friends 10%, 0%, 0%.

TABLE 32: ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING) OF TERTIARY AND NON-TERTIARY SUBJECTS OF POLISH-POLISH PARENTAGE*

Speaking to:	Tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage (n=70)								Non-tertiary subjects of Polish-Polish parentage (n=29)							
	Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total		Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. grandparents	16	94	1	6	0	–	17	100	10	100	0	–	0	–	10	100
2. older relatives	26	70	9	24	2	5	37	99	14	78	4	22	0	–	18	100
3. father	42	62	15	22	11	16	68	100	21	75	6	21	1	4	28	100
4. mother	37	53	21	30	12	17	70	100	20	69	8	28	1	3	29	100
5. parents' ethnic friends	48	69	18	26	4	6	70	101	22	79	5	18	1	4	28	101
6. older siblings	0	–	7	18	33	83	40	101	1	4	6	25	17	71	24	100
7. younger siblings	0	–	4	10	36	90	40	100	1	6	2	13	13	81	16	100
8. cousins own age	2	7	1	4	24	89	27	100	0	–	3	21	11	79	14	100
9. own ethnic friends outside tertiary institution	0	–	14	21	53	79	67	100	1	4	6	25	17	71	24	100
10. own ethnic friends inside tertiary institution	0	–	7	11	59	89	66	100								

*Despite the low numbers of subjects in some of the cells in this and following tables, all numbers have been expressed in the form of percentages to make rows complete. The author appreciates, however, the danger inherent in expressing small numbers as percentages; in all cases, therefore, both numbers and percentages are given.

TABLE 33: ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING) OF TERTIARY STUDENTS OF POLISH-OTHER EUROPEAN AND POLISH-ANGLO-SAXON PARENTAGE*

Speaking to:	Tertiary students of Polish-Other European parentage (n=33)								Tertiary students of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage (n=9)							
	Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total		Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. grandparents	6	60	1	10	3	30	10	100	1	20	0	–	4	80	5	100
2. older relatives	8	44	3	17	7	39	18	100	0	–	1	12	7	88	8	100
3. father	10	32	9	29	12	39	31	100	0	–	0	–	9	100	9	100
4. mother	12	36	11	33	10	30	33	99	0	–	0	–	9	100	9	100
5. parents' ethnic friends	15	45	6	18	12	36	33	99	1	11	1	11	7	78	9	100
6. older siblings	1	6	0	–	17	94	18	100	0	–	0	–	4	100	4	100
7. younger siblings	0	–	1	8	12	92	13	100	0	–	0	–	7	100	7	100
8. cousins own age	1	10	1	10	8	80	10	100	0	–	1	14	6	86	7	100
9. own ethnic friends outside tertiary institution	2	6	5	15	26	79	33	100	0	–	2	25	6	75	8	100
10. own ethnic friends inside tertiary institution	1	3	3	9	28	88	32	100	0	–	2	25	6	75	8	100

*Equivalent figures for the Non-Tertiary Sample have been omitted because there was only one subject in each of these "mixed" parentage categories.

The use of Polish suffers a significant decline among sub-
jects of "mixed" parentage. To take one example from Tables 32 and
33, 62% of the tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage spoke
in the ethnic language to their fathers, while only 32% of Polish-
other European, and none of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage did so.[6]
In those families of both samples in which one parent was German-
born (n=11), English or a mixture of German and English tended to
be the languages used in the home by subjects even to their other,
Polish-born parent. Five spoke half German-half English to their
mothers, and three of these subjects also spoke this mixture to
their fathers. Another four used English in conversation with
their mothers, and six with their fathers. Only two students from
Polish-German families spoke Polish to both of their parents.[7]

The use of Polish varies also with birthplace of subject.
Those born in Anglo-Saxon countries consistently show less frequent
use of the parental language than the "younger arrivals" (i.e.: those
born in continental Europe and who arrived at the age of six or
younger) or the "older arrivals" (those arriving between the ages
of 8 and 12, mostly born in Poland). While 41% of the Anglo-Saxon

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[6]All except three fathers in the "mixed" marriages in both parental
samples were Polish. Hence the reduction in amount of Polish
spoken in these families must be attributed to the influence of
the non-Polish mother upon the nature of the linguistic interaction
between the Polish father and his child.

[7]Among the other subjects of Polish-other European parentage, one
spoke mainly French and another, mainly Latvian to their mothers
while using Polish and English respectively in dialogue with their
fathers; and two spoke mainly Ukrainian to both parents. One
student spoke Russian to her grandparents.

born students spoke Polish to their fathers, 53% of the "young
arrivals" and all of the "older arrivals" did so; similarly, the
equivalent percentages for speaking the ethnic language to their
mothers were 34, 74 and 80, and those for speaking it to parents'
ethnic friends were 54, 63 and 80.

Those students who had attended Polish School or who belonged
to the Adelaide University Polish Club also exhibited more frequent
use of the ethnic language. Of Polish School attenders, 57% spoke
Polish to their fathers (only 29% of non-attenders did), 53% to
their mothers (29%) and 66% to their parents' ethnic friends (43%).
Again, 68% of Polish Club members spoke Polish to their fathers
(37% of non-members did), 56% to their mothers (38%) and 71% to
their parents' ethnic friends (51%). It therefore appears that,
although it is in the first place the more ethnic students (or those
with more ethnic parents) that may be the ones who go to Polish
School and the Polish Club, nevertheless such ethnic organisations
do provide extended opportunities for students to interact with
others of the same ethnicity.

(2) Passive Linguistic Experience - Hearing

The figures on the passive linguistic experience of the
subjects also show that it is mainly from ethnic elders that they
hear the native language spoken. In the Tertiary Sample of students
of Polish-Polish parentage, the percentages of students hearing mainly
Polish from elders ranged from 94% from grandparents to 67% from
mothers, while those hearing Polish from ethnic peers ranged from 7%
from cousins to none in the case of younger siblings. In the Non-
Tertiary Sample, none heard mainly Polish spoken by younger siblings,
cousins or friends, yet all students who had grandparents heard them

TABLE 34: PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (HEARING) OF TERTIARY AND NON-TERTIARY SUBJECTS OF POLISH-POLISH PARENTAGE

Hearing from:	Tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage (n=70)								Non-tertiary subjects of Polish-Polish parentage (n=29)							
	Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total		Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. grandparents	16	94	1	6	0	–	17	100	10	100	0	–	0	–	10	100
2. older relatives	29	78	7	19	1	3	37	100	15	83	3	17	0	–	18	100
3. father	50	74	13	19	5	7	68	100	25	89	3	11	0	–	28	100
4. mother	47	67	17	24	6	9	70	100	24	83	5	17	0	–	29	100
5. parents' ethnic friends	55	79	14	20	1	1	70	100	22	76	7	24	0	–	29	100
6. older siblings	1	3	6	16	31	82	38	101	2	9	8	36	12	55	22	100
7. younger siblings	0	–	7	16	36	84	43	100	0	–	4	25	12	75	16	100
8. Cousins own age	2	7	2	7	23	85	27	99	0	–	4	29	10	71	14	100
9. own ethnic friends outside tertiary institution	1	1	13	19	53	79	67	99	0	–	4	17	20	83	24	100
10. own ethnic friends inside tertiary institution	1	2	6	9	59	89	66	100								

TABLE 35: PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (HEARING) OF TERTIARY STUDENTS OF POLISH-OTHER EUROPEAN AND POLISH-ANGLO-SAXON PARENTAGE

Hearing from:	Tertiary students of Polish-Other European parentage (n=33)								Tertiary students of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage (n=9)							
	Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total		Mainly ethnic language		Half ethnic language-half English		Mainly English		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. grandparents	8	89	0	-	1	11	9	100	1	20	0	-	4	80	5	100
2. older relatives	11	65	2	12	4	24	17	101	1	12	0	-	7	88	8	100
3. father	16	52	8	26	7	23	31	101	0	-	1	11	8	89	9	100
4. mother	18	55	9	27	6	18	33	100	0	-	0	-	9	100	9	100
5. parents' ethnic friends	18	56	7	22	7	22	32	100	2	22	3	33	4	44	9	99
6. older siblings	0	-	1	6	16	94	17	100	0	-	0	-	4	100	4	100
7. younger siblings	0	-	0	-	12	100	12	100	0	-	0	-	7	100	7	100
8. cousins own age	1	10	0	-	9	90	10	100	0	-	1	14	6	86	7	100
9. own ethnic friends outside tertiary institution	1	3	7	21	25	76	33	100	0	-	1	11	8	89	9	100
10. own ethnic friends inside tertiary institution	0	-	4	13	27	87	31	100	0	-	1	11	8	89	9	100

speak mainly Polish and over three quarters heard Polish spoken by each of the other four categories of ethnic elders (Table 34).[8]

Data on both samples show that the ethnic language in families where both parents are Polish is heard from, and spoken to, fathers more often than mothers. This pattern of active and passive linguistic experience among the Polish families is not in evidence among families of other ethnic groups such as the Italian or Greek.[9]

There are again marked differences in frequency of Polish heard by subjects of "mixed" marriages compared with that heard by subjects of Polish-Polish parentage (see Tables 34 and 35).[10] Subjects who had attended Polish school or were members of the Adelaide University Polish Club heard Polish spoken more often than those who had not attended these ethnic organisations. Those who were Anglo-Saxon-born heard the ethnic language spoken less often than the "young arrivals", who in turn heard it less often than the "older arrivals".

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[8] Percentages of "Canberra Poles" always hearing Polish from ethnic elders were: grandparents 76%; other relatives 70%; father 74%; mother 60%; ethnic family friends 89% (no children "always" heard Polish from siblings).

[9] For example, in a study of 95 schoolgirls of Italian origin in Adelaide by L. Pieraccini, 60% spoke Italian (all forms) to their mothers compared with 42% who spoke it to their fathers; the respective figures for passive linguistic usage were 80% and 70%. Similarly, in an Adelaide study of 20 Greek families, 86% of the children were found to speak Greek to their mothers, and 71% to their fathers. See Smolicz and Harris, op. cit.

[10] One subject heard mainly German from both parents, three heard half German-half English from both parents and two others heard this mixture from their mothers. Two subjects heard Ukrainian from both parents; one heard French and another Latvian from their mothers. Another two students heard Estonian and Russian respectively from grandparents.

(3) <u>Command of Ethnic Language</u>

(i) Understanding

Figures on command of the ethnic language (which are based on respondents' self-assessment) show that the vast majority of the subjects of Polish-Polish parentage claim to have a fair to very good understanding of Polish (Table 36). The proportions of those claiming this level of competence in understanding Polish among the students of Polish-other European and Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentages fell markedly to 54% and 11% respectively.[11] Thus it is in this particular area of linguistic competence that subjects of homogeneous ethnic background show their greatest strength. Nearly all (except 1) of the European-born tertiary students claimed a fair to very good understanding of Polish, compared with two thirds of those born in Anglo-Saxon countries. There was a tendency for more of those whose fathers were primary (82%) or junior secondary (86%) educated to claim this level of competence than those whose fathers had a senior secondary (58%) or tertiary (61%) education. While 84% of the students who had attended Polish School claimed a fair to good understanding of Polish, the corresponding percentage for those who had not attended was 57. Similarly, while 85% of Polish Club members claimed this command, 69% of non-members did so.

Table 37 presents the numbers of respondents claiming ability to understand and speak other languages in addition to Polish. French and German, the languages traditionally offered in many Australian

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[11]Figures for the "Northern Suburb Poles" were: PP 87%; and PE 47%.

Sample	N	Very well		Fairly well		Not very well		Only a few words		No answer or none	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. UNDERSTANDING											
Tertiary Sample:											
Polish-Polish	70	32	46	32	46	4	6	1	1	1	1
Polish-other European	33	7	21	11	33	5	15	5	15	5	15
Polish-Anglo-Saxon	9	0	–	1	11	1	11	3	33	4	44
All	112	39	35	44	39	10	9	9	8	10	9
Non-Tertiary Sample:											
Polish-Polish	29	15	52	14	48	0	–	0	–	0	–
All	31	15	48	14	45	0	–	1	3	1	3
2. SPEAKING											
Tertiary Sample:											
Polish-Polish	70	19	27	35	50	13	19	2	3	1	1
Polish-other European	33	6	18	7	21	9	27	5	15	6	18
Polish-Anglo-Saxon	9	0	–	1	11	1	11	3	33	4	44
All	112	25	22	43	38	23	21	10	9	11	10
Non-Tertiary Sample:											
Polish-Polish	29	12	41	17	59	0	–	0	–	0	–
All	31	12	39	17	55	0	–	0	–	2	6

TABLE 36: COMMAND OF POLISH-UNDERSTANDING AND SPEAKING

TABLE 37: COMMAND OF ETHNIC LANGUAGES OF THE TERTIARY SAMPLE*

Language	Understanding (n)						Speaking (n)					
	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Only a few words	Not applic. or none	Total	Very well	Fairly well	Not very well	Only a few words	Not applic. or none	Total
Polish	39	44	10	9	10	112	25	43	23	10	11	112
German	5	10	7	8	82	112	4	6	7	6	89	112
Ukrainian	2	4	7	3	96	112	1	2		4	105	112
French	4	16	20	8	64	112	2	9	23	9	69	112
Russian		6	8	6	92	112		1	2	3	106	112
Yugoslav		1	2	2	107	112			2	1	109	112
Czech			2		110	112					112	112
Italian	1				111	112	1				111	112
Other		1	3	3	105	112		1	1	3	107	112

*In the case of the Non-Tertiary Sample:

    Understanding – very well: German 1; fairly well: French 2, German 1, Ukrainian 1 and Russian 1.
    Speaking   – very well: German 1; fairly well: French 2.

schools, emerge as the most common apart from Polish. Twenty nine

tertiary respondents, in fact, studied French and five studied

German in their matriculation year;[12] of the latter five students,

three had German-born mothers and one a Ukrainian-born mother.

Three students studied German as a unit in their arts degree, one

completing an Honours degree in the subject. Eight students

continued with French at the university level, five majoring in

the language together with either English (4) or History (1).

(ii) Speaking

The proportions of subjects claiming to speak their ethnic

language with any degree of command are rather lower than for

understanding. However, still more than three quarters of the

subjects of Polish-Polish parentage claim to speak their ethnic

tongue fairly to very well. The effect of mixed marriages again

shows clearly. Thus for the tertiary students of Polish-other

European parentage, the proportion claiming to speak Polish fairly

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[12]For Matriculation French, 8 students achieved "A", 5 "B" and 7 "C" level
passes; for Matriculation German, 3 achieved "B" and 2 "C" level
passes. It is interesting to note the comments of the Public
Examination's Board examiners on the 1971 South Australian Leaving
and Matriculation German papers. The general opinion was that while
oral-aural performance of those candidates who had had no formal
schooling in the subject was usually good, spelling and grammar
were very weak, and that those students should take private lessons
from a competent tutor before sitting for the examination. In the
examiners' view, many disappointing efforts came from students with
some German background who had obviously failed "to check their
quasi-German language remnants against the standard language";
on the other hand, some very good translations from those without
a home background of German showed that excellent results could be
achieved after five years' study at high school. The Advertiser,
20 July, 1972.

to very well was 39%.[13]

Higher proportions of tertiary students born in Europe claimed a fair to very good command in speaking Polish ("young arrivals" 74%; "older arrivals" 100%) than those born in Anglo-Saxon countries (55%). Command of Polish cross-correlated with attendance at Polish School revealed that 74% of the Tertiary Sample who had attended claimed a fair to very good competence, while only 38% of those who had not attended claimed this level of command in speaking the native tongue of their parents.

(iii) Reading and Writing

It is apparent that command of the ethnic language lies predominantly in the realms of understanding and, to a lesser extent, speaking. The ethnic tongue is not well grasped in the realms of reading and writing even by the tertiary interviewees, who collectively were more ethnic than the remainder of the respondents and who, because of the extent of their studies in other fields, might have at least been expected to be more fluent in reading and writing their mother tongue. Table 38 confirms the expected trend; namely, that command of Polish by the students decreases in the order of understanding, speaking, reading and writing.[14]

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[13] Equivalent figures for the "Northern Suburb Poles" were: PP 67%; and PE 36%. For the "Central Area Poles": PP 71%; PE 23%; and PA 0%. For the "Canberra Poles": 76%.

[14] Figures ("very little" or "none") for the "Central Area Poles" were: reading - PP 74%; PE 87%; and PA 93%; writing - PP 77%; PE 87%; and PA 96%. Among the "Sydney Poles", 5% stated that they were not able to speak Polish, 30% that they were not able to read Polish, and 37% that they were not able to write Polish.

TABLE 38: COMMAND OF POLISH (UNDERSTANDING, SPEAKING, READING, WRITING) OF THE TERTIARY SAMPLE (Interview data: n=45)

Self-assessment of command	Understanding n	%	Speaking n	%	Reading n	%	Writing n	%
very good	14	31	4	9	4	9	5	11
good	16	36	15	33	7	16	4	9
fair	7	17	13	29	14	31	11	24
poor	2	4	6	13	5	11	7	16
very bad	2	4	3	7	6	13	5	11
none	4	9	4	9	9	20	13	29
Totals	45	101	45	100	45	100	45	100

(4) Study of the English Language

Eighty four percent of the tertiary respondents and 81 percent of the tertiary non-respondents studied English as a formal subject at the matriculation level. Their grades in English at this level are presented in Table 39, which shows that the majority received good grades (A, B or C) for this subject.

TABLE 39: GRADES ACHIEVED BY THE TERTIARY RESPONDENTS AND NON-RESPONDENTS IN ENGLISH AT THE MATRICULATION LEVEL

English Grade	Tertiary Respondents* n	%	Non-respondents n	%
A	12	10	4	10
B	19	16	13	32
C	43	37	10	24
D	6	5	4	10
E	3	3	2	5
F	1	1	–	–
G	1	1	–	–
Did it, but grade unknown	13	11	–	–
Did not take it	19	16	8	20
Totals	117	100	41	101

*"Tertiary respondents" includes 112 in the Tertiary Sample and 5 who gave incomplete replies (see Chapter 6).

In addition, 18 respondents and 2 non-respondents continued with English at the tertiary level, and of these 20 students, 6 actually majored in the subject.

(5) Attitudes to the Ethnic Language

Table 40 summarises the attitudes of the subjects to the study of their native language at school and, in the instance of the Tertiary Sample, at tertiary level. Nine out of ten subjects of Polish-Polish parentage in the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples indicated their willingness to study Polish had it been offered at school. Although the degree of interest in ethnic language study drops in the case of those from "mixed" ethnic background, still two thirds of all the students at tertiary, institutions stated that they would have studied Polish at school.[15]

The proportions of students who would have taken Polish at the tertiary level drop considerably to 47% of those of homogeneous background and 36% of those of "mixed" parentage. Cross-tabulation by tertiary course reveals that of the 48 students who replied in the affirmative, 30 are in arts and economics courses, and another 13 in general science courses. Thus the majority are already in courses in which it would have been possible to include a language study if it had been available to them. This suggests that a number of those in more specialised faculties replied in the negative to this question because they realised that there was no way in which they would have been able to incorporate Polish into the content of their courses, quite apart from their willingness or otherwise to do so.

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[15] Figures for the "Northern Suburb Poles" who claimed that they would have studied Polish at school were: PP 60%; PE 12%. In the "Canberra Poles" sample, 73% stated that they would have taken Polish had it been offered.

TABLE 40:   WILLINGNESS OF BOTH SAMPLES TO STUDY POLISH HAD IT
BEEN OFFERED AT SECONDARY AND TERTIARY LEVELS

Sample	Yes		No		Undecided/ No answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. AT SECONDARY LEVEL								
Tertiary Sample:								
Polish-Polish	62	89	8	11	0	-	70	100
Polish-other								
European	24	73	7	21	2	6	33	100
Polish-Anglo-								
Saxon	6	67	3	33	0	-	9	100
All	92	82	18	16	2	2	112	100
Non-Tertiary Sample:								
Polish-Polish	26	90	2	7	1	3	29	100
All	28	90	2	6	1	3	31	99
2. AT TERTIARY LEVEL								
Tertiary Sample:								
Polish-Polish	33	47	33	47	4	6	70	100
Polish-other								
European	13	39	17	52	3	9	33	100
Polish-Anglo-								
Saxon	2	22	7	78	0	-	9	100
All	48	43	57	51	7	6	112	100

There was very little difference in the willingness to study
Polish at school between tertiary students who had attended Polish
School (84%) and those who had not (79%). However, twice as many of
the attenders (53%) showed that they would have continued such study
at university level than non-attenders (26%). Again, although there
was no difference in willingness to study the ethnic language at
school, there were proportionately more from Catholic schools (51%)
than from metropolitan state (38%) or country (22%) schools who were
willing to undertake such study at the tertiary level. Anglo-Saxon-
born students were less keen to take Polish at the tertiary level
(39%) than were either the "young arrivals" (53%) or the "older
arrivals" (60%). Polish Club members were more willing to study

Polish at both the secondary (94%) and tertiary (53%) phases of education than non-members (77% and 38%).

The very great majority of both the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples considered that it was desirable for children of immigrants to learn to speak the native tongue of their parents (87% and 97% respectively).[16] Thirteen of the tertiary students said "no" while another 2 were undecided. Of the thirteen students, 12 were Anglo-Saxon-born, 12 were non-members of the Polish Club, 10 were male, and 12 scored "low" on ethnicity and "high" on assimilation (i.e.: Anglo-Assimilates).

Both samples were asked to give reasons for believing that it was desirable for children of immigrants to learn to speak their parents' native language. Table 41 outlines the distribution of responses for this open-ended question. The most common reasons for believing such a move to be desirable were the appreciation of the ethnic culture and heritage, and the understanding of ethnic relatives in general and parents in particular. The non-tertiary subjects stressed more than did the tertiary students the utilitarian advantages of learning the mother tongue, while the tertiary students placed their emphasis upon understanding of parents and relatives.

It has been claimed that the chances of the ethnic language being retained are greater in families with one child than in

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[16]Sixty seven percent of the Anglo-Australian university students believed that children of immigrants should learn to speak the native language of their parents.

TABLE 41: REASONS FOR CONSIDERING IT DESIRABLE THAT CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS IN AUSTRALIA SHOULD LEARN TO SPEAK THE NATIVE TONGUE OF THEIR PARENTS

Reason	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Helps to appreciate ethnic culture, to pass on parents' heritage	34	19	12	27	46	20
2. Aids understanding of parents and relatives	37	20	5	11	42	19
3. Personal enrichment	21	12	6	13	27	12
4. Utilitarian reasons (unspecified: e.g. "handy in the future", "helps you later in life")	17	9	10	22	27	12
5. To broaden one's education (specified)	9	5	4	9	13	6
6. Easy to learn a language when young and the home is the easiest place to learn it	10	5	0	–	10	4
7. Travel	9	5	3	7	12	5
8. To broaden one's outlook on life (specified).	7	4	1	2	8	4
9. Good to experience and understand another language and culture apart from the Anglo-Saxon model	7	4	1	2	8	4
10. Helps communication (unspecified)	7	4	0	–	7	3
11. Job opportunities	6	3	1	2	7	3
12. Good to learn any language (not necessarily parents' native tongue)	5	3	2	4	7	3
13. Miscellaneous	13	7	0	–	13	6
Total number of replies	182	100	45	99	227	101

families with several children, since the children generally speak English among themselves.[17] Using the data on the Tertiary Sample, there was no difference in ability to understand or speak the ethnic language between only-children (n=21) and those from families with several children. However, when command in speaking Polish was considered for subjects of Polish-Polish parentage, 90% (n=9) of the only-children claimed that they could speak the ethnic tongue well or very well, compared with 75% (n=45) of others who came from families of more than one child. Similarly, among students of Polish-Polish parentage, 90% of the only-children spoke "mainly the ethnic language" to both of their parents. In contrast, only 55% (n=33) and 47% (n=28) of those from families of more than one child spoke mainly Polish to their fathers and mothers respectively. Thus, in this study, the above hypothesis was supported when subjects of homogeneous parentage were investigated in respect to their self-assessed command and active usage in speaking the Polish language.

Interviewees (n=45) were asked whether they intended to make every effort to ensure that their children (the third generation) would learn the Polish language. Four students claimed that they would not do so, but the great majority replied in the affirmative, several of them quite emphatically. Many recognised, however, that this intention contained a strong element of wishful thinking, making

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[17] M.G. Clyne, "Some Aspects of the Bilingualism and Language Maintenance of Australian-Born Children of German-Speaking Parents", ITL, Vol. 9 (December 1970), p. 35. This was also one of the conclusions drawn from the Sydney study of the Polish second generation by Dunin-Karwicki. In her sample of 105 were 14 from families with only one child.

such reservations as: "given favourable circumstances"; "I would

need to brush up on it myself first"; "I would teach them rudimentary

Polish and let them pick it up from grandparents"; "I would like them

to, but our living in the country makes it difficult"; or "It

depends on how active I am, or rather, how lazy I become". The

most common, and the most important, qualification made, however,

was that the transmission of language depended upon their marrying

a Polish spouse. The feeling in the majority of cases was that

if their partner was also Polish, then they would very much want

their children to learn and speak Polish; however, many could

realistically foresee that, in the event of their spouse not being

Polish, then this desire would be very much more difficult to bring

to fruition. Only a minority insisted that the ethnicity of the

partner would make no difference on this issue, and a few of the

more optimistic subjects even claimed that, if their spouse was

non-Polish and non-Anglo-Saxon, then they would want their children

also to learn that partner's ethnic language.

2. CULTURE

(1) Extent of reading and writing

The subjects' use of the ethnic language in reading and

writing is more restricted than their ethnic speech patterns. In

each of the subsamples in Table 42, except for a few instances in

the reading of newspapers and the receiving of letters, the majority

of subjects never read ethnic newspapers or books, nor maintained

TABLE 42: EXTENT OF READING AND WRITING IN THE ETHNIC LANGUAGE BY BOTH SAMPLES

Sample	N	Read news-papers		Read books		Receive letters		Write letters	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Tertiary Sample:									
(1) Polish-Polish	70								
regularly		6	9	1	1	10	14	5	7
sometimes		37	53	26	37	25	36	27	39
never		27	39	43	61	34	49	37	53
(2) Polish-Other European	33								
regularly		0	-	0	-	1	3	1	3
sometimes		19	58	10	30	16	48	12	36
never		14	42	23	70	16	48	20	61
(3) Polish-Anglo-Saxon	9								
regularly		0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
sometimes		2	22	0	-	2	22	0	-
never		7	78	9	100	7	78	9	100
ALL	112								
regularly		6	5	1	1	11	10	6	5
sometimes		58	52	36	32	43	38	39	35
never		48	43	75	67	57	51	66	59
no answer		0	-	0	-	1	1	1	1
Non-Tertiary Sample:									
(1) Polish-Polish	29								
regularly		1	3	0	-	5	17	4	14
sometimes		20	69	11	38	16	55	13	45
never		8	28	18	62	8	28	12	41
ALL	31								
regularly		1	3	0	-	5	16	4	13
sometimes		21	68	11	35	17	55	14	45
never		9	29	20	65	9	29	13	42

correspondence in the Polish language.[18] The subjects of Polish-Polish parentage in the Tertiary Sample, and especially the Non-Tertiary Sample, do reveal a certain amount of exposure to Polish affairs through ethnic magazines and newspapers, and through receiving letters written in the Polish language. The effect of "mixed" parentage upon the subjects' reading and writing in the native language is revealed clearly; reading and writing declines steadily from those who have both parents Polish to those from Polish-other European marriages and still further to those of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage.

One trend is dominant: there is little reading of books written in the ethnic language. It is even possible that the figures given are exaggerated in that Polish books read at Polish school may have been taken into consideration by the subjects in their replies of "sometimes".[19] In the case of the tertiary students, twice as many Polish school attenders than did non-attenders replied that they do read Polish books "sometimes". Many students in interviews commented that they had read widely in Polish when they were younger, but that the pressure of tertiary courses had

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[18] The "Northern Suburb Poles" show a strikingly limited degree of reading and writing in the Polish language. Corresponding figures for those who never read or wrote Polish in this sample were: PP - 73%, 80%, 67% and 67%; PE - 94%, 88%, 59%, 70%. In the "Canberra Poles" sample, 73% never read Polish newspapers, 60% never read Polish books and 65% did not receive Polish letters.

[19] Harvey, in the Canberra sample of 10-12 year old children of Polish parentage, found that the unexpectedly high figure of 40% who read books in Polish "regularly" or "sometimes" reflected the reading that these children did from their textbooks at Saturday School. Op. cit., p. 80.

inevitably reduced their extent of reading Polish books quite drastically.

Those who were interviewed were asked about the extent of reading and writing in the English language. Thirty seven claimed they read newspapers "regularly" and 8 "sometimes"; tertiary study resulted in a high number, 30, reading books regularly and another 12 sometimes (3 said that they hardly ever read books); 23 wrote and 24 received letters regularly, and 22 wrote and 21 received letters sometimes. All students therefore wrote and received letters in English and many also mentioned writing letters in English for their parents.

Most of the subjects interviewed were able to name three books written by Charles Dickens,[20] and two thirds of the books mentioned had been read by the students. Half of the books which had been read were part of English syllabi at school or at tertiary level, while the other half were claimed to have been read by students of their own free will. Similarly, all interviewees could name three plays by William Shakespeare,[21] nearly all had been read, and nearly all were inclusions in formal English classes. Some students had seen works by Dickens or Shakespeare on television, in films

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[20] The most frequently mentioned were: David Copperfield (25% of responses), Oliver Twist (23%), A Tale of Two Cities (12%) and Great Expectations (11%).

[21] The most frequently mentioned were: Macbeth (20%), Hamlet (16%), King Lear (11%) and the Merchant of Venice (10%).

or at theatres. All students gave the name of three poets[22] whom they had heard of or read, most again as part of formal syllabi in their education. While only one quarter of the interviewees had heard of the composer Elgar, half knew the name of Benjamin Britten. The Australian education system had therefore performed its tradi-tional function of transmitting at least some basic elements of British and Australian culture to these subjects.[23]

(2) Continental-European cultural, social and structural traits

Both the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples were asked to give European (and in particular, Polish) cultural, social and structural traits that they would like to see transplanted to the Australian (Anglo-saxon) core culture. Table 43 presents the distribution of their replies compared with that of the Anglo-Australian university student sample. Respect for traditions and respect for parents and older people in general were the most common answers given by the Polish subjects, followed by variety of entertainments, appreciation of the finer arts, and the cohesiveness of group activity and social mixing at functions. The Anglo-Australian students mentioned, firstly, appreciation of the finer arts; in second position was European foods and drinks, non-ideational items of culture which in practice are the most readily transferred across cultural boundaries. Rating equal second with

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[22]The most frequently listed poets were: Wordsworth (13%), Keats (11%), Eliot (8%), Donne (7%), Wright and Hopkins (each 5%).

[23]For an interpretation of the Australian school as an agent of Anglo-conformism, see J.J. Smolicz, "Is the Australian School An Assimilationist Agency?", Education News, Vol. 13, No. 4, (1971), pp. 4-8.

TABLE 43: CONTINENTAL-EUROPEAN CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND STRUCTURAL TRAITS WHICH SUBJECTS WOULD LIKE TO SEE TRANS-PLANTED TO THE AUSTRALIAN CORE CULTURE (OPEN-ENDED QUESTION)

Continental-European traits	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Both Polish Samples		Anglo-Australian Sample	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Respect for traditions, folklore, heritage	16	11	5	18	21	12	23	6
2. Family structure, respect for parents, care for older people	21	15	0	–	21	12	53	15
3. Entertainments	15	11	3	11	18	11	31	9
4. Appreciation and variety of finer arts	13	9	4	14	17	10	61	17
5. Social mixing at functions, closeness and cohesiveness of group activity, community atmosphere of cooperation	13	9	4	14	17	10	12	3
6. Appreciation of intellectual pursuits, ideas and knowledge for its own sake	7	5	2	7	9	5	11	3
7. Food and drink	7	5	1	4	8	5	53	15
8. Greater sensitivity to social, political and religious issues	7	5	1	4	8	5	6	2
9. Fewer social inhibitions, more emotion, sensitivity and spontaneity	6	4	0	–	6	4	16	5
10. More cosmopolitan attitudes, worldly outlook and overall tolerance and acceptance	4	3	0	–	4	2	16	5
11. Appreciation of human relationships - warmth, friendliness, gregariousness	3	2	1	4	4	2	10	3
12. Industriousness, hard work, initiative	4	3	0	–	4	2	9	3
13. Manners	3	2	0	–	3	2	9	3
14. Appreciation and variety of dress	0	–	0	–	0	–	16	5
15. Miscellaneous	10	7	2	7	12	7	28	8
16. Doesn't know any. Doesn't give any, but gives general comment such as "all of them", "only beneficial ones", etc.	13	9	5	18	18	11	0	–
Total number of replies:	142	101	28	101	170	101	354	102

food and drink was respect for parents and older people, an item
which was most highly prized by the Polish subjects, although it
received a _higher_ percentage rating from the Anglo-Australians.

(3) Australian traits

All of the Polish subjects were also asked to state
Australian traits which they considered would be of benefit to
those brought up in the Continental-European, and in particular
Polish, traditions. The distribution of responses is presented in
Table 44, again in comparison with that of the Anglo-Australian
students. Australian easy-goingness, informality and not too serious
view on life was by far the most frequent reply by both the Polish
(17%) and Anglo-Australian (16%) respondents. One noticeable
difference between the samples was on item 7, where 12% of the
Anglo-Australians, compared with only 4% of the Polish subjects,
valued what they perceived to be a freer life and freedom from
restrictive social traditions. Again, the Anglo-Australians
emphasised friendliness (7%), an item which received no mention from
any Polish respondent.

The most interesting point, however, to emerge from this
comparison was that, against the background of folk traditions and
other elaborate and highly ritualised ramifications of European
culture, the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture of the country appeared to
the Polish respondents to be lacking in substance and rather insipid.
As many as one fifth of the subjects went so far as to question even
the existence of an Australian culture. This tendency to disparage
and belittle Australian culture was not in evidence among the Anglo-
Australian students.

TABLE 44: AUSTRALIAN TRAITS WHICH SUBJECTS VIEW AS BENEFITING THOSE BROUGHT UP IN THE CONTINENTAL-EUROPEAN TRAITS (OPEN-ENDED QUESTION)

Australian traits	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Both Polish Samples		Anglo-Australian Sample	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Easy goingness, informality, not too serious view on life	21	20	1	4	22	17	41	16
2. Less rigid parental authority, acceptance of children as individuals	10	9	2	9	12	9	31	12
3. Mateship, egalitarianism, less rigidly stratified society	8	7	0	-	8	6	29	12
4. Tolerance and broadmindedness	6	6	1	4	7	5	14	6
5. Sports, recreation, modes of relaxation	4	4	2	9	6	5	18	7
6. Individualism, independence, personal freedom and initiative	4	4	2	9	6	5	9	4
7. Freer life, freedom from restrictive traditions in society	4	4	1	4	5	4	29	12
8. Love of the outdoor, appreciation of landscape	2	2	0	-	2	2	11	4
9. Less emotion, more rationality, calmness	2	2	0	-	2	2	8	3
10. Fair play, frankness, forthrightness	2	2	0	-	2	2	7	3
11. Higher status and freedom of women, equality of the sexes	1	1	0	-	1	1	9	4
12. Food, beer-skulling, pie-eating, pubs, piecarts	1	1	0	-	1	1	8	3
13. Friendliness	0	-	0	-	0	-	17	7
14. Miscellaneous	9	8	5	22	14	11	12	5
15. "?", can't think of any, "-"	19	18	8	35	27	21	0	-
16. "None"	14	13	1	4	15	12	0	-
Total number of replies:	107	102	23	100	130	103	250	101

(4) Allowances by schools for children of non-Anglo-Saxon origin

Over one half of both the Tertiary (63%) and the Non-Tertiary (52%) Samples considered that schools should make allowances for children of non-Anglo-Saxon origin.[24] Before examining in what ways the subjects believed allowances should be made, it is of interest to probe further the characteristics of those Polish tertiary students who thought allowances should not be made (n=41). Of the males, 42% were in this category but only 29% of the females. Of the Anglo-Saxon-born students, 41% believed no allowances should be made, while only 16% of the "young arrivals" thought likewise. Evidently they had found their adjustment to the Australian education system more difficult than had those born in Australia or England. It is interesting also that two of the five Polish-born students, the two in fact who had been the oldest upon arrival (11 and 12 years of age) in the 1960's, did not believe in allowances being made.

Almost half of those who did not belong to the Polish Club did not believe in allowances being granted while only 15% of the members agreed. While 44% of students who had attended metropolitan state schools did not believe in allowances being made, those who had gone to Catholic colleges (33% against) and to country schools (11% against) were more in favour. It is apparent that the Polish students who had gone to country schools had found the education system rather more inflexible than had city students.

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[24] Significantly, a far higher proportion (91%) of the Anglo-Australian university students were in favour of the education system making such allowances.

Subjects who thought that schools should make allowances were asked in what way such allowances should be made. Table 45 presents the distribution of responses of both samples, grouped into allowances which would assist ethnic maintenance, those which would contribute to acquisition of English, and those which would contribute to either ethnic maintenance or English acquisition. Not unexpectedly, the highest number of responses for any one category was for assistance with the English language (total of 41 responses). A variety of suggestions by subjects for ethnic maintenance and development totalled 45 responses which involved changes in school practices, additions to libraries and recognition in curricula of ethnic cultures and languages. Twenty eight replies referred specifically to teachers making individual adjustments and to counselling in schools.

Only seven tertiary and four non-tertiary subjects claimed that the schools which they had attended had, in fact, made any allowances for non-Anglo-Saxon children. Six of the seven tertiary students had attended Catholic colleges, evidence that it has been mainly the independent Catholic school system, which contains proportionately the highest number of immigrant children, that has been the most accommodating in respect to children of immigrants.[25] It should be noted that the respondents were educated in the schools

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[25] This conclusion is supported by the Anglo-Australian study of University of Adelaide students. Less than one third claimed that the school they had attended had made allowances, and breakdown of this proportion by type of secondary school attended clearly revealed that interstate schools and South Australian Catholic colleges had been the most accommodating.

TABLE 45:   WAYS IN WHICH SCHOOLS SHOULD MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR
CHILDREN OF NON-ANGLO-SAXON ORIGIN

Type of allowance which should be made	Tertiary Sample n	Tertiary Sample %	Non-Tertiary Sample n	Non-Tertiary Sample %	Total n	Total %
I Ethnic maintenance:						
1. better equipped libraries (with ethnic literature)	2	2	0	–	2	2
2. changes in school practices to recognise children from other cultural backgrounds (e.g. international days, I.Q. testing, variety of sports)	9	9	0	–	9	7
3. recognition of ethnic cultures in curricula	16	16	1	5	17	14
4. help to preserve native languages	13	13	4	18	17	14
II English supplement:						
1. help with the English language	32	32	9	41	41	34
III Either I or II:						
1. counselling	5	5	2	9	7	6
2. teachers to make allowances (e.g. not to be so Anglo-Saxon, allow for slower thinking)	17	17	4	18	21	17
Miscellaneous	6	6	2	9	8	7
Total replies	100	100	22	100	122	101

in the 1960's when the teaching of ethnic languages and cultures was
still virtually unknown.

(5) Education received at school in terms of degree of specialisation

The opinion of the subjects was sought on the degree of
specialisation in the arts and sciences of the education which they
had received at school. Their views, compared with those of the Anglo-
Australian students, are presented in Table 46, which reveals that the
tertiary students are more prepared to praise or criticise the education

they had received than are the non-tertiary subjects.

TABLE 46: OPINION ON EDUCATION RECEIVED AT SCHOOL IN TERMS OF
DEGREE OF SPECIALISATION

Degree of specialisation	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Both Polish Samples		Anglo-Australian Sample	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Broad	23	21	3	10	26	18	74	20
About average	54	48	19	61	73	51	193	52
Narrow	34	30	6	19	40	28	99	27
No answer	1	1	3	10	4	3	3	1
Total	112	100	31	100	143	100	369	100

It was thought that, in keeping with comments made by many
Europeans about the narrowness of Australian education, those born
overseas may be more inclined to give this reply. This indeed was
the case, with 46% (11) of the overseas-born, and only 26% (23) of the
Anglo-Saxon-born Poles and 27% of the Anglo-Australians, stating
that their education had been "narrow". (There was no difference
in opinion by attendance at Polish School.)

(6) Differences in opinions and actions in the cultural and social
spheres of life between parents and subjects

TABLE 47: EXTENT OF DIFFERENCES IN OPINIONS AND ACTIONS IN THE
SOCIO-CULTURAL SPHERE OF LIFE BETWEEN SUBJECTS AND
PARENTS

Extent of differences	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Anglo-Australian Sample	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very markedly	13	12	5	16	54	15
Quite considerably	23	21	7	23	89	24
To a fair degree	38	34	8	26	102	28
A little	33	29	10	32	101	27
Not at all	4	4	1	3	18	5
Don't know	1	1	0	-	5	1
Total	112	101	31	100	369	100

On this question there was very little difference between the
two Polish samples, or between them and the Anglo-Australian sample,
in the distribution of responses. Ostensibly, the ethnic factor does
not appear to have any effect. Approximately one third stated that
there were little or no differences between themselves and their
parents in the socio-cultural sphere of life. Another third answered
that the differences were very marked or quite considerable. As one
Polish student expressed this apparent culture tension:

I think that I have basically the same values as my parents,
but I tend to express myself in a very different manner from
what they would like, and in some cases this leads to fric-
tion. I do feel my ideas are rather more flexible than
theirs and I will not simply believe all I am told.

Table 48 presents the subjects' opinions on the origins of such

differences.

TABLE 48:   ORIGIN OF TENSIONS BETWEEN SUBJECTS AND THEIR PARENTS

Origin of tensions	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Differences due to the age gap	40	32	7	23	47	30
Differences in the educational level	37	30	7	23	44	28
Differences in the degree of assimilation	33	26	11	35	44	28
Differences in aspirations and way of life due to differences in social class	15	12	6	19	21	13
Total	125*	100	31	100	156	99

*Some subjects gave more than one answer, and these were coded despite the wording, "principal origin", in the question.

One quarter to one third of subjects chose differences in degree of assimilation as their answer. Approximately one third of those of Polish-Polish and Polish-European parentage replied in this way compared with only 11% of those of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage; 34% of those who had attended Polish school compared with 21% who had not; 32% of members of the Polish Club compared with 24% who were not; and 42% of the "young arrivals" compared with 28% of the Anglo-Saxon-born students.

(7) Degree of acculturation

The subjects in both samples were asked for a self-assessment of their degree of acculturation; that is, how integrated they felt themselves and their parents to be with Australian society in cultural terms. Significantly, as many as 28 students, or one quarter of the Tertiary Sample, estimated themselves to be only "partly" or "hardly at all" acculturated. An even greater proportion of the Non-Tertiary Sample, almost half (n=14, 45%), assessed themselves at this level of acculturation. Given that all of these subjects were second or 1b generation migrants, and that 112 had reached the tertiary phase of

the Australian education system, this high proportion of relatively
unacculturated subjects (by self-assessment) is very striking.

Since the question involves self-assessment, it could indicate
not only the actual degree of acquisition of Anglo-Australian culture,
but also the respondents' attitudes towards it; hence it could also
reflect identity. Almost half (n=7) of those tertiary students who
studied English at tertiary level rated themselves partly or less
acculturated, which raises the interesting speculation of whether a
person can be low on acculturation despite a good knowledge of
English literature and excellent command of the English language.
The finding shows either that their acculturation is low because
their identification as an Australian is low (six of these seven
students claimed that they felt "mainly" or "fully" Polish), or
that their acculturation is low in its own right because culture is
more than mere knowledge of English literature and language. If these
students feel uncomfortable in Anglo-Australian company, if they are
misinterpreting subtle signals used in communication among people born
and bred in a particular culture, then they may indeed be considered
low on acculturation despite their knowledge of English literature.
Three components in this study - culture, identification and structure -
can in certain instances converge upon each other. An individual low
on Anglo-identification can also be low on understanding of the more
intimate aspects of the Anglo-culture. They will then feel uncomfortable
in Anglo-Australian company, shun such friendships and hence be low on
the structural component. Novak expresses the intricate relationships
between these components in this way:

Patterns of perception and action are socially arrived at, especially in the intimacy of the family and primary group relations. The profoundest elements in these patterns are assimilated in instinct and imagination, below the threshold of consciousness. Hence, fundamental attitudes regarding sex, children, authority, money, home, ambition, pain, joy and social loyalty are derived, as it were, from chains of transmission far below the level of easy eradication or conversion... Inescapably, there is in all but the most mongrel, orphaned, and rootless of us a considerable inheritance from grandparents. That inheritance colors the eyes through which we discern what is reasonable, fair, cause for joy, or for alarm... It is more comfortable for us to be with people whose range of feeling, irony, instinct, and word is like our own.[26]

Table 49 presents the degree of acculturation of all second generation subjects and their parents. It is significant that subjects assessing themselves as low on acculturation included children of both Polish-Polish and Polish-other European marriages. While 23% (n=20) of the Anglo-Saxon-born students were in this number, 36% (n=7) of the "young arrivals" were included. Those who had attended Polish school contributed a higher proportion (20, 29%) than those who had not gone (8, 19%), as did the members of the Polish Club (members 13, 38%; non-members, 15 19%) and those who had been to Catholic colleges (16, 31%) rather than country (2, 22%) or city (10, 19%) state schools.

Two thirds of the students claimed that their fathers and mothers were only "partly", "hardly at all" or "not at all" acculturated. Conversely, 28% stated that their fathers and their overseas-born mothers were completely or almost fully acculturated. Of those parents who arrived in Australia under the age of 30 years, 30% of the fathers and 34% of the mothers were in this acculturated group, compared with 25% of the fathers and 22% of the mothers who arrived over 30 years of age. By their own level of education, 36%

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[26] M. Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York, 1971), pp. 271-2.

TABLE 49: DEGREE OF ACCULTURATION OF SUBJECTS AND THEIR PARENTS (Respondents' assessments)

Sample	Complete-ly n	%	Almost fully n	%	Partly n	%	Hardly at all n	%	Not at all n	%	No answer n	%	Total n	%
Tertiary Sample:														
1. Subject														
PP	26	37	24	34	17	24	3	4	0	–	0	–	70	99
PE	16	48	9	27	7	21	1	3	0	–	0	–	33	99
PA	5	56	4	44	0	–	0	–	0	–	0	–	9	100
All	47	42	37	33	24	21	4	4	0	–	0	–	112	100
2. Father														
PP	5	7	13	19	36	51	8	11	6	9	2	3	70	100
PE	2	6	7	21	12	36	5	15	3	9	4	12	33	99
PA	2	22	2	22	5	56	0	–	0	–	0	–	9	100
All	9	8	22	20	53	47	13	12	9	8	6	5	112	100
3. Mother														
PP	5	7	14	20	31	44	10	14	8	11	2	3	70	99
PE	4	12	6	18	13	39	5	15	2	6	3	9	33	99
PA	4	44	1	11	1	11	0	–	0	–	3	33	9	99
All	13	12	21	19	45	40	15	13	10	9	8	7	112	100
Non-Tertiary Sample:														
1. Subject														
PP	7	24	8	28	12	41	1	3	1	3	0	–	29	99
All	8	26	9	29	12	39	1	3	1	3	0	–	31	100
2. Father														
PP	0	–	4	14	12	41	6	21	5	17	2	7	29	100
All	1	3	4	13	12	39	6	19	6	19	2	6	31	99
3. Mother														
PP	0	–	3	10	10	34	11	38	4	14	1	3	29	99
All	1	3	3	10	10	32	12	39	4	13	1	3	31	100

of fathers with a senior secondary or tertiary education, but only

22% of those with junior secondary or less education were placed in

the acculturated group by their children. An interesting anomaly

in this trend, however, is that of the 9 students who claimed their

fathers were "not at all" acculturated, as many as 5 of these fathers

actually had a university education and another 2 an "other tertiary"

education. This finding is in line with the trend which would seem

to suggest that acculturation was more difficult either for very

highly educated subjects or for those with only primary education.

The direction of this trend can also be deduced from the findings of Wiseman in his study of Polish and Dutch secondary schoolchildren.[27]

In the Non-Tertiary Sample, greater numbers of subjects than in the Tertiary Sample claimed that their parents were only partly acculturated or less - 77% claimed that their fathers and 84% their mothers were at this low level of acculturation. These higher figures may be a reflection of the higher numbers of non-tertiary than tertiary subjects who rated themselves as lowly acculturated. The 45 tertiary students who were interviewed were asked questions on cultural participation, food and sport. Twenty seven went often or sometimes to Australian/British plays, while 11 volunteered the answer "rarely" and 7 never went to this type of theatre. The lack of money and time were frequently mentioned as reasons for non-attendance. However, 42 students stated that they went to see Australian/British films often or sometimes.

It was very clear that these students preferred Polish dances more than Australian ones. Those who went almost exclusively to Polish dances numbered over half the interviewed sub-sample, while another 5 attended Polish dances[28] more often than Australian ones and 7 attended both equally as often.

As many as 22 students claimed that they mostly ate Polish food at home, and another 16 replied that they had a mixture of

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[27] Wiseman, op. cit.

[28] Thus 64% attended dances which were mostly or always Polish ones. In the sample of "Sydney Poles", 77% claimed that they went to "Polish shows".

Polish and Australian food at home. Concerning their food prefer-
ences, 28 stated Polish,[29] 5 Australian and the remainder were undecided,
often preferring some Polish as well as some Australian cuisine.

