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They Have Come a Long Way

**THE SETTLEMENT OF THE 1980s SOLIDARITY WAVE OF POLISH
IMMIGRANTS IN MELBOURNE**

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Declaration

I certify that except where due acknowledgment has been made, the work is that of the candidate alone, the work has not been submitted previously, in whole or in part, to qualify for any other academic award. The content of the thesis is the result of work which has been carried out since the official commencement date of the approved research program.

Elizabeth Drozd

Date

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Synopsis

The purpose of this study was to research the settlement of the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants in Melbourne who arrived in Australia between 1980-84 and thus reduce the gap in knowledge about this group of immigrants. Because of the limited knowledge available about the settlement outcomes of Polish immigrants, a comprehensive data collection process was undertaken through interviews involving 60 participants.

This thesis comprises six chapters beginning with the context of this research, followed by a brief history of Polish community migration to Australia including statistical information. 1980-83 were the peak years of the second wave of Polish migration to Australia, the majority of whom came as refugees and under the Special Humanitarian Program at the time of political and economic turning points in the recent history of Poland. These immigrants left Poland for political and economic reasons, because they had had enough of *the system* - the politics, the economy and the consequences of both, the way Poland functioned at that time, and were pessimistic about its improvement and thus improvement of their own future. They came mainly in family units, at the prime of their lives (25-34 years in age), with a high level of education and from a highly urbanised environment where accommodation was scarce and where there was a shortage of goods including food items. Some had high status positions before leaving Poland. A large number of these immigrants had travelled abroad from Poland previously but only one of the interviewees had been in Australia before. The affluence of the West, compared to Poland, also played an important role in these immigrants deciding to leave their home country. To the majority of them, Australia was their preferred country of migration.

Men were the driving force in deciding to leave Poland and less than 20 per cent of couples made the decision mutually. With some couples, the male arrived in Australia first and then sponsored his wife and children.

Their 'road' from Poland to Australia was usually through a transit country in Europe eg. Austria, Germany, where they were obliged to wait on average several months before a permanent visa was obtained for Australia. They arrived with no or only a few possessions but had hope, courage and willingness to work to establish theirs and their children's lives in their adopted country. They had little knowledge of Australia, particularly the day-to-day aspects of living here. The 1980s wave of Polish immigrants imagined Australia to have European architecture and be less multicultural. Their reasons for wanting to migrate to Australia were because of having a relative or a friend here, and because there were attracted to Australia as a rich and unspoiled country, with a democratic system and a climate to be

envied. They also thought Australia to be one of the best countries for immigrants to settle in. These immigrants had little knowledge of Polonia in Australia and only a quarter could understand English.

Upon arrival, they stayed in migrant hostels in Melbourne where they attended English language classes and accessed a range of support services available to them. Their first impressions of Australia were negative, at times very negative, however, this did not seem to affect their settlement over the long term.

After 10-14 years of living in Australia, these immigrants have come a long way in their settlement. This includes their English language proficiency, occupational status, social support networks, job and life satisfaction. These achievements did not come easy, but they resulted from hard work, further education, compromises and utilisation of skills and knowledge which they brought with them. Also helpful was the range of support services available to them and the Australian policy of multiculturalism. Not all have succeeded and many paid a price for migration eg. marriage break up, deterioration in health, are unemployed, have no contact with their close families in Poland. The most difficult thing to cope with in the initial years of settlement for these immigrants was learning English and not being able to communicate in that language yet being required to work on establishing their lives in Australia. They also experienced high levels of isolation and stress and missed their families in Poland. Their occupational adjustment was also difficult although with time many have regained their occupational status and now work in positions commensurate with their skills and qualifications. They did not recall the process of qualifications recognition as a difficult one but believed that staff at the appropriate agencies could have been more attentive and more proactive to these migrants' particular needs.

At the time of the interview, only eight per cent often had difficulties with understanding English and another 16 per cent had such difficulties sometimes. Their written English proficiency was significantly lower, 34 per cent experienced difficulties often or very often and another 20 per cent sometimes. Whilst a quarter were not interested in pursuing their English language skills further, just over half were interested, especially in wanting to improve their written skills.

Approximately half of these immigrants undertook further or additional studies at Technical and Further Education (TAFE) colleges and universities and another half participated in private vocational courses. Undertaking further or additional studies played a very significant role in the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants regaining their occupational status and acquisition of good English language skills. Fifty two per cent of these immigrants worked as labourers and machine operators in their first jobs in Australia, now this percentage is 24

which is still very considerably higher when compared to Poland where only four per cent of them worked as machine operators and none worked as a labourer. After 10-14 years in Australia, the majority of the study group worked as professionals and para-professionals, technicians and service workers. No male interviewee was working as a labourer and only six per cent continued to work as machine operators. Female interviewees have not done as well in their occupational adjustment, 12 per cent continue to work as labourers and 27 per cent as machine operators. This study found that there was a high level of job satisfaction amongst this wave of Polish immigrants, however, compared to Poland, their job satisfaction was lower. Twelve per cent of the study sample were unemployed, usually unemployed for a substantial period due to English language difficulties and overall lack of jobs. Polish immigrants strongly believed that job opportunities for immigrants in Australia are worse compared to Australian-born persons.

With regards to social support networks, it was found that Polish immigrants had good levels of such networks and that the vast majority of these were involving other Polish immigrants. There was also contact with people from other cultural backgrounds but it was often more distant and not as regular. As with the first large wave of Polish immigrants to Australia, this group also relies on themselves at times of need and do not use welfare services other than the Department of Social Security.

Study findings indicated a very high level of life satisfaction amongst this group of immigrants and 65 per cent believed that their standard of living had improved since leaving Poland. They hold Australia in high regard. What these immigrants liked about their lives in Australia was their accommodation, adequate remuneration, the economic and political stability, life stability, comfortable and peaceful living conditions. Seventy per cent of these immigrants were in the process of paying off their homes or have already done so. They continue to be in good health generally, but 30 per cent felt that their health had deteriorated since leaving Poland. These immigrants also had some dislikes regarding their lives in Australia and these included demanding work lifestyles, different social life, some Australian attitudes and the tyranny of distance. Overall, three quarters assessed their decision to migrate as good or very good and ten per cent as bad or very bad. In general, Polish immigrants were not considering a return migration to Poland.

Amongst the negative outcomes of migration for these immigrants, was the relatively high marriage breakdown (23%). On the other hand, data on marriage assessment revealed that no interviewee assessed their marriage as unsatisfactory. With couples who remained married, a third believed that migration had had a positive effect on their marriage.

This study also aimed to develop a brief profile of children of these immigrants who were found to speak Polish well. Only five per cent could not speak Polish at all. Parents went to great lengths to ensure that their children maintained the Polish language. In contrast, two thirds of these children did not participate in Polish community life.

This research also documented the bicultural identity, in particular these immigrants' identity, links with their mother culture and country, participation in Australian social institutions, attitudes to multiculturalism and other ethnic groups. Ninety per cent of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants continue to identify as Polish and Polish-Australians. The feeling of Polish identity was strong for well over half of interviewees, and feeling Australian strongly or very strongly was stated by only 15 per cent. No interviewee stated his/her identity as being Australian although 97 per cent of these immigrants had acquired Australian citizenship. These immigrants maintained links with Poland and their families there, including inviting relatives for holidays to Australia and visiting Poland themselves. They continue to eat Polish cuisine and celebrate Christmas and Easter in the traditional Polish way. Eighty five per cent of these Polish immigrants found it very important or important to maintain the Polish culture and 80 per cent put such importance on Polish language maintenance. Their membership of Polish organisations is low, mainly due to lack of time and lack of interest or need. Participation in Polish community functions was reasonably low with only a quarter attending such functions regularly. Further, the majority knew about the 3EA Polish radio program, again, only a quarter listen to it regularly which was partly due to the broadcast time (1.00pm). *Polish Weekly* was the mostly commonly read Polish newspaper, followed by newspapers from Poland. Generally, the Polish media in Melbourne was not assessed in a positive light. These immigrants also had a negative view of the Polish community as a group in Australia, including Polish organisations and typical Polish characteristics. Church participation by these immigrants has decreased since their arrival.

In regards to political preferences, half of these Polish immigrants tended to vote for the Liberal Party and between 20-32 per cent tended to vote for the Australian Labour Party. Half of the interviewees followed the political processes in Australia, however, no one belonged to a political party.

They were reluctant to accept people from some cultures such as Middle Eastern or Asian. Multiculturalism was seen by them as a positive aspect of Australia and one which helps immigrants in settlement.

These immigrants were not refugees but migrated in refugee like situations. They do not fit any of the immigrant or refugee settlement models. A new typology for these immigrants is

developed using criteria such as: job and life satisfaction, English language proficiency, maintenance of Polish culture and language and adoption of the Australian culture.

Chapter One: Research Study Context

1.1 Introduction

The idea for this research study originated during a conference in July 1992 entitled: *The Polish Community in Australia. Where To From Here? Creating a New Future*, and as a result of the author's three-year employment experience with the newly-arrived Polish immigrants in Melbourne. The above conference highlighted the need for more research into the settlement of the wave of Polish immigrants who have been coming to Australia since the 1980s.

1.2 Polish Community in Australia

The early history of Poles arriving in Australia has been documented by a historian of Polish origin Lech Paszkowski (1982) in *Poles in Australia and Oceania (1790-1940)*. Paszkowski cites, on the basis of a book edited by G. Schilder *Voyage to the Great South Land*¹, that Poland and Australia had the first people-link when a group of Polish-Lithuanians were amongst the crew of a Dutch vessel which explored the Western Australian coast in 1696 just over 400 years ago. According to Paszkowski, Polish migration to Australia began in 1803 when a convict of Polish origin, Joseph Potaski, arrived as part of the aborted Sorrento settlement in Victoria and later settled in Tasmania (Paszkowski 1988). For the next forty years there were only small numbers of Poles settling in Australia. Amongst them, however, was one of the best known Polish immigrants, Sir Paul Edmund Strzelecki, an explorer, cartographer and geologist, who made a significant contribution to the early discovery of minerals in Australia (Paszkowski 1988). Strzelecki's other contributions included: exploration of the Snowy Mountains and naming of Mt. Kosciuszko, publishing a number of geographical maps and a book on New South Wales and Tasmania. As well, he was amongst the first to express concern about the Australian environment (Paszkowski 1988).

¹ Published by the Royal Australian Historical Society, 1985, Sydney.

The next group of Poles, also in small numbers, included those who arrived in the 1840s and settled in the Hill River Valley in South Australia, which later became known as the Polish Hill River Valley. This was a unique Polish community settlement in the way it maintained its cultural traditions, language and cuisine. Despite the efforts to maintain the Polish culture, assisted by a Polish priest who also settled in that area, this community 'completely assimilated into the Australian society' (Paszkowski 1988, p. 735).

The period of the Australian gold-rush beginning in the 1850s captivated Polish immigrants living as political refugees in Europe and USA. Of those who came, many were well educated and ended up in positions of influence eg. Emeryk Boberski, who was mayor of Ararat in Victoria from 1892 to 1907 (Paszkowski 1988).

Statistical details on the early settlement of Polish immigrants are difficult to obtain with precision because Poles were not listed as a separate category in Australian censuses until 1921. This was perhaps due to the Australian government's lack of recognition of Poland as an independent country when it was under foreign occupation, or perhaps because the number of Polish-born was small and thus they were classified in the 'Other European' category. When the Poland-born were listed separately for the first time in 1921, there were 1780 persons, the majority of whom are believed to have been Jewish².

Encyclopaedia Judaica and *The Jews of Poland: a social and economic history of the Jewish Community in Poland from 1100 to 1800* by B. D. Weinryb (1973) provide background information about the presence of the Jewish community in Poland which reaches back as far as the Xth century. According to the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, it is believed that the first Jews to Poland were transients, traders (probably slave traders) and merchants who came 'there to escape the suffering and pressure brought to bear on them in the lands of the German

² Before the arrival of large numbers of Displaced Persons of Polish background after World War Two, three quarters of the Poland-born in Australia were Jewish, mainly traditional orthodox Jews (BIMPR 1995).

Empire' (1972, p. 710). This was then followed by another migration of Jews from such countries as Bohemia-Moravia, Italy and Spain due to their oppression in those countries. It is estimated that by the XVth century, there were between 20,000-30,000 Jews living in Poland (Encyclopaedia Judaica 1972). As in other countries, Jews in Poland over the centuries also experienced racism and hatred, in particular triggered by their commercially competitive and enterprising nature. As a result of massacres and pogroms against Jews in Poland eg. the Chmielecki Cossack uprising in 1648, 'Jews from Poland began emigrating westward' (Weinryb 1973, p. vii). In the following centuries Polish Jews continued to emigrate to other European countries, the Americas and to Palestine. As a result of the Nazi Holocaust, millions of Jews perished and after the Second World War, only a few thousand of Jews remained in Poland (Weinryb 1972, p. vii)

The number of Polish-born in Australia had almost doubled by 1933 and started to increase dramatically in 1947 (see Table 1.1), when the Australian government decided to accept immigrants from non-British countries.

After the Second World War which had highlighted the threat of a Japanese invasion, the Australian government realised the need to increase its population. Thousands of displaced refugees, who became known as the 'DPs', were stranded in Europe, thus providing a pool of potential immigrants and adding to a depleted workforce in Australia. In July 1947, Australia signed an agreement with the International Refugee Organisation responsible for resettling DPs, and as a result, over 170,000 of them were accepted into Australia, with 60,000 being of Polish background (BIMPR 1995).

Table 1.1 Poland-born population in Australia 1921-1991

[Copyrighted material omitted. Please consult the original thesis.]

Source: BIMPR, Community Profiles, 1991 Census, Poland born

With the adoption of the communist system in Poland after the Second World War, they did not wish to return to their home country. These included ex-servicemen, prisoners of war, and civilians taken to Germany and forced to work in labour camps. Proudfoot (1957) estimated that as many as 1.5 million Polish civilians and prisoners of war were conscripted to forced labour in Germany.

After arrival in Australia, almost all Polish immigrants had to undertake two-year job contracts, which involved work on building the Australian infrastructure, often in remote areas and thus requiring them to be separated from wives and children. It was not unusual for them to see their wives and children only once a fortnight, at times once a month. Despite these and other disadvantages eg. low level of education and limited settlement support services, it seems that these immigrants adapted and settled well in Australia (Dabkowski 1974; Mackiewicz 1987). Almost all are now retired, having often worked in their jobs for between 30-40 years. These immigrants made a significant contribution to the establishment of the Polish community organisational structure, the establishment and support of the Polish Saturday schools, and maintenance of the Polish culture and traditions.

As a result of this large wave of post WWII immigrants, the Polish community in Australia has one of the highest proportions of older persons, and contrary to the general Australian trend, it has a larger number of older men than women (BIPMR 1995) due to larger numbers of Polish males compared to females who came after World War II.

Small numbers of Poles migrated to Australia during the 1960s and 1970s. Following the second main wave of Polish migration in the early 1980s, only a small number of Poles have subsequently been settling in Australia since then, largely through the Family Reunion, Independent, Fiance and Spouse Categories. Lastly, in the mid 1980s, a small number of Solidarity activists have settled in Australia as part of an arrangement between the Polish and the Australian governments. This group is sometimes described as '*Ci co mieli bilet w jedna*

strone' i.e those who were given a one way ticket. Currently, the Polish community is a medium size community, comprised of two very distinct groups - the first wave of post Second World War immigrants often referred to by Poles as '*stara emigracja*' (*the old migration*) and the second wave of those who arrived in the early 1980s, usually referred to as '*nowo-przyjezdni*' (*the newly-arrived*), '*nowa emigracja*' (*the new migration*) or '*ci nowi*' (*the new ones*).

The second major wave of Polish immigrants, sometimes referred to as the Solidarity wave³, started coming to Australia at the beginning of the 1980s with the peak years being 1980-1983. A total of 25,340 Poles came to Australia between 1981-91; the majority were refugees or came under the Special Humanitarian Program (SHP). Between 1980-84 alone, at the peak of this migration wave, there were 6685 women and 7620 men who came mostly as refugees or under the SHP.

Table 1.2 Arrival of Polish-born persons between 1980-1995

Year of arrival	Male	Female	Total	%	Year of arrival	Male	Female	Total	%
1980/81	1,786	1,128	2,914	10	1988/89	772	829	1,601	5
1981/82	3,011	2,721	5,732	19	1989/90	805	867	1,672	6
1982/83	2,132	1,971	4,103	14	1990/91	824	773	1,597	5
1983/84	691	865	1,556	5	1991/92	912	940	1,852	6
1984/85	598	677	1,275	4	1992/93	445	514	959	3
1985/86	679	658	1,337	5	1993/94	286	374	660	2
1986/87	757	861	1,618	5	1994/95	321	425	746	3
1987/88	911	1022	1,933	7	TOTAL	14930	14625	29555	99

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics, Overseas Arrivals and Departures (1980-82)

Department of Immigration, Local Government, Ethnic Affairs, Settler Arrivals by country of birth (1982-1995)

Perhaps the seeds to the second wave (and the first main wave) of Polish migration can be traced back as far as the nineteenth century when the tradition of emigration from Poland was first established. Dabkowski observes:

³ This name needs to be used with caution as it refers mainly to the highpoint of the Solidarity movement of the early 1980s and large exodus of Poles from their home country at that time, rather than belonging or having being active in the Solidarity Trade Union. Although there were members of Solidarity who left Poland, the majority of those departing did not belong to it as has been showed in this and other studies (eg. Armstrong 1982).

After the collapse of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31, many political emigrants left the country. Historians call this phase the Great Emigration. The Revolutionary Diet in Warsaw on 26th February 1831 called upon soldiers of all ranks to take an oath that in the event of defeat 'no Pole would surrender himself to the enemy and would rather choose to be an exile' (1974, p. 62).

Szulc echoes:

This is a stubborn land [Poland] where history and ancient traditions have always battled foreign occupations and regimes imposed by force and where the citizens have been wedded to nonconformity for a thousand years (1988, p. 82).

The communist system in Poland, imposed after the Second World War, was a system which Poles, over the years, learned to despise and, as has been stated by Wojciechowski (1992), they showed their discontent with it on a number of occasions. Besemeres (1988) also points to the number of times Polish people demonstrated their disapproval of the communist system. For instance, in 1953 during the *Targi Poznanskie* (The Poznan Fair), workers used this occasion to take part in massive demonstrations for higher wages. These demonstrations were brutally suppressed, 74 people were killed, hundreds were wounded and imprisoned. In 1968 there were massive student demonstrations demanding freedom and democracy, followed several years later by strikes and demonstrations of workers against rapid price increases in food in 1970 and 1976. Again, many were killed, others were tortured and beaten. As a result of these events, a group of Polish intellectuals formed the Worker's Defence Committee (KOR - *Komitet Obrony Robotnikow*) to support workers and their families (Besemeres 1988). In 1978, Cardinal Wojtyla became Pope, and visited Poland a year later:

Despite the restrictions and sparse official information on his movements [during this visit], 8-10 million Poles turned out to greet him. The sense of national unity and

common purpose the visit created did much to set the scene for the emergence of Solidarity just over a year later (Besemeres 1988, p. 739).

Kay (1985) also believed that the Church in Poland played an instrumental role in the survival of the Solidarity trade union movement and the downfall of communism.

The government tried to increase basic food prices in July 1980, which again caused workers to demonstrate. In addition, 21 economic and political demands were made by workers to which the government agreed and these included: the right to strike, the right to establish free trade unions, increased wages, and so on. Much tension, negotiation and threats followed, with the newly-formed Solidarity Trade Union in conflict with the government. The latter proclaimed martial law on 13th December 1981, interning 10,000 Solidarity activists and dismantling the Solidarity organisational structure (Szulc 1988). Thousands of Solidarity activists were jailed, a small number of whom later migrated to Australia. The above reform movement in Poland, particularly in its economic and political impact, played a significant role in the emergence of a large number of Polish immigrants.

At the time of the 1991 Census, Victoria had the highest number of people who spoke Polish at home⁴ than any other state in Australia. The large Polish community living in the western suburbs of Melbourne, mainly in Sunshine, Keilor and Footscray, represent one of the most significant concentrations in Australia. In New South Wales (NSW), the suburbs of Liverpool and Ashfield have the most significant number of persons of Polish background.

⁴ In the case of the Polish community, language spoken at home is a better ethnicity determinant than country of birth. This is due to a significant number of Polish Jews who were born in Poland, now reside in Australia, but do not identify themselves as Polish. In 1991, 8.4 per cent of Poland-born were Jews according to religious identification (BIPMR 1995).

Table 1.3 Polish community in Australia: geographic distribution

[Copyrighted material omitted. Please consult the original thesis.]

Source: BIMPR, Community Profile, Poland born, 1991 Census

The Polish community is relatively well-studied, both in English and Polish languages. *Polacy w Australii i Oceanii 1790-1940* (1962) and *Poles in Australia and Oceania 1790-1940* (1982) both by Paszkowski⁵, are the most comprehensive studies about the early settlement of Poles in this part of the world. Kaluski in *The Poles in Australia* (1985) gives a brief overview of the Polish community in Australia, its religion, politics, and future perspectives. *The Polish Community and Culture*, edited by Sussex and Zubrzycki (1985) is a more scholarly collection of papers on the demographics, education and culture as well as the settlement patterns and community life of the Polish immigrants in Australia and their children. Smolicz and his colleagues (eg. Secombe) together with Johnston, in a number of publications, have researched and documented the identity, Polish language retention, and education preferences amongst Polish immigrants and their children. *The Coming Winter* by Mackiewicz (1987) and *A Study of the Home and Community Care Needs of the Polish Elderly in Victoria* (1988) by Jurus are studies of the welfare needs of the Polish elderly in Melbourne. More recently, *From House To Home* by Drozd (in press) was a study of Polish elderly in hostels and nursing homes in Victoria.

The New Polish Immigrants: A Quest for Normal Life (Jamrozik 1983b) together with the earlier interim report (Jamrozik 1983a) has thus far been the most important study of the settlement of the second major wave of Polish migrants. More recently, Smolicz, in *From Poland To Australia. In Search of Talent* (1993), reported further research on this particular

⁵ In the Introduction to the 1982 publication, the author asks that the two publications, although they have a lot of similarities, should be treated as separate books rather than as one being a translation of the other.

group of Polish immigrants with regard to their views and attitudes to the education system in Australia and the children's school achievements and adaptation process.

A comprehensive assessment of the state of the Polish community in Australia, together with suggestions for future directions, was documented in *The Polish Community in Australia: Creating a New Future* (Drozd & Cahill, 1993). Several papers in this publication called for the need to undertake more research into the settlement of the new Polish immigrants. There have also been a number of research reports undertaken by postgraduate students in Melbourne: Kabala (1986), Jones (1991) and Krupko (1992). This study, based on collection of primary source data through interviews, aims to reduce the gap in research on this wave of Polish immigrants.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Research study aim

This research aims to analyse from both a theoretical and applied perspective the settlement pattern and outcomes of the Polish immigrants who arrived in Australia between 1980-84 and are now living in the Melbourne metropolitan area. Within this aim, the objectives were to:

- document the socio-demographic profile of these immigrants upon arrival in Melbourne
- explore their reasons for migration from Poland to Australia and their preparedness for migration and initial settlement
- research the immigrants' socio-economic settlement outcomes more than a decade after arrival
- analyse attitudes to and participation of these immigrants in key social institutions
- assess Polish cultural and linguistic maintenance and level of retention links with Poland
- document these immigrants' attitudes to multiculturalism and other ethnic groups
- research the various theoretical models of settlement of immigrants and their application to this group of Poles

1.3.2 Research method

Interview schedules were chosen as the data collection method. The researcher believed that such a method would provide an opportunity to clarify questions and responses immediately with the interviewee, and to evaluate the validity of the data collection process. The interview schedule aimed to collect qualitative and quantitative data in an equally balanced way. Questions were arranged in a chronological sequence which could be compared to taking people through their migrant life journey of the previous 10-14 years.

The population was defined as the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants, who arrived and permanently settled in Australia between 1980-84 as these years represented the biggest influx of Polish immigrants to Australia in the 1980s. The research question was: How well did the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants settle in Melbourne? Three hundred names (comprising 41% males and 59% females) were selected through the main points of contact for the Polish community in Melbourne. This included: Polish community social events - Niemen concert and an art exhibition (36 collected, interviewed 14), a Polish community-based agency (6 collected, interviewed 6), Polish media canvassing for subjects⁶ (3 collected, interviewed 3), personal contacts (4 collected, interviewed 4), word of mouth (25 collected, interviewed 20), two Polish directories (61 collected, interviewed 5), and from a list of Polish immigrants who undertook English language classes at the Wiltona hostel upon arrival in Australia⁷ (145 collected, interviewed 8). Only three persons (all males) responded to the radio announcements and no one responded to the advertisement in the *Polish Weekly*. It was also planned that names would be collected from Polish travel agencies in Melbourne, however this was not possible due to confidentiality issues. Sixty participants, from the 300 names collected, were selected for this research study. An extensive questionnaire was developed, which was piloted on five people from the target group. The piloting of the

⁶ The Polish media used included: Polish radio programs 3EA and 3ZZZ as well as the Victorian newspaper '*Polish Weekly*'.

⁷ It was difficult to trace names of Polish immigrants in this list. This included searching for names in the phone directory and if a name was found then the researcher made a phone call and asked for the person on the list of Polish immigrants from the hostel in Wiltona. In many instances, the person on the phone was the one who was searched for. If it was that person, then the purpose of the study was explained and a request was made for participation in it.

questionnaire did detect several deficiencies in some questions. These pilot questionnaires were not used in the analysis of the data.

It is possible that one of the weakness of the research method was the length of the interview which some subjects found tiring. Also, this study relied in large part on recall and this may be less reliable compared to collection of data when the actual experience occurs (Goldlust & Richmond 1974).

Finally, with studies involving small samples, caution is necessary when findings are generalised. Although every effort was made, it is also possible that inaccuracies may have occurred because of imperfections in: reporting by respondents, recording and/or data processing of responses, or the researcher's misinterpretation. However, despite these, the researcher is confident about the credibility of this research study and its findings.

1.3.3 Research sample - gender, age and place of residency

The sample's gender profile was 36 women and 24 men (60% and 40%). It cannot be claimed that this is representative of the Polish immigrants who arrived between 1980-84 who had the following gender breakdown: 53 per cent men and 47 per cent women (see Table 1.4). As can be seen, the number of males was greater than females from 1980 to 1983, but since 1984 till 1994 the trend has reversed with the number of females coming to Australia being greater than those of males, most probably due to female fiance and female spouse migration.

While collecting names, the researcher was aware that a representative sample should comprise relatively equal number of men and women. However, divorced Polish men seemed difficult to identify and in the case of couples it was often the female who was more agreeable to be interviewed. The gender composition of the sample may cause difficulties in interpreting data and, whenever there appears a possible distortion in the analysis, attention will be drawn to the fact. Overall, nine persons did not agree to be interviewed and they were almost evenly

spread across genders. Some of the reasons given were: no time, unwillingness to speak about unpleasant experiences, dislike of surveys, or 'things [life in Australia] did not work out for me'. From the announcements made in the Polish media, only three people responded and all three were men.

1.3.4 Age of Polish immigrants upon arrival

The majority of Polish immigrants who came during the 1980-84 period were between 25-34 years of age, a similar age range was also noted by Pomian and Tabin (1989) in the *Kultura* study. The age breakdown of the survey participants upon arrival was as follows:

Table 1.4 Age and gender breakdown of survey sample

Age at the time of arrival	Female %	Male %
under 24	19	17
25-34	67	50
35+	14	33
Total	100	100

Polish immigrants who came to Australia at that time and subsequently, were at the prime of their lives, usually having completed their secondary or tertiary education and with previous employment experience.

Interviewed participants were evenly distributed across Melbourne with a significant number of them living in the outer (and developing) suburbs of Melbourne such as Berwick, Meadow Heights, Werribee, Dandenong followed by other suburbs such as Caulfield, St. Kilda and Sunshine. All of these suburbs have significant concentrations of Polish migrants as was confirmed by the 1991 Census. Housing in the outer areas of Melbourne is cheaper and often this would be the main reason for Polish immigrants choosing to settle in those suburbs. In the case of St. Kilda and surrounding suburbs, new Polish migrants are attracted by the proximity to the City centre and by the beach - where many go for regular walks, and the atmosphere of Ackland St, which is a reminder of the busy and lively street life in Poland (data from interviews).

Hence, this study focuses on a sample drawn from the so-called Solidarity wave who arrived in the early 1980s. They were young, in the prime of their working lives, and who, at the time of interviews a decade or more after their arrival, were scattered across the Melbourne metropolitan area.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

A major effort was made to locate all literature on settlement of the Solidarity wave both in Australia and outside. Firstly, computer data bases were searched and these included: Multicultural Australia and Immigrant Studies (MAIS), Social Sciences Index Ondisc, and Dialogue Information Services - Online search for the English, Polish and German languages. The largest number of publications was identified in the USA. In addition, letters were written to Polish organisations in USA, Canada, South Africa, Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, asking for any material on the settlement of the 1980s wave of Polish immigrants. Polish embassies in a number of countries including Australia also were contacted, informing them of this study and seeking assistance in identifying all relevant literature, the result of which was minimal. Moreover, the researcher personally visited a number of Polish organisations in USA and Canada, including the Polish-Canadian Research Institute in Toronto, where staff were very helpful in pointing to a number of relevant publications. Also visited was the National Library in Warsaw, in particular the Polonia Abroad Collection, the office of *Wspolnota Polska* and a bookshop located in its premises, which specialises in publications on Polish communities abroad. Further, relevant papers and reports were collected from the Polish community-based agencies in Sydney and Melbourne. Several publications were also identified through the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs (as it was then called) eg. Krupko, Kay. Finally, the major daily newspapers *The Age*, *The Australian*, and *The Financial Review*, published between 1980-84, were scanned for articles on the new Polish immigrants.

There has been no comprehensive research study done recently on the settlement of the second wave of Polish immigrants in Australia, except for Jamrozik's study in 1983, which involved immigrants in their initial years of settlement. However, a number of overseas studies of the same target group have been completed in the last few years and they provide valuable insights into the reasons for migration and these immigrants' adjustment in their new

countries. This study will enable us, more than a decade later, to take a more measured outlook on settlement outcomes.

2.1 *Kultura* Study

In 1988, *Kultura*, a socio-cultural monthly magazine in Polish, published in France and distributed worldwide, initiated an international survey entitled *Emigration from socialism*. The survey aimed to establish a profile of the 1980s' Polish immigrants, eg. their education, occupation, family composition. Also, it investigated whether they had been subject to political persecution, under what conditions they had decided to leave, and their views about emigration and Poland.

A copy of a brief questionnaire was inserted into *Kultura* and readers were asked to respond to it. In addition, in Italy, Greece and Germany the survey was distributed amongst potential participants. There were 837 responses (the biggest of all surveys of Polish immigrants), mainly from European countries but also from Canada, USA, and Australia. Overall, answers were received from 19 countries. The survey asked those who left Poland after the imposition of martial law on 13th Dec. 1981 to respond, although some of the respondents had in fact left Poland earlier. Almost half emigrated between 1987-88 and at the time of the survey lived in transit countries. Most did not have permanent residency, however, 70 per cent assessed their migration as definite; the majority wanted to remain living in the West (*mieszkać na zachodzie*).

Three quarters of the respondents were males and almost half of the respondents were tertiary educated or in the middle of their tertiary studies. The level of education was unusually high, and this reflects the readership of *Kultura*.

Forty eight per cent had been members of Solidarity, higher than in any other survey, and half of them had been persecuted by Polish authorities. It is thus understandable that a small number of respondents expressed fear about filling out the questionnaire, doubting its anonymity, although the questionnaire did not ask for any details eg. name or address.

Pomian and Tabin, authors of the *Kultura* study, concluded that contrary to the general perception in Poland that most migrants left for economic reasons, political motivation was the main impetus (69%), which is similar to the Canadian findings of Badasu (1990). In the eyes of these Polish immigrants, political oppression in Poland did not refer to the lack of free elections, censorship, or lack of freedom of association, but rather to more everyday concerns eg. occupational promotion being dependent on one's pro-government views. They wanted to be free human beings and saw living in the West as the only possibility where this would occur. The respondents saw freedom as an embedded right. This belief was also illustrated in Aroian's study in the USA i.e. ...'no person in the world has the right to tie me down to a place I don't want to be', was a view of a female interviewee who saw herself as a citizen of the world (Aroian 1988, p. 127). Polish immigrants were aware that (and objected to) being forced to march in official manifestations was an infringement of their rights. They '...wanted to begin a new life, in which all will depend on their own intelligence, initiative and energy; nothing will depend on the state' (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 14).

Sixty per cent of respondents strongly believed that every person has a right to live where he/she decides is suitable for them. The authors summarise these answers in the following way:

Immigrants believed that no one - no government, no moral authority, not even family or friends - has the right to prevent someone from leaving their country. After years of collectivism, time has come for a period of individualism, whose main characteristic is primacy of rights of an individual above his/her responsibility towards the society.

Answers of the respondents often included such statements as: 'I only have one life'. 'For how long should one sacrifice?' (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 23).

...there is no moral force, which would make me sacrifice myself in the name of the community at large. In the name of a right to personal happiness and a better life, in the name of a right to live in a political system which one chooses, immigrants called on that right, in accordance with which everyone should live where they chose to. Such grounds was also a justification: if such a right to choose exists, why should one not exercise it? (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 23).

Respondents' overall answers with regard to reasons for leaving Poland fell into the following categories:

- dislike of socialism as the system regulating their lives
- feeling of threat regarding one's own personal safety
- lack of opportunities, not in a materialistic sense but rather to lead an honest life (thinking found especially among the young intelligentsia)
- wanting to run away from Poland and everything associated with it
eg. 'the senselessness of everything around them [in Poland]'
- being tired of living in Poland and making sacrifices (*overflowing of the cup - przepelnienie sie czary*)

In summary, this research, although subjects were self-selected, provides interesting and valuable insights into the reasons of emigration from Poland in the 1980s.

2.2 U.S. Research

Two studies which included the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants in the study sample were identified and these were Kapalka (1989), and Aroian (1988, 1990). These

studies examined the adjustment and acculturation of Polish immigrants although from different perspectives.

Kapalka explored the process of acculturation, the factors that affect that process and the family functioning of Polish immigrants in the context of gender and cultural differences between Poland and the United States. Study subjects were 149 men and 76 women who had resided in the U.S. between 5-20 years. The author identified the following factors which affect acculturation: length of residence, age, satisfaction with the political environment, education (pre and post migration), socioeconomic status, and ecological factors as well as personality traits eg. openness, resilience, cognitive flexibility, readiness to change (Kapalka 1989). Kapalka's findings indicated that 'receptivity of the host society appears to affect acculturation of Polish subjects the most, followed by temporal determinants [eg. age, education, length of residence] and pre-migration implications' (1989, p. 130).

Kapalka's final conclusions indicated that Polish families functioned well but there were significant differences between the study sample and the American-born population comparison sample with regards to problem solving, communication roles - with the Poles being better adjusted than the American sample. However, the degree of Polish family cohesiveness seemed lower than families of the host society (Kapalka 1989).

