

ETHNIC LANGUAGES AND IMMIGRANT YOUTH

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1. ETHNIC LANGUAGES IN AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY - A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE¹

1.1. HUMANISTIC SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACH²

We can follow Znaniecki (1968) in defining the words of a given language as cultural objects or values in the life of a particular speech community or group. As such, they are to be distinguished from natural objects by the fact that, in addition to their material content as printed signs or phonetic sounds, they have come to acquire a meaning in the consciousness of that group of people, in relation to their efforts to communicate verbally with one another. Because words are used not in isolation, but always in relation to one another, they can be regarded as the group's system or stock of linguistic values, a cultural system that is comparable to the group's system of economic or religious values. The Polish language, for example, as it has been built up over centuries, is the linguistic value system inherited by the present generations of Polish-speaking people. From this stock of cultural values, the individual selects and uses only those words that suit his particular purpose or range of interests.

From the point of view of each human agent, any attempt at communication with other members of his group can be thought of in terms of the individual's tendency to activate certain values in the group's linguistic system. As this process develops from the child's earliest attempts at speech, the individual gradually constructs his own personal language system from those linguistic values whose meaning he has learned through his participation in the group's life. Whenever he holds a conversation with a friend, writes a love letter, or gives a lecture in his native language, the individual reveals his tendency to use, maintain and activate the linguistic stock of his people, through

his own personal language system. Through the act of choosing certain words and linguistic conventions and neglecting others, the individual group members reveal how they evaluate the linguistic meanings that have been transmitted to them as part of the cultural heritage of the group.

In considering the individual's tendency to activate and thus to maintain his personal language system we follow Znaniecki's theoretical distinction between its active and passive manifestation. In these terms, whenever a tendency is obstructed in one way or another, it is said to reveal itself indirectly, in the form of an attitude toward the values involved. Such an attitude is perhaps best described as a conscious intention to reactivate the system of values, if the existing obstacles are ever removed.

A similar situation would arise in the case of an attitude which has as yet never had a chance to play a part in personal system construction, due to some inhibition outside the control of the individual concerned. When circumstances become altered and the obstacle removed, the attitude in question could then be set free for activation as a tendency.

The positive attitude of ethnic-Australian children to the study of their mother tongue at an Australian school, which has so far denied them the opportunity to do so, provides a pertinent illustration of this type of situation. For example, our research at Adelaide, summarised in the second section of this chapter, suggests there would be considerable demand for ethnic language studies, which could also incorporate a good deal of other ethnic cultural content.

If ethnic languages and cultures were introduced into their school, the attitude of the children toward such courses would, at least in the case of some of them, find open expression as a tendency to construct a more sophisticated personal ethnic language system than the one which they had been able to construct in the narrow confines of an ethnic group (the family, the ethnic Saturday school and other formal and informal ethnic structures). The new system could then incorporate their culture's literary, as well as oral, tradition. Indeed, in a few Australian schools, courses of this type have already been introduced, although they still seem in a rather embryonic and experimental stage (Smolicz, 1975b).

If the Australian school were to continue to adhere instead to the ethic of cultural and linguistic monism, the ethnic child would be confronted with what seemed to him as a conflict of two mutually exclusive tendencies. The activation of one of them (which almost invariably would turn out to be the Anglo-centric one supported by the school, mass media and the peer group) would transform his tendency to activate

ethnic language and culture into an attitude - merely a potential - which, unless subsequently resurrected by some other means, would, in the course of time, be altogether eliminated.

It should be clear from the above that the personal value system, which an individual builds in the linguistic or any other realm of culture, will be dependent partly on the nature of group values which are made available to him and partly on his tendency to activate them through personal system construction. Most group values or traditions within a particular society are not equally available to all individuals. We could thus regard the cultural values of a particular human group as some kind of cultural capital or treasure - and in the same way as material goods are unevenly distributed in a population, so are the cultural treasures. In Australia the cultural capital of most ethnic groups is strictly limited by the modest resources of such groups, their small size, scattered nature, frequently low socio-economic profile, and the lack of effective educational institutions to ensure its preservation and development.

In the theoretical framework developed above, the concept of a personal value system provides a bridge between objective group value systems and traditions on the one hand, and subjective tendencies and attitudes of individuals on the other (Smolicz, 1974b). Znaniecki himself did not make a clear distinction between group and personal value systems; in most instances he merely refers to an individual or personal tendency to activate the value system of the group. It is our view, however, that the concept of a personal system is invaluable for any attempt to interpret social and cultural life from the humanistic viewpoint. The concept provides theoretical expression, as well as practical recognition, of the conscious activity of the individual human agent in selecting values from the group stock and organizing them into a system which suits his own particular purposes and interests.

The act of individual choice implied in the construction of the personal value system needs to be viewed, however, as itself the product of interaction between objective and subjective factors. The blocks out of which the individual builds his own unique system represent values which in the life of the group have an objective reality - a reality which is to a large extent independent of one individual's use of them. Indeed, Znaniecki (1963:134) insists on the essential objectivity of cultural values, whose common meaning in the group's life can always be tested by observing the way they are used by the participant members. Thus to each individual a cultural value exists independently of his current experience of it; "it exists as something that has been and can be experienced and used by others as well as by himself whether it does

or does not exist in the natural universe".

Yet it is important to recognise that the autonomy of a value, its independence from individual attitudes and tendencies of group members, is never absolute. Over time a gradual shift in the way members choose to use a given value may lead to definite change in the value's social function and meaning. The specific concepts of attitude, tendency and personal value system stress the role of individuals in dealing with social reality, for they ultimately determine the group's value systems and traditions. The application of such concepts to the study of ethnic languages aims to illuminate the central role of the individual immigrants and their children in structuring new cultural patterns in the host society.

The first generation migrants function as repositories of ethnicity for their own descendents, if not as its disseminators among other ethnic groups. Unfamiliar with the new environment, they are mainly concerned with establishing themselves economically and, to a lesser extent, socially. For those purposes they attempt to learn English and construct other Australian based cultural systems which appear indispensable to achieve such tasks. It is the second generation which can act as an effective carrier of ethnic traditions. To achieve this, however, the ethnic cultural pool or stock must be made available to ethnic-Australian children. The nature of personal cultural systems which such children can construct will depend upon such factors as the richness and quality of the ethnic stock available in Australia, the availability of such a stock to the child, and the willingness of the child to make use of it. These factors, in their turn, are very largely dependent on the prevailing orientation of the host country to the new European arrivals and, to a lesser extent, on the position which the newcomers adopt towards the hosts. Such orientations constitute systems of ideological values (Smolicz, 1976) which on the one hand mould the tendencies and attitudes of individual Anglo-Australians toward immigrants and their cultural systems (Harris and Smolicz, 1975) and, on the other, affect the response of ethnic Australians towards Australian society.

Theoretically the hosts' policy to the European immigrants and their descendents can be based on one of three such orientations. Traditionally these are defined as (i) cultural pluralism (ii) interactionism and (iii) Anglo-conformism or monism (Taft, 1963). The assumption underlying the concept of interactionism is that, in every realm of culture, one single system of values will eventually emerge incorporating elements derived from a number of contributing (but subsequently defunct) cultural systems.

It should be noted, however, that upholders of this type of inter-

actionist solution often fail to appreciate that some elements of culture, notably language, are not amenable to easy amalgamation. In such cases 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 contexts. Unless one envisages, therefore, the formation of some kind of English-ethnic patois or jargon, in the present generation at least, the linguistic interactionist solution can only take a dynamic equilibrium, rather than a synthesis or 'melting pot', form.

Such an interactionist arrangement is the only practical alternative to a universal monolingualism, and since it takes place within each individual, it represents a bilingual solution which is but one specific form of internal or intra-personal pluralism. Labels of this type may be used to distinguish such an internalist state from the external solution or inter-personal cultural pluralism, where different ethnic individuals adhere to their own cultural traditions and where interaction with members of other groups is peripheral and spasmodic or completely non-existent.

The possible mechanisms for the transmission of a dual system of linguistic value are of interest. Thus linguistic pluralism could be perpetuated by the two components of a dual system being passed on to the children both by their bilingual parents and by the school. Alternatively, the parents could be transmitting only the ethnic linguistic values, while the school concentrated solely on the development of the English component. It does not necessarily follow that the parents passing on only the ethnic language need themselves be monolinguals. Bilingual parents, theoretically able to transmit both parts of the dual system, may consciously maintain the home domain as the exclusive preserve of the ethnic tongue.