Just over one third of this subsample stated that they were
not interested in Australian Rules football, and only a very few of
the males played it. When presented with a choice between going to
an Australian rules football match or a soccer match, 10 opted for
soccer only and none for football. Six would prefer football more
than soccer, six soccer more than football, and another six would be
equally content to watch both. The remaining students reiterated
that they had no interest in, or preference for, either sport, or
stated that such a choice depended on the standard of the match and
who was actually playing in it.

Thus a distinction could be made between the subjective
assessment of their own acculturation and the more objective method
adopted in the interview. The interview questions relating to
concrete phenomena, such as attendance at dances, and food and
sport, showed objective acculturation to be at a lower level than
its subjective estimate.

Conclusion

Studies on ethnic groups can be either culture-centred or
identity-centred, the approach in the former type being employed
more by anthropologists and sociologists and the approach in the
latter more by psychologists. In this study, such a clear
distinction was not followed and questions relating to both of

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[29]Compared with 62% of the tertiary student interviewees, 74% of the
"Sydney Poles" expressed their preference for Polish cuisine.
Interestingly, 82% of this latter sample stated that their house
had mainly Polish food.

these approaches were asked. Of the four indicators of assimilation and ethnicity, only one is manifestly related to identity while the others fall more readily under the category of culture in its broadest sense.

However, certain important items asked under the headings of culture and structure relate to self-assessments, some of them involving highly theoretical concepts such as the one concerning self-assessment on the acculturation scale. Statement of this fact could reflect not only concrete facts, not only actual cultural phenomena, but also attitudes of individuals to the fundamental issues of assimilation and ethnicity-retention, being or feeling Polish and/or Australian. Such attitudes could be more indicative of a person's identity rather than his actual acculturation. Questionnaire study does not lend itself readily to this type of analysis; hence the importance of supplementing it with interviews. The divergence between objective and subjective acculturation made previously in this chapter has highlighted the possible significance of ostensibly cultural items for the study of identity. If language and culture in their most "purified" versions were to be investigated, this would demand the involvement of highly trained socio-linguists who could make more objective assessments of the language and literature components. Even they, however, could not fully penetrate the significance of what E.A. Shils once called "primordial bonds",[30] since the latter are inextricably linked with one's ideology and identity.

[30] E.A. Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred and Civil Ties", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 8 (1957), pp. 130-145.

CHAPTER 9

ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION: STRUCTURE AND IDEOLOGY

1.   STRUCTURE

Theoretical Framework

In the broad sense, culture includes all forms of social

interaction. The structures of society, the network of groups,

institutions and relationships in which individuals become enmeshed

can be viewed as social systems in which men constitute social values

for one another.[1]

All types of organisations constitute group social systems in

which each member, as a social value, may become the object of the

other people's social actions and relationships. Group systems thus

represent social stocks or reservoirs of social values from which

members draw in constructing social systems at the personal level.

A useful extension of Znaniecki's theory can be made by

applying the distinction often made between primary and secondary

relationships to personal social systems. Gordon[2] has defined primary

relationships as those in which contact is personal, informal or

intimate, usually face to face and involving the entire human

personality. In contrast, secondary relationships are the more

impersonal, formal and restricted associations typical of the

occupational, political, commercial and military spheres of life.

It can be postulated that an individual constructs two social systems

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[1]F. Znaniecki, The Method of Sociology (New York, 1968), pp. 130-136.

[2]M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York, 1964), pp. 30-34.

at the personal level - one made up of all the people with whom he has primary relationships (primary personal system), the other consisting of those linked to him through secondary contacts (secondary social system).

Some social groups or stocks, such as a social gang or an extended family, provide an individual with most of his primary social values. But, even in this case, some group members may also become accommodated within the individual's secondary social system as well. Thus a Polish boy, who includes his uncle in his primary system, may later be employed in this relative's shop and thus incorporate the uncle into his secondary system as well. On the other hand, groups such as a trade union branch, the staff of a school, a university department, or a religious congregation, each of which functions mainly as a source of secondary social values, may, after an interval of time, supply the individual with personal friends who thus become incorporated into his primary social system. Hence some people, as social values, may enter into both the primary and secondary social systems of a given individual while others remain segregated according to the type of relationships in which they stand to him.

The theory of social systems outlined above can be applied to the ethnic scene, whether in the United States or Australia. Of particular interest are migrants' attempts to construct personal social systems which would include the hosts as their social values. In America, some descendants of European newcomers, in an attempt to regularize their social position and extend their cultural and occupational assimilation into the realm of primary group relationships, chose the only way that was open to them in the heyday of

"Americanisation": they tried to suppress their ethnic ancestry through renouncing their surname, religion, membership of organisations and institutions established by their ethnic groups, all in the search for social acceptance by the ruling section of the nation - the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant sub-society in its dominant middle class form. Radzialowski recently commented:

> They have paid a high psychological price to become American. It now seems to them that the establishment and its children are changing the definition of what a "good American" is. They have discovered that they are as much the object of ridicule as "Americans" as they were when they were foreigners... After a heavy admission fee, they have been enrolled in American society and allowed to approach the stairway of success only to find, in their view, that someone is letting the Blacks in by the side door and threatening to turn the stairway into an escalator for them. The reaction has in some cases bordered on paranoia.[3]

Such suppression of ethnic ancestry may have various consequences: it can find expression in feelings of guilt and insecurity, a display of aggression, a sense of alienation from all sections of society and generally an air of disorganisation and hopelessness. The situation has not, however, reached such a pitch in Australia where the gulf between acculturation and secondary structural assimilation on the one hand, and the establishment of primary social relationships on the other, has not been so pronounced.

In this regard, a comparison of the writings of Gordon and Zubrzycki[4] suggests that, in the United States, immigrants have

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[3] T. Radzialowski, "The View from a Polish Ghetto", Ethnicity, Vol. 1, No. 2 (July 1974), p. 144.

[4] J. Zubrzycki, "Some Aspects of Structural Assimilation of Immigrants in Australia", International Migration, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1968), pp. 102-110; and "The Questing Years", Australian Citizenship Convention paper, Canberra, 1968.

experienced less difficulty in forming personal secondary systems

at the higher occupational levels than in establishing primary

relationships with their Anglo-American occupational equals and

colleagues. In Australia, on the other hand, the formation of

secondary social systems at the higher economic reaches is still

difficult for many Southern European immigrants. Research evidence

in depth is still so scanty that overall only the general outlines

of the problem can be appreciated, but one's impression is that,

once the second generation does succeed in occupational breakthrough,

and hence in forming personal secondary social systems with their

professional colleagues, then the barriers to primary relationships

are by no means insuperable.

Empirical Study[5]

(1) Close friends (primary social values)

All subjects in the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples were

asked the composition of their personal social systems and those of

their parents. This question was considered an important indicator

of the nature of their primary relationships and hence, on the

assimilation dimension, of primary structural assimilation. An

intriguing difference was revealed in the friendships circles of the

tertiary students inside, in contrast to those outside their tertiary

education institutions (Table 50). While only 15 (14%) of the members

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[5]Comparative data on other samples of Polish youth and on Anglo-
Australian university students are again presented in this chapter
wherever relevant.

of the Tertiary Sample claimed that their close friendships were
almost all or predominantly Polish inside the tertiary institutions,
a relatively high number of 41 (37%) claimed this for outside the
institutions. In keeping with this trend, the Non-Tertiary Sample,
having in common ethnic organisational ties and not being students
in tertiary institutions, showed a higher proportion (17, 54%) of
close Polish friendships.[6]

In the instance of the two parental samples, the proportions
having almost all or predominantly Polish personal primary systems
were naturally higher, 79% of the parents of the Tertiary, and 84%
of the parents of the Non-Tertiary Sample. While no parents had
friendship circles which were almost all Australian, there were
8 sets of parents who included a predominance of Australians
among their close primary ties. Among these 8 were 4 Polish-
Australian, 2 Polish-European and 2 Polish-Polish pairs. The latter
two couples had both arrived in Australia from England in the mid-
1960's with a fluent command of the English language, and one might
presume that they found it somewhat easier to befriend a number of
British-Australians than to break into an already tightly-knit
minority community whose members had undergone different experiences
from those under which they themselves had lived for the past twenty
years.

It is interesting to note that while one eighth of the
parents included among their close friends people from "a mixture

[6]Corresponding figure for the "Northern Suburb Poles" was 31%.
For the sample of "Sydney Poles", the proportion having mainly
Polish friends was 49%.

TABLE 50: COMPOSITION OF CLOSE FRIENDSHIP CIRCLES OF THE SUBJECTS OF BOTH SAMPLES AND THEIR PARENTS

Sample	Almost all Polish		Mixture, predominantly Polish		Mixture of Europeans (few, if any Australians)		Mixture, predominantly Australian		Almost all Australian		No answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
CLOSE FRIENDS INSIDE TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS														
Tertiary Sample														
PP	1	1	11	16	23	33	26	37	9	13	0	–	70	100
PE	1	3	2	6	10	30	18	55	2	6	0	–	33	100
PA	0	–	0	–	0	–	8	89	1	11	0	–	9	100
All	2	2	13	12	33	29	52	46	12	11	0	–	112	100
CLOSE FRIENDS OUTSIDE TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS														
Tertiary Sample														
PP	8	11	25	36	15	21	19	27	2	3	1	1	70	99
PE	2	6	5	15	7	21	17	52	2	6	0	–	33	100
PA	0	–	1	11	0	–	5	56	3	33	0	–	9	100
All	10	9	31	28	22	20	41	37	7	6	1	1	112	101
CLOSE FRIENDS IN GENERAL														
Parents of Tertiary Sample														
PP	25	41	27	44	6	10	2	3	0	–	1	2	61	100
PE	14	42	11	33	5	15	2	6	0	–	1	3	33	99
PA	1	13	3	38	0	–	4	50	0	–	0	–	8	101
All	40	39	41	40	11	11	8	8	0	–	2		112	100

Sample	Almost all Polish		Mixture, predominantly Polish		Mixture of Europeans (few, if any Australians)		Mixture, predominantly Australian		Almost all Australian		No answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
CLOSE FRIENDS IN GENERAL cont.														
Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	6	21	11	38	7	24	3	10	2	7	0	-	29	100
All	6	19	11	35	7	23	4	13	3	10	0	-	31	100
Parents of Non-Tertiary Sample														
PP	12	41	12	41	4	14	0	-	0	-	1	3	29	99
All	13	42	13	42	4	13	0	-	0	-	1	3	31	100

of European backgrounds", as many as one fifth to one third of the

second generation in this study claimed such a composition for their

personal social system.[7] This pattern was more evident among the

tertiary students detailing the composition of their friendship circles

within their institutions. Three tertiary students illustrated this

phenomenon at school and at university in this way:

> All my main friends at school were of European origin.
> I talked English to them, we were bound together by our
> differences, the fact that we were different from other
> people. We were not interested in football, none of
> my friends played sport. We were more retiring, more
> intellectual and read a lot.
>
> We have more in common than with Australians - we are
> European Australians, we have a different way of life,
> a different sense of humour.
>
> And whom do I feel most at home with? I suppose it
> would be any second generation migrants, any kids like
> myself whether they have got Polish or Hungarian or
> Greek parents, simply because they have had this common
> upbringing of a foreign culture, a foreign language in
> Australia.

The above quotations illustrate what can be termed "ethnic clusters"

which are composed of mainly second generation, but also a proportion

of first generation parents, of mixed European backgrounds. The

forces which bind them together may not all be "negative", meaning

merely differentiation from Anglo-Australians. It would seem that

some aspects of European-Continental culture, such as family struc-

ture, help to crystallise such clusters within Australian society.

The interviewees were asked the ethnic background of their

closest five friends. A total of 217 replies were received, in which

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[7]The proportion of "Northern Suburb Poles" having "a mixture of
Europeans' as friends was 34%.

there were 89 Polish and 82 Anglo-Saxon (Australian 62, British 19, American 1) close friends. The "mixture of Europeans" which composed the third main group (n=43) was able to be categorised more specifically into the following:

20 Eastern European (Hungarian 6, Ukrainian 5, Latvian 3, Yugoslav 3, Czech 2, Russian 1)

12 North-western European (German 8, Dutch 3, Swedish 1)

11 Southern European (Italian 8, Greek 3)

The other group was composed of 2 Lebanese and 1 "Asian" (unspecified).

In all of the samples, the effect of "mixed" parentage is clearly demonstrated in Table 50. The proportions having Polish primary ties progressively declines from subjects of Polish-Polish parentage, through those of Polish-other European parentage to those from Polish-Anglo-Saxon marriages.

Of those tertiary students who were Polish Club members, 27% claimed that they had Polish friends even inside their tertiary institutions, while among the non-members, the corresponding percentage was 7% (Table 51).

TABLE 51: COMPOSITION OF CLOSE FRIENDSHIP CIRCLES OF TERTIARY STUDENTS BY POLISH CLUB MEMBERSHIP

Friendships	Inside tertiary institutions				Outside tertiary institutions			
	Members		Non-members		Members		Non-members	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Almost all Polish	1	3	1	1	4	12	6	8
2. Mixture, predominantly Polish	8	24	5	6	12	35	19	24
3. Mixture of Europeans	12	35	21	27	9	26	13	17
4. Mixture, predominantly Australian	13	38	39	50	9	26	32	41
5. Almost all Australian	0	-	12	15	0	-	7	9
Totals	34	100	78	99	34	99	78	99

It is likely, therefore, that the predominant role of the
Polish Club within Adelaide University is one of initiating new, and
maintaining current, primary ties with fellow Polish students. The
importance to the members of this role of the club, despite the
serious doubts which many of the "irregular participants" had
concerning its role in the direct maintenance of Polish culture,[8]
is illustrated in the following comments of five students on the
reason for their joining the club:

> I was very miserable all through first year university.
> I received a note from the Adelaide University Polish Club,
> and not belonging to any other clubs and not being sporty,
> I thought I might as well give it a go... I think I do have
> a stronger feeling for them club members than for other
> people – they are closest to me.

> I take pride in my Polish background and wanted to meet
> people with similar background and interests. I knew
> very few Polish young people before. I joined the club
> because I felt I should know some students of Polish
> background.

> I joined the Polish club mainly through curiosity to see
> how many Polish kids there were at university as well as
> to be able to mix socially with the young Polish people
> that I didn't know before.

> I joined to further increase my knowledge not only of
> Polish tradition but to be able to communicate with
> others sharing the same problems as myself; also to
> be able in some way to help preserve this heritage.

> I joined that club to get to know more about who were
> the Polish youth in Adelaide.

In terms of the above theory, all members of the Polish
Club represented secondary social values for each other at the time

---

[8]A manifest expression of these doubts was the resignation from the
Vice-Presidency and membership of the club of one respondent in
1972 who believed that it was not taking a sufficiently firm stand
on cultural and ideological matters.

of joining. However, as a result of the many activities of the club, some of the relationships became transformed into close friendships with the members concerned acquiring the status of primary social values in each other's personal social systems.

Whether one had been to Polish School or not did not make any difference in the case of close friends inside tertiary institutions, but it did have an effect in respect to close friends outside those institutions. Of those who had attended Polish school, 46% (32) claimed Polish friends outside tertiary institutions compared with only 22% of the non-attenders. Here it appears to be the Polish School which may have contributed to the widening of the Polish primary social systems of those who had attended, and that these old friendships have continued between tertiary students and neighbourhood peers who did not go on to tertiary education. For instance, one female student said in her interview:

> I attended Saturday School for eight or nine years...
> I liked it until I was twelve but for the last two
> years I did not like it so much. It took off Saturday
> afternoons. From that school a number are friends now.
> We went to High School. My school friends were mostly
> Australian, but that was a school-bound situation. At
> weekends I would go out with Polish kids. We still keep
> up those ties, although some of us are at the university
> and one friend of mine now works in the railways.

Quite apart from the cultural transmission function of the Polish School, it thus consolidates already existing friendships between young Polish peers. Another female subject explains how the ethnic school acts to strengthen existing primary ties among Polish children:

> I went to Polish Saturday School while in Grade 2 in
> Australian School. It was not forced upon me. My
> elder brother was going and most of my friends, so I
> wanted to go and I enjoyed it. Stayed at Polish
> School for 8 years.

Attendance at a secondary Catholic school has a very slight effect on the composition of the tertiary students' friendship patterns. For friends inside tertiary institutions, 18% of those who had attended Catholic schools said "almost all" or "predominantly Polish", while 12% of ex-metropolitan state and none ex-country school students gave this answer; in the case of Polish friends outside tertiary institutions, the percentages were 41, 35 and 22 respectively. Slightly more females than males have Polish close friends both within tertiary institutions (18% to 10%) and outside them (44% to 31%). Conversely, more males than females have Australian friends both inside (61% and 51%) and outside (46% to 38%) tertiary institutions.

In the case of the parents of the Tertiary Sample, the proportion of Polish friends is inversely proportional to educational level and occupational status in Australia. The percentage of each of the educational categories having almost all or predominantly Polish friendships was as follows: primary only, 92%; junior secondary, 82%; senior secondary, 75%; and tertiary (university and other) 67%. While 69% of the fathers who were in non-manual occupations were stated by their children as having only or mostly Polish friends, 79% in skilled manual and 89% in semi- and unskilled manual were given in this category. Thus, those fathers with minimal education and low status jobs are more likely to seek or maintain their primary relationships with fellow country-men than are fathers with more education and more highly rated occupations (although the latter, too, maintain a relatively high proportion of Poles in their personal social systems).

(2) Reasons for association with people of Polish background

      The tertiary and non-tertiary subjects were required, if they had claimed that their close friends were Polish, to reason why they should at times prefer to associate with people of Polish background. Their replies are listed in Table 52, grouped under common headings.

TABLE 52:   REASONS WHY SOME SUBJECTS PREFER TO ASSOCIATE WITH PEOPLE OF POLISH BACKGROUND (open-ended question)

Reason	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Affective and emotional ties leading to mutual understanding	15	19	10	42	25	24
2. Common interests	14	18	8	33	22	21
3. Common ancestry	15	19	1	4	16	16
4. Brought together through clubs or parental networks	11	14	1	4	12	12
5. Social reasons	8	10	3	13	11	11
6. Geographical proximity	3	4	0	–	3	3
7. Shallowness of Australians	2	3	0	–	2	2
8. Miscellaneous	11	14	1	4	12	12
Total number of replies	79	101	24	100	103	101

      The most frequently given reason by both samples was the affective and emotional ties leading to mutual understanding between themselves and peers of their own ethnic origin. These ties represent the "primordial bonds" which appear also to underlie some of the other reasons, such as club memberships and common interests. In fact, common interests and a common ancestry were the next two most frequent replies. Hence these ethnic aggregations appear to be mostly explained on the basis of shared culture and past experiences. Two examples of the first category of answers were:

      I seem to be more at ease with people of Polish or European background, perhaps because there is a sub-conscious feeling that we are both in the same situation, both strangers in a foreign land.

This is hard to explain. I suppose we have something extra in common, something we can share. Perhaps it is that our thought processes are similar. Or perhaps it is just in our blood.

(3) <u>Membership of Organisations (Group Social Systems)</u>

The membership of clubs and organisations of the tertiary and the non-tertiary subjects and their parents is presented in Table 53.

Sample	N	Number of Polish Clubs:				Number of Australian Clubs:			
		None	1	2	3+	None	1	2	3+
Tertiary Sample:									
PP	70	26	30	13	1	41	18	5	6
PE	33	20	8	3	2	17	5	9	2
PA	9	7	1	1	0	3	3	1	2
All	112	53	39	17	3	61	26	15	10
Non-Tertiary Sample:									
PP	29	0	20	8	1	16	8	3	2
All	31	0	22	8	1	17	9	3	2
Parents of Tertiary Sample:	102	52	32	8	10	80	15	5	2
Parents of Non-Tertiary Sample:	30	15	11	2	2	26	3	0	1

TABLE 53: NUMBER OF POLISH AND AUSTRALIAN CLUBS TO WHICH SUBJECTS AND PARENTS BELONG

Of the tertiary students, 53 (47%) did not belong to any Polish club, while 39 (35%) and 17 (15%) belonged to one and two clubs respectively. As far as Australian clubs are concerned, 61 (54%) did not belong to any, 26 (23%) to one and 15 (13%) to two clubs. The membership of Polish organisations therefore plays a more significant role in the lives of the tertiary students than does membership of Australian ones. In the Non-Tertiary Sample, all subjects by virtue of sampling procedure belonged to at least one Polish club, and

347.

9 (29%) belonged to two or three Polish clubs; however, 17 (55%) did

not belong to any Australian club. Another 9 (29%) had joined one,

and 5 (16%) two or more, Australian clubs. Thus although weighted

as far as Polish clubs are concerned, the Non-Tertiary Sample in

its membership of Australian clubs was very similar to the Tertiary

Sample.[9] Likewise, the membership of both Polish and Australian

clubs of the two parental samples was similar. Approximately half

of both samples belonged to Polish clubs, and only one tenth to a

quarter belonged to any Australian clubs.

Among the tertiary students, those who belonged to Polish

clubs included more females (60%) than males (48%); more European-

born (68%) than those born in Anglo-Saxon countries (48%); more of

Polish-Polish parentage (63%) than of Polish-other European (39%)

or Polish-Anglo-Saxon (22%) parentage; more of those who had secondary

educated fathers (65%) than of those who had primary (54%) educated

fathers; and significantly, more of those who had attended Polish

School (63%) than of those who had not (36%). In the Tertiary Sample,

membership of the Polish Club, attendance at Polish School, birth

country of student and school attended had very little influence on

whether or not students joined Australian clubs.

In this section reference has been made to the number of

Polish and Australian clubs joined by the subjects and their parents.

What was the nature of these clubs and organisations? Among the

tertiary students, 34 were classified as members of the Adelaide

---

[9]In terms of membership of Australian organisations, the Tertiary
Sample (46% were members) and the Non-Tertiary Sample (45%) in
Adelaide were also very similar to the Sydney Polish sample, in
which 40% belonged to such clubs.

University Polish Club, 14 belonged to The White and Red Circle, 8 to Tatry Polish Dancing Group and 6 to the Polonia Sports Club. The remaining clubs, in each of which only one or two students were members, included Dom Polski and other similar Polish clubs in the suburbs, Polish Scouts and Guides, Copernicus Committee, Millenium Society, and affiliations with Polish schools. Australian clubs to which the tertiary students belonged were predominantly sports clubs (particularly squash and soccer), university clubs of various types (theatre, film, faculty, social action, music), church youth organisations and old scholar societies.

The Non-Tertiary Sample was composed of members of The White and Red Circle (17) and Tatry Polish Dancing Group (14). The remaining Polish organisations included Polonia Sports Club, Dom Polski, and Lowiczanki (Choir). Those who were members of Australian clubs mostly belonged to either sports organisations (judo, basketball, squash, soccer, tennis, baseball), or social clubs at their places of work. A few subjects also joined in chess, ballet, art or rural youth activities.

The most frequently mentioned Polish clubs to which parents of both second generation samples belonged were Dom Polski, Ex-servicemen's Association, Polish school committees, Polonia Sports Club and church committees and choirs. A few parents also belonged to the Polish Historical Society, Millenium Society, Polish Scouts and Guides Association, Copernicus Committee and chess clubs. Australian associations of which the parents were members included mainly professional societies, parent associations of schools, and social clubs at places of work. Other organisations to which a few of the parents belonged included the Good Neighbour Council,

TWO SYMBOLS OF "POLISHNESS" IN ADELAIDE

Dom Polski, Angas Street, City

Central meeting place and cultural centre for South Australia's
Polish community, built by the Dom Polski Cooperative Society under
the Chairmanship of Mr. S. Gotowicz. The Society was established
in 1959 and the centre opened on 17 November, 1973 (photograph
taken 1975).
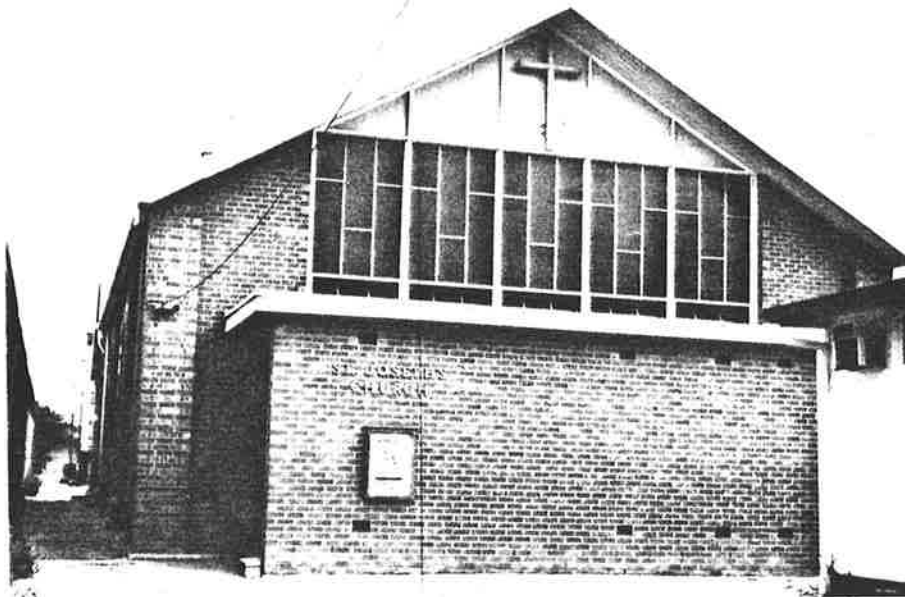
St. Joseph's Church, Pirie Street, City

This church forms the focal point of Polish Catholic life in Adelaide.
Like all church buildings used by the Poles, it is not owned by the
Polish community but is the property of the Catholic Archdiocese of
Adelaide (photograph taken 1975).

sporting and hobby clubs, the Returned Servicemen's League, and charity organisations such as Meals on Wheels and the Red Cross Society.

This extended list of Australian organisations might suggest a considerable degree of structural assimilation among the parents of the subjects with the possibility that membership of such bodies would, at least in certain instances, lead to the formation of primary social bonds with the hosts. However, as the figures in Table 53 indicate, the numbers of parents who participated in Australian organisational life were small, with some bodies having only one, two or three members. Yet it does appear to bear out the original view that the pathways to structural assimilation of Polish migrants in Australia do exist and there is no evidence to suggest that they are consciously blocked by the hosts in the primary area of relationships. What is not known is the degree of ethnicity which they must surrender to become accepted members of such bodies.[10]

(4) Opinions on the usefulness of ethnic communities in Australia

An overwhelming majority of the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples believed that ethnic communities could serve a useful function for Australian society as a whole (95%, 84%), and for newcomers to Australia (95%, 81%). (Table 54). Only a total of

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[10] An interesting example is the "club rule" of one Returned Servicemen's League branch which was passed in the late 1960's to prevent "migrants jabbering in foreign tongues". All migrant members and visitors were ordered to speak in the English language after complaints from Australian members. The issue generated several irate letters to newspaper editors. See the Daily Telegraph, 12 May, 1969.

Migrant communities can:	Tertiary Sample								Non-Tertiary Sample							
	Yes		No		No answer or not applic.		Total		Yes		No		No answer or not applic.		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Serve a useful function for Australian society as a whole	106	95	5	4	1	1	112	100	26	84	3	10	2	6	31	100
2. Serve a useful function for newcomers to Australia	106	95	2	2	4	4	112	101	25	81	0	–	6	19	31	100
IF YES for 1 or 2:																
3. Help new arrivals to settle down	102	91	3	3	7	6	112	100	27	87	1	3	3	10	31	100
4. Help preserve ethnic cultures and languages	89	79	18	16	5	4	112	99	24	77	2	6	5	16	31	99
5. Make social life more pleasant	93	83	8	7	11	10	112	100	23	74	1	3	7	23	31	100
6. Other reasons	21	19	·	–	91	81	112	100	3	10		–	28	90	31	100

TABLE 54: OPINIONS OF SUBJECTS ON THE USEFULNESS OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN AUSTRALIA

7 tertiary students stated "no" for these two functions: six of these were Anglo-Saxon born, six were non-members of the Polish Club, five were males, and all were Adelaide University students.

Those who claimed that ethnic communities could serve a useful function were probed further for ways in which they could be "useful". Eighteen tertiary and 2 non-tertiary subjects categorically stated that they would not value the presence of such communities for helping to preserve ethnic cultures and languages. The 18 were all Adelaide University students, 12 were males, 14 were Anglo-Saxon-born, and 16 were non-members of the Polish Club.

Thus the profile of those few students who did not believe in the usefulness of ethnic communities and of those who did not value their presence for contributing to ethnic linguistic and cultural maintenance was one of a male university student who was born in an Anglo-Saxon country and did not belong to the Adelaide University Polish Club. There was no consistent pattern in other characteristics such as attendance at Polish School, birthplace of parents or school attended.

(5) Attendance at Polish Saturday School

The figures on attendance of the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples at Polish Saturday School[11] are listed in Table 55. Subjects of Polish-Polish parentage stand out as the most assiduous attenders, with two-thirds of each sample claiming to have attended such a

---

[11] For details on Polish Schools in Adelaide in 1975, see Appendix F5.

			Yes (at any time)						
Sample	No		Almost every week	Fre-quently	Occa-sionally	Total Yes		Total	
	n	%	n	n	n	n	%	n	%
Tertiary Sample:									
PP	22	31	37	4	7	48	69	70	100
PE	14	42	11	1	7	19	58	33	100
PA	6	67	3	0	0	3	33	9	100
All	42	38	51	5	14	70	63	112	101
Non-Tertiary Sample:									
PP	9	31	17	1	2	20	69	29	100
All	10	32	18	1	2	21	68	31	100

TABLE 55:   ATTENDANCE AT ETHNIC SATURDAY SCHOOL BY BOTH SAMPLES

school. Attendance declines in the instance of those with "mixed" ethnic parentage, with 58% (n=19) of the tertiary students of Polish-other European parentage, and one third (n=3) of those of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage, claiming attendance.[12]

Of those who had gone to Polish School, 36% scored high, 43% scored medium and 21% scored low on ethnicity. Thus mere attendance at that particular institution certainly did not (under the scales adopted in this study) necessarily imply a "high" ethnicity rating.

[12] The proportion of two-thirds of subjects of mono-ethnic parentage claiming attendance at Saturday School is confirmed by the samples of "Northern Suburb Poles" (67%) and "Canberra Poles" (68%). The percentage of "Northern Suburb Poles" of Polish-other European parentage was slightly less than that for the tertiary students: 47%. The "Central Area Poles", who came from areas of high Southern European concentrations, showed a considerably lower pattern of attendance than other samples: PP 34%; PE 13%; and PA 19%. The "Sydney Poles" of mainly Polish-Polish parentage showed three-quarters who had attended Polish School; while in a sample of 40 teenagers of Polish origin in Perth, one half claimed ethnic school attendance. R. Johnston, Future Australians (Canberra, 1972), p. 229.

Half of those who scored low on ethnicity and yet had attended

Polish School were of "mixed" parentage: 21% (n=7) of those of

Polish-other European parentage were in this category compared with

only 11% (n=8) of those of Polish-Polish parentage. Parents of

this group were often unable or unwilling to keep up the ethnic

language in the home domain and felt that they could discharge

their "ethnic duty" by sending their children to Polish Saturday

School.

On the other hand, of those who scored high on ethnicity,

83% had gone to Polish School; of those scoring medium, 75%; and

of those scoring low, 36% had attended Polish School. A high

rating on ethnicity, therefore, was to some extent related to

attendance at ethnic school. This latter progression does suggest

that the Polish School has played some role in the development and

maintenance of "Polishness", despite what some students might state

about their dislike of such an institution:

> Polish reading and writing I learnt in a Polish school -
> but it was a horrible thing; we had to read poetry and
> perform in public.

> Stayed at Polish school for 8 years. On the whole I have
> not benefitted as much as I could have. In the end, they
> mostly gave us scripts which one of us read and teacher
> talked in a language which I could not understand. My
> speaking is O.K., but literature and geography and
> history - I didn't get much out of that.

> I know nothing about Polish literature. We all had to
> go, my brother, sister and I regularly. Gave me a hate
> for Saturday school. It did give me the knowledge of
> how to read Polish. I can read it, but slowly. I
> couldn't speak Polish - I just copied from the board.
> The method was unsuitable for me.

A more sympathetic view came from this student:

> We were made to go. Father took us there whenever he
> could. It was not a negative thing - it was only
> sometimes a choice; I did not mind when I was learning
> things - accepted it as something which had to be done.
> As long as I was interested and felt it beneficial, I
> did not mind.

Apart from the performing in public and old-fashioned teaching methods, there was also the problem of very different levels of command of the Polish language depending on the "start" given children by interested parents.

> This was the first time that I was placed in a large group of children where the situation required them to speak Polish (i.e. in the classroom). Unfortunately, I was very disillusioned with their rather poor command of Polish. The teacher found it difficult to impart new material when the students lacked elementary knowledge. However, I think this undesirable situation was largely the fault of the parents (who had failed to teacher their children Polish at home) and not of the school.

In regard to rating on assimilation and Polish School attendance, there were no consistent progressions. Nor were there any differences in the proportions who had attended Polish School between members and non-members of the Polish Club. Each grouping contained just over 60% of those who had gone to ethnic school. More female students (69%) had attended Polish School than male students (58%). The tendency to attend Polish School was higher among those whose fathers had only primary or junior secondary education (66%) than among those whose fathers had senior secondary or tertiary education (58%).

In Chapter 9, the observation was made that the subjects' wishes to pass on the ethnic language to the third generation contained a considerable degree of wishful thinking. This fact was confirmed in the interviews where they were asked whether they would send their children to ethnic school. Many who did reply in the affirmative, however, felt this way not so much that their children might learn the ethnic language but that they might mix with other Polish peers, pick up the culture and history of Poland, and come to feel Polish (i.e.: the more realistic expectations centred around

the structural, ideological and general cultural aspects rather than
language).

> Language to be of value has to be a living thing, it has
> to be cultivated. Other things would be more meaningful
> for my children in this Australian context.

Thus although Polish schools in Adelaide are currently committing
at least half of their teaching time to the formal study of the
ethnic language (Appendix F5), it appears that these second genera-
tion subjects, as parents, will not be viewing this function as the
most important for the ethnic school, despite the fact that Polish
culture is acknowledged to be highly dependent upon language as its
central core.

Others consider that the ethnic school would be a useful
agency of cultural transmission in view of their own inadequacies
as a teacher or deficiencies in knowledge of Polish language and
culture. One female science graduate explained:

> Yes, I would send my children, even if only for two years.
> I don't think that I could tolerate teaching them myself.
> I don't consider myself a very good teacher. My Polish
> is fairly good and I could talk to them, but I don't
> like getting down to basics to teach them and I'm not
> very good with kids.

A few others, however, took the opposite standpoint in considering
that sending children to ethnic school was a trap, a way of
absolving oneself from the responsibility of transmitting the
ancestral tradition:

> I would try sending them, but if I saw that I was shirking
> my responsibility in stimulating interest in my own chil-
> dren, or that they were getting nothing from the experience,
> I would not force them to continue.

There were many, of course, who were only lukewarm to the idea of
sending children to Saturday School, and it is unlikely that these
students will use the ethnic school when the time arrives. Such a

conclusion can be reached by examining closely the undertones in such indecisive replies as:

> I would suggest to them that they go, but if they didn't want to, I wouldn't force it.

> Yes - for them it would be something new, and they would probably like it [he didn't]. But it would be up to them in the long run.

> I'd let them go for two or three weeks, and then see their reaction to it. I would try to show an interest myself so that my children would not feel 'pushed'.

> Yes, it could be a possibility; useful to have another language up your sleeve.

It was clear that the timing of Polish classes on Saturdays had been resented by many of the subjects, and that they would have preferred to have had them on weekdays as part of the Australian school. The general feeling was that such an arrangement would have been fairer in terms of time and would have raised the status of their ethnic language and culture. It was also clear that many of the interviewees resented the element of parental pressure to attend Polish School. Recollection of their own past experiences[13] made them very wary of subjecting their own children to such pressures.

> Definitely not - it represents an attempt to force kids to be Polish, and that often has the opposite effect.

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[13] In the survey of Polish Saturday School children in Adelaide in 1967, almost two thirds (n=68) of those who answered the question on motivation for attendance claimed that they attended ethnic school "because parents told them to go". See Appendix F3.

(6) <u>Structural assimilation (self-assessment)</u>

Subjects were asked if they considered themselves structurally assimilated into Australian society through participation in five types of organisations or groups: educational, sporting, social, cultural and political. Table 56 gives the breakdown of these five areas by types of parentage. Across the two samples, the same order, and approximately similar proportions, occur in the five areas. In order, with the percentages of the Tertiary Sample and the Non-Tertiary Sample respectively, they are as follows: (1) educational 92, 94; (2) social 78, 77; (3) sporting 65, 71; (4) cultural 54, 58; and (5) political 32, 23. An earlier finding was that one quarter of the Tertiary Sample and four in ten of the Non-Tertiary Sample assessed themselves as only partly or hardly at all acculturated (Chapter 8). In line with this, almost one half of both samples considered themselves to be not structurally assimilated into cultural organisations in Australian society.

The majority felt themselves to be structurally assimilated in the educational sense, which is not surprising, particularly in the instance of the Tertiary Sample. Also not surprising is the proportion of one quarter to one third who claim themselves to be structurally assimilated in the political sphere of life. One overall impression which the author has gained about the Polish second generation is that the majority <u>want</u> to remain largely apolitical as a result of the fortunes of their emigré parents and of the factional fighting within the Polish first generation organisations in Australia, especially since 1970 (see Chapter 5).

TABLE 56: STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION OF BOTH SAMPLES (self-assessment)

Nature of structural assimilation:	Tertiary Sample								Non-Tertiary Sample			
	PP		PE		PA		Total		PP		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Educational												
yes	63	90	32	97	8	89	103	92	27	93	29	94
no	6	9	1	3	1	11	8	7	1	3	1	3
no answer	1	1	0	–	0	–	1	1	1	3	1	3
total	70	100	33	100	9	100	112	100	29	99	31	100
2. Sporting												
yes	40	57	25	76	8	89	73	65	20	69	22	71
no	22	31	8	24	1	11	31	28	3	10	3	10
no answer	8	11	0	–	0	–	8	7	6	21	6	19
total	70	99	33	100	9	100	112	100	29	100	31	100
3. Social												
yes	52	74	28	85	7	78	87	78	22	76	24	77
no	14	20	5	15	2	22	21	19	3	10	3	10
no answer	4	6	0	–	0	–	4	4	4	14	4	13
total	70	100	33	100	9	100	112	101	29	100	31	100
4. Cultural												
yes	33	47	21	64	6	67	60	54	17	59	18	58
no	28	40	11	33	1	11	40	36	5	17	5	16
no answer	9	13	1	3	2	22	12	11	7	24	8	26
total	70	100	33	100	9	100	112	101	29	100	31	100
5. Political												
yes	17	24	14	42	5	56	36	32	7	24	7	23
no	40	57	14	42	3	33	57	51	12	41	13	42
no answer	13	19	5	15	1	11	19	17	10	34	11	35
total	70	100	33	99	9	100	112	100	29	99	31	100

These findings on structural assimilation are very interesting in themselves. However, any analytical comment on them lacks a certain degree of assertiveness because, without comparative figures on Anglo-Australian and other ethnic groups, no definitive statements can really be made. For example, it is doubtful if the majority of young Australians of any ethnic group, including the Anglo-Australian, would feel completely "assimilated" into the

political structures of the country.

Generally, except for education, the subjects of Polish-Polish parentage are the most lowly assimilated, and those of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage the most highly assimilated, in the structural meaning of the term. By attendance at Polish School, the tendency was for attenders to consider themselves less assimilated into political and cultural life than non-attenders, but this tendency was only very slight. More significant was the difference in the sporting area, where 19% of non-attenders and 33% of attenders considered themselves structurally unassimilated. Many comments were made in this research about the incompatibility of Polish school and sport as far as Saturday time was concerned. This may be the reason for the figures given. As one female put it:

> I speak better Polish than my brother. He only went to
> Polish School for about 3 years - he was playing soccer
> on Saturday mornings and it clashed, so he preferred to
> play soccer and my parents did not impose on him.

Perhaps it is the lack of sporting prowess and interest which impels students to satisfy any organisational eagerness by joining social and cultural clubs. For example, those who were members of the Polish Club classified themselves as a less structurally assimilated group than the non-members in the sporting (53% to 71%) and to a lesser extent the cultural (47% to 56%) areas of life.

(7) Structural assimilation of Parents

Subjects were asked whether, in their view, their fathers had achieved an occupational level in keeping with their European-gained education, experience and background. The results are given in Table 57. Over one half to two thirds of subjects considered their fathers had not achieved such an occupational standing, even in most cases after twenty or more years in Australia.

TABLE 57: SUBJECTS' OPINIONS ON THE STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION OF THEIR FATHERS INTO THE AUSTRALIAN OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

Answer of subject:	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	n	%	n	%
yes	48	43	11	35
no	62	55	20	65
no answer	2	2	0	-
Total	112	100	31	100
If no, to what could this be attributed?	Responses of 62 subjects		Responses of 20 subjects	
lack of English	41	36	15	44
lack of recognition of qualifications	29	25	5	15
lack of time	28	24	12	35
old-age	6	5	2	6
other reasons	11	10	0	-
Total number of replies:	115	100	34	100

More of the Non-Tertiary Sample than of the Tertiary Sample attributed this lower occupational level to insufficient knowledge of English and lack of time due to the need to support the family on arrival, while the tertiary students opted for lack of recognition of qualifications more than did the non-tertiary subjects.

It was the fathers with a university education and those over the age of 30 years upon arrival who were seen by their children as not having achieved a sufficient occupational status. Those whose fathers were in the lower occupational groups, had less education and were over 30 years upon arrival favoured insufficient knowledge of English as the reason for their fathers' lack of upward occupational mobility. An expected result was that lack of recognition of qualifications was the reason given most frequently by those whose fathers had had a senior secondary or tertiary education. However, this was also the reason most preferred by those whose fathers were

now in non-manual occupations. The offspring of such men obviously

considered that their fathers could and/or should have been in even

higher status occupations than they actually were in Australia by

the early 1970's.

Apart from the occupational area, structural assimilation

of parents into social, sporting and political groups was also probed.

The pattern of structural assimilation, as detailed in Table 58, was

TABLE 58: SUBJECTS' OPINIONS ON THE STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION OF THEIR PARENTS INTO SOCIAL, SPORTING AND POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS						
Sample	Social groups		Sporting clubs and recrea- tional bodies		Political organisations	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Fathers of Tertiary Sample:						
yes	58	52	21	19	4	4
no	45	40	78	70	91	81
no answer	9	8	13	12	17	15
Total	112	100	112	101	112	100
Mothers of Tertiary Sample:						
yes	61	54	14	13	2	2
no	39	35	79	71	89	79
no answer	12	11	19	17	21	19
Total	112	100	112	100	112	100
Fathers of Non-Tertiary Sample:						
yes	9	29	4	13	2	6
no	14	45	16	52	19	61
no answer	8	26	11	35	10	32
Total	31	100	31	100	31	99
Mothers of Non-Tertiary Sample:						
yes	14	45	3	10	1	3
no	12	39	19	61	21	68
no answer	5	16	9	29	9	29
Total	31	100	31	100	31	100

fairly consistent across sex of parent and type of sample, with the only exception being fathers of the Non-Tertiary Sample in the social sphere of life. Less than a third of these fathers were perceived as being structurally assimilated in this sense, compared with approximately half of the other parental samples. Overall, the results show very low structural assimilation on the part of the first generation of Poles in sporting, recreational and political organisations.[14]

2. IDEOLOGY

Ideology in this chapter is interpreted mainly in terms of the individual's sense of identity. However, as was indicated in previous sections, ideological values also underlie the responses to questions relating to self-assessments of acculturation and structural assimilation. Personal ideological systems can therefore be regarded as core values which help to evaluate and order other items of culture. This also includes the structuring by the ideology of the individual's social systems. However, in this section, the focus is on the most readily manifested aspects of ideology as shown in self-assessed degree of identity.

Identity is a more flexible and subtle aspect of ethnicity than the cultural and linguistic indicators. It may be prone to

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[14] It was naturally the younger mothers (on arrival: under 30, 16%; over 30, 11%) and fathers (on arrival: under 30, 24%; over 30, 13%) who were considered more structurally assimilated into sporting and recreational bodies, and also younger mothers (on arrival: under 30, 63%; over 30, 54%) who were seen as more assimilated into social groups.

sudden fluctuations depending on the feelings of individuals. For example, it may guide an individual's social relationships, which may in turn lead to a sudden boost in identity. One of the subjects in this study, through his connection with an ethnic organisation, met a girl much more ethnic than himself. The resulting engagement was responsible for an increase in his Polish identity. His linguistic and cultural scores have nevertheless remained at a low level and it has taken him several months to increase them appreciably. The "conservative" nature of language is shown in the fact that even if the social relationship in question were to be ruptured and the Polish identity thereby diminished, the language once consolidated would remain a potential to be activated in any future social relationship.

(1) Identification

Table 59 presents the self-identification of the subjects, and the assessment of their parents' identification. Twenty percent of the tertiary and 38% of the non-tertiary subjects considered themselves mainly or fully ethnic. Approximately two fifths of each of the second generation samples assessed themselves as half ethnic and half Australian, while 35% of the tertiary and 22% of the non-tertiary subjects said they were mainly or completely Australian.[15] The strength of ethnic feeling by birthplace of

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[15] Corresponding figures for the "Northern Suburb Poles" were (for those of Polish-Polish and Polish-other European parentage respectively): fully ethnic 13%, 6%; mainly ethnic 0%, 6%; half ethnic-half Australian 47%, 35%; mainly Australian 33%, 47%; and completely Australian 7%, 6%. Among the "Sydney Poles", 56% considered themselves "a Pole" and 38% "an Australian" (the other 6% considered themselves "neither a Pole nor an Australian").

TABLE 59: IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUBJECTS AND THEIR PARENTS

Sample	fully ethnic		mainly ethnic, a little Australian		half ethnic and half Australian		mainly Australian, a little ethnic		completely Australian		no answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Tertiary Sample:														
PP	5	7	14	20	30	43	18	26	3	4	0	–	70	100
PE	1	3	3	9	15	45	12	36	2	6	0	–	33	99
PA	0	–	0	–	4	44	4	44	1	11	0	–	9	99
All	6	5	17	15	49	44	34	30	6	5	0	–	112	99
Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	6	21	6	21	11	38	6	21	0	–	0	–	29	101
All	6	19	6	19	12	39	6	19	1	3	0	–	31	99
Fathers of Tertiary Sample:														
PP	32	46	20	29	11	16	4	6	0	–	3	4	70	101
PE	9	27	9	27	8	24	1	3	1	3	5	15	33	99
PA	0	–	6	67	0	–	2	22	1	11	0	–	9	100
All	41	37	35	31	19	17	7	6	2	2	8	7	112	100
Mothers of Tertiary Sample:														
PP	29	41	26	37	10	14	4	6	0	–	1	1	70	99
PE	6	18	8	24	10	30	3	9	2	6	4	12	33	99
PA	0	–	1	11	1	11	1	11	6	67	0	–	9	100
All	35	31	35	31	21	19	8	7	8	7	5	4	112	99

TABLE 59:   IDENTIFICATION OF THE SUBJECTS AND THEIR PARENTS cont.

Sample	fully ethnic		mainly ethnic, a little Australian		half eth- nic and half Australian		mainly Australian, a little ethnic		completely Australian		no answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Fathers of Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	15	52	8	28	3	10	0	-	0	-	3	10	29	100
A11	16	52	8	26	3	10	0	-	0	-	4	13	31	101
Mothers of Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	18	62	7	24	2	7	0	-	0	-	2	7	29	100
A11	19	61	7	23	2	6	0	-	0	-	3	10	31	100

parentage weakens in the anticipated direction : Polish-Polish to

Polish-other European to Polish-Anglo-Saxon. Likewise, it is

weaker in the instance of those students who were born in

Australia (mainly or fully ethnic: 16%, compared with 37% of the

"young arrivals" and 40% of the "older arrivals").

Tertiary students who had attended Polish School or who

were members of the Polish Club assessed themselves as more ethnic

than did non-attenders and non-members respectively (Table 60).

Self-identification	Polish Club membership				Polish School attendance			
	Yes		No		Yes		No	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
fully ethnic	3	9	3	4	4	6	2	5
mainly ethnic, a little Australian	8	24	9	12	14	20	3	7
half ethnic, half Australian	17	50	32	41	33	47	16	38
mainly Australian, a little ethnic	6	18	28	36	17	24	17	40
completely Australian	0	–	6	8.	2	3	4	10
Total	34	101	78	101	70	100	42	100

TABLE 60: IDENTIFICATION OF THE TERTIARY STUDENTS BY POLISH CLUB MEMBERSHIP AND POLISH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

While 26% of Polish School attenders claimed a mainly or fully

ethnic identification, only 12% of non-attenders did so. Similarly,

one third of club members gave this answer compared with only 16% of

non-members. The converse also was true with more non-attenders and

non-members perceiving themselves as mainly or completely Australian

than other students.

By last Australian school attended, 44% of metropolitan state,

in contrast to 33% country state and 28% of Catholic ex-students

assessed themselves as mainly or completely Australian. On the other

hand, the proportions feeling themselves to be mainly or fully ethnic

were 20, 11 and 24. Thus the Catholic school system has had a
slight effect on identification or else the more ethnic students
had been sent to Catholic schools. At the tertiary education level,
those identifying themselves as mainly or completely Polish were 36%
of the "arts" and 13% of the "science" students; the respective
figures for those who said mainly or completely Australian, on the
other hand, were 19 and 31. (There were no sex differences in
self-identification.)