The study by Aroian *From Leaving Poland to Feeling at Home*, looked at the positive and negative aspects of migration and resettlement of Polish immigrants, the emotional responses associated with that process and how these changed over time. According to Aroian (1988), Polish immigrants experienced high levels of distress due to: occupational adjustment, language and accommodation difficulties. In response to these and other obstacles, Polish immigrants adopted a range of adaptive strategies during their adjustment process and these included: undertaking further education, seeking situations where one would be forced to learn the English language, having a sense of purpose and putting the past behind. They

emphasised their willingness to belong and 'feel at home' in their new country of residence. The author identified 'feeling at home' as the final stage in Polish immigrants' resettlement process. To some Polish immigrants such feeling never eventuated despite material and social adaptation achievements (Aroian 1988). Detailed accounts are given about how these immigrants rebuilt their lives with limited resources available to them. When they migrated from Poland they automatically lost: status, knowledge of their environment, communication ability, occupational marketability and financial security (Aroian 1988). The author found that Polish immigrants, through a range of adaptive strategies, transformed the difficulties and losses associated with migration into a positive experience, but stressed that the essential factor to their successful adaptation both in material and psychological terms was employment and it was the most difficult to resolve (Aroian 1988). Having a job was seen as a source of security and self-esteem as well as giving a sense of purpose and hope for the future. The following barriers were identified in occupational adjustment:

- a) English language difficulties
- b) lack of effective job hunting techniques and cultural differences in styles of social interaction
- c) belief that immigrants should do menial work
- d) employers' preference for hiring American-born persons
- e) Polish immigrants not being up-to-date with technology in U.S.
- f) non transferability of professional licences
- g) not having citizenship in host country (Aroian 1988).

Some of the strategies used by Polish immigrants to overcome occupational adjustment barriers were:

- a) Americanising one's name
- b) learning how to minimise cultural differences in social interactions

- c) postponing employment in favour of intensive English classes and/or updating their professional skills
- d) seeking additional higher education in the U.S.
- e) offering oneself as cheap labour (Aroian 1988)

Many of the Polish immigrants saw their English language inability or limitations as the main handicap eg. 'my only problem is English'⁸ was a common statement regarding occupational adjustment (Aroian 1988). Aroian rightly observes that 'the limitations imposed by communication barriers pervaded every aspect of the interviewees' new lives except for contacts with fellow Poles' (1988, p. 204).

In 1990, Aroian published research with regard to Polish immigrants' occupational adjustment to capitalism in U.S. and their emotional responses to that process using the same study subjects as in the 1988 study. Aroian found that occupational adjustment was the most pressing need during the initial settlement period of Polish immigrants. Interviewees found periods of unemployment and lack of employment stability distressing and as one of the most difficult aspects of their resettlement process. Polish immigrants felt that although in Poland they had low levels of job satisfaction, they had job stability under the communist system. Aroian's subjects also felt that they were not prepared for occupational instability which further contributed to their levels of distress.

Polish immigrants saw the cultural and economic differences between Poland and U.S. as the main reason for their distress associated with occupational adjustment (Aroian 1990). A

⁸ It must be noted that half of the subjects (from the total of 25) in Aroian's study did not know the English language and a further six had moderate ability only. Also, subjects in Aroian's study were not just newly-arrived Polish immigrants but were from three different waves of Polish migration i.e. those who migrated soon after the war, those who migrated during the 1960s and 1970s, and the new migrants of the 1980s.

female from the Solidarity wave described the difference in stability between Poland and U.S. as:

In Poland you work in one place until retirement, one place, one school, one house. You didn't change places. In this country [the U.S.], you're just moving, moving, moving. You changing job and with new job you move apartment, change people, changing friends. It's hard for us because we are people who like to stabilise... (Aroian 1990, p. 81).

In addition, interviewees highlighted the greater emphasis on work in U.S. compared to Poland where access to some basic necessities eg. health care, did not depend on work. Further, the need for money was greater because of much better availability of goods in U.S. compared to Poland where there were shortages of consumer goods. Overall, Polish immigrants felt that they had greater need for financial security due to loss of support networks and extended family who normally could provide assistance during unemployment (Aroian 1990).

2.3 Canadian Research

Three relevant publications were identified in the Canadian literature: studies by Badasu (1990), the Canadian-Polish Research Institute (1990) with its collection of Polish immigrants' memoirs, and by Baker (1989).

Badasu's research entitled *Polish Immigration to Alberta since 1980: Determinants and Consequences* was part of a Master of Arts at the University of Alberta in Canada. Primary data were collected through self-administered questionnaires, using a snowball sampling procedure. A hundred self-administered questionnaires were returned from 300 sent out, and an in-depth home interview with 15 persons was conducted to gather data about the migration path and the adaptation process. The age of the respondents varied from 18 to 65 with the majority being in the 30-44 age group. The gender ratio was almost even. Study participants

came to Canada between 1980-1989 with 30 per cent having arrived between 1980-83. Fifty two per cent had completed university education in Poland and amongst these 32 per cent had Master degrees⁹ (Badasu 1990, p. 12). This is amongst the highest level of education in research studies on Polish immigrants and it poses a shortcoming in the research sample, and consequently research conclusions due to the sample's lack of representativeness as is acknowledged by Badasu. Most studies of the 1980s wave of Polish immigrants include high percentages of tertiary educated varying between 25-45 per cent which reflects the education levels of Polish emigrants in the early 1980s.

Similarly to the *Kultura* study, the majority of respondents in that study also left Poland for political reasons, although the nature of those reasons is different to those identified by *Kultura* and other studies. Badasu states that the majority of people in Poland did not accept the communist system because of its disregard for the Polish heritage, its lack of independence from the Soviet Union, and its disregard for democratic principles. The author puts well the Poles' love for freedom and its basis: '...like people everywhere, the Poles like freedom, and hate orders and compulsion. They developed a democratic system of government very early in their history and have since adhered to its virtues' (Badasu 1990, p. 25).

Badasu identified four determinants of Polish migration to Alberta:

- political and socio-economic conditions in Poland
- opportunity for Poles to migrate to other countries enhanced by the closeness of European transit countries
- Canada's immigration policy
- the presence of other Poles in Alberta (1990, p. 93)

⁹ The very high percentage of tertiary educated is not representative of the general population in Poland. For example, Smolicz's estimate was 13.6 per cent of tertiary educated persons in 1976 (1993).

In conclusion, Badasu's study, in line with others (Jamrozik 1983; Goldlust & Richmond 1974), showed that the key determinant in the settlement of the Polish immigrants was length of residence (Badasu 1990). The longer they resided in their chosen country, the more they knew about it and thus participated in it more. For the majority, the adjustment process was difficult, despite the facilities and services provided by government departments responsible for immigration and settlement, and the assistance offered by the Polish community and other benevolent associations. Comparison of the literature suggests that the settlement of Polish immigrants in Canada was more difficult compared to their Australian counterparts. The most difficult aspect in the adaptation process was finding a job, especially for those who were highly educated and professionals. At the time of the study, the majority of interviewees worked in positions below their educational qualifications and occupational skills with 60 percent having changed their professions, usually to occupations which required lower skills than what they used in Poland¹⁰ (Badasu 1990). The most common problems in finding appropriate employment were: lack of qualifications recognition, limited English, and lack of Canadian work experience. The author states that recognition of qualifications in Canada is a long and expensive process as is studying and retraining. Consequently, some migrants gave up and settled for jobs below their qualifications and skills. Engineers and computer programmers were most successful in finding employment in their relevant fields. Overall, the socio-economic experience in Canada did not meet the Polish immigrants' expectations (Badasu 1990).

Furthermore, the study found that there was little involvement on the part of the new Polish immigrants in the Polish organisations in Edmonton in the province of Alberta. Badasu put this down to the immigrants' difficult adjustment process. They did however participate in Polish church life.

¹⁰ This high level of occupational demotion may be due to the fact that some of the interviewees had been in Canada for a short period only eg. three years.

In 1989, the Canadian-Polish Research Institute organised a memoir competition and later published memoirs of 31 Polish immigrants (21 females, 10 males), who arrived in Canada between 1981-89, and wrote about their migration experience and their life in Canada. These were not immigrants who were politically involved or were members of the Solidarity movement as was the case in *Kultura's* sample. Similar to previous studies, respondents left Poland due to the political and social upheavals and the unsatisfactory living conditions. They left because 'they had had enough', were afraid of the future and saw Poland as without opportunities. They did not like the system in which they lived and wanted an opportunity to live an honest life. This is how one immigrant described his reasons for migrating:

Wanting to break from a life not in harmony with my character, life full of lies, bribes, falsity, dishonesty sprinkled with alcohol, how could one refuse to drink, since it is a sacred duty (Badasu 1990, p. 29).

The immigrants' decision to migrate appears to have been a choice. None of the respondents said that they had difficulty in leaving at a time when Poland might need them most. There was no feeling of guilt or remorse, except for one female who felt like a traitor to Poland. The memoirs well document the migration and settlement experiences of single Polish men. Also, memoirs by males emphasise the importance of family and children as a purpose in life, not individual needs as such.

Generally, Polish immigrants saw life in Canada as different compared to Poland, but with 'a face of an honest friend'. Although migration was described as a school of hard knocks, immigrants described their life as satisfying, as a quiet existence with the possibility of meeting one's needs.

The final Canadian study is that of Baker (1989) who researched the adaptation and ethnicity of Polish immigrants in Canada. The majority of his subjects were tertiary educated males from the Solidarity wave (for which no definition was provided). Contrary to the memoirs and other research findings, Baker found that the immigrants' initial settlement experience was not problematic although they did have difficulty finding employment and once such was obtained, this was usually below their skills. His study found Polish immigrants enjoying high levels of job satisfaction and high standard of living due to their economic success. No subject reported low life satisfaction or well-being (Baker 1989) which could be attributed to the lack of representativeness of the study sample. As in other studies, there was little involvement in the organised life of the Polish community, and although only a quarter attended Polish church, this institution was seen as the most important one within the structure of the Polish community in Toronto. Their maintenance of Polishness was done informally i.e. most of their friends were Polish, they spoke Polish at home, ate Polish food, and observed religious holidays in a Polish way (Baker 1989). Baker concluded that these immigrants assimilated into the Canadian society on the cultural level 'but their primary relationships consisted of Poles...' (1989, p. 84). With regards to identity, three quarters felt Polish/Canadian, with Baker predicting that their Canadian identity was likely to increase the longer they resided in Canada.

2.4 South African Research

Zurkowski, who wrote the first profile and history of Polish migration to South Africa, also included a brief section on the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants. It was estimated that between 1980-82, 3,500-4,000 Poles settled in that country (Zurkowski 1994). He states, that in the early 1980s, there were on average two charter flights a week for Polish immigrants from Austria to Johannesburg. The process of migration to South Africa was different compared to other countries. That is, this particular scheme was supported and sponsored by the South African government together with large corporations, which subsidised the airfares and offered employment upon arrival. Polish immigrants were mainly employed in strategic

industries such as energy, mining and defence. Doctors and nurses were employed in the public and army hospitals. Polish female immigrants, however, faced additional difficulties (compared to their husbands) in their obtaining of employment because they had occupations, 'which traditionally were occupied by men in that country' (Zurkowski 1994, p. 211).

The author observed that the position of Polish immigrants compared to other nationalities within South Africa, is largely decided by their skills and education. He notes that these immigrants are characterised by high occupational status and significant affluence:

...Polonia of South Africa represents the highest financial and cultural level of all Polish diasporas in the world. Amongst white residents of South Africa together with the Jewish community, the Polish community has one of the highest number of tertiary educated (Zurkowski 1994, p. 210).

Zurkowski was not able to assess the level or extent of acculturation and assimilation of Polish immigrants due to lack of research on this matter. However, the author quotes a Minister of Foreign Affairs in South Africa ('Pik' Botha) who stated, 'We value Poles...because they do not blot out their traditions and roots, that they maintain their Polishness, that their children - born in South Africa - speak Polish' (Zurkowski 1994, p. 212). Such statement can be seen as an indication that Polish immigrants in South Africa, just like in other countries, do maintain their cultural and linguistic traditions.

2.5 Australian Research

While there have been other studies on the earlier waves, *A Quest for Normal Life* is the only major study on Polish immigrants who arrived in Australia in the early 1980s. In 1983, the NSW Ethnic Affairs Commission set up a Task Force, under the chairmanship of Adam

Jamrozik, to undertake a research study as a response to the large numbers of Polish immigrants coming to Australia at that time. This was a two-part study which aimed to:

- develop a demographic profile and assess service needs of the target group
- identify and document service provision and gaps in service provision
- elicit their views and experiences of settling in Australia

Personal interviews were conducted with 237 newly-arrived Polish immigrants in Sydney. At the time of this study, participants had been in Australia between 6-36 months and one of their biggest disappointments and chief difficulty was finding employment, not merely in their own occupations but any employment. The study found, however, that after two years of residing in Australia, the majority of Polish immigrants had found jobs and their income levels were not much lower than for the Australian-born counterparts. Other difficulties encountered by Polish immigrants were recognition of qualifications and accommodation, especially for families with children.

Jamrozik found that the services available to Polish immigrants in their initial settlement years were inadequate. Further, due to limited staff, Polish organisations were constrained in their capacity to assist the new immigrants. Overall, Jamrozik's study found that the most determining factor in the settlement process and successful outcomes was length of residence, as has been mentioned previously.

The Taskforce made a number of recommendations, covering all the main issues of concern. The author concluded that these Polish immigrants '...had much to contribute to the Australian society, especially in terms of occupational knowledge, professional and trade skills and providing assistance in their transition would enable them to adjust and contribute more quickly' (Jamrozik 1983a, p. 8), and he encouraged relevant government departments and policy makers to take on this challenge.

There has also been a small number of studies undertaken by postgraduate students which included two studies on the settlement of Polish women in Australia (Kabala 1986; Jones 1991) and one on the settlement of the new Polish immigrants (Krupko 1992).

Kabala, through 20 structured and in-depth interviews, investigated the settlement of Polish women in relation to the impact of migration on the well-being of these women who were now living in Australia. This included women who were recent arrivals and those who had been residing in Australia for more than fifteen years. The study also looked at the opportunities Polish women had to improve their socio-economic status. The author aimed to detect patterns of adaptation and factors affecting the life satisfaction of these women by seeking answers to such questions as, (i) Are immigrant women satisfied with their life in Australia? (ii) Which factors affect their satisfaction levels? (iii) How do women feel on arrival in Australia? (iv) Does their satisfaction change once the initial period of settlement is over? (v) In comparison to their socio-economic status before migration, have immigrant women experienced upward or downward mobility? What is the perception of their role as women in Australia and does it conflict with the role they had in the country of origin? (Kabala 1986).

The author found significant levels of post-arrival depression experienced by Polish women, especially at the initial stages of settlement. This included 'feelings of dissatisfaction, disappointment, unhappiness and anxiety, which were related to the experiences of culture shock and nostalgia, compounded by the language and communication barrier' and 'caused primarily by feelings of insecurity and uncertainty about the future' (Kabala 1986, p. 59). Study participants believed that generally women in Australia had a lower social status compared to women in Poland, also a finding of Jones (1991). Finally, the study stressed the importance the recently arrived women placed on job satisfaction and the fact that their occupational aspirations were not lowered by migration (Kabala 1986).

Jones' qualitative study of six Polish women, undertaken as part of a postgraduate community development course, looked at the effects of migration on Polish women and the demands placed on them as women in their settlement process. It particularly considered such factors as migration and ethnicity, professional status and participants' perception of their status as women.

With regards to migration and ethnicity, women in this study highlighted the significant levels of isolation which they experienced after arrival and continue to experience in the later years of their settlement due to lack of primary support networks eg. family, relatives and childhood friends (Jones 1991). After arrival, many found it difficult to establish new friendships due to: different cultural expectations, lack of time, and lack of 'the resilience of youth to easily strike significant relationships' (Jones 1991, p. 6). Polish women found that most of their newly-formed friendships were for pragmatic reasons eg. playmates for children rather than based on mutual interest and affinity.

Further, the women in Jones' study found that they participated in the Australian culture 'as consumers, without any influence on its development' (1991, p. 7). Participants also noted their greater level of tolerance (compared to Poland) and how living in a different culture made them assess their own social conditioning and 'grow' as individuals.

On the aspect of stress of acculturation and resettlement all mentioned the high levels of stress which was due to:

- a) '...having several major responsibilities in life 'compacted' as a result of migration eg. starting a family coincides with a career change and buying a house' (Jones 1991, p. 7)
- b) stress of acculturation i.e. '...mental stress involved in learning a new culture and then contending with the duality of our cultural realities... constantly comparing various aspects of the two cultures, in an attempt to build bridges between them' (Jones 1991, p. 7)
- c) stress of family responsibility eg. 'We constantly worry about our children, in case something happens to us. We only have ourselves to rely on' (Jones 1991, p. 7)

- d) stress of learning new skills eg. 'driving a car...etc, under the pressure of needing these skills for daily survival' (Jones 1991, p. 7)
- e) stress associated with lowering of employment status

These women felt that having a meaningful job gave personal satisfaction, social status, and financial security and the determination to succeed was strong on the part of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish women (Jones 1991).

Krupko's study (1992) looked at the settlement experiences of the 1980s Polish immigrants by conducting semi-structured interviews with 19 persons. The researcher explored how this group of immigrants had settled, if their expectations had been met, their settlement difficulties and how had their lives changed as a result of that. Similar to other studies, interviewees experienced initial settlement difficulties which, however, did not prevent them from working on re-establishing their lives. The study concluded that overall Polish immigrants adjusted well to their new society and that their lives were 'similar to that of their Australian counterparts, centred around family, friends and personal pursuits' (Krupko 1992, p. 23). For the majority of study participants there was an increase in the standard of living, although to some this was achieved at personal cost. Further, 'there were those for whom the costs have been too high for what they have gained' (Krupko 1992, p. 24). Similar to the Jones' study, participants also stressed the difficulty in establishing satisfying friendships.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has described the literature search process for this research study and summaries of relevant literature findings. Overall, it was found that economic and political reasons were the two main reasons for emigration from Poland in the 1980s. These immigrants despised the communist system which, in practice, did not deliver the theoretical promises, especially with regard to Poland's economic situation. These immigrants left Poland, where they saw no future, for the unknown but with hopes and some belief that it would be better to what they had left behind. The 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants

experienced difficulties (in some instances severe) in their initial settlement but most have eventually overcome them with time, due to persistence and a number of attributes such as: high levels of education, their prime working age, urban background and previous travels abroad. These immigrants made a major effort in undertaking further or new studies in order to regain their occupational status and acquire good English language skills. Literature on these Polish immigrants is consistent in confirming difficulties with English language (learning and inability to communicate) and occupational adjustment as the two biggest barriers in these immigrants' settlement in Australia and other countries. Those two difficulties caused or contributed to other difficulties. Stress and isolation also featured prominently in the initial months of residence in Australia. There were some differences in the settlement process of Polish immigrants in various host countries. Overall, it seemed that Polish immigrants settlement experiences were more difficult in U.S. and Canada compared to Australia.

Chapter Three: From Poland to Australia

This chapter documents the socio-demographic characteristics of this sample of the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants at the time of emigration from Poland, decision making process and preparedness for migration, and their initial settlement experiences in Australia.

3.1 Life in Poland Before Migration

In regard to the socio-demographic profile of these immigrants, the questionnaire collected data on their social background, education, employment, accommodation, and their previous travel abroad. It is generally accepted that certain factors eg. education, knowledge of the English language, play a significant role in immigrant settlement. It is also accepted, that reasons for migration and potential immigrants' preparedness for migration, can be an influential factor in determining how well immigrants settle in their new country of residence. It is these issues i.e. who were these Polish immigrants?, why did they come to Australia and what was life like for them after arrival?, which are explored in this chapter.

3.1.1 Social background

Before coming to Australia, almost 80 per cent of survey participants were living in an urban environment¹¹. Most lived in high rise flats obtained through housing co-operatives¹² (*spoldzielnie mieszkaniowe*) subsidised by the government. The remaining 20 per cent lived in small provincial towns, between 3,000-20,000 people. Only one person in the sample was from a rural setting. Polish immigrants may have had difficulty to admit their rural background as this was usually associated with low socio-economic status and might have even resulted in ridicule by other Poles. For example, to say someone is from a village (*z wiochy*) often

¹¹ This high level of urban background is similar to that identified by other studies eg. DIEA's study, in which Poles were found to be the most urbanised of recent immigrants (MSJ Planners 1985, p. 15).

¹² Housing co-operatives involved payment of a deposit from potential residents and then placement on long waiting lists (in some cities up to 15 years). Once a flat was obtained (number of rooms depended on the size of the family), a monthly rent at an affordable rate was paid to the government run co-operative. Accommodation obtained through such schemes was not owned but could be sold.

meant putting that person down and indicating that they were unlikely to be educated or cultured.

Subjects came from a wide range of cities in Poland, but certain geographical areas were more prominent. These included the main cities such as Warsaw, Cracow, Gdansk, and the so called reclaimed areas (*ziemie odzyskane*) eg. Wroclaw, which became part of Poland after the WW II border readjustment. The retrieved areas are characterised by lack of long-term residency due to resettlement of these areas by Poles from other parts of Poland i.e. Polish people living in the eastern parts of Poland eg. Lvov, Vilno, resettled in the reclaimed areas eg. Silesia, Pomerania. These western areas were given to Poland after World War II to replace a part of eastern Poland as a sequel of the Molotov and Ribentrov Pact, which resulted in Germany attacking Poland on 1st September 1939 and the Soviet Union's forces entering Poland on 17th September 1939.

3.1.2 Type of accommodation in Poland

While in Poland, 60 per cent of these Polish immigrants were living in housing co-operative flats, usually with their parents and parents-in-law, 20 per cent had their own flats and 10 per cent had their own homes. For the remaining ten per cent accommodation was with a relative or through a company for which they worked. There was an extreme shortage of accommodation in Poland, eg. in some instances six people shared a one bedroom flat, and lack of accommodation to some survey participants was one of the most significant factors for leaving their home country. Interestingly, those who did have their own accommodation, did not hesitate leaving Poland either. Pomian and Tabin (1989) found that amongst those who were under 30 years of age, 32 per cent described their accommodation as terrible, and overall, 50 per cent (similar findings of this survey) did not have their own accommodation i.e. lived with parents, parents-in-law, and so on. During the interviews, this is how one married female described her housing difficulties: 'We did not have a chance to get our own flat. I lived with my mother-in-law for six years. It was not possible to rent out'. In Australia, this female and her family live in a spacious and beautiful new house in a Melbourne suburb.

3.1.3 The level of education

The high level of education amongst the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants is probably one of the best-known aspects of this wave of Polish immigrants. However, research findings vary significantly with regard to levels of tertiary education amongst this group. For example, in Jamrozik's sample, 37 per cent had at least three years of tertiary education, while Badasu's sample had 52 per cent, and in DIEA's study it was 45 per cent (MSJ Keys Young Planners, 1985). The percentage of tertiary educated appears to vary depending on research study sample selection process and on the time of leaving Poland. For example, Zagala's list from the Wiltona hostel (see section 1.3.2), in which subjects left Poland between 1979-80, only had a quarter of tertiary educated, while Kultura's survey, whose subjects migrated in the latter years of the 1980s, tended to be more highly educated (47%). All of the above levels of tertiary educated were higher than the general population in Poland.

There appeared a data discrepancy in the literature with regard to the level of tertiary educated in Poland. Smolicz (1993) states that the proportion in 1980 was 13 per cent while Korcelli (1992) stated that in 1989, only 6.5 per cent in Poland were tertiary educated. Furthermore, according to Korcelli, of those who left Poland permanently between 1981-88, only 13 per cent had tertiary education. The difference in percentages of the general population in Poland and tertiary educated Polish immigrants may be due to very large numbers¹³ of professionals having left Poland and the tendency of the more highly educated to leave a country in a refugee or quasi-refugee context or a difference in the definition of 'tertiary educated'.

The subjects in the survey sample had the following educational levels:

¹³ Korcelli (1992) states that a Governmental Commission on Population was concerned about the 'brain drain' as a result of emigration from Poland. He indicated that during the 1980s, amongst the 641,000 emigrants from Poland there were: 19,800 engineers, 8,800 scientists and academicians, 5,500 medical doctors, and 6,000 nurses.

Table 3.1 Level of education from Poland

Level of education	%
trade school	8
general secondary	12
technical secondary	25
post secondary *	15
some university	12
completed university	25
post graduate (in the Polish sense)	3
Total	100

* Equivalent to an Associate Diploma at Technical and Further Education (TAFE) Colleges

Polish immigrants in this study also had high levels of education and there was no person in the sample who only had primary education. Those with completed technical secondary and completed tertiary education comprised half of the sample and another quarter (totalling 74%) had either general secondary or some university education. Their professional and training programs included a wide variety of fields. Amongst the more prominent ones were: teaching, technical trades, service industry, engineering, and general secondary education. This wave of Polish immigrants was also characterised by an atypical number of females who were qualified as engineers and technicians, which traditionally have been male-dominated occupations. Generally however, in this particular study sample, there was no significant difference in education between men and women.

Overall, this and other research about the Polish immigrants of the 1980s, revealed that this group was very well-educated and thus represent a significant loss to Poland - the country that educated these immigrants.

3.1.4 Employment positions in Poland

Two types of employment positions were common amongst Polish immigrants: one group were those who worked as professionals (33%) and the second group were those who worked as technicians or service workers (30%). Only four per cent had worked in a category classified as machine operators, drivers or labourers. The industries in which they worked in

Poland varied greatly and amongst the more prominent were: construction/building, education, community services, manufacturing and the service industry. Fifteen per cent from the survey sample ran their own businesses in Poland. Of those who worked, 60 per cent had worked in Poland between 5-9 years and 20 per cent had never worked in Poland. This included mainly students who were studying or had just finished studies shortly before leaving Poland. There was also a small number of females who married after finishing their education, and soon afterwards started their family.

It should be pointed out that no unemployed persons were recorded during data collection because part of the communist system was that everyone had a job and there were no unemployment benefits available in Poland at that time. If someone did not work, they were usually supported financially - their upkeep and all other expenses - by their parents.

3.1.5 Internal migration

To find out if Polish immigrants had experienced at least internal migration, interviewees were asked 'How many times did you shift to another town, as an adult, independently from your parents?'. Sixty per cent had never moved from the town where they were brought up and a quarter had shifted only once. A shift to another town was difficult - as one interviewee said, 'It was not easy to move because of lack of accommodation and the system'.

3.1.6 Previous travels abroad

A very high number (85%) of interviewees had travelled abroad between one to three times and for most, the main purpose of travel was a holiday followed by 'shopping' (*zakupy*) or work. 'Shopping' meant travelling in order to trade Polish goods, thus recover the travelling costs, make money on the trading, and at the same time to have a holiday and see how people live in other countries. These 'adventures' meant taking goods out of Poland illegally, usually to Eastern bloc countries but also to Germany, Turkey, and Libya. The above mentioned, very pragmatic arrangement was necessary due to Polish people being rarely able to financially afford to travel to Western style countries. Further, many Poles were able to

travel abroad and/or to leave Poland in the early 1980's due to the loosening of passport issuing regulations. In addition, 'Travelling abroad, especially to the West, broke the fear of it, its foreignness, and confirmed - often mistakenly - that one knows the West' (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 13). It provided an opportunity to see what life was like in those countries - which seemed much better, and to some, instilled the idea of leaving Poland permanently.

3.2 The Migration Decision and Preparedness for Migration

The initial decision to migrate is the first important step in the process of leaving a home country, family and friends, and settling permanently in another. This section explores the context of decision making and the main reasons for migration, knowledge of their chosen country and the English language, as well as immigrants' expectations towards Australia.

3.2.1 The decision to migrate

For almost half of the interviewees the decision to migrate was their own - sometimes in consultation with their spouse or family and sometimes without any discussion. Of those who were married, only 17 per cent made this decision mutually. For one person it took three years before he could leave Poland. 'I could not do it because I had to pay for my studies', which in some cases was a requirement before being able to obtain a passport. Overall, men appeared to have been the driving force behind the decision to migrate with or without their spouse's approval. A small number of wives continued to hold grudges (*maja pretensje*) against their husbands for this decision. For some females, the decision to emigrate was made by a male partner and the female, wanting to be with that person, had no choice but follow. In this study, it did not appear that women had more difficulties in settlement because they were not the primary instigators of migration, as was the case in Richardson's study (1974).

3.2.2 Contexts of decision making

The decision to migrate was undertaken in a wide variety of different contexts and the myth about the West played a significant influence as was also illustrated by Pomian and Tabin (1989). During interviews this is how one interviewee described the situation at the time of considering emigration:

People should only leave if they are threatened by death penalty or hunger, but no one was in such a situation. Propaganda played a big role; no one believed what the authorities were saying. In the West everything was good, in Poland everything was bad. It was as if someone was on a chain and then he was released. That is why no one stopped to consider what leaving Poland permanently really meant.

It did not mean that people did not consider the consequences of migration, but generally there was this feverishness associated with it; it was the 'in thing' at that time. Korcelli referred to the 1980-81 period (and 1987-88) as 'panic migration' eg. 'that the right to have a passport may not last' (1992, p. 301). People, often with very young children, pregnant women, were prepared to leave for better or for worse. A small number of individuals were prepared to risk their lives by crossing the border illegally (*uciekli przez zielona granice*). This wave of emigration from Poland did not occur as an organised action, but rather, individuals/families made decisions to do so. According to Pomian and Tabin (1989), before leaving, people considered two things: assessment of their situation in Poland, and assessment of their ability to live in the West. Also, the image of the West, often after having visited Western countries previously, seemed much more attractive than the life they had and its future in Poland. Everyday life in Poland was associated with 'overwhelming greyness' (Krygier 1986, p. 22). Further, Kapalka makes the following observation about the context of Polish immigrants' decision-making: '...enough information reaches Poland to provide exposure to a more desirable lifestyle and motivate Poles to seek a more favourable socioeconomic climate. Since attempts at social reforms have failed consistently, Poles have continued emigrating, hoping to find economic satisfaction elsewhere' (Kapalka 1989, p. 107).

Further, John Paul II, during his address to the Polish community in Melbourne in 1986, throws further light on the reasons for emigration from Poland:

There have been whole generations of Poles who emigrated in order to adhere to their ideas/beliefs. This is part of our nation's life and it symbolises its fight to have a right to retain its own identity (Polish Weekly 1991, p. 148).

Furthermore, Cox (1980) described the context of the decision to migrate as 'push factors' eg. dissatisfaction with the old country and 'pull factors' eg. attractiveness of the new country. Wortman and Brehm (1976) - authors of 'reactance theory' believed that '...people respond to a feeling of loss of control or reduced freedom of choice with 'reactance' and an inclination to make decisions which they believe will lead to regaining control' (quoted in Luthke & Cropley 1990, p. 151).

Half of the interviewees in the survey stated that their decision was planned, sometimes even with a contingency plan, i.e. if possible they will migrate, if not, they will return to Poland.

Moreover, there was a considerable fear associated with leaving Poland. In this study, twenty per cent of Polish immigrants did not tell anyone, not even their parents, about their migration plans and many did not say good bye to their families. Similar findings were noted by other authors (Pomian & Tabin 1989; Treloar 1982; Aroian 1988). Data from interviews indicated this was to reduce the chances of the process of emigration being jeopardised, for instance, being prevented from leaving Poland by being stopped at the border.

Generally, emigration, not a new phenomenon to people in Poland, was accepted and according to anecdotal evidence encouraged by the community at large. The Polish government and the Polish church had a different view of it and on occasions expressed its disapproval of those who left Poland permanently. For example, the Primatial Community Council reminded Poles in March 1988 of '...their responsibility as citizens towards their

motherland' (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 5) in light of massive emigration from Poland. Furthermore, Korcelli (1992) noted that the act of leaving Poland as tourists and not returning was seen as a 'semicrime'.

It is interesting to note that sociological studies conducted in Poland indicated that the lack of and the high cost of housing were the major reasons for people wanting to leave Poland permanently, especially young people¹⁴ (Korcelli, 1992). Korcelli further says that, 'For those determined to seek a better life, emigration (or at least an extended stay abroad) was the best if not the only option in the 1980s' (Korcelli 1992, p. 297). This author concluded that political and economic considerations were the dominant factors for migration.

3.2.3 Main reasons for migration

Reasons to migrate can be complex and multiple and as Aroian (1988) notes, it can be sometimes difficult to determine if migration is voluntary or involuntary. Also, there is the observation made by Appleyard, 'many migrants tend to conceal their real motives beneath a veneer of rationalisations' (1964, p. 147). The complexity of the decision to migrate was described by one male interviewee as:

The economic and political situation mattered to us, to free oneself from those chains which did not seem to exist but somehow did. Curiosity and adventure, to be a citizen of the world, to give children a better future. I was 37 years old and I wanted to achieve something; in Poland there was lifelessness (*martwota*).

¹⁴ Szulc states that according to the findings of The Centre of Public Opinion Research in Warsaw, people in Poland were fearful about 'further deterioration in their quality of life'. Further, these findings indicated that half of high-school leavers wanted to leave Poland to work abroad (and be paid in dollars) (Szulc 1988).

The percentage breakdown of the main reasons for leaving Poland was almost evenly distributed in the various categories which predominantly included political and economic reasons as was also the case in Krupko's study (1992)¹⁵.

Table 3.2 Main reasons for leaving Poland

Type of Reason for Migration	%
political	22
economic	22
political and economic	24
other	32
Total	100

The political and economic reasons were often described by interviewees as rejection of the system. That is, the way Poland functioned, eg. the one party elections, not being able to obtain a passport easily, severe shortages of goods including food, being pressured to be a member of the Polish United Workers Party (*Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza*). Heydenkorn (1988) describes the system as one which offered free and accessible education but one which was characterised by low standard of living and restricted personal freedom. The system was blamed for all shortcomings in Poland. Krygier made similar conclusions about the system, in which 'even the most routine activities were made difficult' (1986, p. 20).

There were virtually no other explanations given other than 'the fault of the system' (*wina systemu*) for the situation that existed in Poland. This word was used so commonly that when a Pole blamed the system, every other Pole understood what was meant and would not try to find other reasons for Poland's problems. This is how two interviewees described the reasons for deciding to leave Poland permanently and believing that the system was unlikely to change:

¹⁵ Fassman and Munz concluded that about ten per cent of all Eastern Europeans who emigrated to the West could be classified as political refugees and asylum seekers. Further, the authors state, 'In line with the logic of Cold War, these immigrants were seen by the West as political refugees, whatever their individual motives' (1994, p. 527).

In my wildest dreams I never thought that the changes which took place later were going to occur, after considering pros and cons it was obvious a return to Poland would not have been a good decision. If I stayed in Poland, I could not have a normal life.

It was a fight about moral values; to be an honest person. Also, simple human curiosity. I knew that if I went back I would never be able to travel abroad again. I could not imagine that communism would fall, normally regimes like that lasted hundreds of years.

Responses indicated that Polish immigrants were against communism, also documented by *Kultura's* study in which immigrants were ...'against socialism as a system which organises the whole of community life, who most of all value their own fate or the well-being of their families' (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 25). Additionally, there appeared to have been a certain alienation from their motherland (Aroian 1994). On the other hand, there is evidence to suggest that these immigrants 'remain committed to socialist principles, but found intolerable the degree of corruption and repression in the Polish system' (Treloar 1982, p. 27). People in Poland were aware that the communist system in theory was in conflict with the reality that existed. A former steelworker who later became a leader of the Solidarity Trade Union - Alfred Miodowicz - described it as 'Our tragedy is that we are a socialist state without social justice' (Szulc 1988, p. 96). Immigrants used emigration as a final protest against the system, having lost hope that it would ever change (Pomian & Tabin, 1989).

Others made their decision to migrate for what seemed to be entirely different reasons (i.e. not political or economic) and these included Australia's climate and exotica, influence of other people, having come to Australia on a tourist visa and deciding to apply for permanent residence, and not being aware of why they migrated. Detailed analysis of the answers, however, indicated that underneath answers as 'other' reasons, was the unwillingness to live in Poland. They preferred to choose an uncertain future full of hope to a familiar past with no

hope. The reasons for choosing Australia as a country of migration, throw further light on the context and reasons for Poles leaving Poland.