1.2. THE AUSTRALIAN SCENE

In the section which summarizes our results, it is clear that in many ethnic homes English has already become the dominant language of the second generation. In view of the fact that in Australia at present most schools still refuse to act as dual system transmitters this type of situation is hardly surprising. In the event, the more ethnically conscious parents feel no obligation to help their children to construct the English linguistic component. Submerged within the English monolingual 'sea', their perpetual concern is to save and preserve what ethnic linguistic values they themselves possess and leave it to the school to introduce their children to the English part of the bilingual

system. (There are, of course, numerous other first generation ethnic parents who are unable to activate any but the ethnic values; while still others, although bilingual, either transmit only the English component, or make attempts to transmit both).

Recent moves in Australia, such as the appointment by the Minister of Education of the Committee on the Teaching of Migrant Languages in Primary and Secondary Schools, suggest that at long last the Australian school may take some part in developing and reinforcing the ethnic component in a bilingual system. The establishment of a tradition of linguistic pluralism, even with all governmental aid possible to ethnic Saturday schools and the introduction of ethnic language courses to State primary and secondary schools, will not, however, be easy in a country like Australia, so long wedded to the ethic of monolingualism (Smolicz 1971; Smolicz and Wiseman 1971). Bostock (1973:49) points to the widespread belief of Australian academics, unlike academics overseas, that the learning of languages is both irrelevant and unnecessary; this, he claims, will have the effect of conferring upon Australia "the distinction of being the most monolingual industrialised nation in the world".

The prevailing ethic of monolingualism can be directly traced to the Anglo-conformist orientation still prevailing among many important and influential sections of Australian society. Such an orientation constitutes a group system of ideological values which exerts a profound effect on the attitudes and tendencies of Anglo-Australians and, even more significantly, of second generation ethnics. Its influence upon the linguistic usages of the latter is to limit their opportunities to construct viable ethnic components of their dual linguistic systems and, even more significantly, to undermine their willingness to activate and develop them.

In this type of situation ethnic languages decline rapidly in a generational progression. Adult first generation migrants are normally fluent ethnic speakers; the second generation, on the other hand, so much more at ease in the country of their birth, fluent in English and with an experience of the Australian school behind them, are fast losing their ethnic cultural inheritance. Indeed, in one respect at least, the linguistic usages of the great majority almost invariably follow the same kind of pattern - whatever the ethnic group and however ethnically-minded their home environment. As the results of our research enumerated later demonstrate, even in a home most favourable to ethnic cultural maintenance, the active ethnic linguistic experience of older children and of young adolescents is limited to conversation with their ethnic elders (parents, relatives, parents' ethnic friends), while the

conversation with their ethnic peers, be they siblings, cousins or friends, is almost invariably conducted in English. The ethnic tongue thus becomes the language of age and local ethnic parochialism.

The increasing reluctance of many 1b and second generation³ immigrant children to maintain their ethnic languages as they grow older is almost always associated with an apparent conflict of tendencies within the individual. The tendency to use only English, with its accompanying advantages of greater peer group acceptance and greater potential for socio-economic advance, is pitted against the tendency to maintain an ethnic system which, because of lack of formal education support, is usually restricted in depth and dimension and is of practical use only in communicating in the more restricted domains of life. And when the choice appears as stark as this, it is inevitable that by the time ethnic-Australian children reach maturity, any childhood tendency to maintain the ethnic system is seriously undermined or even utterly rejected.

It is most unfortunate that the prevailing cultural climate of Australian society conditions these young people, and often their parents as well, into believing that the two linguistic tendencies, one to develop English and the other to maintain the ethnic language, are mutually exclusive and not, parallel and compatible. It is our view that the tendencies in question may both be activated; indeed, they may - but need not, as is clearly demonstrated by the large number of second generation ethnic-Australians whose personal ethnic systems of cultural values have very largely disintegrated or were stifled in embryo.

We, therefore, conclude that the persistence in Australia of the Anglo-conformist group values or tradition and their continued influence in educational institutions is not conducive to the formation of dual systems of linguistic values - or, indeed, to interactionist solutions in most other realms of culture. The fact that (see section 2 of this paper) among our one hundred Adelaide university students of Polish origin, or approximately one hundred school girls of Italian parentage, we encountered a proportion of individuals who continued to activate, and even to develop, at least some ethnic systems (whether on their own or in some form of association with the Anglo-Australian systems) is a tribute to the persistence of ethnicity in the face of the still very largely Anglo-monistic traditions of the school, mass media, and peer group.

As one might expect, the main ethnicity-maintaining social institution is the family, followed by the various other more or less formal ethnic structures, such as the neighbourhood ethnic social grouping, the ethnic parish and Saturday school, as well as the ethnic Scouts,

dancing groups and sporting clubs. Such ethnic ramparts and fortifications are crumbling, however, under the relentless pressures of Anglo-conformity and its more or less subtle, but nonetheless ceaseless and sustained, propagation by films, television, educational institutions, or simply by Anglo-Australian individuals whose devaluation of ethnic cultures is bound to effect even the most self-confident and resilient ethnics.

2. DETAILS OF SAMPLES

In our studies of migrant youth in Adelaide, South Australia, we have concentrated mainly upon students of Polish and Italian parentage but we also have less extensive data on students from Dutch, Latvian and Greek families. Our samples include both sexes, and are drawn from many areas of Adelaide. The students we have studied come from tertiary educational institutions as well as secondary schools (both government and private) and some, as in the case of the Greek sample, have left school and are already in the workforce. We also include in our analyses comparable figures from Harvey's research on 10-13 year old primary schoolchildren from Polish and Dutch families in Canberra.

The scope of the enquiries covered many different aspects of assimilation and ethnicity. In this paper however, we are concerned only with the linguistic dimension, which includes the students':

1. use of ethnic language in:
 - (i) speaking (active linguistic experience);
 - (ii) hearing (passive linguistic experience);
 - (iii) reading (letters, books and newspapers);and writing (letters);
2. command of ethnic language in:
 - (i) understanding;
 - (ii) speaking;
 - (iii) reading and writing;
3. attitudes to ethnic languages and cultures:
 - (i) attitudes of ethnic students;
 - (ii) attitudes of Anglo-Australian students;
4. attendance at ethnic Saturday schools.

Not every sample was examined under all these headings, but the aspects which we have researched are presented in the tables and diagrams in this chapter. The following is a brief analysis of each of the samples:

DESCRIPTION OF ETHNIC SAMPLES

Sample Number	Geographical Area	Educational level of students	Ethnic group	Ethnic Background of parents	N
1a	Adelaide	tertiary	Polish	Polish-Polish	63
1b				Polish-other European	28
1c				Polish-Anglo-Saxon	9
2a	Adelaide northern suburb	secondary	Polish	Polish-Polish	15
2b				Polish-other European	17
2c			Italian	Italian-Italian	38
3a	Adelaide central area	secondary	Polish	Polish-Polish	38
3b				Polish-other European	31
3c				Polish-Anglo-Saxon	27
3d			Italian	90% Italian-Italian	300
3e			Dutch	80% Dutch-Dutch	42
4	Adelaide	secondary girls	Italian	Italian-Italian	95
5a	Canberra	primary	Polish	95% Polish-Polish	37
5b			Dutch	'mostly' Dutch-Dutch	50
6	Adelaide	13-23 yrs. (secondary, tertiary or in work force)	Greek	Greek-Greek	42
7a	Adelaide north-western suburb	secondary	Italian	Italian-Italian	26
7b			Greek	Greek-Greek	14
8	Adelaide	tertiary	Latvian	Latvian-Latvian	42

DESCRIPTION OF ANGLO-AUSTRALIAN SAMPLES

2d	Adelaide Northern Suburb	secondary	Anglo-Aust.	Australian-Australian	105
7c	Adelaide north-western suburb	secondary	Anglo-Aust.	Australian-Australian	144
9	Adelaide	tertiary	Anglo-Aust.	Australian-Australian	369

2.1. ADELAIDE TERTIARY POLES⁴

The students in this study were undergoing tertiary education in Adelaide during 1971 and 1973, the great majority of students at the University of Adelaide. All who took part in the investigation (100 students) completed a detailed questionnaire and half were given depth interviews. Each student was seen at least twice, usually three times. The interviews related to the linguistic, cultural, structural and ideological dimensions of assimilation and ethnicity. The nature and extent of cultural transmission between the students and their parents were also investigated. For the individual student, therefore, the total time of the interviews was at least four hours.

Some of the students were personally known to us through our membership of the Adelaide University Polish Club and the study was therefore partly based on the method of participation observation. Nearly all the respondents were children of immigrants who arrived in Australia during the 1948-1951 period from Displaced Persons camps in Germany. The respondents were divided according to birthplace of parents: 63 were of Polish-Polish parentage; 28 of Polish-other European parentage; and 9 of Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage. The students were also divided according to their own birthplace: 68 were born in Australia (2nd generation) and the remaining 32 were born overseas, although they arrived here with their parents under the age of 12 years (1st generation). (The one exception was a student who arrived in Australia at the age of 15, but all his earlier years were spent in England). Even more significant is the fact that 21 of the 32 born overseas arrived in Australia under the age of 6 years, and thus received all of their formal schooling in this country; another 4 had their first years of education in England.