Two thirds of the tertiary students claimed that their
fathers were more ethnic than Australian, the figure for the mothers
(62%) being slightly lower due to the presence of nine Anglo-Saxon-
born women. The Non-Tertiary Sample rated the proportion of fathers
(78%) and mothers (84%) in this category somewhat more highly. The
influence of the "mixed marriage" situation can again be seen in
Table 59. Higher percentages of students of Polish-other European
parentage, for example, assessed their fathers (almost all Polish)
in the mainly or fully ethnic category than their mothers (mostly
non-Polish).

Fathers with less education were claimed to be more ethnically
identified than those with higher education. The level of education
of the fathers and the percentages said to be mainly or completely
ethnic were as follows: primary only, 74%; junior secondary, 82%;
senior secondary, 50%; other tertiary, 54%; and university, 55%.
Conversely, while only 3% of students of fathers with junior
secondary or less education claimed them to be more Australian
than ethnic, 16% of students whose fathers had senior secondary
or higher education gave this answer.

It is significant to remember that assessment of the parents' identification was done by the second generation. Thus the students' personal characteristics are likely to feature in the assessment ratings of parents as much as the actual characteristics of the parents themselves. For example, more students born overseas than in Australia, or members of the Polish Club than non-members, claimed their parents to be more ethnic than Australian.

(2) Marriage Intentions

One fifth of both the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples stated that they intended to marry a spouse from only their own ethnic background, and another 5-10% stipulated that the ethnicity of background did not matter but that Catholic religion did.[16]

Greater proportions of parents, in the eyes of the second generation, desired these two attributes as Table 61 reveals. In the Non-Tertiary Sample, in fact, almost a half of the fathers desired a Polish partner, and nearly one third of the mothers a Catholic partner, for their children. Naturally, intention to marry a Polish partner was stronger among those subjects of Polish-Polish parentage and among the parents of homogeneous marriages than among those in "mixed" families.

Those students expressing the intention of marrying a Polish spouse included more "older arrivals" (50%) and "young arrivals" (32%) than Anglo-Saxon-born (13%); more Polish Club members (32%) than non-members (12%); more Polish School attenders (23%) than

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[16]In the sample of "Sydney Poles", 28% intended to marry a Polish spouse, 10% an Australian, 2% a European and 59% a partner of any ethnic background.

TABLE 61: MARRIAGE INTENTIONS OF BOTH SAMPLES AND THEIR ASSESSMENTS OF PARENTS' OPINIONS IN THIS RESPECT

Sample	own ethnic background		Other European background		Australian or European background		Any background provided of the same religion		any background at all		no answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Tertiary Sample:														
PP	17	24	5	7	11	16	4	6	32	46	1	1	70	100
PE	3	9	4	12	12	36	0	-	13	39	1	3	33	99
PA	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	22	7	78	0	-	9	100
All	20	18	9	8	23	21	6	5	52	46	2	2	112	100
Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	6	21	1	3	6	21	3	10	12	41	1	3	29	99
All	6	19	1	3	6	19	3	10	13	42	2	6	31	99
Fathers of Tertiary Sample:														
PP	28	40	4	6	10	14	6	9	16	23	6	9	70	101
PE	7	21	4	12	4	12	4	12	7	21	7	21	33	99
PA	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	22	6	67	1	11	9	100
All	35	31	8	7	14	13	12	11	29	26	14	13	112	101
Mothers of Tertiary Sample:														
PP	31	44	4	6	12	17	9	13	10	14	4	6	70	100
PE	6	18	2	6	8	24	3	9	7	21	7	21	33	99
PA	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	22	5	56	2	22	9	100
All	37	33	6	5	20	18	14	13	22	20	13	12	112	101

TABLE 61: MARRIAGE INTENTIONS OF BOTH SAMPLES AND THEIR ASSESSMENTS OF PARENTS' OPINIONS IN THIS RESPECT cont.

Sample	own ethnic background		Other European background		Australian or European background		Any background provided of the same religion		any background at all		no answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Fathers of Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	13	45	3	10	3	10	6	21	3	10	1	3	29	99
All	14	45	3	10	4	13	6	19	3	10	1	3	31	100
Mothers of Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	11	38	3	10	3	10	8	28	3	10	1	3	29	99
All	11	35	3	10	3	10	9	29	4	13	1	3	31	100

non-attenders (10%); and more males (21%) than females (13%). These

particular characteristics also influenced the students in declaring

what they thought their parents would desire, for the figures for

fathers and mothers in each case are in the same direction as for

students.

(3) Intention to visit Europe, and in particular, Poland

The vast majority of both samples intended in the future to

visit Europe and Poland (Table 62).[17]

TABLE 62: INTENTIONS OF THE SUBJECTS TO VISIT EUROPE AND POLAND
           IN THE FUTURE

Sample	Intention to visit Europe						Intention to visit Poland					
	Yes		No		Total		Yes		No		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Tertiary Sample:												
PP	67	96	3	4	70	100	55	82	12	18	67	100
PE	31	94	2	6	33	100	22	71	9	29	31	100
PA	9	100	0	–	9	100	8	89	1	11	9	100
All	107	96	5	4	112	100	85	79	22	21	107*100	
Non-Tertiary Sample:												
PP	27	93	2	7	29	100	24	89	3	11	27	100
All	28	90	3	10	31	100	25	89	3	11	28*100	

*These totals match those in the first column - only those who said
"yes" to visiting Europe were required to answer the question on
intention to visit Poland.

Despite this, however, as many as one fifth of the Tertiary

Sample stated that Poland would not figure prominently in the list of

[17]Ninety one percent of the "Sydney Poles" claimed that they would
  like to go to Poland to visit relatives. Similarly, 97% of the
  respondents in the Polish Saturday School survey in Adelaide in
  1967 stated that they would like to visit Poland. See Appendix F3.

countries that they would want to visit. In this latter group were
included 18% of those of Polish-Polish, and 29% of those Polish-
other European parentage. Also among those tertiary students who
did not desire to visit Poland in particular were more non-members
of the Polish Club (27%) than members (3%); more non-attenders at
Polish School (24%) than attenders (17%); more students who had
attended metropolitan state (27%) than Catholic schools (14%);
more "science" (25%) than "arts" students (12%); and more students
whose fathers had tertiary (24%) and senior secondary (25%)
education than those whose fathers had junior secondary (14%) or
only primary (18%) education.

(4) Reasons for wanting to visit Poland

The most common reason shown in Table 63 for desiring to
visit Poland was to meet relatives and family friends in that
country (27% of the Tertiary, and 35% of the Non-Tertiary Sample).

TABLE 63: REASONS WHY SUBJECTS WOULD LIKE TO VISIT POLAND
(Open-ended question)

Reason for visiting Poland	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Relatives and friends	47	27	19	35	66	29
2. Homeland of parents	27	15	8	15	35	15
3. "Secondhand information" about Poland	22	13	5	9	27	12
4. Country and way of life of the people	17	10	10	19	27	12
5. A "feeling of belonging"	15	9	1	2	16	7
6. General curiosity and interest	12	7	4	7	16	7
7. History and culture of Poland	10	6	2	4	12	5
8. Interest in politico-ideology	6	3	0	–	6	3
9. Own birthplace	2	1	2	4	4	2
10. Help in travel: common language	3	2	0	–	3	1
11. Help in travel: relatives	2	1	0	–	2	1
12. Would help to understand parents	1	1	1	2	2	1
13. Participation in the arts	2	1	0	–	2	1
14. Miscellaneous	5	3	2	4	7	3
15. Would like to visit – but with some qualification	5	3	0	–	5	2
Total number of replies:	176	102	54	101	230	101

Second most frequently given reason by the tertiary group was the fact that Poland was the homeland of their parents (15%), and by the non-tertiary group, the more general reason to see the country and way of life of the people (19%). "Secondhand information" was an interesting answer given by 13% of the tertiary and 9% of the non-tertiary subjects:

"...to see what parents talk about";

"...to see what I have heard so much about";

"...to see what I have read";

"...after studying it, I wish to see it";

"through curiosity to see whether Poland is really as beautiful as the Polish migrants keep saying it is";

"an opportunity to see 'the real Poland' and to see how it relates to my present impressions".

These are but a few of the replies received in answer to this question. They illustrate that the secondhand information has come from a variety of sources, mainly parents and grandparents, but also books, Polish school lessons and Polish immigrants in general.

Another revealing group of replies by these second generation respondents was the "feeling of belonging" category. This included such remarks as:

"...a large part of me belongs there";

"the feeling that Poland is my second homeland";

"to find my personal identity";

"to see the roots of my origin";

"it is partly my country of origin and I would like to see and feel this country which is in my very blood";

"to see my cultural heritage";

"I feel an infinity for the place from which my ancestors came".

Although this reason was given only by 16 subjects, these replies demonstrate the depth of feeling for Poland - a country which the majority had never seen - and yet at the same time, they also reveal the intangibility of that feeling. This latter point is a

methodological difficulty from the research point of view, one

which certainly cannot be surmounted by the use of questionnaires

alone.

(5) The desirability of cultural interpenetration in Australia

TABLE 64: VIEWS OF SUBJECTS ON THE DESIRABILITY OF CULTURAL INTERPENETRATION IN AUSTRALIA							
Reply	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Both Polish Samples		Anglo-Australian Sample
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Yes	97	87	22	71	119	83	302	82
No	11	10	6	19	17	12	60	16
No Answer	4	4	3	10	7	5	7	2
Total	112	101	31	100	143	100	369	100

Eighty three percent of all Polish subjects, and 82% of the Anglo-Australian university students, believed that it was desirable for cultural interpenetration of the Anglo-Australian core culture by ethnic cultures to take place. However, 11 (10%) of the tertiary and 6 (19%) of the non-tertiary Polish subjects did not consider that such an occurrence was desirable in Australia. These subjects could be motivated either by Anglo-conformist or Polish exclusivist ideals. The 11 tertiary students were a "mixed" group in respect to the variables considered in this study, though almost all of them were non-members of the Polish Club.

(6) Traditional Central European respect for learning

Ninety four percent of the non-tertiary subjects and 89% of the tertiary students stated that their parents had motivated them to "succeed" in education fairly or very strongly. In contrast, 74% of the Anglo-Australian university students claimed this high

degree of parental motivation.[18] It is of interest to note,
however, that while 79% of the latter students received informed
advice, sympathy and encouragement from their parents, only 55%
of the Polish subjects could claim this form of constructive
assistance from home. Rather, the Polish respondents thought that
"coercion to study because it was good for you" more aptly described
the type of interest which their parents had displayed towards their
educational studies.

The stronger motivation towards education from ethnic homes
in comparison with Anglo-Australian ones as suggested by the
assessments of the subjects themselves is again evidenced by the
results of a more general question. Ninety percent of the tertiary,
and 81% of the non-tertiary, Polish subjects considered that their
parents' "attachment to education" was stronger than what they would
expect of average Australian parents. Despite the generality of this
question, it is indeed significant that such high proportions of the
Polish second generation should perceive this to be the case. In
sharp contrast, only 32% of the Anglo-Australian university students
assessed migrant parents' "attachment to education" to be stronger
than that of Australian parents. Only 9 of the Tertiary Sample and
5 of the Non-Tertiary Sample replied in the negative to this question.

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[18]Conversely, while 26% of the Anglo-Australian subjects estimated
the extent of educational motivation from their parents to be
"a little" or "none at all", only 12% of the Polish tertiary,
and 6% of the non-tertiary subjects did so.

Those who answered "yes" were asked to what they could attribute this stronger "attachment to education" of migrant parents (Table 65).

Just over one half of all subjects, Polish and Anglo-Australian, attributed this educational attachment to the realisation that through education children of migrants could achieve socio-economic positions to which their parents themselves could no longer aspire. Another fifth of the Polish samples, and over one quarter of the Anglo-Australians, opted for the more blunt, pecuniary reply - the realisation that education was the best means of getting a good job which would bring in plenty of money. What was of interest in the light of the first two samples being comprised of second generation Poles was the third alternative, traditional Central European respect for learning, to which one fifth of the subjects attributed their parents' educational motivation. In contrast, a mere 7% of Anglo-Australians gave this reply. In the group of 33 Polish students who gave this answer were 30% of those of Polish-Polish, 30% of Polish-other European and 22% of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage. Forty eight percent of students of tertiary educated fathers gave this alternative, compared with only 28% of those of secondary educated and 15% of those of primary educated fathers.

(7) Desire to spend rest of life in Australia

Ninety four percent of the Non-Tertiary Sample expressed a desire to spend the rest of their life in Australia. In contrast, however, only two-thirds of the Tertiary Sample said that they would like to remain, while 9% said that they would not and as many as 22% were undecided (Table 66).

TABLE 65: REASONS GIVEN BY SUBJECTS FOR MIGRANT PARENTS' STRONG "ATTACHMENT TO EDUCATION" (Fixed choice question)

Reason for strong "attachment to education"	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Both Polish Samples		Anglo-Australian Sample	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Realisation that through education children of migrants could achieve socio-economic positions to which their parents could no longer aspire	82	54	21	60	103	55	93	62
Traditional Central European respect for learning	33	22	6	17	39	21	11	7
Realisation that education is the best way to get a good job which will bring in plenty of money	31	21	7	20	38	20	41	28
Other reason	5	3	1	3	6	3	4	3
Total number of replies	151	100	35	100	186	99	149	100

Sample	Yes		Probably yes		Undecided		Probably no		Definitely no		No answer		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Tertiary Sample:														
PP	25	36	24	34	15	21	2	3	3	4	1	1	70	99
PE	7	21	15	45	6	18	2	6	3	9	0	–	33	99
PA	2	22	2	22	4	44	1	11	0	–	0	–	9	99
All	34	30	41	37	25	22	5	4	6	5	1	1	112	99
Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	19	66	8	28	2	7	0	–	0	–	0	–	29	101
All	21	68	8	26	2	6	0	–	0	–	0	–	31	100
Parents of Tertiary Sample:														
PP	39	56	23	33	4	6	2	3	2	3	0	–	70	101
PE	17	52	11	33	2	6	3	9	0	–	0	–	33	100
PA	5	56	3	33	1	11	0	–	0	–	0	–	9	100
All	61	54	37	33	7	6	5	4	2	2	0	–	112	99
Parents of Non-Tertiary Sample:														
PP	16	55	9	31	2	7	1	3	0	–	1	3	29	99
All	16	52	9	29	2	6	1	3	1	?	2	6	31	99

TABLE 66: DESIRE OF SUBJECTS AND THEIR PARENTS TO SPEND REST OF LIFE IN AUSTRALIA

Twenty five percent of the Anglo-Saxon born compared with 16% of the "young arrivals" were in this undecided group. Only one (3%) of the members of the Polish Club said "no" compared with 10 (13%) of the non-members. This result appears significant in view of the fact that on almost all other indicators club members scored more highly on ethnicity than non-members. In this instance, however, there are practically no club members who definitely contemplate leaving Australia. It is suggested that this shows that many young people who score highly on Polish ethnicity feel also strongly committed to Australia as their land of residence.

While 16% and 25% of those students who attended Catholic schools said "no" and "undecided" respectively, the corresponding proportions for those who attended metropolitan state were only 6% and 17%. Females (29%) tended to be more undecided on this question than males (18%). It is apparent, however, that "the rest of your lives in Australia" phrase is open to different interpretations regarding visits or working holidays overseas.[19]

The majority of parents of both samples were seen by their children as wanting to remain in Australia. In seven of the eleven cases where the students themselves had stated that they did not want to spend the rest of their lives in Australia, the students also claimed that their parents did not want to either, or at least were undecided. Hence a reflection of the students'

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[19] Yet, although the question asked in the Anglo-Australian study was "Do you want to spend the rest of your life in Australia (apart from holidays)?", still only 55% of the university students replied in the affirmative.

stated intentions was evident in the parental figures given in
Table 66.

(8) Opinion on whether the Australian Government could have done, or could be doing, more for migrants

In spite of the seemingly "leading" nature of this issue, as many as 29% (n=32) of the tertiary and 16% (n=5) of the non-tertiary subjects categorically stated that the Australian Government could not have done, or be doing, more for migrants. There were no patterns in the cross-tabulation of those who replied in the negative with any of the variables except birthplace of student, Polish Club membership and Polish School attendance. Among those who said "no" were 32% of the Anglo-Saxon-born, and only 20% of the "older arrivals" and 11% of the "young arrivals". The tendency was also for those who were club non-members and Polish school non-attenders to reply in the negative (both 31%) more than members and attenders (both 24%).

(9) Satisfaction with education received in Australia

TABLE 67: DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH EDUCATION RECEIVED IN AUSTRALIA

Degree of satisfaction	Tertiary Sample				Non-Tertiary Sample		Anglo-Australian Sample			
	At school		At tertiary level		At school		At school		At tertiary level	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
completely satisfied	9	8	11	10	16	52	31	8	16	4
fairly satisfied	58	52	59	53	13	42	172	47	196	53
a little dissatisfied	25	22	24	21	1	3	95	26	95	26
fairly dissatisfied	15	13	12	11	1	3	42	11	38	10
very dissatisfied	4	4	4	4	0	-	26	7	10	3
no answer	1	1	2	2	0	-	3	1	14	4
Total	112	100	112	101	31	100	369	100	369	100

While the distribution of responses for the Polish and Anglo-Australian tertiary students was very similar, substantial differences between the Tertiary and Non-Tertiary Samples on the question of satisfaction with their education are revealed in the above table. The overwhelming majority (94%) of the non-tertiary subjects claimed that they were satisfied with their school education. In sharp contrast, however, the tertiary students were ready to express any dissatisfaction they felt about both their school and their tertiary education. While only 8% of the Tertiary Sample were "completely satisfied" with their school education compared with 52% of the Non-Tertiary Sample, the corresponding figures for these two samples on dissatisfaction were 39% and 6%.

More males than females were dissatisfied with both their school (43% compared with 33%) and tertiary (43%, 24%) education. By parents' birthplaces, more students of Polish-Polish (41%) and Polish-other European (39%) than of Polish-Anglo-Saxon (22%) parentage were dissatisfied with their school education, though there were no differences at the tertiary level; on the other hand, by birthplace of student, more overseas-born students (44%) than Anglo-Saxon-born (32%) were dissatisfied with their tertiary education.

Those Polish tertiary students who expressed a degree of dissatisfaction with the education they had received were asked to suggest specific improvements which they thought should be made. These were grouped under the headings shown in Table 68.

TABLE 68:   IMPROVEMENTS TO AUSTRALIAN EDUCATION WHICH THE TERTIARY
STUDENTS BELIEVE SHOULD BE MADE (Open-ended question)

Improvements suggested by the Tertiary Sample	n	%
1. Broader range of subjects, not too early specialisation	29	31
2. Content: less academic emphasis, more on personal and social development	17	18
3. Grading and assessment changes	10	11
4. Teachers	10	11
5. Method: manner of presentation of subjects	8	9
6. Counselling	7	7
7. Statewide educational practices	6	6
8. More student participation in the educational process	4	4
9. Improvements in educational facilities	3	3
Total number of replies:	94	100

By far the most frequently given reply related to the

overall curriculum, with a third of the Tertiary Sample suggesting

a broader range of subjects and later specialisation. A further 18%

of students suggested alterations in curriculum content and emphasis,

decrying the more academic type orientation in education in favour of

more stress upon personal and social development.

(10) Likes and dislikes about Australia

Taking into consideration the large number of replies to

the "likes" question, there was considerable uniformity in the pattern

of the answers of the two first generation and the two second

generation samples (Table 69). There were, however, interesting

minor variations. Significantly, the second generation saw the

"freedoms" as being in more favour with their parents (28%) than

with themselves (23%), to whom the experiences of the European 1930's

and 1940's were only second-hand. Moreover, economic matters were

understandably seen to be liked more by the first (20%) than the

second generation (13%), and by the non-tertiary than the tertiary

subjects - that is, more by those who were personally affected by

the economic situation. A third variation can be seen in the

TABLE 69: "LIKES" ABOUT AUSTRALIA OF BOTH SAMPLES AND THEIR PARENTS (Open-ended question)

"Likes" about Australia	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total second generation		Parents of Tertiary Sample		Parents of Non-Tertiary Sample		Total first generation	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Political freedom, stability, peace	10		2		12		24		4		28	
Democracy	10		3		13		6		3		9	
Personal freedom	9		3		12		7		1		8	
Social freedom	1		0		1		0		0		0	
Freedom of speech, conscience, press, assembly and movement	9		5		14		13		2		15	
Freedom of religion	1		0				3		1		4	
Racial tolerance	3		1		4		1		0		1	
Freedom (unspecified)	17		4		21		25		6		31	
Sub-total	60	23	18	25	78	23	79	29	17	26	96	28
Educational opportunities	16		4		20		10		3		13	
Vocational opportunities	10		7		17		13		5		18	
Opportunities (unspecified)	19		0		19		22		0		22	
Sub-total	45	17	11	15	56	17	45	16	8	12	53	16
Economic stability, standard of living, economic security	27		11		38		45		13		58	
Good wages, money	2		2		4		8		3		11	
Sub-total	29	11	13	18	42	13	53	19	16	24	68	20
Easygoing life and lifestyle	19		3		22		16		0		16	
Sport, leisure, recreation	3		0		3		1		0		1	
Sub-total	22	8	3	4	25	8	17	6	0	-	17	5

TABLE 69: "LIKES" ABOUT AUSTRALIA OF BOTH SAMPLES AND THEIR PARENTS (Open-ended question) cont.

"Likes" about Australia	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total second generation		Parents of Tertiary Sample		Parents of Non-Tertiary Sample		Total first generation	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Low population density	10		2		12		3		0		3	
Physical aspects of the country	22		7		29		11		5		16	
Climate	37		11		48		32		9		41	
Sub-total	69	26	20	28	89	27	46	17	14	21	60	18
People	18	7	5	7	23	7	15	5	3	5	18	5
Australia as a whole	1	–	1	1	2	1	1	–	0	–	1	–
Miscellaneous	9	3	1	1	10	3	13	5	8	12	21	6
Never really thought about it, hard to say	8	3	0	–	8	2	4	1	0	–	4	1
Total number of replies	261	98	72	99	333	101	273	98	66	100	339	99

figures on the "physical" aspects of Australia. It is this category
which is most liked by the second (27%) than by the first generation
(18%), particularly the low population density and the variety of
landscape.

In the replies to the "dislikes" question, again there was
similarity in the pattern of responses (Table 70). In comparison
with the subjects, more parents were seen to dislike the Australian
climate, industrial unrest and socialism/communism, while more of
the second than of the first generation disliked the overall
political system and its bureaucracy, the Australian Labour Party
specifically, and the negative traits of the Australian people such
as their lack of interest in culture and their apathy. The non-tertiary
subjects disliked more than the tertiary students the aspects with
which they were faced in the everyday world, such as the lack of
social life, negative attitudes towards migrants and their cultures
and other negative traits of the people, and economic concerns.
In contrast, more tertiary than non-tertiary subjects decried the
general political system, the apathy and insensitivity of the people
particularly in respect to cultural, community and environmental
matters, and the Americanisation of the country - concerns which
typically have been of interest to tertiary students in general.

(11) Other ideological indicators

In the Tertiary Sample, one fifth of the students assessed
themselves on the Taftian-type scale of self-identification as
feeling mainly or fully ethnic. However, in the interviews of 45
students, two thirds claimed that they would support a Polish
sporting team in competition with an Australian one, and two thirds
would care "quite a lot" or "terribly" if Poland were forced to cede

TABLE 70:   "DISLIKES" ABOUT AUSTRALIA OF BOTH SAMPLES AND THEIR PARENTS (Open-ended question)

"Dislikes" about Australia	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total second generation		Parents of Tertiary Sample		Parents of Non-Tertiary Sample		Total first generation	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Political system in general, bureaucracy, red tape	18	10	1	2	19	8	7	4	1	2	8	3
ALP	4	2	4	8	8	3	2	1	1	2	3	1
Socialism, Communism	1	1	0	-	1	-	5	2	1	2	6	2
Lack of social life	6	3	3	6	9	4	5	2	0	-	5	2
Lack of culture in the people and country	7	4	0	-	7	3	4	2	1	2	5	2
People's disinterest in culture	9	5	0	-	9	4	2	1	0	-	2	1
Negative attitudes towards migrants and cultures	11	6	5	10	16	7	14	7	5	10	19	8
Apathy of the people	11	6	0	-	11	5	7	4	0	-	7	3
Insensitivity to people	5	3	2	4	7	3	3	1	2	4	5	2
Insensitivity to community problems	7	4	0	-	7	3	5	2	0	-	5	2
Other negative traits of the people	15	8	6	13	21	9	15	8	3	6	18	7
Australians in general	3	2	1	2	4	2	2	1	1	2	3	1
Economy, materialism, cost of living	16	9	5	10	21	9	14	7	2	4	16	6
Americanisation	7	4	0	-	7	3	5	2	0	-	5	2
Industrial unrest, strikes	1	1	4	8	5	2	11	6	2	4	13	5
University unrest	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	1	0	-	2	1
Poor community services	6	3	1	2	7	3	12	6	0	-	12	5
Environmental problems	7	4	1	2	8	3	7	4	2	4	9	4
Isolation, distance	6	3	2	4	8	3	6	3	5	10	11	4
Climate	3	2	3	6	6	3	23	12	9	18	32	13
Physical aspects of the country	0	-	1	2	1	-	2	1	2	4	4	2
Miscellaneous	22	12	5	10	27	12	35	18	8	16	43	17
On the whole, no problems or dislikes	8	4	4	8	12	5	8	4	2	4	10	4
Never really thought about it, hard to say	10	5	0	-	10	4	4	2	3	6	7	3
Total number of replies	183	101	48	97	231	98	200	101	50	100	250	100

a proportion of its territory to another country. It therefore
appears that the self-assessments of identification might be regarded
as somewhat under-estimated, for when these students were confronted
with concrete issues, their almost instinctive reaction was to choose
the Polish ideological stance.

However, the last question concerning territory does not in
any way force the subjects to make an emotional type of choice
between Poland and Australia. As for the first question, it would
seem that an answer which is of the forced-choice type would depend
a great deal upon the context in which it would have to be made.
For example, it is open to some doubt whether the reply would be
the same if the students were asked to choose between supporting a
Polish or Australian team, if the game was being played in Warsaw,
while they were on holiday in Poland.

Further questions asked in interviews revealed an interesting
shift from the Polish national to the Polish ethnic identity (in American
terminology, from the Polish to the "Polonia" affiliation); that is
to say, from identification with the Polish people and nation in
Poland to identification with the Polish ethnic group in Australia.
For example, half of the students would prefer to spend a weekend
with a family of Polish parents and Australian-born children, rather
than an all Polish or an all Australian one. The reason for this
preference centred around familiarity and having things in common
with this type of family. Again, more than half of the interviewees
believed themselves to be "more emotionally involved" with the Polish
community in Australia, compared with one fifth who chose Australia
and Australians generally, and one sixth who opted for the Polish
people and nation in Poland. Well over one half of the interviewed

students also would prefer to reside in a mixed Polish and

Australian neighbourhood rather than a predominantly Australian

(one fifth of the interviewees) or a predominantly Polish (only 2

interviewees) neighbourhood. Thus the majority favour a milieu

in which cultural interaction would be able to take place (87% of

the Tertiary Sample believed in the desirability of cultural inter-

penetration), rather than concentration in purely mono-ethnic

enclaves. Unlike other ethnic groups, such as the Italian and

Greek, Poles are thinly spread over Australia and through its

cities, even though there are a few streets in each metropolitan

area which contain a majority of Polish inhabitants.[20] The even

spread of Poles has been confirmed by the findings of the Migrant

Languages Committee on the concentration of children of Polish origin

in Australian schools, and is also indicated by the suburban

distribution of the Polish tertiary students in this study

(see Chapter 6).

In order to study self-identification from a perspective

different from that of Taft, interviewees were asked to indicate

their strength of feeling on two distinct dimensions - a Polish and

an Australian - rather than one as had been the case in the

questionnaires. The distribution of responses was as follows:

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[20]In Adelaide, some pockets of Ottoway and Royal Park, for instance,
contain small concentrations of Poles, who settled together in the
early 1950's for the purposes of mutual aid, often helping to
construct each other's homes in suburbs which at the time commanded
some of the lowest land values in the metropolitan area.

TABLE 71: SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF INTERVIEWED TERTIARY STUDENTS
ALONG POLISH AND AUSTRALIAN DIMENSIONS

POLISH IDENTIFICATION	AUSTRALIAN IDENTIFICATION	n
I completely	1. completely	1
I completely	4. a little	1
I completely	5. hardly at all	2
II considerably	2. considerably	5
II considerably	3. fairly	8
II considerably	4. a little	4
III fairly	1. completely	1
III fairly	2. considerably	7
III fairly	3. fairly	8
III fairly	4. a little	1
III fairly	5. hardly at all	1
IV a little	1. completely	1
IV a little	2. considerably	2
IV a little	3. fairly	3
TOTAL		45

Similar responses may be grouped to form a number of
identification types. For example, 6 subjects can be said to
display a dual system (I, 1; II, 2) of identification, feeling
"considerably" or "completely" both Polish and Australian. Seven
subjects revealed a definite Polish-identity (I, 4; I, 5; II, 4),
while another 3 subjects showed a strong Australian-identity
(IV, 1; IV, 2). Altogether, there were 21 interviewed students
who identified as considerably or completely Polish, irrespective
of their Australian identification. It is of interest to note in
the case of these latter 21 students where precisely their "Polish"
affiliation lay: whether it was, in fact, a Polish or a "Polonia"
identification. Fifteen of these students (and 6 of the 7 Polish-
identity subjects) claimed in interviews that they were emotionally
involved most closely with the Polish community in Australia.

In Table 72, a comparison is made for a selected number of students between the identity as given in questionnaires (Taftian-type) and that presented in interviews which allowed the possibility of a duality of identities (Polish and Australian).

TABLE 72: COMPARISON BETWEEN QUESTIONNAIRE IDENTITY, INTERVIEW IDENTITY AND OVERALL SCORES FOR ETHNICITY AND ASSIM-ILATION (selected interviewees)

Questionnaire identity*	Interview identity*	Ethnicity score	Assimilation score
completely P	fairly P - fairly A	55	41
completely P	completely P - hardly A	78	29
completely P	considerably P - little A	77	23
completely P	completely P - hardly A	78	29
mainly P - a little A	considerably P - fairly A	61	40
mainly P - a little A	considerably P - fairly A	53	52
mainly P - a little A	considerably P - fairly A	61	54
half P - half A	completely P - completely A	74	62
half P - half A	considerably P - considerably A	72	63
half P - half A	considerably P - considerably A	62	62
half P - half A	considerably P - fairly A	67	60
half P - half A	considerably P - fairly A	64	56
half P - half A	considerably P - considerably A	58	53
half P - half A	fairly P - completely A	50	61
half P - half A	considerably P - fairly A	62	36
half P - half A	fairly P - considerably A	38	68
a little P - mainly A	fairly P - considerably A	67	62

*P: Polish; A: Australian.

It would appear that it is the individuals who score highly on both Polish and Australian scales who are misrepresented on the single scale of identity. If they feel relatively high Polish and Australian affinities, they virtually have no choice on the Taftian-type scale but to claim to be half-half (thereby achieving mediocre scores on identity). When permitted to do so on the dual scale, they score high to very high on both identities. The examples given in Table 72 show that these dual identities reflect more accurately the

overall ethnicity and assimilation scores of the subjects concerned.

The selected data in that table also confirm the expectation that

the subjects who approach the High Ethnic or Anglo-Assimilate type

are more accurately represented than the other subjects by the

single scale, since in this instance they tend to reveal identities

shifting towards either the Polish or Australian side.

Lyman and Douglass have defined ethnicity as a "used feature

of human identity" able to be used as a stratagem by an individual

in working out his own life chances and as a potential ploy in any

encounter.[21] This fact was underlined in the present study when

the Polish interviewees were probed as to what they would say if an

interviewer asked them to attach a "national label" to themselves.

In Australia, they called themselves Poles or, more commonly,

Australians of Polish extraction. In Poland, however, many who

had identified as "Poles" switched with an embarrassed laugh to

labelling themselves Australians, Australians of Polish parentage,

or Polish but born in Australia (the qualification in the latter two

answers usually became added as an afterthought). The tendency was

to emphasise their Australian-ness if the context was Poland, and to

play down the role of Polish ethnicity. When the subjects were

thinking of Poland, they realised that the Poles there would not

regard them as truly Polish nationals[22] and it was therefore

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[21]See Chapter 1, pp. 26-27.

[22]In Mostwin's research in America, each subject was actually
asked whether he thought that Americans considered him Polish
or American, and whether he thought Poles in Poland considered
him Polish or American. See Chapter 7, p. 264.

necessary to label themselves as Australian, or to qualify this term with a remark about their parentage. (Obviously, their linguistic deficiency as manifested in a purely Polish environment would make them more conscious of their differences from Poles in Poland.)

The used nature of their ethnicity is also clear in this reply to the question, "Who would you say you were elsewhere in the world other than Australia and Poland?",

> I don't know, I'm not sure. It depends on the country.
> For example, if in Czechoslovakia where Poles are not
> liked, I'd label myself Australian; if in some other
> place where Australians were not liked, I'd say Polish.

It was very noticeable that only one or two would have called themselves Polish-Australians or Australian Poles. The nearest any came to such labels was in those instances where subjects themselves raised America as an example of "elsewhere in the world". The tradition there of ethnics labelling themselves, or being labelled as, hyphenated individuals made these interviewees feel more free to express their dual identity.

The students were then asked by the author for their definition of the term "Polish-American". Most would include in such a category first and second generation Polish immigrants and also members of the third and subsequent generations provided these individuals felt Polish and had maintained relatively strong links with their ethnic language and culture. Those interviewed were then probed about the significance of the term, "Polish-Australian", to people like themselves in this country. Within the framework of their own stated definition, most of the interviewees claimed that they would then call themselves Polish-Australians in this context.

There were a few, however, who still had serious reservations about such a label. It sounded "half-caste" to one female student, while another was not able to equate the two aspects implicit in the label because they represented different parts of herself: educationally, academically and by birthplace, she was Australian, and in an emotional and familial setting, she was Polish. Such answers are significant, for they illustrate that some of the subjects regarded themselves as possessing a dual system type, rather than a hybrid type identity.

To those who had birthplace uppermost in their minds when envisaging a hyphenated label, Polish-Australian did not seem appropriate. Many did see a difference between an Australian Pole and a Polish-Australian. Some expressed their preference for the label, Australian Pole, which to them meant essentially a Pole, living in an Australian environment, who activated different (or dual) systems of his ethnicity in different domains of life. The term, Polish-Australian, on the other hand, had for them a connotation of synthesis or hybridisation which did not correspond to their experiences, such as linguistic usage or activation of different sets of manners in different ethnic milieux.

The interviews, therefore, have revealed that the terminology "Polish-Australian" has not yet been fully understood or accepted in this country. As indicated above, some subjects tended to equate it with the hybridisation of identities (and ethnicities) which they somehow resented. The term, Australian Pole, seemed to them to carry no such implications, yet in America, the term Polish-American has been fully accepted. Admittedly, the latter term tends to be associated more with Polonia-type mentality and behaviour, rather

than with the cultural and social values of the Polish intellectuals who arrived in America after the Second World War. Thus, although the term Polish-American does not necessarily imply a hybridisation rather than a duality of ethnicities, it does tend to be equated with ethnic ways developed by pre-World War I immigrants who were mainly poorly educated and came from rural backgrounds. In common with other Eastern and Southern European immigrants, they lost much of their culture (especially the literary aspects) while preserving the folkways and a separate structural life which differentiated them from other, non-hyphenated, Americans. It is this type of ethnicity which underlies the current resurgence of ethnic feeling in that country. This research shows that Polish immigration to Australia has been still too recent to lead to a fully Polonia-type of consciousness, although some crystallisation of these forms has already been distinguished and located. Hence the cultural formation of the Polish-Australian type appears to be in the making, although the term itself has not yet been completely accepted.

CHAPTER 10

THE IDEAL TYPES OF THIS STUDY

The use of the two dimensions of ethnicity and assimilation in analysis of the second generation gives rise to four ideal types as outlined in Chapter 7. The term "ideal type", introduced into sociology by Max Weber, is a complex one, with different authors using the concept to describe very different social phenomena.[1] Despite the fact that the ideal type is an abstraction, a conceptually idealised form, it has an important function in sociology as a comparative and ordering instrument, a theoretical construct against which the actual can be compared. Fallding's view is that the ideal type has been "too readily accepted as the end of the search instead of the means of searching".[2] According to Weber's definition of the function of the ideal type:

> It serves as a harbor until one has learned to navigate safely in the vast sea of empirical facts.[3]

In other words, it is heuristic which enables the researcher to guide his inquiry and to order empirical data collected in real life. Fallding comments that:

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[1] G.D. Mitchell (Ed.), A Dictionary of Sociology (London, 1968) p. 94. For a useful discussion on the ambiguity surrounding the concept of ideal type, see J. Hendricks and C.B. Peters, "The Ideal Type and Sociological Theory", Acta Sociologica, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1973), pp. 31–40.

[2] H. Fallding, The Sociological Task (Englewood Cliffs, 1968), p. 29.

[3] M. Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences (trans. and ed. by E.A. Shils and H.A. Finch, New York, 1949), p. 104, quoted in Fallding, ibid., p. 28.

... rightly understood and handled, the progression from
ideal type to the actually demonstrated type is one of
the most rewarding avenues that can be followed in
sociological research. It is a research design that
is born of insight and has theory as its goal.[4]

In this study there were 51 in the Tertiary Sample and 11
in the Non-Tertiary Sample who were categorised into the four
ideal types[5] outlined in Chapter 7. The complete breakdown of
the two samples is presented in Table 73.

TABLE 73: BREAKDOWN OF BOTH SAMPLES INTO IDEAL TYPE CATEGORIES

Ideal Type	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1. Polish-Australian	8	7	1	3	9	6
2. High Ethnic	10	9	5	16	15	10
3. Anglo-Assimilate	31	28	5	16	36	25
4. Alienate	2	2	0	-	2	1
Total (1-4)	51	46	11	35	62	43
5. Not classed into ideal types	61	54	20	65	81	57
Total (1-5)	112	100	31	100	143	100

Thus one quarter of all the subjects were Anglo-Assimilates,
with smaller proportions in the High Ethnic (10%), Polish-Australian
(6%) and Alienate (1%) categories. The more ethnic character of the
Non-Tertiary compared with the Tertiary Sample is reflected in the

[4]Ibid., p. 33.

[5]It is to be noted that only the four corners of the matrix will be
employed in the discussion of ideal types. These represent the
most clearly defined types, and omit other subjects in the "grey"
areas. Similarly, Child analysed three types of reaction to
culture conflict, involving 10 "rebels", 9 "in-groupers" and
12 "apathetics" and thus omitting 22 other subjects in his sample
of 53 interviewees. The Second Generation in Conflict (New York,
1970), pp. 13, 76, 118, 151.

higher proportion of High Ethnics and lower proportion of
Anglo-Assimilates among the numbers in that sample. The special
characteristics of the individuals assigned to the different ideal
type categories are analysed in this chapter.

1. The Polish-Australians (n=9)

In the very first volume of Polish-American Studies in
1944, J. Swastek wrote a paper entitled, "What is a Polish American?"
His interpretation was a historical one, involving a glance at the
portrait through the perspective of more than 330 years:

> ... the Polish American presents a highly complex and
> interesting study - a compound of many elements and
> diverse influences. Essentially, however, he stands
> out in this broad historical frame as the product of
> the interaction of two prime forces. One of these
> is Polish (European), the other American; the first
> consists of heritage, the second of environment. The
> two together, playing upon each other, with now the one,
> now the other in the ascendant, have produced the
> Polish American of today.[6]

Most commonly, the term, hyphenated or otherwise, has referred to
any native-born child of Polish ancestry. However, in this
research, the term "Polish-Australian" is employed in a more
specific manner to refer only to those second generation individuals
who score highly on both assimilation and ethnicity indices.

Of significance here is one of Bernard's types of second
generation adaptation[7]: the attempt to select what is beautiful in
both cultures. This according to the author, is the most difficult
adaptation to achieve, since in this case there are

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[6]Page 35.

[7]See Chapter 1, p. 21.

no comfortable relapses into unconscious acceptance or
rejection of values on the basis of tradition or prestige.[8]

Also relevant in this instance are Johnston's type who identifies

with both Australia and Poland, and Sleszynski's category of

individual who has gained recognition within both worlds, maintains

the ethnic language and culture and holds positions of leadership

in the ethnic and the host communities.[9] In view of Medding's

realisations that "it seems both possible and legitimate for

ethnic minorities to wear both identities simultaneously" and that

"the two mesh rather than seem mutually exclusive",[10] what is of

particular interest is the nature of the combination of these two

"identities".

In this study the nine Polish-Australians exhibited a

fairly high degree of similarity in their scores on each of the

components of the ethnicity and assimilation indices (see Table 74).

Generally speaking, they tended to be bilingual, culturally

at ease in both milieux while contributing their own distinct flavour

to both, participating in both Australian and Polish social structures

and often acting as a focus for trans-ethnic gatherings, and in a

different but complementary way, ideologically committed to both

communities. In their own words, they were "Polish" because of

their attachment to the culture and language of their ancestral

country, but they were not Polish in the same way as were Poles in

Poland. At the same time they also felt that they were "Australian"

because of their attachment to the country of their birth, its landscape

and outdoor life, its freedom and its educational and occupational

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[8] In F.J. Brown and J.S. Roucek (Eds.), One America (New York, 1937), p. 51

[9] See Chapter 1, pp. 19 and 23.

[10] See Chapter 7, p. 265.

TABLE 74: SCORES OF THE POLISH-AUSTRALIANS ON THE FOUR COMPONENTS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION*

Subject (n=9)	Ethnicity scores					Assimilation scores				
	Language (23)	Culture (17)	Structure (28)	Ideology (32)	Actual Total (100)	Language (18)	Culture (17)	Structure (31)	Ideology (34)	Actual Total (100)
1	19	15	18	23	74	12	11	20	20	62
2	21	13	22	16	72	15	8	22	18	63
3	20	11	18	15	62	11	10	21	20	62
4	23	10	19	15	67	13	9	22	19	62
5	20	7	21	22	69	16	16	16	13	61
6	20	8	17	16	61	13	16	10	22	61
7	21	4	23	22	70	15	10	17	18	60
8	17	6	16	26	65	15	12	21	13	61
9	21	9	21	16	67	16	11	11	22	60
Mean Score	20.2	9.2	19.4	19.0	67.4	14.0	11.4	17.8	18.3	61.3
Percentage of maximum score	88	54	69	59	67	78	67	57	54	61

*The scores on each of the components have been rounded to whole figures. Thus their composite total may occasionally be one or two points greater than the figure presented in the "total" column. These "total" scores were not altered because, given that they could change one or two points, it was more accurate to maintain the actual totals obtained by the respondents on the ethnicity and assimilation scales. This principle applies for each of the following tables which summarise the ideal types.

opportunities.[11] They were Australian because it was a fine life in this country, but they were not, they asserted, Australian in the same sense as were Australians of British ancestry. Subjects in this category were, in fact, aptly described as Polish-Australians, for they felt no opposition between the two kinds of cultural systems while in the process of constructing their own third type - different from both yet bearing the unmistakable stamp of both strains. Hence their assimilation to Australian culture and structures did not destroy their ethnicity, while adherence to certain ethnic cultural forms did not prevent them from succeeding within the Australian education system and in fully participating in the life of Australian contemporaries.

The Polish-Australians scored most highly on the language component of both ethnicity and assimilation. Seven claimed that they could understand and speak Polish "very well". All exhibited a relatively high degree of active and passive linguistic experience, speaking Polish to, and hearing it from, their ethic elders. They were willing to study Polish as a subject both at school and at tertiary level (though one engineering student said he would not have taken the subject at university because it would not have been possible rather than through any lack of desire). All of course had a very good command of English.

The next highest component on the ethnicity index was the structural one. The one non-tertiary subject claimed almost all Polish friends, as did 3 of the tertiary students for the "outside

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[11] See Chapter 9, pp. 384-385.

tertiary institution" category. The latter three students stated that they had "almost all Australian" (2) or "a mixture but predominantly Australian" (1) friendships inside their tertiary institution, highlighting the extreme dichotomy in their primary relationships between Poles in one environment and Australians in another. All of the other replies were either "a mixture of Europeans" or "a mixture but predominantly Australian". All belonged to at least one ethnic club, four tertiary students belonged to 2 Polish clubs and two to 5 Polish clubs. Significantly, all but one of the nine Polish-Australians also belonged to Australian clubs, four tertiary students, in fact, scoring the maximum of 8 points on their membership. All believed in the usefulness of migrant communities in Australia and in the importance of their role in the preservation of ethnic cultures and languages.

It is of interest that all nine had regularly attended Polish School. All nine thought that they were structurally assimilated in an educational sense, 7 in the cultural, social and sporting areas, and 4 in the political sphere. Thus in addition to their firm roots in both Polish and Australian organisational life, these Polish-Australians did also perceive themselves as being highly assimilated in the structural meaning of the term.

The Polish-Australians registered their third highest score on the ideological component of the ethnicity scale. Seven subjects identified themselves as "half Polish-half Australian", while the other two opted for the "mainly Australian - a little Polish" response.

That this pattern of self-identification emerges is not surprising when it is remembered that the actual question asked

in the questionnaire was a "mutually exclusive" one. With this

type of question, the Polish-Australian, who would be expected

to feel that one identity does not invariably negate the other,

has very little option but to answer "half Polish-half Australian".

In the interviews, this particular area of self-identification was

further probed using two dimensions (Appendix C1). Of the six

Polish-Australians interviewed, one stated "completely Polish-

completely Australian", two "considerably" for both, and another

two "fair" on one dimension and "considerably" on the other. The

remaining subject gave a "fair-fair" reply which could be inter-

preted as still the "half-half" option. The availability of the

two dimensions as options, therefore, allows the Polish-Australians

to express their identity in a much more realistic light (see pp. 390-391).

Interestingly, five subjects, two of whom had identified

themselves in the questionnaire as "mainly Australian", stipulated

that they intended to marry someone of Polish background; four of

these five were males. The remaining four who claimed that they

would marry someone of "any background at all" (2), of "European

or Australian background" (1) or of "any background provided it

is Catholic" (1) were all females. Eight expressed their desire

to visit Europe, and Poland in particular - the ninth said "yes"

to Europe but claimed to have no special desire to visit Poland;

in the event, he visited Poland in the year after completion of

the questionnaire! All considered that cultural interpenetration

in Australia should take place, and that they would like to spend

the rest of their lives in this country. Eight believed that

Australian governments could have done, or could be doing, more

for immigrants. Almost all were satisfied with the education

which they had received at secondary and tertiary levels.[12]

The cultural component was ranked second on the assimilation index, but last on the ethnicity one, indicating the difficulties involved in the transmission of ethnic cultures in Australia even in the case of very high motivated individuals. Two students read Polish newspapers regularly while the other seven did sometimes; six read Polish books sometimes and three very rarely or not at all; and three wrote and received letters in Polish regularly, four sometimes, and one not at all. Thus their good command of the ethnic language was being maintained and put to cultural use mainly in their reading and correspondence in that language. All but one scored points for their listing of Polish cultural traits which they would like to see transplanted to the Australian core culture (six gained the maximum two points). Six subjects felt themselves to be completely integrated with Australian society in the cultural sense, another two "almost fully", and the ninth, rather surprisingly, only "partly". She saw herself as feeling apart from the mainstream of Australian life in the deeper consciousness which she had of peoples and events in other corners of the globe:

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[12] One university student, however, did make mention of his lack of clear goals at tertiary level, and would have liked science subjects to be less dull and emphasis to be posited on technologists' responsibilities to society; and another thought that too much emphasis was placed on academic achievement to the detriment of personal and social development (interestingly, this person had "achieved" very high educational results at both secondary and tertiary levels).

> I am very conscious of my Polish heritage and proud of
> it. Rather than feeling inferior, I often feel just a
> little privileged. I believe that I am far more aware
> of other ways of life and far more awake to what is
> happening in the world - I really feel that many
> Australians just don't care and aren't interested.

Six subjects scored at least one point for listing Australian

traits which they considered would be of benefit to those brought

up in the Polish tradition.

Eight of the Polish-Australians had attended primary

Catholic schools and six continued within the Catholic educational

system at the secondary level. Six were born in Australia or

England, and seven were of Polish-Polish parentage - another subject

was also really of Polish-Polish origin, his father having been born

outside of Poland but of Polish-Polish parentage. By suburb of

residence, five of the 9 Polish-Australians resided in the lowest

status category (6), while the other 4 lived in the higher status

suburbs in categories 1-3.

Seven subjects claimed that their parents' adjustment to

Australian conditions had been "rather difficult", and six gave

language as "the greatest single problem" that their parents had

had to overcome. On arrival in Australia, 2 fathers and 3 mothers

had been able to speak no English at all and 4 fathers and 4 mothers

could speak only a little. Compared with the parents of other ideal

types, these parents were more organisationally active in the Polish

community, though only two parents were members of an Australian

group. The Polish-Australians were relatively close to their

parents in regard to opinions and actions in the cultural and social

areas of life - five said they differed only "a little". The

fathers and mothers of eight of the 9 subjects were only "partly"

acculturated or less in the subjects' view, only one of the fathers

had achieved an occupational level in keeping with his European education and experience, and none of the fathers and mothers were considered structurally assimilated into Australian sporting or political organisations. However, five fathers and four mothers were seen as being assimilated into social groups.