3.2.4 Transit countries

Those who left Poland between 1980-84, could not have migrated to Australia straight from Poland (except under the Fiancee and Family Reunion Categories, which in itself was not an easy process) as the Australian Embassy in the early 1980s would not deal with such applications, according to informants who left Poland at the time, because of the sensitivity involved. Consequently, the majority of Polish immigrants who came to Australia as part of the Solidarity wave left Poland as tourists, stayed in transit countries - usually in Europe, where they sought political asylum. This research study found that 80 per cent of the cohort came to Australia through a transit country, in this instance 85 per cent came through Austria¹⁶, ten per cent through Germany, and three participants came through other countries (Honk Kong, France, Holland). Other countries of transition for Polish immigrants at that time were Italy, Greece, Spain, and Yugoslavia.

The length of stay in the transit countries varied. For one of the participants who went to Austria in the summer of 1980, it only took five days for him and his wife to obtain permanent visas to Australia. Those who migrated in 1980 waited on average 1-4 months, while those who migrated later waited much longer, usually 5-10 months. The longest waiting period was seventeen months. The US Committee for Refugees in its report on Poles outside Poland noted the uncertainty surrounding Polish refugees in the 1980s:

While world leaders, Solidarity sympathisers, and political analysts engage in heated debate over the recent events in Poland, few have focused on the 300,000-500,000 Polish nationals caught outside their homeland facing an unknown future. Theirs is a situation characterised by ambiguity and anxiety. Some have made the difficult

¹⁶ According to Collins (1988), 30,000 Poles sought asylum in Austria.

decision to seek a new permanent home; many thousands more, however, are waiting, watching events unfold although they have little assurance that they will be able to return home soon or safely (1982, p. 1).

3.2.5 Country of preference and category of migration

To 80 per cent of Polish immigrants, Australia was the first preference as a country of migration. The remaining 20 per cent, at that time, wanted to go to other countries, mainly the United States of America (USA). One person wanted to go to South Africa, a country that was eager to accept Polish immigrants, especially Polish professionals. Another person wanted to go to Canada - a country that had a much longer waiting time than Australia.

Survey results showed that 80 per cent came to Australia under the Special Humanitarian Program Category, available to Polish refugees (and other refugees) due to the political upheavals in Poland at that time. This is in line with Jamrozik's study in Australia and Badasu's findings in Canada.

3.2.6 Reasons for migrating to Australia

The immigrants' main reason for choosing Australia as their new country of residence was because they either had a relative or a friend¹⁷ who lived here already, and because they felt that Australia offered the best conditions for migrants or/and was a good country to live in compared to other possible host countries. Best conditions and good country to live in meant: good economy, a democratic country, a country full of immigrants - where it is not pointed out when someone is from a different ethnic background. For others, Australia was imagined as a quiet and peaceful country. As one woman said: 'If one migrates, they might as well migrate to a safe country'. To another person, Australia was a safe country because it has no borders with other countries. Poland in the past, and on numerous occasions, was believed to have

¹⁷ A relative or a friend in this instance often meant a distant relative eg. a cousin or uncle, whom they perhaps had never seen before. Similarly, friends often referred to an acquaintance rather than a friend.

been in difficult political situations due to its geographic location and borders with neighbouring countries eg. Russia, Germany. Consequently, some Poles associated borders with trouble.

There was also an attraction to Australia as an unspoiled, clean, and exotic country; a country with endless beaches and endless summers. These images added a sense of adventure and curiosity to the whole process of migration. Some of those images stemmed from books read previously eg. '*Australia Tempting with Promise*'¹⁸. Further, opinions of other people about Australia eg. from Australian residents (usually of Polish background) visiting Poland, other immigrants in transit countries, or correspondence from a friend or relative residing in Australia, seemed to have played a part in deciding to migrate to Australia. This was usually described as: 'I have heard a lot of good things about Australia', or 'I have heard a lot of bad things about USA'. Polish migrants lacked factual information and consequently clung to information which was available but not necessarily true (as confirmed by other studies eg. Jamrozik 1983b). This illustrates the difficulty faced by Polish migrants having to make such important decisions as choosing a country for permanent residence, in most cases, without access to credible information. It should not perhaps be a surprise then when one person said that he simply followed intuition. Almost ten per cent indicated that they did not know why they chose to come to Australia¹⁹ and seven (12%) persons indicated that their migration or settlement in Australia was accidental eg. 'I had two choices, the Australian visa came first'.

3.2.7 Reasons for migrating to Melbourne

The choice of Melbourne as the final destination followed similar patterns to those mentioned in choosing Australia as a country of settlement. That is, 37 per cent came to Melbourne either due to family or friends being here. Thirty per cent were simply determined by Australian Embassy officials in particular countries. Other reasons given were: having heard of Melbourne during the 1956 Olympics, it was the first port of call for a sailor who jumped

¹⁸ Polish title: '*Australia kuszaca obietnica*'. Zimiecki, T. 1967, *Książka i Wiedza*.

¹⁹ Luthke and Cropley (1991), in their sample of German migrants, also found that subjects did not understand why they were going to Australia.

ship, because the climate in Melbourne is most similar to the one in Poland, and believing that Melbourne had the best job opportunities.

3.2.8 Knowledge of Australia before arrival

Knowledge of Australia amongst the interviewees varied from 30 per cent not knowing virtually anything about it to ten per cent who felt that they knew a lot about Australia before arrival. Only one person had previously been in Australia before. This is how a male interviewee responded:

No one dared to even dream about being in Australia at that time. People still would like to come here²⁰, not knowing anything about it.

Overall, half felt that they only had general encyclopaedic knowledge, but knew nothing about the day-to-day life and customs.

Table 3.3 Knowledge of Australia before arrival

Level of knowledge	%
knowing virtually nothing	30
knowing a small amount	30
knowing a fair amount	30
knowing a lot	10
Total	100

Similarly, Jamrozik (1983) found that immigrants had limited factual knowledge about Australia. That basic general knowledge was usually obtained in geography classes at school, and commonly referred to the location of Australia, the political map of Australia, its population, that it was a capitalist system, and that it is a big country. The study found that a lot of the perceptions about Australia were based on comments made by other people and by

²⁰ Brym (1992) undertook a research study about the emigration potential of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and Russia, and found that in Poland, 13 per cent of respondents, especially young men, wanted to emigrate from Poland. Political reasons rather than economic were stated as more important for wanting to settle in the West.

books read in Poland. Amongst these books were: *'The Post to Never Never'*, *'Tom in the Land of Kangaroos'*, *'Amongst Australian Kangaroos'*, which portrayed Australia as a tropical and an exotic country eg. the existence of artesian wells or that gum trees never create shades because their leaves turn with the sun. In many instances, the content of these books did not fully or correctly reflect the actual situation eg. signs on roads indicating that kangaroos can be expected but one never sees them.

It is also important to point out that it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to inform potential immigrants of 'what it is like' in a country where they intend to settle. This observation is made on the basis of three years of employment of the researcher in a Polish community-based agency in Melbourne, whose role involved corresponding with potential immigrants from Poland and then assisting with settlement upon their arrival. The final conclusion of the researcher was that it is difficult to 'explain Australia' to potential immigrants.

3.2.9 Images of Australia

The survey found that only nine per cent imagined Australia the way they found it and 40 per cent imagined it differently. A significant number of interviewees thought of Australia in terms of beaches, warm climate, exotic plants, or did not imagine (or could not recall) it in any way. Generally, to these immigrants, Australia was going to be big, beautiful, warm, spacious, and with lots of sheep. The images of Australia related to expectations and had an element of utopia in them as The Promised Land. They expected cities with many more high rise buildings and generally with high density housing. What they found was a 'big village' (*duza wies*) referring to the Australian housing architecture. Immigrants in this study and other studies, ...'missed the typical urban structure and European cities' (Jamrozik 1983b, p. 51). Kay (1985) also noted the Polish immigrants' disappointment because of the 'look of Melbourne'.

Significant numbers developed their images from books read previously and information in the mass media. They thought that because Australia is a highly developed Western country then

it will be similar to what they had seen or heard about the West. There was this notion in Poland that the West is better eg. 'One heard that it [Australia] is such a rich country'. Euphoria about the dollar also played a role. It was a currency which was in great demand in Poland, highly regarded, and suddenly there is this possibility of living in a country where it is used on an every day basis. Others thought of Australia as a young²¹ and developing country, '...where there may be a need for an extra pair of hands'. There were also those who used logic while imagining their new country of residence. For instance, to many, it was a surprise that Australia is such a cluster of various nationalities. It was thought that because Australia is an English-speaking country it would not be as multicultural as it is.

Further, there were those who in fact imagined it much worse than they found it. One respondent summed it up, 'Australia is a beautiful dream for people who do not live here.' Lack of knowledge and general difficulty in obtaining relevant information about Australia in Poland contributed to the development of rumours eg. that there are spiders which can jump as high as the first floor of high rise buildings or that kangaroos hop around in the streets of Melbourne. In Aroian's study (1994), subjects were also found to naively accept misinformation about the USA.

In retrospect, many found it paradoxical and disconcerting how they had made a decision to come to Australia while having so little knowledge about it. It was a big surprise to most that there are such climatic extremes and rapid climatic changes in Melbourne where there can be 'four seasons in one day'. Climate was difficult to imagine for some, for example when it is hot, how hot is that? Australia was thought of as a country that has similar climate and flora across the whole continent where it is much warmer and much more tropical, where there will be no cold weather. To many, finding snow in Australia was totally unexpected. That very thinking made some send all their warm clothes and boots back to relatives in Poland just before leaving their transit countries for Australia.

²¹ It should be pointed out that almost all were aware of the Aborigines and that they are the indigenous people of Australia.

3.2.10 Expectations of Australia

Many thought that Australia would be a rich country, with a high standard of living and technologically advanced. Instead, what was found was '...a matt finish not a polished finish' (*matowe wykonczenie nie polysk (przenosne)*). Here is how one man described it:

I had unreasonable expectations, I imagined Australia too much. I idealised, that it will be a substitute for my mother and father, psychologically speaking.

A quarter had much higher expectations than the reality they found, a finding also of other authors (eg. Badasu 1990; Kay 1985). On the other hand, there were those who had very low expectations. This is what one female expected:

I thought of Australia as a land of pioneers. I thought that I would be working in a factory all my life, because in my previous stays in Britain, I noticed that my friends did just that. No information was available about urban life in Australia. I sought information while in Holland, and there I found out that they have universities here.

3.2.11 Knowledge of Polonia

Over half of these Polish immigrants did not have any knowledge of Polonia²² in Australia. Twenty per cent had some knowledge eg. that there are Polish clubs and centres. Even before arrival, a small number had a negative opinion of Polonia in Australia and this was generated by the knowledge of squabbles within the community or that the older migrants had been bypassed by history because they have not moved with the times since their arrival in Australia. For example, 'That they have a 'freeze-frame' vision of Poland and I will not have

²² Polonia is a word often used by members of the Polish community in Australia as a 'generic name given in Poland to Polish settlers and their descendants spread across the five continents' (Paszkowski 1982, p. xi). It essentially refers to the Polish diaspora.

much in common with them', was a description given by one respondent. There was only a small number who were empathic towards hardships that the older Polonia had to endure in their initial settlement. That small group was appreciative of the fact that older Polish migrants lead a stable and quiet life.

Some Polish immigrants wrote to the Polish organisations while in transit countries, usually did not receive any response, and thus concluded that Polish organisations cannot be relied on for assistance. In the case of the Canadian context, Heydenkorn was of view that newly-arrived Polish immigrants expect too much of Polonia (Ziolkowska 1992, p. 8).

3.2.12 Knowledge of English and other languages

It is often believed that English is the most determining factor in migrant settlement; it is the biggest barrier to achieve a high level of participation in a new homeland. It can also take a long time to learn. Most of the new Polish immigrants had studied one or more foreign languages while at school. Ninety five per cent had studied the Russian language which was compulsory in Poland, and 40 per cent had studied German. Overall, 22 per cent had studied three or more languages eg. Spanish, Latin. The interviewees were asked, in retrospect, to assess their English language proficiency at the time of arrival in Australia. Although a considerable number had studied English in Poland, only a quarter could understand English well or reasonably well on arrival.

The sample studied showed that 30 per cent had done some English language studies before coming to Australia. Very few had studied English in the transit country and only five per cent had tried self-learning or taken private lessons before coming to Australia.

Table 3.4 Knowledge of English upon arrival: self-rating

English language skills	none	poor	fair or good	very good	Total
understanding	65	10	20	5	100
speaking	60	20	15	5	100
reading	65	10	15	10	100
writing	65	15	10	10	100

About two thirds of the Polish immigrants did not understand English at all. One man described it as: 'I did not even know how to say "Good Morning" '. Only five per cent indicated that they spoke English very well, but even they admitted that they had difficulties with Australian colloquialisms. Similar difficulties were noted by Aroian (1994) in her study of Polish immigrants in the U.S.. In regard to spoken English, the percentages were similar or the same with one exception i.e. there was an increase of those who could speak a little English from 10 per cent to 20 per cent. Additionally, DIEA's study found that almost 60 per cent of Poles studied English at home (self-teaching) using various teaching material (MSJ Keys Young Planners 1985, p. 25). The same study found that 20 per cent of newly-arrived Polish immigrants had English language proficiency and level of education was strongly correlated with English proficiency.

Lack of English language skills had major implications on the settlement of these Polish immigrants; however, as will be indicated later, they have successfully overcome this barrier and now speak and understand English well.

3.3 Process of Initial Settlement

As part of the Special Humanitarian Category, Polish immigrants were entitled to airfares paid by the Australian government and settlement support services upon arrival. This included accommodation and food (cost of which was deducted from these immigrants' unemployment benefits) in a migrant hostel, English language classes, general advice and assistance. Following arrival at the airport, Polish immigrants were welcomed and taken to hostels where they were allocated flat-type accommodation.

3.3.1 First impressions

Interviewees were asked during interview schedules, 'What were your first impressions of Australia?' This is how a female interviewee recalls her first impression:

We were coming from the airport, knowing we could not leave straight away²³. The old run down buildings on the way to the hostel. No one said a word on the bus. In the morning we found out that everyone cried that night. Because it is a rich country, thus we were expecting something of that standard.

The above excerpt represents the common view of 55 per cent of respondents who had either negative or very negative first impressions of Australia. Interestingly, for some, the negative impressions changed quickly, sometimes even the same day. For others, thoughts turned to planning the quickest way of leaving Australia, however, for almost all of them, this desire later subsided.

Arrival at the hostel was an end to months of waiting for migration and a beginning of the reality of settlement in a totally strange country. A country where life was different physically, linguistically, culturally, socially and politically. This is perhaps what Krupko (1992) refers to as 'culture shock'. One man in this study very vividly recalled the first days:

Uprooted from a familiar environment, there was a feeling of being horror-struck. We were sitting in this hostel not knowing what to do with ourselves, where to go?

Polish immigrants in Toronto recalled similar experiences after arrival in Canada:

²³ Those Polish migrants who came to Australia under the Special Humanitarian Program had to sign a contract with the Australian Embassy that they would not leave within the first two years of residence in Australia and if they did they would be required to reimburse the Australian government for the initial airfare.

The joy of adventure ended, the sadness of commonplaceness began (CPRI 1990, p. 36).

...total confusion and constantly piercing questions: Have I done the right thing? Have I chosen the right path? What will happen next? Emptiness in my head, one that I have never felt before, no answers for any of those questions (CPRI 1990, p. 330).

Next, interviewees were asked to provide specific information about what they found disappointing.

3.3.2 First impressions - their disappointments?

Disappointment was in a number of areas. The appearance (*wyglad*) of Melbourne and its level of cleanliness were very disappointing to the Polish immigrants. The comment - 'In Austria²⁴, even little towns were clean and well maintained' - is an example of immigrants comparing their new country of residence with the last country they lived in rather than their home country. As has been mentioned previously, it was the architecture of Melbourne that was a shock, that it did not look like a 'proper city', and '...what are horses in paddocks doing in a city.' Also, the areas around Maribyrnong, Altona, and Springvale where the hostels were located were thought to be poor and without character. Subjects in Aroian's (1994) study also had negative impressions of the physical environment, an observation also made by Kay (1985). Overall, a significant level of disappointment was centred upon the physical appearance eg. badly dressed people, old trams, old fashioned cars and roofs covered with corrugated iron. One female interviewee who had secondhand furniture delivered by the Catholic Immigration Office reflected: 'We had aesthetic needs well met in Poland, what we needed was not goods, not the type given, but conversation and advice. Australian philanthropy has no class or sensitivity and often that is what is needed.'

²⁴When comparing countries, transit countries rather than Poland were used as a point of reference.

Not being able to communicate and the loneliness and isolation associated with it was stressful to many. These immigrants also found some of the administrative procedures in government departments too bureaucratic. On the other hand, the journalist Treloar (1982) noted at the time that Polish-speaking welfare workers in Sydney described this group of immigrants as demanding.

The fact that Australia was so different from Europe was seen as a barrier. The streets were seen as deserted because most people travelled by cars. The infrastructure of Melbourne made travelling difficult. Disappointment also occurred when trying to find a job, the difficulty of it and the readiness to compromise (*gotowosc kompromisu*). Further, 15 per cent were disappointed with the hostel conditions, especially the Wiltona hostel, which was located in a remote area, next to a petrol refinery and away from residential areas. Also, some did not like the presence of the Vietnamese in the hostel. Only 15 per cent of Polish immigrants said they had not been disappointed in their first impressions of Australia.

3.3.3 First impressions - their likes?

Positive impressions were experienced by only one third of those interviewed. Many were enchanted by the variety of plants and trees as well as the beaches, especially the ocean ones, and the weather. Second on the list were the friendly and relaxed people - 'no one shouted at each other, no one hurried', and also, people's understanding and their helpfulness. Helpfulness was also mentioned by a small number of interviewees regarding the welcome at the hostel and assistance provided by older Polish migrants eg. taking new Polish migrants for country excursions by car. Thirdly, people, especially those who migrated directly from Poland, were overwhelmed by the abundance and colourful goods in shops. Fourthly, there was an appreciation of the countryside, its space, uniqueness of the droughts eg. that in summer the countryside becomes brown, the generally unspoiled environment. Finally, the interviewees also mentioned as beautiful the easy, stable and affordable life enjoyed by Australians.

3.3.4 What possessions did they bring with them?

Almost half of the Polish immigrants who came between 1980-84 arrived with only their clothes, and either with no money or less than \$100.00, which was also the case in Jamrozik's study (1983). Aroian's subjects recalled they had to start from 'scratch' (*zaczynac od zera*). 'A shirt on my back, a child and a husband, a second baby on the way. We had nothing other than great hopes' is how one female Polish migrant described her possessions during the interview.

Table 3.5 Possessions brought by Polish immigrants

Possessions brought	%
clothing and less than \$100	44
clothing and \$100-\$500	33
several thousand dollars	17
relocation of furniture (<i>przesiedlenie mienia</i>)	6
Total	100

Many had so little that they had no difficulty describing in detail what they had eg. 'We had \$4 which we used to wash nappies for the baby. Also, I had a diploma, a pair of good horse riding boots, a few books, some personal belongings and sentimental things eg. photos'. Only six per cent relocated their furniture eg. furniture, kitchen ware, bed linen and these were wives who joined their husbands in Australia. A third had between \$100-500 on arrival. There were also those who came with several thousand dollars. Interestingly, quite a few had their belongings in backpacks (*w plecakach*) not suitcases, which further illustrates the adventurousness and their youth.

3.3.5 What was most difficult to cope with?

It was however not lack of money or basic household essentials which posed major difficulties for this new group of immigrants. Neither was it occupational adjustment as has been identified in Aroian's study (1994). Responses to the question 'What did you find the hardest to cope with in the first months/years?', indicated that for 65 per cent of Polish immigrants,

learning English was the most difficult thing to cope with. They experienced stress associated with learning English and stress associated with not being able to communicate in English, which led to feelings of inadequacy. Similar findings were identified by Aroian who also found that 'women found language difficulties more distressing than men when it interfered with their need to express emotions' (1994, p. 270).

Amongst other 'most difficult' things to cope with was a feeling, often very intense, of isolation and lack of social and emotional support. Jamrozik (1983), in his study on Polish immigrants' settlement, found that almost all had gone through shorter or longer periods of depression, feeling of helplessness and social isolation. Krupko's study (1992) also alludes to similar emotional experiences which appeared more prominent among female interviewees as was the case in Aroian's study in which generally, 'men felt their grief less intense than the grief women experienced' (1994, p. 129). Jamrozik further noted that despite all the difficulties, 57 per cent felt positively about their future in Australia. As will be confirmed later, most Polish immigrants have this aspect of settlement behind them i.e. they no longer feel extremely isolated.

Luthke and Cropley (1990), in their research on immigrant adjustment, stated the psychological costs confronting immigrants after arrival in a new country and these may include: loss of identity, status, loss of confidence, competence, network of friends, as well as facing: uncertainty, anxieties, sometimes loneliness, a sense of loss, loss of attachment to people, objects and places, fluctuating hopes and adjustment of aspirations.

Some persons would have liked someone to advise and guide them through the initial stage of settlement because everything, including the life style, was so different. For example, left hand side traffic, and that there is plain and self-raising flour. Aroian referred to this phenomena as 'inordinate amount of novelty' (1994, p. 142). Others found it difficult to live

without what are considered now as essential household items eg. T.V. or an iron. Polish immigrants also felt 'pressure to send money "home" ' (Kay 1985, p. 22)²⁵.

Type and intensity of difficulty varied depending on each individual situation. To one male being able to sponsor his wife as soon as possible was the most urgent as well as the most difficult thing to do. To another, lack of a car became the worst aspect when he obtained his first job which was located in Thomastown while he was living in Box Hill. To some, being able to move out from the hostel and live 'normally' was the most pressing wish. These Polish immigrants quickly became aware that living in the hostel was isolating them from mainstream society and would retard their integration into the new society. On the other hand, to find accommodation and move out of the hostel and live independently was very difficult to some. Many did not have enough money to pay for the first month's deposit and rent in advance and did not have any references from previous tenancy contracts, something that was required by real estate agents - with the ignorant agents requesting such of newly-arrived Polish immigrants.

Answers to what was the second most difficult thing to cope with were more varied. Missing family and friends from Poland, which was identified as the greatest loss in Aroian's study (1994), was mentioned by 40 per cent of participants. One female stated, '...the realisation that no one really wants us here'..., was very difficult for her to cope with. To another female, who came to Australia to join her husband, bad communication with her husband after arrival, lack of English and not knowing what to do while he locked her up for a week in a flat, gave a sense of total loss of control and feeling of helplessness.

Additionally, the imposition of martial law in Poland had a significant effect on the newly-arrived Polish immigrants in Australia. All correspondence was censored to and from Poland at that time, and some did not have any contact - over the phone or by mail - with their

²⁵ Szulc (1988) estimated that about half a billion dollars is forwarded to Poland by families living abroad annually.

families for up to four months. One couple had to use the Red Cross to pass on information to parents in Poland when their first baby was born.

In Aroian's study (1994), English language was a 'close rival' to occupational adjustment stressors. English was needed for instrumental, social, expressive, and integrative purposes. 'Language plays a key role in promoting acceptance by, and integration with, the host society' (Aroian 1994, p. 119).

Responses also indicated that couples with children found settlement more difficult, especially mothers with newly-born babies. Aroian found, 'many recalled migration as a stressful experience' due to these immigrants having to overcome a large number of hurdles 'before they could begin to experience the opportunities afforded by migration' (Aroian 1994, p. 118). Many came without ever having lived independently. Some did not know how to cook, and were faced with the reality of totally relying on themselves. There were no parents or older siblings to help. Lack of English language skills exacerbated these difficulties. Women faced additional difficulties, as has been also found by other authors (Richardson 1974) eg. due to their family care roles.

In most cases difficulties were multiple. This is how one female ranked and described them:

Obtaining of employment, any employment, learning English,
lack of information, not being aware of one's rights, what we can expect,
realisation that we have to totally rely only on ourselves.

Two persons found it difficult to number the difficulties as they felt that all of the factors mentioned were difficult. Obtaining of employment was difficult for 20 per cent of Polish immigrants. Only 15 per cent found it difficult to deal with the fact that they could not find jobs in their professions, with only one person from the whole sample stating that this was the most difficult aspect to cope with. This may be because a large number did not expect to work in

their own professions. Financial difficulties were a hardship to 15 per cent of the sample. Generally, after arrival, Polish immigrants wanted to 'implant' themselves (*ustawic sie*) in their new society and to rebuild their lives to a certain level (*do pewnego poziomu*). This level (set by themselves) meant to begin with, reaching at least the level that they had left in Poland. This pattern of rebuilding their lives was confirmed by other authors (eg. Pomian & Tabin 1989). In a set of Polish immigrants' memoirs, this is described as 'to come out of the financial hollow' (*wyjsc z finansowego dolka*) (Poland-Australia Society c.1983, p. 94).

3.3.6 Initial mobility and type of accommodation

Upon arrival, 70 per cent of the interviewed immigrants first stayed in one of the hostels situated in Melbourne, mainly Wiltona in Altona and Midway in Maribyrnong. Others lived in rented flats or with their relatives. According to study findings, only ten per cent of subjects used the post hostel accommodation available to immigrants for up to six months.

New migrants are often very mobile, especially in the first few years of their settlement and these Polish immigrants were no exception. Since their arrival in Australia to the time of the interview, three quarters of interviewees had moved between 3-5 times, 15 per cent six times or more.

Furthermore, an investigation was made into patterns of settlement in regard to mobility across suburbs. Sixty five per cent of interviewees first lived in the western suburbs of Melbourne, most likely due to the location of the migrant hostels i.e. Wiltona, Midway, where they had stayed initially, but perhaps also because of cheaper rental accommodation available in that region. The pattern of their second geographical location of residence was as follows across Melbourne:

West 25% South Central 25% North 20% East 15% South 10% Other 10%

The above percentages indicate a major shift of these immigrants from the western suburbs to other suburbs of Melbourne, in particular the South Central and Northern areas. It can be assumed that the immigrants who shifted to other suburbs did not want to remain in the western region. They chose to shift from an area of cheaper accommodation to a less familiar location and probably more expensive. The pattern of their third residential location was similar, with minor increase in the Western and Southern suburbs of Melbourne.

3.3.7 Recognition of qualifications

Recognition of overseas qualifications is likely to be one of the first tasks on immigrants' to do list. Amongst Polish immigrants, one third of the sample had their qualifications fully recognised in Australia and another quarter had their qualifications partially recognised. To give an example, masters' degrees were recognised as bachelor degrees, or an electrician with 20 years of experience had his qualifications recognised but was not allowed to practise as an electrician because the staff in the organisation responsible for overseas qualifications recognition believed that electrical work required knowledge of this particular industry's regulations in Australia. One third did not try to have their qualifications recognised, which often involved qualifications such as matriculation, trade or technical qualifications held by females who did not want to or felt that they were not equipped to practise their occupations in Australia.

Those interviewees who have had their qualifications recognised were asked to assess the process. Twenty five per cent recalled the process as difficult and 60 per cent remembered the process as easy. These findings are opposite to experiences of Polish immigrants in Canada, where recognition of qualifications was difficult and the most significant of all the initial settlement challenges (Badasu 1989). One person felt that staff at the relevant office should have been more attentive. Although this particular person was not happy with the process, she did not intervene due to lack of adequate confidence in her English language. Kabala found that women who had tried and did not have their qualifications recognised 'were bitter about it' (Kabala 1986a, p. 12). Some of those with engineering backgrounds were

annoyed that they had to first become members of the Australian Institute of Engineers before their qualifications could be recognised.

3.3.8 Ways of finding employment

How migrants find jobs is an interesting area to explore because of the fact that they are new to a country where job hunting techniques may be different to what they are used to. Also, the jobs may be very different. For Polish immigrants, the most common way to find jobs was through the newspaper and through friends²⁶. Only ten per cent found jobs through the Commonwealth Employment Service (CES). Jamrozik (1983) found that newly-arrived Polish immigrants were dissatisfied with the CES being unable to find jobs for them and with the attitudes of the personnel. Comments made during interviewees indicated that these immigrants had higher expectations of CES - often called Job Centre - compared to what it provided as a service or the perception that Polish immigrants had of its services. These immigrants, because of the name Job Centre, expected a much more proactive approach, more support and initiative by staff within those agencies in helping people find jobs. As one immigrant said, 'Why are they called Job Centres if they do not look for jobs for people?'

A number of Polish immigrants obtained their first jobs at the Dunlop factory, mainly through a Dunlop representative coming to hostels to recruit new employees. Additionally, during interviews, some mentioned the difficulty they faced trying to obtain jobs at organisations which seemed to have barriers established to prevent migrants from obtaining jobs there. One particularly was mentioned and that was the State Electricity Commission (SEC). The workforce there seemed more Anglo-Australian and appeared to be very protective of their jobs and the conditions they had.

3.4 Summary

²⁶ Badasu's (1990) subjects also relied on friends in finding employment (and obtaining of advice generally) as did Jamrozik's subjects (1983b).

This chapter describes the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants' profile before leaving Poland, their migration process and initial settlement in Australia. The majority of these immigrants came from an urban background where accommodation was scarce. More than half lived in housing cooperative flats and only 30 per cent had home ownership. They are characterised by a high level of education, in particular tertiary education. Many held high status positions in Poland. They left their home country where unemployment was unheard of i.e. there was no group of people who were referred to as unemployed. Over two thirds had travelled abroad before leaving Poland permanently; in most instances, they left on tourist visas and never returned. They had left Poland because of the volatile and uncertain political and economic situation and they did not believe it was going to stabilise or improve. They blamed the political system for the economic difficulties which Poland experienced.

These immigrants wanted to leave, were attracted to the West and saw it as the only place where their future could improve. To many, Australia was their first country of preference for migration although they knew very little about it, especially the day-to-day aspects of life. However, in a significant number of instances they had relatives, friends and acquaintances living here. Lack of or limited knowledge about Australia was often not because of lack of trying to know more, but due to difficulty in obtaining information about Australia in Poland. The 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants were also attracted to Australia as a country of migration because of its freedom, space and abundance of goods. Many assumed that it would be like Western European or North American countries and were disappointed in their first impressions. The majority migrated through the so called transit countries eg. Austria, Germany, Italy. Some had high expectations of Australia especially regarding its standard of living, whilst others expected to find a land of pioneers. They also had little knowledge of Polonia.

Two thirds of these immigrants had no or poor knowledge of English and thus found coping without English language skills the most difficult aspect to cope with in their initial settlement. Not being able to communicate, isolation, obtaining of employment and that Australia was so

different to Poland were difficult to cope with for these immigrants. On the other hand, amongst the positive aspects these immigrants liked were the uniqueness of Australian plants, the beaches and friendly and helpful people.

Almost 80 per cent came to Australia with no more than clothing and up to \$500 dollars, a factor which also impacted on their settlement decisions eg. moving out or staying in a migrant hostel. Almost three quarters of these Polish immigrants first stayed in one of the hostels in the western suburbs in Melbourne. From the 60 per cent first living in the western suburbs, only 25 per cent remained in that area when they shifted. Recognition of qualifications was remembered as easy or reasonably easy by 60 per cent of these immigrants, whilst 20 per cent recalled it as difficult. More than half had their qualifications recognised fully or partially.

Chapter Four: Settlement Outcomes: 10-14 Years After Arrival

In the previous chapter, it was indicated that Polish immigrants were generally not well prepared for migration and resettlement in Australia. They had little knowledge of the country and the English language, and had no experience of living in a capitalist system. However, their urban background and a range of other determinants were a positive contributor in settling in their adopted country. In addition, the difficult economic conditions and lack of opportunities in Poland motivated these Poles to want to make a fresh start in life.

This chapter documents settlement outcomes of these immigrants, what they have achieved after 10-14 years of living in Australia, how that happened and what barriers they encountered along the way. Because no comprehensive study of Polish immigrants who arrived since 1980s had been undertaken recently in Australia, the research strategy covered such areas as: English language learning and outcome, educational and occupational adjustment, social support networks, life satisfaction, socio-economic status, effect on marriage and a profile of their children. Further, this chapter considers the positive and negative determinants to their settlement and the possibility of return migration.

4.1 English language proficiency

4.1.1 English language learning after arrival in Australia

After arrival, 90 per cent of Polish immigrants undertook formal English language classes and ten per cent had never attended any English classes. Polish immigrants '...made exceptionally good use of their on arrival courses (as well as further training) and/or supplemented this instruction by a great deal of self-teaching' (MSJ Keys Young Planners 1985, p. 47). For 70 per cent of the sample, their first classes were at the hostel, usually on a full-time basis. The remaining persons did a variety of classes eg. at Adult Migrant Education Centres (AMEC), evening classes or through correspondence courses. For some, the road to a good knowledge of English involved a number of courses attended over a long period eg:

First studying part-time at the hostel, then, also at the hostel but full-time (8 weeks all together), then, a full-time 6-week course at the Footscray Technical and Further Education (TAFE) College. Following, attending a Family Centre class one day per week, then had a home tutor for three months (once a week), then did a course at the Caulfield College for six months, followed by undertaking English for Further Studies course, and finally undertaking a Diploma of Education.

Almost half of the interviewees studied English part-time and/or full-time for one year or longer.

Subjects were then asked for their assessment of the English language classes they attended. The researcher was aware that this question referred to events that had occurred over ten years ago. However, it was felt that valuable insights might be gained even though the response was impressionistic, perhaps across several courses, and each interviewee had individual needs and different learning abilities. Nevertheless, some patterns emerged. While 70 per cent said that the classes were 'good' or 'very good', 20 per cent expressed dissatisfaction with the English language classes. Reasons varied and usually referred to the teaching method eg. lack of a textbook, failure to teach grammar systematically²⁷. Also, several felt that learning English in a class where the majority of the participants were Vietnamese was difficult because of the difficulties in understanding the English pronunciation of these tonal language speakers. Lastly, a small number felt that the teaching methods were not always suitable for adults.

²⁷ In Poland, learning other languages involved following a text book which included systematic familiarisation with grammar rules.

4.1.2 Proficiency in the English language

Based on self-assessment, Polish immigrants were found to have a good understanding²⁸ of the English language with only sixteen per cent having such difficulties sometimes and less than ten per cent experiencing understanding difficulties often. With regards to English reading and speaking skills the figures were similar.

Table 4.1 Difficulties in English language skills

How often do you experience difficulties in:	never %	rarely %	sometimes %	often %	v. often %	Total
understanding	43	33	16	8	0	100
speaking	41	27	24	6	2	100
reading	52	26	16	6	0	100
writing	24	22	20	22	12	100

In regard to written English, the studied group experienced more difficulties. Almost half said that they either have no difficulties with writing in English or rarely. Just over a third often had difficulties writing in English often or very often and to 20 per cent those difficulties occurred sometimes. Many stated that they did not write much i.e. they simply did not have to deal with situations that required them to write in English.

When assessing their English language skills, some found it difficult to respond. They were not sure if they should compare themselves to Anglo-Australians or other immigrants. Further, those who manage to communicate but do not speak grammatically were not sure of their level of English language skills. Those who generally had no difficulties with English said that jokes, slang English, and some of the Australian colloquialisms continued to be difficult for them to understand with crosswords being almost impossible to do. Some difficulties also occurred if the subject matter was not known. For others the issue was different: 'I do not have difficulties with understanding but people cannot understand me'.

²⁸ A study of newly-arrived immigrants found Poles to be the most proficient in English, compared to other newly-arrived ethnic groups (MSJ Keys Young Planners, 1985).

Polish immigrants' English skills profile is based on the participants' self-assessment and it is possible that if a formal English language test was used, different results may have occurred. However, a study undertaken by DIEA had found that it is possible for people to accurately assess their language proficiency, including retrospective assessment (MSJ Keys Young Planners 1985). Further, the authors concluded that '...people appear to be better able to judge their own skill at the lower and middle levels of proficiency than at higher levels' (1985, p. 22). It was further found that Poles underestimated their English language abilities, with the main reason being high expectations and being 'sensitive to shortcomings in their command of English' (1985, p. 22).