2.2. 'NORTHERN SUBURB' POLES, ITALIANS AND AUSTRALIANS⁵

(The testing of this sample was carried out with G. Hambly and G. Geracitano).

All these students were drawn from the third year stratum of one of Adelaide's northern suburb secondary schools. From a census of all of the third years, it was found that of 398 students, 64% were of 'immigrant origin' i.e.: had at least one parent born overseas and 36% 'Australian'. The migrant proportion could be broken down further into 12% of Greek, 10% of Italian and 9% of Polish parentage. All students of Italian (38) and Polish(32) origin present during the testing period were interviewed. The 'Australian' sample of 105 was chosen by systematic random sampling. The structured interviews were con-

ducted during school time and each interview took approximately 20 minutes. The interviewing and subsequent analysis was done between May and October, 1973.

2.3. 'CENTRAL AREA' POLES, ITALIANS AND DUTCH (with R. Wiseman)⁶

Secondary school students who had at least one parent born in Poland, Italy or the Netherlands were drawn from four State schools and two independent Catholic schools in the central area of Adelaide; the questionnaires were administered during 1969-70 and took approximately 20-25 minutes each.⁷

Students were of both sexes, and aged between 12 and 18 years. All the students present in school during the testing period were interviewed: 42 students with one or both parents born in the Netherlands; 96 with one or both parents born in Poland; and 300 with one or both parents born in Italy. Eighty per cent of the Dutch sample and 90% of the Italian sample had both parents born in the Netherlands and Italy respectively. However, while almost all (95%) of the Polish students had a Polish-born father, less than two-fifths had both parents born in Poland. The majority of mothers were born either in Australia (24 out of 59) or Germany (20 out of 59). The Polish sample was therefore subdivided, like the tertiary one, into students of Polish-Polish (PP) parentage (38); Polish-other European (PE) parentage (31); and Polish-Australian-or-British-or-New Zealand parentage (27).

In the Dutch sample, 60% of the students were born in Australia and 36% in the Netherlands; in the Italian sample, 62% were born in Australia and 38% born in Italy; and in the Polish sample, as a consequence of the period and nature of Polish immigration to Australia, 90% of the students were born in Australia, 6% in Poland and of the remainder, four in the U.K. and one in Germany. The vast majority of the overseas-born children were of the 1b generation; the mean age of arrival of Dutch-born and Italian-born children was between four and five years. The mean age on arrival of the Polish-born children was nine years.

2.4. ADELAIDE SCHOOLGIRLS OF ITALIAN PARENTAGE (with Laura Pieraccini)⁸

This study was carried out in 1970 in two Adelaide secondary schools, one State and one independent Catholic (a total sample of 95). The research was carried out by means of a questionnaire completed by the interviewer; each girl was seen individually for approximately one hour.

Like the 'Central Area' Italian sample, over 90% of the girls' parents were born in Italy and, with the exception of two mothers born in Australia, the rest were Italians born in Europe outside Italy. Again, not unlike the Central Area Italian figures, 57% (54) of the girls were born in Australia and 40% (38) in Italy, the remaining 3% (3) being born outside of these two countries. Most of the Italian-born girls came here at pre-school age. At the time of the interview all the girls were between nine and 18 years of age. The research had a strongly linguistic bias and unlike most sociological and educational studies in the area which have relied on self-assessment when examining the degree of retention of ethnic language, the interviewer checked the girl's ability to speak, read and write Italian by application of appropriate tests.

Linguistic ability in Italian was assessed by reference to 'accent', grammar, vocabulary, fluency and oral comprehension. Out of the total of 95 girls, 61 were willing to be examined in this way (34 opted out). It must not be assumed, however, that all the girls who declined to be tested had no knowledge of Italian. When those who opted out were asked to self-assess their Italian linguistic ability, only six said they had no knowledge of Italian or dialect; the remaining 28 indicated some command of the ethnic language (23 answered 'well' and five 'a little').

There were various reasons why such a large proportion of girls speaking their ethnic tongue could not be persuaded to take part in the tests. The principal one was their inability to speak standard Italian and shame of speaking dialect to a highly educated stranger from Rome. This applied to 24 girls or 25% of the total sample.

2.5. CANBERRA POLES AND DUTCH

(S.D. Harvey 1971)

These samples were drawn from the Canberra and Queanbeyan areas between July and October, 1968. The Poles and the Dutch were chosen as providing a number of points of contrast. Harvey considered it necessary that the children should themselves have been in Australia long enough to be fluent in English and five years was taken as a reasonable time. The children also had to be old enough to be able to think about their own language use, and to be aware of the attitudes of families and themselves to their ethnic languages. Twelve seemed to the researcher to be a suitable age since, in her view, the strains of adolescence would have hardly then appeared.

The 'Dutch sample' (50) were all children of Dutch parentage in sixth grade at schools in Canberra; the 'Polish sample' (37) was drawn

from fifth and sixth grade children of Polish parentage attending schools in Canberra and Queanbeyan. The study was carried out by means of a questionnaire in English given to the parents to complete themselves in their home, while in the meantime the researcher herself interviewed the children.

All the parents in the 37 Polish families were born outside Australia, nearly all in Poland (two marriages were 'mixed'). All parents in the Dutch families were also born outside Australia, mostly in Holland. All but 10 of the Polish sample and 11 of the Dutch sample were born in Australia. All Polish families arrived between 1949 and 1963, and Dutch families arrived between 1947 and 1963. The age range of the two samples was 10-12, and 11-13 respectively. The large majority of children in both samples had had all of their education in Australia. The significant aspect of the Polish sample was that it contained some families from the post-1956 wave of Polish migration in Australia.

2.6. ADELAIDE GREEKS

(with S. Salagaras and G. Humphris)⁹

This study was done during the latter half of 1972. It was restricted to twenty families in Adelaide known to the interviewers or introduced to them through subjects who had already been interviewed. The parental sample (first generation) consisted of 20 males and 20 females, and the child sample of 42 (all second generation). The ages of the children all living at home, ranged from 13 to 23 years. All the parents were interviewed in Greek and the children in English. The interviews of parents and children were conducted separately in the home. Each interview took approximately 30 minutes. All first generation subjects had been in Australia at least 13 years, and the majority for nearly 20 years.

2.7. 'NORTH-WESTERN SUBURB' AUSTRALIANS, ITALIANS AND GREEKS

(with Trevor Short)

These samples were drawn from a secondary school in an Adelaide north-western suburb. Questionnaires were administered to all third year students at the school, and 203 completed protocols were obtained. There were 144 (71%) who were of Australian (134) or British (10) parentage and 59 (29%) of continental European parentage; in this latter number, 26 (13%) were of Italian and 14 (7%) of Greek parentage. Analysis of the 'Australian' sample was limited to a sub-sample of 50 randomly selected from the number of 144. All the children of ethnic parentage were either born in Australia or arrived in this country

before the age of 12. The average age of the total 203 respondents was 15 years 1 month. A comparison was made between the occupations of the Australian-born fathers (50) and those of the European-born fathers (59). While two thirds of the migrant fathers were in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, one quarter of Australian fathers were in this category. One third of the migrant fathers were in skilled manual jobs, compared with half of the Australian fathers, and the proportions in white collar occupations were 2% for the ethnic group and 24% for the Australian sample.

Although this study was primarily concerned with the educational aspirations of children of migrant parentage, compared with those of children of Australian parentage in a lower socio-economic suburban secondary school, questions were asked on the language patterns of the migrant students and their parents; on attendance at ethnic Saturday schools; and on the students' willingness to study migrant languages and cultures, if they were offered at school.

2.8. ADELAIDE TERTIARY SECOND GENERATION LATVIANS

(A. Putniņš 1975)

The 42 students presented in this sample constitute 91% of all the second generation mono-ethnic Latvians enrolled at the University of Adelaide in 1974 and resident in Adelaide at the time of the study (excluding the investigator). Results relating to usage and command of Latvian reported here were obtained as part of a wider study of cultural, social, and psychological assimilation and alienation.

Data were obtained from questionnaires completed by the subjects. Of the 42 respondents, 16 were females and 26 were males, with an age range of 17 to 25 years ($X = 20.7$).