These subjects claimed that six of their mothers and five of their fathers intended them to marry a Polish spouse. All of the parents were categorised by their children as "mainly" or "fully" Polish, and all had friendships which were predominantly or all Polish in background. Seven had fathers, and four, mothers who were 30 years or more on arrival. Six had fathers in non-manual occupations before migration, while another two fathers were classified as "students". The occupations of the fathers in the early 1970's in Australia were manual skilled (2), semi-skilled (3), unskilled (3), and one was in a non-manual occupation. This illustrates the downward occupational mobility of the parents of the Polish-Australians in Australia and suggests that they might have tried to regain their lost status through their children. However, in educational terms, the fathers of the Polish-Australians were not all highly qualified. Two were university graduates, four had some years of secondary education and three had been formally educated to primary level only.

The profile of the Polish-Australian, therefore, is one of Polish-Polish parentage, father in a non-manual occupation before migration but now in Australia in a lower status job, father 30 years or more on arrival, Roman Catholic schooling, regular attendance at Polish School for at least 2 or 3 years, and membership of a Polish youth club. The Polish-Australian tends to have a good command of the ethnic language and to use it in reading and writing (but mainly in the form of letters), to have organisational commitments with both

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Polish and Australian communities, and to have a high assessment of personal assimilation in both the <u>structural</u> and <u>cultural</u> areas of life (the latter was not characteristic of the second generation sample as a whole). While showing a mixed pattern of primary relationships, the Polish-Australian (the male in particular) is keen to marry a spouse of Polish background, and to visit the parental homeland. The subjects who were classified in this ideal type, however, were evenly divided in terms of sex and tertiary course under study.

2. The High Ethnics (n=15)

The ideal type of the High Ethnic in this study was one who scored "high" on the ethnicity index and "low" on the assimilation scale. The corresponding category in Simirenko's research was the "colonist", in Child's research the "in-grouper", and in Johnston's, the individual who was "more Polish than Australian".[13] While the last two writers, however, further depicted their types respectively as "negative towards America and Americans" and as those who "reject the Australian group altogether", such extreme negative sentiments were not in evidence among the samples of second generation Poles in this research. A more relevant interpretation is that offered by Simirenko, who claims that the "colonists" are selective in the values which they accept from the host society, that they are quite capable, but unwilling, "to assimilate themselves

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[13]See Chapter 1, pp. 21-23.

into the new entelechy growing up in their midst."[14]

In the Tertiary Sample were ten High Ethnics, and in the Non-Tertiary Sample, five. Together, these 15 individuals represented 10% of the subjects taking part in this study. Their individual ethnicity and assimilation scores on each of the four components are presented below.

TABLE 75:	SCORES OF THE HIGH ETHNICS ON THE FOUR COMPONENTS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION									
	Ethnicity Scores					Assimilation Scores				
Subject (n=15)	Language (23)	Culture (17)	Structure (28)	Ideology (32)	Total (100)	Language (18)	Culture (17)	Structure (31)	Ideology (34)	Total (100)
10	20	13	20	27	79	16	11	6	7	39
11	18	11	18	31	78	12	3	4	10	29
12	20	7	21	30	77	12	2	2	7	23
13	19	13	24	24	80	11	9	8	12	40
14	17	4	22	21	64	13	2	11	15	40
15	17	7	16	21	61	16	5	14	5	40
16	19	11	20	28	78	12	9	5	4	29
17	19	6	21	16	62	10	8	8	11	36
18	17	2	23	25	77	13	8	4	6	31
19	21	8	18	24	71	13	6	3	13	34
20	21	5	16	27	68	10	5	7	11	32
21	22	7	21	28	78	13	6	11	7	37
22	20	11	20	30	81	16	4	12	7	39
23	19	11	16	14	60	9	8	4	12	33
24	22	9	16	31	78	14	5	10	7	36
Mean score	19.4	9.0	19.5	25.1	72.8	12.7	6.1	7.3	8.9	34.5
Percentage of maximum score	84	53	70	78	73	71	36	24	26	35

[14]"Mannheim's Generational Analysis and Acculturation", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 17, No. 3 (September 1969), pp. 297-8. Simirenko here borrows Mannheim's phraseology.

The High Ethnics scored highly on both linguistic components as expected, though it is there that comparisons between the two dimensions end. They exhibit high scores on the ideological and structural components of ethnicity, the former being the significant fact about this particular ideal type. Their low assimilation scores are not, of course, due to their inability to speak English or to use this language in a competent way (particularly in the instance of the tertiary students whose ability to use the English language in the spoken and written forms is evidenced by their academic progress to that level of education[15]), but to a lower tendency to activate those of their value systems which pertain to Australian life; indeed, their ethnic and Anglo-Australian cultural systems were generally kept quite separate with very little overlap between them. Their identification with Australian culture tended to be relatively low, but even more significant was their low degree of structural and ideological assimilation.

All of the high ethnics could understand and speak Polish fairly to very well, and most used the ethnic tongue in their conversations with grandparents, parents and other ethnic elders. All claimed that they would have taken Polish as a subject at school had it been offered, though at tertiary level, one was undecided and four replied in the negative (these four comprised two at university studying science and engineering, and two education students at

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[15]English ceased to be a compulsory matriculation subject in South Australia only in the late 1960's. Thus 84% of the tertiary respondents had taken English at least to that level (see Chapter 8).

Colleges of Advanced Education). They unanimously considered that it was desirable for children of migrants in Australia to learn to speak the native language of their parents.

Fourteen subjects read Polish newspapers and magazines, and twelve read Polish books, sometimes or regularly, and eleven maintained correspondence in Polish sometimes or regularly. All but one believed that schools should make allowances for children of non-Anglo-Saxon origin, and two fifths of the subjects volunteered an "ethnic" reason for their belief.

A significant factor in these subjects' assimilation, however, was the low self-assessment of their acculturation. As many as 10 claimed that they were only "partly" acculturated, while another three tertiary students said "hardly at all" (only five out of the total 143 subjects gave this answer). The other two, both university students, considered themselves "completely" integrated in cultural and behavioural terms with Australian society.

One wonders why so many of the High Ethnics estimated themselves to be so culturally unassimilated when they had been born and raised in Australia and the majority had succeeded in the education ladder of this society. The answer appears to lie partly in their feeling that, in comparison with the more tangible traditions and cultural norms of their Polish home, there was little in the Anglo-Saxon way of life that was as easily grasped and to which they could so firmly cling.[16] One student expressed this sentiment in the following way:

[16]See Chapter 8, pp. 320-321.

> There seems to be no link which holds me to the
> Australian life, no specific reason, except having
> been born here - this seems to me to be due to a lack
> of a cultural way of life. I feel more attached to
> the Polish people because I feel that traditions and
> parents seem to give me a foundation, a basis, on which
> to build a way of life.

Another commented that he felt apart from the mainstream of Australian life in respect to "language, customs and the feeling of having internalised the spirit of Poland which is so markedly different from that of Australia." Others made reference to food, social habits (for example, dances), and the nature of relationships between groups of friends. Table 70 in Chapter 9 shows that, among the second generation sample as a whole, high on the list of "dislikes about Australia" were the lack of social life, lack of culture in the people and country, people's disinterest in culture and the insensitivity of Australians to other people.

As anticipated, none of the High Ethnics stated that their opinions and actions in the cultural and social spheres of life differed from those of their parents "very markedly" or "quite considerably". On the whole, these fifteen individuals considered themselves closer to their parents in the socio-cultural sense than did others in the total second generation sample.

It is interesting to note that, although they all scored highly on ethnicity, there were as many as five who nevertheless believed that any tensions between themselves and their parents were the consequence of differences in degree of assimilation. Though the numbers are very small in this category, the proportion of High Ethnics giving this particular response was, in fact, higher than that of the other three ideal types. This finding tends to emphasise the point that although categorised as high

on ethnicity and low on assimilation, these individuals still considered themselves to be culturally and socially at a different level from that of the first generation.

A distinctive characteristic of the High Ethnics was their strong primary relationships with fellow ethnics. Figures on the tertiary group showed that seven and nine out of ten students respectively had friendships, within and outside their tertiary institutions, which were predominantly or almost all Polish, while in the non-tertiary group of five High Ethnics, four had such friendship circles. Another two subjects had a mixture of Europeans (with few, if any Australians) as their friends. Thus only one of the fifteen claimed he had "mainly Australians" as friends both within and outside his college, and another one subject stated this for his friendship circle within university only, for outside this institution he characterised his circle of friends as being "almost all Polish" (no subjects gave the reply "almost all Australian"). All except 2 subjects scored for giving "ethnic" reasons for the pattern of their primary relationships, seven of them gaining the maximum points.

The High Ethnics strong primary ties carried over into their secondary relationships at the organisation level. All of the fifteen subjects belonged to one Polish club, and 5 were members of two Polish clubs, making a total of 20 memberships. These comprised 8 in the Adelaide University Polish Club, 5 The White and Red Circle, 3 Tatry Polish Dancing Group, 1 Millenium Cooperative, 1 Polish Educational Society and 2 sports clubs. On the other hand, only two subjects belonged to Australian clubs, one to a social club at work and the other to a soccer club. This pattern of secondary

relationships was in sharp contrast to that of the Polish-Australians, all but one of whom belonged to Australian organisations. This emphasises the "structural apartness" of the High Ethnics from the mainstream of Australian life, with the tertiary institutions concerned supplying almost the only organisational link.

All the High Ethnics believed that migrant communities could serve a useful function for newcomers to Australia and all but one that they could serve a useful function for Australian society as a whole. Thirteen would value their presence for helping new arrivals to settle down in a strange enrivonment, and all for helping to preserve ethnic cultures and languages and for making social life more pleasant. Eleven of the High Ethnics had attended Polish School, and stated that their attendance had been "almost every week".

The importance of the structural component in the instance of the High Ethnics is further underlined in their perceptions of their own structural assimilation. They perceived themselves as being rather poorly assimilated in the structural sense to Australian life in comparison with the other three ideal types. While fourteen did feel themselves to be structurally assimilated in the educational sphere, only five did in the sporting, seven in the social, and two each in the cultural and political spheres of life. Within the tertiary High Ethnic group of ten, it was interesting that none of the students felt themselves to be structurally assimilated to Australian cultural life, despite the fact that nine out of these ten were undertaking "arts" courses, six of them at university.

The second highest overall score of the High Ethnics was on the ideological component. Thirteen identified themselves as mainly or fully Polish (seven of them as fully Polish). The other two stated that they felt half-Polish and half-Australian. Thus although in many respects the pattern of scoring on ethnicity was similar to that of the Polish-Australians, it is on this particular question of self-identification that the greatest contrast occurs. The strong ethnic feeling of the High Ethnics also manifests itself in their preferences for marriage partners. As many as 12 specifically stated their preference for a spouse of their own ethnic background. Again, all 15 expressed their intention to visit Europe in the future and to include Poland in particular in the list of countries to which they would want to travel. Twelve subjects thought that in Australia it was desirable for cultural interpenetration to take place. Educational encouragement from home was rated highly: 12 subjects considered that their parents had motivated them to "succeed" in education "very much" and the other 3, "a fair bit"; 7 attributed this attachment to education to the "traditional Central European respect for learning".

Twelve of the High Ethnics considered that the Australian Government could have done, or could be doing, more for migrants. Ten demonstrated their satisfaction with the school education they had received, the other five expressing some dissatisfaction. At the tertiary level of education, three of the ten High Ethnics were at least a little dissatisfied. Comments on improvements centred around more freedom of choice in subjects, broader range of available subjects at school, greater access to school facilities, for example, over weekends and their use as community centres of activity and social life, more adequate vocational guidance at

university, and an overall encouragement of the individual to be concerned about society and to equip him with the tools for critically analysing and improving his way of life. To the question of whether they would like to spend the rest of their lives in Australia, a mere eight said that they would (five only "probably"), while a further five were undecided on the issue.

Of the 15 High Ethnics, 10 were females, and 5 males. By birthplace, 10 were Australian-born, 3 were categorised as "young arrivals" and 2 as "older arrivals" from Poland. All 15, however, were of Polish-Polish parents. Eight of the ten tertiary students were Polish Club members, and nine were undertaking "arts" courses. Eleven of the total number of High Ethnics had attended Polish School "almost every week". The group was evenly divided by type of primary and secondary school attended, but by suburb of residence, only three tertiary students lived in suburbs ranked in categories 2 or 3. The remaining subjects for whom suburb was known resided in the lower status suburbs in categories 4 to 6.

Four subjects claimed that their parents' adjustment to Australian conditions had been very difficult, and six, rather difficult. The other 5 said "fairly easy". The three most common difficulties mentioned by the second generation subjects were language (8 replies), abrupt changes in occupation (3, all of whose fathers were tertiary-educated) and Australian culture and way of life (3). The difficulty of English was again emphasised in the fact that as many as 12 fathers and 12 mothers had no, or very little, knowledge of the language on arrival in Australia. Only 3 fathers had a "fair", and 3 mothers had a "quite fluent", command of the English language.

Only three subjects did not have parents in Polish organisations, nine parents were in 1, two parents in 2 and one parent in 3 Polish clubs. The Dom Polski Society and the Polish Historical Society were the most frequently listed organisations. Thus the parents of the High Ethnics were, like those of the Polish-Australians, also organisationally active in ethnic clubs. As anticipated, therefore, few were members of Australian clubs - one mother belonged to the Good Neighbour Council and the Red Cross, another to a chess club and a professional association, while one father was a member of the Returned Services League and another of an occupational association.

In the subjects' estimations, all of the parents were "partly" or less than partly acculturated, 4 of the fathers and 6 of the mothers "not at all". Only two of the fathers had achieved an occupational level in keeping with their European education and experience. The main reasons for this lack of occupational attainment were seen to be lack of time due to the need to support the family (9 replies), insufficient knowledge of English (8) and non-recognition of educational and professional qualifications (7). None of the fathers or mothers were claimed by their children to be structurally assimilated in political or sporting organisations (except for one mother in a sporting club). In the social context, four pairs of parents were considered to be structurally assimilated: in 2 of these cases, both parents were tertiary educated, while in another instance, the mother was university, and the father secondary school educated.

Nearly all of the High Ethnics perceived their parents as wanting them to marry a _Polish_ spouse. This very strong belief in

their parents' preferring them to marry a Polish partner complements

their own firm intentions in this direction. In comparison with the

other ideal types, this fact is a very significant finding on the

High Ethnics, for it has very important implications for the process

of cultural transmission (see Chapters 11 and 12).

Almost all of the High Ethnics also perceived their parents

as feeling "fully Polish". One father and two mothers were cate-

gorised by their children as feeling "mainly Polish". Furthermore,

thirteen of the subjects classified their parents' friendships as

"almost all Poles" (there was one "a mixture of various European

backgrounds" and one no answer). Taking into account, therefore,

the parents' organisational activity, marital preferences for their

children, identification and primary relationships, the picture of

the parental background of the High Ethnics in this study is one

of very high ethnic character.[17]

In terms of occupation, the parental background of the High

Ethnics was similar to that of the Polish-Australians. Their fathers

tended to have non-manual (7) or skilled manual (5) occupations

before migration, while two were students. The one remaining

father had an unskilled job. In Australia in the early 1970's,

the fathers were mainly in skilled (6) or semi- and unskilled (5)

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[17]The author is aware, however, that this picture may be more
ethnic than it is in reality because of the probable tendency
of the 15 children, themselves highly ethnic, to over-emphasise
the strength of ethnicity in the home. Even so, given this
possibility of exaggeration, the strength of the ethnicity of
the home in the instance of the High Ethnic sector of the second
generation sample is, though to a certain extent expected, an
interesting and significant confirmation of that expectation.

jobs, although there were 4 who retained their pre-migration non-manual occupations. The main difference, however, between the parental background of the High Ethnics and Polish-Australians was in terms of education. Six fathers of High Ethnics had experienced a tertiary education (5 at university), 7 a secondary education, and only 2 a primary education. Thus the fathers of High Ethnics were fairly well-educated in comparison with the overall educational breakdown of the fathers of the total second generation sample.

The profile of the High Ethnic, therefore, was that of Polish-Polish parentage, fathers in non-manual occupations before migration and well-educated, parents 30 years or more on arrival in Australia, female, Polish youth club membership, regular attendance at Polish School, "arts" course at tertiary level and residence in lower status and ethnically concentrated suburbs. The High Ethnic, like the Polish-Australian, has a good command of the Polish language, is close to the parental generation in the socio-cultural sense, has a strong preference for marrying a Polish spouse and is keen to visit the parental homeland. This ideal-type also has strong primary relationships with fellow ethnics. However, unlike the Polish-Australian, there is a very high self-identification as a Pole coupled with very limited structural assimilation, low self-assessment of acculturation and weak ideological commitment to Australian life.

3. The Anglo-Assimilates (n=36)

The Anglo-Assimilate as an ideal type is one who, on the indices employed in this research, registers low ethnicity and high assimilation scores. In this study, there were 31 tertiary

and 5 non-tertiary subjects who were categorised as Anglo-Assimilates, totalling a quarter of the total number of subjects. Their nearest equivalents in the research of Simirenko were the "frontiersmen", in that of Child "the rebels", and in that of Johnston, the individuals who were identified "more with Australia than Poland" though, as in the instance of the High Ethnics, direct comparison is not possible.[18] Their individual ethnicity and assimilation scores on each of the four components are detailed in the following table.

The Anglo-Assimilates scored "high" on all four components of assimilation, particularly on language. On the ethnicity index, however, all components recorded low scores with the exception of language which totalled a relatively high 41% of the maximum score. This may be attributed to the language-centred character of Polish culture. The ethnic language is spoken to and heard from ethnic elders only, while with their own age peers, the English language is _always_ used. Even though the Anglo-Assimilates by definition are low on ethnicity, still one quarter of these individuals speak,[19] and one third hear,[20] the Polish language in conversation with their elders. It can be seen, therefore, that even in the instance of the Anglo-Assimilate ideal type, the use of the ethnic language in speaking is not completely dead. However, the possibilities of

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[18] See Chapter 1, pp. 21-23.

[19] Active linguistic experience: 25% of subjects speak mainly Polish to grandparents, 26% to father, 19% to mother, 19% to parents' ethnic friends and 13% to older relatives.

[20] Passive linguistic experience: 43% of subjects hear mainly Polish from grandparents, 35% from father, 31% from mother, 22% from parents' ethnic friends and 14% from older relatives.

TABLE 76:	SCORES OF THE ANGLO-ASSIMILATES ON THE FOUR COMPONENTS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION									

	Ethnicity Scores					Assimilation Scores				
Subject (n=36)	Language (23)	Culture (17)	Structure (28)	Ideology (32)	Total (100)	Language (18)	Culture (17)	Structure (31)	Ideology (34)	Total (100)
25	16	1	9	10	36	15	11	21	20	67
26	2	1	9	13	25	18	13	19	20	69
27	6	4	11	17	38	16	14	19	19	68
28	7	2	6	7	21	18	10	21	20	68
29	0	1	5	9	15	18	11	17	16	62
30	15	2	9	6	32	15	12	15	24	66
31	4	2	3	8	17	17	11	13	24	65
32	2	2	6	7	17	16	11	22	19	68
33	12	3	6	16	37	16	13	21	17	67
34	11	0	4	4	19	14	10	21	19	63
35	14	8	8	10	40	12	15	17	17	61
36	6	3	6	7	22	16	10	17	19	62
37	9	2	2	1	13	17	12	17	28	74
38	8	1	16	4	29	16	10	9	25	60
39	7	0	7	13	27	17	10	18	22	66
40	9	5	4	4	22	15	12	25	23	74
41	5	5	11	13	34	14	9	24	21	68
42	12	0	3	7	22	10	16	23	21	69
43	8	5	7	7	27	16	12	18	15	60
44	9	5	11	11	36	18	11	22	19	70
45	11	0	8	11	30	15	12	15	19	60
46	5	5	5	9	24	16	9	17	21	63
47	0	5	5	11	21	18	8	20	14	60
48	10	2	7	9	28	15	13	15	22	65
49	0	3	7	11	21	18	10	20	17	64
50	16	7	8	9	40	16	9	10	27	62
51	16	0	4	11	30	15	13	23	20	71
52	5	4	5	17	31	16	10	19	20	64
53	15	6	8	6	35	13	10	16	27	66
54	9	9	7	11	36	14	10	16	21	60
55	16	0	12	10	38	13	14	23	24	74
56	10	4	11	10	34	15	10	27	29	81
57	22	4	12	3	40	13	10	17	27	66
58	17	2	9	11	39	10	15	18	23	66
59	16	2	11	11	39	15	14	19	23	71
60	12	4	7	3	25	16	16	22	29	82
Mean score	9.5	3.0	7.5	9.1	28.9	15.3	11.6	18.8	21.4	66.7
Percentage of maximum score	41	18	27	28	29	85	68	61	63	67

the third generation knowing Polish seem very remote in the instance
of this ideal type.

The Anglo-Assimilates' command of Polish is given below.

TABLE 77:   COMMAND OF POLISH OF THE ANGLO-ASSIMILATES

Command of Polish	Understanding		Speaking	
	n	%	n	%
very well	6	17	3	8
fairly well	9	25	9	25
not very well	4	11	5	14
only a few words	7	19	8	22
none	10	28	11	31
Total:	36	100	36	100

In contrast with other ideal types, their command of the Polish
language is far poorer (Table 77). One third could not speak it at
all, while another third could speak the language "not very well" or
"only a few words". Thus only one third could speak it fairly to
very well. However, only nine of the 36 Anglo-Assimilates would
not have studied the subject had it been offered at school, although
as many as 24 of the 31 tertiary students would not have taken it at
the tertiary level of education. Thus their attitudes towards
studying the ethnic tongue were relatively less positive than those
of the other ideal types. One distinguishing characteristic of the
Anglo-Assimilates in this respect was the belief of a high proportion
of them that it was not desirable for children of immigrants to learn
to speak the native tongue of their parents. While in the total
second generation sample of 143 subjects there were only 14 who
replied in the negative to this particular question, 13 of this
subgroup were Anglo-Assimilates.

The scoring on the cultural component of ethnicity was by far the lowest of the indices of the Anglo-Assimilates, while on the assimilation dimension, it was ranked second behind language. On their reading and writing of Polish, 27 out of 36 never read ethnic newspapers and magazines, 32 never read ethnic books, 31 never wrote letters in Polish and 28 never received letters in Polish. At the other extreme, no subject regularly read ethnic newspapers and magazines, while one made the most unusual claim of regularly reading Polish books.[21] One regularly wrote and two received letters in the Polish language.

Another distinguishing feature of the Anglo-Assimilates was the opinion of over half of them that schools should not make any allowance for children of non-Anglo-Saxon background. As many as 21 (58%) of the subjects gave this reply, while in sharp contrast, none of any of the other ideal types believed this. It can be surmised, therefore, that the Anglo-Assimilates, since their own assimilation to Australian life was high, believed that so too should be the assimilation of other second generation individuals without any special considerations being made by Australian schools.[22]

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[21] The Anglo-Assimilate who claimed that he regularly read Polish books was the only one of the 143 subjects who did do this! He also read Polish newspapers "sometimes", but never corresponded in the Polish language. For this unusual case of regular reading of Polish literature, there seems no apparent explanation; he was a Seventh Day Adventist, but he was not a member of any other organisation, Polish or Australian, nor had he attended Polish School. He did, however, have a very good command of the language, used it in conversation with grandparents and heard it from grandparents and parents.

[22] This attitude towards the educational system was also evident among the successful working class students in the study by B. Jackson and D. Marsden: "I don't want things changed. I like it the old way. Why change? We got through all right..."; and "I wouldn't want to see it changed... like it's seen me through all right, hasn't it? Why change it?" Education and the Working Class (Ringwood, 1966), pp. 200-203.

A further contrast between the Anglo-Assimilates and the other ideal types can be made in their degree of acculturation (self-estimate). The Anglo-Assimilates stand out as completely (24) or almost fully (11) acculturated. While as many as 8 out of the 9 Polish-Australians classed themselves in these two categories, only 2 of the 15 High Ethnics and neither of the Alienates did so. The one remaining tertiary student of Polish-other European parentage considered himself only "partly" acculturated to Australian society. His explanation for feeling only partly integrated in cultural and behavioural terms referred to the maintenance of the ethnic cultures of his parents, despite the fact that on the ethnicity scale, he himself rated very lowly on the language, culture and structure components:

> I feel apart only due to the fact that some aspects of my parents' ethnic cultures are still maintained and, being brought up with them, I have not accepted many Australian attitudes, views, etc.

Fourteen of the Anglo-Assimilates considered that their opinions and actions differed very markedly or quite considerably from those of their parents, and another 11 stated that they differed to a fair degree. Rather surprisingly, only 10 attributed this considerable divergence to differences in the degree of assimilation between themselves and their parents. This low proportion of apparent cases of culture tension perhaps points to the relativity in the degree of assimilation between the two generations, whatever the ideal type of the children. Thus it is quite probable that a High Ethnic, whose assimilation is by definition low, reports his parents' assimilation to be very low, and an Anglo-Assimilate, whose assimilation is high, perceives his parents' assimilation also to be relatively high - at least as far

as the first generation is concerned. In this way, therefore, the
cultural gap between generations within each ideal type remains
fairly constant. Whatever the reason, approximately one third of
each of the ideal types (except the two Alienates) attributed
cultural tension to the differences in degree of assimilation
between themselves and their parents.

The ideological component for the Anglo-Assimilates ranked
second on the ethnicity and third on the assimilation indices. On
the question of self-identification, there were only 7 subjects in
the entire second generation sample who considered themselves
"completely Australian", and all 7 were Anglo-Assimilates. Again,
there were 40 subjects in the whole sample who assessed themselves
as "mainly Australian, a little ethnic", and 22 of these were Anglo-
Assimilates (another 7 were categorised as medium assimilation:
low ethnicity). Thus the self-identification question is a relatively
good indicator of ideal type, but it is not so foolproof that it can
be employed, as in other studies, as the sole criterion for the
formulation of typologies.

The other seven Anglo-Assimilates categorised themselves
as "half Australian-half Polish", none claiming to feel mainly or
completely Polish. This result was confirmed by the analysis of
the marital preferences of the Anglo-Assimilates, none of whom
intended to marry a partner of only Polish, other European or
Catholic background. They all stated either "Australian or
European background" (12) or "any background irrespective of race,
colour or religion" (24). This contrasted with three fifths of
the Polish-Australians and four fifths of the High Ethnics who
categorically claimed that they intended to marry a spouse of
only Polish background.

Differences were also shown in the Anglo-Assimilates'
intentions to visit Europe, and Poland in particular. While only
three stated that they did not intend to travel to Europe in the
future, as many as 12 of those who did want to go to Europe stated
that they did not intend to visit Poland in particular. Thus a
total of 15 (42%) of the Anglo-Assimilates had no intention of
visiting the homeland of their parents in the future. Again this
finding is in sharp contrast with those for the other ideal types,
for whom the equivalent figures were none for the High Ethnics and
Alienates, and one for the Polish-Australians (he visited Poland
anyway in the year after completion of the questionnaire).

Six Anglo-Assimilates thought that, in Australia as a whole,
it was not desirable for cultural interpenetration to take place.
Only one High Ethnic, and none of the other two ideal types, had
thought this way. On another question, only 10 included among their
explanations for their parents' very strong attachment to education
the "traditional Central European respect for learning" option
available to them.

On the whole, the Anglo-Assimilates tended to be satisfied
with the education they had received at school (n=23). Ten,
however, were "a little dissatisfied" with their school education.
Of the 31 tertiary Anglo-Assimilates, 23 were satisfied and 8 a
little dissatisfied with their tertiary education. Their suggested
improvements centred mainly around the need for a broader range of
subjects with allowance made for later specialisation, and on more
emphasis to be placed upon social and personal development of the
individual rather than solely upon academic success through
examinations.

Further evidence of the more assimilationist attitudes of the Anglo-Assimilates, in comparison with the other ideal types, comes in their views on whether the Australian government could have done, or could be doing, more for migrants. As earlier stated in Chapter 9, it could be expected that this question, because of its generality, would be a leading question. However, as many as 13 (36%) of the Anglo-Assimilates, compared with none of the Polish-Australians and Alienates and only 2 of the High Ethnics, still replied that no further political favour ought to be shown towards migrants in Australia. As expected, therefore, the majority of the Anglo-Assimilates (26) expressed their desire to spend the rest of their life in this country, or at least were undecided (7) on the issue. There were two tertiary students who said "probably no" and one "definitely no". Two of these three were of Polish-Estonian marriages, with one set of parents tertiary educated, the other of completed secondary education. In one case, the student had claimed his parents were also not intending to stay in Australia, while in the other, the parents were "undecided". In the third case, the family could be labelled as "transilient migrants",[23] since they had arrived in Australia in the 1960's - the father a professional who had married an English wife - after living in other countries before arrival.

The structural component was ranked third among the ethnicity and fourth among the assimilation indices for the Anglo-Assimilate

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[23]For definition, see Chapter 4, footnote 26.

type. Primary ties were predominantly with Australians, particularly within tertiary institutions where 28 (90%) of the tertiary students mixed with mainly or all Australians. Outside tertiary institutions, still as many as 29 (81%) of the Anglo-Assimilates had primary ties with Australians. In the whole second generation sample there were only 10 subjects who claimed that they had "almost all Australians" as close friends - 8 of these were Anglo-Assimilates. Five subjects had a mixture of Europeans as friends, and oddly, 1 Anglo-Assimilate stated that he had mainly Poles, and another almost all Poles, as friends.

There was a marked contrast in the organisational activity of the Anglo-Assimilates between their ethnic and their Australian memberships. Only six of the tertiary group belonged to Polish clubs: three belonged to the Adelaide University Polish Club, two to suburban Polish clubs and one to Polonia Soccer Club. By definition, however, all of the five non-tertiary Anglo-Assimilates belonged to a Polish club; in this instance, all were members of the socially oriented White and Red Circle, and significantly, none were members of what could be described as the more ethnically and culturally oriented club, Tatry Polish Dancing Group. Thus the tertiary Anglo-Assimilates revealed very restricted ethnic secondary relationships as well as their limited primary ties in Polish friendships. But they did show a relatively active pattern in their membership of Australian organisations. Twenty one (58%) belonged to at least one Australian club - five of these were members of 2, three were members of 3, and one was a member of 4 clubs.

In the total second generation sample, there were eight subjects who believed that migrant communities could serve no useful function for Australian society as a whole, and 2 subjects who thought likewise as far as newcomers to Australia were concerned. Among the former group of 8, 6 were Anglo-Assimilates, and among the latter group of 2, both were Anglo-Assimilates. Considering only the Tertiary Sample, all seven negative replies on these two sections were from Anglo-Assimilates.

When probed to present reasons for valuing the presence of migrant communities in Australia, only one subject did not consider that they helped new arrivals to settle down in a new environment, and only 4 subjects did not think that they made social life more pleasant. These small proportions were not different from those for the whole sample. However, an important difference was demonstrated in their opinions on whether migrant communities helped preserve ethnic languages and cultures. Interestingly, while none of the other three ideal types replied in the negative for this section of the question, as high a number as 15 (42%) of the Anglo-Assimilates answered in this vein (and a further 4 or 11% failed to answer this question at all). To put this point another way, there were 15 Anglo-Assimilates among the total of 20 in the sample as a whole who considered that migrant communities did not help preserve ethnic languages and cultures. An interpretation may be that this finding pinpoints a number of subjects who did not want such preservation, irrespective of whether they believed migrant communities per se could or could not perform this role (i.e.: in this instance, the assessment of the given situation is more indicative of the attitude of the respondents than of the concrete fact under consideration),

Fifteen (42%) of the Anglo-Assimilates had at one time attended Polish School, five only occasionally and ten frequently or almost every week. This latter proportion (28%) contrasts with all 9 Polish-Australians who had attended almost every week and 11 (73%) of the High Ethnics who had attended with the same regularity. The regular attendance at Saturday School of one quarter to one third of the Anglo-Assimilate subsample indicates that this factor in itself does not automatically ensure a high ethnicity rating.

In terms of their structural assimilation, the Anglo-Assimilates were very similar to the Polish-Australians. In their own estimation, all were structurally assimilated in the educational area (as were all Polish-Australians) and all except one in the social area of life (7 Polish-Australians were). In respect to sporting structures, 30 (83%) of the Anglo-Assimilates were assimilated (as were 7 out of the 9 Polish-Australians), and in cultural life, 28 (78%) of the Anglo-Assimilates were structurally assimilated (7 Polish-Australians were). In the fifth sphere of political structures, 15 (42%) considered themselves assimilated structurally (compared with 4 out of 9 Polish-Australians).

The group of Anglo-Assimilates was comprised of 23 males and 13 females. Thirty were born in Australia or England and one, oddly, in Poland. This latter person arrived in Australia in the early 1960's at the age of 11 years. Although scoring highly on the linguistic component of ethnicity, he scored very poorly on the cultural and only moderately on the other two components. On the assimilation dimension, he recorded percentages of 59 or over for all components, registering his highest score of 83% on the linguistic component. This case was clearly an unusual one for Polish-born

subjects of Polish-Polish parentage, particularly as the family

migrated eleven years after the peak years of arrival of Polish

immigrants. The other 5 subjects, 2 tertiary and 3 non-tertiary,

were "young arrivals", all born in Germany of Polish-Polish parentage.

By birthplace of parents, 17 were of Polish-Polish, 13 of

Polish-other European and 6 of Polish-Anglo-Saxon marriages. These

proportions constituted 17% of all those of Polish-Polish, 38% of

Polish-other European and 60% of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage in

both samples. Of the middle group, 7 were Polish-German marriages,

and since there were only 11 of such a combination in the entire

sample, Anglo-Assimilates represented a sizable proportion of

subjects of Polish-German parentage. So too did they among those

subjects of Polish-Estonian parentage, as all 3 in the total sample

were of this ideal type.

Twenty of the Anglo-Assimilates had attended metropolitan

state schools, while only 11 had attended Catholic colleges. Five

had attended country schools in South Australia, a high proportion of

the relatively small number in the total second generation sample who

had attended schools outside Adelaide. Thus the relatively high

number of Anglo-Assimilates who had attended country and metropolitan

state schools further emphasises the Anglo-conformist nature of such

schools in comparison with the Catholic colleges.[24] It could also

indicate that the more ethnically-minded parents select Catholic

schools since the Catholic religion forms such an important part of

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[24]See Chapter 8, p. 323.

the mainstream of Polish culture. In the absence of Polish schools

in Australia during the week, Catholic colleges become the "next

best" device for those concerned with culture maintenance. By

course of study, the tertiary Anglo-Assimilates were evenly spread,

although high proportions of students in law (3 out of 4),

architecture (2 out of 3), dentistry (1 out of 2) and engineering

(5 out of 11) were included in this particular ideal-type.

The Anglo-Assimilates perceived their parents' adjustment

to Australian conditions as being considerably less difficult than

did the other ideal types - 24 (67%) claimed that it had been

"fairly easy" to "easy". The replies which they gave for their

parents' "greatest single problem" did not differ significantly

from the distribution of answers for the sample as a whole, with

half opting for language or communication. The parents were very

much less active than those of the Polish-Australians or High

Ethnics in ethnic organisations, of which only 10 (29%) were members,

while in Australian organisations, not very much difference was

apparent between the parents of the three main ideal types - one third of

the parents of Anglo-Assimilates belonged to Australian clubs.

The Anglo-Assimilates stand out as being least in agreement

with their parents' opinions and actions in the socio-cultural sphere

of life. Yet it was significant that, while none of the subjects in

the other three ideal types gauged either of their parents' accultura-

tion as being more than only "partly" attained, as many as 12 (33%)

of the fathers and 16 (44%) of the mothers were claimed to be

"almost fully" or "completely" acculturated.

None of the fathers of the Polish-Australians and only 2 fathers

of the High Ethnics were seen as having attained an occupational level

in keeping with their European education and experience. However, 19 (53%) of the fathers of Anglo-Assimilates were perceived as having attained such an occupational level. Main reasons given by the others for their fathers' lack of attainment were insufficient knowledge of English (13 replies), lack of recognition of qualifications (5 replies) and lack of time due to the need to support the family (5 replies). None of the fathers of the subjects in the other three ideal types were structurally assimilated into sporting or political organisations - in contrast, 12 of the Anglo-Assimilates' fathers were considered assimilated into sporting, and 3 into political structures. Twenty one fathers were also considered assimilated into social groups. Of the mothers of the Anglo-Assimilates, 19 were perceived to be structurally assimilated into social, 9 into sporting and 2 into political organisations in Australia.

Only 6 Anglo-Assimilates believed that their fathers, and 4 that their mothers, preferred them to marry a spouse of only Polish or other European background. On the issue of identification, there were 9 fathers and 13 mothers in the total second generation sample who were categorised by their children as mainly or fully Australian, and 8 and 11 of these parents respectively were the parents of Anglo-Assimilates. Thus this ideal type was by far the most likely to perceive parents as having no strong preferences for them to marry only Poles or other Europeans, and as identifying themselves as mainly or completely Australian. Again, out of a total of 9 pairs of parents in the whole sample who had mainly Australians as friends, 8 were parents of Anglo-Assimilates.

Half of the fathers were in manual occupations before migration, 8 were in non-manual occupations, and the other 10 were either

students, in the army or were categorised as "other". By the 1970's,
23 (64%) were in manual and 10 in non-manual occupations. One third
of the fathers had had a tertiary education, while just under another
third had had only a primary education. By status of suburb in
which the family resided, over half of the Anglo-Assimilates lived
in suburbs rated in status categories 1-3 (this is a much higher
suburb rating than for the other ideal types). Compared with the
High Ethnics and Polish-Australians, the Anglo-Assimilates had a
considerably lower proportion (only one third) of their parents
who were older than 30 years on arrival.

The profile of the Anglo-Assimilate ideal type, therefore,
is one of male sex, attendance at metropolitan state or country
schools, limited membership of Polish youth organisations and
limited attendance at Polish School, enrolment in university
professional faculties, birthplace in Australia or Germany, mixed
parentage, particularly Polish-Anglo-Saxon, Polish-German and
Polish-Estonian, and father in low status jobs both before migration
and in Australia. The Anglo-Assimilate, like the Polish-Australian,
has a high assessment of his acculturation and structural assimilation.
Very strong primary and secondary ties with Australians, a firm
commitment to spend the rest of life in this country, and a self-
identification as mainly or completely Australian are characteristic
features of this ideal type. This person has little preference as
far as ethnicity of a marriage partner is concerned, and there is a
tendency for command of the ethnic language to be poor or non-existent.
In contrast with the other ideal types, the Anglo-Assimilate is very
likely to have no desire to visit Poland, assert that Australian
governments should make no further political favours towards migrants,

believe that schools should not make allowances for children of
non-Anglo-Saxon background, and claim that migrant communities
do not help to preserve ethnic languages and cultures.

4. The Alienates (n=2)

The fourth ideal type, that of the Alienates, forms a very
interesting category. In this study, only two such cases emerged
using the scoring system outlined in Appendix D, although there
were a few other subjects who approximated the cut-off mark of 40,
either recording under 40 for one score and just over 40 for the
other, or scoring in the low 40's on both dimensions. In essence,
the nearest equivalent in the research of Child was the "apathetic"
who oscillated between the Italian and American reference groups
without really belonging to either. Johnston, however, did not
isolate "the non-identifying type" and concluded that more thorough
research was required to clarify the position of such a second
generation individual.[25]

The scores for the two Alienates on each of the dimensions
of ethnicity and assimilation are presented below.

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[25] See Chapter 1, p. 23.

TABLE 78: SCORES OF THE ALIENATES ON THE FOUR COMPONENTS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION

Subject (n=2)	Ethnicity Scores					Assimilation Scores				
	Language (23)	Culture (17)	Structure (28)	Ideology (32)	Total (100)	Language (18)	Culture (17)	Structure (31)	Ideology (34)	Total (100)
61	11	3	13	9	36	14	1	8	14	37
62	15	2	9	14	40	12	5	11	9	36
Mean score	13.0	2.5	11.0	11.5	38.0	13.0	3.0	9.5	11.5	36.5
Percentage of maximum score	57	15	39	36	38	72	18	31	34	37

From Table 78, it can be seen that the linguistic component forms a significant part of their ethnicity and particularly their assimilation in that it comprises approximately one third of their overall scores. One subject claimed a fairly good command of Polish in both under-standing and speaking, while the other claimed a relatively poor command of the ethnic language in both the passive and active aspects. One spoke it to both parents, the other only to parents' ethnic friends. A mixture of both Polish and English was used with other Polish elders while they conversed with their ethnic peers in only the English language.

The next highest score on the ethnicity scale was attained on the structural component. Both subjects had "a mixture of Europeans with few, if any, Australians" as their friends both within and out-side their respective tertiary institution. However, when interviewed specifically about their five closest friends, one listed three who were of Polish parentage, one of Italian parentage and one Australian,

the other gave two of Polish origin, one English and 2 Australians.
Thus, even in the instance of the Alienates, there is a tendency to
maintain primary ties with fellow Poles, for of the five Poles
mentioned in these two interviews, three were long-standing friends
of the family, one was an old school friend of 9 years' standing,
and the fifth a university colleague whom the Alienate had known for
three years at the time of the interview. In respect to their
secondary relationships at the club level, one was categorised as
a Polish Club member and had belonged to a couple of Australian
sporting clubs in the past, while the second did not belong to any
Polish clubs, but was a member of an informal Australian church group.
Neither had ever attended Polish School. While both considered
themselves assimilated into educational structures, one also gave
sporting, and the other social, structures.

On the question of self-identification, both claimed that
they were "half Polish and half Australian". When interviewed on
the two dimensional scale of self-identification, one subject
replied "fairly Polish" and "only a little Australian", while the
other said "only a little Polish" and "fairly Australian". Both
intended to marry a spouse of any background, irrespective of race,
colour or religion. Neither attributed their parents' attachment
to traditional Central European respect for learning, but rather to
the realization that through education, their children could achieve
socio-economic positions to which they themselves could no longer
aspire, or from which the children could earn a good salary.

Both subjects considered that the Australian government could
have done, or could be doing, more for migrants. One remarked, "you
can always do more", while the second commented rather bitterly:

> ... more could have been done to help and still should
> be done to help migrants - second-rate citizenship is
> still meted out and exploitation in history and practice
> is seemingly swept under the carpet.

While one subject wrote "no opinion" to the question on satisfaction

with education, the other was "a little dissatisfied" with the

education received, particularly at school where "teachers ought

to have appreciated that there was so much more to the world than

Britain and Australia". A significant point about these two

Alienates was their lack of enthusiasm towards living in Australia

for the rest of their lives, especially in comparison with perceptions

of their parents' intentions in this respect. While they said that

their parents would stay in Australia and had never, in fact,

contemplated leaving, on their own commitment both subjects replied

"definitely no".

Lowest scores were registered on the cultural component of

both the ethnicity and assimilation scales. Neither student ever

read Polish newspapers, magazines or books, nor maintained correspondence

in the Polish language. Neither scored points for presenting any

European, and in particular, Polish cultural traits which they would

like to see transplanted to the Australian core culture. One subject

showed his apathy by claiming no knowledge of any trait, while the

second stated: "no particular traits to be transplanted - but I'd

prefer an intermingling of traits..." without mentioning any by name.

Neither mentioned any Australian traits which they might have

considered of benefit to those brought up in the Polish tradition.

Both stated that schools they had attended had not made any

allowances for their non-Anglo-Saxon background, yet they believed

that schools should make such allowances, particularly in appreciating

that children of non-Anglo-Saxon origin did not always understand what was asked of them. Both Alienates had low estimations of their own cultural and behavioural integration with Australian society. One considered the acculturation to be "hardly at all", while the other considered it to be only "partly" attained.

Both subjects saw their parents' adjustment to Australian conditions as rather difficult to very difficult. Two of the four parents could speak no English on arrival, one mother's knowledge was "a little" and one father's "fair". The parents had not contacted any agencies in this country which deal specifically with migrant problems, nor had their church assisted them in any way. One pair of parents was perceived as being "partly" acculturated while the other pair was "hardly at all" integrated with Australian society in the cultural sense. None of the four parents were perceived to be structurally assimilated into the social, sporting or political areas of Australian life, and all four were said to be "mainly ethnic, a little Australian". None of the parents were members of any Polish or Australian clubs, although they had exclusively Polish primary relationships.

The profile of the Alienate ideal type is a rather difficult one to depict on the basis of only two cases. One of the Alienates was male, the other female; one was born in Australia, the other was classed as a young arrival; and one was of Polish-Polish parentage, the other of Polish-other European parentage. Thus no consistent pattern emerges from these or other personal characteristics. However, on the evidence from these two cases, it appears that the Alienate ideal type is one who has not attended Polish School and who comes from a background of manual working (both in Poland and in Australia) parents whose education is not above the completed primary phase.

To elaborate further on these conclusions, the characteristics were examined of nine subjects (7 tertiary, 2 non-tertiary) whose scored revealed that they were not far from classification in this ideal type.[26] The background of manual working fathers was strongly confirmed. While 2 fathers were in the army before migration, five were manual workers and the other 2 were categorised as rural workers. In Australia at the time of completion of the questionnaires, 7 were manual workers. The educational background of the fathers, however, was fairly evenly divided between primary only (4), secondary (3) and incomplete tertiary (2), while the mothers' education did tend towards the primary (5) and incomplete secondary (2) end of the scale (2 complete secondary). So also was attendance at Polish School evenly divided but tending towards no or infrequent attendance. By place of residence, 6 lived in suburbs in the lower half of the status list. On these characteristics, therefore, the profile of the Alienate drawn from the two clear-cut cases tended to be confirmed by the analysis of these nine other "near" cases.

While the two Alienates were divided on other characteristics, certain patterns did seem evident in the analysis of the nine "near" cases. For example, 7 were males; 7 were Australian-born with the remaining two born in the same country as the non-Australian-born Alienate; 6 were of Polish-Polish parentage; none belonged to the Adelaide University Polish Club; and 4 of the 7 tertiary students were

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[26] These 9 subjects, however, were further from classification than the 4 points in the instance of the "borderline cases" referred to in Chapter 7, p. 284. Their scores for ethnicity and assimilation respectively were 44:43, 45:43, 29:46, 46:34, 44:46, 42:47, 44:48, 36:49, and 44:49.

undertaking university science courses. By secondary school attended,
these nine were evenly divided between state (5) and Catholic schools
(4). Thus, the further evidence gained from this examination of nine
"near" cases suggests that the Alienate tends to be not only from a
parental background of manual occupations and low education, a
non-attender at Polish School and a resident in a lower status
suburb, but also a second generation male of Polish parents, a
student of science at university and a non-member of Polish youth
clubs.

Summary of the comparisons between the ideal types

In terms of educational achievement, there appears no
consistent pattern in the scores of the four ideal types. At the
secondary level, the Polish-Australians and Anglo-Assimilates have
performed marginally better than the others, while at the tertiary
level, the High Ethnics appear to have fallen further behind the
other three ideal types.

TABLE 79: MEAN SCORES ON EDUCATION OF THE TERTIARY SUBJECTS IN THE FOUR IDEAL TYPES				
Ideal type	N	Secondary level	Tertiary level	Overall
Polish-Australian	8	62	52	57
High Ethnic	10	55	41	48
Anglo-Assimilate	31	62	48	55
Alienate	2	54	54	54

Comparisons between the ideal types on individual questions
have already been given where appropriate in the foregoing analysis.
Here it is intended to summarise the percentage scores for each of
the ideal types on the four components of ethnicity and assimilation
(see Table 80).

TABLE 80: COMPARISON OF THE PERCENTAGE SCORES FOR EACH OF THE IDEAL TYPES ON THE FOUR COMPONENTS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION*

Ideal-type	Ethnicity scores (%)					Assimilation scores (%)				
	Language	Culture	Structure	Ideology	Total	Language	Culture	Structure	Ideology	Total
Polish-Australian	1** 88	4 54	2 69	3 59	67	1 78	2 67	3 57	4 54	61
High Ethnic	1 84	4 53	3 70	2 78	73	1 71	2 36	4 24	3 26	35
Anglo-Australian	1 41	4 18	3 27	2 28	29	1 85	2 68	4 61	3 63	67
Alienate	1 57	4 15	2 39	3 36	38	1 72	4 18	3 31	2 34	37
Total	68	35	51	50	52	77	47	43	44	50

* The figures for this table are summaries of the four previous tables. Hence, as explained at the foot of Table 74, the figures given in the "total" columns may be slightly less than the averages of the scores on each component.

** These figures represent the order of scoring, from highest to lowest, on the four components for each ideal type.

Figure 4 represents these percentage scores in a diagrammatic fashion. It reveals that in most respects the High Ethnics' pattern of ethnicity is similar to that of the Polish-Australians except for one vitally significant component. While the Polish-Australians register slightly higher linguistic scores than the High Ethnics, they score much less on the ideological component.[27] Their ideological commitment is not firmly in one direction only, as it is in the case of the High Ethnics and Anglo-Assimilates.

Overall, the ethnicity graph of the Polish-Australians and High Ethnics is very similar indeed and it is the assimilation indicators which distinguish them most sharply. In fact, the most important finding is the way in which Polish-Australians resemble the High Ethnics on the ethnicity scale and the Anglo-Assimilates on the assimilation scale. This quantitative finding is substantiated by participant observation and through interviews.

It is interesting that the Alienates score more highly than the Anglo-Assimilates on all aspects of ethnicity except the cultural component. Another significant point is the consistency in the scoring on the linguistic component of assimilation of all four ideal types. The high scores are to a certain extent expected given the second generation character of the sample as a whole.

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[27] Since the data are based on replies from questionnaires which used a "mutually exclusive" question for self-identification, the ideological component for the Polish-Australians is lower than it might have been had two parallel identification scales been employed (as in the interviews). However, the difference between the Polish-Australians and the High Ethnics which, on the ethnicity index, is virtually only on the ideological component, would not disappear entirely even had two parallel scales (allowing subjects to score highly on both),been adopted.