Only seven per cent of those interviewed were at the time of the interview doing formal English language courses. Some interviewees also expressed a view that learning a language (referring to a foreign language) never ends.

English language proficiency and gender were not significantly correlated, showing that the women were equally committed to learning English.

4.1.3 Expressed need for additional English classes

A quarter of Polish immigrants said that they were not interested in pursuing more English study and another ten per cent felt that they had no time to study. Just over half expressed interest in continuing to improve their English, mainly increasing their written skills and/or generally refining their English language skills. However, these immigrants were unlikely to attend a general English language course; they wanted courses which would meet their particular needs. Also, a strong preference was expressed for intensive classes rather than a part-time format. Many said that they would like one-to-one conversations where someone would correct them when they made a mistake. In addition, a small number, given the opportunity, would like to improve their English grammar. It is interesting to note that the findings of this study confirm those identified in the DIEA study, namely, Poles stood out as

having different requirements compared to others, with emphasis on reading and writing skills, and preference for intensive courses (MSJ Keys Young Planners, 1985).

4.2 Occupational status in Australia

4.2.1 Studying in Australia

In communist Poland, where private enterprise was not encouraged (and at times discouraged), education was the major and often the only means of achieving social mobility (Smolicz 1993). In their new country of residence, Polish immigrants also used education as a means of social mobility. After arrival in Australia, approximately half had pursued further studies other than studying English, which is much more than those in Badasu's²⁹ study in Canada. From those who had studied, a quarter had obtained an Australian degree and another 15 per cent had upgraded their degrees. In addition, 45 per cent had done vocational courses or upgraded their vocational skills obtained in Poland. Many of these courses were done at TAFE institutions.

Not knowing which career to choose as well as making the difficult choice of whether to attend a course or to obtain employment was reflected in a number of cases. The very real question became: what job or what career will I now pursue?:

I remember sitting in the hostel and thinking what should I do next. Some [Polish immigrants] in the hostel were desperately trying to get a job, any job, so they could 'start making' it in Australia. Others were vowing not to ever go and work in a factory. We had no money and had small children. I did not know if it was more realistic for me to find a well paid job in a factory, forget my university qualification, and put energy into our children to help them achieve a better life than me and my wife. I felt

²⁹ Canada's educational system at that time was not as easily accessible to immigrants as the Australian system, the main reason being that tertiary education in Canada was not free. Neither was the financial support available eg. such as Austudy, to assist students with obtaining an education.

like an illiterate (*analfabeta*) and a lost soul (*zagubiona dusza*) who was also missing his home country.

For instance, a female with a M.A.³⁰ in Physics, first undertook a 2-week secretarial course, did one semester of B.A. in Computer Science, then undertook a Diploma of Education, then a Bachelor of Arts. She subsequently worked for a number of years, and at the time of the interview was undertaking a Bachelor of Social Work, having realised, especially through employment experience, that this was one of the better qualifications to have in the Social Sciences field. This is an example how it took a person 14 years after arrival to 'find' an appropriate course.

Males generally had a more straightforward path to employment, but often struggled as exemplified by one who came to Australia as an 18 year-old. First, he did Year 11, then worked for 3 years and supported his wife and two young children, then successfully completed Year 12. He then enrolled in an undergraduate engineering course which he successfully completed but after graduating could not find employment, so he enrolled in a Master of Engineering. At the time of the interview, he was about to start a new job after a few months' unemployment period.

Studies by Polish immigrants were undertaken in two waves, either soon after arrival, or after a few years (from five to eight) of residence in Australia when they had gone through the initial phases of settlement. Ten per cent continued to study at the time of interview. Of the vast majority of those who began studies, a small number were not able to complete them. The high completion rate is a tribute to these immigrants' persistence, determination and abilities, and their awareness of the value of education which, as has been documented by Smolicz (1993), they have also passed onto their children.

³⁰There are some differences between the Polish and the Australian education systems. The majority of first degrees in Poland are Masters. In fact, all degrees are a minimum of four years, and no degree is of three years in length. When comparing, a Masters from Poland is like an Honours course in Australia, but a Masters in Australia is more than a Masters degree in Poland.

It must be noted that studying in Australia is not something that Polish immigrants planned for before arrival. It was a case of quickly assessing their situation in Australia and deciding to take advantage of the then free educational opportunities available.

4.2.2 First and second jobs in Australia

It is always interesting to research immigrants' employment positions in their home country and compare them with their employment positions after arrival in a new country. This study found that the majority of Polish immigrants first worked in factories as labourers and machine operators; jobs which Poles generally thought of as somewhat demeaning (CPRI, 1990), but, with time, regained or improved their occupational status in most instances (see Table 4.2).

Some experienced long periods of unemployment and underemployment, especially those who came to Australia during the mild recession of the early 1980s, with their compatriots in Canada experiencing a similar pattern (Badasu 1990).

In this study, only one third of the professionals were able to obtain their first jobs in Australia commensurate with their qualifications. On the contrary, Kapalka found that 'occupational status before and after migration revealed that, on the average, immigration did not result in a change of occupational status' (1989, p. 75). The reasons for this conclusion are not known but might be because Kapalka's subjects' length of residence varied from 5-20 years or perhaps because of the sample selection process. Jamrozik states on the basis of studies done by Martin (1975), Taft (1979) and others that:

People with high educational and occupational qualifications find it more difficult to accept 'substitutes' and to content themselves with temporary solutions. They tend to stay longer without work, trying to prepare themselves for occupations for which they had been trained,... (Jamrozik 1983b, p. 47).

Jones, in her small sample of Polish professional women, found that 'most had to change occupations to make themselves employable in the Australian job market' (1991, p. 8), also a finding of Smolicz (1993). These findings can be seen as a confirmation of the importance placed on occupational achievement, which was mentioned in the *Kultura* survey, where 70 per cent of subjects put emphasis on this while still in Poland.

Badasu's (1990) overall conclusion on occupational adjustment of Polish immigrants in Canada was as follows: 60 per cent had changed professions - usually to occupations which required lower skills, 35 per cent had the same occupations, and five per cent had retrained. Finally, this study found that there was no significant difference between the two gender groups with regard to obtaining of first jobs in Australia.

In their second jobs in Australia (and this question only applied to those who moved on to other jobs), as with their first jobs, no one had a job as a manager or administrator - the highest occupational position according to Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) categories. Further, the number of those who were working as professionals increased by only two per cent, and as para-professionals increased by three per cent, indicating the slow process of occupational recovery. Those working as tradesmen decreased, that is, some obtained jobs commensurate with their qualifications as technicians and thus this level increased to 18 per cent. Five per cent managed to obtain jobs as clerks, no doubt due to the improvement of these immigrants' English language skills. Also observed were very significant shifts in the lowest occupational positions, eg. the number of those working as labourers was reduced from 40 per cent to 12 per cent. In the case of Polish immigrants in Canada, on average it took two or more jobs before satisfactory employment was found (Baker 1989).

Although the percentage of those in the labourers category seems high, it is not as high as in the DIEA study in which 70 per cent of Poles worked in unskilled work. It is interesting to note that that study found that Poles had the highest employment rate compared to other newly-

arrived groups of immigrants i.e. Laotians, Chinese, Vietnamese, and Spanish (MSJ Keys Young Planners 1985).

Table 4.2 Occupational position change between Poland and Australia

Type of positions	Last employment positions in Poland %	First employment positions in Australia %	Second employment positions in Australia %	Current employment position %
managers/professionals	33	12	14	28
technicians/ service workers	30	3	18	19
para professionals	9	5	8	11
clerical	11	0	5	6
tradesmen	6	10	3	4
machine operators	4	12	20	17
labourers	0	40	12	6
students/not relevant	7	10	10	3
home duties	0	8	10	6
Total	100	100	100	100

Further, Aroian states that 'The typical trajectory of occupational adjustment included difficulty finding a job, status demotion, occupational instability and eventually regaining or surpassing the previous occupational status in Poland' (Aroian 1988, p. 195). In addition, the author found that occupational adjustment struggles were major difficulties causing distress that endured for a number of years (Aroian 1994), which did not seem to be the case in this study.

The 28 per cent of Polish immigrants working as managers and professionals included: substation engineer, engineer, mechanical engineer, design engineer, senior lecturer, English as a Second Language teacher, social worker, art director, maths teacher, veterinarian, scientist and an artist.

4.2.3 Current employment

After 10-14 years in Australia, these Polish migrants held the following employment positions, compared to the general Polish-born population in Victoria, by gender.

Table 4.3 Occupational position comparison

[Copyrighted material omitted. Please consult the original thesis.]

* 1991 Census of Population and Housing, Expanded Community Profile, p.27

** inadequately described or not stated

Comparisons highlighted significant gender differences in certain occupational positions. Males rated much higher in positions as: managers and administrators, professionals, para-professionals, and trade occupations. With regard to technicians and service workers category, the percentage for males included mainly those working as technicians, while for females, this percentage relates to service industry type of jobs. No male Polish immigrant worked as a labourer at the time of the interview, and males had a drastically lower level, compared to females, in the machine operators category and a significantly lower level in the technicians and service workers category. In comparison to the Victorian population, there are some significant differences, with new Polish immigrants, on average, rating higher in occupational categories such as professionals, para-professionals, technicians and service workers, and machine operators. It was not possible to make occupational comparisons to other overseas research findings eg. Badasu, because of occupational category differences.

Only one person owned a business as a full-time occupation at the time of interview, and five per cent had a part-time business as their second jobs, which is much less, compared to 15 per cent who had a business in Poland at the time of leaving. Overall, 17 per cent, of whom 13 per cent were men, either had or have a business and another 35 per cent had thought about starting their own businesses. For most it was nothing more than just having thought

about it, for others there were obstacles eg. finance, and/or lack of confidence, which prevented them from doing so. Businesses in areas such as computers, graphic design, shop owners eg. milk bar, taxi licences, machines and instruments building, and printing, were of particular interest. In Baker's study (1989) on Polish immigrants in Toronto, subjects opted for self-employment due to non-transferability of their skills and the potential of better income.

4.2.4 Spouse employment and gender differences regarding employment and unemployment

Eighty per cent of spouses of those interviewed were employed. Out of the 20 per cent of spouses who were not in the paid workforce one person was on worker's compensation, others could not find jobs due to the recession, or had accepted a Voluntary Redundancy Package and, by choice, were, as a temporary measure, not looking for employment. Similarly to those who were interviewed, a significant number of spouses worked in the manufacturing and service industry, or had their own small business.

Survey results indicated that there was half the number of female Polish immigrants working as professionals compared to male Polish immigrants. Striking gender differences are also revealed in the machine operators and labourers category where females amount to 39 per cent and males only seven percent. Further details on gender differences are highlighted in Table 4.3. Other studies have also noted a number of gender differences regarding unemployment. For example, Collins drew attention to the Bureau of Labour Market Research findings in which male immigrants with poor English had double the probability of being unemployed, while '...for female migrants, length of stay [longer rather than shorter] in Australia was more important than ability to speak good English' (Collins 1988, p. 112).

Similar to the education paths, the employment pathways were also long and indirect. To illustrate, two examples are given.

Male: 'Ireneusz', 48 years of age, an economist with a Masters degree and years of experience in management positions in Poland, first did a TAFE course in accounting, then obtained a 6-month placement through the Community Employment Program (CEP) with the Environment Protection Authority. There, he was told by fellow workers that there was no way he would ever obtain a job there. Then, after having sent a lot of resumes without any success, he decided to work as a driving instructor which he continued at the time of the interview. The researcher detected a sense of regret on the part of this interviewee that as a result of migration he had had to reduce his occupational status and was experiencing low job satisfaction.

Female: 'Anna' first obtained a job at a sewing factory where after two weeks she developed an allergy. She left that employment and undertook a TAFE course for one year. Her young child was often sick. At the same time her husband started studying at a university. Money was limited. Consequently she took a job at a chocolate factory where she also developed an allergy and after approximately two weeks, she left that job and started doing casual cleaning for one year. Then Anna did ironing jobs for five months. The child became seriously ill, and subsequently, she decided to go for a holiday and a break in Poland. Upon return Anna developed numbness of muscles and was not well for one year. Then, she began doing some voluntary work. The couple bought their first house with a loan from the Ministry of Housing and they had difficulties making the repayments just from her husband's salary. Anna then obtained employment as a Home Carer which she continued at the time of interview. Her occupation in Poland was as a kindergarten teacher. She did not try to obtain a job in that occupation because her child was often not well, which she believed prevented her from working full-time without being able to take extended leave if her child became unwell.

4.2.6 Type of industry

In regard to the industry, the Polish immigrants' first jobs were obtained mainly in the manufacturing sector and in a variety of service industries. Almost ten per cent began

working in education. Others were evenly distributed across industries, i.e. construction/building, transport and storage, public administration, and community services. Only one person started a business as a first job. Initially, no one worked in science, wholesale or retail trade, health or communication.

Table 4.4 Industry of the first and second jobs in Australia

Type of industry	First job in Australia %	Second job in Australia %
manufacturing	46	36
recreation/service industry	29	13
education	9	2
other	4	0
community services	4	13
started own business	2	7
public administration	2	9
construction	2	0
transport/storage	2	2
health	0	7
wholesale & retail trade	0	2
communication	0	2
science	0	7
Total	100	100

When interviewees obtained second jobs, they began to move more into areas previously not easily accessible to them eg. community services, health and science.

4.2.7 Unemployment profile

It is well known that immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds have higher or much higher levels of unemployment compared to the Australian-born population. Collins gives one of the reasons for this, 'The disproportionate burden of economic recession of NES migrants stems from their position in the labour force. They are predominantly semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the manufacturing and construction industries, which are the industries most responsive to, and hardest hit by, cyclical economic downturns' (1988, p. 118). As has been indicated in the section on employment industry, Polish immigrants fit into that category.

In 1991, the unemployment rate for the Poland-born was significantly higher (18.8%) than the general Australian population (11.6%). However, this rate has been declining since then and it was estimated that in 1994 it was 9.7 percent (BIMPR 1995, p. 24).

The number of interviewees who were unemployed was too small (12%) to be able to draw any substantial conclusions regarding reasons for unemployment, knowledge and usage of Labour Market Training Programs and the effectiveness of job hunting techniques of the Polish immigrants. Four out of seven belonged to the long term unemployed i.e. were unemployed for 12 months or more with most having been unemployed for over two years. The main reasons for being unemployed were: not employable eg. because of lack of English, housewife/house husband role, worker's compensation situations, shortage of jobs due to recession, looking after small children, and being a single mother. Almost all of the unemployed Poles in this study sample were in their 30s and early 40s when they arrived in Australia. The following case studies are given to illustrate particular situations of two unemployed persons.

Case study 1: 'Jan'³¹ was a 43-year old male when he arrived in Australia in 1982. Although upon arrival Jan had no knowledge of English, he had a good command of the English language at the time of the interview in 1994. He had technical qualifications as an electrician with 20 years' experience from Poland. These qualifications were recognised but he was not allowed to practise as an electrician in Australia because the relevant accrediting body believed that electrical work in Australia is different to that in Poland. Consequently, he undertook and completed an electrician's course at TAFE of two and half years duration. He then worked as an electrician with the railways for five years, then had two other jobs as an electrician totalling four years employment. He then decided to work for himself - a dream he had since his arrival in Australia as a result of his having a successful business in Poland. He set up his own business as an electrician and in the last two years has been self employed. Jan believed that while he is self-employed, the sky will be the limit with regard to the amount of hours he will be able to work. Unfortunately, Jan's income has been low due to limited availability of work, and as a result DSS supplements his income with an unemployment benefit.

³¹ In order to ensure confidentiality, some minor details have been changed in all case studies.

In 1991, Jan's wife died suddenly. It is not known if his employment was affected by this. He lives in the northern part of Melbourne, an area that has been badly affected by the 1990s recession and has high levels on unemployment. Jan lives in a house with his two children, his mother-in-law and his sister-in-law. Jan's case was one of, if not, the saddest that the interviewer came across because the willingness to work was so strong, yet forces out of his control made his dream and life satisfaction out of reach. Even worse, because of his age, it seemed that Jan's situation was unlikely to improve.

Case study 2: 'Julia' was 32 years old when she arrived in Australia in 1982, like Jan, also with no knowledge of the English language. At the time of the interview she had some difficulty with understanding English and even more difficulty with writing it. In Poland, Julia obtained a general secondary education and worked as a clerk in an accounts department for ten years. Upon arrival, she worked for three years as a labourer in a glass factory and then worked for a further four years as a process worker in the automotive industry, with both jobs affecting her health to a point where she needed to go on worker's compensation. As a result of Workcare changes³² by the Kennett Government, her case was finalised, and at the time of interview she had been unemployed for four years. Julia was not making job applications as she did not think she was ready, following her work compensation, to re-enter the workforce. Julia appeared as someone who wanted to have a long rest after the previous hard work and difficulties with her health. She enjoyed being at home and being a housewife. She did not want to go back to employment which would demand significant physical and/or repetitive effort. The lack of willingness to actively look for employment and the fact that she was not contributing to the family income was causing tension between her and her husband which he displayed during the interview. He appeared not to be able to relate to how she felt and the difficulties she has been through. Julia was not aware of Job Club or Job train courses available to unemployed persons through the CES, which could assist her with finding

³² In 1992, the Kennett government limited Workcare payments to two years only for all but seriously injured or permanently and totally incapacitated workers.

employment or make her more job-ready. It appeared that she did not believe that CES would be effective in helping her since her English was inadequate for a non-manual work. There was a strong sense of resignation by Julia to the situation she was in and lack of willingness or inability to take up challenges. It seemed that the most effective method to help Julia would be for her to develop a good rapport with a case manager from CES or similar employment agency who would assist in increasing her confidence, instil a belief that one day she may be able to obtain a non-manual job and assist her with effective strategies for improving her English. Her interview responses did not however indicate that she was ready to embark on such a journey.

The above two cases illustrate the contextual background to unemployment and are an example of downward social mobility of Polish immigrants in Melbourne. The first example is one of underemployment despite the great willingness to work. In the second example, the person's health deteriorated significantly due to physically demanding employment, and English language difficulties placed Julia almost in the unemployable category, but happy in her domestic role.

Furthermore, amongst couples where both spouses were unemployed, there was a view that it is not financially advantageous, especially if they have one or two children, for one person to be employed unless that person will be able to earn reasonably high income i.e. more than the Social Security Benefits. Also, it appeared that some unemployed Polish immigrants had cash-in-hand jobs.

What is interesting to note is that unemployment and recession in Australia did not make these Poles go back to Poland. In fact, none of the unemployed indicated even contemplating a return to Poland. There are a number of probable reasons and these include: (i) seeing return migration as a failure, especially by their family and friends in Poland as they would not be returning with significant amounts of money, (ii) believing that it is better to be unemployed in Australia than Poland i.e. the welfare support system for the unemployed is better in Australia, (iii) the possibility of being unemployed upon return in light of the high levels of

unemployment in Poland, (iv) these immigrants have already settled in Australia eg. they have their homes here, their children go to school here, and (v) being more aware of what life is like and the way the system works in Australia compared to Poland following major changes in the home country since their departure.

It is difficult to predict the future of these unemployed Polish immigrants. However, it can be assumed that unless intensive support services are provided by relevant government and community-based agencies, including skills and English language improvement, these immigrants will remain unemployed and will be robbed of the opportunity to contribute to their adopted home country.

4.2.9 Job opportunities for immigrants compared to Australian-born

When responding to the question of 'Do you think job opportunities in Australia are, in general, better or worse or not different for migrants than for other Australians with similar education and experience?', interviewees reflected on either their own or their friends' experience where qualifications were recognised but lack of Australian work experience, which employers require but new migrants do not have, continued to work against them. Eighty per cent of interviewees believed that job opportunities for immigrants compared to Australian-born were worse. The main reasons stated were:

- English language difficulties
- no Australian work experience and difficulty with access to work referees
- lack of skills recognition
- difficulty with transferability of skills
- discrimination
- preference to promote 'own' kind

There was a strong belief that Australians prefer to promote 'their own' (non-immigrants) and if an employer has a choice he/she will employ an Australian as a first choice. 'Even if

someone is not a racist, they will take an Australian due to easier communication, better understanding', said one respondent. It was felt that Australians are more confident in their approach to job hunting because they know the Australian culture and its traditions well, which may result in them obtaining a job more quickly than immigrants. Also, it was believed that immigrants may not pick up the changing cultural nuances quickly eg. like the use of he and she, and consequently may not be seen as being 'with it' or politically correct. Polish immigrants thought that immigrants were seen to be treated differently simply because they were different. It was felt that even a name can deter employers, or if a migrant speaks English well their accent remains, which often creates a barrier. In addition, it was felt that when there is a lack of vacancies, immigrants are often second choice. Furthermore, it was believed that job opportunities were worse for immigrants because of difficulty of transferring skills and knowledge from migrants' home countries. Some of the reasons given were seen to be always compounded if a migrant had English language difficulties and for some professions it was impossible to practise their occupations in Australia without fluency in English. However, a male interviewee, who knew English very well, felt that this did not necessarily protect immigrants from prejudice or discrimination especially in organisations that were traditionally considered conservative and which have better than average working conditions eg. local Councils.

Only fifteen per cent believed that job opportunities are the same for immigrants as they are for Australians, especially if they know the English language. One female felt that they were the same for lowly skilled or unskilled workers and that she had no knowledge about what it was like for professionals. There was also one person who thought that job opportunities were better for immigrants because they had better qualifications than the Australian-born. Overall, interviewees displayed a 'defeatist' view of job opportunities. This perhaps was because they did not work in positions which were commensurate with their positions in Poland or perhaps this view was due to the comparison of non-English speaking immigrants to Australians and those from English-speaking countries.

In addition, the researcher noticed that answers to the above question revealed that some respondents were prejudiced towards Anglo-Australians. For instance, it was stated: 'First Anglo-Australians are employed, then Australians³³, then migrants'. Anglo-Australians, it was believed, received preferential treatment. An explanation for this phenomenon might be because immigrants from Britain came to Australia with good knowledge of the English language, and that although they also came as immigrants, they end up in the higher levels of social strata eg. '...all top positions are taken up by Englishmen'. It seemed that these attitudes developed following Polish immigrants' contacts with Anglo-Australians and their perceived snobbishness.

4.2.10 Job satisfaction of Polish immigrants in Australia

Interviewees were asked about their job satisfaction using a five-point scale. Findings revealed that Polish immigrants had a high level of job satisfaction as was the case in other studies eg. Kapalka (1989) and Baker (1989). In this study only a small number were either dissatisfied or neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with their jobs. No significant difference was found between levels of job satisfaction and gender, however, Kabala found that recently arrived Polish females were not satisfied with their jobs in Australia. Overall, study findings indicated that job satisfaction and gender were not significantly correlated, showing that the women were equally satisfied with their jobs.

Table 4.5 Job satisfaction in Australia

Levels of job satisfaction	%
very satisfied	25
satisfied	55
neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	10
dissatisfied or very dissatisfied	10
Total	100

³³Many respondents seemed to have had a view on who is an Australian. It was unfortunate that the questionnaire did not ask a question on who is an Australian in their view. Based on responses to related questions, it seemed that British Australians were considered by Polish immigrants as legitimate Australians after Aborigines. Similar legitimacy was not as readily given to immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds eg. third generation Asians.

Reasons for job satisfaction included just simply liking what these immigrants were doing, the mutual relations between people and the general atmosphere at work. Those working in more manual type of jobs were pleased about not having to work to a daily target or that their jobs were not physically demanding. Those in professional positions liked the challenges their jobs offered and the opportunities to fully utilise their skills. There were also those who were generally satisfied with their jobs but there were certain aspects of it that they would like to change. For example, a graphic designer working for a publishing company would have preferred to work for an advertising agency where this type of work was more interesting, more creative and more stimulating. Lastly, there were those who thought of their jobs as simply jobs, something that they do or have to do.

4.2.11 Job satisfaction between Poland and Australia

An attempt to compare job satisfaction between Poland and Australia posed a number of difficulties because tasks and the job context involved in the same type of jobs might have been very different between the two countries. In addition, many Polish immigrants upgraded their qualifications, which complicated comparisons even more. Because the question was relevant only to those who had worked in Poland and also who have worked in Australia, only 60 per cent of respondents were able to give answers.

Table 4.6 Comparison of job satisfaction in Poland and Australia

Level of satisfaction	%
satisfied more or much more in Poland	26
the same level of satisfaction between Poland and Australia	20
less or much less satisfied in Australia	54
Total	100

A quarter felt that their job satisfaction in Poland was greater or much greater and 20 per cent felt that it was the same. Just over half felt that their job satisfaction in Australia was less or much less despite the fact that previously 75 per cent indicated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with their jobs in Australia. This could be seen as an inconsistency of findings, but not necessarily. It may be that Polish immigrants are satisfied with their jobs in Australia, but

when compared to their job satisfaction in Poland, the response was different. A significant number felt that in Australia one works for what he/she earns. In Poland, some felt that they received money for doing nothing and at times were bored at work. To those who were less satisfied in Australia, the jobs which they had in Poland were more interesting, eg. working as a nurse in a surgical department in a children's hospital compared to working as a nurse in a nursing home. To some, the jobs in Poland were more creative (*tworcza praca*) eg. a designer, or a researcher at a research institute for Third World countries compared to being employed in Australia as a working supervisor or an administrative officer. One woman, who worked as a scientist in Australia, felt that she probably reached her plateau in Australia in the company where she worked because 'it was very much a boys' club'. She believed that this probably would not have been the case in Poland where female scientists were as common as male scientists. Others admitted being more satisfied with the financial remuneration from their jobs in Australia but not in regard to job satisfaction as such. A man who had held a managerial position in Poland, felt that 'Although the job was good, it was difficult to be happy in Poland, there was political pressure, there was oppression'.

4.2.12 Occupational prestige

Occupational prestige assumed less importance for Polish immigrants in Australia. Overall, 40 per cent thought that their occupational prestige had worsened overall, and five per cent thought that it had worsened a lot. One third assessed their occupational prestige as the same. Only a quarter felt that their current occupational prestige was better or much better in comparison to the one they had in Poland at the time of emigration. Interestingly, Krupko (1992) observes that with those who achieved professional status [often after undertaking further studies in Australia], the interviewees did not enjoy the 'high profile' which some of them had in Poland. Lastly, as was mentioned when comparing job satisfaction, there are difficulties with such comparisons as one female interviewee illustrated: 'In Poland, a teacher was on a low salary, here, some Australians are surprised that a migrant woman teaches maths, assuming that I must be very intelligent'.

4.2.13 Prejudice in the work place

Further, there was an additional aspect to the occupational adjustment of Polish immigrants in Australia and that is prejudice towards them at work. A third of those interviewed felt that they experienced a range of insensitivities in their work eg. a careless attitude, or something was said very quickly. Others experienced racism which was blunt and cruel eg. a lecturer at a TAFE College called Poles idiots.

An articulate female interviewee, who worked in a hospital kitchen while undertaking a Diploma of Education to become an English teacher, expressed her experience as:

Anglo-Saxon superiority. Deliberate unfriendliness eg. a supervisor not wanting to give holidays at the right time for a field placement. Purposeless jealousy, that one day I will leave this kitchen. Being unkind to an ambitious wog. But I had total support of a Greek woman and one Australian woman who said to me one day: 'Do me a favour and find yourself a job in your own profession'.

It appeared that the inability or poor ability to speak English was often the trigger for prejudice towards Poles but not always, as in the case of the example given above, the interviewee spoke very good English upon arrival. Finally, a small number felt that prejudice towards Poles was because Poles had developed an image as bludgers and schemers (*kombinatorzy*), and this had contributed to the prejudice towards Poles.

4.3 Social Support Networks

In the previous section, many aspects of Polish immigrants' occupational adjustment and outcomes were documented and analysed. In the section below, the level and type of social support networks is explored including levels of isolation. This will be followed by analysis of their life satisfaction in Australia.

For the purpose of clarity, d'Abbs's definition of support networks is used, and is defined as a 'set of personal contacts through which the individual maintains his social identity, and receives emotional support, material aid and services, information and new social contacts' (1982, p. 11). It is in this framework that support networks of Polish immigrants are examined.

Generally, it appeared that Polish immigrants had good levels of social support; a finding different to that of Krupko (1992) who noted a lack of or limited support networks for this group of Polish immigrants. Survey results showed that 90 per cent of interviewees had three or more Polish friends with whom they socialised, similarly to Jamrozik's (1983) and Badasu's findings (1990). However, the researcher, during the actual data collection process, also came across two situations which illustrate that perhaps there is a group of Polish immigrants who are in difficult situations and have no access to adequate support services. The first instance was a suicide of a Polish teenager whose parents divorced and who became a drug addict. The second case was that of a Polish male immigrant who developed severe schizophrenia, was divorced, and had no family in Australia. He was living by himself, was receiving some assistance from medical staff and totally depended on government support services for survival. His friends appeared to have dwindled due to his illness. The two examples illustrate the severity of difficulties which may occur when 'things go wrong' and there is no family support available. Polish immigrants seemed well when there were no crises in their lives. This study was unable to ascertain if the above mentioned two situations reflected a greater and perhaps hidden problem or were an exception to a rule i.e. represented only a small number of Polish immigrants in very difficult situations.

Although many had close contacts with people from other nationalities, their regular contact and close friendships were usually with other Polish immigrants, usually from the same wave of Polish migration. Many said that English was the main barrier in establishing close friendships with other nationalities or as one interviewee put it, '...after a week at work, I prefer to spend time with Poles, with whom I feel free and comfortable'. One person felt that when

Poles met, their conversation had more intellectual content. Others felt that often it was the geographical distance between suburbs which was the decisive factor regarding with whom free time was spent.

With regards to close non-Polish friends, a third said that they did not have any. For those who did, the majority of these non-Polish friends were Australians and/or others eg. Italians, English, Turks and Greeks. The most common mode of forming friendships with non-Poles was through work, followed by friends of friends, as well as through studies (including English classes) and through being neighbours. Friendships appeared limited with persons from Asian, Middle East and South American backgrounds.

Spouse or spouse and children were usually (70%) the closest persons to those interviewed and during interviews, the researcher often witnessed very strong family bonding, understanding and support amongst family members. In addition to spouse and children, some Polish immigrants added their friends as close persons as well. In three cases, one of the closest persons were ex-spouses. Another 15 per cent felt that their children were the closest persons to them. Only seven per cent saw friends as their only close person but 20 per cent of Polish immigrants stated that they relied on friends when in need. Interviewees also mentioned during interviews the difficulty of making new friends, especially during the initial stages of settlement. In Jones' study, the female subjects mentioned similar difficulty of finding 'kindred spirits' as friends (Jones 1991).

4.3.1 Level of isolation and loneliness

As part of the exploration of social support networks, interviewees were asked about how often they felt lonely or isolated. Responses found no high levels of isolation or loneliness amongst this group of Polish immigrants. However, almost 40 per cent simply felt lonely or felt lonely sometimes. Baker states that a prominent leader within the Polish community in Toronto believed that there was isolation among the new wave of Polish immigrants 'because they have not created any organisations' (1989, p. 85), but this is a questionable argument.

Thirty five per cent never felt loneliness or isolation and 15 per cent had such feelings rarely. The eight per cent who often or very often felt isolation, felt isolated from the mainstream society, or the isolation was due to different styles of social interaction. For example:

If I wanted to go sailing, in Poland, ten other people would want to do it too. Here, everyone who wants to do it is likely to have their own boat. People in Poland had to be closer together. I do not feel a migrant here. I am part of this society.

Additionally, feelings of isolation and loneliness occurred when having a low day, not being well, or at times of difficulties. For instance, a single mother said that she would like someone to relieve her sometimes from parental duties. She felt lonely and isolated 'As often as she could spare the time for it' (*Tak czesto, na ile mi czas na to pozwala*). Two unemployed persons said that because they were unemployed they always felt isolated. Further, sometimes isolation was felt in a cultural sense whereby the lack of a common cultural base with non-Poles meant that there was an inability to appreciate Polish cultural and political references and an inability to appreciate why Australians acted in certain ways or adopted certain attitudes.

Answers on this issue seemed to have touched on some of the cultural differences between Australia and Poland. That is, Polish immigrants indicated a need, liking, or preference to share what they did in a meaningful way to them. In addition, occasions which reminded interviewees of family celebrations such as Christmas and Easter, also brought at times feelings of isolation and loneliness to the surface. Lastly, to one person, feelings of isolation and loneliness came when she had nothing to do 'Then I feel like packing and going to Poland'. This indicated an assumption that in Poland it was certain that she would not be bored.

4.3.2 Sources for emergency help

The question, 'When in need, where do you turn for help?' was found to be general and consequently some interviewees had difficulty answering it. That is, they usually answered 'that depends on the situation'. On the other hand, others were very definite in their answers, especially the quarter who only counted on themselves in such situations. A strong sense of reliance and responsibility for one's own well-being was also mentioned by subjects in Jones' study (1991). Fifteen per cent stated that they had never been in such a situation.

Findings indicated that family and friends were the most common sources of support and assistance when in need. An interesting example was given by a male interviewee who although he had close Australian friends, would not approach them for help. If he needed \$100, he would approach his ex-wife (who was Polish and they continued to be good friends) or one of his Polish friends.

In response to a hypothetical situation eg. if a spouse or a child became sick and needed care for three weeks, 70 per cent stated that they would provide such themselves, usually by taking holidays or unpaid leave, if they were working. Ten per cent would ask a family member or a friend to help. One lucky interviewee felt that there would be a competition within their family about wanting to help. A less lucky interviewee, who was also a single mother, said that her daughter would have to be at home by herself and 'I would come and see her at lunch times. If she was seriously ill, she would go to hospital'. Further, this was how one couple coped with their sick child:

I do not know. I may have to go to a doctor and pretend that I am sick to get a doctor's certificate. When our daughter was sick in the past, we took turns in taking days off. When I was teaching, I used to say to my children if you are to get sick please get sick during school holidays.

The above two examples illustrated the difficulty some Polish immigrants face when family type of assistance is needed.

4.4 Satisfaction with Life in Australia

Following questions about their support networks, Polish immigrants were asked about their satisfaction with life in Australia. Eighty seven per cent said that they were either very satisfied or satisfied with their lives in Australia. Only eight per cent were neither satisfied nor dissatisfied and five per cent were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with their lives in Australia. One person divided satisfaction into two areas, personal where she was very satisfied, and the second was life in Australia, with which she was dissatisfied due to negative attitudes towards migrants and the distance from other countries. This type of dualism of feelings was also expressed by others. Another interviewee, who was in the satisfied category, felt that the initial three years were the most difficult. To others, 'life goes so quickly that one does not have time to ponder over it'.

Table 4.7 Life satisfaction

Level of life satisfaction	%
very satisfied	35
satisfied	52
neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	8
dissatisfied	3
very dissatisfied	2
Total	100

Interestingly, a high level of life satisfaction was also expressed by an interviewee who has been unemployed for four years. Following, more detailed responses were sought with regards to life satisfaction.

4.4.1 Most liked elements of life in Australia

Overall, what participants liked the most were the things they could not or did not have in Poland and were able to achieve or obtain after arrival in Australia eg. access to accommodation, adequate remuneration, living in a country with economic and political

stability and freedom to travel abroad. Next, comfortable living conditions and the quiet and easy-going Australian lifestyle stood out amongst other reasons for life satisfaction. Under living conditions the main factor was the affordability of services i.e. the possibility and reasonable easiness of obtaining of what one needs. In addition, '...freedom and the possibilities of choice, that you can choose your lifestyle, that you can partially realise your dreams here' - often lifelong dreams. Also, the fact that one can plan life and the future gave participants a sense of stability which they liked. Polish immigrants established fulfilling lives in Australia, although, for some, it took twice as long as initially planned.