2.9. ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY ANGLO-AUSTRALIANS¹⁰

This sample comprised 369 Adelaide University students born in Australia and of Australian-born parentage. Since the large scale migration of Continental European immigrants did not begin until after the second world war, in terms of their ancestry, the overwhelming majority of our subjects can be considered as being of British and Irish stock. The subjects were obtained by means of quota sampling: quotas for each faculty in the university were calculated on the basis of 1973 data.

3. THE ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

3.1. LANGUAGE USAGE

3.1.1. Active linguistic experience (speaking)

The fundamental finding of all of our research on this point is that, even in those families where the ethnic language (be it Polish, Italian, Latvian, Greek or Dutch) is spoken by the second or 1b generation with ethnic elders, the language used with peers is almost invariably English. This is revealed clearly in the case of the active linguistic experience of tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage. Of those with living grandparents 93% of the students spoke Polish to them; 74% used Polish when talking to their older relatives, 67% to their parents' Polish friends, 62% with their father and 56% with their mother (cf. Johnston, in this volume). In contrast, only 9% spoke Polish to cousins of their own age and 2% to friends outside of the university. In the other three categories, no Polish without English was spoken (Table 1). A similar linguistic differentiation according to the age of interlocutors was observed for tertiary students of Latvian parentage (Table 8).

A similar pattern was also evident among the sample of secondary school ('Central Area') students of Polish-Polish parentage with 42% and 39% speaking the ethnic tongue to their parents and parents' Polish friends respectively, and only 11% speaking it to ethnic peers while parents were present, 8% while parents were absent, and none speaking only Polish to their siblings (cf. also Klarberg, in this volume) (Table 5). The ethnic linguistic usage suffers a dramatic decline among children of 'mixed' ethnic parentage. Thus, when one examines the linguistic experience of high school students in the same central area of Adelaide, the figures reveal a greatly decreased proportion of children of Polish-other European and Polish-Australian parentages using the ethnic language even with Polish elders. For example, 42% of the students of Polish-Polish parentage spoke in the ethnic language to their parents, while only 16% of Polish-other European, and none of Polish-Australian, parentage did so. The corresponding percentages for students speaking Polish to their parents' ethnic friends were 39% (Polish-Polish parentage) 23% (Polish-other European parentage) and none (Polish-Australian parentage) (Table 5).

These findings on tertiary and secondary education Polish samples are supported by the research on primary school (10-12 years) Poles by Harvey in Canberra (Table 3). Her figures on the frequency of use of Polish confirms that it is virtually only to elders that the ethnic language is spoken. Percentages of children 'always' using Polish to various recipients were as follows: grandmother 62%; grandfather 50%;

other relatives 65%; adult Polish family friends 66%; mother 46%; fathers 37%; and to siblings and other Polish children, none. At the other extreme, while the numbers of children 'never' speaking Polish to elders ranged from three to zero, 50% never spoke Polish to siblings and 68% never spoke it to other Polish children.

With the 'Central Area' secondary students of Italian parentage, again speaking the ethnic tongue was mainly limited to conversation with Italian elders. Subdivision by birthplace of student reveals that the Australian-born students spoke Italian less often than the Italian-born students in all of the five given categories (Table 6). While 77% of Italian-born students spoke Italian (mostly regional dialect) to their parents and 35% spoke the ethnic language to parents' Italian friends, these two figures were reduced to 36% and 29% respectively in the case of Australian-born students.¹¹ (Table 5).

The data on the active linguistic experience of schoolgirls of Italian parentage give a similar proportion of girls speaking Italian (or dialect) to their parents. While the samples of Polish students, however, revealed that the ethnic language is more often spoken to fathers than to mothers, evidence from the Italian samples shows that it is the mothers to whom Italian (or dialect) is most often spoken. Sixty per cent of the girls spoke Italian (or dialect) to their mothers, while 42% spoke it to their fathers. However, in this particular sample, the girls spoke Italian most often to their older relatives (76%). Only 3% spoke the ethnic language to siblings, and none to their ethnic peers (Table 2).

The students of Dutch parentage (Central Area) spoke mainly English in conversation with all recipients, though slightly more often with peers (83% with parents present, 86% with parents absent) and siblings (88%), than with parents (71%) and their parents' Dutch friends (76%) (Table 7). One additional factor which confirmed that the ethnic tongue is used by young migrants in deference to their elders' wishes or convenience is that in each of the Polish, Italian and Dutch samples, the percentage of students speaking the ethnic language to their own ethnic friends with parents present was always higher than when parents were absent.

The findings for Adelaide and Canberra Dutch were quite similar. Harvey found in her sample of Canberra school-children of Dutch parentage that 84% and 73% 'never' spoke Dutch to their ethnic friends and their siblings respectively, while the proportions never speaking the ethnic language to Dutch elders ranged from 72% in the case of adult ethnic family friends and relatives to 62% in the case of mother and 59% father. The equivalent figures for children never speaking

Dutch to grandmother and grandfather were 38% and 27% (Table 4).

In the Adelaide Greek study, 86% of the children spoke to their mother and 71% to their father in the native language. But all children spoke to their siblings in English. In the case of relatives and ethnic friends of the family, the language used in conversation again depended on the age of the recipient: to children, they spoke English and to ethnic adults Greek, although if the adult understood English reasonably well, they tended to speak English to that person (Table 9 (c)).

3.1.2. Passive linguistic experience (hearing)

The figures on the passive linguistic experience of students in our samples also show that it is mainly from ethnic elders that they hear the native language spoken. In our sample of tertiary educated students of Polish-Polish parentage, the percentages of students hearing Polish from elders ranged from 93% from grandparents to 68% from mothers, while those hearing Polish from ethnic peers ranged from 9% from cousins to none in the case of friends inside university and younger siblings (Table 10). With the Canberra primary school sample, all children heard Polish 'always' or 'sometimes' from grandparents, adult ethnic friends and parents. From other relatives, 95% heard Polish 'always' or 'sometimes', and from siblings, 47% heard Polish 'sometimes' (Table 12).

In the case of the Canberra 'Dutch' sample, the children heard the native language spoken less often in all the given categories than the Poles, although the Dutch language was still spoken very frequently to the children by the older ethnics. All the children heard Dutch spoken 'always' or 'sometimes' from grandfather, 96% heard it from grandmother, 94% from adult ethnic family friends, 90% from father, 82% from mother and 59% from other relatives. However, only 31% heard it 'sometimes' spoken by siblings (Table 13). In the case of the Greek sample in Adelaide, 90% of the parents spoke the ethnic language to their children (Table 14(c)).

A similar contrast can be made between the Polish and Italian students' passive linguistic experience as was made earlier for their active usage. While the students of Polish origin heard the ethnic language spoken more often by their fathers than by their mothers, schoolgirls of Italian background heard Italian (or dialect) more from mothers (80%) than from fathers (70%) (Table 11).

Hence our previously expressed view that ethnic tongues in Australia are becoming the languages of age, and their use is increasingly

limited to certain well defined, mainly domestic, spheres of life.

3.1.3. The use of ethnic language in reading and writing

The migrant children's use of the ethnic tongue in reading and writing is even more restricted than their ethnic speech patterns. In all of the samples in Table 15, except in the case of tertiary students of Polish-Polish parentage reading ethnic newspapers, the majority of students never read ethnic newspapers or books, nor maintain correspondence in the ethnic language.

The use of the ethnic language was particularly restricted in the case of the students of Dutch parentage. Although they were only young children, this finding does seem to confirm previous studies which have shown that Dutch immigrants are one of the ethnic groups least concerned to maintain their ethnicity in Australia. The use of Polish in reading and writing by the secondary students (northern suburb) appears also strikingly limited. When this sample (no. 2) was broken down into two components, one of Polish-Polish and the other of Polish-European parentage, the children from the homogeneous ethnic background were found to be considerably more literate than those of 'mixed' parentage (Table 15). The effect of mixed parentage upon the students' use of Polish is revealed clearly in the instance of three tertiary Polish samples. Reading and writing in Polish declines steadily from those who have both parents Polish to those from Polish-other European marriages and still further to those of Polish-Australian parentage.

Although there appears no clear pattern in the reading and writing practices of the different samples in their ethnic languages, one trend is consistent: there is very little reading of books written in languages other than English. The only apparent anomaly in this pattern is that of the primary school children of Polish parents in Canberra. Harvey herself has commented, however, that this unexpectedly high figure (40% read books in Polish 'regularly' or 'sometimes') reflects the reading these 10-12 year olds did from their textbooks at Saturday school (and 25, or 68%, reported that they had attended Polish school for at least some time).