FIGURE 4: COMPARISON BETWEEN THE IDEAL TYPES ON THEIR PERCENTAGE SCORES ON THE FOUR COMPONENTS OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION
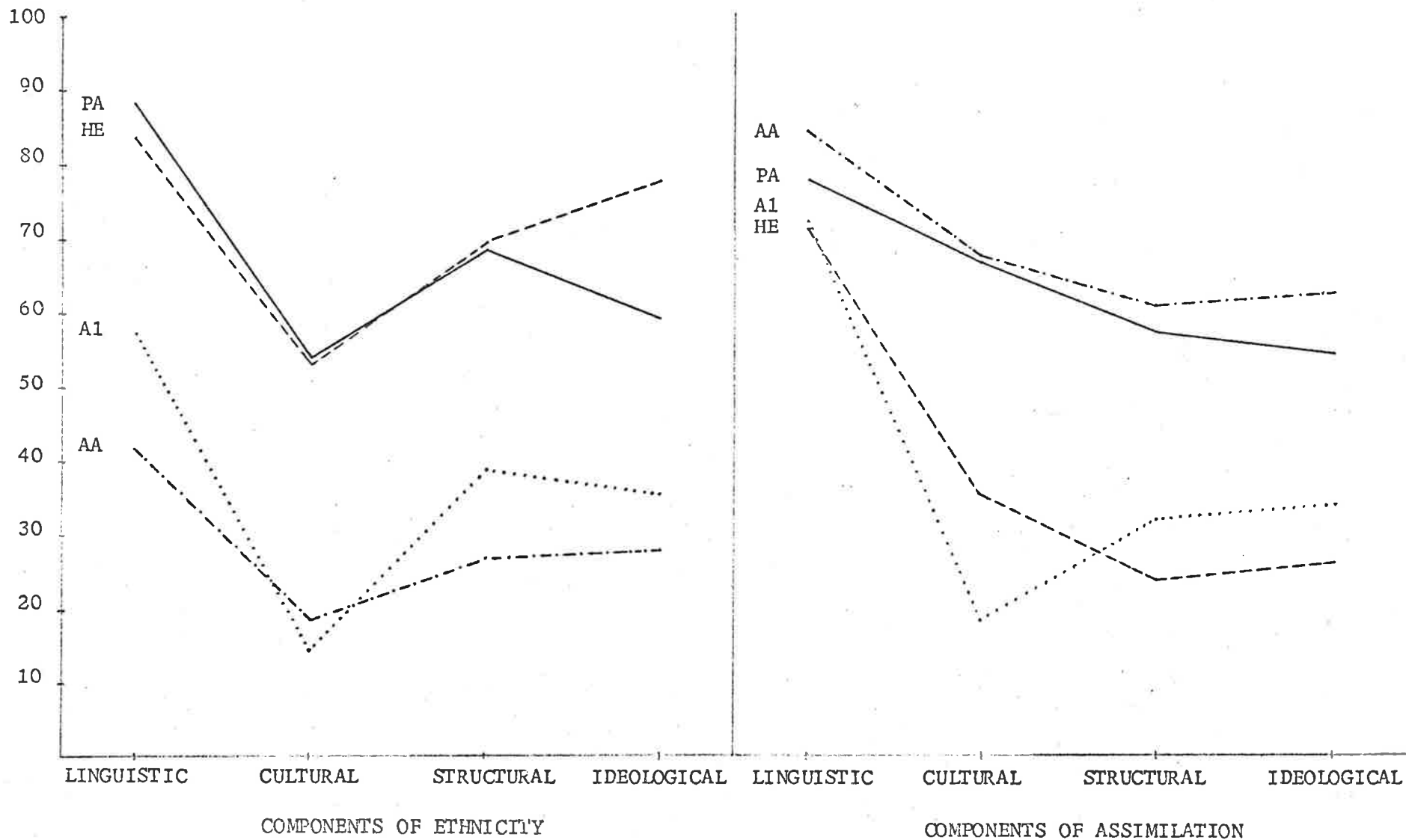
The columns presenting the total scores of each of the
ideal types on the dimensions of ethnicity and assimilation
demonstrate that, on the scales used in this study, two of the
three main ideal types are clearly more ethnic than Australian.
This particularly applies, by definition, to the High Ethnics
(73, 35), but it is also true for the Polish Australians (67, 61).[28]
Indeed, the author's impression throughout this research has been
that a considerable number of these second and 1b generation Poles
are not only more Polish than Australians believe them to be, but
also more ethnic than they themselves might think. (Many subjects
were often surprised to "discover" during the interviews, for
instance, that all of their close friends were of Polish origin,
or that in a sporting contest between Poland and Australia such
as a world cup soccer match, they would be barracking for Poland).

This emphasises both the persistence and the subtlety of the
phenomenon of ethnicity, which in this respect, we could term
"latent ethnicity". The rows of overall scores on each of the
components illustrate that, for the 62 subjects classified into
ideal types, the assimilation dimension records higher scores on
language and culture than does the ethnicity one, while the reverse
holds on the components of structure and ideology. This point
reinforces the use of the term "latent ethnicity", for the structural
and ideological commitments of subjects are certainly more latent and

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[28]It also applies in the instance of the Alienates (38, 37), though
the difference between the ethnicity and assimilation scores is
only very small.

less noticeable than are the linguistic and cultural aspects.

Hence the Anglo-Australian sees the subject of this study not so

much as a second generation Pole as a "cultural" Australian. He

is prone to miss the more latent aspects of that subject's ethnicity

which are, prima facie, less tangible and usually invisible to the

unknowing eye. It is in this way that differences between Anglo-

Australian and migrant children have tended to be overlooked, even

ignored, in the Australian education process.[29]

On balance, Table 40 reveals that the sub-sample of 62 analysed

in this chapter is literally half Polish and half Australian with

scores of 52 for ethnicity and 50 for assimilation; and for the

total sample of 143 subjects, the scores were 49 for ethnicity and

54 for assimilation. However, the foregoing examination has shown

the danger of grouping individuals together as "ethnic Australians",

or even as "second generation Poles", because in doing that, the

significant variations in the patterns of ethnicity and assimila-

tion are blanketed and the consequent myopic view of the situation

is likely to lead to misconceived and ill-directed conclusions.

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[29]Note, for example, such statements in 1963 from the New South
Wales Director-General of Education and the Federal Minister for
Immigration respectively:

> So far as my own State is concerned – and I think that
> this is true of most other states – we deliberately refrain
> from collecting any statistics in regard to school pupils
> from overseas. Once they are enrolled in school they are,
> from our point of view, Australian children.

> ... the terms 'migrant youth' and 'Australian youth' are
> often completely inseparable and indistinguishable. The
> child who is born here is simply Australian.

Australian Citizenship Convention Digest, 1963, pp. 4 and 21.

CHAPTER 11

SECOND GENERATION BREAKTHROUGH OR BREAKDOWN?

In the process of growing up in two worlds, particular individuals of the second generation display certain characteristic patterns in their socialisation. These various patterns have been explored in preceding chapters, but whatever the pattern, the second generation as a whole becomes "less ethnic" and "more Australian" than the first generation. This conclusion as a generalisation has been made in all intergenerational research on immigrants. The child of immigrants "isolates disturbing factors, substitutes satisfactory elements, effects compromises, and begins to adjust himself to the forces about him."[1] In this process there are gains and losses: what this chapter investigates is to what degree and in what ways the second generation grows apart from the first in making the substitutions, compromises and adjustments which are essential to its well-being. From the "Australian view", the gain is mainly seen in terms of this greater "Australianness" and in any educational, occupational and linguistic breakthrough[2] made by the second generation. So too is the "ethnic view" eager to witness this latter breakthrough. But in the opinion of ethnic leaders,[3]

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[1] H.G. Duncan, Immigration and Assimilation (Boston, 1933), p. 705.

[2] This term is borrowed from the title of R. Goldman's book, Breakthrough: Autobiographical Accounts of the Education of Some Socially Disadvantaged Children (London, 1968).

[3] Chapter 5.

the significant loss lies in the rupture in the process of cultural

transmission and the consequent fading of the Polish spirit in its

widest sense. Concerning this latter point, it has been the argument

in the thesis that this loss, or at least its negative aspects, is

only very recently and only very gradually being appreciated by

the "Australian view".

In this study information on both generations was given by

the second generation, the assumption being that children's percep-

tions of their parents are just as important social facts as the

parents' evaluations of themselves. In terms of acculturation, the

second generation considered itself to be far more integrated

culturally with Australian society than the first generation.

TABLE 81: ACCULTURATION OF THE SECOND GENERATION IN COMPARISON
WITH THAT OF THE FIRST GENERATION

Extent of acculturation	Tertiary Sample (n)			Non-Tertiary Sample (n)		
	Subject	Father	Mother*	Subject	Father	Mother*
completely	47	9	13	8	1	1
almost fully	37	22	21	9	4	3
partly	24	53	45	12	12	10
hardly at all	4	13	15	1	6	12
not at all	0	9	10	1	6	4
no answer	0	6	8	0	2	1
Totals:	112	112	112	31	31	31

*It is to be noted that, in this and subsequent tables on struc-
tural assimilation and identification, the figures for mothers
are somewhat inflated on account of the presence of Anglo-
Saxon-born mothers in the samples.

The second generation also estimated itself to be much more

structurally assimilated into Australian life, through participa-

tion in social, sporting and political organisations, than the

first generation.

TABLE 82:   STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION OF THE SECOND GENERATION IN
COMPARISON WITH THAT OF THE FIRST GENERATION

Areas of structural assimilation	Tertiary Sample (number out of 112 saying "yes")			Non-Tertiary Sample (number out of 31 saying "yes")		
	Subject	Father	Mother	Subject	Father	Mother
social groups	87	58	61	24	9	14
sporting and recreational bodies	73	21	14	22	4	3
political organisations	36	4	2	7	2	1

On the issue of preferences for marriage partners for the
subjects, the second generation itself expressed a greater preference
for the more general categories of "Australian or European" or "any
background irrespective of race, colour or religion" than did its
parents (in its view). Significantly, the second generation subjects
perceived the first generation as preferring them to marry spouses of
only Polish background or, to a lesser extent, any background provided
it was of the Catholic faith.

TABLE 83:   MARRIAGE PREFERENCES OF THE SECOND GENERATION IN
COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF THE FIRST GENERATION

Preferences for marriage partner	Tertiary Sample			Non-Tertiary Sample		
	Subject	Father	Mother	Subject	Father	Mother
own ethnic background	20.	35	37	6	14	11
other European (including Polish) background	9	8	6	1	3	3
Australian or European background	23	14	20	6	4	3
any background, provided it is Catholic	6	12	14	3	6	9
any background at all	54	29	23	13	3	4
no answer	0	14	12	2	1	1
Totals:	112	112	112	31	31	31

The second generation subjects naturally perceived their
parents as feeling more ethnic than they themselves did. The
largest number of subjects in any one category was in the "half
Australian and half ethnic" identification group (n=61, 43%),
while the largest number of parents was found in the "fully ethnic"
group (n=111, 39%). On this question of self-identification, it
is noticeable that it was a minority of the second generation in
both samples who felt mainly or completely Australian (40 or 36%
of the tertiary, and only 7 or 23% of the non-tertiary subjects).

TABLE 84: IDENTIFICATION OF THE SECOND GENERATION IN COMPARISON
WITH THAT OF THE FIRST GENERATION

Identification	Tertiary Sample			Non-Tertiary Sample		
	Subject	Father	Mother	Subject	Father	Mother
fully ethnic	6	41	35	6	16	19
mainly ethnic, but a little Australian	17	35	35	6	8	7
half ethnic-half Australian	49	19	21	12	3	2
mainly Australian, but a little ethnic	34	7	8	6	0	0
completely Australian	6	2	5	1	0	0
no answer	0	8	8	0	4	3
Totals	112	112	112	31	31	31

The pattern which emerges from an analysis of the composition
of friendship circles is a more varied one than on the other indicators
of ethnicity and assimilation. It is clear that the first generation
has very strong primary relationships with fellow Poles and, by virtue
of sampling procedure, so too does the second generation Non-Tertiary
Sample exhibit fairly strong primary ties with Poles, or other
Europeans, in preference to ones with Australians. The Tertiary

Sample, however, reveals a more diverse interaction mosaic, with the majority having ties with people of a mixture of backgrounds with either Europeans or Australians predominating. Even outside tertiary institutions, a smaller proportion of the Tertiary Sample (37%) than of the Non-Tertiary Sample (55%) has friendships which are mainly or all Polish (a considerably lesser number of the tertiary students (13%) has such primary relationships inside the various tertiary institutions). As pointed out in Chapter 9, the strength of primary ties with Polish peers outside tertiary institutions is very significant for any discussion on cultural transmission. While these figures underline the Anglo-Saxon character of Australian educational institutions, particularly tertiary ones, they also suggest that, for the thousands of second generation children who do not reach tertiary education, interaction at the friendship level remains (though somewhat less strongly than in the instance of the first generation) a highly important, intra-ethnic, phenomenon.

TABLE 85: COMPOSITION OF FRIENDSHIP CIRCLES OF THE SECOND GENERATION IN COMPARISON WITH THE FIRST GENERATION

Friendship circles	Tertiary Sample			Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Subjects within tertiary institutions	Subjects outside tertiary institutions	Parents	Subjects	Parents
almost all Polish	2	10	41	6	13
a mixture, but a predominance of Poles	13	31	40	11	13
a mixture of Europeans (with few, if any, Australians)	33	22	11	7	3
a mixture but a predominance of Australians	52	41	8	4	0
almost all Australians	12	7	0	3	0
no answer	0	1	2	0	1
Totals:	112	112	102	31	30

Not surprisingly, the second generation had stronger
organisational ties in Australian society than the first, although
in terms of membership of Polish organisations, both generations had
an approximately equal commitment (with the exception of the non-
tertiary subjects who all belonged to at least one ethnic club).

TABLE 86: NUMBER OF POLISH AND AUSTRALIAN CLUBS TO WHICH THE
FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS BELONG

Number of clubs	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Subjects	Parents	Subjects	Parents
Polish:				
0	53	52	0	15
1	39	32	22	11
2	17	8	8	2
3	1	7	1	1
4+	2	3	0	1
Totals:	112	102	31	30
Australian:				
0	61	80	17	26
1	26	15	9	3
2	15	5	3	0
3	8	1	2	1
4+	2	1	0	0
Totals:	112	102	31	30

Despite the firmer ties of the second generation in
Australian life, however, the Tertiary Sample in particular is far
less committed to living the rest of its life in this country than is
the less assimilated first generation. The youthfulness of that
sample, in combination with the restlessness engendered through
years of tertiary study and (in most cases) a lack of close personal
ties with the opposite sex, accounts for the high proportion of one
third who would not like to spend the rest of their lives in Australia
or are at least undecided on this issue. A hint of this lack of

commitment is reflected also in the responses they present for

their parents on this question. In contrast, the non-tertiary

subjects, most of whom have completed their education and are

already employed in this country's occupational structure, firmly

commit themselves, and to a lesser extent their parents, to

residence in Australia.

Preference	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Subjects	Parents	Subjects	Parents
yes	34	61	21	16
probably yes	41	37	8	9
undecided	25	7	2	2
probably no	5	5	0	1
definitely no	6	2	0	1
no answer	1	0	0	2
Totals:	112	112	31	31

TABLE 87: PREFERENCE OF THE FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS FOR SPENDING THE REST OF THEIR LIVES IN AUSTRALIA

From the "Australian view", therefore, the second generation

in becoming "more Australian" and "less ethnic" in the process of

its dual socialisation has made its breakthrough. The second

generation breakthrough is particularly evident, of course, in

the instance of the tertiary students. All subjects, having passed

through the Australian education system for most, of not all, of

their education, are able to speak the English language as fluently

as most Anglo-Australians. Eighty four percent of the tertiary

respondents and 81% of the tertiary non-respondents, in fact, studied

English as a formal subject at matriculation level[4] (see Chapter 8, Table 39).

The Polish tertiary respondents, and particularly the non-respondents, showed a bias towards the sciences at the matriculation level. In each group, for instance, science units accounted for four of the first five most frequently studied subjects (Table 88).

TABLE 88: NUMBERS OF THE TERTIARY RESPONDENTS AND NON-RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE TAKEN PARTICULAR SUBJECTS AT THE MATRICULATION LEVEL

Matriculation subjects	Respondents taking the subject (n=117)		Non-Respondents taking the subject (n=41)	
	n	%	n	%
1. English	98	84	33	81
2. Maths I	75	64	31	76
3. Maths II	71	61	28	68
4. Chemistry	71	61	32	78
5. Physics	67	57	32	78
6. Modern History	40	34	16	39
7. Biology	38	32	9	22
8. French	29	25	3	7
9. Geography	28	24	11	27
10. Ancient History	19	16	5	12
11. Latin	17	15	4	10
12. Economics	16	14	5	12
13. Maths IS	14	12	7	17
14. Classical Studies	9	8	2	5
15. German	5	4	1	2
16. Music	5	4	0	-
17. Geology	3	3	1	2
18. Physiology	1	1	0	-
19. Italian	0	-	1	2

It should be recognised, however, that in the education system of the day, maintaining study of maths, physics and chemistry as well as one or two arts subjects was the most effective way of keeping one's

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[4]"Matriculation" in South Australia before 1967 was in the fourth year of secondary school; from 1967, it was in the fifth year of secondary school.

educational options open. Of the 32 university respondents taking
arts degrees, for example, only one did not take a science unit
in the matriculation year, 9 studied one science unit, 6 studied two,
8 studied three and 8 studied four science units, making a total of
77 science subjects studied by the university arts respondents at
matriculation level.[5]

The scientific bias was also just evident in the students'
choices of course in their tertiary education. Table 26 (in Chapter 6)
revealed that of the 133 Polish students at Adelaide University, for
example, 42 opted for science, 2 for agricultural science and 12 for
engineering courses, while another 14 entered medicine and dentistry
for which a scientific orientation is required.

By the end of the 1974 academic year, 74 of the tertiary
respondents and non-respondents has completed their undergraduate
degrees (47% of the total 158 Polish subjects),[6] and 25 of these had
also completed or were completing postgraduate degrees and diplomas.
Another 55 students (35%) were still continuing their first degrees
(Table 89).

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[5] These included 16 Maths 1, 15 Maths II, 10 Physics, 11 Chemistry,
18 Biology, 6 Maths IS and 1 Geology.

[6] Eighteen of these students had undertaken Honours degrees in
which the following results had been attained: 5 first class,
8 second (A) class, 4 second (B) class and 1 third class.

TABLE 89: EDUCATIONAL RECORDS OF TERTIARY RESPONDENTS AND
NON-RESPONDENTS

Educational Record	Categories included in above totals	Total numbers of students
1. Undergraduate degrees completed		72
2. Honours degree completed	18	
3. 2 undergraduate degrees completed		1
4. 1 undergraduate degree completed, second one continuing		1
5. Undergraduate degree continuing		55
6. Postgraduate degree completed	3	
7. Postgraduate degree continuing	8	
8. Postgraduate diplomas completed	10	
9. Postgraduate diplomas continuing	4	
10. Other awards completed or continuing (at Institute of Technology or Colleges)		13
11. Degree left unfinished (student not precluded from course)		8
12. Degree unfinished (student precluded from course)		8
Total:		158

In the educational sense, the majority of the tertiary respondents
and non-respondents have "succeeded". They are a part of that minority
who reach tertiary education, though the author's impression, after
detailed study of their educational records, is that the tertiary
education path for many of the students has not been a smooth, uninter-
rupted one. In the absence of equivalent figures for other ethnic
groups and for Anglo-Australians, no definitive statement can be made
beyond the fact that the educational route that many of these second
generation Poles have taken through their tertiary education has been
erratic.[7] This is particularly evident in the process of transition
from school to tertiary education. Many who achieved excellent results

[7] To a certain extent, this is evidenced by the mean number of years of
attendance of respondents being 3.7 (see Chapter 6).

at the secondary level failed subjects at first year tertiary level.[8]
There were some students who struggled on in the same course, while
others changed courses.[9] Several students after failures became
part-time candidates, working during the day and undertaking one or
two subjects at night. Others again gave up their study altogether,
either voluntarily for some reason, or because the tertiary institution
precluded them from the particular course in which they had been
studying (see Table 89).

The distribution of the students' education scores at the
secondary and tertiary levels shows that at least the 58 students
whose tertiary scores were below 40 were experiencing a certain
degree of difficulty in their studies. At the other end of the
scale, there was also a small number of students (12 with scores
70 or more) who were achieving very high results in their tertiary
studies (see Table 90).

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[8]As examples of this difficulty in transition, the following are
education scores at the secondary and tertiary levels respectively
(see Appendix E3) obtained by some Polish tertiary students -
82:25, 85:45, 82:39, 78:26, 78:36, 78:36, 76:14, 70:27, 68:17, 68:30,
65:34, 64:29, 62:24, 63:23, 61:36, 62:35, 60:30 and 60:36. It is
interesting to record that there were also two notable cases where
the student achieved a far lower score for secondary than for tertiary
education - 33:70 and 56:88. For a comprehensive South Australian study
on the transition from school to university, see Sister Campion Jordon,
Success and Failure of First Year University Students, with special
reference to the school attended (Adelaide, South Australian Institute
of Teachers, 1966).

[9]There were 18 respondents who had been at university from 6 to 8 years.
Excluding 3 undertaking second degree work and 2 in medicine, all 5
of whom were in their sixth year of tertiary study, the other students
were in the faculties of architecture (1), science (3), medicine (2)
and engineering (7, two of whom subsequently changed to science).
This determination to complete professional courses despite failure
may be attributed to high parental expectations and student aspirations
when the latter are not really interested in such careers. For details
on changes of courses, see Chapter 6, p. 256.

TABLE 90: DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATION SCORES FOR THE TERTIARY RESPONDENTS AND NON-RESPONDENTS

Range of education scores	Tertiary Respondents		Non-respondents	
	Secondary education	Tertiary education	Secondary education	Tertiary education
0-9	0	4	0	1
10-19	0	3	0	4
20-29	1	12	0	6
30-39	4	16	1	12
40-49	15	22	2	8
50-59	43	34	15	8
60-69	23	5	13	1
70-79	10	6	5	1
80-89	7	3	4	0
90-99	1	2	1	0
Not known	13	10	0	0
Total:	117	117	41	41

Calculation of mean scores on education for a number of subgroups in the Tertiary Sample provides an indication of the type of student who was likely to be experiencing more difficulty than others (see Table 91). Those Polish students whose fathers were tertiary educated themselves or were in non-manual occupations before migration and in Australia by the 1970's had generally experienced more educational success, particularly at the secondary level, than those from other paternal backgrounds. Moreover, those of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage had achieved significantly higher results at school than those of Polish-Other European parentage, who in turn had been more successful than those of homogeneous parentage. Once at the tertiary level, however, all three types of student were achieving similar results. Interestingly, it also seems that the 1b generation Poles who had had all of their schooling in Australia were gaining higher educational results than their second generation counterparts. Those who had arrived between the ages of 8 and 12 years recorded the lowest mean educational scores, though there were only 6 such students.

TABLE 91: MEAN EDUCATION SCORES FOR THE TERTIARY SAMPLE ON SIX SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

Sample Characteristic	n	Secondary education mean score	n	Tertiary education mean score
Birthplace of subject:				
"Young arrivals" (6 years or younger)	15	61	16	51
Anglo-Saxon-born	78	57	80	44
"Older arrivals" (8-12 years)	6	51	6	38
Parentage:				
Polish-Anglo-Saxon	8	68*	8	44
Polish-Other European	29	60*	30	44
Polish-Polish	62	55*	64	46
Occupation of father before arrival:				
Non-manual	27	61	28	48
Skilled manual	29	57	30	45
Semi and unskilled manual	20	53	20	40
Other	23	58	24	46
Occupation of father now:				
Non-manual	22	65*	24	49
Skilled manual	29	55*	29	44
Semi and unskilled manual	44	54	45	43
Other	4	55	4	50
Father's Education:				
University	16	66	18	46
Other tertiary	11	59	11	51
Senior secondary	12	56	12	49
Junior secondary	26	54	25	43
Primary only	34	55	36	43
Attendance at Polish School:				
No	39	62*	39	46
Yes	60	54*	63	44
Total:	99**	57	102**	45

*Differences between means significant at the 5% level.

**Secondary education scores were unknown for 13 students and tertiary education scores for 10 students.

Again, those students who had not attended Polish School registered a significantly higher mean score for their secondary education than those who had attended such an institution. Considering the comments in interviews of many students concerning the conflict over time of attendance at Polish as well as Australian school, perhaps this

difference in mean score has some meaning, for at the tertiary level,

by which stage these students have generally left Polish School,

there was no difference in their mean education scores. There were

no differences in mean education scores by sex, age of parents on

arrival, type of school attended, membership of the Polish Club,

or assimilation and ethnicity ratings.

Occupationally, the majority of the Tertiary Sample aspires

to professional careers. The distribution of their occupational aims

is given in Table 92.

The majority of subjects aspire to occupations

which, in the classification scheme outlined in Appendix E2, are

rated in Group I (84, 75%) or Group II (9, 8%). The remaining

students (19, 17%) were undecided at the time of completion of the

questionnaire. Cross-tabulation of occupational aim by tertiary

course being undertaken confirms that aim is correlated with course

in the instance of the professional faculties and that it is the arts,

science and economics students who are, not unexpectedly, the most

spread across these occupational careers. The science, and

particularly the arts, students also form the majority of the

"undecided" and "no answer" categories.

The most significant occupational category was the teaching

one -- as many as 25 aspired to schoolteaching and 5 to tertiary

teaching careers (n=30, 27%). Among this number of students were

included 19 studying arts, 6 science, 4 music and 1 economics. In

proportion to their number in the Tertiary Sample, females were over-

represented among those aspiring to the teaching profession (42% of

females and only 16% of males). Those intending to become teachers

were mostly in the "medium" range of scores on the assimilation scale,

TABLE 92:   OCCUPATIONAL AIMS OF THE TERTIARY SAMPLE

Occupational aims	Number of students	
Upper professional (Group I, 1)		
architects	2	
clergymen	2	
dentists	2	
economist	1	
engineers	12	
lawyers	4	
medical practitioners	7	
scientists (including research)	10	
tertiary teachers	5	
sub-total		45
Lower professional (Group I, 3)		
schoolteachers	25	
technicians	2	
welfare and social workers	4	
other professional workers	4	
sub-total		35
Professional (unspecified)		4
Managerial (Group II, 4)		
public service directors	2	
managers in business	6	
sub-total		8
Farmer (Group II, 6)		1
Undecided		
undecided, though taking a professional course (teaching 3, engineering 1, social work 1)	5	
undecided, but suggests a career in psychology	3	
job with plenty of money, or self-employment	3	
undecided, uncertain (no suggestions)	5	
sub-total		16
No answer		3
Total:		112

but they were evenly spread over the ethnicity scale. They
included a higher proportion of those of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parents
(5; 56%) than of Polish-Polish (19; 27%) or Polish-other European
(6; 18%) parents.

Of the potential schoolteachers, 15 had fathers who had had
only an incomplete secondary education or less, 4 had fathers with
a completed secondary education and the other 6 had fathers with
post-secondary (but non-university) education. Only one of these
last 6 fathers, however, had been teachers' college trained, the
rest having attended agricultural colleges or sub-polytechnic
institutions. Thus for these children from relatively low socio-
economic and poorly educated backgrounds, schoolteaching appeared
the easiest avenue for social and occupational mobility.[10]

The 5 aspiring tertiary teachers were from a slightly better
educated home background. Two fathers were tertiary educated and 2
had completed secondary education, with only one not having progressed
above an incomplete secondary education.

Other avenues for children from the lesser educated families
were managerial positions (of the 8 students aspiring to such public
service or business careers, 7 had fathers with only a primary
education and 1 had a father who had had an incomplete secondary
education); engineering, (of the 12 students aspiring to this

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[10]The same phenomenon is in evidence in the case of rural and
working class children. R. McL. Harris, J.S. Rooth and J.J. Smolicz,
Isolation and Education: Educational Aspirations and Achievements
in Rural Australia (Adelaide, South Australian Education Department
Research Publication, 1973), pp. 36-39; A. Morrison and D. McIntyre,
Teachers and Teaching (Ringwood, 1973), pp. 43-44.

profession, 10 had fathers who had not been educated above an incomplete secondary level, and the other 2 had completed their secondary education); and welfare and social work (of the 4 students in this group, 3 had fathers with incomplete secondary education or less).[11] Students from the less well-educated family backgrounds also formed the majority of those who were undecided or uncertain about their occupational future.

In contrast, however, 5 of the seven medical students, both of the dental students and 3 of the four law students, all came from families where the father had had a tertiary education, most often at a university (in fact, 8 of the 13 mothers also had a complete secondary or higher education). As is the case with Australian students in general, those who enter these established professions at university level tend themselves to be the children of university-educated, professional fathers.[12]

The Tertiary Sample will therefore occupy important occupational positions in Australian society, positions which the vast majority of the parents could not attain. This is in line with one of the main reasons for the first generation's arrival in Australia (42 students claimed that "educational and occupational opportunities for children" was a reason why their parents chose Australia). It is

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[11] Compare with the main avenues for occupational mobility for the 88 working class children in the study by Jackson and Marsden: teaching (46), research work for industry (11), industrial management (7) and the civil service (7). Education and the Working Class (Ringwood, 1966), p. 175.

[12] D.S. Anderson and J.S. Western, "Professional Socialisation" in F.J. Hunt (Ed.), Socialisation In Australia (Sydney, 1972), pp. 288-306.

also in agreement with the very strong motivation which they passed

on to their children to "succeed" in education (82 students

attributed their parents' attachment to education to the realisation

on the part of the first generation that, through this medium, their

children could achieve socio-economic positions to which they them-

selves could no longer aspire).

In this respect, it is of interest that other studies have

revealed the quite high educational attainments of children of the

Eastern European immigrant groups who arrived in the years 1948-1951

as political refugees. In a 1965 study at Melbourne University, for

example, of first year arts, law and science enrolments, it was

found that just over one tenth of the sample were children of

European-born migrants, a proportion approximating that of

European-born in the total population of Melbourne; further analysis,

however showed that over one half were the children of Eastern

Europeans.[13] In Taft, Strong and Fensham's research, of all the

student groups examined in Victorian schools, the children of

Polish-born parents had the highest proportion aspiring to

attend university the next year, and they also had the highest

percentages clearly passing matriculation, actually attending

university, and thereby achieving their plans.[14] In comparison

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[13] J. Jupp, Arrivals and Departures (Melbourne, 1966), pp. 52-3.

[14] The figures for children of Polish parents, compared with those
for children of Australian parents, in these four areas were:
(i) 37%; 23% (ii) 84%; 61% (iii) 71%; 41% (iv) 84%; 64%. These
figures, however, must be viewed in the light of the high
proportion of Jewish parents in the Polish sub-sample. R. Taft,
P. Strong and P.J. Fensham, "National Background and Choice of
Tertiary Education in Victoria", International Migration, Vol. 9
(1971), pp. 36-54.

with other ethnic groups, these children of Polish-born parents revealed very high upward educational mobility.

The explanation for this above average educational drive lies in the traditional Central European respect for learning, and in the willingness of a great many of the parental generation to help their children in every way they could and to encourage them in their academic pursuits. There is a high proportion of parents from rural backgrounds, and one may assume that the children's drive is above average for the simple reason that they wish to escape the position of their parents who, upon migration, are nearly all in urban, working class jobs.[15] However, there is also a group of parents who had held non-manual occupations in Poland before the war and who had been relatively well-educated. Upon migration many of these former non-manual workers were unable to regain an equivalent status, and yet they could pass on their educational values and high achievement motivation to their children. They had undergone déclassement, and in this sense, could be termed the "sunken" or "submerged middle class".

This concept of the "sunken middle class" was employed by Jackson and Marsden in their analysis of reasons for the educational

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[15]E. Weisz observed that the majority of Hungarians at tertiary institutions in South Australia did not come from families where parental educational standards were high. It appeared to her that the drive towards further study of students from the more highly educated families often had a detracting effect. She was not able, however, to follow up this impression. "Education and Assimilation Problems of Hungarians in Metropolitan Adelaide", Honours thesis, The University of Adelaide (1970).

motivation and attainment of "successful working class" children in England.[16] The authors found that families who had

> come down in the world or failed in business seemed more ready to re-invest their energies in the education of their children than in building up a new concern.[17]

In this study, the term "submerged middle class" can be used to describe those families in which at least one parent had not been able to regain former status in a non-manual occupation (where in doubt, education was also taken into consideration). It represents therefore a different method of analysing the parental samples from that employed in Chapter 6 in analysis of occupational mobility (upward, downward and horizontal) of the first generation. There were found to be 18 subjects in the Tertiary Sample, and 5 in the Non-Tertiary Sample (2 of whom had sisters included in the 18 in the Tertiary Sample), who came from "submerged middle class" families. The full breakdown was as follows:

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[16] The term was applied to "new or temporary accretions to the working class", families who had formerly owned small business, or had at least one middle class grandparent, or had middle class aunts and uncles. Op. cit., pp. 67-70.

[17] Ibid., p. 69.

TABLE 93: CATEGORIES OF "SUBMERGED MIDDLE CLASS" SUBJECTS IN BOTH SAMPLES

"Submerged middle class" category	Tertiary Sample	Non-Tertiary Sample
1. Fathers in non-manual occupations before migration but now in manual jobs	15	4
2. Father coded as "no answer" for occupation before migration but who has 15 years of education at a polytechnic and now has a manual job	1	-
3. Mothers in non-manual occupations before migration but now in manual jobs (also both husbands had post-secondary education)	2*	-
4. Father was coded as "university student" before migration, now in manual job	-	1
Total:	18	5

*There were 2 other cases in this group, but these were already included in category 1.

The tertiary students who came from "submerged middle class" families were all university and not college or institute students. There was an even distribution across metropolitan state and Catholic schools, although the students from submerged middle class backgrounds were more likely to have attended Polish School (72%) than the others (61%). Their parents were much more likely to be over 30 years of age (61%) than other students' parents (26%). As far as their education was concerned, more of them considered that they had been motivated "very much" or "a fair bit" by their parents than did other students, and they were more satisfied than were others with both their school and tertiary education. (Their mean scores on education at the secondary and tertiary levels, however, did not differ significantly from those of other students). They also tended to have higher aspirations towards upper and lower professional occupations than did the others. At the university, 8 were studying arts (total arts sample = 32), 4 science (25), 2 medicine (7), and

1 each in the faculties of economics (6), law (4), music (4) and engineering (11). Thus the students from submerged middle class backgrounds tended to enter less into the sciences than into the professional faculties of medicine and law, and into arts and economics (though this conclusion is tentative, based as it is on such small numbers). They scored more highly on the ethnicity dimension (52) than did the other students (46), but no differently on the assimilation index (both 54). Altogether, among these 23 subjects from submerged middle class families were 6 (out of a total number of 15) High Ethnics and 4 (out of 9) Polish-Australians, while from a total pool of 36 Anglo-Assimilates, there were only 4 who came from this type of background.

Consequences of Second Generation Adaptation - The Losses

Thus far, gains both to the individual himself and to Australian society have been detailed in respect to the linguistic, educational and occupational breakthrough of the second generation. Yet in the "ethnic view", and in the opinion of an increasing number of Anglo-Australians, there have also been losses in the dual socialisation of the second generation, losses which centre around the breakdown in the transmission of cultural heritage and tradition. What is tradition? Szacki[18] defines it as that part of heritage about which the current generation is not indifferent; that is, it is that

[18] J. Szacki, "Three Concepts of Tradition", The Polish Sociological Bulletin, No. 2 (1969), pp. 17-31. See also J.J. Smolicz, "The Concept of Tradition: A Humanistic Interpretation", Australian and New Zealand Journal of Sociology, Vol. 10, No. 2 (1974), pp. 75-83.

part of heritage which is evaluated either positively or negatively by the next generation. Thus tradition has a highly malleable character, for each generation can select a certain aspect of heritage, and evaluate, reform and modify it to its current needs. When viewed in this light, a tradition must be continually reshaped and revalued to meet the changing situation of the group, if it is to survive as tradition.

In terms of that "uncommunicable essence of ethnic solidarity", that "silent but shared understanding"[19] which may be termed "Polishness", there is no doubting the fact that many of the second generation do feel Polish (only 7 identify themselves as "completely Australian"), and are able to translate that feeling into more meaningful and concrete realisations.[20] There is also present in most of the subjects a positive evaluation of this overall "Polishness", even in the instance of the Anglo-Assimilates who demonstrate only vestigial traces of ethnicity (mean score of 29). In answer to the query, "What does being Polish mean to you?", two such students (who were also of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage) replied:[21]

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[19]See Chapter 1, p. 26.

[20]It may be that this declaration of Polish feeling is an example of the "device of stretching" which is a conscious means of denying changes brought by education, of reaffirming the solidities of family life. Jackson and Marsden employ this concept in explaining why one third of their sample of "successful" working class children still graded themselves as "working class". Said one schoolteacher, "We are working class, you've got to be what your parents are - we can't change". Op. cit., pp. 190-193.

[21]All of the following quotations come from interviews with forty five tertiary students (see Chapter 6, pp. 231-232).

> More interest in a different background than children
> with both parents Australian. Your father being Polish
> gives you an interest in Polish people and their heritage,
> and in Polish history and culture ... A feeling of being
> different from the ordinary person somehow or other.

> Very little apart from taking more than average interest
> in Poland and the general life of the Polish people.

An Alienate expressed the essence of Polishness in this way:

> Being Polish means being able to feel what Polish people
> in Australia feel, and knowing what they mean when they
> are talking. (This subject knows little Polish culture,
> mixes very infrequently with Polish people and feels
> very little for Poland as a nation.)

For some subjects, Polishness was a cultural entity:

> Polishness means being able to speak the language and
> following their [the Poles'] type of customs and traditions,

while for others, it was predominantly a structural matter:

> I definitely have Polish feeling within me. It manifests
> itself in social activities.

In other instances, value judgements crept into responses revealing

a somewhat resigned and accepting attitude to their ethnicity.

> Polishness is something which makes me appreciate other
> people's cultures, other people's things, and has
> enriched my life so much. It has made me tolerant of
> other people ... You can't divorce yourself from it;
> you mention Polishness ... well, its just me. It seems
> incredible in the context, but here I am now, in Australia,
> at an Australian university, and there's no reason why I
> should feel like this at all - it should be so minimal,
> virtually just scraping the top of my existence, being
> just a superficial thing ... I couldn't see myself being
> in any other situation. I don't want to be any different
> - you have to accept your life as it really is.

> It's the way I've been brought up, I speak the language,
> I know I'm Polish and don't feel much Australian. I'm
> not all that proud of it, I don't go round boasting about
> it, nor am I ashamed of it ... I'm Polish, that's all.

Perhaps one of the most penetrating analyses was put by a subject

born in Poland (1b generation), demonstrating the basic truth in

the claim that full appreciation and understanding of one's own

culture can only really eventuate through immersion in another:

> Being Polish means thinking in terms only a Pole can think
> in. To feel Polish, you have to be able to live for things,
> caring about everything that's Polish and trying to help
> others who are Polish ... It's a sort of tie between me and
> my country - it's always there and you can't break it in any
> way. Being Polish is having certain songs that can make you
> cry, but I suppose that's being sentimental. You've got to
> observe Polish customs and traditions: you wouldn't be
> Polish if you didn't observe them. Also speaking in Polish
> is a part of being Polish of course ... There is a difference
> between a Pole out from Poland and one brought up in Australia,
> a way of thinking.

There were other subjects, however, who felt considerably
less Polish than those quoted above. For a few, the drawing away
from Polishness came around 16-17 years of age. For many others,
it happened at an early age and, particularly in the linguistic
sense, was often either consciously or subconsciously accelerated
by parents themselves.

> Father [married to an Australian-born wife] put a fair
> bit of effort into bringing up his children as
> Australians as far as language, customs, etc. went.
> He found it very difficult to fit into a country
> community in South Australia; people there did not
> help him. Therefore he wanted his children to be
> spared that.

> My parents talked only in Polish before I started
> school. Then they thought that Polish would hinder
> me at school. They encouraged me to talk English at
> times, especially to my younger brother so that he
> would have it easier when he went to school and also
> to help myself to speak the language ... To me, Dad
> began talking more in English than in Polish from
> grade 1 onwards - I thought his English was terrible
> but I did not tell him that.

This latter case is an example of what has been termed the
"language exclusion theory", the belief that one language (Polish)
will hinder the development of another (English). Two more examples
serve to illustrate this phenomenon, and to underline the drive on
the part of the parents to assist their children to "succeed" in the
education system. One girl could speak only Polish before she went
to school, and she had so much trouble at the time of starting school

that her parents decided that it was better for English to be spoken in the home. Consciously, "for the child's good", they switched to English at home:

> They say they would still do the same now. There are different kinds of children - some are handicapped by a second language - and my parents did not want to take any chances.

The other subject also spoke only Polish until she started school. When she was aged eleven years,

> my parents were worried about my progress in English - they wanted me to assimilate. Then they realised that I was good enough in English anyway and that my spoken Polish was slipping, so they decided to send me to a Saturday School.

If there is one moment in the socialisation of the second generation individual when the possibility of culture conflict is most imminent, it is surely at the time of starting Australian school. For many subjects in this study, the day of starting Australian school brought considerable cultural conflict. Some emphasised the lack of knowledge of the English language, others the torment of a surname unpronouncable for Anglo-Australian teachers and pupils, and yet others the general alienation experienced in the event.

> When I was $5\frac{1}{2}$, I went to an Australian school. I knew no English whatsoever. I learned all my English at school. I only remember that they laughed that I was called _____ [Polish surname], not only children but also teachers. I had a lot of fights because of it. I answered the teachers back ..., my father taught me what to say.
>
> The first few days were very difficult. Not a simple word in English did I know. Couldn't understand the teacher nor the pupils in the playground. I was alone.
>
> Only Polish until five. At school I wasn't unhappy, but I was very shy.

I knew only a few words of English picked up from my older sister when I was sent to school. I sat next to an Australian girl and simply spoke Polish to her, she spoke English to me and I picked it up from her. So it took me a few months to learn English ... The fact that my name was not English and pronounced in an unexpected manner singled me out in some way.

Only Polish spoken until 5. The first few weeks at school I did not understand a single word. I was very unhappy. I took the longest time possible to eat my lunch so as not to go out to the yard. I didn't know the children. I only knew two Polish girls. We would sit together for lunch but not in class. I felt very alienated at school.

Despite these initial traumatic experiences of many of the second generation, however, the subjects in this study were able to adapt themselves in various ways to their two environments depending on their own character, as well as on the number and quality of socialising agents available to each individual. The outcomes of this dual socialisation have been analysed in previous chapters, and here it is of interest to examine the influences which bear upon the individual's socialisation. When and why did pride in their ethnic heritage ebb and flow?

The most important influence was the home. The majority of those subjects who scored "high" on ethnicity came from homes where the parents felt "fully Polish" (or at least, the subjects assessed their parents in this way).

TABLE 94: IDENTIFICATION OF THE PARENTS OF SUBJECTS WHO SCORED "HIGH" ON ETHNICITY

Identification of parents	Parents of subjects in both samples who scored "high" on ethnicity			
	Tertiary Sample		Non-Tertiary Sample	
	Father (n)	Mother (n)	Father (n)	Mother (n)
Fully Polish	21	20	5	7
Mainly Polish	8	8	3	2
Half Polish-half Australian	2	3	2	1
Mainly Australian	0	0	0	0
Completely Australian	0	0	0	0
Total	31	31	10	10

A great many of the subjects interviewed spoke only Polish at home and in their neighbourhood up to the time when they began Australian school. Sometimes it was the father who was singled out as the main agent of cultural transmission, less often the mother, and mostly it was simply left as both parents.

> I still read a great deal in Polish - it was my father's influence, he made me; at first I cried, but I now read one magazine per week or more ... I am very thankful now that father encouraged me to speak Polish, and study history and mathematics.

> My father was the main stimulator of things, but it was mother's part to see that we actually did them. Father would direct, mother would overseer (father was away from home a lot because of his work).

> When I was young, I was very interested in Polish stories that my father read to me.

There were other students, however, who minimised their parents' influence on the development and maintenance of their ethnicity. Several, for instance, attributed the strengthening of their Polishness merely to the natural process of growing up.

> I would say that my parents had little to do with it. Later, when I was around 17, I started to go to dances, Polish dances, and they were great fun, meeting people. And that was it.

This same student elaborated further:

> I started feeling more Polish ever since I started being aware of life more, and what its all about, knowing that life can be very rich ... I didn't really reflect on life much at all, or on feeling Polish, while I was in the country. Then, when I came to Adelaide, ... I went to a high school which had a lot of ethnic groups there, and this actually brought out my own ethnicity, my own Polish background.

Another subject claimed that, from about grade six to third year high school, she did not take any interest in her ethnic background - "It's almost a hinderance to you at that stage." She later became interested as she started being proud of that something she possessed which was different.

It is a part of growing up, a realisation that the peer
group doesn't always have to be the same.

A third person expressed it this way:

I feel more Polish now than I used to. I tend to mix
more with Polish people and go to Polish functions.
Before, I just didn't go anywhere.

Another group of subjects implied that the most significant

socialising agent for them was neighbourhood friends. One student

said that he made friends at school with Australians, but would not

see them over weekends. For him, Polish neighbourhood friends were

far more important. Another mixed with Polish children in the

country until the age of 14 years, their parents being friends of

his parents. (Since then, however, his friends at upper secondary

school and then in the city have been almost all Australian or

English.) A third student was in an almost totally Polish environ-

ment in Tasmania where she spoke Polish every day and had Polish

neighbours. After moving to South Australia in the early 1960's,

she settled in an Australian neighbourhood, and gradually her

command of the Polish language slipped - "It has decayed a fair bit",

she admitted at the interview.

Two other subjects also stressed the significance of a

Polish neighbourhood:

If asked who I am, I would answer Polish. It is the way
I was brought up, in a Polish environment, and with all
the activities and events of a Polish nature in which I
took part - and then having all the Polish neighbours
and friends.

My school friends were mostly Australians, but that was
a school-bound situation. At weekends, I would go out
with Polish kids.

Apart from the informal ties of neighbours and friends,

another influence which appeared just as powerful, at least for

those who attended for a considerable period of time, were the
various Polish youth organisations. Among such organisations, the
Polish Scouts and the Tatry Polish Dancing Group stood out as
important socialising agents in the lives of many of those who were
interviewed. One student, for example, considered that, up to the
age of 10 years, she was very "Australian". At that age, she joined
the Polish Scouts and the dancing group and "became a little more
Polish":

> We haven't really had anything much Polish from home;
> we didn't have relics, statues, calendars, tapestries ...
> There was no discussion of the Polish scene at home.
> Scouts were better - we were doing things, like camping,
> hiking, meeting kids.

This was an interesting case in that the parents were very busy in
their occupations and in Polish organisational life, and thus
pressured their children to go to Polish functions, join Polish
organisations and attend Saturday School (each child also attended
a Catholic College). It was a classic example of educated parents,
preoccupied economically, relying on other agents of cultural
transmission to impart and maintain Polish ethnicity.

Another female joined the Polish Scouts at the age of 13
years. She claimed that they

> inspired me more than Polish school - we went camping - it
> involved much less formal teaching. There we read in
> Polish inadvertantly - read maps and how to make knots.
> It was much more applicable to what we thought was most
> important as children. I remained in the Scouts until
> I was 21, third year university. I ended by looking
> after little scouts, arranging games for them and speaking
> Polish to them ... Polish really became important when I
> joined the Scouts. At Scout meetings, I talked Polish to
> all seniors, and when I became a senior myself I talked
> Polish even to my peer groups to set an example to the
> young. We were proud to talk Polish.

Another student explained why the Polish Scouts were an important

socialising agent:

> I attended Scouts for about 7 or 8 years. Going interstate
> and to camps on Hindmarsh Island was very good. It brought
> us into contact with other Polish children who were involved
> in similar activities, doing things ourselves without
> parental supervision. We learned most of the Polish songs
> that way. There was a lot of Polish feeling on these
> trips - that partly was what made it.

The Polish organisations were not places where only secondary

relationships existed. They fulfilled the significant role of an

ethnic magnet, drawing children of similar background and interests

into friendship circles where firm primary relationships could

develop. One student expressed it this way:

> I like dancing, but if a lot of close friends who are in
> the Tatry group left, I would also leave. So this is
> more social - everybody likes dancing, but social things
> matter.

Similarly, another Tatry dancer spoke of the group as "really a

very large family" which had given her security and taught her more

of a heritage of which she was proud:

> Our parents started a children's dancing group as well
> as an older group. We have grown up, but have continued
> to dance. I am Australian and love my country. I am
> also very proud of my Polish heritage. I have a
> wonderful friendship with my dancing friends.[22]

Another female subject stressed the cultural, as well as the social,

significance of the Tatry Dancing Group:

> ... I went to the dancing group on and off from 9 to now.
> It was the only activity I had - I had no other sport - I
> enjoyed it for the exercise, and also dancing appealed to
> me. There was Polish music, and other children of Polish
> origin, and any directions that were given in Polish you
> could understand; it was another aspect of Polish culture.

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[22] The Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners' Advocate, 19 August, 1971.
This dancer hoped that she would be able to give her children the
same opportunities and cultural stimulus that folkdancing had given
her.