Being a free person without political pressure was especially valued by men and having the choice to live 'outside of politics' if one wants to, even if employed in a high status position. There was a high value placed on having a job, and this was seen as the foundation to life satisfaction³⁴ and being able to afford and do what one wants to do. 'Politically I am free. If one has a job life is very good; if one does not, it is very bad', was a view expressed by a male interviewee without a job. Generally, it was believed that if two people work, they can afford a good life and good leisure (*wypoczynek*). Collins also found that 'employment is the most important determinant of a person's standard of living and lifestyle' (1988, p. 162).

Some women's responses were different to that of the men. Their satisfaction was also due to being able to be more independent eg. 'I can decide for myself, as a woman I can go out by myself. I can do whatever I like. I feel unconstrained. No pressure. It is a paradox, on one hand no one [parents] tells me what to do, on the other, there is no one to have Christmas with.'

In the main, life satisfaction usually included a wide range of contributing factors. This is how one female described it:

³⁴ Kabala also notes in her study on Polish women that 'job satisfaction appeared to be one of the most significant factors affecting the psychological well-being of the "new" wave' (1986b, p. 60).

The general kindness in interpersonal relations and the willingness to help. The sunsets. That I have a private life, that private life is separate from politics. I do not have to declare myself with anything. Free weekends. We travel a lot. The way leisure can be organised; the element of relaxation in life. Opportunities for personal development, the accessibility and infrastructure for children's recreation eg. swimming pools, sporting grounds, the feeling of space - in the wide dimension and a personal one. To be able to have a garden.

A further element which contributed to the high levels of life satisfaction was the Polish immigrants' belief that, in Australia, their children had opportunities to do what they wanted to do and that generally it was a good country in which to bring up a family. One of the opportunities was illustrated by a father in the following example, '...our daughter is able to be a citizen of the world' (*nasza corka moze byc obywatelem swiata*).

A number of statistical tests were undertaken to determine if there was correlation between life satisfaction in Australia and gender, knowledge of English and level of qualifications in Australia but none reached statistical significance. The literature notes some gender differences eg. in Boski's sample (1991), women showed higher levels of life satisfaction than men.

4.4.2 Sources of disappointment

To determine sources of disappointment about life in Australia, interviewees were asked to describe the most disliked elements of life here. Overall, disappointment related to: (i) aspects of life which Polish immigrants (including those who were satisfied with their lives in Australia) missed eg. less demanding work lifestyle (*lzejsze zycie*) or (ii) aspects of life which were different to what they were used to in Poland eg. different social life, and (iii) financial difficulties. Also, some of the Australian attitudes were found to be annoying. Three in particular were mentioned. The first one was, as one interviewee expressed it, 'the good enough for bush mentality' approach. By that was meant: the lack or lack of variety of quality

products in terms of quality of workmanship, aesthetics of these products, and their competitiveness with overseas products. The second was the 'she'll be right' approach, which was seen as people's lack of maturity and having a too carefree attitude to life. The third disappointment was due to the 'niceness' of people which some saw as double-faced and not genuine. These are perhaps other examples of strong cultural differences between Poland and Australia. For instance, the practice that when a potential employer says 'Do not call us, we will call you', yet knowing that they were not going to call the job applicant, was seen by some Polish immigrants as being dishonest. These immigrants would prefer to be given an honest answer and direct feedback about their performance which then could be used to improve one's job hunting techniques.

For others, disappointment related to the tyranny of distance which referred to: distance of travelling to work or to see friends, distance to Poland and/or Europe, and distance from other continents. Polish immigrants with professional backgrounds in the arts and film industry felt especially alienated. They missed cultural contacts and felt frustrated at not being able to fully express themselves in the English language. Some professionals found it difficult to establish contacts with people 'at their level' (*na swoim poziomie*), and one thought that Australia was 'an anti-intellectual society'.

It was also thought that people in Australia generally were less open compared to Poland, an observation also noted by others. For example, Krygier found that 'the openness with which people are prepared to speak in Poland is extraordinary' (1986, p. 20) and Szulc, who noted that people in Poland were particularly 'outspoken' (1988). An interviewee statement - 'One has to make an appointment with everyone' - is another example expressed by one interviewee of the different social interactions between Poland and Australia.

Moreover, the silly political games on the part of State and Federal politicians were equally disliked, and a couple of participants questioned the fairness of the Australian criminal justice

system eg. short sentences for murder. Disappointment was also expressed about the fact that one works long hours in Australia³⁵: 'Here one lives for work, in Poland it is the opposite'.

Considering that the vast majority of Polish immigrants were satisfied with their life in Australia, the next question asked was, 'How would you assess your decision to migrate to Australia?'

4.4.3 Assessment of migration decision

Assessment of the migration decision was based on: what sort of life interviewees left in Poland, how they settled in Australia and their reasons for migrating. Assessment was made in retrospect of the last 10-14 years. Responding to this question was not easy because Polish immigrants did not know what their lives would have been like had they stayed in Poland. As could be expected on the basis of findings so far, three quarters assessed their decision to migrate to Australia as good or very good. In Krupko's study (1992), the majority of participants also concluded that despite the initial difficulties, migration has been worthwhile, while in Baker's study 'all unhesitatingly responded that it was a good decision to migrate' (1989, p. 82). Kogler assessed emigration as a 'hard earned piece of bread' (*ciezko wypracowany kawalek chleba*), but with a perspective of joy and delight, adventure, and wealth' (Kogler 1992, p. 12).

Table 4.8 Assessment of decision to migrate

How good was your decision to migrate?	%
very good	42
good	35
neither good nor bad	10
bad	8
very bad	2
other	3
Total	100

³⁵In Poland, the usual working hours were 7.00 a.m. to 3.00 p.m.

Some of those who assessed this decision as good, said that it was good at the time of emigration but that they would not have done it had they known what was involved in settling in a new country, and/or had they foreseen that Polish communism would collapse:

Good [decision], but I would not wish it to an enemy.

We repaired our health, we eat well here. Considering martial law, we missed a very difficult period. We educated our children.

was how two interviewees responded to this question.

Some felt that they had been too old to migrate. Others thought that they really did not have a choice about emigration, or that despite the initial settlement difficulties, now they were pleased about their decision. One man felt that he could not have made a better decision in his life than the one to emigrate. On the other hand, only one person assessed the decision to emigrate as very bad. This particular interviewee's situation was described in the case study of a male experiencing underemployment and consequently limited finances as well as general failure in occupational status (and social status) transfer between Poland and Australia being the main reasons for assessing the decision to emigrate as a very bad one.

In view of the above findings, it is therefore not surprising that 80 per cent did not have any regrets regarding their decision to emigrate. Amongst the 20 per cent who did, regrets were about abandoning their families in Poland and lack of close contact with them. There was a high level of nostalgia about the families they left behind. This was especially true of females. This is how Jones summarises the migration experience of Polish immigrant women:

Despite the difficulties, the majority of women in our research did raise the benefits, that migrating brought them. There was a feeling of strength, achievement, even of

having one's life under control. It seems fair to say, that a significant experience such as migration does have the potential to enrich us as humans (Jones 1991, p. 12).

In addition to missing his mother to whom he was very close, one man, whose passion in life was mountain climbing, badly missed the Tatry mountains and felt that he 'left what was most beautiful' (*zostawilem to co bylo najpiękniejsze*). Finally, some answers reflected the acceptance which developed over the 10-14 years of residence in Australia eg. 'No, I do not have any regrets, after all those years I have lost all regret. I am here for too long to think about going back there'.

4.4.4 What advice would you give to newly-arriving Polish migrants?

Polish immigrants were asked what advice they would give to Polish migrants arriving in Australia now, based on their own settlement experience and knowledge gained over the years. Although this was a hypothetical question, answers to it were based on actual personal experiences and could be of value to other migrants. As could be expected, almost half would suggest to learn English, ideally before coming here, but if that was not possible, then before taking up employment in Australia. Interviewees would advise to postpone the potential financial benefits that are obtained through employment for the long-term benefits and quality of life. There was strong emphasis put on trying to have qualifications recognised. In addition, advising to study in order to work in own's own profession or ideally to redo their studies, and not to barge into holes (*nie pchac sie w dziury*) but make a shift (*przebiedowac*). 'A person without an occupation is nothing' (*czlowiek bez zawodu jest niczym*), is an example of the value put on education and training.

Other answers had some common themes. Some would advise new migrants to not come to Australia or to go back, especially if their qualifications were not recognised. They felt that the price to pay for migration was too substantial (*za duza cena*). Others suggested to be patient and think positively, to believe in themselves and their abilities. For example:

Load yourself with patience, it is a stage that a migrant has to go through, that shock, or go back to Poland straight away. Really believe that it will work or go back.

Further, interviewees also felt that new migrants should find out as much as possible about the new country (life generally and the system) i.e. how things are done in Australia before coming here. Some were exact and said that at minimum knowledge should be at least 50 per cent of the reality of life in Australia. It was believed that potential immigrants should really think long and hard before making the final decision. For example, if someone is strongly attached to parents, or has difficulty with being flexible, then perhaps he or she should not emigrate. This is how one male warned about what may happen once such a decision is made:

My profession became nothing, I did not come here for a holiday, I had a family to support. If one does not have a choice for example like refugees, you go where there is freedom.

There were also those who strongly suggested to try to integrate into the Australian society and do it as soon as possible. One interviewee suggested that the settlement priorities should be as follows:

First learn English perfectly, second learn English perfectly, thirdly learn English perfectly, fourthly begin your life anew, forget about the other system and your achievements. Melt into Australia, be an Australian.

Others stated that Australia is a good country in which to settle, and advised to have realistic expectations; 'Do not expect God knows what!' (*Nie oczekuj Bog wie czego!*). They suggested setting goals. Moreover, new immigrants were encouraged to make a real effort to

settle well, to seek advice from those who had lived here for a long time and to be decisive i.e. not live half here and half there or to fall victim of comparing the new country to the old one.

4.4.5 Opinion of Australia

Three quarters of interviewees had a good or very good opinion of Australia and another ten per cent felt that it was a country with an untapped potential. The positive view was usually expressed as simply a beautiful country, one where there is a welcome and a niche for everyone, with many opportunities. It was a country which they would recommend to potential immigrants. Others simply just liked it and would not want to live anywhere else. Appreciation was also expressed about: the weather, nature, the Australian outback and the bush, the ocean, and the many friendly people³⁶. Similar sentiments were expressed in Polish immigrants' memoirs eg. 'Australia grows on you. It surrounds you with its goodwill, its freedom, by being different, its colourfulness, easy life, friendly attitude towards newcomers, that here, everyone values his/her independence and does not expect to be bowed to' (*nie oczekuje zeby mu sie klaniano*) (Poland-Australia Society c.1983, p. 41).

Australia was thought of as a just society with a welfare system to be applauded, where people were able to maintain their identity and be themselves. However, three persons felt that perhaps the welfare system was too generous eg. paying single mothers' benefit till the child is 16 years of age. There was an example given of a case where a woman, whose child was approaching 16 years of age, had another baby in order to continue receiving the single mother's pension for another 16 years (*zeby miec 'spokoj' przez nastepne 16 lat*).

Those who thought of Australia positively also mentioned some of the down sides eg. that despite the many opportunities there were also barriers for immigrants. In regard to untapped potential, there was concern that Australia was not sufficiently competitive and that perhaps it had lost its chance to develop economically and technologically. That, when having a choice,

³⁶ Kabala also found that subjects in her study found "people" as the most attractive aspect of living in Australia' (1986a, p. 4.).

people often took the easy way out and that the Australian population as a whole was not sufficiently ambitious. They saw Australia as a country that could be self-sufficient but one that needed a good 'master of the house' (*gdzie potrzeba dobrego gospodarza*). The existence of three tiers of government, government incompetence and the many bureaucratic mazes were seen as an impediment to Australia's development.

4.4.6 Standard of living

Sixty five per cent of Polish immigrants felt that their standard of living has improved, which is similar to Baker's Canadian findings (1989). Fifteen per cent felt that it had become worse and ten per cent felt that it remained the same.

Table 4.9 Assessment of standard of living

How would you assess your standard of living?	%
improved	65
became worse	15
remained the same	10
do not know/no answer	10
Total	100

Capacity to afford the necessities and additional comforts were stressed as big improvements to their previous standard of living. For instance, 'I can afford what I like, to pay bills, to attend concerts, to buy a book, good wine or flowers, if I want to'. Many believed that in Poland they could not have achieved what they were able to achieve in Australia eg. to have a house after 10-14 years. As in other instances, comparison was not easy because of the different standards of living between the two countries and the time factor. To some, it was improvement in the financial sense but not culturally or socially, or a person had good accommodation but was unemployed.

4.4.7 Type of accommodation

Three socio-economic indicators were considered regarding standard of living, i.e. accommodation, health and income. Findings revealed that these Poles had a high level of

home ownership, which is often seen as a sign of successful settlement, considering that they have been living in Australia between 10-14 years. Similarly, according to the 1991 Census, the Poland-born population had significantly higher levels of home ownership including owning their home outright i.e. 57.5 per cent for Poland-born compared to 41.6 per cent of the Australian-born (BIMPR 1995, p. 34).

Ninety per cent of the sample were satisfied or very satisfied with their accommodation and only ten per cent were dissatisfied with their accommodation. A significant number of interviewees had lived in their accommodation for a few years and seemed to have stabilised their mobility.

Table 4.10 Accommodation and Polish immigrants

Type of accommodation	%
fully paid off own homes	30
own homes (being paid off)	40
rented accommodation	15
commission housing	10
shared	5
	Total 100

A small number of Polish immigrants lived in houses purchased through the Housing Co-operative Scheme available through the Department of Planning and Development (previously known as the Ministry of Housing). The ten per cent of the sample who lived in government housing were usually single mothers.

4.4.8 Comparison of accommodation between Poland and Australia

Further, comparison of accommodation in Poland and current accommodation was made. Some had difficulty making such a comparison because of the different type of housing in the two countries and the fact that Australia has a high standard of housing. For example, 'In Poland it is a luxury to have a flat, here people generally live in houses'. Overall, 70 per cent assessed their accommodation as much better compared to what they had in Poland, 20 per

cent assessed it as about the same and only five per cent felt that it was worse. For those to whom the accommodation was much better the difference was mainly the space - house versus flat - and being able to have a garden, which for one interviewee was a life time dream (*było moim marzeniem zeby miec ogródek*). People also valued the option of being able to live independently eg. not with parents or parents-in-law.

4.4.9 Health

To assess the health status and change in health, interviewees were asked to assess their current health and whether their health had improved, become worse or stayed the same since their arrival in Australia.

Responses indicated that Polish immigrants were in good health with 85 per cent describing it as very good or good. Only ten per cent described their health as poor. However, on the contrary, and at the same time, 30 per cent believed that their health had become worse and two persons felt that it became much worse. Most felt that their health had worsened simply because they had become older rather than from settlement adjustment stresses. A small number of interviewees were certain that their health deteriorated because their bodies had to cope with additional physical and psychological strains due to migration and settlement. For example, an underemployed person, who was under a lot of stress, found it particularly difficult to cope with not having enough work. Moreover, participants felt that the heavy physical work to which they were not accustomed to, also contributed to deterioration of their health. To almost two thirds of interviewees, health had remained the same since their arrival and a small number felt that their health had improved since arrival.

4.4.10 Income

The majority of subjects in this study received regular salaries. The percentage of those receiving support benefits from the Department of Social Security was significant as it totalled 20 per cent which does not include those receiving Austudy and widow's pension. Those in

The other category were mainly housewives (not receiving any income) whose husbands were working.

Table 4.11 Income sources

Type of income	%
Salary/wages	67
Unemployment Benefit	8
Sickness Benefit	2
Invalid Pension	3
Single Parent Pension	7
Other (eg. dependent housewives, Austudy, widow's pension)	13
Total	100

There was a significant difference in income between men and women with women being on lower incomes (excluding housewives and unemployed), but income was not determined by knowledge of written English. Neither did income appear to influence these immigrants' life satisfaction in Australia.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to compare income source or income type to the Victorian general population because of different criteria used in the survey to that used in the Census. However, it is interesting to note that in Kapalka's sample (1989), Poles had higher education and higher income than the average American.

Levels of income varied amongst interviewees with the average income being \$26,045 approximately (\$23,875 if those with no income are included). There was a significant proportion (35%) of those whose income was below \$15,000 and only 12 per cent whose income was over \$45,000. Again, comparison of income levels to the Victorian or Australian population is not possible due to different income breakdown used in this survey.

Table 4.12 Income levels³⁷

Levels of Income	%
No own income	8
5.000-9.999	10
10.000-14.999	17
15.000-19.999	8
20.000-24.999	12
25.000-29.999	12
30.000-34.999	8
35.000-39.999	13
45.000-49.999	5
50.000+	7
Total	100

Following on, interviewees were asked to assess their income. No one said that they did not have sufficient income to get by although ten per cent described their situation as a very difficult one and almost a third of those interviewed felt that their income only 'makes ends meet'. Those who have paid off their homes outright stated that it was harder for them financially when they were paying off their homes because they were making repayments well above the requirement. Also, some admitted that they have an above average standard of living. Surprisingly, two single mothers could afford to send their children to independent schools.

Table 4.13 Description of financial situation

How would you describe your financial situation?	%
very difficult financial situation	10
only enough to make ends meet	30
never in financial difficulties	40
comfortable income	20
Total	100

Only one person had approached the Brotherhood of St. Laurence or similar organisation for help in the last five years. Some thought that they would be ashamed to ask for help from such agencies although they may purchase items from shops run by eg. Brotherhood of St. Laurence. 'I never asked anyone for help and I never will' or 'Never in my life' was a common

³⁷ These income levels, in some instances are based on part-time employment.

response. The idea of seeking assistance from welfare and charitable organisations was perceived as evidence of total failure.

Further, Polish immigrants were asked where they would turn for assistance or information if they needed it. This question was abandoned half way through the interview schedules, because it was too general. However, the data collected showed that the highest number would approach the relevant government agency, followed by local councils, assistance from a priest, and lastly, a Polish organisation. No one mentioned a migrant welfare organisation eg. Migrant Resource Centre and it appeared that Polish immigrants did not see themselves as clients of those Centres, not after 10-14 years. One female said that she would not go to a migrant organisation because she did not feel a migrant any more. Neither were Polish community-based organisations in Melbourne esteemed by the interviewees. They did not seem to be known to them, and were not seen as part of the Polish community in Victoria. An extreme example of such a view was expressed by one male: 'I would never think of going to a Polish organisation for assistance. I do not consider Poles or Polish organisations having anything to do with my life here' (*Nie przyszło by mi do głowy żeby isc do polskiej organizacji o pomoc. Ja nie uważam że Polacy czy polskie orgnizacje maja cokolwiek do czynienia z moim zyciem tutaj*). This particular interviewee was employed as an academic at a university and his financial security and overall secure circumstances is perhaps the main reason for this kind of response.

4.5 Marriage and Migration

This survey has found that almost a third of married partners migrated to Australia separately. In most instances the male partner came to Australia first, found accommodation, employment and housing, and then sponsored his family. In two cases it was the female who migrated first. The longest separation period between spouses was eight years and the shortest one year. To some, being separated from wife and children was the most difficult thing to cope with during the initial years of settlement. In the case of Polish immigrants in Sydney,

Armstrong noted their anger against the Polish government which included sit down protests, at being separated from their families (1982, p. 44). Polish immigrants in Toronto also found it very difficult to be separated from their wives and children eg. in 1983, ten Poles went on a hunger strike to pressure the Polish government to release their families (Badasu 1990).

Almost a quarter of interviewees were not married at the time of leaving Poland and 75 per cent were couples. At the time of the interview, the same number of persons were married or in de facto relationships, however, some were in second marriages. Sixteen per cent of interviewees were divorced, compared to two per cent when leaving Poland, and seven per cent were separated. Overall, almost a quarter of couples were divorced or separated. The percentage of marriage breakdown in this study is higher than that found by Jamrozik (10%) (1983). This is probably because Jamrozik's study involved subjects in their initial years in Australia. ABS data (1991 Census) on levels of separation and divorce on the Poland-born indicates that it is marginally higher (16% for women and 12% for men), than the Australian-born population (14.4% for females and 12.8% for males) (1994, pp. 41-43). Only one person had remained single since leaving Poland. Five per cent of spouses were non-Polish.

Almost three quarters of married interviewees assessed their marriage in Poland as good or very good and ten per cent felt that it was not good. In comparison, positive assessment of marriage in Australia increased by eight per cent. It is important to note that there were no interviewees who assessed their marriage in Australia as unsatisfactory.

4.5.1 Migration and effect on marriage

It is always interesting to explore how a marriage relationship is affected by migration. 'How do you think your marriage was affected by migration?' and 'Do you feel that migration has brought you closer together?' were questions relevant only to those interviewees who were married before leaving Poland.

Table 4.14 Migration and effect on marriage

Type of effect	%
positive effect on marriage	30
negative	15
no effect	30
simply had an effect	15
Total	100

Some interviewees found the two above mentioned questions general and had difficulty giving definite answers because they were not sure if, for instance, the negative effect was due to stress associated with migration and settlement or if it was due to partner's incompatibility in the first place. Others felt that it was simply the passage of time that had had a deteriorious impact on the marriage. This is how the change was described by a male interviewee:

In Poland my wife had family and I had family. My wife had a job and I had a job. Here, we depend on each other more.

The positive effect on marriage was due to the fact that partners found themselves in a situation where they faced difficulties together and supported each other, resulting in greater tolerance and better understanding of each other. Migration and settlement in a new country were also seen as something that opened up new possibilities for a marriage. Those who lived with or close to their parents or parents-in-law in Poland, said that it was good not to have anyone interfere in their affairs.

Some of the couples that were drawn together in Poland by the common goal of migrating, later found that they had nothing or not enough in common. Difficulties also occurred when there were severe differences between partners in regard to migrating to or remaining in Australia. For those couples who separated, problems usually started in Poland or immediately after coming to Australia.

Overall, in response to a further question, 'Do you feel that migration has brought you closer together?', 65 per cent felt that migration brought them closer together, 25 per cent felt that it

did not, and five per cent felt that there was no difference in their relationship. Greater spouse closeness occurred mainly due to not having anyone else in Australia and thus the 'need to stick together' during good and bad times. Often, migration brought forth the stark realisation that their partner was the only close person that they had. He or she was the only person they could rely on:

Yes, married couples here respect each other more. There is no Mummy to go and complain to (*Nie ma mamusi zeby sie isc i pozalic*). We have no one here. Marriages here either fell apart or became even more closer to what they were.

One person was not sure if greater attachment was due to migration or perhaps it was being together for a long time. Interestingly, a significant number of those who separated or divorced remained close friends with their ex partners, including cases where there were new partners involved.

Statistical tests on gender and marriage effect due to migration did not reach significance. However, female interviewees mentioned how much more independent they had become in Australia because of the financial support provided by the government to single parents, if need be. 'I knew I could get Social Security Benefit, thus, I did not have to put up with things', said one female. This data supports the view of Dr Magdalena Sokolowska (a leading Polish sociologist and physician), who believed that, in Poland, under the communist system, '...women are the greatest victims of the system because the burden of life with its daily responsibilities falls most heavily on them' (Szulc 1988, p. 96).

4.5.2 Reasons for marriage breakdown

The two main reasons for marriage breakdown were the settlement pressure and incompatibility of partners or the combination of the two factors. The settlement pressure, amongst a number of factors, involved the two partners not having any support networks eg. 'There were just the two of us' or, one of the partner's - usually the male - status was

drastically reduced. This is how one male who had high social and occupational status in Poland described it, 'Right from the beginning, my wife expected too much of me in this country. I had a lot of barriers: language, lack of connections. I was reduced to the level of a labourer' (*spadłem do poziomu robotnika*). Also, partners had different coping abilities. Some found it very difficult to cope with settlement hurdles (all occurring at the same time) such as: language, finding a job, finding accommodation, not having family and friends, being in an unfamiliar environment. In regard to incompatibility, interviewees stated that this usually existed in Poland and it often became accentuated once they came to Australia. It was felt that perhaps there were not as many situations in Poland which showed spouses' differences because each had a job, their own families, support networks and so on. From the 14 couples who separated or divorced, in ten instances it was the wife who made the decision to separate, two were initiated by husbands, and two were decided mutually. None of the couples sought marital counselling during the process of separation or afterwards. The majority felt that there was no point as they felt that their differences were irreconcilable - 'We did not feel that anyone could solve our problems', said one interviewee.

4.6 Polish Immigrants' Children's Profile

The research study also aimed to develop a profile of the children of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants in Melbourne. Survey results found that 63 per cent of the children of these immigrants were born in Poland and 32 per cent were born in Australia. The rest (5%) were born in transit countries.

Table 4.15 Type of school attended by children of Polish immigrants

No of children	Type of schools attended by children	%
Primary: N = 20	Catholic primary	75
	Government primary	20
	Independent primary	5
Secondary: N = 33	Catholic secondary	30
	Government secondary	61
	Independent secondary	9

At the primary level, the majority of children attended Catholic schools and at the secondary level, it was state schools. There were two types of reasons for children not attending Catholic schools: for one group it was their choice eg. parents felt that the state school was the same or better than the Catholic school in the area in which they lived. The other reason was lack of choice, either because a child was not accepted or there were no vacancies in a Catholic school. Further, some parents disliked the religious component in Catholic schools and since they could not afford to pay for a private education, the only option was a state government school. At a tertiary level, university courses popular amongst children of these Polish immigrants were: science, business, marketing, computers and graphic design.

Two thirds of parents were satisfied with the schools (primary and secondary) their children attended. The question on parents' satisfaction with their children's schools was a general one and its main reason was to detect the level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction. One third of the parents were not satisfied with their children's schooling due to: low level of teaching (*niski poziom nauczania*), poor discipline, lack of a comprehensive and effective curriculum eg. teaching only certain periods of history rather than all of it. Some Polish parents were very concerned that the amount of knowledge acquired by their children was inadequate. One female, whose son had just started school, gave her first impressions:

I am very dissatisfied. The level is hopeless eg. there is no home work at all. They do not have a curriculum and do not work on creating children's imagination (*brak programu nauczania i kształtowania wyobraźni*). They do not try to develop diligence in children (*nie wykształcają u dzieci pilności*).

To remedy this situation, some parents undertook upon themselves to provide additional teaching at home. Polish parents' concerns about the standard and amount of knowledge their children were receiving at school were also documented by Smolicz (1993). In his study, parents who had children at school in Poland compared the Australian schools after arrival.

Usually the difference between what children were learning when leaving Poland and what they were learning when they began school in Australia was major.

Further, Smolicz found that parents expected their children to undertake tertiary studies and such expectation was particularly strong amongst parents where the father had a tertiary education but worked as a labourer:

Respondents from this group explained such aspirations through the unshakeable conviction that they belonged to the higher 'intelligentsia' social class. This sense of identity persisted despite the family's current fall in occupational level. They saw the gaining of their 'rightful' place in the social order as being most realistically achieved through the upward occupational mobility of their children (Smolicz 1993, p. 16).

Smolicz states that parents' educational expectations of their children were an undisputed fact, often without consideration for children's abilities. Polish parents wanted their children to undertake studies in professions which were highly regarded and well paid (Smolicz 1993).

Moreover, Smolicz notes that parents' educational aspirations for their children were based on their own education and occupation in Australia and related more to the father's level of education rather than the mother's. Findings in Smolicz's study are another example of the value these Polish immigrants put on education, especially as a vehicle to upward social mobility for themselves and their children.

4.6.1 Parents' view of the importance of the Polish language

All, except one parent, said that it was important or very important that their children speak Polish. One parent gave a different answer because her partner was not Polish, thus 'it was not a Polish family'. The main reason for parents wanting their children to speak Polish was to be able to communicate with their parents, grandparents, as well as family in Poland and from Poland (those who come to Australia for a holiday). Communication in this instance meant not

just communicating but 'not losing contact' (*zeby nie stracic kontaktu*) with the children and to ensure extended family contact. This was well illustrated by a mother of two boys:

I can communicate with them better in Polish; my Polish is better than theirs. I can be patient with them. If I spoke English, they would not have the patience to explain things to me.

Parents felt that their English was never going to be as good as their children's and thus were keen to retain links which would ensure effective means of communication with their children. The second most important reason was maintenance and extension of the Polish culture with some parents seeing Polish as their children's first language. Parents believed that if their children know the Polish language, they will better understand them as parents and the country from where their parents came. Also, they wanted their children to feel comfortable amongst other Polish people. Thirdly, it was felt that knowledge of another language, acquired without difficulty, enriches their children and is always an asset. Examples of such enrichment were greater imagination and better attitude towards other people. Almost 60 per cent spoke Polish only with their children, eight per cent spoke English only and 34 per cent spoke a mixture of Polish and English.

Table 4.16 Children's spoken proficiency in Polish

Speaking ability	%
very good	45
good	33
so so	14
poorly	3
not at all	5
Total	100

According to parents' assessment, 78 per cent of children spoke Polish well or very well. Parents felt proud when answering this question and during interviews, some asked their children to speak Polish to the researcher as proof that what they were saying was true. Other studies on Polish language fluency of the second generation scored much lower levels.

The difference in results can be presumed to be related to the place of birth of study subjects and thus length of residence in either Poland or Australia. For example, Smolicz and Secombe (1985) found in a study in 1975, that amongst members of a Tetry Youth Group, of whom 84 were born in Australia and 13 were born in Poland, only a quarter assessed their ability to read and write Polish as good and very good. In that study, children who were born in Australia had particularly limited Polish language literacy. Findings which were more similar to this survey results were those by Price (1985) who in his analysis of the 1976 and 1981 census data found that almost half of the second generation retained their Polish language, took strong interest in contemporary Poland and were proud of their Polish origins.

More recently, Janik (1996) conducted a study of 103 Polish students at Princes Hill Saturday Language School in Melbourne, whose ages varied between nine and 18 years and who differed on length of residence in Australia. At the time of Janik's survey, 38 students lived in Australia for five years or less, 35 lived in Australia for more than five years, and 30 students were born in Australia. Janik does not give details about how the study subjects were selected and if it involved all the Polish children attending the Polish language classes at the Princes Hill Saturday Language School. In Janik's study, subjects spoke mainly Polish at home (72%) and 23 per cent spoke Polish and English at home. Only five per cent of subjects spoke English only at home. These results can be attributed to the study sample i.e. children attending Polish language classes were likely to have been strongly encouraged (or ordered) by their parents to speak Polish at home. It was interesting to note that when Janik's subjects were asked about their preferred language at home, the Polish language scored less than half (33%). The majority wanted to speak both languages. In addition, this particular study showed that boys preferred to speak Polish much more than girls (59% and 18% respectively).

The results of this study indicated (as per parents' responses) that the language spoken between siblings was mainly English (55%), similarly to Janik's findings. The remaining

percentage spoke both languages (30%) and 15 per cent spoke only Polish with their brothers and sisters.

4.6.2 Reaction of parents to language spoken by children

Interviewees were also asked about how they reacted if their children spoke to them in English. The actual question asked was, 'If you speak to your son/daughter in your home language and he/she responds in English, what is your reaction? Do you say anything?' One third of interviewed parents stated that their children did not answer in English when they spoke Polish to them i.e. that it just did not happen. In one case, the mother said that: 'If I say something in English, my children say, " 'Jesus Maria' what do you want from us mother?" (*Jezus Maria co ty od nas chcesz mamo?*). In situations where it did occur, 40 per cent of parents did not react other than answer in Polish and another 20 per cent would ask their children to repeat in Polish what the children said originally in English. Lack of reaction by parents was usually due to just not having the energy to deal with it or simply forgetting to do it. Some parents recalled reacting in the past, when the children were younger, as a constant struggle. This struggle, after a while, made them accept that there will be times when their children will speak English to them. In other cases, parents did not react any longer because they felt that there was no need any more since their children knew Polish well and were unlikely to forget it. Other parents' reaction was to demand from their children that they speak Polish or parents would pretend that they did not hear or understand what their children said. A small number of children learned to deal with their parents in regard to speaking Polish eg. one girl would speak Polish to her mother only when she wanted to please her or when she was sick. Another child, when her mother corrected her Polish, would say: 'In that case I will not say anything'.

4.6.3 How did Polish parents encourage their children to speak Polish?

There were a number of ways through which parents encouraged their children to speak Polish. This included: speaking Polish to them and correcting their mistakes, asking or telling them to repeat things in Polish, buying and reading Polish books and enrolling them in a Polish school. Parents also talked to their children about Polish traditions and culture and would speak well of Poland generally. Responses to the above question and observations made during interviews showed that generally parents had very good rapport and an open and regular communication with their children. There appeared to be a high level of encouragement and some parents went out of their way to ensure that their children would speak Polish well. This included taking them to Poland for holidays, attending Polish concerts, arranging contact with other Polish children, or employing a Polish-speaking nanny.

Janik found that the role of grandparents and Polish church attendance played an influential role in Polish language acquisition and maintenance by Polish children (Janik 1996). The author further notes, based on Johnston (1985) that Polish mothers '...acted as pillars of Polish language maintenance at home' (Janik 1996, p. 12). It was noteworthy that some children took care of their Polish themselves, and there was no need for encouragement from parents. Parents' responses indicated that children developed a high level of pride in their Polishness.

4.6.4 Children's participation in the life of the Polish community

This research study revealed that two thirds of Polish children did not participate in the life of the Polish community, which is in contrast to the findings of Janik where half of the children attended Polish church often and half of the boys and 32 per cent of the girls belonged to a Polish organisation eg. dance group, scouts, or sporting club (Janik 1996). What is particularly interesting to note in Janik's study is the finding that 'the longer a student lives in Australia the more likely s/he is to be a member of such an organisation' (1996:10). Again, this difference in results is in all probability because of Janik's sample, which was not representative of Polish children in Melbourne, and possibly due to parents' commitment towards maintenance of Polish culture and traditions. Consequently, it cannot be argued that

the difference in findings between this and Janik's study is likely to be due to the children's difference in the length of residence in Australia. That is, in the case of this study, children were either born in Australia or had been residing here between 10-14 years, and in the case of Janik's study, children who were born in Poland, varied in their length of residence in Australia. For those Polish children who did participate in the life of the Polish community, this meant being part of a dance group, going to Polish church, scouts, Santa Claus party (*Mikolajki*), short-wave Radio Club (*klub krotkofalowcow*). Some children, similarly to their parents, did not participate in the life of the Polish community in an organised way but, for example, had all of their friends from a Polish background. There were also differences between siblings. For instance, one child in a family would be actively and eagerly involved in the Polish community while another would stay away from everything that was Polish. From the children who were attending primary or secondary schools, 60 per cent of children did not attend the Polish school.

4.6.5 Children's identity

This study also documented information about the identity of children of the 1980s wave of Polish immigrants. Data was collected through the parents of the children.

Table 4.17 Parents' assessment of their children's identity

Identity:	%
as Polish-Australian	44
as Polish	32
as Australian	14
Australian-Polish	6
Other	4
Total	100

The above assessment was based on what children said to their parents previously or during the interview, or the way parents felt that their children identified. Almost half of parents believed that their children identified as Polish and 14 per cent believed that their children identified as Australians.

4.6.6 Outlook on children's prospects

As part of the overall assessment of the settlement of these immigrants, interviewees were also asked about views on their children's future. Almost 80 per cent of parents felt that their children would have a better future in Australia compared to Poland. Twenty per cent were not sure and found it difficult to respond to this question, mainly because Poland had changed so much since they left. Lastly, two parents felt that prospects for their children were perhaps worse in Australia because their children did not have appropriate role models (within the family) that they probably would have if they were in Poland. Also, because the parents' status and networks (*kontakty*) in the Australian society were much worse compared to Poland.

The main aspect which made parents think that their children were better off in Australia, was the opportunities and choices available to their children. These included: education, employment, better start in life generally, as well as an easy and affordable life. Parents felt that in Poland everything was so uncertain, education did not necessarily guarantee employment while in Australia that probability was seen as high. Also, some parents were not sure, considering all the changes in Poland, if they would have been able to afford to educate their children. What was also valued is the fact that their children knew two languages and one of them is an international language. In the parents' eyes, knowing those two languages meant that their children had access to global opportunities:

It is the future that will be better for my sons. I see them working somewhere in the world, not necessarily in Australia or Poland. Australia offers great opportunities in that respect.