3.2. COMMAND OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE

3.2.1. Understanding

Figures on command of Polish (which are based on respondents' self-assessment) show that the vast majority of the tertiary and secondary students of Polish-Polish (samples 1 and 2) claim to have a fair to very good understanding of Polish (Table 16). Over three quarters of

the Italian secondary students (northern suburb) claimed this level of competence in understanding Italian; in a sample of Italian schoolgirls (sample 4), the Italian interviewer estimated that, in her opinion, 69% of the girls could understand Italian fairly to very well. The proportions of those claiming competence in understanding Polish among the tertiary students of Polish-other European and Polish-Australian parentages fell markedly to 47% and 11% (sample 1) respectively. The corresponding figure for secondary students of Polish-other European parentage (sample 2) was 47%. Thus it is in this particular area of linguistic competence that children from homogeneous ethnic background show their greatest strength.

3.2.2. Speaking

The proportions of students claiming to speak their ethnic language with any degree of command are rather lower than for understanding. However, still around three quarters of the students of Polish-Polish parentage (tertiary, secondary and primary) claim to speak their ethnic tongue fairly to very well. The effect of mixed Polish marriages again shows clearly. Thus for the tertiary and secondary school (central area and northern suburb) students of Polish-other European parentage, the proportions claiming to speak Polish fairly to very well were 22%, 23% and 36% respectively (Table 16). Again from the tertiary and secondary (central area) samples, only one tertiary student of Polish-Australian parentage claimed to be able to speak Polish at this level of competency.

In the case of the students of Italian parentage, also two thirds to three quarters claimed to speak Italian fairly to very well, although the Italian interviewer's assessment on 61 of the schoolgirls puts the proportion with this degree of fluency somewhat lower: 53%. Only about two fifths of the Italians (northern suburb) and Dutch (central area) secondary students claimed a fair to good command in speaking their respective ethnic languages.

3.2.3. 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 adequately grasped at the levels of reading and writing in the second generation, which means that the verbal aspects acquired through conversation will represent the only linguistic elements filtering through to the third generation. A sizeable minority of students of Italian parentage in the central area schools (48% of the Italian-born and 42% of the Australian-born) and in the

Italian schoolgirls sample (43%) did claim a 'more than a little' command in reading Italian, and the 1b generation central area Italians did also in writing (41%). The remaining samples contained two thirds or more of students who had to admit they had no, or very little, competency in reading and writing their ethnic language (Table 17).

3.3. ATTITUDES TO ETHNIC LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

3.3.1. Attitudes of ethnic students

Table 18 summarizes the attitudes of ethnic children to the study of their mother tongue at school. At the time of the investigations no Polish, Greek, Dutch or Latvian was offered at any of the South Australian schools. Italian language was taught only sporadically at two Adelaide convent schools and it was not taught at any of the schools from which our samples were drawn.¹²

In general terms more than two thirds of the ethnic youth indicated their willingness to study their mother tongue had it been offered at school. The Polish tertiary sample of mono-ethnic parentage displayed a particularly high proportion (90%) of those claiming that they would have studied Polish during their school days. It is of interest that although the degree of interest in ethnic language studies drops in the case of students from mixed ethnic background, still two thirds of such students at tertiary institutions stated that they would have studied Polish. (Percentage for samples 2b and 7b cannot be deemed as a reliable guide in view of the very small student numbers).

The opinions of the sample of Italian schoolgirls on the subject of learning their ethnic language at school is of special interest. Our study reveals that Italian, or more correctly its numerous dialects as used in Australia, can be regarded as predominantly an oral tongue and that the girls' knowledge of the standard and literary forms of the language is very limited. The girls' parents were predominantly of rural background (70 out of 95 girls had parents in this category) and their 'imported' educational deficiencies ensured that ethnic linguistic stocks which were available to them in the home situation were of a restricted kind. The lack of familiarity with Italian literature was made manifest in the girls' replies to the question on what they desired to know about Italy. As many as 75 (79%) actively wanted to learn more about their country of origin, but of these only eight (8%) would have liked to know more about Italian literature, in contrast to the interest shown for 'places' (45%), 'way of life' (52%) and 'art' (34%).

Yet these girls demonstrated a deep thirst for their linguistic and

cultural heritage, provided that the subject was given full academic status and included in the school curriculum. An attempt was then made to assess the girls' active commitment towards maintenance of the Italian language in Australia. Only four girls were unfavourable to some form of preservation of their ethnic language, and 10 more did not care very deeply about it. The rest showed varying degrees of involvement. 21 girls (22%) were in favour of preserving Italian to the extent that they wished to 'keep it up' as far as speaking was concerned; 19 girls (20%) would 'try to improve it on their own' by reading in Italian; 38 girls (40%) expressed an active desire to undertake formal instruction in standard Italian; and two would go as far as to study it at tertiary level.

It would seem therefore that not more than 60% would like to extend mastery of their mother tongue to reading and writing, as well as speaking, and not more than 40% were prepared to undertake serious formal study. Considering that most of the girls speak dialect at home, the 40% for formal study in standard Italian is not unimpressive. Of even greater interest was the girls' response to the possible introduction of Italian into the school curriculum on a formal basis, when 80% of the girls expressed their approval, with only 13% dissenting and 7% preferring to reserve their judgement. Nor was this approval merely for the sake of the other girls - Italian or Australian - since almost the same number (82%) wished to take such studies themselves, once courses were introduced into their school.

There may appear some contradiction between the over 80% willingness to take Italian when introduced to their school and only 40% preparedness to try to maintain Italian in Australia by systematic and formal study of the standard form of this language. What the 80% school response indicates is that, given Italian courses at school, many girls would prefer to take them in preference to some other school subjects. The official sanction of approval which the school would thereby confer on their mother tongue, and its consequent rise in status, may also have influenced some girls to decide to opt for such study, a course which they would not be sufficiently strongly motivated to follow outside school hours.

The attitudes of upper primary school children to bilingualism and ethnic language maintenance are revealing, although as Harvey warns, "the children's answers must be viewed with caution". Of the Polish and Dutch school children in the Canberra (No. 5) sample, 95% believed that it was useful to be bilingual, and 91% of the Polish and 83% of the Dutch children stated that they would like their own children to be bilingual. The reasons they gave for preserving their ethnic lan-

guage can be divided into: maintenance of cultural heritage; economic (useful in interpreting or for export business); travel; talking to other migrants; talking to family; and education (for studying a language at secondary school, or tertiary level, or helping one to learn another language). When the interviewees were thinking about their own use for two languages, they often added a further category, namely that of secrets (to share with ethnic peers).

It is interesting to note that although only three children were ready to commit themselves to maintenance of their ethnic cultures on purely traditional grounds, Polish children clearly wanted this for their own children. Yet another marked difference between the two groups was apparent from a question asking which languages they wanted their children to speak. Of the Polish sample, 81% (30) wanted their children to speak Polish and English (and another 5% wanted Polish and French), yet of the 39 Dutch children wanting their offspring to be bilingual, 15 did not choose their mother tongue.

3.3.2. Attitudes of Anglo-Australian students

Half of the tertiary students and a third or more of the secondary students indicated that they would have studied ethnic languages and cultures had these been offered at school (Table 18). The difference between the two secondary samples may be attributed to the fact that the northern suburb sample was drawn from a high school (45% willing to study ethnic language and culture), whereas the north-western suburb sample was recruited from a technical school with no tradition of language teaching (31%).

3.4. ATTENDANCE AT ETHNIC SATURDAY SCHOOLS

The figures on the attendance of ethnic youth at schools teaching their native tongue and culture outside normal school hours are listed in Table 14. Students of Polish origin clearly stand out as the most assiduous attenders, with more than two thirds in case of those with mono-ethnic background claiming to have attended such schools (samples 1a, 2a and 5a). Just less than half of students of mixed Polish-other European parentage reported attendance (samples 1b and 2b). The central area Polish samples stand out as exceptions to this trend. These children come from areas of high Southern European concentrations and a proportion of them attended two large technical schools.

The five Italian samples reveal that the Italian ethnic group has one of the least developed systems of ethnic Saturday schools (the attendance figures ranged from 12 to 24%). Italian students showing

lowest attendance at ethnic schools were those from north (16%) and north-west suburbs (12%) (areas known for their high proportion of Polish immigrants). To the authors' knowledge there was only one Italian Saturday school in this area.

Among our sample of 95 Italian schoolgirls only 23 (24%) had ever attended such ethnic classes and only nine of them were still attending at time of the study. Reasons given for non-attendance ranged from 'no interest' (12%), 'too much work' at the Australian school (15%), to the belief that there was 'no need' for them (21%). Of the 23 who had attended such classes, 16 attended for not less than one year and only three for more than three years. This dismal state of Italian studies was not counterbalanced by a great deal of home learning, for of the 71 girls who did not attend such classes, only four gave as the reason the fact that they were being taught Italian at home.