This same student went on to depict the dichotomy between activities during the weekdays and those of the weekend:

> In upper primary, the girls would go to the pictures on a
> Saturday afternoon. We were not allowed to go. On Sunday
> too it was a family day and I went to the dancing group
> Tatry - it was a small group then - I was about 9 or 10.
> So the other girls thought I was somewhat restricted. I
> had other sorts of activities: the Polish scouts and
> Saturday School and the dancing group were considered to
> be my activities for the weekend. The rest was spent
> with the family.

The Adelaide University Polish Club was another focal point for social and cultural activity. Since its foundation in 1971, all of its Presidents have been students who, with the exception of the most recent one, scored very highly (above 70) on the ethnicity index. Two other executive members (a secretary and a treasurer) who were respondents in the Tertiary Sample also scored above 70 for ethnicity. These seven individuals were classified as 5 High Ethnics and 2 Polish-Australians. In contrast, the 1976 President scored in the low 40's for ethnicity. This interesting development has significant implications for the future role of the club as a cultural focal point. At this point of time, it does appear that the club must have highly ethnic leaders if it is to continue its cultural function, or else it will become merely a social body like The White and Red Circle. It may have implications even for the club's very existence, for the highly social, at the expense of cultural, activity of the Circle was one of the reasons for the foundation of the Adelaide University Polish Club

Poster advertising the first Adelaide University
Polish Club Ball: 27 August, 1971.

The club, formed in 1971, has been a focal point
for the social and cultural activities of Polish
tertiary education students in Adelaide.

The role of the Adelaide University Polish Club in the initiating of

new, and maintaining of current, primary relationships with fellow

Polish students was analysed in Chapter 9. Similarly, the role of

the Polish Saturday School in the transmission of culture and in

the widening and consolidating of the friendship circles of those

who attended was also mentioned in Chapter 9.[23]

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[23]See also Appendix F4, "I have finished Polish high school:
what for?", and the conclusions drawn by Lewicki on the 1967
survey of Adelaide Saturday School children, Appendix F3.

There were other influences upon the ethnicity of the second

generation. One male student, for example, mentioned the value of

his contact with a penfriend in Poland with whom he had been

corresponding for five years at the time of the interview. Letters

from Poland, either from penfriends or relatives, maintained up-to-

date news from the parents' homeland as well as providing an outlet

for practice in writing in the Polish language. Another influence

was the presence of one or both grandparents living at home in the

extended family situation, though there were not many instances of

this. More common was the situation where aunts and uncles lived

in South Australia, and again, close family ties and the opportunities

afforded by this interaction for frequent use of the Polish language

could be expected to have had an effect on the strength of ethnicity

of the second generation.

"Akademias"[24] also reinforced the significance of particular

days in the Polish calendar and provided outlets for young Poles to

read, recite or sing in the Polish language. An "akademia" held at

Ottoway for Mothers' Day in May 1968 was the occasion for an

article in Poradnik Nauczycielski by a Mr. Ostrowski of Melbourne

who considered that such events helped "to bind the children to

their parents in Polishness". He called for community support for

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[24]An "akademia" may be described as a formal cultural gathering
organised to commemorate some specific Polish anniversary, such
as that on the 3 May in honour of the democratic constitution of
1791, or 11 November for the prewar Polish Independence Day.
During such meetings, formal speeches are made and patriotic
songs sung. There may also be national dancing, some pieces by
Chopin played, and verses from well known poems of national
poets recited by children.

these "akademias" from both parents and children, "so that
[the children's] Polishness will not finish with Saturday School
but will last throughout their lives."[25]

A further important influence upon ethnicity came from
visiting the parents' country of origin. A few students had
already visited Poland at the time of interview,[26] but more commonly,
they journeyed overseas upon completion of their tertiary awards.
In many instances, this overseas trip was made possible, particularly
for those students who had been studying on a fulltime basis, through
the financial assistance of parents who desperately wanted their
children to visit the country in which they themselves had been
raised and in which the family, had it not been for the war and
subsequent inclusion of Poland in the "Eastern bloc", would probably
have still resided. Seventy six per cent of the Tertiary Sample
and 81% of the Non-Tertiary Sample expressed a desire to visit Poland.
Exactly how many have done so since the interviews is difficult to
assess, though news, which filters back to the author through his
regular contact with the Polish community, suggests that the number
is approximately 7 to mid-1976. The effect that such a visit has
on a subject's ethnicity is largely a matter for conjecture, although
one ex-student analysed it in this way:[27]

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[25] No. 16 (October 1968), p. 13. The Editor (J. Goebel) doubted,
however, whether such celebrations occurred very often around
Australia among the Polish communities.

[26] As far as can be ascertained from comments on questionnaires and
conversations with Polish people, there were at least 6 such
subjects. Another 7 (5 tertiary and 2 non-tertiary subjects) had
actually been born in Poland.

[27] See also the comments in the fourth life history in Appendix G.

Just before going to Europe and Poland, I began taking a
greater interest in Polish and talked to my father more.
In Poland, the first few days were very difficult, and I
became very physically tired. It was a constant mental
strain. But soon conversation ceased to tire me out. I
think I would speak very fluently, and I would have
developed more intellectual and abstract language, if
I'd stayed there for six months. My cousin spoke like
that and I was fascinated. I would like to be able to
talk like that. At the moment, I can't handle intellectual
or abstract notions.

The meaning of "Polishness" and the various influences upon

it have so far been investigated in this part of the chapter. While

the vast majority of subjects felt at least some degree of this

general ethnicity, an attempt was also made to determine what

specific aspects of Polish heritage and tradition had been

transmitted from the first to the second generation.[28] The

interviewees revealed only a vestigial knowledge of Polish

literature. About half of the interviewees had heard about the

youth novels by Konopnicka and Sienkiewicz, but the rest did not

know of them. Sienkiewicz's historical novels were more well known,

though very few had read them. Their knowledge of these novels had

come from parents, many of whom had some of his books at home, but

more frequently the subjects had seen the films when shown in the

Polish community in Adelaide. A few students had read an English

translation of Quo Vadis either from home or from the State Library.

Those who had seen the films enjoyed them, though the length of the

books themselves had tended to discourage the students from actually

reading them.

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[28]For the interview schedule, see Appendix C3.

Most of the subjects had heard of Mickiewicz through having his works at home. Generally it was a case of the parents having read his poetry and told their children about it, although many had read at least a little of his work. Chopin, too, was very well known. Many subjects had records at home, most knew that he had a French father and Polish mother, had been raised in Poland and later lived in France, and some could even play Chopin's pieces on the piano. Others had seen the film of his life, or gone to concerts such as those by the Polish pianist Niedzielski to hear his music played. Their evaluation of his work was very positive. On the other hand, those few who had heard Moniuszko's opera "Halka" expressed mixed reactions towards it. One or two thought it was a play, and generally, it was only the more ethnic-oriented types who knew of it, mainly through having a record of it at home. Only one or two students had ever heard of Fredro's works such as "Zemesta" or the "Virgin's Vows".

The students' general knowledge of Polish history and geography proved only a little more extensive than their knowledge of Polish literature and music. Most of them knew of such famous figures as Kosciuszko and Sobieski, and of more recent political leaders, Gomulka and Gierek. To a lesser extent, they were able to identify Pilsudski, while the other leaders were less commonly known still (Batory, Chrobry, Poniatowski and even a twentieth century figure like Bierut). These names and any information about them were generally gained from parents, particularly the father, while Polish School had also introduced some students to these historical leaders. Another important source of knowledge had been children's books on Polish kings, which featured prominently such

famous figures as Sobieski. One student of Polish-Australian
parentage commented:

> I read a Concise History of Poland with pictures of
> Polish heroes ... early on when I was in high school.
> I enjoyed reading about glorified heroes, generals and
> knights.

Among the dates asked, 966 stood out in the memories of
most of the students. This was due to the Polish community's
celebrations only about six years earlier (1966) for the millenium
year of Polish Christianity. The other dates were not so well
remembered, 1795 being known by about half the students and the
other two, 1410 and 1683, being identified by only about one fifth
of the interviewees (usually the same people knowing both dates).
Some of these dates had been remembered on postage stamps, though
again, parents and Polish School were the main agents of transmission.

Just over one third of the students could name three famous
Polish scientists, Copernicus and Madame Curie being easily the most
popular. Most could mention five Polish cities, of which Warsaw,
Lodz, Cracow, Gdansk and Poznan were the most frequently mentioned;
Polish rivers were less well known, Vistula, Odra and Bug being the
most commonly given ones.

The second generation interviewees were also asked questions
on Polish folklore - national dress; national dances; fables and
legends; and proverbs and sayings. Considerably less than half had
ever worn a national dress, and those who had done so had worn it
only a few times. They had usually worn it when about 10 years of
age, and the occasions had been "akademias", religious events, or
for a few who were members, in a Polish dancing group. There was
no one main source of provision for this particular item - either

a mother had made it herself, or it had been borrowed from friends,

or the dancing group or Saturday School had provided it. There

were a few mentions by subjects of having a doll in national

dress when they had been very young. Some of the students

expressed a neutral attitude towards this particular cultural

item, but the majority had positive, albeit lukewarm, feelings

towards it: "it's part of our culture" or "it's very beautiful".

One male claimed that "he would not have been seen dead in it",

another that "it had no special emotional significance for me",

and yet another:

> It was nice looking, but I did not want to wear it. I
> didn't want to be a showy patriot. I prefer to know
> about Poland rather than parade in it.

One of the most positively valued items was the national

dancing. All students could name dances, most had seen them

performed quite frequently and some could themselves dance a few

of them such as the Polonez and Polka. There were not many, however,

who could perform other Polish dances. Those who were able to

perform them were, or had been, members of dancing groups or had

been taught by their fathers at varying ages. The students'

evaluations, like those of their parents of such dances, whether

they could perform them or not, were extremely positive in most

instances:

> Some are graceful, smooth and flowing, others are
> full of energy, full of life.

> I like them very much - all of them:they have a
> life about them which other dances do not have.

The story of "Lech, Czech and Rus" was the most well known

fable or legend, heard about by half of the interviewees and

actually recalled by quite a few of these students. "Wanda of Cracow"

was less well known and "Popiel at Goplo" even less so - both of
these stories, if the titles did seem familiar at all to students,
were only very vaguely recalled. Naturally, parents were mentioned
in most cases as being the source of knowledge for the legends
given above, and the very few others, which were volunteered by
students on their own accord, had been told or read to them when
they were at a very young age. For a few students, this knowledge
had been reinforced later at Polish School. Attitudes towards
such cultural items varied considerably. Some were positive, many
were neutral, and a few were mildly negative, examples of the latter
being:

> Not worth knowing or transmitting - they are just stories.
> I suppose they have a lesson of some sort, but in my
> opinion it is not important.

> I am not very interested in these.

Proverbs and sayings were little remembered by the inter-
viewees, and it was the High Ethnics and Polish-Australians who
did display any knowledge of these items. What was remembered
almost always came from parents (students did not generally specify
which parent).

Questions pertaining to religious observances often drew the
most definite responses. Most students did still attend Mass,
although for many it was not such a regular occurrence as it had
been when they were younger. A few did regularly go to Polish Mass
at St. Joseph's Church in the city, but for the majority, it was a
case of most often English Mass and sometimes Polish Mass, a
distribution which was governed more by convenience than by wish

(English Mass was the nearest).[29]

> We have always tried to go to Polish church at least one
> Sunday a month. On the other Sundays we generally go to
> our local parish church (Australian). I find the mass
> in the Polish church a much more meaningful and moving
> experience than in our parish church. The people seem
> to really participate in the liturgy and pray as a
> community. They sing with feeling and vigour and the
> hymns themselves are generally much more expressive.
> After mass nearly everyone stands around and talks,
> whereas in our Australian parish church, most of the
> people seem to be in a terrible hurry to get home.

There were some students, mainly male, who categorically
stated that they did not go to Mass because they had "lost faith",
that they went only very occasionally "as a critical onlooker" for
Christmas, Easter or weddings, or that they had stopped "as soon as
it was no longer expected any more". Not many interviewees had
continued with confessions, although there were still some who went
occasionally. Significantly, confessions were almost always made
in the English language, and to a non-Polish priest. Some had
confessed to a Polish priest but that had generally taken place
when they were much younger.

Most mentioned the Corpus Christi Procession as a Polish
religious event but few now participated in it. A few students
mentioned past involvement in the procession at Sevenhill, and a
few others in that at the Royal Park Orphanage. Although the

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[29]In the study (1967) on Polish youth in Sydney, 58% claimed
that they went "mostly" to Polish religious services, while
in the research on younger children attending Saturday School
in Adelaide (also 1967), 72% stated that they went to mass
celebrated by a Polish priest, 16% said that they "sometimes"
went and 12% that they "never" went. Appendices F2 and F3.

Easter and Christmas celebrations had been experienced by most at some stage, rather surprisingly there were now not as many students as one would expect whose families kept up these traditional religious festivities. The Midnight Christmas Mass was participated in a little more often than the Blessing of the Easter Dishes. Since such celebrations have traditionally been family occurrences, parents were naturally the most vital agent as far as these religious festivities were concerned, and if students did differentiate between parents, it was more often the mother who evaluated such events more positively than the father. The students themselves most often positively evaluated these traditional celebrations for cultural and social reasons rather than religious reasons. "I think they are very good. It is one way of keeping tradition" generally expressed the feelings of most of the students. One who acknowledged mild approval claimed that "spiritually, I gain little but I see value in terms of culture and tradition". Another said of his evaluation: "positive for those who want to. I don't". An example, on the other hand, of a negative response was: "They had a definite function in Poland, but they are completely irrelevant here".

Nearly all interviewees knew that 3 May was a Polish national day, though not all were able to identify fully the reason for this. Approximately half also knew 11 November as a Polish national day, but again, some were not able to explain why. Only one or two students said that they had heard, albeit vaguely, about 23 July as a national day (of post-1945 Poland), and one or two volunteered 15 August as another national day (of pre-war Poland). The source of this knowledge was almost exclusively parents (often the father was singled out) who had taken their children to

"akademias" to celebrate such important days. Some of the
students remembered taking part in these "akademias", singing,
dancing, or reciting poetry by memory. Others had attended, and
although they may not have been able to understand Polish very well,
had sat through the long speeches in that language, understanding
very little but enjoying the singing and dancing. While a few of
the students positively evaluated these "akademias" on national
days and would take their own children, the general feeling was
more a negative one. In theory they were a good idea, according
to some students, but in practice they were not fulfilling a
worthwhile function.

> I still attend them but lately they have fallen to a
> very low level of performance. Hence I get very
> bored. I approve of the principle but am sorry about
> their current low level.

> Akademias are potentially a good idea. But it depends
> on how they are directed. They've been the same for
> 15 years, and are now mainly social occasions, a
> pretext for meeting.

> I used to dance at akademias. I wouldn't go now - I
> find most of them very boring ... I had to read a
> bit in Polish on the stage. It was sheer hell, had
> to learn it by heart.

> I used to take part in all the akademias. I announced
> the programme for the Polish School, I made a few
> speeches, in my younger days I used to say poems and
> I danced. Even at the time, I used to think akademias
> were boring. Now I might go only once in a while. My
> parents go sometimes - they like them. All these
> akademias are the same - the same people talk.

There were a couple of students who used stronger language about
such occasions, using terms like "a bit weak", "amateurish", and
"ravings", or describing their function as "brainwashing about
patriotism, spouting about heroes, and the greatness of Poland,
etc." There were, therefore, a range of evaluations from the

positive through the neutral to the negative concerning the role
being played by the "akademias" in emphasising the historical
significance of particular Polish national days.

Nearly every student agreed that the Polish family
structure differs from the Australian one. However, the interesting
fact is that most of these students could not speak from first-
hand experience about the nature of these differences simply
because their families in South Australia were nuclear and small.
Unlike the chain migration of the Southern Europeans, political
migrants such as the Eastern Europeans had very little choice on
the matter of re-establishing the extended family in Adelaide.
This is one important item, therefore, which is strongly transmitted
by the first generation by word of mouth but is not able to be
reinforced through example (compare with the religious items).

With this restriction of lack of firsthand experience, the
students therefore tentatively suggested differences, or agreed
with differences prompted in the interview, on the basis only of
what they had heard. Apart from those mentioned in the interview
schedule, the dominance of the Polish father, the role of the
grandmother as peacemaker, the concern for the aged in the family
and the expectation of children staying at home until marriage
were offered as significant differences between the Polish and
Australian family structures. In many cases, the father was thought
to be the main supporter of the "traditional Polish family", a few
students said their mother, but the majority opted for both parents.
Nearly all students had a positive evaluation, as did their parents,

of the Polish family structure.[30]   There were a few objections to
married couples living with parents, though most were keen to live
nearby if that was at all possible and to maintain close contact
with family members.

Virtually all interviewees volunteered examples of Polish
manners, or when later prompted with those in the interview
schedule, agreed that they were Polish in character.   Certainly
"a great deal of kissing in the family" and "kissing a lady's hand"
were recognised by most students, although there were a few for
each of the other manners suggested who did not consider them to
be Polish.   Other manners offered by students included a different
conversational style in that Poles are more arrogant in their manner
of speech; Poles talk much more loudly than Australians; there is
much more formality in Poles' speech; older people greet each other
more effusively; when students' friends visit at home, they greet
parents as well; Poles are much more courteous - the female is cared
for in such situations as opening doors or swapping dancing partners;
there is much more intermingling between generations; Poles are
more outgoing and enjoy life more.

All these manners were transmitted through the family by
example, and although in most instances parents' evaluations as seen
by students were positive, those of the students themselves were

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[30]This is confirmed in Table 43 in Chapter 8, where it is shown that
the Tertiary Sample ranked family structure first among the list
of European (and in particular, Polish) traits which they would
like to see transplanted to the Australian core culture.

much less so. While they mainly agreed with kissing within the
family, many did not positively evaluate the kissing of a woman's
hand, and had never in fact done this. Most students kissed their
parents when going to bed, journeying away from home, or on special
occasions such as namedays or Christmas, but kissing between siblings
did not often occur except when breaking the wafer at Christmas or
acknowledging presents. The majority of the students felt the way
that these two subjects did:

> Polish youth tends to adopt Australian customs.

> Such manners are observed only among the older generation.
> They have no significance for me - if they want to do it,
> they can, but I don't see any point for me. I observe a
> different code.

Nevertheless, it is very significant that many of the second genera-
tion do attempt to behave in a Polish way in Polish company:

> Among the Poles I behave as a Pole. It gives something
> extra to life. But if in Australian company someone
> says 'Hi!', I don't mind ... I prefer Polish manners.
> I do not get repelled by Australians' lack of manners,
> but I don't care for it.

In respect to transmission of these manners to their own children,
one student responded:

> Yes, to behave like that among Polish people. It is not
> appropriate to behave like that among others.

Again, it appears that the persistence of Polish manners, especially
those pertaining to situations outside of the immediate family,
depends upon continued interaction of both the informal and formal
kind between people knowing and wanting to maintain such manners
(that is, upon structured "Polish" situations).

One of the most positively evaluated cultural items was
the traditional Polish observances at Christmas and Easter. All
students had at least heard of such observances, and in many homes,

they were still held at those times of the year.[31] This was

particularly the case with the carols and breaking of the wafer at

Christmas, and with the blessing and, to a lesser extent, painting

of the Easter Eggs. The tradition of hay under the tablecloth on

Christmas Eve supper was known by a lesser number of interviewees

and practised only by some families. All of these traditional

observances were rated highly by both parents and children,

particularly the significance of the breaking of the wafer:

> Like Communion, it is very symbolic. It is a great
> pity Australians have not got it. It is the greatest
> Polish tradition that I know, with much more meaning
> than just saying 'Happy Christmas'.

> This is something unique to Poland, and does not
> happen in Australia. It has special meaning for me,
> the wafer, and it is a way of keeping with Poland
> and its culture and traditions.

> It is very much better to spend Christmas Eve the
> way we do it than the Australian way, when children
> simply wake up the next morning to find a present.

Another cultural item which was well known and very

positively evaluated by the second generation was Polish cuisine.

Most of the students preferred Polish to Australian food,[32] and

could mention several dishes and drinks. There were some reserva-

tions, however, which crept into students' responses, such as some

Polish food being "heavy and rich" and "constitutionally unsound",

or taking considerable time for preparation. This time factor

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[31] In the Sydney study, 90% of the Polish youth claimed that their
families observed the traditional Christmas Eve. Appendix F2.

[32] In Chapter 8, it was stated that 28 (or 62%) of the interviewees
preferred Polish, and 5 (or 11%) preferred Australian food.
The remainder were undecided on this question.

appeared fairly significant in the minds of several students, one of whom explained: "In a way, [Polish food] is a luxury; we have it so infrequently". Several students stated that while they definitely preferred Polish food, as a family they did not have it every day, but reserved it for special occasions such as namedays, Easter and Christmas. Not very many students were able to make Polish dishes. Some of the females claimed that they helped to make Polish food in their vacations, but that these were really only simple dishes. There were several who expressed a genuine wish to learn how to make Polish cuisine, presumably when tertiary studies allowed them the time.

The items of Polish culture, therefore, which are the most well known by the second generation are those that are practised and reinforced by the family as a whole. Such items include Polish Mass, family structure, 3 May celebrations, manners, cuisine and Christmas, Easter and nameday observances. These are noticeably group aspects of culture, aspects which the parental first generation continues and in which the second generation in the family participates. Where the students possessed least knowledge was in the more individualised aspects of culture, such as literature (although films on historical events and leaders, which are shown by the Polish community to large groups of people, do not fall in this individualised category), history, Polish dances (other than the familiar Polonez and Polka), fables and legends, proverbs and sayings, and national days (other than 3 May). To this list should also be added fluency in the Polish language itself, particularly in reading and writing, and to a lesser extent, speaking (see Chapter 8).

While this study demonstrates the continued vitality of Polish structural life in Australia, it is the individualised aspects

of the culture that appear the most attenuated. And since the
Polish language is the core value of Polish culture, and its main
pivot, the gradual depletion of Polish linguistic reservoirs does
not augur well for cultural maintenance in this country.

However, the isolation of a certain number of second
generation immigrants in this study who have fairly high to high
scores on the ethnicity scale shows that Polish culture can be
maintained in Australia. The relatively small number of such
people may be attributed in large measure to the long reign of
Anglo-conformism and its structural backing by the Australian
school.

All of the Tertiary Sample can be said to have achieved
their educational breakthrough, and despite the unfavourable
ideological climate, some of them have avoided ethnic cultural
breakdown; even a greater number has retained positive attitudes
towards ethnicity. Should the prevailing ideology in Australian
society veer more towards cultural pluralism, a trend which is
already being observed, greater numbers of such people can be
expected to activate their positive attitudes towards Polish
culture and to achieve a breakthrough without the unnecessary and
personally damaging breakdown in Polish cultural transmission.

CHAPTER 12

CONCLUSION

A man can abandon everything - home, country, land -
but he cannot abandon himself, that by which he
lives and by virtue of which he is what he is ...
(M. Djilas)

"Poles Apart?" has been an intergenerational study of
postwar Polish immigrants in South Australia. Its prime focus was
upon the middle link of the intergenerational chain - the second
generation - and through the eyes of that generation, examination
was made of the first and future third generations. It has also
been an historico-sociological study, the standpoint being taken
that sociological analysis of the ethnicity and assimilation patterns
of the second (and third) generation(s) could be undertaken only
against the background of the historical fortunes of the emigré
first generation and the background of the "two worlds" in which
the second generation had been raised.

The theoretical contribution of this research to the
sociological study of immigrants has been the investigation of the
two dimensions of ethnicity and assimilation. In the interactionist
climate of Australia in the 1970's, both dimensions must be taken
into account in any consideration of the second generation. The two
socialisation processes of ethnicisation and assimilation have not
been considered to be necessarily mutually exclusive. Furthermore,
each of these two dimensions has been divided into the components
of language, culture, structure and ideology to show that a broadly
based definition of ethnicity and assimilation can only be achieved
by reference to all four areas. Thirdly, objective and subjective
approaches have been taken to examine the ethnicity and assimilation

levels of individuals, and it is believed that overall, the scores

obtained did give an accurate assessment of an individual's dual

socialisation at a particular point in time. Such a conclusion is

able to be reached because of the many and varied methods of

research employed in this study. Apart from questionnaire

information, depth interviews were held with a proportion of the

subjects as a second stage of inquiry, and material obtained from

both these methods was supplemented and interpreted by the insights

gained from cultural and historical study and from participant

observation over a period of six years. It is in these ways that

this study may be of value as a contribution to the historico-

sociological research of immigrant generations in Australia.

Following the first section in which the importance of such

research and the overall aims of the thesis were outlined, the

review of previous literature and description of the sources and

methods of this research were presented as an introduction to the

study (Chapter 1). There then came an examination of the society

in which the first generation had been born and bred, and an analysis

of when, why and how many Poles have arrived in Australia, as well as

of the nature of the Polish-born in this country, particularly since

World War II (Chapters 2 and 3). The theoretical framework of this

study involved consideration of the two socialisation processes of

ethnicisation (Polonisation) and assimilation (Australianisation).

It is in this context that the "two worlds" in which the second (and 1b)

generation has been raised were then interpreted, albeit briefly,

using a variety of documentary source material (Chapters 4 and 5).

The next section outlined in considerable detail the sampling procedures,

the approaches taken in analysis of research material, and the charac-

teristics of the first and second generation Polish samples selected

for investigation in this study. Chapter 6 thus forms the fulcrum

of the thesis in that it draws the reader away from general

considerations on a national level towards the concentration upon

actual people who are to assist in answering the broad questions

raised in historical and theoretical discussion.

The theoretical framework of the study was presented in

the following chapter, and the adaptation of the second generation

explained in terms of a "3 x 3" matrix. The measurement of ethnicity

and assimilation, the overall distribution of scores on these two

dimensions, and the mean scores for a number of subgroups in the

second generation samples were all outlined at this point. Sub-

sequently, two sections examined the linguistic, cultural,

structural and ideological aspects of the two phenomena of ethnicity

and assimilation with reference to both of the second generation

samples and to their parents. The primary aim was not to investigate

distribution of attitudes and tendencies, for the samples were not

representative, but rather to explore further the above concepts

and, hopefully, to contribute some insight to the understanding

of them (Chapters 8 and 9).

The various modes of adaptation discussed at a general level

in Chapter 7 were further investigated in the next part of the thesis.

In particular, detailed portraits of the four "ideal types" of the

Polish-Australian, High Ethnic, Anglo-Assimilate and Alienate were

drawn as examples of types of the second generation to be found in

Australian society (Chapter 10). Their precise proportions in the

population at large cannot be calculated; rather it has been shown

that these types with certain personal characteristics and from

particular home backgrounds do exist, and that the interesting and

significant variations in their patterns of ethnicity and assimila-
tion ought not to be smothered by referring to them collectively as
"second generation migrants", "ethnic Australians" or even as
"second generation Poles". Such blanket labels serve only to throw
confusion into discussion on the process of cultural transmission
and to lead to misconceived and ill-directed conclusions in such
important areas as social welfare and education.

The last chapter, prior to the conclusion, explored where
the gains and losses were in the adaptation process of the second
generation - gains and losses for Australian society, for the
Polish community, and for the individual himself. As in the instance
of Jackson and Marsden's "successful" eighty eight working class
children, the gain in the case of the Polish tertiary students of
this study lay in their linguistic, educational and occupational
breakthrough. However, it has been shown that, in most instances,
this breakthrough has been achieved only at the expense of
significant damage to personal ethnic cultural, and particularly
linguistic systems. The investigation in this respect analysed the
feeling of overall "Polishness" which the majority of subjects
claimed they possessed, the influences which had been brought to
bear on this general ethnicity, and finally the specific items of
Polish culture which had been handed down to the second generation
from the first (Chapter 11).

It is important here to discuss these latter points from a
broader and more theoretical perspective. The personal ethnic
linguistic and cultural systems which ethnic children are able to
build in Australia depend upon such factors as the richness and
quality of the ethnic linguistic and cultural stock in this country,

the availability of such a stock to the child, and the willingness
of the child to make use of the stock. These factors, in their
turn, are dependent on the prevailing orientation of the host
country to European new arrivals and, to a lesser extent, on the
orientation of newcomers to the hosts. Chapter 4 attempted to
document how the prevailing orientation in Australia has moved
away from Anglo-conformism to interactionism, while in some
quarters even cultural pluralism is now preferred. In the case of
the Polish language at least, there are but two alternatives that
can be followed: Anglo-conformism or cultural pluralism. It has
been generally acknowledged that the official line in the area of
language is still very largely that of a tacit Anglo-conformism.

It can be argued that, in the absence of linguistic pluralism
in Australia, not only can there be no true cultural pluralism, but
even a policy of interactionism is a chimera, an ideal which one
knows in advance can never be attained. This view is based on the
assumption that Polish language is the principle carrier of Polish
culture and that when it atrophies the rest of culture decays
rapidly. The language is, indeed, the means by which most other
Polish cultural systems are developed and transmitted; once the
group's stock of linguistic values ceases to be activated, the
group's other cultural value systems inevitably disintegrate.
Hence if language policies of political and educational authorities
are monistic, all other aspects of ethnic cultures are doomed to
extinction before they have time to interact with and impregnate
the Australian core culture.

A cultural policy which claimed to be an interactionist
one and yet implicitly favoured linguistic monism must, therefore,

be regarded as a most suspect type of "cultural liberalism". In

practice, it would ensure that in most other spheres of culture,

and not only in language, Anglo-Saxon monism would reign supreme.

Indeed, only a few isolated items of Polish culture can be easily

transmitted in the absence of a linguistic tradition to underpin

and consolidate it - one such item is food, but even such items as

folk dancing or social manners soon lose their cultural significance

in the absence of a linguistic, cultural base. It could be argued

that continued immigration from countries in Europe would ensure

that ethnic languages were kept alive in Australia, even if most

of the third generation immigrants were Anglo-Saxon monolinguals.

Hence ethnic cultures would continue to exist and there would be

continued opportunities for their interaction with the core

culture.

Such arguments, however, ignore the fact that immigration

from some countries of Eastern Europe, such as the Baltic states

and the Ukraine, has almost completely ceased while that from other

countries in this area, such as Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia,

is only very slight. It is quite clear now that, for political

reasons, this state of affairs is unlikely to be altered in the

near future. But there are even more weighty arguments against

such simplistic forms of reasoning. The vital factor in the

process of cultural interaction is not continued additions of the

"raw first generation material" from the "exporting countries" but

the presence of an ethnic linguistic tradition in Australia. If

ethnic languages can be maintained to the third and fourth

generation level, cultural interaction between Australians of

European ethnic and Anglo-Saxon origins will be greatly facilitated.

On the one hand, the third or fourth generation "ethnic" would feel much more at ease in the Australian community than his first generation ancestors ever did; on the other, his feeling of being an integral part of the Australian scene is most likely to be reciprocated by his fellow Australians from other ethnic backgrounds, including the Anglo-Saxon. This acceptance of "ethnic Australians" simply as Australians would result in their ethnicity likewise being acceptable as something local - genuinely and distinctively Australian - and not as some strange import from overseas and a threat to the Australian way of life. In such an atmosphere of acceptance and tolerance, cultural interaction would become much more profound and creative. Such a desirable outcome is possible, however, only if Australians of European ethnic origin succeed in preserving their linguistic heritage and if they evaluate it positively as a tradition which constitutes the heart of their culture.

The perpetuation of linguistic traditions, even with considerable governmental aid, would not prove easy in Australia where even the long established foreign languages, such as French and German, are suffering a catastrophic decline,[1] and where there is a strong attachment to the principle of monolingualism. This was

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[1] The proportion of students taking French at senior secondary level in New South Wales dropped from 33% to 10% of all enrolments in the five years to 1974. (while the proportion studying science rose from 50% to 76%). Latin and Greek are now virtually extinct in secondary schools, while German has also declined considerably. This situation has led to the boosting of bonus passes of Higher School Certificate candidates who have studied a foreign language and another humanities subject to make their chance of university entrance more equal with that of science-mathematics students. The Australian, 22 May, 1974.

acknowledged at the very first Australian Citizenship Convention

in January 1950 by the Prime Minister (Mr. Menzies):

> Prejudice against a migrant because of race or origin
> is not a sign of pride but a sign of stupidity. It
> is almost as foolish as if we were to conclude that
> because a man from Poland speaks broken English he
> is of a mind inferior to our own, whereas the truth
> is that at least he speaks broken English and we
> have not begun to speak Polish at all.[2]

Writing on the same theme two decades later, Bostock stated

that the widespread belief of Australian academics, unlike academics

overseas, was that the learning of languages is both irrelevant and

unnecessary, and that current educational policies are contributing

to the situation where eventually Australia will have "the distinction

of being the most monolingual industrialised nation in the world".[3]

Admittedly not all the ethnic languages which migrants bring to

these shores can be assured of an indefinite perpetuation. · However,

even if eventually some of them were to disappear (in the fourth,

fifth or subsequent generations), they would have enabled other

systems of cultural values to survive long enough to leave an

indelible imprint on Australian life.

Australians should not feel uneasy over the continued

persistence of distinct ethnic cultures on account of fears for

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[2] Australian Citizenship Convention Digest, 1950, p.3.

[3] W. Bostock, "Monolingualism in Australia", The Australian Quarterly, Vol. 45, No. 2 (June 1973), pp. 41-49. This state of affairs is in marked contrast to the language education policy adopted by the United Kingdom and countries in Western Europe, whose education representatives in 1970 passed at a conference in London a resolution which aimed at converting into reality the policy of "a modern language for everybody by 1980". Their goal for the 1970's is a high level of bilingualism in the countries which are members of the Council of Europe, including the United Kingdom. See W.D. Halls, Foreign Languages and Education in Western Europe (London, 1970), pp. 5-6.

political unity and stability of the country. As Richmond has pointed out, one of the expected results of large-scale migration is not only exchange between migrants and hosts in terms of linguistic usages, religious observances, and family customs and traditions, but also the emergence of a consensus on certain "universalistic values that involve commitment to the receiving society as a political unit". In Richmond's view, "such a political commitment and consensus can co-exist with a wide variety of different linguistic, religious and domestic sub-cultures which frequently coincide with ethnic and class divisions at the local level".[4]

The possible theoretical outcomes of the confrontation of different cultures within a single political structure have been shown to depend on a number of variables, including the policies of educational authorities and the linguistic traditions of the dominant ethnic group. In practice, however, even under fairly uniform conditions prevailing in the host society, different individuals originating from within the same ethnic group will show considerable variations in the patterns of their assimilation and the degree to which they preserve their parents' ethnicity. These patterns will partly depend upon the nature and quality of the ethnic stock made available to them in the family and institutions of their group, and partly upon the tendency of particular individuals to activate their ethnic cultural inheritance for the purposes of constructing their own systems of cultural values. The tendency in question will, in turn, represent a product of two interacting forces, namely

[4]A.H. Richmond, "Immigration and Pluralism in Canada", International Migration Review, Vol. 4, No. 10 (1969), p. 5.

the individual qualities of the child and the specific cultural

atmosphere created within the child's immediate ethnic environment.

The likelihood of cultural transmission from the second to

the third generation firstly depends on whether the second

generation is capable of passing on Polish culture to its children.

The evidence in this thesis reveals that in many respects it does

not possess a good knowledge of the ethnic culture.[5] Even among

the items categorised as group items known to the second generation,

knowledge did not mean that the subjects always went to Polish Mass

or to 3 May celebrations, or that they could necessarily cook them-

selves the Polish foods which they knew by name and ate at home.

In the majority of cases, in fact, they did not. It is of interest

that many of the interviewees expressed a genuine desire to reclaim

their lost ethnicity, either through going to Poland for an extended

stay, or through marriage with a "more ethnic" partner than them-

selves, or through improving their linguistic skills in speaking,

reading and writing by formally learning Polish after the completion

of their tertiary studies. Others expressed a wish to pick up more

specific items of Polish culture, such as Polish dishes, dances or

history.

Whether in fact they ever will fulfil these desires is open

to question. Certainly some have travelled to Poland,[6] and some

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[5]This conclusion is reached on the basis of the interviews. Although
a much weaker indicator of cultural knowledge, the distribution of
scores on the cultural component of ethnicity also confirms this
conclusion. Ninety five (85%) of the Tertiary Sample and 27 (72%)
of the Non-Tertiary Sample scored less than 10 out of 17 points on
this component. See Table 29 in Chapter 7.

[6]See Chapter 11, pp. 479-480.

have married or become engaged to fellow second (or 1b) generation

Poles. At the time of completing the questionnaires, ten of the

subjects were already married, and since then up to mid-1976,

another twelve have been either engaged or married. Table 95 shows

that these twenty two subjects are almost evenly divided between

those who have married Anglo-Australians and those who have married

second (or 1b) generation Poles. However, it is clear that those

who are marrying fellow Poles are themselves highly ethnic (8 scored

"high" and 3 "medium" on the ethnicity scale). Thus these subjects

are not attempting to reclaim their lost ethnicity, but rather

(though they would be unlikely to interpret their marriage in

this conscious way) to retain it.

Cultural transmission, however, depends not only on the

knowledge possessed by the second generation but also on that

generation's willingness to pass on the Polish culture. It has

been shown how certain items become a part of tradition or heritage

depending on whether they are being actively evaluated. If a

particular cultural item is not evaluated positively (or even singled

out as a negative trait!) by the second generation, it will not

percolate through to the third generation as a Polish tradition.

Examples of such items to which many of the second generation

interviewees were indifferent were historical novels, fables and

legends, proverbs and sayings, national days, and to a lesser

extent, attendance at church. Other items which tended to engender

a negative response from many of the interviewees were confession

(particularly in Polish to Polish priests), "akademias", living

with parents after marriage, kissing a woman's hand, kissing

siblings (except on special occasions) and, to a lesser degree,

TABLE 95: SUBJECTS IN BOTH SAMPLES ENGAGED OR MARRIED, BY SEX, BIRTHPLACE OF PARENTS, ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION SCORES, AND ETHNICITY OF SPOUSE

Sex	Parentage	Ethnicity score (E)	Assimilation score (A)	E-A	Engaged/married to:
F	Polish-Polish	67	60	+	1b generation Pole
F	Polish-Polish	78	29	+	2 generation Pole
F	Polish-Polish	70	60	+	2 generation Pole
F	Polish-Polish	80	40	+	2 generation Pole
F	Polish-Polish	53	46	+	2 generation Pole
M	Polish-Polish	79	39	+	2 generation Pole
M	Polish-Polish	70	46	+	2 (or 1b) generation Pole
M	Polish-European	67	62	+	1b generation Pole
M	Polish-European	74	45	+	2 generation Pole
M	Polish-Polish	45	55	-	1b generation Pole
M	Polish-European	45	59	-	1b generation Pole
F	Polish-Polish	46	64	-	2 generation Other European
F	Polish-Polish	34	81	-	Anglo-Australian
F	Polish-European	36	60	-	Anglo-Australian
F	Polish-Anglo-Saxon	38	68	-	Anglo-Australian
F	Polish-Anglo-Saxon	42	57	-	Anglo-Australian
F	Polish-Polish	61	61	0	Anglo-Australian
F	Polish-Polish	62	62	0	1b (or 1a) generation English
F	Polish-Polish	72	63	+	Anglo-Australian
M	Polish-Polish	35	66	-	Anglo-Australian
M	Polish-European	40	61	-	Anglo-Australian
M	Polish-European	36	49	-	Anglo-Australian

the national dress. The most positive evaluation was made by the second generation subjects of national dances, family structure, particular famous national figures such as Sobieski and Kosciuszko, Mickiewicz and Chopin, Copernicus and Madame Curie, certain manners, Christmas and Easter religious and cultural observances, and cuisine. It is these cultural aspects which, being positively evaluated by the second generation, have the greatest chance of survival into the third generation.

Of all the Polish traditions, the Easter and Christmas observances probably have the greatest chance of survival. In addition to being very positively evaluated,

> I think that the Christmas and Easter traditions are
> very beautiful and give a deeper meaning and solemnity
> to the occasion ... these are customs which I would
> really like to see passed on to succeeding generations ...,

they occur at times when the whole extended family is together;

that is, the children of the present subjects will participate with

the second and first generations in such observances. However, it

is frequent statements like this:

> I will give my children the chance to know them and
> if they like them, then it's up to them,

which made one wonder whether in fact even these traditional obser-

vances are likely to be practised often enough and reinforced strongly

enough to have any chance of taking firm root in the value systems of

the third generation. If these observances, which appear to be so

positively evaluated by the second generation while the first is

alive and practising them, are not strongly encouraged by the second

generation, then one does not hold much hope for the continuance of

other, less positively evaluated, cultural items. The second genera-

tion claims that it would like to transmit elements of the Polish

culture, yet in reality, when their parents (the first generation)

have passed on and they themselves become parents of the third

generation, their own meagre knowledge and rather lukewarm evaluation

of many Polish cultural items will not allow a very extensive nor

intensive transmission to take place. The paucity of many of the

second generation ethnic cultural systems will mean that the third

generation's will be even more limited.

In one sense, this likely result is partly due to a natural

reaction against what the first generation has in many instances

"forced" upon the second. One hint of this reaction at the group

level is the formation of Polish youth clubs whose members

categorically claim that they will not be affiliated in any way

with first generation ethnic organisations.[7] Another hint is the

common attitude among the second generation interviewees that they

might encourage particular cultural items (including language),

but certainly will not force their children to accept them -

[would you encourage your children to join a dancing group?]

"I don't think so, it would depend on whether they wanted to";

I enjoyed wearing [the national dress], couldn't imagine wearing it

now ... [transmit to your children?] ... No, I wouldn't insist on it.

I wouldn't encourage them either"; "I enjoyed [national dancing] a

lot, it kept me busy. My parents were proud of me... [encourage your

children to do it?]... only if they wanted to"; to Corpus Christi

Procession, Easter Egg painting and other similar occasions, "I would

not go now - do not see any meaning for me now. Not to be passed

on to children"; "I would like my children to go to Polish school.

But I wouldn't force them to go if they did not wish to."

But this result is also partly due to a realistic evaluation

on the part of the second generation that their desires and aspira-

tions for their own children to speak the language and preserve other

traditions contained an element of wishful thinking. Most interviewees

were fully aware that the transmission of language and many of the

cultural items as viable traditions depended to a very considerable

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[7]See the statement by the first President of The White and Red
Circle in Adelaide, Chapter 5, p. 202. A further example is the
$50 "donation" made by the Polish Association of South Australia
to the Adelaide University Polish Club in 1971; the club has since
been at pains to pay it back so as to avoid (alleged) political
adherence and financial strings.

extent on their marrying fellow Polish partners, and at that,

partners "more ethnic" than most of themselves (they generally

expressed a preference, however, for second generation ethnics like

themselves rather than for Poles newly arrived from Poland and

unfamiliar with local conditions and culture).

It is in families such as the eleven intra-ethnic ones

shown in Table 95 where linguistic and cultural transmission to

the third generation is most likely to occur, if at all. More

generally, linguistic and cultural transmission is more likely to

take place where those who scored "high" on ethnicity (31 or 28%

of the Tertiary Sample and 10 or 32% of the Non-Tertiary Sample)

are involved than where those who scored "medium" or "low" are

concerned. By definition, these subjects are the ones who possess

something to transmit to their children. Furthermore, they are

far more intent than the others on marrying a partner of Polish

background; in the Tertiary Sample, for instance, 55% (17 out of

31) of the "high" scorers on ethnicity expressed their preference

for a Polish spouse compared with a mere 8% (3 out of 39) of the

"medium" and none (out of 42) of the "low" ethnicity scorers.

This mono-ethnic trend is shown even more clearly in the

instance of the High Ethnics. In comparison with the other ideal

types, they had very firm intentions to marry Polish partners, and

nearly all of them perceived their parents as also wanting them to

marry such spouses.[8] Thus the High Ethnic section of the second

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[8]See Chapter 10, p. 413.

generation has an important role to play in the process of cultural
transmission, particularly if their firm intentions, and those of
their parents, to marry fellow Poles are realised.[9]

The second generation "dual breakthrough", however, is
undoubtedly best exemplified by the Polish-Australians. Not only
is their ethnicity high, thereby making the process of cultural
transmission a distinct possibility, but also their assimilation
is high, enabling these individuals to be familiar with both Polish
and Australian cultures and structures. Their assimilation to
Australian culture has not destroyed their ethnicity, nor has their
adherence to certain Polish cultural forms prevented them from
succeeding within the Australian education system and fully
participating in the life of their Australian peers.

Yet within the personal cultural systems of the Polish-
Australians, both the ethnic and Anglo-Saxon forms have, in certain
instances at least, undergone a subtle but distinct modification.
This has eventuated through a process of interaction at the individual
level. One of the consequences of this process is the internal
coexistence of two separate and distinct personal linguistic systems.
However, it is difficult to speculate with any degree of certainty
whether in other realms of culture the individual synthesises ethnic

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[9] In Australia, between 1947-1966, two-fifths of Polish-born men and
almost two-thirds of Polish-born women married spouses who were
also born in Poland. This degree of intra-marriage was higher than
among the Dutch and Germans, but much lower than among the Maltese,
Italians and Greeks. The scant research available suggests that,
among the second generation, the rates of inter-marriage are higher
than those for the first generation. See C.A. Price, "Migrants in
Australian Society", paper prepared for The Duke of Edinburgh's
Third Commonwealth Study Conference and published in Anatomy of
Australia (Melbourne, 1968), pp. 108-110.

and Anglo-Saxon elements into new hybrid cultural forms, or whether

for each item of culture, there exists a duality of system analogues.

It appears that in the case of some cultural items, such as food,

folklore, fable, legend and literature, two parallel systems coexist

side by side and that each is activated at different times and in

different situations. In the case of other aspects, such as manners,

family structure and certain kinds of religious or social observances,

new systems seem to be synthesised to yield a third type, different

from both yet bearing the unmistakable stamp of both originals.[10]

Although literature is categorised under parallel systems of value,

nevertheless there is the situation where translations (often

abridged) from Polish to English, or English films made from great

Polish classics, created a new kind of cultural reality which,

when internalised, led to the creation of personal systems vastly

different from those derived from reading the ethnic originals.

The Polish-Australian ideal type, therefore, in terms of

culture, structure and ideology, is the nucleus of the new "Polish

Australian identity" which is emerging in Australia under the

changing climate of public and official opinion from Anglo-conformism

to interactionism. The second generation Anglo-Assimilates and

Alienates, as carriers of ethnic traditions, can have but little

effect on Australian cultural life. For the most part their cultural

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[10]For example, warm and close family ties, but with reservations
concerning different generations in the one household or even at
a too close proximity to each other; kissing in the family,
particularly on special occasions, but with reservations about
kissing a woman's hand, grown boys kissing father, and siblings
(male or female) kissing each other.

contribution can take place only through activation of their Anglo-Saxon systems of cultural values. The depletion of their ethnic cultural, and in many cases linguistic, reserves ensures that their children's personal ethnic systems will be even more limited.

The preservation of certain ethnic cultural items depends to a very large extent upon structured Polish situations such as Polish mass, clubs and schools. As Gordon has written, there can be no preservation of ethnic cultures without ethnic structures.[11] Other items rely on continued observance within the Polish home, and may take root if the first generation lives long enough to maintain reinforcement of them in the homes of the second and third generations. However, the generation of the immediate postwar era is now becoming an aged group as shown in census statistics of birthplace by age. This first generation cannot be expected to play a dynamic role for very much longer in the upbringing of the third generation. Nor is it very likely that the present volume of Polish immigrants to Australia will be increased to any significant extent in the future to inject new traditions or reinforce the old.

Another point for consideration is that the homes in which the third generation will grow up will be less concentrated in particular suburbs than were those in which their parents were raised. Many of the first generation moved into particular areas such as Ottoway and Royal Park after completion of their contracts in the early fifties and built their own homes alongside one another, often with each other's help. Interviews with the tertiary students revealed low residential mobility among the parents, whose present-day houses in some instances were built several years later

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[11] M.M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York, 1964), p. 158.

on the same or adjacent block of land as their first residence.

In contrast, the second generation express a desire not to live

too close to parents, nor to live in a predominantly Polish

neighbourhood. There is no doubt that, instead, the Dom Polski

in the city acts as an important focus for both the first and

second generations, fulfilling social needs of both the formal

(Balls, "akademias") and informal (casual Sunday afternoon conver-

sation and drinking) kind as well as serving as a venue for Polish

education and dancing classes. This Polish structure, the centrally

located Dom Polski, is likely to serve an important function in the

future as far as the creation and maintenance of structured Polish

situations are concerned.

A further influence on the ethnicity of the second and

third generations is the maintenance of a relatively open door into

Poland. It appears that, in the instance of those second generation

individuals who have already visited their parents' homeland, such

a trip as a holiday, or a working or study visit, plays a significant

role in the boosting of their ethnicity in general and the improving

of their language in particular.[12]

The foregoing points may be illuminated further by reference

to the past. The Polish community established at Polish Hill River

over 130 years ago gradually withered as a result of geographical

dispersal (as the inhabitants pushed further north in search of

larger and more viable farms) and the lack of Polish priests, nuns

and teachers. On the other hand, the maintenance of the German

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[12]See Chapter 11, p. 479-80, and the fourth life history in
Appendix G.

settlement in the Barossa Valley could be attributed to its geographical compactness and larger numbers which were able to sustain a number of ethnic schools and churches. In addition, other factors played their part such as a religion of their own and an industry centred around the production of wine. Cultural items and traditions which have survived from that community include music and dance, mass festivals, cuisine, religious observances, close family relationships, a feeling of identity with ancestors and, to a certain extent, the "Barossa Valley Deutsch". From the results of this research, it appears that similar cultural items will also be the legacy of the first generation of Poles who came to Australia in the immediate postwar years.