In addition, parents saw as an advantage to their children the Australian way of thinking and doing things. Overall, parents were very hopeful and optimistic about their children's future prospects.

4.7 Positive and Negative Factors in Successful Settlement

This section summarises the positive and negative factors in the settlement of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants in Australia. Some of these factors would be common to all immigrants, while others are specific to this particular wave of immigrants.

But first, what does some of the literature say on immigrant settlement? Luthke and Cropley, in their studies of immigrant adjustment, identified a number of difficulties faced by immigrants after arrival. These were:

- little information and no insights into the psychological factors involved
- little information about the new country of residence
- no experience as an immigrant
- no clear idea of alternatives
- no criteria for determining the relative weights of the various factors involved
- no proven decision making strategies on which they can rely (Luthke & Cropley 1990, pp. 147-148).

Study findings indicated that all the difficulties identified by Luthke and Cropley were applicable to the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants. In addition, there was a range of other barriers faced by Polish immigrants and these included:

- lack of or poor knowledge of the English language
- 1980s recession
- limited settlement support assistance
- isolation from the general community
- no family support and limited or non-existent support networks
- grieving for what was familiar

All of the above factors illustrate the additional energy, resourcefulness, and patience which were required on the part of Polish immigrants who arrived to settle permanently in Australia.

New Polish immigrants emigrated from an environment where there were limited opportunities and a range of restrictions eg. food shortages, severe shortage of decent accommodation, lack of a democratic political process. They came from a society where education and health and dental services were free, where working class people could easily afford attendance at an opera, theatre and art shows, where books were cheap in relative terms. Upon arrival in Australia, these immigrants found themselves in a situation where different or additional coping mechanisms were called for, with no readily available family support. These immigrants needed to overcome a range of obstacles to make their new country a place they could call home. One woman in Jones' study said '...emigration can break the weak but can make others stronger' (1991, p. 10). Women in that particular study felt that the most negative aspects of migration were feelings of alienation and stress.

Jupp (1986) states that some of the significant factors determining successful settlement of immigrants in Australia were: class, birthplace, gender, time of arrival, and the interaction of these factors, as well as religion, education and culture. Goldlust and Richmond also note the time factor as a crucial determinant (1974) as does Jamrozik, especially in relation to the establishment of social contacts (1983). Inwald and Ciesielski (1984) stressed Polish immigrants' fierce ambition and determination to succeed, and that they put their energy into education and successful employment attainment rather than obtaining material possessions. Wieniewski (1981) refers to the tenacity rooted in the Polish culture as a positive factor in the settlement of Polish immigrants and Kapalka (1989) found that Polish immigrants were 'effective problem solvers'.

The researcher further identified a large number of positive factors which contributed to successful settlement of Polish immigrants. Firstly it was the Polish immigrants' socio-demographic characteristics i.e. (i) their relative youth and maturity, (ii) high level of education (which would have also helped them to learn English more quickly as did having studied foreign languages in Poland), (iii) their urban background, and (iv) the fact that most had travelled abroad previously (85%). Also, these immigrants did not experience traumatic experiences during their transit between Poland and Australia.

Secondly, it could be argued that although their upbringing in a communist system had had some disadvantages eg. no experience of living in a democracy, life in Poland under the communist system required people to be resourceful and self-reliant, for instance, due to severe lack of goods and services. These Poles also learned to value education, which in Poland was generally the only way to upward mobility. Polish immigrants quickly realised that in Australia, other than accumulation of wealth through business activities (which was not encouraged in communist Poland), education in Australia was also a reliable path to social and economic betterment. These immigrants were also fortunate to have had access to free education, as most had their courses undertaken before the introduction of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS) in 1989. In comparison, immigrants arriving in Australia now, especially after the recent Howard government's changes to tertiary courses fees, are less fortunate.

Thirdly, these immigrants displayed such characteristics as: courage, high motivation, hard work eg. combining work, study and family responsibilities, being able to compromise and endure hardship, and were able to identify opportunities in their new environment.

Fourthly, having come as family units and having developed effective partnerships as couples, these immigrants drew strength from those partnerships. It can also be argued that they drew strength from their children eg. having to focus on providing a future for them. Moreover, coming together as a group helped these immigrants share a common experience of migration and initial settlement as well as contributing to group cohesion eg. formation of long-lasting friendships by meeting on the plane or in the hostel.

Fifthly, although some study subjects came during the mild recession in the early 1980s, their time of arrival was better, for example, than those who are arriving in Australia now. There was a greater availability of government support services for immigrants eg. currently, independent immigrants and Family Reunion Category immigrants need to wait two years before they are eligible for unemployment benefits. Also, in the early 1980s, immigrants did not have to pay for English language classes as some of them are required to do at present. Amongst the range of services available to Polish immigrants at that time were: English

language classes, hostel and post hostel accommodation, unemployment benefits, fully-paid airfares to Australia (to those who came under the Special Humanitarian Category), and recognition of qualifications (which is also available now). These immigrants also had access to assistance provided by Polish community-based organisations although this was not identified in data collected during interviews.

Sixthly, Australia's policy of multiculturalism would have been a positive contributor to the successful settlement of this group of immigrants as did the fact of 'living in a country full of immigrants'. Further, these immigrants did not preoccupy themselves with 'freeing Poland from communism' to any large extent.

Finally, the fact that Polish immigrants do not differ in physiognomy or physique, compared to Asian or Middle Eastern immigrants, from the majority of Australians, would have also been a positive factor eg. not being subject to prejudice based on appearance. Also, it seemed that Polish immigrants did not experience conflict due to cultural differences (between Poland and Australia) or major difference in expectations before arrival and the reality after arrival, which impacted on their settlement in Australia.

It is interesting to consider but difficult to determine how much successful settlement of Polish immigrants was due to their own efforts and attributes and to what extent did immigrant settlement support services and all welfare programs contribute to these immigrants' settlement. It is equally difficult to determine which positive factors outweighed the negative ones and vice versa. Further explanation of these issues is undertaken in the section on settlement models and the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants.

4.8 Return Migration

In light of this study's previously stated findings eg. high levels of life satisfaction in Australia, the many changes in Poland, and as part of the final element of the life journey of these Polish immigrants for the last 10-14 years, it was interesting to explore their views on return

migration. Study subjects were asked a number of questions regarding this issue and this included: 'Are you considering going back to Poland to live there permanently?', 'How seriously are you considering it?', and 'What made you start thinking about it?'.

As could have been predicted, only ten per cent of the respondents stated that they were considering going back to Poland and out of that seven per cent considered this option seriously. When responding, one interviewee gave a tongue-in-cheek answer to this question: 'No, I am not suicidal.' (*Nie, ja nie jestem samobojca*), an illustration of the remoteness of the possibility of this Polish immigrant returning to Poland. There appeared to be a greater number of men who were considering the idea of going back to Poland than women. A small number of couples had opposing views on returning to Poland, which caused tension in their relationship. During one interview, the husband found out for the first time that his wife would like eventually to return to Poland, which upset him.

Case study: 'Dariusz' migrated to Australia by himself. He left Poland on a tourist visa after paying a bribe to obtain his passport. He had qualified as a mechanical engineer in Poland, and after arrival in Australia he worked for a number of years below his qualifications. His main aim in the initial years was to sponsor his wife and two children who joined him after three years. Following, he developed a small business which worked well but Dariusz ran into financial difficulties and was forced to sell it and now works as an employee for the new owner. His wife works as a process worker. Although he and his wife are satisfied with their life in Australia, they do not feel a part of this society and do not identify as Australians. Changes in Poland were a catalyst for considering a permanent return to Poland. This was further strengthened when one of his two children went to Poland to study and was likely to stay there for an extended period of time. He stated, 'migration did its purpose but has not fulfilled our expectations. If children go and stay there, then why be here?'. In addition, Dariusz missed certain aspects of the lifestyle from Poland eg. access to culture and arts. A return to Poland was a consideration but not in the immediate future. Dariusz indicated that he was not going to make a decision until he visited Poland and assessed the situation there.

It should be noted that return to Poland was also being considered because some Polish immigrants, when leaving Poland, did not plan to permanently leave their home country. Also, four persons had been wanting to return to Poland since the first day they arrived in Australia largely due to their expectations and image of life in Australia being very different to what they found.

It is possible to speculate that if a return to democracy in Poland had occurred earlier than June 1989, for example if it had occurred two years after Polish immigrants arrived in Australia, then the temptation to return to Poland might have been greater. In 1989, this group of Polish immigrants and their children had already been residing in Australia between five to nine years. Many had bought houses by that time, most had found permanent employment, and this made return to Poland less attractive and more difficult eg. because of financial commitments, or not wanting to interrupt the children's education.

Korcelli, in his work on Polish migration perspectives for the 1990s, doubts the probability of Poles from Western Europe and North America remigrating to Poland. He does not, however, exclude the possibility of those Poles considering retirement in Poland 'in the more distant future' (Korcelli 1992, p. 304). This study's findings do not enable more definite predictions, other than to say a return to Poland by these immigrants from Australia is unlikely and the possibility is small.

Recent statistics on the permanent departures of the Poland-born (applies to all Poland-born immigrants) indicate the small numbers of this phenomena and its decline. Also, it is possible that these immigrants may not be returning to Poland.

Table 4.18 Permanent departure of Poland-born

[Copyrighted material omitted. Please consult the original thesis.]

Source: Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs

4.8.1 Moving to another country

Next, interviewees were asked: 'Have you been considering moving to another country?' and 'If you had a choice, in which country would you like to live?'. Interestingly, 30 per cent stated that they have been considering such a move. The study did not explore the reasons for this consideration but it seemed that this consideration was more day dreaming than reality. If these Polish immigrants had a choice (a hypothetical situation), they would prefer to live in a European country rather than Australia. The main reason for wanting to live in a European country was to be closer to Poland, and to live in Europe. The countries especially mentioned were: Switzerland, Sweden, Canada, Italy and Austria, of which three have non-aligned (*neutralne*) political systems and all have a high standard of living. Those countries were thought to be clean, have nice traditions and cultures, and comfortable and interesting life styles. Some respondents had visited those countries previously and they liked them while there, or they simply stated their preferences on their image of those countries and/or what other people said about them. Poland was a third preference followed by North America. The above responses can also be interpreted as a reflection of the cosmopolitan nature of Polish immigrants. Those respondents who stated that, given a choice, they would prefer to live in Poland, said so because of the familiarity of Poland eg. 'I know everything there. I know the language and my family is there.'

4.8.2 Learning from the migration experience

'Which skills would be useful if you migrated again?' and 'Is there anything you would do differently if you migrated again?' - were two questions asked of Polish immigrants as part of

the reflection on the whole process of their migration experience. The main aim of these questions was to gather information, which could be useful to other newly-arrived migrants from a Polish background as well as other backgrounds.

A quarter of interviewees stated that they would have studied English more, preferably before arriving in Australia or immediately after arrival. It was felt that lack of English 'delayed their start' in Australia. Polish immigrants also stated that they would have preferred to have been: more decisive in their initial settlement, more determined in pursuing their endeavours, and speedier in their decisions. Some of the examples given were: would have opened a business, would have made a greater effort to adapt to the new country, and would have bought a house immediately after arrival (before house prices increased significantly). Many recalled their fear of buying a house because of having to take a substantial loan from a bank - transactions of which they had had no experience from Poland as home ownership was rare as had been stated previously.

Also, Polish immigrants, if they had their time again, would have put more emphasis on upgrading or obtaining new qualifications to avoid working in a factory and being wiser with money i.e. saving more. A small number regretted that they were not prepared well for migration, for example, some could have brought more money with them by selling their assets in Poland before leaving. Twenty per cent stated that they would not have changed anything about their settlement decisions, either because they were happy with what had happened or did not believe anything could have been done differently. Female interviewees gave answers that were unique to women. For instance, those who later joined their husbands, would have preferred to have migrated together. Those women who bore children in Australia, would prefer to have delayed this decision.

4.8.3 Polish immigrants' plans on residing permanently in Australia

'Would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia?' was the final question in the set of questions asked regarding return migration. Almost 70 per cent of Polish immigrants indicated

that they would like to spend the rest of their lives in Australia with 40 per cent being very definite about it.

Table 4.19 Polish immigrants' responses to residing permanently in Australia

Type of response	%
will definitely spend the rest of life in Australia	40
will probably spend the rest of life in Australia	30
not sure	15
would probably not spend the rest of life in Australia	10
other	5
Total	100

A small number (other responses) would like to spend six months in Australia and the other six months - usually referring to Melbourne's cold winter months - in Poland or Europe, or felt that they did not have a choice about where they could live.

On the basis of the above findings, it can be concluded that this group of immigrants is unlikely to return, or to follow the cycle of return and re-migration to Australia.

4.9 Summary

This chapter continued to examine the settlement outcomes and achievements of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants and the difficulties they encountered during their 10-14 year life journey in Australia. To many of these immigrants, acquiring English language skills was one of the first priorities and it is therefore not surprising that 90 per cent undertook English language classes after arrival. They have come a long way in their English language skills, with three quarters never or rarely having difficulties in understanding it. However, a significant number continue to have difficulties writing in English and understanding Australian slang. Less than ten per cent were studying English at the time of the interview and from the total group, a quarter did not want to pursue their English further through a formal study.

Those who expressed interest in improving their English were very specific in their requirements as to what and how they would like to learn.

Of those who made obtaining a job their first priority, for more than half, this usually meant working in a factory and well below their skills and qualifications. However, one third of Polish immigrants were able to obtain their first jobs commensurate with their skills and qualifications. With time, Polish immigrants made progress in regaining their occupational status, however, after 10-14 years, almost a quarter continue to work in manual jobs (compared to four per cent in Poland), mainly in the manufacturing sector. These immigrants have in many instances regained their occupational status, often as a result of further and additional studies. They experience high job satisfaction, however, over half indicated that their current job satisfaction is lower or much lower compared to when in Poland. Occupational prestige in Australia is less important to these immigrants compared to Poland. In their initial years in Australia, a small number have experienced prejudice and culturally insensitive attitudes in their workplaces. A very large majority of Polish immigrants believed that job opportunities for immigrants are worse compared to their Australian-born counterparts, usually because of English language difficulties, lack of or inadequate Australian experience and lack of skills recognition.

This study found significant gender differences in occupational status with males rating much higher in management positions and as professionals. Gender differences also occurred between current employment status and ability to write English.

Twelve per cent of all study subjects were unemployed i.e. were actively looking for work or would like to work but have not been successful in securing employment because of limited English language skills, recession or family responsibilities. In the case of couples, in some instances, it was simply not financially advantageous for one spouse only to undertake employment.

These immigrants' support networks were generally good and tended to occur within the Polish community, however, almost 40 per cent felt lonely or lonely sometimes which was a result of differences in lifestyle and social interaction between Poland and Australia, and at

times of difficulties. This group of immigrants tend to rely first and foremost on themselves at times of need.

Polish immigrants were satisfied with their lives in Australia and hold Australia in high regard. They like the comfortable living, political and economic stability, affordability of goods and services, friendly and helpful people. There were also some disappointments experienced by the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants such as demanding work lifestyle, some Australian attitudes, different social life and the tyranny of distance.

They assessed their decision to emigrate from Poland as a positive one, despite the early settlement difficulties. Only ten per cent assessed it as bad or very bad. As a group, they would do some things differently if they had a chance of settling in Australia again. These immigrants had plenty and potentially useful advice to newly-arriving immigrants in Australia eg. they would have put even greater emphasis on learning English, preferably before arrival and on regaining their occupational status. Their standard of living has improved compared to Poland, especially their accommodation, however, 15 per cent felt that their standard of living became worse. The vast majority described their health as good or very good, although 30 per cent felt that it became worse compared to Poland. Their average annual income was \$26,000 and 12 per cent had income of \$45,000 or more. Ten per cent described their financial situation as very difficult.

Almost a third of couples migrated separately, the male spouse usually arrived first. With regard to the effect of migration on marriages, there was a significant marriage break up amongst couples with partners usually remarrying.

This chapter also documented some characteristics of Polish immigrants' children and found that many spoke Polish well, however, like their parents, they had low participation in the activities of the Polish community. The study revealed that Polish parents went to great lengths to provide a supportive environment and had high educational aspirations for their children. The majority of parents assessed their children's identity as Polish-Australian or

Polish and felt that their children's prospects for the future are better in Australia compared to Poland

Furthermore, this chapter analysed the positive and negative factors which contributed to the successful settlement of these Polish immigrants. Amongst the negative factors were the inability to speak English, the early 1980s recession, lack of family and friends, and having to attend to a large number of major issues at once eg. employment, accommodation, schools for children, perhaps further studies, purchase of most basic furniture and household equipment. Whilst these immigrants brought few or no possessions, they certainly came with great hope and energy, and appreciated the opportunity to have a better life. The Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants made a real effort to re-establish their lives successfully and had a number of attributes which helped them in that process. Also, these immigrants were assisted by a range of support services provided by the Federal Department of Immigration.

With regard to return migration, this study found that only seven per cent of respondents considered this option seriously. This is not surprising, considering their high levels of satisfaction with their lives in Australia, and the fact that although there have been many changes in Poland since their departure, Poland has a long way to reach the Australian standard of living. Of all interviewees, one had returned to Poland with his family and then remigrated back to Australia. However, what is interesting to note is that a significant number of these immigrants, given a choice, would prefer to live in European countries which have a very high standard of living and are close to Poland. On the question of residing permanently in Australia, almost two thirds answered in the positive.

Chapter Five: Bicultural Identity in a Multicultural Australia

In this chapter, the bicultural identity of Polish immigrants is explored through analysing such factors as their maintenance of links with Poland and their families there as well as their self-concept as a group. Also explored is these immigrants' maintenance of the Polish language and involvement in the life of the Polish community in Melbourne, including their utilization of the Polish media. In addition, this chapter outlines these immigrants' political preferences, views on multiculturalism and acceptance of other ethnic groups. Finally, the various immigrant and refugee settlement models and their applicability to the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants are explored, including a development of a typology for these immigrants.

5.1 Polish Immigrants' Identification

To the question about identity 'How do you see yourself?', half of the Polish immigrants identified themselves as Polish and almost 40 per cent as Polish-Australians. The remaining persons identified themselves as being: Australian-Polish, international, Cosmo-Polish or no national identity but simply a human being that has a name eg. Aldona. Not one interviewee identified as being Australian. It was as if they could not have full claim to such identity, either because of their length of residence, having English as a second language and/or an accent³⁸ or not being born in Australia.

Table 5.1 Level of Polish and Australian identification

Identity	%
as Polish	50
as Polish-Australians	40
other	10
	Total 100

³⁸ Anecdotal evidence based on interviews indicated that most, if not all, Polish immigrants would prefer not to speak with an accent. Not one subject said that they did not mind speaking with an accent or that they liked that aspect of their English language.

Some Polish immigrants who identified as Polish felt that being Polish could never change, that they are citizens of Australia and/or that they live here, but in terms of values and culture they remain different to Australians. 'I would never say that I am an Australian, even if I was in Japan. I would still say that I am Polish' was a view of one of those individuals. Similar views were expressed by Polish immigrants in *Kultura's* survey where 44 per cent said '...it does not matter where I live because I will always remain Polish' (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 22).

There were also interviewees who identified according to a situational context eg. 'At home I am Polish, in the street I am a citizen of Australia with a Polish background, and when I am a tourist I say that I am an Australian, but at *Okecie* [international airport in Warsaw] I am Polish'.

5.1.1 Strength of Polish immigrants' identification

'How strongly do you feel about being Polish?' was a question asked during the interviews to enable assessment of their strength of ethnic identification. Overall, 67 per cent of Polish immigrants felt Polish strongly or very strongly. A quarter did not feel Polish strongly or only moderately. For instance, 'I am Polish but that is all, it is simply a fact, eg. like I am a woman, I am a teacher. I would never say that I am proud that I am Polish, but I would not deny it either'. Interviewees did not appear to have a need to express their Polishness. Their identity and feelings associated with being Polish seemed a private matter, not for public display.

Table 5.2 Strength of feeling Polish and Australian

Strength of feeling	Polish (%)	Australian (%)
very strongly	40	5
strongly	27	10
so so/medium	25	56
not very strongly	8	8
not at all	0	21
Total	100	100

Next, these Polish immigrants were asked 'How strongly do you feel about being Australian?'. In general, there was no strong identification with being Australian. Only 15 per cent felt strongly or very strongly about being Australian, including fighting for Australia if it was under threat (stated by males only). It is somewhat surprising that high levels of positive feelings about Australia, identified in earlier chapters, did not correlate with strong feelings about being Australian. Just over one third (35%) felt being Australian in a medium way and another 35 per cent did not feel strongly or at all about being Australian. To give an example, one person described his feelings on identity as: 'If there was a match between Poland and Australia, then I would support Poland, but if there was a match between Australia and another country then I would support Australia'. This represents a common duality of identity and loyalty to an immigrant's home country and the adopted country amongst immigrants. Lastly, ten per cent felt that they were half Polish and half Australian.

5.2 Maintenance of Polish Ethnicity

5.2.1 Links with families in Poland

Sixty per cent of interviewees maintained strong links with families in Poland. The three most common channels of contact were: letters, phone calls, visits to Poland, and inviting relatives to Australia for holidays. Ninety five per cent of these Polish immigrants had close family in Poland and 80 per cent of Polish immigrants had invited a family member for a holiday to Australia.

Two thirds of interviewees had been to Poland of whom 20 per cent had been at least twice. Assessment of Poland after their visits was explored. Interviewees were not asked in which year they went to Poland, but about their general opinion and impressions after their stay there. The year would have affected their impressions as Poland has been undergoing rapid and wide-ranging changes. A quarter thought that nothing had really changed i.e. the political system has changed but people - their mentality and behaviour - had not changed, perhaps even become worse. 'Strange, one has changed, yet Poland did not change at all, that is, the

way people are there' was a reflection of one interviewee. Twenty per cent of interviewees thought that Poland had changed for the better but in some ways 'it had a long way to go' to match the standard of living of Western countries. Almost all interviewees stressed how good it was to see their families. However, most said that when they were coming back to Australia they were coming home. Australia had become their home. Similarly, Aroian notes that a visit to Poland contributed to Polish immigrants feeling more at home in the U.S. (Aroian 1988) and helped in 'resolving nostalgic illusions' (Aroian 1994). Some Polish immigrants felt like foreigners when holidaying in Poland and found people and members of their families different i.e. not the way they were:

Shock. Nothing has changed; after eight years the same mentality. The changes at that time were not big. The old airport was the first shock. I do not like the group mentality of Poles and that is why I did not want to live there. Narrow-minded, poking noses into other people's lives not their own (*wkladaja nosa w nie swoje sprawy*), gossiping, not being able to solve interpersonal relationships. In Poland one gains respect through fear.

Some, after a visit to Poland, simply could not imagine living there - the pollution, the dirty and grey cities. They noticed that people complained a lot but were not willing to work hard. Disappointment and shock was experienced by many, especially those who over the years had developed an image of Poland as an idyll:

It was awful, the worst version of capitalism was coming out. They set up stalls, they got rid of the *Klub Ksiazki i Prasy* (The Press and Book Club). One could not get a decent book, there were only love stories and cook books available.

As could be expected experiences were individual. One person fell in love again with Poland and people there. To another, 'It all started to come back. After a few days I felt like I had

never left. Little towns change little, but the rudeness of people to each other was very noticeable'.

5.2.2 Family in Australia

Sixty per cent of this cohort of Polish immigrants have no family in Australia other than their own. Of the 40 per cent who did³⁹, only half of them were close family members i.e. siblings or parents. The majority of interviewees had regular contact with their relatives in Australia. However, a small number of close family members did not have any contact with each other due to family conflict that occurred, usually as a result of not being able to communicate well and tolerate differences, which developed during the lack of close contact if they arrived in Australia at different times. Only one person had a grandparent in Australia.

5.2.3 Typical Polish characteristics

Interviewees were asked to state three characteristics which they associate with Poles and the overall impression of the researcher was that most listed negative characteristics only. However, analysis of the answers showed that while the above statement was somewhat true, also mentioned were positive Polish characteristics. Aroian (1988) also noted negative stereotypes of each other amongst Poles in the U.S..

Table 5.3 Polish characteristics

Type of characteristic stated by respondents	%
negative and positive	50
negative only	30
positive only	7
neutral answer or do not know	13
Total	100

³⁹ In 1985, the DIEA study identified that only four per cent of Polish immigrants had extended families in Australia (MSJ Keys Young Planners 1985).

Thirty five per cent of interviewees felt that Poles were jealous and unkind to each other. Lopata (1976) refers to it as 'status competition', which he believes comes from Poland's peasant times. Further, subjects in Baker's study mentioned that the communist system created status frustration:

Poles have an inferiority complex because they have a history of being controlled by other countries. The Poles are 'historical losers', then [they] vent their frustration on other Poles (Baker 1989, p. 87).

The interview schedule did not enter into finding reasons for this phenomena, but it is interesting to note that a Polish immigrant in Canada gave the following explanation: 'Many people feeling complexes about their background develop aversion to Polishness' (CPRI 1990, p. 494). Prof. Jerzy Szacki also refers to the Polish complexes: 'We live trapped between an inferiority complex and unfounded megalomania' (Wprost 1995, p. 23). Another example of megalomania was seen in Baker's study where interviewees 'believed in the superiority of certain aspects of Polish culture eg. availability and quality of the arts' (1989, p. 85). Interviewees in this study also mentioned typical characteristics of Poles as: megalomania, heavy drinking, lack of tolerance, wanting to have a good time, resourcefulness, presumptuousness, great tendency to boast, being individual. There were many other characteristics given most of which were negative with twenty per cent mentioning the squabbling within Polish community, especially within the Polish organisations. In general, Polish immigrants appeared to have a poor self concept as a group i.e. the way they feel about themselves and how they think others see them.

The positive responses on Polish characteristics were that Poles are intelligent and ambitious and that they are hospitable. Interestingly, there was no reference made about the values identified by Smolicz (1993) as typical Polish cultural values i.e. Polish language, Polish patterns of religious and family life, and only limited mention was made about entertainment and hospitality, music, literature and the arts as being typical Polish characteristics.

Answers on typical Polish characteristics prompted a lot of questions about why Poles have such a negative opinion of themselves as a group. The answers given were perhaps not thought out, but that is certainly what came to interviewees' mind when the question was being asked. During interviews, some interviewees found it embarrassing to be able to only think of negative characteristics; some tried hard to think of positive characteristics but could not think of any. Others 'warned' the researcher that the answer they were about to give would not be positive.

Understandably, the researcher found it sad to discover (in some instances confirm) anecdotal evidence of the negative perceptions and lack of tolerance which Poles had about each other and to discover the extent of these perceptions. Similar sadness is expressed by Osmanczyk⁴⁰ who wished the following:

...let it at last become a lie, the bitter truth of Boleslaw Prus⁴¹, that we Poles, 'can love or hate each other, but we do not know how to differ strongly and beautifully' (1982, p. 14).

...niechaj stanie sie wreszcie klamstwem gorzka prawda Boleslawa Prusa, ze my Polacy, 'umiemy sie kochac lub nienawidzic, lecz nie umiemy sie roznic mocno i pieknie' (1982, st.14).

It is possible, based on study findings, that Poles have more anti-Polish prejudice towards their own community than any anti-Polish prejudice held by other groups. Prof. Szacki notes the stereotyped perception of Poles by other nations '...stealing, antisemites, politically irresponsible, irrational, we do not know how to behave' (Wprost 1995, p. 26).

⁴⁰ Edmund Osmanczyk, born in Germany, was a Polish war correspondent, writer and member of Parliament. His book *Sprawy Polakow* (lit. Poles Matters) in which he suggests the most appropriate strategies for the post WWII Poland, in order to rebuild it and to ensure Poland's safety for the future, was first written in 1946 and subsequently was not allowed to be published by the Polish communist government authorities for 34 years.

⁴¹ Boleslaw Prus (actual name Aleksander Glowacki) who lived between 1847-1912, was a highly renowned Polish writer and polemicist. Some of his works include: *Lalka*, *Emancypantki* and *Faraon*.

5.2.4 Cuisine preference

It is commonly said that language and food are two things which remain the last to change in the process of culture maintenance with food being the last to be changed. Consequently, it was thought useful to assess the frequency of eating Polish food and cuisine preferences amongst Polish immigrants. Sixty per cent continued to eat the Polish type of food every day or usually and just over 30 per cent ate it rarely. Many stated, including those who continue to eat Polish food, that they have changed their eating habits eg. eating more salads or eating lamb⁴². Next, a question was asked about their cuisine preference. Forty per cent had a preference for Polish cuisine, 25 per cent liked a mixture of various cuisines, and almost 15 per cent liked Chinese or Asian type of food the most. If one considers that food is usually the last aspect for immigrants to 'give up' from the mother culture, then the 15 per cent represent a significant shift from the Polish culture. The remaining persons gave a variety of answers, often referring to Italian and European cuisines. One male simply preferred his wife's cuisine.

5.2.5 Celebrating Christmas and Easter

Celebrating Christmas and Easter is an important part of Polish culture. Ninety per cent celebrated Christmas and Easter in the traditional Polish way⁴³. The remaining persons celebrated it sometimes or rarely with two persons not celebrating it at all.

5.2.6 Importance of Polish culture maintenance

Eighty five percent of Polish immigrants found it very important or important to maintain the Polish culture.

⁴²Eating lamb in Poland is very uncommon.

⁴³ Christmas and Easter are the two most widely celebrated religious holidays in Poland. They are celebrated by means of unique long standing traditions. Christmas Eve is the most important day at Christmas and it begins with the whole family having a meal, traditionally 14 vegetarian dishes (of which some are usually only prepared for Christmas Eve Supper - *Kolacja Wigilijna*), when the first star appears in the sky. Afterwards, family conversations, gaiety and reminiscing takes place, then families go to midnight mass.

Table 5.4 Importance of Polish culture maintenance

Level of importance	%
important or very important	85
not important or not important at all	15
Total	100

Similarly, in Badasu's (1990) study, 93 per cent of subjects indicated that Polish culture maintenance was their biggest priority. Moreover, Krupko found that participants in her study 'guard their Polish culture fervently' (1992, p. 23) and subjects in Aroian's study expressed pride in their heritage (1994).

In contrast, a recently arrived Polish immigrant states in his memoirs that '*Inteligencja emigracyjna* is more interested in melting into the Canadian culture than working on maintaining our [Polish culture]' (CPRI 1990, p. 109). Further, Associate Professor Jerzy Kozlowski observes in Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium that:

The new group, which arrived in the last few years aims to maintain Polish language and participate in the Polish culture, and at the same time tries to integrate into the American society, because this makes life easier (1994, p. 419).

Those Polish immigrants who found it important to maintain the Polish culture, did so for three main reasons: their children, to maintain tradition, and for identity/belonging reasons. Most wanted to pass onto their children the culture that they brought to Australia, for children to know where their parents came from. There were parents who felt that it was better for their children to have a wider cultural perspective and for them to be able to communicate in more than one language. Not all parents were succeeding in passing on Polish traditions and a small number of parents found the Polish culture rigid when put in the Australian context. On the other hand, there was also a small number of children, who saw the Polish traditions as beautiful and in fact 'kept an eye' on their parents to make sure that these traditions are

followed. For example, 'My daughter and my son-in-law, who is not Polish, are more Polish than I am', said one interviewee.

In regard to maintenance of Polish culture as a tradition and identity, Polish immigrants felt that if this culture is not maintained then they will no longer be Poles, and that it is the culture and traditions which makes them different from others, eg. 'I cannot imagine Christmas Eve not celebrated in the Polish way'. Polish culture maintenance was seen as giving people a sense of belonging, being the link between the country they left behind and their families there, and their children here. 'Because it [Polish culture] is part of me. If I abandon my roots, then, like a tree, I will die. Some people make that mistake'. It triggered many fond memories, and reminded them of home and childhood:

Maintenance of Polish culture is important to me due to religious and family reasons, it is a need for ritual. It is a platform (*plaszczyzna*) on which the family functions. There is meaning in it. And because of my brother's children.

Some saw the maintenance of Polish culture as something that was a very natural thing to want to do while others saw it as their duty. Some changes in Polish culture maintenance by these Polish immigrants were noted eg. from celebrating namedays to celebrating birthdays.

Survey findings did not indicate that the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants longed for their Polish culture, although, as was previously stated, they did miss certain aspects of the lifestyle in Poland. Aroian's findings echoed similar sentiments eg. 'It appears that occupational adjustment and the financial rewards it [migration] offered had the potential to offset many of the losses involved with leaving Poland but was never able to replace the attachment to those losses' (Aroian 1988, p. 190).

Those who did not find it important to maintain Polish culture, did not identify strongly with it for a number of reasons. These reasons were identifying themselves as a citizen of the world,

not liking the Polish culture as a whole or certain aspects of it, or not finding it important eg. 'I simply live in another country'. Such responses reflected an assimilationist attitude to culture maintenance and were an example how these Polish immigrants used migration as an opportunity to break away from the past, particularly those aspects of the past which they did not like. Zalewski in Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium outlines other reasons for Polish immigrants not wanting to maintain the Polish culture eg. having to be up-to-date with professional magazines and computer communication which contributes to what is sometimes referred to as time poverty and therefore '...turning to a Polish culture becomes of little value in every day life' (1994, p. 84).

5.2.7 Reading Polish books and newspapers

In order to assess their level of readership of publications in the Polish language, study subjects were asked: 'How often do you read Polish books?' and 'How often do you read Polish newspapers?'. Readership of books appeared reasonably high and was 20 per cent higher than readership of newspapers. This intriguing finding may be due to the cost of these newspapers, particularly those from Poland, in comparison to books which are available for free through the local libraries.

Table 5.5 Readership of newspapers and books in Polish

Reading frequency	newspapers (%)	books (%)
often or very often	40	60
sometimes	20	20
almost never or never	40	20
Total	100	100

Those who did read Polish newspapers, read locally published newspapers⁴⁴ or those from Poland. The most commonly read newspapers were: *Polish Weekly*⁴⁵, followed by

⁴⁴ The following Polish newspapers/magazines are published in Australia: *Tygodnik Polski* (the Polish Weekly), *Wiadomosci Polskie* (The Polish News) and *Kurier Zachodni* (The Western Courier).

⁴⁵ *Polish Weekly* is the only Polish newspaper published in Victoria.

newspapers from Poland, *Evening Express*⁴⁶ and *Kurier Zachodni*⁴⁷. Some subscribed to Polish newspapers, others bought them sporadically. Of the overall sample, 15 per cent were adamant that they would not read the *Polish Weekly*, which was usually expressed by the phrase 'Nie Tygodnik' (lit. not the weekly), implying that they do not want any association with this newspaper viewing it as a newspaper without any credibility or regard, and one person would not read the *Evening Express*, describing it as a 'criminal chronicle'.

Table 5.6 Most commonly read Polish newspaper

Type of newspaper/s	% reading
Polish Weekly	57
Newspapers from Poland	45
Evening Express	25
Kurier Zachodni	10

Because often interviewees read more than one newspaper, the percentages exceed 100 per cent.

5.2.8 Language spoken with partner

Three quarters of interviewees lived with a partner at the time of interview and 87 per cent out of those spoke Polish at home with their partner. The remaining persons were equally divided: half spoke English only and the other half spoke a mixture of Polish and English. A female, who was married to a non-Pole, spoke English with her partner but Polish only with her son. One male indicated that he speaks Polish with his Polish wife but only English was used with his son who does not speak Polish due to having been looked after by a Greek-speaking nanny.

⁴⁶*Evening Express*, also a weekly, began to be published in Australia in 1993, and is modelled on a similar Express published in Canada.