None of the Dutch in the central area of Adelaide had ever attended a Dutch ethnic school; in fact, at the time of the study, there was no evidence of the existence of any formal Dutch classes.

4. CONCLUSIONS

As has been indicated, the construction of a personal ethnic linguistic system by a migrant child is dependent on, (a) the quality of the ethnic linguistic stock in Australia; (b) the accessibility of that stock to him; and (c) his willingness to make use of it.

The Australian immigration policy since the second world war has favoured the entry of unskilled manual labourers from Europe.¹³ As a consequence, the quality of most of the ethnic linguistic pool is restricted. Lack of any systematic ethnic language instruction in Australian schools has further limited the capacity of the ethnics to construct viable linguistic systems. Ethnic schools, operating outside normal school hours, have proved largely ineffective due to lack of financial resources and qualified teaching personnel. One further difficulty has been the geographical distances in Australian cities and lack of transport which prevented many of the early post-war settlers from attending ethnic schools. Finally, the Anglo-conformist ideology weakened the tendency of many of the migrant children to activate the meagre ethnic linguistic resources which were available to them.

The results discussed in the previous section make manifest the devastation of the ethnic linguistic reservoirs in Australia among second generation immigrants. Our findings show that even the home domain is not always secure for the ethnic tongue. The ethnic groups do show some variation in the degree of ethnic language erosion in the

home domain, although the overall pattern is the same and spells extinction of ethnic tongues (at best) by the third or fourth generation.

Recent reports on the increase of interest in things ethnic among third and later generations of Americans of Continental European descent (e.g. Greeley, 1971) do not imply a resurgence, or some kind of spectacular resurrection, of the still rapidly fading ethnic languages. For example, the figures on Polish ethnic parish schools in the U.S. show the continual shrinking in numbers of both schools and pupils (Sojka, 1974). A mere interest in a culture is insufficient to revive declining stocks and diminishing access. A transmission chain, once ruptured, is extremely difficult to re-establish, even assuming the reappearance of positive attitudes to the construction of ethnic linguistic systems.

The process of decline in ethnic languages in Australia, where this process has not yet advanced to the point of no return, could only be arrested by developing a tradition of linguistic functional differentiation, with the ethnic tongue retaining the home, extended family, and possibly church and neighbourhood domains as its special preserves, and English maintaining its ascendance over the domains of work, and civic and commercial affairs.

For stable bilingualism to survive in Australia, the ethnic family need transmit only the ethnic component of the dual (bilingual) system. In America children who had become bilingual, as Fishman (1972:9) puts it, "in the very bosom of the family and the immigrant neighbourhood", increasingly abandoned their ethnic language "as they passed to and through their English speaking schools, their English speaking careers and their English speaking neighbourhoods. Such children raised their own children in English".

The implications of American developments are quite obvious. With the exception of occupations involving the skills of a translator and interpreter, and possibly that of a teacher of ethnic languages, in Australia, just as much as in America, English is the only language with unmistakably utilitarian functions outside the home and immigrant organization. Thus if ethnic tongues are to survive in Australia, the home and other ethnic structures must continue to exist as distinct and autonomous domains. Indeed, we are in agreement with Fishman, that the development of a stable and balanced dual system of linguistic values can only take place if there are domains in which the ethnic language - and none other - is required for group membership. When such domains cease to exist, ethnic languages can no longer be retained.

It is our view, however, that the preservation of the home domain as the last bastion of the ethnic tongue is not a sufficient guarantee of

ethnic language perpetuation. The positive attitudes of ethnic children to the study of their mother tongue, as outlined earlier in this chapter, must be given the chance to find expression as tendencies in the construction of more sophisticated and elaborated ethnic codes. The figures obtained in our Adelaide studies in regard to the reading and writing ability show that only a sustained effort by the school system can reverse the process of the depletion of Australia's ethnic linguistic resources before they run dry for ever.

To achieve a self-reproducing pool of ethnic linguistic values, it will, therefore, be necessary to structure the system of education so as to ensure that individuals are given the opportunity to construct twin systems of linguistic values at approximately equal level of sophistication. It is our view that, in the long run, the home domain can be preserved for the mother-tongue only if the young ethnics can converse in their ethnic language upon topics appropriate to their education and interests.

Educational authorities in Australia are at long last beginning to forsake their former tradition of inactivity, indifference - even at times, a thinly veiled hostility - to the maintenance and development of ethnic languages and cultures. After the introduction of 'migrant English', we now witness such moves as the establishment by the Australian Minister of Education of the Migrant Languages Committee to examine the possibility of the initiation, and in a few instances of the extension, of the teaching of ethnic languages in both State and independent schools.

The educational innovations now being considered in Australia include a variety of approaches, one of them being the development by the State education departments of some of the classes in ethnic languages, which would operate outside normal school hours but would be provided with finance and premises, in exchange for some degree of supervision over syllabuses and qualifications of the teaching staff. While such approaches might represent a useful interim measure and possibly a more lasting solution for languages of the numerically smaller ethnic groups, the more fully fledged culturally pluralistic innovations would require the setting up of bilingual education programmes in primary schools situated in areas of high migrant concentration and the introduction of ethnic language electives in most Australian secondary schools.

TABLE 1
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING
Adelaide Tertiary 'Poles' (Polish-Polish Parentage Only)
(Sample 1)

Adelaide Tertiary Students (N = 63) of Polish-Polish parentage speaking to:	Polish		Mixture Pol/Eng		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandparents	13	93	1	7	0	-	14	100
2. older relatives	23	74	6	19	2	6	31	100
3. father	38	62	11	18	12	20	61	100
4. mother	35	56	16	25	12	19	63	100
5. parents' ethnic friends	42	67	17	27	4	6	63	100
6. older siblings	0	-	6	17	30	83	36	100
7. younger siblings	0	-	3	9	32	91	35	100
8. cousins own age	2	9	2	9	19	83	23	100
9. own ethnic friends outside university	1	2	11	18	49	80	61	100
10. own ethnic friends within university	0	-	6	10	55	90	61	100

TABLE 2
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING
Adelaide Schoolgirls of Italian Origin
(Sample 4)

Schoolgirls (N = 95) of Italian parentage speak- ing to:	Italian (Standard or Dialect)		Mixture Ital/ English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. older relatives	60	76	11	14	8	10	79	100
2. father	40	42	34	36	21	22	95	100
3. mother	56	60	25	27	13	14	94	101
4. parents' ethnic friends	56	60	17	18	20	22	93	100
5. siblings	3	3	14	15	76	82	93	100
6. own ethnic friends	0	-	12	13	83	87	95	100

TABLE 3
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING
Canberra 'Poles'
(Sample 5)

Canberra Children (N = 37) of Polish parentage speaking to:	Speak Polish always		Speak Polish sometimes		Speak Polish never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	4	50	4	50	0	-	8	100
2. grandmother	8	62	4	31	1	8	13	101
3. other relatives	13	65	4	20	3	15	20	100
4. father	13	37	20	57	2	6	35	100
5. mother	16	46	17	48	2	6	35	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	23	66	9	26	3	9	35	101
7. siblings	0	-	17	50	17	50	34	100
8. other ethnic children	0	-	11	32	23	68	34	100
9. for prayers	7	19	5	14	24	67	36	100

TABLE 4
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING
Canberra 'Dutch'
(Sample 5)

Canberra Children (N = 50) of Dutch parentage speaking to:	Speak Dutch always		Speak Dutch sometimes		Speak Dutch never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	3	20	8	53	4	27	15	100
2. grandmother	7	27	9	35	10	38	26	100
3. other relatives	5	16	4	12	23	72	32	100
4. father	2	4	18	37	29	59	49	100
5. mother	2	4	17	34	31	62	50	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	3	6	11	22	36	72	50	100
7. siblings	0	-	13	27	36	73	49	100
8. other ethnic children	0	-	8	16	42	84	50	100
9. for prayers	0	-	2	6	31	94	33	100

TABLE 5
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING)*
Central Area 'Poles'
(Sample 3)

All figures in this table are expressed in % form

Students speaking to:	Polish-Polish parentage (n=38)				Polish-European parentage (n=31)				Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage (n=27)			
	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown
1. Parents	42	26	32	-	16	23	61	-	-	-	100	-
2. Parents' Ethnic friends	39	18	39	3	23	6	61	10	-	4	92	4
3. Siblings	-	11	66	24	3	13	68	16	-	-	100	-
4. Own Ethnic friends (parents present)	11	13	76	-	-	3	97	-	-	-	100	-
5. Own ethnic friends (parents absent)	8	8	84	-	-	3	97	-	-	-	100	-

*Data in Tables 5, 6 and 7 were first recorded in R. Wiseman's M.Ed. thesis entitled 'An investigation into the social integration and academic achievement of students of Dutch, Italian and Polish parentage in South Australian secondary schools', University of Adelaide, Adelaide, 1974.