Undoubtedly, the attitudes of Anglo-Australians are also an extremely significant consideration. Ethnic settlements in Australia in the past have had to battle against the climate of Anglo-conformism, and in the case of the German community in South Australia in particular, against the hostility of the host society in and between the world wars. Today, Australians are far more conscious of the more distant past, and the sixties and seventies have witnessed a considerable increase in research into local history, the teaching of Australian history, preservation of historical structures, attendance at ethnic festivals, and even regret at the excessive patriotic zeal of the First World War days when numerous historic German place-names disappeared from the map of South Australia. It is likely, therefore, that while the first generation had to struggle in the fifties to transmit their language and culture and to maintain their structures, the third generation will at least have a far more favourable climate within which to learn the ancestral language and culture

provided that the second generation is capable and willing to transmit them. That certain sections of the second generation, however, are either willing but not capable, or are neither willing nor capable, has been outlined in this study.

The net result of an ethnic cultural and linguistic breakdown would please only the Anglo-conformists, for the Anglo-Australian core culture would remain substantially unaltered. For both the interactionists and pluralists, however, this state of affairs is obviously unsatisfactory. They would want to see a substantial increase in the proportion of those among the second and third generations able and willing to activate both Anglo- and ethnic cultural systems. Thus such moves as the teaching of ethnic languages and cultures in Australian education institutions, and the formal support of ethnic structures including the Saturday School, are advocated in an attempt to achieve a higher proportion of these types of individuals. In part, these initiatives are designed to institutionalise and formalise the process of cultural transmission, a realisation that this process will break down if it is left to the family alone in the second generation. But they are also designed to facilitate an environment which, in contrast to that of the 1950's and 1960's, fosters both the socialisation processes of assimilation and ethnicisation. This advocacy arises through the belief that the situation where a person retains a considerable part of his ethnic tradition at the same time as he functions smoothly within the Australian environment - where he is part of a whole while still possessing individuality - is the most meaningful and useful both to the individual himself and to Australia.

APPENDIX A

AN EXAMPLE OF A COVERING LETTER SENT WITH QUESTIONNAIRE

TO THE TERTIARY STUDENTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE

ADELAIDE, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 5001

Department of Education

Dear ....,

The enclosed questionnaire is part of a research project in the Department of Education of the University of Adelaide. It involves students of Eastern European parentage who are attending tertiary education institutions in South Australia, and will ultimately extend also to others of similar background who are not in tertiary institutions.

I hope that the survey will be very valuable in throwing some light on the progress and problems which confront such students in South Australia. As you no doubt already know, very little research has been done on first and second generation migrants in educational institutions in Australia, and I would hope that the results which emerge from this survey will be of great interest to you as a participant in the project.

Could I request, therefore, that you please spend a spare half-hour as soon as you can completing the questionnaire? It is very important that you complete it fully, and send it back to me in the enclosed envelope (pre-paid, no expense to you), because the larger the sample, the more representative will be the results generally of students of your background.

From your point of view, it presents a good opportunity for contemplating deeply about your background and that of your parents, and committing your own individual thoughts and feelings to paper.

NOTE: No names appear on the questionnaire. All information given will be considered strictly confidential. (The research numbers are merely for my identification purposes.)

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely,

ROGER McL. HARRIS
Napier Building,
Room 109,
Phone: extension 2058

APPENDIX B

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

1. The questionnaire for the Polish Tertiary Sample.

2. The questionnaire for the Polish Non-Tertiary Sample.

1. THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE POLISH TERTIARY SAMPLE

Where boxes are provided for answering of questions, please
place a tick (✓) in the appropriate box(es).

SECTION 1

1. (a) In what country were you born?

(b) In what country were your parents born?

Father
Mother

(c) Were you born in:

1. City or large town?
2. Small town?
3. Village or rural area?

(d) In what year were you born?

(e) What ages were your father and mother when they
arrived in Australia?

Father
Mother

2. (a) What was your father's occupation BEFORE he came to
Australia? (please be specific)

(b) What is his occupation NOW in Australia?

(c) What other occupations (if any) has your father had
since he came to Australia?
1.
2.
3.
4.

(d) Was your mother employed BEFORE coming to Australia?

Yes
No

If yes, what was her occupation?

(e) Is your mother employed NOW?

Yes
No

If yes, what is her occupation?

(f) What is your ultimate occupational aim?

3. Do you belong to any religious denomination?

                    Yes
                    No

If yes, which one?

SECTION 2

4. (a) What level of education did your father and mother reach before coming to Australia? (please place a tick in the appropriate box for each person.)

                                              Father   Mother

        1. No schooling
        2. Incomplete primary
        3. Complete primary
        4. Incomplete secondary
        5. Complete secondary
        6. University - incomplete
        7. University - graduated
        8. Other forms of tertiary education

           - If you answer 'yes' to 8, indicate what form?

           Polytechnic
           Teachers College
             (pedagogical institution)
           Technical College
           External/Correspondence
           Any other (please specify)
        9. Post graduate study:

           - If yes to 9, in what field?

(b) In which countries have your father and mother studied? (please state the number of years study in each country).

	Father		Mother	
	Country	No. of Years	Country	No. of Years
1. Primary				
2. Secondary				
3. Tertiary				

5. (a) What school(s) did you attend in Australia?

           1. Primary
           2. Secondary

(b) In what subjects did you matriculate?

(c) In your view, did the school (and/or teachers) make any allowances for the fact that your background was of non-Anglo-Saxon origin?

                    Yes
                    No

If yes, in what way?

(e) If your ethnic tongue had been formally taught at school up to Matriculation or at tertiary level, would you have taken this subject?

	At School	At Tertiary Level
Yes		
No		

(f) Do you think that the education you received at school in terms of degree of specialisation in Arts or Sciences was:

    1. Broad?
    2. About average?
    3. Narrow?

If 3, what other combination of subjects would you have preferred?

6. (a) What subjects have you taken at tertiary level?

Year (e.g. 1971)	Subjects Studied	Level of Pass (e.g. Distinction, Credit, Pass or Fail)

(b) What are your observations regarding education in Australia, particularly in comparison with any knowledge you may have of education overseas?

(c) How do you feel about the kind of education which you have received in Australia?

	Secondary	Tertiary
1. Completely satisfied		
2. Fairly satisfied		
3. A little dissatisfied		
4. Fairly dissatisfied		
5. Very dissatisfied		

If you are at all dissatisfied, what specific improvements do you think should be made?

(d) Would you say that your parents have motivated you to "succeed" in education:

    1. very much?
    2. a fair bit?
    3. a little?
    4. not at all?
    5. actively discouraged?

(i) If yes to 1, 2 or 3, did such encouragement take the form of: (please tick one only)

    1. Help with homework and informed advice on choice of subject, career, etc.?

    2. sympathy and encouragement with little understanding of the issues and problems involved?

    3. coercion to study because it was "good for you"?

    4. any other form (please specify)?

(ii) If yes to 1, 2 or 3, do you think that your parents' attachment to education is stronger than what you would expect of average Australian parents?

Yes
No

If yes, could you attribute this attachment to:

1. traditional Central European respect for learning?

2. realization that, through education, children of migrants could achieve social and economic positions to which the parents themselves could no longer aspire?

3. realization that education is the best way to get a good job which will bring in plenty of money?

4. any other reasons (please specify)?

SECTION 3

7. (a) In what year did your parents leave their country of origin?

(b) In what countries have they resided for more than one year?

1.
2.
3.
4.

(c) What was the month and year of their arrival in Australia?

Month: Year:

(d) Passage to Australia - were they:

Yes   No

1. Assisted by relatives/friends?
2. Assisted by the International Refugee Organization?
3. Assisted by the Australian Government?
4. Non-assisted (i.e. paid for own passage)?
5. Assisted by a religious body?
6. Other (please specify)?

(e) In your view, why did they choose Australia in particular?

Yes   No

1. Relatives or friends here
2. Climate
3. Religious reasons
4. Political reasons
5. Economic considerations (e.g. occupational opportunities)
6. Educational and occupational opportunities for their children

(e) In your view, why did they choose Australia in particular?
cont.

	Yes	No

7. To get married
8. To travel
9. Other (please specify)

(f) Would you describe your parents as:

1. economic migrants (i.e. migrated for economic reasons)?
2. political refugees (i.e. exiles)?
3. voluntary political migrants?
4. familial migrants (i.e. migrated to join family)?

SECTION 4

8. (a) Name the languages which you understand and speak:

	languages you understand	languages you speak
1. very well		
2. fairly well		
3. not very well		
4. only a few words		

(b) Your "Active" Linguistic Experience

What language do you mainly use when speaking to your:

	Ethnic language	Half ethnic language-half English	English	Other (Specify)
1. Grandparents?				
2. Father?				
3. Mother?				
4. Older brothers and sisters?				
5. Younger brothers and sisters?				
6. Older relatives?				
7. Cousins your own age?				
8. Friends of Polish origin within your tertiary institution?				
9. Own Polish friends outside your tertiary institution?				
10. Parents' Polish friends?				

(c) Your "Passive" Linguistic Experience

(i) What language do you usually hear from your:

	Ethnic language	Half ethnic language-half English	English	Other (Specify)
1. Grandparents?				
2. Father?				
3. Mother?				
4. Older brothers and sisters?				
5. Younger brothers and sisters?				
6. Older relatives?				
7. Cousins your own age?				
8. Friends of Polish origin within your tertiary institution?				
9. Own Polish friends outside your tertiary institution?				
10. Parents' Polish friends?				

(ii) Do you read newspapers/periodicals/magazines in your parents' ethnic language:

1. regularly?
2. sometimes?
3. never?

(iii) Do you read books in your parents' ethnic language:

1. regularly?
2. sometimes?
3. never?

(iv) Do you write and/or receive letters in your parents' ethnic language:

	Write	Receive
1. often?		
2. sometimes?		
3. never?		

(d) Did your parents take courses in English:

	Father		Mother	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. at school in their native country?				
2. prior to embarkation (e.g. in Germany)?				
3. on board ship?				
4. at classes in Australia?				

(e) On arrival in Australia, was your parents' knowledge of English:

<u>Father</u>   <u>Mother</u>

1. quite fluent?
2. fair?
3. little?
4. none?

9. (a) Do you consider it desirable that children of migrants in Australia should learn to speak the native tongue of their parents?

Yes

No

Please give reasons for your opinion.

(b) Were you ever sent to Saturday schools run by your ethnic community?

Yes

No

If yes, did you attend:

1. almost every week?
2. frequently?
3. occasionally?

SECTION 5

10. (a) Would you and your parents like to spend the rest of your lives in Australia?

<u>You</u>   <u>Your Parents</u>

1. yes
2. probably yes
3. probably no
4. definitely no
5. undecided

(b) Was Australia your parents' first choice for country of emigration?

Yes

No

If no, which country(ies) did they prefer before Australia?

1.   2.   3.

(c) Have your parents ever contemplated leaving Australia for another country (including native country)?

Yes

No

If yes: (i) When?

          (ii) Which country?

          (iii) What prevented them from going?

11. (a) Do you think that migrant communities in Australia can serve a useful function for:

	Yes	No
1. Australian society as a whole?		
2. newcomers to Australia?		

If yes for either 1 or 2, would you value their presence because they can:

	Yes	No
1. help new arrivals to settle down in a strange and new environment?		
2. help preserve ethnic cultures and languages?		
3. make social life more pleasant?		
4. other reasons (please specify)?		

(b) Are your parents naturalized?

Yes
No

If no, do they intend to become naturalized:

1. in the minimim time?
2. sometime in the future?
3. not at all?

(c) In your opinion, has your parents' adjustment to Australian conditions been:

1. easy?
2. fairly easy?
3. rather difficult?
4. very difficult?

(d) What do they consider as the greatest single problem that they had to face in trying to adjust to Australian life?

(e) Has their Church helped them with:

	Yes	No
1. job difficulties?		
2. problems with their children?		
3. making new friends?		
4. finding accommodation?		
5. integration into wider Australian society?		
6. preserving links with fellow nationals?		
7. keeping alive their native language and traditions?		
8. other difficulties (please specify)?		

(f) In relation to migrants from other countries, do you think that people of your own nationality can adapt themselves to conditions of life in Australia:

    1. better?
    2. worse?
    3. about equally as well?

If your answer is either 1 or 2, indicate the reasons for your choice.

12. Please specify to which clubs or organizations (if any) you and your parents belong:

	You	Your parents
1. Own nationality		
2. Australian		
3. Others		

13. (a) What do you and your parents <u>like</u> most about Australia? (give 3 answers in order of preference)

	You	Your parents
1.		
2.		
3.		

(b) What do you and your parents <u>dislike</u> most about Australia? (give 3 answers in order of strongest dislike)

	You	Your parents
1.		
2.		
3.		

(c) Do your opinions and actions in the cultural and social spheres of life differ from those of your parents:

    1. very markedly?
    2. quite considerably?
    3. to a fair degree?
    4. a little?
    5. not at all?

(d) Such tensions (if they at all exist) naturally have most diverse and interacting origins. But (apart from personal/psychological explanations) would you say that the PRINCIPAL ORIGIN lay in:

    1. Differences in the <u>degree of assimilation</u> between you and your parents?
    2. Differences in the <u>educational</u> level between you and your parents?
    3. Differences in aspirations and way of life due to differences in <u>social class</u> between you and your parents?
    4. Differences due to the <u>age</u> gap?

14. (a) Have your parents had contact in Australia with any
    agencies which deal specifically with migrant problems?
    (e.g. The Good Neighbour Council)

    > Yes
    > No

    If yes, please specify which agencies.

    (b) If yes to (a), do your parents consider that they were
    of assistance to them?

    > Yes
    > No

    (c) Do you consider that the Australian Government could
    have done, or could be doing, more for migrants?

    > Yes
    > No

    If yes, please give details.

SECTION 6

15. Some sociologists distinguish between <u>cultural</u> assimilation
    (acculturation), <u>structural</u> assimilation and <u>marital</u>
    assimilation (amalgamation). Psychologists tend to add
    assimilation through <u>identification</u>. The purpose of this
    question is to discover where you personally, and your
    parents, stand in these respects.

    A. ACCULTURATION

    Do you feel in cultural and behavioural terms to be
    integrated with Australian society:

	You	Your Father	Your Mother
1. completely?			
2. almost fully?			
3. partly?			
4. hardly at all?			
5. not at all?			

    If "yes" to 3, 4, or 5, in what ways do you feel apart
    from the mainstream of Australian life?

    B. STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION (the penetration of migrants
    into the host society's occupational structure, primary
    groups, cliques, clubs and political and social
    organizations).

    (i) In your view, has your father achieved an
    occupational level in keeping with his European-
    gained education, experience and background?

    > Yes
    > No

If no, could this be attributed to:

	Yes	No

1. Insufficient knowledge of English?
2. Lack of recognition in Australia of educational and professional qualifications acquired in Europe?
3. Lack of time to fit into the Australian occupational framework due to the need to support the family upon arrival, etc.?
4. Difficulty of adaptation because of old-age?
5. any other reason (please specify)?

(ii) In your opinion, have your father and mother undergone structural assimilation through the penetration of Australian:

	Father		Mother	
	Yes	No	Yes	No

1. Social groups? (e.g. through visiting and entertaining Australian friends, neighbours, workmates)
2. Sporting clubs and other recreational bodies?
3. Political organizations - national, State or local levels? (e.g. through participation in branch activities)

(iii) The above questions apply to your parents. Would you say that you yourself have been structurally assimilated into Australian society (in so far as this applies to your own age-group) through participation in the following organizations or groups?

	Yes	No

1. educational
2. sporting
3. social
4. cultural
5. political

C. MARITAL ASSIMILATION

What are your, and your parents', intentions concerning your marriage: will your partner be of:

	You	Your Father	Your Mother

1. your own ethnic background?
2. other European (including your ethnic) background?

C. MARITAL ASSIMILATION cont.

	You	Your Father	Your Mother

3. Australian or
    European background?
4. any background pro-
    vided it is from your
    own religion?
5. any background
    irrespective of
    race, colour or
    religion?

D. IDENTIFICATION

Do you feel that you are:

	You	Your Father	Your Mother

1. fully ethnic?
2. mainly ethnic, but
    a little Australian?
3. half ethnic, half
    Australian?
4. mainly Australian,
    but a little
    ethnic?
5. completely
    Australian?

16. (a) Do you think that migrant cultures are influencing the
         Australian (Anglo-Saxon) core culture in any way at
         all?

                        Yes
                        No

    (i) If yes, in what ways and in what areas of life?

    (ii) If no, do you think that they may do so in the
          future?

                        Yes
                        No

    Please give reasons for your answer.

(b) Do you think that, in Australia as a whole, it is
     desirable that cultural interpenetration should take
     place?

                        Yes
                        No

     If yes, what European (and in particular, your ethnic)
     cultural, social and structural traits would you like
     to see transplanted to the Australian core culture?

(c) In your view, what Australian traits would be of benefit
     to those brought up in the European (and in particular,
     your ethnic) traditions?

17. (a) Are your close friends and those of your parents (please read carefully <u>all</u> possibilities before ticking):

	<u>Your friends within the tertiary institution</u>	<u>Your friends outside the tertiary institution</u>	<u>Your parents' friends</u>
1. almost all of your ethnic background?			
2. a mixture of backgrounds, but with a predominance of those of your ethnic origin?			
3. a mixture of various European backgrounds (with few, if any, Australians)?			
4. a mixture of backgrounds, but with Australians predominating?			
5. almost all Australians?			

(b) If you answered 1 or 2 for 17 (a), is there any reason you can give why you should at times prefer to associate with people of your own particular background?

(c) If you answered 3 for 17 (a), (association with people of various European backgrounds), could you suggest reasons why you seek such relationships in preference to association with Australians?

(d) Is it your intention to visit Europe in the future?

Yes
No

If yes, would your parents' country of origin figure prominently in the list of countries which you would want to visit?

Yes
No

If yes, why would you like to visit this country in particular?

THANK YOU

2. THE QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE POLISH NON-TERTIARY SAMPLE

This questionnaire was the same as that used for the Polish
Tertiary Sample except that:

(a) several of the open-ended sections of questions were
deleted;

(b) the parts of questions which were relevant only to
tertiary education students were omitted;   and

(c) a "background data" section of questions relevant
to non-tertiary education subjects was added as
Question 18.

Sections of questions deleted:

2c, 5b, 5e (tertiary education part), 5f ("If 3" part), 6a,
6b, 6c (tertiary education and "If you are at all dissatisfied"
parts), 7f, 10b and c, 11f, 14a and b, 14c ("If yes" part),
16a (i, ii and "Please give reasons" parts), 17a (no
distinction between "within" and "outside" tertiary
institution) and 17c.

"Background Data" section added (Question 18):

(a) What was the highest level of education you reached
(e.g. 3rd year high school)?

(i) If you completed leaving, what subjects did you
study and what grades did you get?

(ii) If you completed Matriculation, what subjects did you
study and what grades did you get?

(b) What is your present occupation?

(c) Sex:

female?
male?

(d) Are you:

single?
married?

(e) Do you live:

at home with parents?
in your own house?
in rented accommodation?
other (please specify)?

(f) In what suburb do your parents live?

(g) Are you a member of BCK?

Yes
No

If yes, in what years have you been a member (e.g. 1971-1974)?

(h) Are you a member of Tatry?

Yes
No

If yes, in what years have you been a member?

APPENDIX C

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

1. Ethnicity and Assimilation of Subjects.

2. Ethnicity and Assimilation of Parents.

3. Cultural transmission.

1. ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION OF SUBJECTS

Where questions contain scales, the available responses were written on 5" x 3" white cards and shown to interviewees at the appropriate time.

1) Language

(a) Command of the Polish language:

understanding?
speaking?
reading?
writing?

(very good, good, fair, poor, very bad, none).

(b) Do you feel "at home" in the English language:

in its spoken form?
in its everyday written forms?
in its more literary forms - prose?
                            - poetry?
in writing it?

(c) Do you intend to ensure that your children learn the Polish language?

(d) Do you intend to ensure that your children speak the Polish language:

within the home?
wherever possible outside the home?

2) Culture

(a) Food:

What kind of food do you mostly eat at home?
   (Polish/Australian)
Which kind do you prefer? (Polish/Australian).

(b) Cultural participation:

Do you go to see Australian/British plays?
   (often, sometimes, never).
Have you ever played a role in an Australian play or revue?
Do you go to see Australian/British films?
   (often, sometimes, never).
What type of dances do you usually go to?
   (nearly always Australian, more Australian than Polish,
   equally, more Polish than Australian, nearly always
   Polish).

(c) Reading and Writing in English:

Read newspapers?
Read books?
Write letters?
Receive letters?
   (regularly, sometimes, never).

(d) Nursery Rhymes and Fairy Tales:

Which ones do you know?
Recall?
Source of item?
Age of acquisition?
Evaluation?
Transmit to your children?

(e) English Literature and Music:

Name 3 books by Dickens.
Name 3 plays by Shakespeare.
What youth novels did you read?
Name 3 famous poets.
Name any English composers.
Have you heard of Elgar? Britten?

For each of these: source of item?
                    age of acquisition?
                    recall (for literature)?
                    listened to (music)?
                    subject evaluation?
                    transmit to your children?

(f) Sport:

Australian Rules Football:
Do you - follow results in the newspaper, on radio or
            television?
         - actually go to matches?
         - actually play?
         - not interested?

If you had a choice between watching soccer or Australian
Rules Football, would you choose:

        Australian Rules football only?
        both, but A.R.F. more than soccer?
        equally?
        both, but soccer more than A.R.F.?
        soccer only?

3) Structure

(a) Family:

Do you live with your parents?
If yes:
    Have you ever considered living away from home?
    If yes, what stopped you?
    If no:
        When did you leave home?
        Why did you leave home?
        Do you enjoy living away from home?

(a) Family cont.

To what extent do you interact socially with members of
your family:
- inside the house?
- going to functions together as a family?
- visiting and general interaction with extended
    family (if any)?
(very much, quite a lot, sometimes, only a little,
hardly at all).

(b) Your 5 closest friends (identify them by first name only):

Country born in?
Country parents born in?
Occupation?
Educational level?
Father's occupation?
When met?
Where met?
(for each of the five friends named).

(c) Visiting:

How often do you visit Polish friends (if any), and how
often are you visited by them?

How often do you visit other European friends (if any),
and how often are you visited by them?

How often do you visit Australian friends (if any), and
how often are you visited by them?

(regularly, quite often, sometimes, only occasionally,
almost not at all).

(d) When you have some kind of a personal problem that you
want to discuss with a friend, with whom do you discuss
it?

(always with a Polish friend;
more often with a Polish than an Australian friend;
about equally between a Polish friend one time, an
Australian friend the next;
more often with an Australian than a Polish friend;
always with an Australian friend).

(e) Whom do you invite to parties and other celebrations that
you may have either at home or out, say, at a restaurant?

(if necessary, prompt for "mixtures": predominantly Polish;
predominantly other European; predominantly Australian).

(f) With whom do you (or did you) go out on dates?

(if necessary, prompt for "mixtures": predominantly Polish;
predominantly other European; predominantly Australian.)

If engaged/married: Polish? Australian? Other?

(g) With which company do you feel more at ease and at home?

(Polish, mixed Polish and other European, mixed Polish and
Australian, Australian, Other.)

(h) Do you consider yourself as belonging to any <u>informal</u> social group (i.e. a clique)?

If yes:

What is the composition of this group ethnically?
Can you say what "holds" this group together?
  (e.g. common interest of some type, frequent
    interaction through lectures/tutorials, etc.)
How long have you belonged to this group?

(i) Do you have any Polish people:

as neighbours?
in close proximity to your house?
in your suburb?

If yes: to what extent do you interact with them?

(very much, quite a lot, sometimes, only a little, hardly at all).

(j) To what <u>formal</u> groups (i.e.: clubs, societies, associations, organisations) do you belong, or have you belonged?

name of group?
type of group? (Polish, Australian, other)
nature of group? (educational, social, cultural,
  political, etc.)
years of membership?
frequency of participation?
level of participation? (casual member, financial
  member, committee member, office-holder)
enjoyment in participation? (very much, quite a lot,
  a fair bit, only a little, rather indifferent, don't
  really enjoy it).

(k) Do you desire to be a member of any other formal groups?

If yes, which ones? (Polish, Australian, other).
Can you say why?
What is preventing you from joining?

(l) Do you yourself feel that you are organisationally involved in:

- the Polish community?
- Australian life?

(Very deeply, deeply, fairly deeply, only a little, not at all).

(m) Do you want to be more organisationally involved in:

- the Polish community?
- Australian life?

(more deeply, about the same, less deeply).

(n) What is your attitude to the existence of:

- ethnic clubs in principle?
- those Polish clubs currently in existence?

(very favourable, favourable, in between, unfavourable, very unfavourable).

(o) Do you intend to send your children to Polish School?

4) <u>Ideology</u>

    (a) If a Polish sporting team came to play an Australian team, which one would you support?

        (Polish team, Australian team, unable to decide, not at all interested in supporting either).

    (b) If you had your way, which neighbourhood would you like best to live in?

        (a predominantly Polish neighbourhood, a mixed Polish and Australian neighbourhood, a predominantly Australian neighbourhood).

    (c) If Poland was forced to cede half of its territory, together with its population, to another country, how much would you care? (e.g.: If Russia gave back to Germany all the Western Polish territories, including Gdansk, Wroclaw, Szczecin).

        (terribly, quite a lot, a fair bit, only a little, not at all).

    (d) Who would you rather prefer to spend a weekend (of the "blind-date" type) with?

        (An all Polish family newly arrived from Poland and all speaking good English, a family of Polish parents and Australian-born children, an all Australian family).

    (e) If some-one asked you to "attach a national label" to yourself, who would you say you were:

        - in Australia?
        - in Poland?
        - elsewhere in the world?

        What is your definition of a "Polish American"?
        Do you consider yourself to be a "Polish Australian"?

    (f) Which do you think you are more emotionally involved (i.e. identified) with?

        (Polish people and nation in Poland, Polish community in Australia/Adelaide, Australia and Australians).

    (g) How strong an interest do you take in events in Poland?

        (strong interest, weak interest, none at all).

        If any interest, how do you show this interest?
        (e.g. receiving letters from Poland, reading or subscribing to periodicals published in Poland, reading books on Poland, reading newspapers from overseas or Polish ones in Australia).

        In what in Poland do you take special interest?
        (e.g. politics, economics, customs and traditions, familial concerns, education, social events, intellectual life).

(h) Do you go to see visiting "items" from Poland when they come to Australia/Adelaide?
(almost every time, only some of the time, hardly at all)

If you do, which visiting items?
(e.g. films, operas and musical shows, dancing groups, famous individuals, sporting teams).

(i) Do you feel that you are:

completely Polish?   completely Australian?
considerably Polish?   considerably Australian?
fairly Polish?   fairly Australian?
only a little Polish?   only a little Australian?
hardly Polish at all?   hardly Australian at all?

(j) What does "being Polish" mean <u>to you</u>?

2. ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION OF PARENTS

Where questions contain scales, the available responses were written on 5" x 3" white cards and shown to interviewees at the appropriate time. All questions applied to both the father and the mother of each interviewee.

1) Language

(a) Command of the Polish language:

understanding?
speaking?
reading?
writing?

(very good, good, fair, poor, very bad, none)

(b) Command of the English language:

understanding?
speaking?
reading?
writing?

(very good, good, fair, poor, very bad, none)

(c) Active linguistic experience:

speaking - to parents, spouse, children, relatives their age, nieces and nephews, their friends?
(Polish, mixture, English)

(d) Passive linguistic experience:

hearing/understanding - from parents, spouse, children, relatives their age, nieces and nephews, their friends?
(Polish, mixture, English)

(e) How strongly did your parents encourage you to learn Polish?

(very much, quite considerably, to a fair degree, only a little, not at all).

(f) How strongly did your parents encourage you to keep speaking Polish:

- at home?
- outside the home?

(very much, quite considerably, to a fair degree, only a little, not at all).

2) Culture

(a) Reading and Writing:

reading - of newspapers, books, letters? (Polish, English)
writing - of letters? (Polish, English)

(b) How firmly anchored do you think your parents are in the following aspects of:

(i) Polish culture?
(ii) Australian culture?

food and drinks
sports
folklore
literature
music
religion - church, festivals
national days
family structure
manners
customs
leisure pursuits

(very much, quite a lot, fairly, only a little, hardly at all).

3) Structure

(a) To what extent to your parents interact socially with other members of your extended family:

- father's family?
- mother's family?

(very much, quite a lot, sometimes, only a little, hardly at all).

(b) Who are your parents' friends?

(Almost all Polish; mixture, mostly Polish; mixture of various European backgrounds, with few Australians; mixture, mainly Australians; almost all Australians).

(c) Visiting:

How often do they visit Polish friends, and how often are they visited by them?

How often do they visit other European friends (if any), and how often are they visited by them?

How often do they visit Australian friends (if any), and how often are they visited by them?

(regularly, quite often, sometimes, only occasionally, almost not at all).

(d) Do your parents have any Polish people:

as neighbours?
in close proximity to their house?
in their suburb?

If yes: to what extent do they interact with them?

(very much, quite a lot, sometimes, only a little, hardly at all).

(e) To what formal groups (i.e.: clubs, societies, associations, organisations) do your parents belong or have they belonged?

name of group?
type of group? (Polish, Australian, other)
nature of group? (educational, social, cultural, political, etc.)
years of membership?
level of participation? (casual member, financial member, committee member, office-holder).

(f) Do your parents desire to be a member of any other formal groups?

If yes, which ones? (Polish, Australian, other).

(g) In your opinion, to what extent are your parents organisationally involved in:

- The Polish community?
- Australian life?

(very deeply, deeply, fairly deeply, only a little, not at all).

(h) What is their attitude to the existence of:

- ethnic clubs in principle?
- those Polish clubs currently in existence?

(very favourable, favourable, in between, unfavourable, very unfavourable).

4. Ideology

(a) If your parents had the choice, which neighbourhood would they like best to live in?

(predominantly Polish, mixed Polish and Australian, predominantly Australian).

(b) Which do you think your parents are more emotionally involved (i.e. identified) with?

(b) cont.

(Polish people and nation in Poland, Polish community in Australia/Adelaide, Australia and Australians).

(c) How strongly did your parents encourage you to attend Saturday School?

(very much, quite considerably, to a fair degree, only a little, not at all).

(d) How strongly did your parents encourage you to join Polish clubs (e.g. scouts), mix with Polish friends and generally be active in the Polish community?

(very much, quite considerably, to a fair degree, only a little, not at all).

(e) How strong an interest do your parents take in events in Poland?

(strong interest, weak interest, none at all).

If any interest, how do they show this interest?
In what in Poland do they take special interest?

(f) Do your parents go to see visiting "items" from Poland when they come to Australia/Adelaide?

(almost everytime, only some of the time, hardly at all).

(g) Do your parents ever reminisce about Poland?

(often, sometimes, never).

If they do, do they reminisce about:

the good aspects?
the bad aspects?

(h) How do your parents feel about:

present job (father)?
present salary (father)?
present accommodation (both)?
district (both)?
the general standard of living (both)?
their life generally in Australia (both)?
your education (both)?

(very satisfied, fairly satisfied, mildly satisfied, in between, a little dissatisfied, fairly dissatisfied, very dissatisfied).

(i) Do your parents feel that they are:

completely Polish?	completely Australian?
considerably Polish?	considerably Australian?
fairly Polish?	fairly Australian?
only a little Polish?	only a little Australian?
hardly Polish at all?	hardly Australian at all?

5) Background Information (father and mother)

(a) Occupation (check) and place of occupation in Poland?

(b) Movements from Poland: year (check)? to where (check)?
what doing? place of departure for Australia?

5) Background Information cont.

(c) Year of arrival in Australia (check)? place of arrival? reception camp?

(d) Jobs held under contract?

(e) First job held for (say) three months after contract?

(f) Occupations since then? and now (check)?

(g) Movements within Australia: states, towns, suburbs?

(h) Where were you born? How many in the family?

(i) Education (check): of parents? any after arrival in Australia?

(j) English classes (check): for how many years? where? when?

3. CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

For each cultural item, the following questions were asked:

(a) whether it was known/listened to on record/seen performed/ read?

(b) source of knowledge? (father, mother, Polish School, Polish film, etc.).

(c) mode of transmission? (whether read by student himself, read to him by someone, told to him by someone).

(d) age of acquisition?

(e) recall (where applicable)?

(f) subject evaluation?

(g) parent evaluation?

(h) whether subject would transmit the item to his/her children?

Where extra questions were asked, these are given under the relevant sections.

1) Polish literature

(a) youth novels:
   Konopnicka: Mary, the Little Orphan;
   Sienkiewicz: In Desert and Wilderness.

(b) historical novels:
   Sienkiewicz: The Trilogy, Teutonic Knights, Quo Vadis.

(c) poetry:
   Mickiewicz: Pan Tadeusz, Ode to Youth, and other poems.

2) <u>Music and Drama</u>

   (a) Chopin

   (b) Moniuszko: Halka.

   (c) Fredro: Zemesta, Virgin's Vows.

3) <u>General Knowledge</u>

   (a) Batory; Sobieski (John III);
       Chrobry; Kosciuszko; Poniatowski; Pilsudski;

   (b) 966, 1410; 1683; 1795;

   (c) Bierut; Gomulka; Gierek;

   (d) 3 famous Polish scientists;

   (e) 5 Polish cities;

   (f) 3 Polish rivers.

4) <u>Polish Folklore</u>

   (a) National Dress:

       Did you ever wear it?

       If yes:

          On what occasions?
          At what age did you start wearing it?
          At what age did you stop wearing it?
          Who gave it to you?
          What age were you when you got it?

   (b) National Dancing:

       Which ones do you know? (e.g. Krakowiak, Kujawiak).

   (c) Fables and Legends:

       Which ones do you know? (e.g. Lech, Czech and Rus;
       Wanda of Cracow; Popiel at Goplo).

   (d) Proverbs and Sayings:

       Which ones do you know? (e.g. St. John has brought a
       bucket of water; St. Agnes has released a skylark from
       her bag).

5) <u>Religion</u>

   (a) Attendance at Mass?

       If yes:

          Polish or English?
          How often now?
          How often when younger?

   (b) Confessions?

       If yes:

          In Polish or English?
          To Polish or Anglo-Saxon priest?

(c) Polish religious festivals and celebrations:

Which ones do you know? (e.g. Blessing of Easter Dishes; Polish Midnight Christmas Mass "Pasterka").
used to participate?
still do participate?

6) Polish National Days

Which ones do you know? (e.g. 3 May, 11 November, 23 July)

Identification?

7) Family Structure

It is said that the Polish family structure differs from the Australian one.

Can you say how it differs? (e.g. more ramified and extended; more closely knit; generations living together; greater frequency of visiting, often informally).

In your family, who is the main supporter of the "traditional Polish family"?

8) Polish Manners

Which ones do you know? (e.g. bowing in greeting; a great deal of hand-shaking; getting up for elders; a great deal of kissing in the family; kissing lady's hand).

9) Traditional Polish Observances

Which ones do you know? (e.g. putting hay under the table cloth on Christmas Eve supper and supper itself; Christmas wafers; carols; Easter Eggs-blessed, painting them).

10) Polish Foods and Drinks

Which ones do you know? (e.g. Bigos, white Polish sausages, barszcz, nalesniki, faworki or churst).

Three most liked Polish dishes.

Three most disliked Polish dishes.

If there was an opportunity to eat the best possible "Australian" or "Polish" dinner - which one would you prefer?

APPENDIX D

THE MEASUREMENT OF ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION

1. ETHNICITY

LINGUISTIC INDICATORS (23 points)

1. Polish language ability:

	Understanding	Speaking
very well	4	4
fairly well	3	3
not very well	2	2
only a few words	1	1

2. Active linguistic experience (speaking):

Polish	1
Mixture: Polish and English	$\frac{1}{2}$

for each category to a maximum of 5 points.

3. Passive linguistic experience (hearing):

Polish	$\frac{1}{2}$
mixture: Polish and English	$\frac{1}{4}$

for each category to a maximum of 3 points.

4. If Polish had been formally taught at school up to matriculation or at tertiary level, would you have taken this subject?

	At school	At tertiary level
Yes	2	2

5. Do you consider it desirable that children of migrants in Australia should learn to speak the native tongue of their parents?

Yes	2

6. Please give reasons for your opinion.

If an "ethnic" reason:	1

CULTURAL INDICATORS (17 points)

1. Do you read newspapers/magazines/periodicals in Polish?

(1) regularly	3
(2) sometimes	$1\frac{1}{2}$
(3) never	0

2. Do you read books in Polish?

(1) regularly	5
(2) sometimes	$2\frac{1}{2}$
(3) never	0

3. Do you write and/or receive letters in Polish?

		write letters	receive letters
(1)	often	3	1
(2)	sometimes	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
(3)	never	0	0

4. What European (and in particular, Polish) cultural, social and structural traits would you like to see transplanted to the Australian core culture? $0 \longrightarrow 2$

5. In your opinion, should schools make any allowances for children of non-Anglo-Saxon origin?

<div align="center">Yes   2</div>

6. In what way?

<div align="center">For "ethnic" reasons: 1</div>

STRUCTURAL INDICATORS   (28 points)

1. Friends:

		Inside tertiary institution	Outside tertiary institution
(1)	Almost all Polish	5	5
(2)	mixture, predominantly Polish	4	4
(3)	mixture of Europeans (few Australians)	2	2
(4)	mixture, predominantly Australian	1	1
(5)	almost all Australian	0	0

2. Organisational membership:

Polish
- cultural   4 each
- social   3 each
- sporting   2 each

to a maximum of 8 points.

3. Do you think that migrant communities in Australia can serve a useful function for:

(1)	Australian society as a whole	Yes	2
(2)	newcomers to Australia	Yes	1

4. Would you value their presence because they can:

(3) help preserve ethnic cultures and languages?

<div align="center">Yes   2</div>

(4) other reasons?
(e.g. "enrich Australian...", etc.) 1

5. Were you ever sent to Saturday Schools run by the Polish community?

   Did you attend:

(1)	almost every week?	2
(2)	frequently?	1
(3)	occasionally?	$\frac{1}{2}$

6. Is there any reason you can give why you should at times prefer to associate with people of Polish background?

   for "ethnic" reasons: $1 \longrightarrow 2$

IDEOLOGICAL INDICATORS   (32 points)

1. Do you feel that you are:

(1)	fully Polish?	12
(2)	mainly Polish, a little Australian?	9
(3)	half Polish, half Australian?	6
(4)	mainly Australian, a little Polish?	3
(5)	completely Australian?	0

2. Is it your present intention to marry someone of:

(1)	Polish background?	8
(2)	European (including Polish) background?	5
(3)	Australian or European background?	0
(4)	any background, provided it is Catholic?	1
(5)	any background at all?	0

3. Is it your intention to visit Europe in the future?

   yes   1

   Would Poland figure prominently in the list of countries which you would want to visit?

   yes   3

4. Why would you like to visit Poland in particular?

   Up to 3 points granted according to strength of "ethnicity" of the reasons given.

5. Do you think that in Australia as a whole it is desirable that cultural interpenetration should take place?

   yes   3

6. Do you think that your parents' attachment to education is stronger than what you would expect of average Australian parents? Could you attribute this attachment to:

   (1) traditional Central European respect for learning?

   yes   2

2. ASSIMILATION

LINGUISTIC INDICATORS (18 points)

1. English language ability:

	understanding	speaking
very well	4	4
fairly well	3	3
not very well	2	2
only a few words	1	1

2. Active Linguistic experience (speaking):

English	1
Mixture: English and Polish	$\frac{1}{2}$

for each category to a maximum of 5 points.

3. Passive linguistic experience (hearing):

English	$\frac{1}{2}$
Mixture: English and Polish	$\frac{1}{4}$

for each category to a maximum of 3 points.

4. Do you consider it desirable that children of migrants should learn to speak the native tongue of their parents?

<div align="center">No   2</div>

CULTURAL INDICATORS (17 points)

1. Do you feel in cultural and behavioural terms to be integrated with Australian society?

(1)	completely	9
(2)	almost fully	7
(3)	partly	4
(4)	hardly at all	1
(5)	not at all	0

2. In your opinion, should schools make any allowances for children of non-Anglo-Saxon origin?

<div align="center">No   2</div>

3. What is the principal origin of differences in your opinions and actions in the cultural and social spheres of life from those of your parents?

    (1) Differences in the degree of assimilation   3

4. Do you think that the education you received at school in terms of degree of specialisation in Arts or Sciences was:

(1)	broad?	1
(2)	about average?	$\frac{1}{2}$
(3)	narrow?	0

5. In your view, what Australian traits would be of benefit to those brought up in the European (and in particular, Polish) traditions?

$$0 \longrightarrow 2$$

STRUCTURAL INDICATORS (31 points)

1. Would you say that you have been structurally assimilated into Australian society through participation in the following organisations or groups?

   (1) educational   2
   (2) sporting   2
   (3) social   2
   (4) cultural   2
   (5) political   2

2. Do you think migrant communities in Australia can serve a useful function for:

   (1) Australian society as a whole?

   No   2

3. Would you value their presence because they can:

   (2) help preserve ethnic cultures and languages?

   No   1

4. Friends:

	Inside tertiary institution	Outside tertiary institution
(1) almost all Polish	0	0
(2) mixture, predominantly Polish	1	1
(3) mixture of Europeans (few Australians)	2	2
(4) mixture, predominantly Australian	4	4
(5) almost all Australian	5	5

5. Organisational membership:

   Australian ⎰ Cultural   4 each
               ⎱ Social   3 each
                 Sporting   2 each

   to a maximum of 8 points.

IDEOLOGICAL INDICATORS (34 points)

1. Do you feel that you are:

   (1) fully Polish?   0
   (2) mainly Polish, a little Australian?   3

1. Do you feel that you are: cont.

    (3) half Polish, half Australian?   6
    (4) mainly Australian, a little Polish?   9
    (5) completely Australian?   12

2. Is it your present intention to marry someone of:

    (1) Polish background   0
    (2) European (including Polish background)?   0
    (3) Australian or European background?   4
    (4) any background, provided it is Catholic? 1
    (5) any background at all?   2

3. Would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia?

    (1) yes   8
    (2) probably yes   6
    (3) probably no   1
    (4) definitely no   0
    (5) undecided   3

4. Do you think that in Australia as a whole it is desirable that cultural interpenetration should take place?

                    No   1

5. Do you consider that the Australian Government could have done, or could be doing, more for migrants?

                    No   1

6. How do you feel about the kind of education which you have received in Australia?

	At school	At tertiary level
(1) completely satisfied	2	2
(2) fairly satisfied	1	1
(3) a little dissatisfied	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
(4) fairly dissatisfied	0	0
(5) very dissatisfied	0	0

7. What do you like most, and what do you dislike most, about Australia?

Points ($-2 \longrightarrow +2$) granted according to number and intensity of likes compared with dislikes.

8. Is it your intention to visit Europe in the future?

        Yes   0   No   2

If yes, would Poland figure prominently in the list of countries you would want to visit?

        Yes   0   No $1\frac{1}{2}$

Scoring for the Non-Tertiary Sample

For the Non-Tertiary Sample, the maximum score for each dimension was 93. On both scales, the demarcation between friends inside and friends outside the tertiary institution was not enforced (5 points maximum); on the ethnicity scale, the question on studying Polish at tertiary level was omitted (2 points maximum); and on the assimilation scale, the question on satisfaction with education at tertiary level was omitted (2 points maximum). Thus the maxima for the structural and linguistic indicators of ethnicity were 23 and 21, and for the structural and ideological indicators of assimilation, they were 26 and 33.

APPENDIX E

1. The classification of suburbs.

2. The classification of occupations

3. The measurement of educational results.

1. THE CLASSIFICATION OF SUBURBS

The classification of Adelaide suburbs in which the subjects of this study resided was based upon ratings determined by Mr. Robert Stimson of the School of Social Sciences at Flinders University. His list of burbs was compiled from data which had been gathered on people living in these suburbs, the types of homes they resided in and their income levels. Some of the factors taken into account included occupations, standards of education, persons per room, rooms per household, car ownership, migrant concentrations and percentages of home ownership. It is to be noted that this particular rating list, given below, did not necessarily correspond with popularly held ideas of the status of suburbs. Another questionnaire which asked people how they would rate suburbs according to status resulted, for example, in top place going to Springfield, followed by St. Georges, Beaumont, Toorak Gardens, Tusmore and Wattle Park.

For the purposes of this study, Stimson's list of suburbs was divided into six categories, each containing 23 rating numbers. Thus category I included suburbs which rated numbers 1 to 23, II included 24 to 46, and so on. The list of suburbs ranked from 1 to 139 was first published in The Advertiser, 7 October, 1972. For a later, more detailed analysis of the suburbs of Adelaide, see Stimson, R.J. and Cleland, E.A., A Socio-economic Atlas of Adelaide. An Analysis of the 1971 Census, School of Social Sciences, The Flinders University of South Australia and Department for Community Welfare, South Australia, May 1975.

Suburb rating	Suburb	Suburb rating	Suburb
Group I			
1	Tusmore, Linden Park	12	Unley Park, Malvern
2	St. Georges, Glen Osmond	13	Glenelg South
3	Burnside, Beaumont	14	Somerton Park
4	Erindale, Kensington Gardens	15	Brighton, South Brighton
5	Netherby, Mitcham, Springfield	16	Millswood, Clarence Park
6	Highgate, Myrtle Bank	17	North Adelaide
7	Walkerville	18	Clapham, Panorama
8	Rose Park, Toorak Gardens	19	North Brighton, Hove
9	Belair, Glenalta	20	Fullarton
10	Hawthorn, Kingswood	21	Glenelg
11	Rosslyn Park, Wattle Park	22	Cumberland Park
		23	Plympton
Group II			
24	West Beach	35	Glengowrie
25	Blackwood	36	Manningham, Vale Park
26	Eden Hills, Bellevue Heights	37	Grange
27	Crafers, Bridgewater, Stirling	38	Beulah Park, Kensington Park
28	Glenelg North	39	Warradale
29	Eastwood, Glenside	40	Tranmere
30	Fulham	41	South Plympton
31	Kurralta Park	42	Adelaide City East
32	Seacliff, Kingston Park	43	St. Peters
33	Nailsworth	44	Forestville
34	Lockleys	45	Colonel Light Gdns., Daw Park
		46	Underdale, Brooklyn Park
Group III			
47	Henley Beach	58	Oaklands Park
48	Marino, Seaview	59	Payneham South, Trinity Gdns.
49	Plympton Park, Morphettville	60	Paradise, Athelstone
50	Clarence Park	61	Fairview Park, Tea Tree Gully
51	Fitzroy	62	Rostrevor, Newton
52	Unley	63	Netley, Plympton Park
53	Kensington, Marryatville	64	Woodville South and West
54	Novar Gardens, Camden Park	65	Prospect South
55	Joslin, Payneham	66	Woodville, Kilkenny
56	Magill	67	Hope Valley, Highbury
57	Broadview	68	Glandore, Edwardstown
		69	Goodwood

Suburb rating	Suburb	Suburb rating	Suburb
Group IV			
70	Dover Gardens	81	Klemzig
71	Adelaide City West	82	Parkside
72	St. Marys	83	Kent Town, Norwood
73	Christies Beach, Port Noarlunga	84	Modbury
74	Marden, Felixstow	85	Fulham Gardens, Kidman Park
75	Campbelltown	86	Greenacres, Hillcrest
76	Marion, Mitchell Park	87	Blair Athol
77	Cowandilla, West Richmond	88	Semaphore, Exeter
78	Largs North, Largs	89	Redwood Park, Ridgehaven
79	Park Holme, Ascot Park	90	Sturt, Seacombe Gardens
80	Prospect North	91	Flinders Park
		92	Reynella, Happy Valley
Group V			
93	Peterhead	104	Northfield
94	Gepps Cross	105	Pennington, Cheltenham
95	Enfield	106	Pooraka, Para Vista
96	Holden Hill, Dernancourt	107	Stepney
97	Richmond, Marleston	108	Hectorville
98	West Croydon	109	Elizabeth, Elizabeth South
99	Para Hills	110	Queenstown, Alberton
100	Windsor Gardens	111	Elizabeth Park
101	Salisbury, Parafield Gardens	112	Hindmarsh
102	Clovelly Park	113	Torrensville
103	Beverley, Welland	114	Findon
		115	Elizabeth East, Elizabeth Hts.
Group VI			
116	Port Adelaide, Ethelton	128	Kilburn
117	Seaton	129	Thebarton, Mile End
118	Brahma Lodge, Salisbury East	130	Hendon, Albert Park
119	Elizabeth Vale	131	Ferryden Park
120	Elizabeth Downs	132	Semaphore Park, Royal Park
121	Croydon Park, Dudley Park	133	Woodville Gardens
122	Elizabeth Grove	134	WRE Salisbury North III
123	Athol Park, Woodville North	135	Osborne, Taperoo
124	Valley View, Gilles Plains	136	Elizabeth Field
125	Bowden	137	Rosewater, Ottoway
126	Salisbury North I	138	Elizabeth West
127	Elizabeth North	139	Wingfield, Mansfield Park

2. THE CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS

The classification of occupations was undertaken on the basis of the "prestige scale of sixteen occupational groups" devised by L. Broom and F.L. Jones and published as an appendix to their paper "Career Mobility in Three Societies: Australia, Italy and the U.S.", in the American Sociological Review, Vol. 34 (October 1969), pp. 657-658. The sixteen occupational groups were further condensed into six main categories as shown below, with the non-manual/manual demarcation between categories III and IV. This scale was constructed for Australian society: yet for this study, it has been utilised for both prewar occupations in Europe (mainly Poland) and postwar occupations in Australia.