⁴⁷*Kurier Zachodni*, a monthly magazine, published in Western Australia, is considered one of the more objective Polish publications in Australia.

5.2.9 Importance of Polish language maintenance

Interviewees were asked about the importance of maintaining the Polish language. Similarly to the maintenance of the Polish culture and traditions, 80 per cent found it important or very important to maintain the Polish language. The main reasons for wanting to continue the maintenance of the Polish language were because of children and simply to continue tradition. 'It is my basic language. Since I was born in Poland I should maintain the language at least'. Aroian's (1994) subjects also saw Polish as a cherished component of their culture.

There was an awareness amongst some Polish immigrants '...that it is the language that is the most valued part of culture, it is an identity, it is the vehicle of culture, it is not merely a skill'. Others saw it as an asset. It was stressed that the Polish language enabled them to best express thoughts and feelings to another person; it was the most genuine medium of communication for them. Baker (1989) found that speaking Polish was considered the most important feature of Polish identity by subjects in his study. When the words of the President of the Societe Franco-Manitobaine Mr. Leo Robert (quoted by Jesse Flis, Member of Parliament with a Polish background in Canada) are considered, that '...language is the key to the continued survival of a culture and that the loss of your heritage language is the first step that leads to assimilation' (Canadian-Polish Congress 1984, p. 16), then the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants is in no danger of such assimilation, according to survey findings. However, the same cannot be said with regard to the level of involvement in Polish organisations as will be detailed further on.

Twenty per cent of Polish immigrants did not consider it important to maintain the Polish language because they felt that they knew this language and that they would never forget it. Furthermore, it was not considered important because they now live in Australia where Polish is not the official language and some Polish immigrants would prefer to speak English more and with greater proficiency.

5.2.10 Membership of Polish organisations

The Polish community in Melbourne has a large number of Polish organisations, the vast majority of which were established by the first wave of Polish immigrants eg. ex-servicemen associations, senior citizens clubs, Polish Saturday schools, etc. Almost 50 Polish organisations belong to the Polish Community Council of Victoria (PCCV), an umbrella body for the Polish community in Victoria. Melbourne is also the base for the Federal Council of Polish Associations in Australia which is comprised of the Polish Community Council of Victoria and similar Councils in other states of Australia. The number of Polish organisations established by the new Polish immigrants has been minimal.

Thirty per cent of those interviewed belonged to a Polish organisation, the most common being: the Polish Youth and Family Association⁴⁸, Rodzina⁴⁹, Polish Charitable Association in Sunshine⁵⁰, and other Polish hobby-oriented organisations eg. tennis, art, short wave radio, philatelists. The main reasons given for the low organisational membership were: lack of time, lack of interest, not wanting to belong, and not having a need for belonging.

Table 5.7 Reasons for non-membership of Polish organisations

Reasons for lack of involvement	%
lack of time	55
did not want or were not interested	20
no need	15
other	10
Total	100

⁴⁸This organisation originally used to be a member of the Polish Community Council of Victoria with activities being substantially revived in the early 1980s when the newly-arrived Polish immigrants increased its membership. As a very active organisation it established a Polish Children's Theatre, painting and drawing classes etc. Although now on a much smaller basis, it continues to provide a range of social and recreational activities for newly-arrived Polish immigrants.

⁴⁹Rodzina, is a non-profit family oriented organisation which was established in 1992 with the assistance of a Polish priest Fr. Maximilian Szura. The association follows religious principles in its aims and functioning. The main purpose of the organisation is to create a family-like atmosphere, and meet some of the extended family needs of the Polish immigrants.

⁵⁰Polish Charitable Association in Sunshine was established by the older Polish migrants who reside in the Sunshine area which has the highest number of Poles of any suburb in Melbourne.

One person felt that not wanting to belong to organisations was a hang over from communism where at times pressure was exerted to become a member of certain organisations. Also mentioned was aversion to the way Polish organisations functioned eg:

I do not need a structure eg. president. I do not like organised social life but I participate in it, thus my way of solidarizing with this group.

Matejko and Radecki noted similar patterns in the Canadian context:

...the type of activities in which the Polish ethnic organisations engaged have not been appreciated by the recent immigrants, whose first priority is to improve their socioeconomic status in Canada and, therefore, desire to make greater contacts with the Anglo-Saxons. They find meetings of the ethnic organisations boring and having little to offer them (Badasu 1990, p. 81).

The same authors suggested a restructuring of Polish organisations' activities to make them more attractive and more relevant to the new Polish immigrants (Badasu 1990). Taras concluded that some Polish organisations make a mistake of trying to help Poland rather than work on consolidating the Polish community in their areas (1994). A number of other authors note lack of involvement of Polish immigrants and/or tendency to avoid closer contact with Polonia: Heydenkorn (1988), Baker (1989), Krupko (1992), Kogler (1992). In Badasu's study (1990), only two per cent were active members of Polish organisations, eight per cent were quite involved, 65 per cent did not belong to any organisations, and 25 per cent were casual members.

There appeared to be a strong preference amongst Polish immigrants to do things by self and/or in a small circle of friends rather than belong to or do things through a Polish organisation. However, survey findings indicated that a significant number of the Polish organisations did have new Polish immigrants on Committees eg. Polish Community Council

of Victoria, Australian-Polish Community Services, Australian Institute of Polish Affairs, Polish Charity Association in Sunshine, and the Polish Association in Rowville.

Those Polish immigrants who belonged to Polish organisations, often did so for practical reasons rather than maintenance of the Polish community spirit. As Heydenkorn observed, amongst Polish immigrants in Canada 'a large part of them establish and maintain contact with organisations, but only to receive economic or charitable aid from them, or to use established organisational buildings for recreational purposes' (1988, p. 112). Further, the same author gives a specific example how belonging to the Polish Technicians' and Engineers' Association in Toronto 'only serves them [Polish immigrants] as a vehicle to help them get around the new environment and country' (1988, p. 115).

Lack of Polish immigrant involvement in the organisational structure of the Polish community in Melbourne is a matter of concern. Ethnic organisations play an important role in community continuity, support, and transfer of cultural traditions. This has been illustrated by a number of authors. For example, Pakulski based on Reitz (1980) states:

...ethnic cohesion and identity may be maintained by organisational links, even when cultural bounds waive or wither away. Formal organisations constitute a durable basis for interaction, and they are a source of new interests and opportunities which are partly independent of their initial (i.e. ethnic) basis (Pakulski 1985, p. 181).

Furthermore, Pakulski observes:

...survival of the community depends on the successful transmission of cultural identity and organisational involvement to the next generation as well as the inflow and absorption of newcomers (Pakulski 1985, p. 104).

Solidarity wave Polish immigrants had a common hostel and initial settlement experience which contributed to their initial group cohesion. Now such cohesion was minimal largely due to lack of organisational involvement and no sense of community togetherness. Zubrzycki in Boruta states that 'Ethnic communities are particularly useful for immigrants. They give them '...a feeling of belonging and a feeling of historical continuity' (Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium, 1994, p. 235). In 1992, Cahill, during a conference about the Polish community in Australia, also stressed the need for a cohesive leadership and greater community participation (1993, p. 107). These Polish immigrants appeared not to wish or have a need to for such belonging or feeling. It seemed that at times they prefer to 'go mainstream'. Finally, there was no significant difference between gender and Polish organisations' belonging. Neither was there significant correlation with Polish organisations' belonging and Polish immigrants' ability in written English.

5.2.11 Perceptions of the Polish community in Melbourne

Polish immigrants had some difficulty in responding and some were reluctant to respond to the question about their view of the Polish community. Of those who commented, only 20 per cent had a positive view of the Polish community in Melbourne, 40 per cent had a negative view of it, and 30 per cent said they did not have enough knowledge (and/or were not interested in it) to be able to state their view. The negative view was that the Polish community was not well organised, that they were quarrels within the community⁵¹ and that generally there was lack of a 'common language' (*brak wspólnego języka*) amongst those involved. References were also made to the problems between the old and the new Polish immigrants; problems which some felt still existed, while others felt that this was no longer an issue - '...after all the new migrants are no longer new'.

⁵¹Taras states similar observations amongst Polish immigrants in the USA (1994).

Overall, whilst it might be perceived as unfair criticism, there was a feeling that there was little good will and lack of effectiveness (*malo dobrej woli i brak efektywnosci*) amongst the Polish community leaders. Also, there was a perception that those leaders did not take up relevant issues on behalf of the Polish community. 'There are circles of friends rather than a Polish community as such' was a view of one female interviewee. It was seen that the community as a group presented a 'disappointing picture' but the picture was O.K. as individuals. In addition, a small number of interviewees felt that the Poles in Australia are not representative of average Poles in Poland.

5.2.12 View of Polish organisations

There were minimal differences between the view of the Polish community and the Polish organisations. The positive image of the community was seen through some of the Polish Centres eg. Albion, Rowville, Polish schools, and Polish community-based organisations active in providing information, arranging activities, concerts, and making significant achievements in lobbying, advocacy and provision of services. A small number of interviewees felt that organisations from other ethnic groups were doing better and were able to have a more significant influence. One interviewee felt that the difficulty lay in the fact that the Polish community is not a large community i.e. 'Its influence is marginal. It is a small community and their influence is limited. A Polish butcher will survive but not a Polish bank or baker'. Amongst the negative views of the Polish organisations, the lack of unity was mentioned again as was competition amongst the organisations and that this existed despite the fact that there is a Council and a Federation of Polish organisations at the State and Federal level. The effectiveness of both umbrella organisations was questioned. There was a feeling that some of the leaders of Polish organisations 'owned' those organisations (*przywlaszcili sobie te organizacje*) rather than working on earning respect from members and representing them well. Another factor which surfaced was a feeling that Polish organisations should be more up to the mark (*na wyzszym poziomie*), less narrow-minded, and that there should be more co-ordination between them. Respondents developed these type of opinions

often based on having attended a Polish function, after having had contact with a Polish organisation or simply on hearsay. Views seemed to be often based on just one event, although there was likely to have been apprehension before attending such an event or before approaching a Polish organisation. One male, who has never been involved in Polish organisations and did not have a view on them, was annoyed that someone i.e. The Federal Council of Polish Associations in Australia or the Polish Community Council of Victoria, claims to represent him without his permission i.e. his vote. In general, it can be said that Polish immigrants had limited or no knowledge of Polish organisations in Melbourne. However, these immigrants had a number of perceptions and stereotypes - usually negative - about their own community.

Authors (eg. Heydenkorn) and community leaders in Canada as well as Polish community leaders in Australia (eg. Lancucki, Kuszell, Kaszubski) on numerous occasions have expressed regret that new immigrants do not belong to Polish organisations. Others have also encouraged involvement of these immigrants in mainstream organisations (Zalewski 1994). The same author notes that Polish organisations are kind of 'closed in'. Further, Baker notes an estrangement from the established Polish community amongst his study subjects in Canada (1989).

The survey also found that generally the use of the Polish welfare agencies of which there are two in Melbourne was small. Only ten per cent recalled seeking assistance from Polish welfare organisations in the past. Consequently, assessment of client satisfaction with these services was not possible. It seemed that most of those who had contact with Polish organisations, including the welfare agencies, were disappointed with them. It can be assumed that in fact more people were assisted through those agencies (especially at the initial stage of their settlement) but did not recall it during interviews. It was certain, however, that no interviewee had a need to or sought assistance through those agencies in the immediate years prior to the interview. Many simply did not know or had only a vague idea of their existence and those who knew of them questioned their effectiveness.

5.2.13 Polish immigrants' suggestions for the improvement of Polonia

The characteristics of Polonia⁵² which interviewees would like to change were for Polonia to be more united, to live together more harmoniously and support each other more. Although sounding idealistic and rather unrealistic, living in a more united way included ending the animosities between the new and the old migrants. A number of persons suggested that perhaps it was time for decision making in Polish organisations to be done by new Polonia. Other suggestions were: to work towards greater tolerance and understanding including fighting racism within the community, and greater acceptance of each other - the good and the bad qualities. Suggestions were also made about the functioning of Polish organisations, including: more democratic elections, to strive for greater involvement of the community by being more open and friendly, and to work towards a more co-ordinated and centralised Polonia. One person suggested that the Polish church in Melbourne should be separate from other Polish organisations. With all those who made suggestions on this issue, the researcher detected no commitment behind the suggestions. It was more like wishful thinking; it would be good if it happened but that was not something that 'concerned me' or something that these Polish immigrants intended to work towards. This distant attitude can be also seen in this example: 'For organisations to co-operate with each other more. None of my friends want to be in Polish organisations. Is it important to have Polish organisations?'. It is unfortunate that despite the practicality of a lot of the suggestions made, they were likely to remain as just good ideas. It appeared that there would probably be less conflict within the Polish community if there were no Polish organisations. This creates a catch 22 situation because it is not possible to work on changes within the community if no organisations exist within that community.

⁵² Heydenkorn describes Polonia as 'those who maintain contact with Poland, its culture and traditions, ...all Polish organisations which also have contact with Poland...'. He further states that 'Organisationally, Polonia is not, was not, and will not be united, because it comprises various organisations, people with different views, interests, professions' (Ziołkowska 1992, p. 9).

5.2.14 Participation in the life of the Polish community

Similarly to organisational involvement, participation in Polish community functions and events was also low (see Table 5.8). Those who attended such functions rarely (30%) eg. 'Only when I am conned (*Tylko jak mnie ktos namowi*), I do not like Polish functions', or 'I only go to the Santa Claus Party (*Mikolajki*) for my child', did not have a need to do so more often and/or were busy with other things in their lives. One man who never attended Polish functions could not think of a reason why he would want to go to such an event.

Table 5.8 Frequency of attendance of Polish community functions

Frequency of attendance	%
on regular basis	25
sometimes	30
rarely	30
never	15
Total	100

Those who attended Polish functions (on a regular basis or sometimes) usually went to concerts, cabarets, lectures/talks, as well as dances and picnics. Polish immigrants in Canada were also noted to have minimal Polish community involvement. For example, in Badasu's study (1992), 89 per cent of subjects stated that they had no time, were busy with other things, but hoped to become involved one day in Polish organisations. Similar observations were noted by Zurkowski regarding Polish immigrants in South Africa who stated, '...initial eagerness for voluntary work was overcome by work and family responsibilities' (1994, p. 213). Furthermore, Polish immigrants themselves also make similar observations, as one stated: 'Amongst the new migrants there is such strong interest in adjusting to the new environment, in career, and one's own development, that there is no time for voluntary work in Polonia' (CPRI 1990, p. 109).

5.2.15 Attempts by new Polish immigrants to solve Polish community problems or form new Polish organisations

A quarter of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants had attempted to solve problems of the Polish community at one time or other since their arrival in Australia through voluntary work. This involved meeting their needs or advocating on behalf of the new Polish immigrants. For example, 'I defended another Pole in Wiltona, when a kitchen staff member threw a dish cloth at him. No one else stood in his defence. Later, I gave a job to a Pole which I regretted later'. Some of the examples of efforts made were establishment of: a Polish housing co-operative, tennis club, Polish school and a youth club. One person attempted to integrate all Polish organisations but was knocked back by the then Polish community leaders and his efforts were boycotted. Again, some have tried only once, became disillusioned and were unlikely to do anything ever again. Others have only either talked or thought about it.

In regard to the formation of a new Polish organisation, only ten per cent were involved in or initiated such a process. Some of the organisations mentioned were: Polish Art Foundation (PAF), Polish Tennis Club, Polish Youth Theatre. From those who have not tried, the following reasons were mentioned:

'No, I have not tried and I never will. I tried it in Poland and I had to run away'

'No, I think it would be difficult to do that. I do not want to be an office bearer'.

Overall, the responses could be grouped as follows: tried and never will again, never tried, never tried and never will.

5.2.16 Knowledge of the Polish radio programs

The 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants' knowledge of Polish radio programs provides interesting data. Because some interviewees knew of more than one radio program, the percentages exceed 100 per cent. Table 5.9 gives details of who knew of the six Polish programs in Melbourne.

Table 5.9 Knowledge of Polish radio programs

Radio Station	%	Radio Station	%
3EA	83	3WRB	7
3ZZZ	53	3CRN	5
3RIM	15	3IRN	5

Fifteen per cent of Polish immigrants were not aware of any Polish radio programs. Many interviewees were surprised to learn how many Polish radio programs there were in Melbourne when the researcher mentioned them all. There was also a view that perhaps 'Two radio programs but good ones would be sufficient. I suspect that the stations fight with each other. This would be typically Polish'. Some knew of and listened to Polish radio programs immediately after their arrival in Melbourne but have not done so for a number of years. Knowledge of Polish programs did not correspond with listening to these programs, that is, a much lower percentage of Poles listened to Polish radio programs compared to the knowledge of those programs.

Table 5.10 Frequency of listening to 3EA and 3ZZZ

How often	3EA (%)	3ZZZ (%)
never	30	50
rarely	20	15
sometimes	25	15
regularly	25	20
Total	100	100

3EA, the only government-funded Radio Program, was listened to regularly by a quarter of the respondents. Almost the same number listened to it sometimes - usually on Saturdays and Sundays. It is interesting to note that in Jamrozik's study, which included Polish immigrants in the early years of settlement even then, only 30 per cent listened to the Polish radio program.

Some interviewees knew of no Polish radio program in Melbourne, and indicated during interviews that even if they did know they were unlikely to listen to them. It must also be stated that the majority of the Polish programs on 3EA are during the day (at 1.00 p.m.), that

is, when the majority of these Polish immigrants are at work. Because of that, some Polish immigrants went to the trouble of purchasing a device enabling them to tape these programs.

3ZZZ was listened to much less. Percentages listening to other Polish radio programs were small. Some of those who did not listen to any of the programs preferred to listen to English programs instead eg. the ABC or simply felt that they did not have the time to listen to both - the Polish and the English programs. For example:

Listening to Polish radio programs does not apply to me. It is all foreign to me. I simply do not have time to listen to it. Polish news does not interest me. I do not know those people they talk about. I prefer the Australian news because I live here and thus it is more relevant to me.

The above findings pose a number of questions and difficulties for Polish and mainstream organisations concerning effective communication channels with the new Polish immigrants. For example, if a person from that group does not read the *Polish Weekly*, does not listen to Polish radio programs, and does not have many Polish friends, how can she/he be contacted? The only option appears to be mainstream media or to take a best practice example from the Jewish Community Services in Melbourne, which has a database of all Jewish families in Victoria.

5.2.17 Assessment of Polish media by Polish immigrants

Assessment was made of the two main Polish radio programs - 3EA and 3ZZZ - and the *Polish Weekly*. It was generally favourable. Of the 70 per cent who were able to comment, just over half found 3EA to be either good, informative, interesting or a combination of those three. Fifteen per cent assessed it as average; without innovation or imagination. The rest of the answers did not assess the program favourably either in relation to the content or the broadcasters, however they felt that the broadcasters have improved since the new migrants began broadcasting. The following comments were made in regard to the broadcasters:

'Not so much content but manners, the affectedness of the language on the part of the presenters, general pretentiousness'.

'Zandlerowa drives me mad, she is unprofessional, intonation of her voice'.

'I listened to it once and never again. A journalist should be involved in journalism, a shoe-maker should be involved in making shoes' (*cholewkarz powinien sie zajmowac cholewkami*).

Comments expressing dissatisfaction with the program content referred to its relevance to the new Polish immigrants eg. programs about combatants (*o kombatantach*) or covering religious ceremonies.

Assessment of 3ZZZ generated different answers mainly because it is a program run by volunteers. It was seen that this resulted in a lack of professionalism, and that there was no consistency in program quality. While some were critical of it, others were aware and acknowledged that the broadcasting team did try their best considering the lack of financial support for the station. There was a feeling that this radio program was more adventurous compared to 3EA and it was seen as unfortunate and disappointing that 'it became involved in politics' in the past.

In regard to the assessment of the *Polish Weekly*, almost 40 per cent of these immigrants were not able to comment on it due to insufficient knowledge. Those who responded made positive comments i.e. that the newspaper is good and informative. There was a feeling that the newspaper had improved since the change of editor and also, as a result of this change the newspaper was meeting the needs of the new Polish immigrants more adequately. The rest of the comments assessed the newspaper as average or were negative in tone. Some felt that the editor of the *Polish Weekly* and the content of this newspaper were subjective. Also, some interviewees felt that it is the *Polish Weekly* that at times contributes to tensions

between the Polish and Jewish relations in Melbourne eg. by publishing articles which are culturally insensitive to the Jewish community.

5.2.18 'How could the Polish media be improved?'

A request was made by the researcher for suggestions to improve the Polish media. A quarter said that they would not change anything either because it was all right the way it was or they were simply not interested in contributing to its improvement. Almost 20 per cent were not able to comment. The rest were a wide range of suggestions mainly about content, objectivity and quality of presentation in the Polish media. There were requests for more interesting and relevant content on the radio programs eg. more current affairs, more songs and advice. Lastly, the time of broadcasting was thought to be inappropriate eg. radio programs at 1.00 p.m.

Seventy per cent of participants always or usually watched Polish movies and another quarter watched them sometimes or rarely. Only five per cent never watched Polish movies usually because they have seen them all before. Some believed that Polish films on SBS were tragic and there was no comedy or films for children. Also, the telecasting of Polish movies was often late at night and the movies were usually repeats. Ninety per cent of Polish immigrants at the time of the interview watched the Polish news on the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS)⁵³ and out of that three quarters watched it on a regular basis.

5.2.19 Keeping up with changes in Poland

Thirty five per cent followed changes in Poland on a regular basis and just over 45 per cent did so every now and then. Fifteen per cent never followed developments in Poland. Some of

⁵³Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) was established in 1982 to provide suitable television for the non-English speaking background communities. Its viewing time is seven days a week, with an international news in English every evening. The programs presented by SBS also have a wide appeal to the general community.

the interviewees were simply not interested or found it a difficult process to follow because of the many changes that had taken place in Poland since their departure:

I do not understand it at all now when so many [political] parties were established. It is incomprehensible and distant to me. I am more interested in what is happening here than there.

Overall, the level of interest was not high which is contrary to the findings of Baker (1989) where most subjects followed closely political events in Poland and felt emotional attachment to their country of origin. However, it is possible that keeping abreast with political events in Poland, in Baker's study, was strongly related to what was happening in Poland at the time of the study i.e. Poland was being liberated from the communist system. This study survey indicated that many of those who tried to follow developments in Poland found it upsetting and frustrating. It reminded them too much of the past which they had left behind. The distance from Poland and their preoccupation with their lives in Australia did not allow many to follow the developments in detail. For example, very few knew names of Ministers in Poland, names of political parties and their programs. However, what did matter to most Polish immigrants is how Poland is seen in the eyes of other countries. For some, when something newsworthy happens in Poland then this may be the only time when events are followed. Those who followed the developments in Poland usually did so through the Polish and general media as well as letters and visitors from Poland. A small number did so through the Free Europa Radio (*Radio Wolna Europa*), BBC monitoring (*nasluch*) and the Internet.

5.2.20 Assessment of changes in Poland

Almost a third of Polish immigrants assessed the changes in Poland as positive and a further ten per cent were pleased that communism had fallen despite the fact that the current face of democracy is far from ideal. The fall of communism was a shock to some, that is, that such a thing could actually happen. The shock was also because the existence of communism was,

for some, their very reason for leaving Poland. Those who did not consider changes in Poland positively did so for a number of various reasons. To illustrate, one person felt that:

There is no role for the church in politics. Politics seems to rely on patching holes. Poland is weaker than it was while it was a communist country because of all those changes.

Other reasons for not seeing changes in Poland positively were due to people in Poland having unrealistic expectations and their lack of preparedness for another system:

People do not know what democracy is. They were not prepared for democracy. People thought that in democracy they will be able to go anywhere [i.e. abroad], everything will be available [two very important aspects that were problematic in the communist Poland].

A small number of interviewees believed that nothing had really changed in Poland and that the changes were not really changes but swapping one set of problems with another. There was scepticism expressed about the effectiveness of some of the changes and their final outcome. It was acknowledged that some of the changes were good, but Poland had a long way to go and will need to solve many problems. Furthermore, some interviewees were pessimistic about the changes and felt that politically Poland is in a blind alley (*jest w ciemnym zaułku*). It was suggested that perhaps it would have been better for Poland to become a politically neutral country eg. like Austria or Switzerland. Generally, Poland was seen as a corrupt country and in disarray. The hardship of people, especially those on low income eg. pensioners, unemployed, single mothers, was emphasised. There was also concern expressed about the fact that in the Poland that the interviewees remembered there were no people who were hungry. Those who came from the south west part of Poland were concerned about selling off Poland to Germany.

5.2.21 View on the 1993 election in Poland

As part of the assessment of attitudes to the changes in Poland, interviewees were asked about their view on the election in Poland in September 1993, which resulted in 'communists being voted into power again'. Just over half had no opinion on it or did not have sufficient information about it eg. they did not know names of candidates. They felt that it was difficult to have an opinion if one did not live there. Fifteen per cent felt that it was the people's decision, they chose whom they wanted and the result was not necessarily a bad thing. It was believed that progress in Poland will go on regardless of which party is in government and that there is no need to panic. There was a feeling of respect that people chose who they thought was best to govern at the time:

It was a good result. One has to agree with the choice of the community. What existed before will never come back. If people want more gentle changes...

This agreement was sometimes followed by 'I do not care' statement. Only ten per cent saw the result as negative and as a betrayal with people (voters) being irresponsible. That is, previously people in Poland had not wanted communists and now they had returned them to power, although some acknowledged that the elected communists were different to the previous communists. Others were very concerned that communist apparatchiks were back in power and they will be able to do what they did previously but in a different way. There was also a concern that previously one could go and complain about issues of concern to the Party Secretary (*poskarzyc sie do pierwszego sekretarza*), now there is no one to complain to and that this was dangerous. At the same time there was an awareness that communism guaranteed a psychological comfort and that capitalism and its unemployment can cause distress to people. Other views expressed were that people were not adequately prepared for the elections, especially those living in the countryside, and that there was a small turn out at the polling boots. Overall, it was felt that the Polish government was comprised of ill-equipped people and it was another example how Poland never had and does not have good government.

5.2.22 Polish immigrants' church participation

Eighty five per cent of those interviewed identified as Roman Catholics, which is slightly less than those in Smolicz's sample (1993) and less than the national average in Poland which is 95 per cent (Szulc 1988). The majority of the remaining 15 per cent did not identify with any religion. Only one person had changed religion since their arrival in Australia. Not all who identified as Roman Catholics were practising Catholics, to some it was only being a nominal Catholic.

To document the frequency of church attendance in Poland and in Australia, interviewees were asked three questions: 'How often did you go to Mass in Poland?', 'How often do you go to Polish Mass in Australia?', and 'How often do you go to English Mass in Australia?'.

Table 5.11 Level of church attendance

Church attendance	in Poland (%)	Polish Mass in Australia (%)	English Mass (%)
regularly	40	15	15
sometimes	25	30	19
rarely	25	30	18
never	10	25	48
Total	100	100	100

A quarter of those interviewed never went to Polish church in Australia and over a quarter went to church only rarely, usually at Easter and Christmas. This represents a very significant reduction in church attendance between Poland and Australia and it showed that Polish immigrants were not very close to the Polish church in Melbourne. Similarly, Kay observed that 'strong association with Catholicism in Poland is lost in Australia' (1985, p. 4). In the case of Polish immigrants in Sydney, Jamrozik also noted 'not as strong connectedness to the Polish church as could be believed based on the widely believed view of Poles and Catholicism' (1983b, p. 57). Amongst Baker's subjects in Canada (1989), only a quarter attended Polish church regularly which is significantly more than the regular Polish church attendance by Polish immigrants in Melbourne (15%).

It is said that people in Poland turned to church and remained loyal to it because it was seen as in opposition to the communist system (Badasu 1990; Kay 1985). Loyalty of Polish people towards church and religion is also noted by Wieniewski (1981). In Australia, there is no need for people of Polish background to turn to church and that is perhaps one of the reasons why church attendance is lower. Some of the reasons given by interviewees for lower levels of Polish church attendance in Australia concerned the difficulties encountered in attending Polish masses. For example, 'Here one has to drive to a Polish church', as compared to Poland where it would normally only be a matter of a short walk. Distance and general inconvenience prevented attendance at Polish Masses. Also, some interviewees admitted that in Poland they were going to church because their parents, usually the mother, demanded that they do. Overall, the interviewees had very little involvement in the affairs of the Polish church. Only two persons (3%) actively participated in a variety of church events, usually by doing or assisting with whatever had to be done.

Only 15 per cent attended English Masses regularly and usually found them more carefree, more sincere, and the priests more open. It was seen for instance by one interviewee, that the Anglican church suggests rather than imposes a code of behaviour. In total, attendance at English Masses was small with half of the study subjects having never attended such a Mass. The 15 per cent who did attend those Masses went to Polish masses sometimes or rarely. It would seem that between a quarter and a third regularly attended either a Polish or English Mass.

5.2.23 Importance of religion and church attendance

Polish immigrants' church attendance in Australia appeared not to correlate with a response given on the importance of religion in the lives of those interviewed. That is, sixty five per cent saw religion or faith as important or very important compared to only 15 per cent regularly attending a Polish church in Australia and only rarely or never attending English Masses. Almost half believed that everyone needs religion/faith: that religion and faith give meaning to

life and guidance. The following example was given, 'To me it is like therapy. I have someone to talk to. I do not say Oh Paul Keating, but Oh God.' There were also those who felt that there was no harm in it, that it does not teach anything bad. It was difficult to summarise the responses because religion and faith meant different things to different people. Individuals adapted their own meaning - one that worked and was meaningful to them. Polish immigrants thought of religion as a support in difficult times and as a reference point for moral behaviour. A quarter saw religion as important due to tradition i.e. something they associated with, were brought up with and/or was part of being Polish.

To 30 per cent religion was not important eg. they could not find in it what they were looking for, did not need it, or believed that religion is the opium of the people i.e. that it destroys their identity and '...makes people into servants...'.

5.2.24 Role of Polish priests

Half of the interviewees did not know in what areas Polish priests could do more for the Polish community in Melbourne. This was often due to a lack of knowledge about what Polish priests did, if they did anything eg. 'I do not know what they do other than christenings, funerals, masses and visiting sick people'. Fifteen per cent felt that what Polish priests do is sufficient and praised some of their efforts. On the other hand, others expressed a significant level of dissatisfaction and distrust with the Polish priests. 'I rarely feel nourished by their messages' was a view of one female. Their altruism and objectivity were questioned. Responses to this question also included a variety of suggestions for possible improvements. Some felt that it would be useful if Polish priests offered more help eg. with settlement to newly-arrived Polish immigrants. There were also calls for Polish priests to be more involved in charity matters by being more supportive with welfare issues of the Polish community. For example, 'To know life here and talk relevant things to people. I find that English priests motivate, Polish priests whip'. It was also suggested that priests not become involved in the politics of the Polish community.

Next, interviewees were asked about changes regarding their outlook on religion since migrating from Poland.

Table 5.12 Immigrants' change of outlook on religion

Outlook on religion between Poland and Australia	%
no change	50
moved away	30
moved closer to religion	15
do not know/not relevant	5
Total	100

For half of the interviewees there was no change in their outlook and 30 per cent felt that they had moved away from religion. Zurkowski (1994), in the case of Polish immigrants in South Africa, also noted a move away from religion. Those Polish immigrants who moved closer to religion felt that they needed it more in Australia eg. 'I have a stronger need for faith, not church. In Poland you needed the church because it was the opposition'. Another example of the different role of church was illustrated: 'The [Polish] church is very needed here. It is a place where it is possible to catch up with friends whom one had not seen for a long time'. Others, who had moved closer to religion, did so as part of developing greater understanding of the religion that they knew in Poland and as part of developing greater tolerance towards other religions. One female who rarely went to church in Poland, goes to church in Australia on a regular basis because of her children. This particular mother, who worked as a teacher, felt that children have too much freedom in Australia and consequently, she takes her children to church so they develop a certain conduct of moral behaviour.

Amongst those who moved away from religion, disillusion with the Polish church was expressed through examples how there were requests made for financial donations during Masses to help Polish priests go for trips to Poland or buy cars for them. A few also mentioned their bad experiences with Polish priests in Australia, which resulted in not wanting to have anything to do with them now or in the future. A move away from religion by Polish immigrants was in many cases part of their growth, maturity, or just change. Here is how one person described that process:

In Poland I was afraid to question things within my family. I was brought up in a strict Catholic family. Here, I assessed religion, not just accepted it like in Poland. Religion is for the poor, those who are under the lash (*pod przegiezem*). When I hear words calling for submissiveness...

5.2.25 Comparing the church in Australia to the church in Poland

Comparisons between the Catholic church in Australia and the Catholic church in Poland revealed, in the eyes of the interviewees, big differences. The question was of a general nature and this resulted in a variety of answers, with thirty per cent not being able to respond. Also, 10-14 years ago, the church in Poland was different to what it was in the early 1990s. Overall, the Australian mainstream church was seen in a more positive light; it was seen as more friendly and closer to the people, and a church that meets people half way (*wychodzi na przeciw*). For example, 'In Australia, the church has less power and its main purpose is to serve people. It is not as strong as in Poland'. Church participation was seen as more honest and more altruistic. The main differences stated with regard to the two churches were the lower level of influence, less involvement in politics, and that the church in Poland is more traditional and consequently more strict eg. in regard to fasting or open confessions. The church in Poland was seen as a 'fighting church' and one that wants to reign. Some even felt that while in the past it was the communist party which ruled, now it was the church. Overall, the comparison made the church in Australia be seen as much more compassionate.

The few positive comments made about the church in Poland referred to the sense of togetherness during Masses and the strong tradition of celebrating religious holidays.

5.3 Polish immigrants – citizenship and political processes

In the following section a number of issues are explored regarding participation of Polish immigrants in Australian social institutions. To begin with, Australian citizenship and Polish

immigrants is documented, which is followed by their involvement in the political process and voting preferences. Next, a range of aspects related to Polish immigrants' views on multiculturalism, their attitudes to government assistance to ethnic groups and acceptance of other immigrants is detailed.

5.3.1 Acquisition of Australian citizenship

A very high percentage (97%) of Polish immigrants in this sample have acquired Australian citizenship with almost all having done so within two to four years of arrival in Australia. This level of citizenship is only marginally higher than the 1991 Census data (BIMPR 1995).

Table 5.13 Australian citizenship acquisition

Acquisition of Australian citizenship	%
Yes	97
No	3
Total	100

In Smolicz's sample (1993), 85 per cent acquired Australian citizenship which rose to 96 per cent for those who resided in Australia for 20 years or more. This study found that 65 per cent of Polish immigrants had taken up citizenship to be and/or to feel like a true citizen and that it was a natural thing to do. Many saw acquisition of citizenship as part of being Australian and an obligation - in a voluntary sense - to a country that opened its doors for them when they needed it. These immigrants felt that since they had changed their country of residence thus they needed to change citizenship:

One should not come here and be like a visitor. We decided that we will live here and since we will stay we wanted to be fully recognised as citizens, decide on issues, have rights and responsibilities.

Twenty per cent stated that their reason for taking citizenship was for travel purposes. It was felt that it was safer to travel on an Australian passport, especially when going to Poland.

Similarly, interviewees in Aroian's study felt that obtaining U.S. citizenship was 'the only hope of a possible safe visit to Poland' (Aroian 1988, p. 129). Polish migrants wanted to make sure that they could come back to Australia. While talking about their fear of not being able to return, many mentioned the dreams they had after arrival in Australia i.e. they dreamed that they went to see their families in Poland and they could not come back to Australia. In addition, many associated obtaining of an Australian passport as a seal on their freedom. 'Passport = freedom'. This included travelling with ease but also being protected as individuals and this protection was not just in relation to travel. It also meant being protected by the law of their new country. In addition, citizenship was seen as having rights and responsibilities as citizens which Polish immigrants readily accepted. It was a combination of being far-sighted and being cautious. Furthermore, a small number thought that being an Australian citizen would mean being treated like one. That such citizenship perhaps may assist them with obtaining a job or obtaining a better job. They were to later realise that this did not happen. These types of answers were given by those who did not feel like true citizens in Australia eg. being treated the same way as Australians.