TABLE 6
 ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING)
 Central Area 'Italians'
 (Sample 3)

All figures in this table are expressed in % form

Students speaking to:	Italian-born (n=114)				Australian-born (n=186)			
	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown
1. Parents	77	18	5	-	36	28	36	-
2. Parents' Ethnic Friends	35	18	48	-	29	14	50	6
3. Siblings	8	14	73	5	1	8	85	6
4. Own ethnic friends (parents present)	16	14	69	1	15	11	74	-
5. Own ethnic friends (parents absent)	12	10	78	1	7	7	86	-

TABLE 7
 ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE (SPEAKING)
 Central Area 'Dutch'
 (Sample 3)

All figures in this table are expressed in % form

Students speaking to: (n=42)	Ethnic Lang.	Mixture	English	Unknown	Total
1. Parents	12	17	71	-	100
2. Parents' Ethnic Friends	12	7	76	5	100
3. Siblings	7	5	88	-	100
4. Own Ethnic friends (parents present)	7	10	83	-	100
5. Own Ethnic friends (parents absent)	5	10	86	-	100

TABLE 8
 ACTIVE LINGUISTIC USAGE - SPEAKING
 Adelaide Tertiary Second Generation 'Latvians'
 (Latvian - Latvian Parentage only) (n=42)

Adelaide Tertiary Latvians speaking to:	Mainly Latvian		Mixture Latv/Eng		English only	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Parents	24	57	12	29	6	14
2. Siblings	8	19	16	38	18	43

TABLE 9
ACTIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - SPEAKING

9(a) North-Western Suburb Italians
(Sample 7a)

Children speaking to:	Italian		Mixture Italian/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Parents	12	46	11	42	3	12	26	100
2. Siblings	1	4	5	19	20	77	26	100

9(b) North-Western Suburb Greeks
(Sample 7b)

Children speaking to:	Greek		Mixture Greek/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Parents	7	(50)	5	(36)	2	(14)	14	100
2. Siblings	0	-	4	(29)	10	(71)	14	100

9(c) Adelaide Greeks
(Sample 6)

Children speaking to:	Greek		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Father	30	71	12	29	42	100
2. Mother	36	86	6	14	42	100
3. Siblings	0	-	42	100	42	100

TABLE 10
 PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING
 Adelaide Tertiary 'Poles' (Polish-Polish Parentage Only)
 (Sample 1)

Adelaide tertiary students (N = 63) of Polish-Polish parentage hearing from:	Polish		Mixture Polish/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandparents	13	93	1	7	0	-	14	100
2. older relatives	27	87	3	10	1	3	31	100
3. father	44	72	13	21	4	7	61	100
4. mother	43	68	16	25	4	6	63	99
5. parents' ethnic friends	48	76	15	24	0	-	63	100
6. older siblings	1	3	5	14	27	82	33	100
7. younger siblings	0	-	5	13	34	87	39	100
8. cousins own age	2	9	2	9	19	83	23	101
9. own ethnic friends outside university	1	2	12	20	48	79	61	101
10. own ethnic friends within university	0	-	6	10	55	90	61	100

TABLE 11
 PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING
 Adelaide Schoolgirls of Italian Origin
 (Sample 4)

Schoolgirls (N = 95) of Italian parentage hearing from:	Italian (Standard or Dialect)		Mixture Italian/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. father	66	70	17	18	11	12	94	100
2. mother	75	80	14	15	5	5	94	100

TABLE 12
 PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING
 Canberra 'Poles'
 (Sample 5)

Canberra children (N = 37) of Polish parentage hearing from:	Hear Polish always		Hear Polish sometimes		Hear Polish never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	6	75	2	25	0	-	8	100
2. grandmother	10	77	3	23	0	-	13	100
3. other relatives	14	70	5	25	1	5	20	100
4. father	26	74	9	26	0	-	35	100
5. mother	21	60	14	40	0	-	35	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	33	89	4	11	0	-	37	100
7. siblings	0	-	16	47	18	53	34	100
8. church	14	41	11	32	9	26	34	99

TABLE 13
 PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING
 Canberra 'Dutch'
 (Sample 5)

Canberra children (N = 50) of Dutch parentage hearing from:	Hear Dutch always		Hear Dutch sometimes		Hear Dutch never		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. grandfather	10	67	5	33	0	-	15	100
2. grandmother	16	62	9	35	1	4	26	101
3. other relatives	9	28	10	31	13	41	32	100
4. father	7	14	37	76	5	10	49	100
5. mother	8	16	33	66	9	18	50	100
6. adult ethnic family friends	20	40	27	54	3	6	50	100
7. siblings	0	-	15	31	34	69	49	100
8. church	0	-	1	6	17	94	18	100

TABLE 14
PASSIVE LINGUISTIC EXPERIENCE - HEARING

14(a) North-Western Suburb Italians
(Sample 7a)

Children hearing from:	Italian		Mixture Italian/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. parents	13	50	11	42	2	8	26	100

14(b) North-Western Suburb Greeks
(Sample 7b)

Children hearing from:	Greek		Mixture Greek/English		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. parents	6	(43)	6	(43)	2	(14)	14	100

14(c) Adelaide Greeks
(Sample 6)

Children hearing from:	Greek		English		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. parents	38	90	4	10	42	100

TABLE 15
USE OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE: READING AND WRITING

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	N	READ NEWSPAPERS		READ BOOKS		RECEIVE LETTERS		WRITE LETTERS	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Tertiary Poles (P-P)*	1	63								
regularly			6	10	2	3	9	14	6	10
sometimes			36	57	24	38	23	37	24	38
never			21	33	37	59	31	49	33	52
Tertiary Poles (P-E)*	1	28								
regularly			0	-	0	-	0	-	1	4
sometimes			14	50	7	25	10	36	13	46
never			14	50	21	75	18	64	14	50
Tertiary Poles (P-A)*	1	9								
regularly			0	-	0	-	0	-	0	-
sometimes			2	(22)	0	-	2	(22)	0	-
never			7	(78)	9	(100)	7	(78)	9	(100)
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2	15								
regularly			0	-	0	-	3	(20)	1	(7)
sometimes			4	(27)	3	(20)	2	(14)	4	(27)
never			11	(73)	12	(80)	10	(67)	10	(67)
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2	17								
regularly			0	-	0	-	2	(12)	0	-
sometimes			1	(6)	2	(12)	5	(30)	5	(30)
never			16	(94)	15	(88)	10	(59)	12	(70)
Canberra Poles	5	37								
regularly			1	3	3	8				
sometimes			9	24	12	32	yes	35		
never			27	73	22	60	no	65		
									NO	FIGURES
Adelaide Greeks	6	42								
regularly			3	7	0	0	2	5	3	7
sometimes			19	46	2	4	18	43	15	36
never			20	47	40	96	22	52	24	57

* The symbol (P-P) indicates that both parents are of Polish origin, (P-E) indicates a 'mixed' Polish-other European parentage, and (P-A) Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage.

(Table 15 continued overleaf)

TABLE 15 (cont.)

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	N	READ NEWSPAPERS		READ BOOKS		RECEIVE LETTERS		WRITE LETTERS	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2	15								
regularly			0	-	0	-	3	(20)	1	(7)
sometimes			4	(27)	3	(20)	2	(14)	4	(27)
never			11	(73)	12	(80)	10	(67)	10	(67)
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2	17								
regularly			0	-	0	-	2	(12)	0	-
sometimes			1	(6)	2	(12)	5	(30)	5	(30)
never			16	(94)	15	(88)	10	(59)	12	(70)
Canberra Poles	5	37								
regularly			1	3	3	8				NO
sometimes			9	24	12	32	yes	35		FIGURES
never			27	73	22	60	no	65		
Adelaide Greeks	6	42								
regularly			3	7	0	0	2	5	3	7
sometimes			19	46	2	4	18	43	15	36
never			20	47	40	96	22	52	24	57
Canberra Dutch	5	50								
regularly			1	2	0	0				
sometimes			6	12	5	10	yes	36		NO
never			43	86	45	90	no	64		FIGURES
Northern Suburb Italians	2	38								
regularly			5	13	1	2	7	18	2	5
sometimes			10	29	6	16	12	32	11	29
never			23	63	31	82	19	50	25	66
Italian Schoolgirls	4	95								
yes			37	39	13	14	26	27	37	39
					READ SCHOOL- BOOKS	WRITE SCHOOL- EXERCISES	WRITE SCHOOL- EXERCISES	WRITE SCHOOL- ESSAYS	WRITE SCHOOL- ESSAYS	WRITE SCHOOL- ESSAYS
					10	11	13	14	4	4