Two point scale	Six point scale	Sixteen point scale	Occupation Group
NON-MANUAL	I	1 2 3	Upper professional Graziers, and wheat and sheep farmers Lower professional
	II	4 5 6	Managerial Self-employed shop proprietors Other farmers
	III	7 8	Clerical and related workers Members of Armed Services and Police Force
MANUAL	IV	9	Craftsmen and foremen
	V	10 11 12	Shop assistants Operatives and process workers Drivers
	VI	13 14 15 16	Personal, domestic, and other service workers Miners Farm and rural workers Labourers
		17	Other

3. THE MEASUREMENT OF EDUCATIONAL RESULTS

With the permission of the appropriate authorities, the author compiled detailed educational histories for the Polish tertiary respondents as well as Adelaide University non-respondents from student records held at the respective tertiary institutions. These histories included matriculation subjects and grades; tertiary course, subjects and grades; years in which a Commonwealth Scholarship was held; details of any prizes won; and dates of graduation. Also included on record cards were date of birth and current suburb of residence, information which could be used to check the authenticity of questionnaire data.

Points were awarded for the various grades achieved in the following way:

Matriculation results		Tertiary results	
A	10	Distinction (and first class Honours)	10
B	7		
C	5	Credit (and 2A class Honours)	7
D	3		
E	1	Pass, Division 1 (and 2B class Honours)	5
F	0		
G	0	Pass, Division II (and third class Honours)	3
		Fail	0

For repeated subjects, the student scored one less point than is indicated in the above system. The overall percentage score was then the sum total of points divided by the maximum possible for that student and multiplied by 100.

e.g.: Matriculation: 6 subjects, each at C level.

$$\text{Percentage score} = \frac{6 \times 5}{6 \times 10} = 50.$$

A prize awarded on the basis of excellent results (only a very few were) added a bonus of 2 points. The "withdrawn, not failed" category neither added nor subtracted points, but the "did not sit" and "precluded" categories penalised the student 1 point and 2 points respectively for each case.

APPENDIX F

SOURCE MATERIAL ON POLISH EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA
(translated from the Polish language)

1. Statistics on Polish education in Australia: 1956.

2. "The integration of the second generation of Polish migrants": 1967.

3. A survey of Polish Saturday School children in Adelaide: 1967.

4. "I have finished Polish high school: what for?": 1971.

5. Statistics on Polish Saturday Schools in Adelaide: 1975.

1. <u>STATISTICS ON POLISH EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA: 1956</u>

These statistics on Polish schools, and their teachers and students, have been compiled from figures given by Father W. Mackowiak, the President of the Education Commission of the Federal Council of Polish Organisations in Australia, at the seventh conference of the Federal Council in Sydney on 29th September, 1956.

Polish Schools in each State	Number of schools	Number of boys	Number of girls	Number of students	Number of teachers	Ratio of students per teacher
1. Australian Capital Territory						
1) Braddon		40	28	68		
2) Yarralumla		5	27	32		
3) Narrabundah		21	9	30		
Total	3	66	64	130	4	32.5
2. New South Wales						
1) Manly		4	6	10		
2) Redfern		5	8	13		
3) Chullora		30	40	70		
4) Cabramatta		23	32	55		
5) Villawood		20	47	67		
6) Blacktown		44	46	90		
7) Newcastle		24	27	51		
8) Greta (migrant hostel)		47	43	90		
9) Maitland		18	20	38		
10) Queanbeyan		15	21	36		
11) Bathurst		8	12	20		
12) Orange		12	15	27		
Total	12	250	317	567	16	35.4

Polish Schools in each State	Number of schools	Number of boys	Number of girls	Number of students	Number of teachers	Ratio of students per teacher
3. Queensland						
1) Darra		63	67	130		
2) Indooroopilly		5	10	15		
3) Capalaba		10	12	22		
4) Moorooka		10	14	24		
5) Bowen Hills (run by Sisters)		34	29	63)		
6) Kalinga (run by Sisters)		16	39	55)	6	
Total	6	138	171	309	13	23.8
4. South Australia						
1) Kilburn		15	25	40		
2) Croydon		12	24	36		
3) Salisbury		10	14	24		
4) Gawler		4	4	8		
5) Woodside		26	21	47		
6) Goodwood		5	9	14		
7) Ottoway		16	20	36		
8) Semaphore		9	11	20		
9) Royal Park		12	14	26		
10) Enfield		8	9	17		
11) Glenelg - hostel		4	8	12		
12) Mt. Gambier		1	7	8		
Total	12	122	166	288	18	16.0

Apart from these schools, there also existed a few others which did not co-operate with the Polish Association in Adelaide or the Polish Educational Society, but numbers attending these schools were not high.

Polish Schools in each State	Number of schools	Number of boys	Number of girls	Number of students	Number of teachers	Ratio of students per teacher
5. Tasmania						
1) Launceston		4	2	6	2	
2) Hobart – not known						
Total	2	4	2	6	2	3.0
6. Victoria						
1) Essendon		36	40	76		
2) Richmond		34	23	57		
3) Newport		22	25	47		
4) St. Albans		36	46	82		
5) Broadmeadows		22	18	40		
6) Footscray		11	11	22		
7) Ardeer		42	35	77		
8) Ringwood		15	10	25		
9) Kingsville		36	19	55		
10) Parkville		11	5	16)		
11) Benalla		17	25	42)	5	
12) Geelong		32	38	42)		
13) Ballarat – not known						
Total	13	314	295	609	21	29.0

A new school at North Sunshine with an enrolment of 40 was being formed at the time these statistics were presented at the Federal Council.

Polish Schools in each State	Number of schools	Number of boys	Number of girls	Number of students	Number of teachers	Ratio of students per teacher
7. Western Australia						
1) Kelmscott		15	25	40		
2) Bellevue		15	15	30		
3) Midland Junction		8	12	20		
4) Northam		25	35	60		
5) Clackline		6	6	12		
6) Wundowie		9	11	20		
7) Collie		14	16	30		
Total	7	92	120	212	10	21.2
AUSTRALIAN TOTAL (known)	55	986	1,135	2,121	84	25.3

2. "THE INTEGRATION OF THE SECOND GENERATION OF POLISH MIGRANTS": 1967.

This research was conducted by Miss J. Dunin-Karwicki during the final year of studies in sociology at the University of New South Wales.* Questionnaires were sent to 200 Polish youths between 14 and 26 years of age living in Sydney. These subjects had to have been living in Australia for at least ten years. Their names and addresses were collected from a variety of sources, including Polish newspapers and organizations. The researcher received 105 completed questionnaires containing answers to 45 questions (53% response rate). The sample of 105 comprised 15 children from mixed marriages (in 14 cases, the father was Polish), 14 only children of Polish-Polish parents and 76 from Polish-Polish families of more than one child. There were 55 boys and 50 girls. From the older youth (23-26 years), 7 replies were received; from the middle group (18-22 years), 55 replies; and from the youngest group (14-17 years), 43 replies. The results in brief were as follows:

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*   The writer attempted to obtain more information about the study because of its relevance to this research in South Australia. However, neither the School of Sociology (reply dated 3 May, 1974) nor the Library (reply dated 9 April, 1974) of The University of New South Wales were able to trace this study. Two letters were also sent (dated 17 May and 13 December, 1974) to the Editor of Wiadomosci Polskie asking for assistance in locating the work, but no reply was ever received. It is presumed that the survey was carried out in 1967.

Short answers to Questions	N	%
Talk to parents in Polish	92	88
Talk to siblings in Polish	14	13
Able to speak Polish	100	95
Able to read Polish	73	70
Able to write Polish	66	63
Says prayers in Polish	26	25
Says prayers mainly in Polish	18	17
Reads Polish occasionally	47	45
Families maintain contact with relatives back in the old country	57	54
Goes to Polish shows	81	77
Goes to Polish "akademias"	68	65
The house has mostly Polish cuisine	86	82
Has a liking for Polish cuisine	78	74
Observes Names Day	38	36
Observes Christmas Eve	94	90
Takes part in Polish religious services	68	65
Goes mostly to Polish religious services	61	58
Attended Polish Saturday School	80	76
Has mainly Polish acquaintances and friends	51	49
Invites Australians home	68	65
Belongs to Polish organisations	45	43
Belongs to Australian organisations	42	40
Would like to go to Poland to visit relatives	96	91
Has changed surname	4	4
Would like to enter into marriage:-		
a) with a countryman or woman	29	28
b) with an Australian	10	10
c) with a European	2	2
d) without differentiating in nationality	62	59
Considers himself/herself as:-		
a) a Pole	59	56
b) an Australian	40	38
c) neither a Pole nor an Australian	6	6

Source: Wiadomosci Polskie, 18 February, 1968, p. 9.

3. A SURVEY OF POLISH SATURDAY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN ADELAIDE: 1967.

Questionnaires were given to 139 children aged from 6 to 17 years attending Polish Saturday School in Adelaide in 1967. Those children 6 to 8 years wrote their answers in English, the remainder wrote them in Polish, in the presence of the President of the Polish Educational Society, the School Inspector and the teachers. The results were discussed at the second meeting of the Education Commission in Adelaide in January 1968. Only a few of the more representative answers were published.

1. How old are you?

   The ages of the children ranged from 6 to 17 years.

2. Are you a boy or a girl?

3. Do you speak to your parents in Polish or in English at home?

   110 spoke in Polish, the rest in either English, or Polish to the father and English to the mother, or vice versa.

4. Do you speak to your brothers and sisters in Polish or in English?

   98 spoke English to their siblings.

5. Do your parents insist that you speak Polish at home?

   In 104 families, the children were told to speak in Polish.

6. Do you like it when your parents do everything at home in the Polish manner?

   126 - yes (one 11 year old complained he did not like "barsch").

7. Do your parents speak to you in Polish?

   In 109 cases, the parents spoke to the children in Polish; and in 30, "sometimes" in Polish.

8. Do you want to change your surname to an English one?

   19 wanted to change their surname - Reasons: "it sounds better"; "because they (presumably Australian peers) tease me". 120 categorically stated that they would not change, the often repeated reason being "because I am Polish".

9. Do you go to Polish school because your parents tell you to, or because you yourself like Polish school?

   68 attended because parents told them to go to school; and 45 "because I wanted to myself","because it's better that way" or "because I like the girls".

10. Why is Polish school necessary for you?

    The children attended Polish school "because it is a good thing to go" (8 year old) or "because I like it" (7 year old).

11. For how many years would you like to go to Polish school?

12. What do you like most about Polish school?

> The older groups liked the games at recess time, the dancing, the theatrical rehearsals and the personalities of the teachers.

13. What don't you like about Polish school?

> Others did not like the personalities of the teachers, the poor organisation, and the bad surroundings.

14. Would you like to go to Poland?

> 135 - yes, for a visit (one would prefer to go to Italy).

15. What would you like to see in Poland?

> They stated that they would like to see the snow (the younger children), relatives, cities, forests, mountains, Maszowsze (a Polish Dancing Group which had visited Australia not long before the survey), and the behaviour of the girls there.

16. If you had been in Poland, would you like to stay there permanently?

> 72 said they would like to stay in Poland permanently. The reasons of those who would not like to stay were: there is war there (a frequent answer), Russians are there, people in Poland are poor, there are too many people, the Communists are there, I was born here, I don't want to leave my friends.

17. Are the children you play with outside your home Polish children?

18. Do you attend mass celebrated by a Polish priest?

> 100 children went to mass celebrated by a Polish priest, 22 went sometimes, 17 never.

19. To what youth organisations would you like to belong?

> (fixed choice options)

> BCK 30; Scouts 36; Tatry Dancing Group 67; the Orchestra 22; the choir 6; and the Sports Club 17.

Source: Wiadomosci Polskie, 5 May, 1968, p. 9.

Conclusions drawn from the Adelaide study by Mr. H. Lewicki
(S.A. School Inspector) and accepted by the second meeting of the
Education Commission in Adelaide in January 1968.

1. Polish schools for children of Polish descent in Australia are
   vitally necessary. If we do not establish Polish schools,

   > "we do an injury to our children among whom there
   > is either a conscious or unconscious deep feeling
   > of wanting to know something about the language
   > and country from which their parents are descended."

2. Polish schools cannot limit themselves only to the teaching of
   language and knowledge of Poland, which for our children is,
   for perfectly understandable reasons, a "forced school"
   experience. Polish schools should also organise and develop
   cultural-entertainment activities: games, theatrical
   presentations, singing, folk-dancing, music, sport and
   exhibitions.

3. Guardian organisations should make sure that the school
   building has the character of a school, and of a Polish
   school at that. The surroundings should be pleasant,
   recreation breaks well organised, and supervision assured.

4. Guardian organisations should also make a good choice of
   teachers, and teachers should make sure that they are well
   prepared for their lessons.

5. The number of years at Polish school should not be less than
   10, say, from the sixth to the seventeenth year.

6. Polish children have strong emotional links with the country
   of their descent. No amount of teaching and explanation of
   the situation in which Poland now finds itself will change
   their views (strongly influenced by their parents) on the
   country from which their parents came. The school is not
   the place to mould their world political opinions.

7. From these questionnaires, it appears that some children have
   misinformed impressions of Poland. Probably this is an echo
   of the many rebuffs and complexes received by their parents
   and brought with them from prewar Poland. The purpose of the
   Polish school is to correct these misinformed impressions of
   Poland.

   Is it possible to maintain the children's sense of identity,
   bypassing the Polish school, if the parents do not have enough
   time to concern themselves with the upbringing of their children
   and teaching them the subjects of Poland? It would appear that
   Polish schools in other centres should follow the example of
   Adelaide. Maybe in the end this will galvanise apathetic
   parents to fulfil their obligations with regard to their
   homeland and send their children to Polish school.

   In all this, there is one big "BUT". Out of approximately
   100,000 Poles in Australia, only around 1,200 attend Polish
   school. Is not this number too small?

Source: Wiadomosci Polskie, 5 May, 1968, p. 9.

4. "I HAVE FINISHED POLISH HIGH SCHOOL: WHAT FOR?": 1971

[An essay written by a 17 year old girl who had just graduated from the Polish high school in Melbourne.]

After four years at Polish high school in Melbourne, the last day appears to me to be rather sad. I think, though, that I will come out of these lessons with at least some information about Poland, whether it be its history, geography or literature. I consider that I should now be able to transfer this information to other younger Polish children through various means. One of these means, after finishing high school, is to teach in Polish schools and to try and encourage other Polish children's Polishness.

I hope that after finishing high school I will remain with the Poles and that I will try to disseminate information about my homeland to awaken interest not only in young Poles, but also among people of other nationalities; I think that even they will be a little interested in this subject. The encouragement of Polishness can be carried out through Polish organisations as, for example, the scouting group. Through organising various outings and interesting displays, one can transmit at least some knowledge about Poland. I consider that after finishing high school, my goal should be the organising of such outings and displays in order to transmit to others information similar to that which I have gained from lessons at Polish high school.

I am certain that in the four years at Polish high school, I must have learnt something. Even if I had not remembered everything that I had learnt for long, I will still never forget that I was prepared to enter into Polish life and the various Polish social groups. At some future date, I would like to go to Poland and I believe that the years of study at the high school have furthered my interest in this even more. When I go there I will be able to compare today's Poland with what I was taught in high school. Maybe I will even go to Poland for further studies in history, geography and Polish literature. I will certainly remember the Polish language better than other subjects since I feel a need to maintain constant correspondence in Polish, be it through letters or through other means. Even if I were not able to go to Poland, I would still like to learn more about Poland through studies conducted for youth who have finished high school.

I consider that the high school has given me not only knowledge about Poland, but an acquaintance with the life of Poles overseas. So that even though this country is "foreign" to me, I can consider it too as my homeland. I leave the high school with very pleasant memories, and I will never forget these four years because I hope that they will have awakened me for further Polish life.

Source: _Poradnik Nauczycielski_, No. 27, September-December 1971, p. 7.

5. STATISTICS ON POLISH SATURDAY SCHOOLS IN ADELAIDE: 1975

Questionnaires were completed by organisers of Polish Saturday Schools in Adelaide in 1975 as part of a national survey of ethnic schools undertaken by the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Australian Schools established in 1974 by the then Federal Minister for Education. There are two educational movements in Adelaide, one run by the Polish Educational Society and the other sponsored by the Polish Ex-Servicemen's Association and the Polish Scouts Association. Details of the schools run by each of these bodies are as follows:

Educational details in 1975	Polish Educational Society	Polish Scouts and Polish Ex-Servicemen's Associations
Location of schools	Wakefield Street in the city, St. Mary's, Royal Park, Athol Park, Croydon, Enfield, Mt. Gambier, Whyalla	Dom Polski in Angas Street
Year of commencement	1954	1955
Student enrolment (1975)	230	63
Age range	$\frac{1}{2}$–$16\frac{1}{2}$ years	6–20 years
Percentage born overseas	3	8
Percentage born in Australia	97	92
Percentage of Polish-Polish parentage	99	89
Percentage of "mixed" parentage	1	11
Times of classes on Saturdays	9.30–11.30 am; 3–5 pm	10 am–12 noon; 2–4 pm.
Hours/week for students	2	2
Days in school year	43	41
Number of teachers	22 and 1 inspector (6 qualified)	7 (4 qualified)
Payment for teachers	$2.50 per hour	None
Fees for students	$6 or $10 per term	None
Subjects taught	Mainly language ($1\frac{1}{2}$ hours), plus history and geography	Mainly language (1 hour), plus history, geography and music

APPENDIX G

EXTRACTS FROM LIFE HISTORIES OF FOUR RESPONDENTS OF

THE POLISH TERTIARY SAMPLE

"The migrant is not a statistic or an abstraction. He is
not a theory. He is a live, real, breathing human being,
... Because he is just that, the importance of the ordinary
person is manifest to everyone."*

These extracts from life histories of four Polish subjects

illustrate the various influences which have played a part in the

process of socialisation into two worlds. While for one subject, the

Polish home was clearly of paramount importance, for another it was

approximately on a par with the Saturday School and dancing group, and

for the other two, it was a much weaker socialising agent than the ethnic

youth organisations. That all four refer to the significance of the

Polish language underlines the fact that Poles form an ethnic cultural

group whose core values emphasise the native tongue above all other

national characteristics. The two respondents who do not speak the

Polish language fully recognise that their future organisational involve-

ment will centre around English-speaking structures, and that they will

therefore tend to draw away from the ethnic community as such. One

further theme in these stories is the hint of culture tension with

parents over breakdowns in communication or going out to non-Polish

functions, and of culture conflict within the individual through not

being able to speak the mother tongue of the parents or not being raised

as both an Australian and a Pole. These respondents, however, minimise

such difficulties because they have, in one way or another, been able

to work out a satisfactory solution. While these few points are worth

emphasising by way of introduction, it is only the voices themselves

that can provide genuine insight into the "live, real, breathing human

being" whom we call the second generation Pole.

*W. Snedden, quoted in the Australian Citizenship Convention Digest,
1968, p.51.

Respondent born in England of Polish-Polish parentage, male,
scores "high" on both ethnicity and assimilation indices:

    I was born in England of Polish parentage and received
all my schooling in Australia. Although this might seem to be a
somewhat peculiar jumble it has not caused any confusion in my
mind (as far as I am aware) as to my identity. I regard England
as the land of my birth; Poland as the land where my roots are,
the land of my parents and ancestors, my heritage; Australia as
my home, the land that formed me. Although I have a certain
amount of affection for England because I was born there, and I
do not like to hear people rashly criticizing that country, I do
not feel at all English. This is because I did not have the
opportunity to absorb any English culture during the short space
of time spent in England. I only have memories of particular
people and places. Any English culture that I have absorbed has
been through "Australian" culture which, in any case, has developed
from an English base. I do, however, feel both Australian and
Polish - Australian because it was in an Australian environment
that I went through my formative years, and Polish because during
those years my parents, who are Polish, were a very important
influence on my development. One point which I think requires
clarification is that if I was born in Australia I would not feel
any more Australian. The critical factor is the environment that
one is brought up in, not one's place of birth... The fact that
the school was "a bastion of Anglo-Saxon culture", I do not
consider to be bad in itself. It did help to make me an Australian
and I am glad that it did. I want to be Australian, I want to fit
in with the society in which I live, I do not want to be "different"
or alienated. I might add that my parents thought this desirable
too... It was always their intention that I be brought up as an
Australian so that I would settle in well here and not feel a
stranger in my own country. At the same time, however, they
wanted to pass on the Polish language and culture to me because
it was a part of them and they wanted me to share in their
heritage.

    My parents and I have always spoken to each other in
Polish and continue to do so except, of course, when there is
someone present who does not understand it, when we use English
out of courtesy. This seems natural to me since I learnt Polish
as a child whereas they had to pick up English in later life.
Thus, although their command of the English language is quite
good (they regularly read English newspaper articles) it is not
as good as my command of Polish. Since the main purpose of
language is communication it would therefore seem logical to use
Polish. Of course, at the same time constant usage helps maintain
fluency of the language. It is for this same reason that I nearly
always use English when I am talking with young people from Polish
families who were brought up in Australia. Although I consider my
command of Polish to be very good and I speak it without an accent,
I tend to make more grammatical errors and my vocabulary is much
more limited than in English. There seems little point, therefore,
in "beating around the bush" in Polish when it is difficult enough
to convey an abstract idea even in English... When I was in primary

school my parents sent me to Polish Saturday School. I attended
this for about two years... Although I support the concept of
having such schools, I honestly do not think that I learnt much
while going there...

Without any hesitation I would say that it is my parents
who have imbued me with the spirit and culture of Poland. At a
very early age I remember them telling me stories from Polish
folk-lore and teaching me to recite short poems (not nursery rhymes).
However, to be really honest, most of the credit would have to go to
my father. When I was in primary school he would often spend his
evenings teaching me reading, writing and dictation in Polish. He
also subscribed to a Polish children's magazine, "Swierszczyk",
for me to read and he would give me the children's page from
"Tydzien Polski" (a Polish newspaper published in London) whenever
he bought it. Later he would alternately read and make me read
passages (thus covering a whole book) from Sienkiewicz's novels
(on such occasions mum would also listen with interest). When I
was in secondary school there were several occasions when every-
one in the class was asked to give a speech on a certain topic to
practise public speaking. On a couple of these occasions he helped
me to prepare speech on Polish topics. While I was at school I
took piano lessons and it was through dad's discussions with the
teacher that my repertoire of Chopin's compositions was increased.
During this time he also obtained a tape-recording of "Pan Tadeusz"
and played it to me. Even now I read the odd article in "Wiadomosci"
(published in London), or "Kultura" (published in Paris), because he
subscribes to it and so it is readily available. Of course, I
appreciate that during all this time my mother also played a very
significant role in my upbringing. However, I think that her role
was rather one of support and cooperation while the initiative was
taken by my father (which is to be expected since he has had a
better education).

As far back as I can remember, other commitments allowing,
we have always attended the major Polish functions. This includes
the "akademias" (3rd May, 15th August, 11th November and any special
ones), folk-dancing concerts and important religious observances
such as the Corpus Christi procession.

Of my closest friends the majority are Australian with one,
two or three exceptions. I have always found it more difficult to
communicate with my Polish peers than with my Australian peers.
At a Polish party (as distinct from a more official function), I
rarely feel as relaxed as I do at an Australian party (though I
do not feel awkward and I do not think it is noticeable to others).
If one is to judge a person by his friends then I suppose I would
come out more Australian than Polish, though this is an over-
simplification. Part of the reason why I have more Australian
friends is probably due to being brought up with Australians which
in turn is due to social environment, to living in a district where
there are few migrants... Whilst I feel Australian I do not feel
British or Irish or Anglo-Saxon. Marriage is said to be a strong
indicator of national feeling or identity (some say the ultimate
indicator though I think this is too dogmatic). I would certainly

like to marry an Australian girl but I have no great desire to
marry an English girl or an Irish girl (i.e. a girl raised in
England or Ireland) and I certainly do not want to marry a Polish
girl (i.e. raised in Poland). However, I would consider a Polish-
Australian girl as someone who had something more in common with
me than an Anglo-Saxon Australian girl. (These observations are
very hypothetical as this is not how one goes about choosing a
marriage partner. One cannot do it quite so neatly because human
beings are complicated creatures and not things which can have
simple labels attached to them.) What I am saying is that one
seeks a person who sees the world and Life (with a capital L!)
similarly to oneself and that it is much more likely to find such
a person from among those brought up in the same society (Australian)
than in a different one (Polish, English, etc.). For me Australia
is my country, not Poland. If Poland was to suddenly become a
Western-style democracy with a higher standard of living than
Australia I would still choose to live in Australia (unless of
course one hypothesized an extreme case of death here and life
there). I think the crux is that I like the Australian "way of
life", a thing difficult to define. It is much easier to picture
Australians as the satirical "Ocker" or "Bazza McKenzie" characters,
but I think these are accepted as grotesque distortions of reality
(though humorous and containing a modicum of truth).

On the other hand, I also believe that one can be Polish
without yearning to live in that country (different from visiting
it). I am reminded here of something I recently read by the Polish
writer, Kisielewski (often referred to as Kisiel). He wrote that
there are two Polands, one a geographical entity, the other a
spiritual entity. To belong to the latter, one need not live
between a particular set of geographical boundaries. What is
required is a strong sense of kinship with the Polish people and
their history and a love of Polish culture, customs and traditions.
I think that this is how I would justify my "Polishness". As to
whether I am Polish in the sense that I think or behave in a Polish
way or display some other Polish traits, I am not quite sure. To
be sure, I am very excitable and emotional and this is supposed to
be "Polish". However, this may simply be inherited temperament from
my parents as they are similarly disposed rather than a cultural,
psycho-social moulding of character (there are, of course,
excitable Australians and laconic Poles). In summary then, I feel
myself to be both Polish and Australian or a Polish-Australian.

Respondent born in Australia of Polish-Polish parentage, female,
scores "medium" on both ethnicity and assimilation indices:

     ... Both of my parents are Polish. I went to Loreto for
my whole life, that is a very English school, or it is Catholic,
and most of my friends therefore as I grew up were Australian,
and as far as I remember there were only ever two Polish kids at
Loreto throughout those whole thirteen years. Hence, as you can
imagine my closest contacts have been with Australian kids. We
also lived on the wrong side of town for a continual close contact
with Polish families, I think. Had we, say, lived in Croydon or
Enfield things might have been a bit different. Now, I myself
have never spoken Polish at home, I probably did when I was very
young, but I don't now, and though I think I have got quite a
reasonable understanding of it, I just don't speak it. Mum
speaks to us all the time in English and Dad speaks to us in
Polish. We don't practise many Polish customs at home, I am very
ignorant of what goes on. The same can go for traditional Polish
foods, things like that. Probably a major reason for this has
been the part of the shop in the family, it has really dominated
our lives; there has been no real chance of learning traditions
at home.

     My Polish involvement has mainly come through clubs and
organizations. From the age of 6, I joined the Polish Scouts and
I kept that up until just recently when it has faded away. I
went to Polish School from that age until I was 15. I think that
is a record of sorts. I went to Polish dancing classes from the
age of eight to thirteen, and now I am in the Polish University
Club. Now when I say I joined these clubs, I think I was a rather
fanatical member. I went to every Saturday School, I hold the
record for going to the most camps at Hindmarsh Island, nine times
straight I think. Now, I have had to realise, "Well, hell, why on
earth did I join the Polish University Club? Is it because I feel
especially Polish or not?" I had to realise that perhaps it is not
so much that, as the fact that, having always belonged to a Polish
organisation, I got to University and, "oh look, there is a Polish
University Club, let's join it". And I think that has been the
predominant reason. Perhaps I am being a bit naive, perhaps I am
a bit more Polish than I think I am, I don't know. It is through
these clubs that I have become aware of the existence of certain
Polish customs and of the Polish language, just the fact that they
do exist. I have also made a lot of friends who have a similar
background to myself; I probably would not have done that otherwise.
Now perhaps Mum and Dad, realising that they probably couldn't
introduce us to these customs at home, sent us along to these
organizations, I know they were very strict on that. I don't know
whether it did us good or not, that has to be decided. Not having
been subject to so many customs or traditions, I am interested but
I don't think I am overly attached... I am interested but that is
it. Still, my Polish background has resulted in having, I think,
an abnormal interest in things related to Poland or Polish people.
For instance, I am interested in people like Roman Polanski simply
because he is Polish, and I know that Peter Wilenski exists - I
don't know of any other public servants in Canberra, but I have

noted the name, it's Polish. Reading back in the papers about
the Polish strikes of the late 1960's, well,that helped my
interest simply because they were Polish. I suppose I have got
an interest in Polish art and weaving, things like that. I also
want to learn Polish cooking, though I don't really know any of
it now. I have a desire to learn things like that, and I may even
learn to speak Polish, it all depends. The point I need to make is,
however, that my future involvement in any of these things will be
more of a function in many ways of how Polish are the people I
communicate with and it is perhaps not so much initiative from
myself.

Now, what I hold as one of the major reasons for this
attitude is the fact that I don't speak Polish. Not having
spoken the language I have found myself in very awkward situations
along the way... I think communication is one of the most important
things one needs to have to be affiliated with a group. If you
can't communicate in the language, if you can't get on on such a
personal level, I don't think you can feel so close to the people.
It is just a basic fact. Not only that I felt embarrassed often,
not speaking the language, in front of people, but I have also
felt rejected in many situations by people who have, I think,
rejected me because I don't speak Polish and that is something
against me, against my character and that is something I have felt.
And if you are going to get this kind of rejection it is hardly
going to help you to assimilate, to affiliate with that particular
group. I think one thing that hasn't been brought up about the
language is that things like the poetry, the literature, are to me
an important part of feeling part of the particular culture. I
know that if I read an English poem or an English book, or, say,
even an English saying, little things like "A rolling stone gathers
no moss" - to me that kind of thing has a lot in it, it does make
you feel a lot more of that culture, of that language, of that
country. Now if you don't speak the language, you miss out on all
of these things that the Poles will have within their own language,
things like Polish jokes. I just don't get Polish jokes, and I
think laughing with people does help you feel a part of the race or
whatever. Not only that, language also allows for the reading of
a country's news, magazines, things like that. Or if you are a bit
hazy on a few of the customs or whatever, you can read up on them,
the history. And not speaking, or not understanding what I am
reading - I think I can read it quite well, I just can't understand
it, that's Polish School - then I miss out on that again. Because
I like to be active this will mean that in future I will join
English-speaking clubs, this is away from Polish-speaking clubs,and
hence, not possibly communicating with so many Poles for so long, I
will move away from the group and I can see this happening.

... Actually there were a few maturation pains for a while;
for instance, why should I feel guilty about not speaking Polish
and I obviously felt, well, my parents are Polish, I should speak
the language, why don't I? But I think I have got over that quite
well, that's where I think the identity crisis comes into it, and
now I think it is just a matter of accepting the best of both worlds.

Respondent born in Australia of Polish-Australian parentage, female, scores "low" on the ethnicity and "high" on the assimilation indices:

   ... My father is Polish and I happen to have an Australian mother... For me, being Polish has meant a growing awareness perhaps more than anything else, and an understanding of the spirit of Polishness, because I think there definitely is a spirit of Polishness - pride in the mother country, the definite response to religion, and the emphasis on education, and great love of music, dancing, and the importance that the Poles place on family life. I think I have just become more aware and grown to understand this spirit of Polishness over the past few years, and particularly since I have joined the club at the University, because I was never very successful at Polish dancing, I was too shy. And language has caused difficulties. I think possibly it went through my father's mind a couple of times to teach us Polish but my father produced a very shy family and that didn't continue. In a way I would have liked it, but I feel that once you get involved with school and everything it is so very,very hard unless you're speaking it all the time at home. I've come in touch with more Poles and become more aware of the spirit of Polishness in the past few years at the University. Many friends of my father's and my mother's I have known since I was a child. They've been the important part of my Polish contacts before I went to University. In actual fact, my contact with Poles perhaps has been rather limited, but being Polish here in Australia for me has made me feel an affinity with every Pole I meet. It's difficult to explain, but it's built up over the past few years and has grown with my maturity and the education I have received, and I can even see this coming through with my younger sister who is at present in the Tatry Dancing Group, she's been there for four years now. But I can see in her more of a growing awareness of Polishness and yet I can't see it in my much younger brother. So perhaps it's a feeling that does come as you grow older. Therefore, really, I'm illustrating I think the fact that those factors contributing to my life as a Pole do not wholly stem from my parentage and family life. The importance of the Polish students' club has reigned, not supreme, but it has been very important to me, more important perhaps than my family life... It is in a way a great pity that we children haven't learnt Polish, because I think we would understand our father more, because I think about the only way you can really understand a person is through their native language. And I think that's where possibly we've had small breakdowns of communication... In no way can I say my life in Australia has been disadvantaged through my parents' "mixed" marriage, I certainly don't feel like a "mixed bag". In actual fact, I feel my life has been greatly enhanced and been made very interesting by my "mixed" parents. Of course there are difficulties, there are difficulties in every home, but what could be more interesting than having one parent who is Polish and one who is Australian - that's where I've found it of great advantage... I'd just like to conclude that my Polish background is important to me. I doubt whether it can be held in the same light as that of a young person of purely Polish parents. I lack a great deal in terms of knowledge of Poland and its people, but I have acquired a heritage which I'm very proud of and which I hold very dear.

Respondent born in Australia of Polish-Polish parentage, male, scores "high" on the ethnicity and "medium" on the assimilation indices:

Perhaps the greatest influence was the "polishization" I received at home, and this I have never lived to regret. I am very proud of my Polish culture and I prefer many Polish things when compared to their Australian counterparts. At school, nothing is added in extra to express your nationality in some way, to aid integration of cultures, and at home the same thing happens on the opposite plane. I always felt more at ease in the Polish community and contact with it was more frequent. Our street is predominantly Polish, I attend Polish Mass regularly, the district is largely Polish, I attended Polish School and other Polish functions and organizations (Scouts and Dancing Group) and, most of all, our home is Polish. Polish traditions at home are held very strongly; these include blessing of food on Easter Saturday, the Easter Monday "squirting day" and a very informal help-yourself atmosphere (yet not individual). Letter-writing to Polish relatives in Poland kept me in touch with the language in a very useful manner, though unfortunately this practice I stopped about two years ago. The continual bout of visitors which have always poured into our home was a determining factor in my "polishization", for they always spoke Polish to me and encouraged me with praise for my fluent Polish diction.

... What confirmed and definitely strengthened my Polish ethnicity was the trip to Poland with my father in 1966. It was perhaps the most exhilarating experience of my life, a period of never-to-be-forgotten value. Being surrounded by Polish people all the time, I felt very much at home in their homely atmosphere. I found that in the 'mother country' one is accepted for what one is more readily than here in Aussie-land. The country itself is magnificent, with luxurious green covering and towns, cities and villages brimming over with old custom and tradition. The only part of the country I and my father left unexplored was the Russian side. I attended Polish School there and this helped me immensely in my Polish language, especially vocabulary-wise. The constant chatter of Polish and the charm of the Poles intrigued me and patriotism gripped me even tighter. The visit to Monte Casino in Italy when we were Poland-bound was also a patriot-luring device, observing all the graves of those Poles who so valiantly succeeded where so many others failed. I could write a book on my trip, but I think that can wait!

... My academic life didn't stop at Australian schools, for I attended weekly classes in Polish. Ever since six years of age I have been going to Polish classes and kept them up right until I entered tertiary education. By this time I had progressed to third year. Like my brother and sisters, I appeared at many Polish concerts and plays and invariably was chosen to read prose verse, memorize poems and act as programme announcer, besides Polish dancing. These concerts reaped in many a prize for the family and there would almost always be a [surname] in any Polish concert till about two years ago. I take pride in these humble

awards far more than any I have received in any Australian school, for I see them as more worthwhile even though to Australians they would seem to be nonsense. Often I would see them as a triumph over things I was not too keen on undertaking. But no matter how hard my parents pushed me to Polish School, looking back on it now I never regretted it; for not only has it improved my Polish but it has helped preserve it reasonably intact within me.

... Polish School helped me tremendously and was an immeasurable factor in my "polishization". My speech improved, my knowledge of the Poles increased and my outlook on life and people widened considerably. This was all aided by the fact of living in a Polish home.

Perhaps the greatest influence on my "Austro-pole-ishness" was my belonging for almost ten years to the Dancing Group, with the same people for most of that time. Through the Dancing Group I learned a number of things - how to dance waltzes, tangos, etc. at dances, how to mix more 'healthily' with girls, the ways of Australian people (mainly the older people for whom we did most of our dancing) and so on. We had an appearance on nearly every three weeks (sometimes thrice a week), yet this never affected my duties at school. In fact the break was welcome, since we all loved it, and we looked forward to the weekly Sunday practice.

... My parents are very proud of the fact that I am so 'Polish', although they would prefer me to use the language more often. They have reacted very little to the Australian school influence, simply because the influence is so small, almost unnoticeable. One thing, though, has caused conflict at home in the past few years, and that is the question of going out. At school your friends asked you to go here and there,to this party and that film and so on, while my parents tried to keep me at home except when a Polish function was on. The same applied to my sisters, and I rebelled at home against this and was soon mixing more freely with a greater number of people. Today my younger brother goes out much more than the rest of us children used to do at his age, and my parents do not seem to mind this so much now. We have made so many friends in so many different circles that our home is constantly occupied by some of them, or at least by friends of Mum and Dad.

The school's influence has been very small on my Polish origin and background. Now I feel more and more strongly about the 'polishness' but not to the extent of having pure white and red eyes. I have retained my loyalty to Australia and will always be loyal to her because she has given me so much. But my first turn is always to the Poles, to those people who have done so much to form my personality and ways of thinking - and trailing second will come Australia, the country which has educated me (I hope) and provided my material means for existence.

APPENDIX H

CROSS-TABULATION OF INDICATOR QUESTIONS WITH OVERALL

RATINGS OF HIGH, MEDIUM AND LOW FOR

ETHNICITY AND ASSIMILATION

(The Polish Tertiary Sample)

Indicator questions of Ethnicity and Assimilation	Ethnicity (n)			Assimilation (n)		
	H 31	M 39	L 42	H 47	M 49	L 16
I LINGUISTIC INDICATORS						
1. Command of Polish (understanding):						
very well	24	10	5	13	18	8
fairly well	7	22	15	12	26	6
not very well	0	5	5	5	3	2
only a few words	0	2	7	7	2	0
none/no answer	0	0	10	10	0	0
2. Command of Polish (speaking):						
very well	15	9	1	8	15	2
fairly well	16	17	10	13	18	12
not very well	0	11	12	6	15	2
only a few words	0	2	8	10	0	0
none/no answer	0	0	11	10	1	0
3. Active Linguistic Experience (speaking):						
(1) grand-parents Polish	10	9	4	8	13	2
mixture	0	1	1	0	3	0
English	0	1	6	6	1	0
not applicable	21	28	31	33	33	14
(2) father Polish	28	15	9	17	23	12
mixture	3	16	5	7	14	3
English	0	5	27	20	11	1
not applicable	0	3	1	3	1	0
(3) mother Polish	26	16	7	14	23	12
mixture	5	18	9	13	16	3
English	0	5	26	20	10	1
not applicable	0	0	0	0	0	0
(4) older relatives Polish	18	14	2	9	21	4
mixture	4	6	3	8	4	1
English	0	2	14	12	4	0
not applicable	9	17	23	18	20	11

Indicator Questions		Ethnicity (n)			Assimilation (n)		
		H_{31}	M_{39}	L_{42}	H_{47}	M_{49}	L_{16}
(5) parents' ethnic friends	Polish	27	27	10	18	33	13
	mixture	3	11	11	10	12	3
	English	1	1	21	19	4	0
	not applicable	0	0	0	0	0	0
(6) older siblings	Polish	0	1	0	1	0	0
	mixture	3	4	0	0	4	3
	English	13	18	23	24	24	6
	not applicable	15	16	19	22	21	7
(7) younger siblings	Polish	0	0	0	0	0	0
	mixture	4	1	0	1	4	0
	English	14	18	23	25	24	6
	not applicable	13	20	19	21	21	10
(8) cousins own age	Polish	3	0	0	1	1	1
	mixture	2	1	0	2	1	0
	English	12	13	13	20	14	4
	not applicable	14	25	29	24	33	11
(9) own ethnic friends within tertiary institution	Polish	0	1	0	0	1	0
	mixture	9	3	0	4	5	3
	English	22	35	36	38	42	13
	not applicable	0	0	6	5	1	0
(10) own ethnic friends outside tertiary institution	Polish	1	1	0	1	1	0
	mixture	11	9	1	4	12	5
	English	19	28	38	39	35	11
	not applicable	0	1	3	3	1	0
4. Passive Linguistic Experience (hearing):							
(1) grand- parents	Polish	10	9	6	9	14	2
	mixture	0	1	0	0	1	0
	English	0	1	4	4	1	0
	not applicable	21	28	32	34	33	14
(2) father	Polish	29	23	14	20	33	13
	mixture	2	11	9	8	11	3
	English	0	2	18	16	4	0
	not applicable	0	3	1	3	1	0
(3) mother	Polish	27	23	15	19	32	14
	mixture	4	12	10	12	12	2
	English	0	4	17	16	5	0
	not applicable	0	0	0	0	0	0

Indicator Questions		Ethnicity (n) H_{31}	M_{39}	L_{42}	Assimilation (n) H_{47}	M_{49}	L_{16}
(4) older relatives	Polish	18	18	5	11	26	4
	mixture	4	3	2	6	2	1
	English	0	2	10	10	2	0
	not applicable	9	16	25	20	19	11
(5) parents' ethnic friends	Polish	27	33	15	22	40	13
	mixture	4	5	15	13	9	2
	English	0	0	12	12	0	0
	not applicable	0	1	0	0	0	1
(6) older siblings	Polish	0	1	0	0	1	0
	mixture	3	4	0	1	2	4
	English	13	17	21	23	24	4
	not applicable	15	17	21	23	22	8
(7) younger siblings	Polish	0	0	0	0	0	0
	mixture	4	3	0	2	3	2
	English	14	17	24	24	25	6
	not applicable	13	19	18	21	21	8
(8) cousins own age	Polish	3	0	0	1	1	1
	mixture	2	1	0	1	2	0
	English	12	13	13	21	13	4
	not applicable	14	25	29	24	33	11
(9) own ethnic friends within tertiary institution	Polish	1	0	0	1	0	0
	mixture	7	4	0	3	5	3
	English	23	35	36	38	43	13
	not applicable	0	0	6	5	1	0
(10) own ethnic friends outside tertiary institution	Polish	2	0	0	2	0	0
	mixture	11	9	1	4	12	5
	English	18	29	39	39	36	11
	not applicable	0	1	2	2	1	0
5. Study Polish as a subject:							
(1) at secondary level	yes	31	35	26	37	41	14
	no	0	4	14	9	8	1
(2) at tertiary level	yes	22	18	8	17	25	7
	no	7	19	31	29	22	6
6. Children should learn to speak native language of parents:	yes	31	38	28	34	48	15
	no	0	1	12	12	1	0

Indicator Questions		Ethnicity (n)			Assimilation (n)		
		H_{31}	M_{39}	L_{42}	H_{47}	M_{49}	L_{16}
II CULTURAL INDICATORS							
7. Read newspapers:	regularly	6	0	0	2	1	3
	sometimes	21	29	8	19	30	9
	never	4	10	34	26	18	4
8. Read books:	regularly	0	0	1	1	0	0
	sometimes	23	10	3	13	15	8
	never	8	29	38	33	34	8
9. Write letters:	regularly	4	1	1	3	2	1
	sometimes	17	20	2	11	20	8
	never	9	18	39	33	27	6
10. Receive letters:	regularly	6	4	1	3	4	4
	sometimes	18	19	6	14	23	6
	never	6	16	35	30	22	5
11. Schools should make allowances:	yes	25	27	18	23	33	14
	no	5	12	24	23	16	2
12. Acculturation:	completely	11	17	21	30	15	2
	almost fully	8	15	14	15	21	1
	partly	9	9	6	2	13	9
	hardly at all	3	0	1	0	0	4
	not at all	0	0	0	0	0	0
13. Tensions between subjects and parents due to differences in degree of assimilation:							
	yes	11	11	11	13	14	6
14. Specialisation at school:	broad	9	9	5	9	11	3
	about average	15	17	22	24	21	9
	narrow	7	12	15	14	17	3
III STRUCTURAL INDICATORS							
15. Friends within tertiary institution	almost all Poles	1	1	0	0	0	2
	mixture, mainly Poles	9	3	1	0	7	6
	Europeans	9	15	9	7	22	4
	mixture, mainly Australians	9	17	26	33	15	4
	almost all Australians	3	3	6	7	5	0

Indicator Questions		Ethnicity (n)			Assimilation (n)		
		H_{31}	M_{39}	L_{42}	H_{47}	M_{49}	L_{16}
16. Friends outside tertiary institu-tion:	almost all Poles	6	3	1	4	2	4
	mixture, mainly Poles	16	13	2	4	19	8
	Europeans	4	8	10	5	14	3
	mixture, mainly Australians	5	15	21	28	12	1
	almost all Australians	0	0	7	6	1	0
17. Number of Australian clubs:	0	18	22	21	19	29	13
	1	7	9	10	14	9	3
	2	2	6	7	7	8	0
	3+	4	2	4	7	3	0
18. Number of Polish clubs:	0	1	19	33	31	18	4
	1	16	14	9	10	21	8
	2	12	5	0	4	9	4
	3+	2	1	0	2	1	0
19. Usefulness of migrant communities:							
(1) for Australian society	yes	31	39	36	41	49	16
	no	0	0	5	5	0	0
(2) for newcomers to Australia	yes	28	36	42	46	44	16
	no	0	2	0	0	2	0
(3) to help preserve ethnic cultures and languages	yes	28	35	26	30	43	16
	no	2	3	13	14	4	0
20. Attendance at Polish School:	no	5	10	27	21	15	6
	yes: almost every week	22	22	7	19	23	9
	yes: frequently	1	2	2	3	2	0
	yes: occasionally	3	5	6	4	9	1
21. Structural assimilation:							
(1) educational	yes	29	35	39	47	43	13
	no	2	4	2	0	5	3
(2) sporting	yes	16	26	31	39	30	4
	no	12	12	7	6	14	11
(3) social	yes	22	29	36	43	38	6
	no	7	9	5	3	8	10

Indicator Questions	Ethnicity (n)			Assimilation (n)		
	H_{31}	M_{39}	L_{42}	H_{47}	M_{49}	L_{16}
21. Structural assimilation: cont.						
(4) cultural yes	12	20	28	37	23	0
no	16	15	9	7	18	15
(5) political yes	8	12	16	21	13	2
no	17	18	22	21	23	13
IV IDEOLOGICAL INDICATORS						
22. Self-identification::						
fully Polish	4	2	0	1	1	4
mainly Polish, a little Australian	12	5	0	0	11	6
half Polish, half Australian	12	26	11	17	26	6
mainly Australian, a little Polish	3	6	25	23	11	0
completely Australian	0	0	6	6	0	0
23. Marital intentions:						
Polish background	17	3	0	4	7	9
European (incl. Polish) background	2	7	0	1	7	1
Australian or European background	3	8	12	15	8	0
any background, provided Catholic	1	5	0	2	4	0
any background at all	7	15	30	24	22	6
24. Intention to visit:						
(1) Europe yes	31	36	40	46	47	14
no	0	3	2	1	2	2
(2) Poland yes	30	33	22	33	39	13
no	1	3	18	13	8	1
25. Desirability of yes	28	33	36	41	42	14
cultural inter- no	2	4	5	5	5	1
penetration:						
26. Parents' attachment to education due to traditional Central European respect for learning: yes	11	11	11	17	12	4
27. Spend rest of life in Australia:						
yes	14	8	12	17	15	2
probably yes	8	18	15	20	18	3
undecided	7	8	10	7	12	6
probably no	1	2	2	2	2	1
definitely no	0	3	3	1	2	3

Indicator Questions	Ethnicity (n)			Assimilation (n)		
	H_{31}	M_{39}	L_{42}	H_{47}	M_{49}	L_{16}
28. Australian Government could be doing more for migrants:						
yes	22	26	27	27	36	12
no	8	12	12	17	12	3
29. Satisfaction with education at school:						
completely satisfied	2	5	2	5	3	1
fairly satisfied	18	17	23	27	25	6
a little dissatisfied	7	6	12	11	10	4
fairly dissatisfied	4	9	2	3	8	4
very dissatisfied	0	2	2	1	3	0
30. Satisfaction with education at tertiary level:						
completely satisfied	4	5	2	3	7	1
fairly satisfied	15	18	26	31	20	8
a little dissatisfied	5	8	11	10	10	4
fairly dissatisfied	5	5	2	3	8	1
very dissatisfied	2	2	0	0	4	0

* Any difference between the sum of the figures in a column and the given total is due to omission of the "no answer" category in these tables.

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2. NEWSPAPERS

Newspaper clippings referred to throughout this thesis have been obtained from the following sources:

(1) Files kept in the Archives of the Polish Historical Society of Australia. These contain clippings from Australian newspapers mainly in Tasmania, New South Wales and South Australia.

(2) Files kept in the Department of Immigration Library in Canberra. In particular, the three volumes of the Press Statements of A.A. Calwell were carefully examined:

> Volume 1 : 1946-1947
> Volume 2 : 1948
> Volume 3 : 1949

(3) Files kept in the Australian National Library in Canberra of newspaper clippings from 1964 entitled:

> (a) "Emigration and Immigration";
> (b) "Polish in Australia";
> (c) "English as a Second Language";
> (d) "Immigrants in Australia".

(4) A file collected and kept by the author of newspaper clippings mainly on Poles in South Australia (particularly those in the samples of this study) and events involving the Polish community in Adelaide: 1971-1976.

(5) Polish Newspapers:

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