TABLE 16
COMMAND OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE - UNDERSTANDING AND SPEAKING

All the figures in this table are expressed in percentage form

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	N	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT VERY WELL	ONLY A FEW WORDS	NONE
Tertiary Poles (P-P)†	1	63					
Understanding (S/A)††			46	44	6	2	2
Speaking (S/A)			33	43	19	3	2
Tertiary Poles (P-E)†	1	28					
Understanding (S/A)			11	36	14	18	22
Speaking (S/A)			11	11	32	25	22
Tertiary Poles (P-A)†	1	9					
Understanding (S/A)			-	(11)	(11)	(33)	(44)
Speaking (S/A)			-	(11)	-	(44)	(44)
Northern suburb Poles (P-P)	2	15					
Understanding (S/A)			27	60	7	7	-
Speaking (S/A)			27	40	27	7	-
Northern suburb Poles (P-E)	2	17					
Understanding (S/A)			12	35	24	30	-
Speaking (S/A)			12	24	12	53	-
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3	38					
Speaking (S/A)				71*	24*		5
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3	31					
Speaking (S/A)				23*	13*		64
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3	27					
Speaking (S/A)				0*	26*		74
Canberra Poles	5	37					
Speaking (S/A)			27	49		24**	-
Central Area Dutch	3	42					
Speaking (S/A)				43*	38*		19
Central Area Italians	3	300					
Speaking (S/A)				76*	20*		4
Italian Schoolgirls	4						
Speaking (61: I/A)††			28	25	44	3	-
Speaking (34: S/A)				68	15		17
Understanding (91: I/A)			34	35	24	7	-
Northern Suburb Italians	2	38					
Understanding (S/A)			16	63	21	0	-
Speaking (S/A)			8	34	42	16	-
Tertiary Latvians	8	42	26	43	14	10	7

* In the 'Central Area' samples the gradings used were: 'more than a little', 'a little' and 'none'.

** In the 'Canberra' sample the grading used was "badly".

† The symbol (P-P) indicated that both parents are of Polish origin. (P-E) indicates a 'mixed' Polish-other European parentage, and (P-A) Polish-Anglo-Saxon parentage.

†† S/A stands for self-assessment and I/A for interviewer-assessment.

TABLE 17
 COMMAND OF ETHNIC LANGUAGE - READING AND WRITING

	SAMPLE NO.	N	MORE THAN LITTLE %	VERY LITTLE %	NONE %
READING:					
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3	38	26	18	56
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3	31	13	3	84
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3	27	7	-	93
Central Area Italians (Italian born)	3	113	48	25	27
Central Area Italians (Australian born)	3	187	42	17	42
Central Area Dutch	3	42	36	21	43
Italian schoolgirls	4	95	43	25	32
WRITING:					
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3	38	24	8	69
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3	31	13	3	84
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3	27	4	4	92
Central Area Italians (Italian born)	3	113	41	17	42
Central Area Italians (Australian born)	3	187	25	17	58
Central Area Dutch	3	42	21	7	71
Italian Schoolgirls	4	95	33	18	49

TABLE 18
WILLINGNESS TO STUDY ETHNIC LANGUAGES AND CULTURES
IF THEY HAD BEEN OFFERED AT SCHOOL

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	YES		NO		UNDECIDED		TOTAL	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Tertiary Poles (P-P)	1a	57	90	6	10	3	11	63	100
Tertiary Poles (P-E)	1b	19	68	6	21	3	11	28	100
Tertiary Poles (P-A)	1c	6	(67)	3	(33)			9	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2a	9	(60)	6				15	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2b	2	(12)	15	(88)			17	100
Canberra Poles	5a	27	73	6	16	4	11	37	100
Italian Schoolgirls	4	78	82	10	11	7	7	95	100
Northern Suburb Italians	2c	28	74	10	26			38	100
North-western Suburb Italians	7a	13	50	13	50			26	100
Canberra Dutch	5b	36	72	14	28			50	100
North-western Suburb Greeks	7b	4	(29)	7	(50)	3	(21)	14	100
Tertiary Anglo-Australians	9	185	50	180	49	4	1	369	100
Northern Suburb Anglo-Australians	2d	47	45	58	55	0	-	105	100
North-western Suburb Anglo-Australians	7c	44	31	79	55	21	15	144	101

TABLE 19
ATTENDANCE AT ETHNIC SATURDAY SCHOOL*

SAMPLE	SAMPLE NO.	YES		NO		TOTAL	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Tertiary Poles (P-P)	1a	44	70	19	30	63	100
Tertiary Poles (P-E)	1b	13	46	15	54	28	100
Tertiary Poles (P-A)	1c	3	(33)	6	(67)	9	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-P)	2a	10	(67)	5	(33)	15	100
Northern Suburb Poles (P-E)	2b	8	(47)	9	(53)	17	100
Central Area Poles (P-P)	3a	13	34	25	66	38	100
Central Area Poles (P-E)	3b	4	13	27	87	31	100
Central Area Poles (P-A)	3c	5	19	22	81	27	100
Canberra Poles	5a	25	68	12	32	37	100
Northern Suburb Italians	2c	6	16	32	84	38	100
Central Area Italians (Italian born)	3d	26	23	87	78	113	101
Central Area Italians (Australian born)	3d	41	22	146	78	187	100
Italian Schoolgirls	4	23	24	72	76	95	100
North-west Suburb Italians	7a	3	12	23	88	26	100
Central Area Dutch	3e	0	-	42	100	42	100

* These figures refer to attendance at ethnic school
at any time, not merely current attendance.

N O T E S

1. A re-organized and condensed selection of parts of this paper will appear in Smolicz and Harris (1977).
2. For a brief discussion of the basic assumptions of humanistic sociology, see Smolicz, (1974a). Section I of this chapter is based on Smolicz (1975a).
3. Those children who were born in Australia of immigrant parents are referred to simply as the 'second generation'. Those who had been brought to Australia as young children before their speech patterns had been consolidated by years of training in their mother tongue, i.e. before the fixing of their phonation habits, are labelled as lb generation. They are thus distinguished from la generation immigrants whose phonation habits had been fixed and language systems well established before arrival. M. Clyne (1972:12) suggests a gradual fixing of speech habits up to the 12th year.
4. The discussion of the 'Polish study' is extended in Smolicz and Harris (1977), with special reference to the typology of second generation into 'High Ethnics', 'Polish-Australians', 'Anglo-Assimilates' and 'Alienates', evolved on the basis of cultural and structural characteristics of the subjects.
5. As a form of shorthand, students of Polish, Italian or Anglo-Saxon origin are simply referred to as 'Poles', 'Italians', or 'Australians'. It must be emphasised, however, that we regard all such students as Australian and that strictly speaking people referred to here as simply 'Australian' should have been labelled as 'Anglo-Australian'.
6. This study formed the basis of R. Wiseman's Master of Education thesis (1974). Various aspects of this research have already been published in Smolicz and Wiseman (1971); Wiseman (1971) and Smolicz (1971).

7. Most of the interviews were conducted by R. Wiseman; some of the Polish students were interviewed by J.J. Smolicz.
8. The linguistic sections of the interviews were conducted by Dr. L. Pieraccini, a linguist from the University of Rome, who was bilingual in Italian and English and was familiar with a number of Italian dialects.
9. Results on the extent and nature of culture tension between the Greek children and their parents have been published in Salagaras, Humphris, and Harris (1974).
10. The details of the structure of the sample, together with the analyses of data, are to be found in Harris and Smolicz (1976, in press).
11. Unlike the Poles, considerably fewer Italian students in this sample spoke the ethnic tongue to parents' Italian friends than to parents themselves. This may be explained by the difficulty of communicating with people using a different dialect and the need to use then either standard Italian (mostly unknown to students) or so called 'purified dialect', i.e. a dialect made as near the standard as possible.
12. The one exception was provided by a small proportion of the central area sample which was drawn from one convent school teaching Italian. Since 1971 we have witnessed the development of Italian studies to the extent that in 1974 there were in South Australia seven state and eight Catholic secondary schools teaching Italian (still mostly in the lower forms). There were also eight state primary schools claiming to teach some form of Italian, although in this case the low qualifications of teachers and the frequently non-linguistic content of courses make such developments less meaningful.
13. The exception in this matter is provided by some central European groups, such as the Czech and Hungarian, which show a higher than average proportion of professionals and people with higher educational qualifications. The Poles who arrived here during the 1948-51 period do not fall into this category since, unlike many other Central and Eastern Europeans, they had a greater choice of the area of migration and most of the pre-war elite preferred to settle in England and the United States.

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