Overall, there was a thread among the answers which emphasised that Polish immigrants eagerly wanted to take up Australian citizenship and there was a certain pride associated with that process. 'A country that feeds me is my first country' said a male interviewee. It should also be noted that acceptance of Australian citizenship did not make Polish immigrants lose their Polish citizenship. Two persons stated that they did not want to be citizens of Poland. Of the two persons, one tried to renounce her Polish citizenship and gave up half way through the process due to the difficulty of the process.

5.3.2 Polish immigrants' voting preferences

The literature review revealed that there is very little information available about voting patterns of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants. In Australia, Kabala is the only author who had briefly examined this topic using a small sample, which casts doubt on the validity of the findings.

Under the communist system voting in Poland was not compulsory and it was believed that elections were not democratic eg. there was only one main political party in Poland. When the study subjects lived in Poland, they had not had a choice about whom to vote for since there was only one main party. The researcher found it interesting to explore how Polish immigrants decided on their voting preferences when they had to vote for the first time and how they had voted in the last two elections in Australia. After having obtained citizenship, Polish immigrants were faced with a choice (and a dilemma) about which political party to vote for.

Survey responses indicated Polish immigrants made their decision about whom they voted for during elections based on factors such as: political parties' programs, 'accident' i.e. decision made without conscious thinking, media reporting, associating the Labour party with communism, opinion of other people eg. friends, family members and work colleagues. It is rather surprising that respondents stated that their voting decision was based on party policies and proposed programs because it would have been difficult, especially when voting in Australia for the first time, for these immigrants to know political parties' policies and programs due to English language difficulties and being new to the country. In regard to 'accidental' basis for voting decision, this meant simply filling out the ballot paper without thinking or based on 'Which photo [referring to the candidate's photographs] looked better', 'Which candidate looked more honest', or simply 'It was pure coincidence.' Some Polish immigrants have continued to vote this way. With regard to the influence of the media on Polish immigrants' voting decisions during elections, the most influential was television and newspapers, including local newspapers.

Another factor was that, for ten per cent of Polish immigrants, the Labour Party in Australia is perceived as a clone of the communist party and similar to the Polish United Workers Party (*Polska Zjednoczona Partia Robotnicza*), which governed Poland between 1946 and 1989.

This is how two liberal voters (who were strongly against the Labour Party in Australia) expressed their reasons for voting for the Liberal Party:

Every communist party is called the labour party, thus the Labour Party in Australia is the same, it is just disguised under the name labour. I just wanted to make sure that I did not vote for the communists.

and

Just the word liberal was enough.

The above two quotations also illustrate the fear and hangover that some Solidarity wave Poles continue to have about communism. In certain instances, contempt of communism and everything associated with it (correctly or incorrectly) was the main reason why these immigrants left Poland.

Other factors which were also considered before deciding which party to vote for were: assessment of the leader of each political party, election promises and the state of the economy eg. if a Polish immigrant believed that the economic situation in Australia was bad, then he/she may decide to vote for the Liberal Party, believing that that Party is better at 'repairing' the Australian economy.

'Can you tell me how you voted at the last two elections?' and 'Why did you vote that way?', were two questions asked of participants to further determine their voting patterns. Overall, survey findings indicated that Polish immigrants had a preference to vote for the Liberal Party of Australia, and also that there was a significant difference in voting patterns for the Labour Party between the 1993 Federal election and the 1992 State election.

Table 5.14 Voting patterns of new Polish immigrants

Party	1993	1992
	Federal election (%)	State election (%)
Not stated/not relevant	6	6
Liberal Party	50	57
Labour Party	32	20
Democrats	5	5
Other	7	12
Total	100	100

The interviewees were asked to explain their reasons for the voting decisions. Content analysis showed that there was a range of decision-making patterns eg.

- voters believed that it was time for a different party to govern
- voting based on a desire to have different parties in government tiers (state and federal)
- voters made a decision on who to vote for based on own values and beliefs
- making an informal vote

Other determining factors for voting preferences related to political parties' philosophies, policies, and proposed programs. In the case of the Liberal Party this included:

- Goods and Services Tax - seen as too drastic a change at the 1993 election
- belief that this party would improve the economy (concern about Australia's foreign debt)
- being pro-liberal as a rule

And in favour of the Labour Party, Polish immigrants mentioned such factors as: social welfare policies and offering more as a Party than Liberals.

Only two persons indicated that they voted for the Liberal Party because it was the Liberal government which paid for the airfare tickets for them to be able to come to Australia and gave them permission to reside here permanently. Based on the voting preferences and difference in choices during the 1992 and 1993 election as well as comments and views expressed by Polish immigrants during the interviews with regard to political parties and politics in Australia, 48 per cent could be classified as Liberal voters, 16 per cent are likely to always vote for the

Labour Party, and 34 per cent would be considered swinging voters - 'swinging' mainly between the two main parties. These findings contradict journalist Treloar, who found that because Poles were not particularly impressed with capitalism, they '...do not form the ready made block of conservative voters...' (1982, p. 29).

More, this study's findings are similar to findings of the 1988 Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey, in which 45 per cent of all Polish immigrants were pro Liberal voters and 23 per cent were pro Labour voters (Kabala 1993, p. 90). This deviation might be because it is a different sample or because the sample included a small number of subjects. Kabala further concluded, based on the data from the above mentioned survey, that the rate of swinging voters was 25 per cent, which is considerable, less (almost 10%) than the level of swinging voters in this survey findings. Zurkowski (1994) observed that in terms of political outlook, the new Polish immigrants in South Africa were the most differentiated compared to the rest of the Polish community in that country which may reflect these immigrants' continual attempts to 'find their way' in the particular political system.

5.3.3 Views on differences between the two main political parties

The main differences between the two main political parties, in terms of philosophies and strategies, revealed that interviewees' views were in line with the general Australian population. That is, the Liberal Party's main philosophy was seen as emphasis on business - at times at the expense of people - and those who are rich. For instance:

The Liberal Party is prepared to take unpopular steps, yet they are more about self-interest and greed rather than the interest of the public. This Party, like the Labour Party, also has no vision. I am not really happy with any of the parties. Both lack political culture.

Some mentioned its conservatism and that the Liberal Party does not care for all people. Those who supported this party, believed that - 'Next to a rich person, the poor will also

benefit' (*Przy bogatym i biedny skorzysta*) - a popular Polish idiom. This belief was their basis for leaning towards the Liberal Party. In addition, this Party was believed to be more effective in managing the economy, even though at times this meant engaging in aggressive capitalism. Lastly, it was believed that the Liberal Party is the only party capable of curbing union power.

On the other hand, the Labour Party's philosophy was believed to relate to the needs of working people and having a base in the trade unions. It was believed that this Party had people in mind when they govern and praise was given for the welfare support for the disadvantaged. On the other hand, some Polish immigrants believed that the Labour Party was too idealistic and had communist tendencies. Further, comments referred to this Party's wastefulness eg. the toilet paper affair in Victoria, and mismanaging the Australian and the Victorian economics. A liberal voter came up with a solution to the Australian political system: 'The Labour Party should always be in opposition to control the Liberals.'

Twenty per cent of Polish immigrants believed that there was no or very little difference between the two parties' philosophies and strategies although they might be presented differently. The plan to implement the GST (the 1993 Federal election issue) was seen as something which would have made a big difference between the parties. Both parties were seen as wanting power by discrediting each other. Overall, there was a significant level of negativism and lack of trust expressed towards either one or both parties, or towards politics generally. For example:

'Every party looks after itself, not people at large.'

'Politics involves lying. It is all the same. We will never find out the truth. I was never interested in politics.'

It could be surmised that these Polish immigrants, who were used to free education, child care and other state owned services, would naturally support the Labour Party which is more in line

with the above mentioned philosophies. However, this is not the case. What was also interesting was that the unemployed and persons who were not working also showed a slightly greater tendency to vote for the Liberal Party.

5.3.4 Polish immigrants' involvement in the political process in

Australia

Overall, these Polish immigrants had no passionate or committed involvement in politics or the political process. This pattern is also noted in Canada and South Africa⁵⁴ where Poles also did not have involvement and thus no influence on politics (Heydenkorn 1992; Zurkowski 1994). Half of the interviewees stated that they followed the political process and 20 per cent did not follow it at all. The remainder followed it a little, for example by watching the news or following events before elections. A small number said that they found it difficult and upsetting to see the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition abusing each other in Parliament (during the Keating-Howard days). They stressed that a greater level of courtesy and decorum is needed regarding behaviour in Parliament.

Fifteen per cent of those interviewed had contacted a politician (Federal, State, or local) about an issue of concern they had. Only one of those contacts had been with a Federal Member of Parliament.

None of the study subjects belonged to a political party and it appeared unlikely that this was going to change although one person indicated that he had considered joining a political party in the past. Another participant knew of a couple from the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants who belonged to the Liberal Party. Zurkowski (1994) found that a small number were active in the Conservative Party in South Africa. These findings are in line with Jupp's conclusions (1966) as stated by Martin:

⁵⁴ Zurkowski also adds that in South Africa 'The sphere of political activities for many years belonged to Afrikaaners' (1994, p. 248). It is doubtful, however, that this factor prevented Poles from being involved in the political process.

He [Jupp] found migrants in general inarticulate and politically impotent, their views neither known nor heeded. Migrant communities were not integrated into the decision-making process. There was a high rate of economic achievement, but also much invisible frustration and suffering which, he claimed, could readily be attenuated by more vigorous, humane and imaginative action on the part of government and other bodies such as trade unions (Martin 1978, p. 27).

Although Jupp's observations were made 30 years ago, they still appear applicable to the Polish community. Pomian and Tabin explain Polish immigrants' lack of political involvement as:

...nothing unusual, after all in Poland the number of political activists is also small. Also, to many leaving their home country it is an opportunity to totally break from the past and reject all undertakings/responsibilities towards another country (Pomian & Tabin 1989, p. 25).

Furthermore, in Canada, a Polish immigrant from the 1980s wave gives detailed insights into the reasons of not wanting to be politically involved:

I never wanted to be preoccupied with politics and did not like it. I know, that by organising ourselves here we can have an influence on bettering our tomorrow (*polepszyc nasze jutro*). Here we really can vote. Yes we should, but life creates a different situation. After 30 years of constant toil, trying to better the world and *drogi po kamieniach*, one is not willing nor has the time to continue to fight. After eight hours of hard work one wants to rest in peace, family-like atmosphere, without major problems (*odpoczac w spokoju, rodzinie, bez wiekszych problemow*), use weekends for relaxing and regenerating, and fulfilling family and one's own pleasures. For the same reasons, it is also hard to find time for Polonia life (CPRI 1990, p. 339).

Solidarity wave Polish immigrants did not see it as their responsibility to participate in the political process in Australia, neither did they appear to have an understanding of the political process in Australia. There has been no elected member to any level of government from this group of immigrants so far and unlikely to be in the near future. In the case of the Vietnamese community, which continued to arrive in large numbers at the time of the second wave of Polish migration, Phuong Ngo was elected to local government post in NSW, in 1987, although he had only arrived in Australia in 1981 (Collins 1988, p. 128). He is just one example of a number of Vietnamese immigrants who have become elected representatives.

5.3.5 Assessment of the current federal government

In regard to the federal government i.e. the Keating Labour government, almost two thirds believed that 'it was not doing a good job in governing the country' or that it certainly could do it better. This question gave an opportunity to express complaints and dissatisfaction with that government by blaming it for the recession, high unemployment and the economy being depressed. Polish immigrants believed that, instead of dealing with more pressing issues like unemployment or homelessness, the government was preoccupied with changing the flag or becoming a Republic. Almost all interviewees felt that Australia should export more and import less. That export, however, should not be mainly primary products but items which were produced in Australia. Dissatisfaction with government was also due to the breaking of promises, wanting to be close to Asia, selling Australia off to the Japanese, mismanagement eg. the Ross Kelly whiteboard affair, paying unemployment benefits without time limitations, inadequate youth and child care support. Generally, participants felt that things were better in the past and that the situation was getting worse. Lack of political honesty was also attributed to the federal government as a negative. At the same time, a small number doubted whether the Liberal government would govern better if in government.

Although less in number, there were also positive statements made about the federal government. These included: the biggest Gross National Product (GNP), lowest inflation, foreign policy with Asian countries, undertaking micro economic reform, and introducing progress without turmoil. A small number of Polish immigrants believed that no other party could have done it better and that this government was trying to do its best to emerge from the recession. Mabo and the plan to become a Republic were seen as great achievements. It was acknowledged that all around the world there was a difficult situation. This is how one participant described it:

Government is like a ship's crew. They are under the impression that they steer the ship, but the current does its own thing (*prad robi swoje*). It is the world economy that steers. The government is limited in the extent it can steer the economy.

5.3.6 Comparison of the political systems of Poland and Australia

Comparing politics in Australia and Poland was found to be difficult for interviewees. The difficulty lay in comparing two very different systems; the political system in Poland which had changed dramatically and the political system in Australia which was still new to many. Those participants who responded, felt that in Australia the political system was stable and was based on the long tradition of Western democracy. In Poland, politics was thought to be in the developmental stage eg. a lot of political parties (including a Party of Friends of Beer Drinking) were without a program. A small number of interviewees assessed politics in the two countries as the same especially after the changes in Poland or because the nature of political activity is the same, 'it is a dirty war in which everyone wants to win to promote their careers'. Those who were strong anti-Labour voters felt that politics in Australia was the same as in Poland (before the 1989 changes in Poland) while the Labour government was in power in Australia. Overall, there were many different views expressed, often very contradictory. Generally, there was a view that in Australia the political situation is less chaotic and that the

healthier economy (compared to Poland) made governing easier. It was also felt that politicians care more about the country in Australia and try to be fair to people.

5.4 Polish Immigrants and Multiculturalism

Study subjects were asked two questions on multiculturalism: 'What do you understand by multiculturalism?' and 'How do you like the Australian cultural diversity?' Interviewees had much to say to the question on their understanding of multiculturalism, which was seen in three main ways: many nationalities living together, people maintaining their cultural traditions, and having a right to maintain traditions:

Right of freedom and choice. Everyone has a right to feel and believe in their own values. Having a choice of religion, organisations and belonging to an ethnic group.

It [multiculturalism] is the reality of many cultures interrelating with tolerance (*fakt wspoldzialania w charakterze tolerancji*). I feel that I have a right to be different (*odrebna*). I am not ashamed, for instance, to speak to my daughter in Polish, at the playground.

In the eyes of the interviewees, this right was seen in terms of people from various cultures living in Australia and the capacity to continue their tradition on an equal footing with the support of the government. During the interviews, many expressed surprise and admiration that thousands of people from all over the world can live under one roof, without problems, and without bothering one another. The freedom of expression of multiculturalism was applauded and valued. Some believed that such tolerance would not be possible in other countries eg. Poland, which has a highly homogenous population. One person, who was well travelled before coming to Australia, chose Australia - not England, Germany, or USA - for that very reason of cultural diversity and its tolerance. Polish immigrants believed that multiculturalism contributed to migrants generally being able to feel more at home in Australia.

The continuous influx of immigrants to Australia was seen as a positive factor, one that stimulated the economy:

To me it [multiculturalism] is choosing the best aspects of various cultures and assimilating that into the Anglo-Saxon culture. I believe, based on history, that countries with migrant histories advance highly. Diverse cultures contribute to total development. I am against ghettos but I understand why, for example Vietnamese stick together.

Few were concerned about or expressed disappointment about some ethnic groups' geographical concentrations. It was seen that the formation of enclaves contributed and/or resulted in people reducing their effort to learn English which was an undesirable outcome. Moreover, objections were expressed about immigrants bringing their home country politics to Australia.

In most instances, multiculturalism was seen as the maintenance of cultures and identity, for example:

To be who one is. The possibility of being oneself eg. I can be a Pole, someone else a Muslim. To be able to pass on traditions. One does not have to be ashamed of it, or continue with it. Either way that person is accepted.

Polish immigrants saw multiculturalism as people having and living in two cultures: the Australian one and the one that they brought with them.

Furthermore, a small number of interviewees believed that people who come to Australia should make an effort to become familiar with the Australian cultural traditions and the way things are done here. Such beliefs included calls for assimilation:

I am not 100 per cent for it [multiculturalism]. People here should conform to a certain level. There should be a legislation to regulate and achieve civilised traditions eg. not allowing female circumcision, like they do in Somalia.

Those who believed in assimilation, felt that it was important to feel responsible for this country. Yet, at the same time, the positive effect of SBS - the very result of multiculturalism - was acknowledged. One female who said that she did not understand what in fact was meant by multiculturalism (as did another 15% of the interviewees), thought however, that 'It should not be so ostentatious (*To nie powinno byc takie oficjalne*). Everyone can have their own churches here, etc. But this is Australia!'. By not so ostentatious, she meant keeping it within a home domain, not to emphasise it in public, especially when there are crises in immigrants' home countries. Three interviewees questioned if multiculturalism actually existed, eg. 'One never hears Italian songs on mainstream radio program, the same applies to T.V. It is a beautiful word. In practice, other than a slogan used by politicians, it is not much'.

Multiculturalism was also seen or associated with acceptance of other, at times very different, cultures, and learning from each other. It was about having access to multilingual media.

Just over half of these Polish immigrants stated that they liked or liked very much Australian cultural diversity and thirty five per cent gave a non-committal type of answer. These included comments like: 'I do not mind', 'It does not worry me', 'It helps new migrants', 'I observe it with interest'. The remaining answers (10%) did not like multiculturalism nor supported it, or supported only some aspects of it. In addition, many stressed that Australia is an interesting place to live in as a result of this diversity. A small number developed a strong interest in the Aboriginal culture which they continue till now. Lastly, some respondents believed that children should feel Australian first, then Polish, so that Australia does not lose its identity.

Overall, these immigrants had no understanding of multiculturalism as a public policy and its three dimensions as stated in the *National Agenda for a Multicultural Australia...Sharing Our Future*. That is, cultural identity, social justice and economic efficiency.

5.4.1 Attitudes to government assistance

Polish immigrants gave a very high approval rating regarding government assistance to ethnic groups in Australia. The highest approval (100%) was for interpreters in hospitals and courts, followed by provision of intensive English for children upon arrival and financing of English language and information centres.

Table 5.15 Rating of government assistance to ethnic groups in Australia

Type of government assistance	approval %	disapproval %	neither approval nor disapproval %
Interpreters in hospitals and courts	100	0	0
Intensive English for children upon arrival	98	2	0
English Centres/Information Centres	97	3	0
Radio and T.V. in other languages	91	7	2
Polish nursing homes	91	7	2
Information leaflets in other languages	85	15	0
Money for language & culture teaching	82	18	0
Money for dancing, music etc	75	20	5
Provision of English classes at work	70	28	2
Teaching Italian and Greek in schools	62	33	5

* The above survey model has been adopted from the AGB McNair Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey, 1988

Disapproval frequently was associated with believing that perhaps there are other needs which require government assistance more or concerns about what the result of such assistance may mean eg:

I believe what Australia does is sufficient. I approve government assistance but I do not know whether it is good, because people may become dependent on it for a long time or all their lives.

Disapproval of radio and T.V. programs in other languages is illustrated by the following responses:

'People should do it themselves; if they can't, bad luck'.

'It should not be a priority. It would be better to use that money on Aborigines.'

The small number of disapprovals of government assistance to ethnic organisations to teach the language and culture of the mother country to their young people, was due to believing that the government should not fund such programs. It was suggested that it should be parents themselves who should fund it.

Although almost 100 per cent approved of government assistance for intensive English for children, ten per cent also stated that this was not necessary because 'children learn anyway'. In regard to learning English at work, the disapproval was due to a belief that this might reduce people's motivation to learn English. Also, it was seen that learning English is one's '...personal and private responsibility, people should be forced to learn English' or '...they [immigrants] should know it before coming here, not like me'. Overall, it was believed that learning English during work time was not appropriate.

The highest disapproval was towards teaching in schools community languages of major ethnic groups in Australia i.e. Italian and Greek. Interviewees questioned why those two languages. The fact that those two groups are the largest NESB groups in Australia, was not a convincing argument or an adequate reason to them. The disapproval of teaching Italian or Greek was usually expressed as 'Why Greek or Italian?'. Other languages were suggested eg. Polish, Japanese, German, French, and one person thought that perhaps it would be best if Esperanto was taught in schools. Respondents assessed teaching of languages from the point of view of international usefulness. It was felt that Italian and Greek were thus not important languages whereas Japanese was. Having a choice about which language children could learn was considered important, and Polish children should not be forced to learn Italian.

One mother said that the idea of teaching Italian or Greek at schools reminded her of having to learn Russian in Poland.

Further, disappointment was expressed about the ad hoc approach to teaching languages at schools in Australia eg. one respondent's child learned different languages each year for three years.

With regard to government assistance for dancing and music, ten per cent thought that it was an individual ethnic group's responsibility and money should not be demanded from government for such activities. 'If they want to dance *krakowiak*, then they should pay for it themselves. Australia does not get a grant for that'. One person who approved of assistance for dancing activities attached a condition to it. That is, she felt that there should be a commitment made by ethnic organisations, that they will give something in return and to prove that they value it and want it.

Finally, concerns were expressed that some of the steps undertaken by government perhaps contribute to community divisiveness eg. 'My taxes go to the Greek community, thus I do not benefit from it'. Some of the answers were very elaborate eg:

If ethnic communities want to do things, then they should do it themselves.

Government assistance should not be about buying migrants out. It should all be balanced very carefully, after all this is Australia. I approve of providing money to ethnic organisations but not too much, not to form ghettos.

5.4.2 Acceptance of other immigrants in Australia

Respondents' views on whom the Australian government should accept as permanent residents gave interesting data and confirmed some of the previous responses and some prejudices.

Table 5.16 Polish immigrants' views on acceptance of potential immigrants to Australia

Migrants who:	More %	Same %	Less %	Not at all %	Other %	Total %
would be useful to Australia	75	17	3	2	3	100
are well educated	69	23	3	3	0	100
have trade qualifications	50	35	7	3	5	100
have relatives in Australia	37	40	12	3	8	100
are from communist countries	35	42	12	5	7	100
who will do dirty work	20	20	15	37	8	100
are British	13	47	17	18	5	100
are Southern Europeans	12	50	27	7	5	100
are from Middle East	3	20	32	42	3	100
are Asians	2	22	52	24	0	100

* The above survey model has been adopted from the AGB McNair Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey, 1988

Overall, it was believed that Australian government migrant policy should target those who are well educated and those who would be useful to this country. These Polish immigrants were strongly against more immigrants from Asia and the Middle East eg. Lebanese, Turks, which perhaps is an indication that the negative Middle Eastern image has affected these Polish immigrants. As is indicated in Table 5.16, lack of support was also expressed against those who would: do the 'dirty work' that Australians do not want to do, and against migrants from Britain and Southern Europe eg. Greeks and Italians. Many of the answers given were conditional, that is, Polish immigrants were agreeable to the idea of accepting more of those who have relatives here but only close family members, not Asians, or not now while Australia is in a recession. By close family members was meant spouses, children, parents, brothers and sisters, but not cousins, uncles and aunties, and so on. One respondent, who was married to an Asian person, also was of the view to accept 'less Asians' under the family sponsorship criteria. Answers which did not support a greater migrant intake on the grounds of family reunion were from a practical perspective eg. recession rather than race-related. Conditional statements in regard to the acceptance of well-educated immigrants were: to accept more but only those with good English, or unless they have a fifty fifty chance of obtaining a job. Answers included in the Other category comprised a range of responses such as: 'I do not know', 'It is indifferent to me', or that, for example, relatives should be given a priority in the Australian migrant intake.

The prejudice towards Asians came out very strongly in responses to the question on Asian intake. Why was the prejudice so strong? Reasons appeared to fall into four areas: (i) there are already many of them in Australia, (ii) Asia is for Asians, (iii) they have a high birth rate, (iv) because they are different. Some participants who expressed strong disapproval of Asians were malicious and demeaning in their comments. People from the Asian ethnic groups (except for the Japanese) were seen as having an inferior status, and that they worsen the labour market by accepting reduced remuneration. The significant support not to accept more migrants from the Middle East countries was mainly due to their religion, i.e. the belief that they had a very different mentality and tended to isolate themselves from the general society. One person, who supported more immigrants from those countries said: 'Yes, but not the religious fanatics because they tend to have an influence on the surrounding environment. Their religion is a frightening one. Fighting Muslims'.

On the other hand, intake of those with trade qualifications was seen as a positive contribution to Australia eg. that such immigrants would start small businesses. However, there was concern expressed that many of those who came (and continue to come) with trade qualifications were unemployed.

Respondents generally supported immigrants from Eastern European countries but not in any strong emotional or favoured way. One person objected to more migrants from those countries to ensure that communism does not develop in Australia.

Three quarters supported more or many more immigrants who could be useful to Australia. At the same time, it was pointed out that such immigrants are difficult to find.

Those interviewees (16%) who objected to more immigrants from Great Britain thought that there was an adequate number of immigrants from that country already. Objection was also

made due to the fact that Britain does not want to accept people from other countries and that generally British people consider themselves superior to others.

In regard to more migrants who would do work which Australians do not want to do, some respondents said that immigrants do that in a lot of instances anyway. Two persons felt that the motives for accepting these types of immigrants would be justified if the people who would be coming to Australia made their decision being fully aware of why they were being accepted. Others saw this question as irrelevant in the context of the current Australian immigration policy.

From the overall comments, it was considered important for government to obtain a good balance in the annual migrant quotas. Participants liked the idea of a good mixture of various nationalities. Maintenance of harmony was a guiding principle which was suggested in order to avoid conflict eg. like the one between Greece and Macedonia, which occurred at the time of interviews. Bringing people with qualifications to Australia and not recognising their qualifications as well as not bringing more people with qualifications was considered unfair and bad management on the part of Australia.

5.5 Attitudes of Polish Immigrants Towards Other Ethnic Groups

AGB McNair Issues in Multicultural Australia Survey (1988) was used as a model to assess Polish immigrants' attitudes towards other ethnic groups. There were seven questions asked in relation to 15 ethnic and religious groups.

Table 5.17 Polish immigrants' acceptance of other nationalities and religious groups

	Would welcome as member of my family		Would have as close friends		Would welcome as workmates		Would allow as Australian citizens		Would have as visitors to Australia only		Would keep out of Australia altogether		Would have as next door neighbour	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Y	N	Yes	No
British	60	40	75	25	88	12	85	15	10	90	8	92	85	25
Vietnamese	23	77	53	47	70	30	60	40	17	83	29	71	58	42
German	52	48	74	26	85	15	85	15	7	93	3	97	85	15
Asian	30	70	53	47	70	30	62	38	23	77	22	78	60	40
Catholic	80	20	88	12	90	10	93	7	7	93	3	57	90	10
Greek	37	63	69	31	75	25	75	25	10	90	10	90	68	32
Indian	28	72	62	38	75	25	60	40	14	86	14	86	67	33
Lebanese	19	81	50	50	66	34	53	47	24	76	29	71	57	43
Aboriginal	32	68	69	31	73	27	85	15	8	92	3	97	67	33
Muslim	16	84	40	60	64	36	53	47	22	78	37	63	52	48
Italian	71	29	86	14	90	10	90	10	2	98	2	98	92	8
Japanese	40	60	63	27	75	25	68	32	17	83	12	88	77	23
Chinese	33	67	64	36	72	28	64	36	22	78	27	73	67	33
Black	33	67	66	34	78	22	66	34	15	85	17	83	70	30
Jewish	46	54	67	33	77	23	67	33	12	88	12	88	74	26
Australian	85	15	95	5	98	2	98	2	0	100	2	98	97	3
Turkish	15	85	45	55	65	35	52	48	17	83	28	72	52	48
Yugoslav	34	66	62	38	70	30	70	30	17	83	14	86	68	32
European	80	20	90	10	90	10	93	7	2	98	2	98	95	5
Buddhist	28	72	57	43	73	27	62	38	15	85	20	80	70	30

As was the case with the Multicultural Australia Survey, responses revealed strong and consistent prejudices towards some ethnic and religious groups. The strongest antipathies were towards: Muslims, Turks, Lebanese, Asians and Vietnamese. The groups most accepted by Polish immigrants were: Australians, Catholics, Italians, Europeans, and British. Most respondents were accepting of the idea of working with people from a variety of backgrounds or having them as neighbours, but accepting them as family or close friends scored the lowest. Two conclusions can be drawn from the results and from comments made during interviews.

Polish immigrants are a group who guard their home privacy. This is how one person described it: 'I accept everyone except as a family member because I want to be able to speak Polish at dinner time. At home I want to be myself and be comfortable'. Similarly, Achmatowicz-Otok and Otok (1985) found that Polish immigrants had contact with Australians but only through work, not in their own homes. Also, the authors found that some Polish immigrants put friendships with Australians above friendships with other Poles, because they believed that Australians were more frank, well-wishing and always willing to help.

The criteria used in regard to acceptance of individuals as a member of their family was usually as a partner for themselves (in the case of those who were unattached) or as spouses for their children. Reluctance to accept or total refusal to accept certain nationalities was explained in terms of potential misunderstanding, which may occur when two cultures were very different and when there was little cultural compatibility.

Some Polish immigrants did not want to reveal their attitudes and answered 'no opinion' or 'I do not know' to the questions on acceptance of other ethnic groups. What was also interesting is that a significant number of interviewees who never encountered individuals from particular ethnic groups, yet answered 'no' as a precaution. Personal contact with and the cultural traditions and behaviours of certain ethnic groups were two key factors that determined respondents' acceptance or non-acceptance. Certain cultural traditions and behaviour of some ethnic or religious groups, eg. female circumcision, Muslims displaying religious fanaticism, were found unacceptable to Polish immigrants. Some respondents stated that some groups simply had a bad image (*Niektore grupy maja po prostu zla opinie*). Bad opinion comprised the study subject's views eg. stereotypes and perceptions, and views of other people that interviewees had contact with eg. work colleagues, neighbours. Other Polish immigrants acknowledged that they simply did not like certain groups for a variety of reasons which usually related to the perceived behaviour of members of those groups and their difficulty in conforming to conditions in their new society. An extreme example of such thinking was as follows:

The traditions of some groups are unacceptable to me. Some are lazy, do not make any effort to adjust to the conditions here. They live only within their groups, do not try to learn English. I believe it should be forbidden to listen to music or foreign language radio programs at work. If that is what they want to do, then those people should live in their own country. I absolutely do not mind the colour of their skin.

A recent Polish immigrant in Canada gives the following explanation of Polish immigrants' attitudes towards other ethnic groups:

When one feels like a society outcast, because they have just arrived and did not find their way, and it seems like no one accepts them - they find a scapegoat. Someone, who they can put down and that way feel better (CPRI 1990, p. 494).

Some of the interviewees objected only to one or two groups. Such objection was usually based on their personal experience as a result of encountering sometimes just one person from a particular group, or interviewees attached conditions to their acceptance. The quotation below well illustrates this point:

I would not accept Greeks because I had a bad experience with one. I would accept Buddhists but if they were trying to convert me to their faith, then no way. If my son decides on a fiancée from a very different cultural background, then I would have no choice and I will accept her but I would not welcome her to live under the same roof. A neighbour is a neighbour, one does not choose neighbours, as long as they do not steal or are not bandits.

Overall, it appeared that Polish immigrants' acceptance was based on stereotypes and superficial perceptions rather than knowledge or face-to-face contact. Often responses were made in an off-handed and ill-informed manner, however, these immigrants were genuinely concerned about displays of religious fanaticism by some ethnic groups, unsafe cultural practices, and bringing home politics to Australia. Furthermore, it must be remembered that Polish immigrants were not very tolerant towards their own group as has been documented previously.

In summary, there was a high level of acceptance of groups that were seen as having a legitimate claim to being in Australia or were culturally or in appearance similar to the Polish

group. Strong ethnic and religious prejudice was displayed to what were considered very different groups, especially those from the Middle East and Asia. The willingness to maintain Polish traditions was not a determining factor regarding acceptance of various nationalities as family members, although one person said that she 'could not imagine my grandchildren speaking to me, for example, in German, not Polish'.

5.6 Settlement Models and Their Application, and a Typology of the 1980s Solidarity Wave of Polish Immigrants

There have been a number of research studies which have analysed immigrant and refugee settlement processes referring to it as: adjustment, acculturation, acquisition, retention and deculturation (eg. Scott & Scott; Goldlust & Richmond; Richardson; Kunz) using a wide range of variables in their research. There have also been studies about these processes and the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants (eg. Aroian; Baker; Boski; Jamrozik; Kapalka). This section explores various settlement models and typologies of immigrants and refugees and their applicability to the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants, documents and compares previous literature findings with regard to adjustment of Polish immigrants and the findings of this research study. Lastly, based on research findings, a typology of this wave of Polish immigrants is developed.

5.6.1 Immigrant adjustment processes and models

In 1974, Goldlust and Richmond developed a Multivariate Model of Immigrant Adaptation⁵⁵ based on research undertaken on over eight thousand of mainly male immigrants from English-speaking and non-English speaking backgrounds who resided in Toronto, which examined the characteristics and conditions of immigrants before migration and situational determinants in the new country. Goldlust and Richmond believed that there was a process of mutual adaptation which occurred i.e. the adaptation of immigrants and the adaptation of their

⁵⁵ The authors adopted the word adaptation rather than assimilation - a word which they found less appropriate for their study.

new society, when those two factors were combined. The authors identified seven categories within adaptation, four of which were 'objective' or external i.e. political, social, cultural and economic, and three were 'subjective' concerned with the socio-psychological aspects i.e. identification, change of attitudes and values, and satisfaction (1974, p. 198). The authors believed that immigrants' education and previous urban experience were amongst the most important determinants of immigrant adaptation.

Furthermore, findings indicated that immigrants showed an 'increasing adaptation with length of residence, but the effects were much stronger on the subjective, than the objective aspects' (Goldlust & Richmond 1974, p. 205). Motivation for migration did not appear to have any significant impact on adaptation, however, what the authors concluded that those who left for political reasons had slightly higher levels of membership of organisations. In addition, the authors concluded that 'most immigrants achieved partial or full recovery in due course' and that post-secondary education was 'the most important predictor of upward social mobility' (1974, p. 210).

Furthermore, the authors also measured their subjects' acculturation process and level, social integration, satisfaction and identification. Acculturation was measured by English language fluency and usage and knowledge of Canadian personalities, symbols, and institutions. Social integration was measured in terms of membership of voluntary organisations and the degree of involvement in those organisations as well as the extent of interaction beyond family and kin. Immigrant satisfaction was examined in terms of satisfaction with jobs, accommodation and neighbourhood, and identification was considered from the point of view of commitment to Canada eg. citizenship, support of Canadian teams, and ethnic identity by immigrants. 'The multivariate analysis showed that length of residence was the most important determinant of identification in terms of commitment, with satisfaction and acculturation also contributing slightly' (Goldlust & Richmond 1974, p. 213).

Moreover, on the basis of a number of variables, Goldlust and Richmond developed a typology of immigrant adaptation which included:

Table 5.18 Typology of immigrants (Goldlust & Richmond 1974)

No.	Type of immigrant	Typical characteristics
1	Urban villagers	low education, close knit social networks of kith and kin, relies on ethnic press and radio, committed to permanent residence
2.	Pluralistically integrated	mid to high educated, close to ethnic network and they are able to mix very well in mainstream society
3	Assimilating permanent settlers	they move away from their ethnic heritage, try to be close to mainstream
4.	Alienated and defeated	unhappy with their situation in Australia, they will not stay eg. had industrial accidents, lost control over their lives
5.	Transillients	very highly educated and short-term residents eg. diplomats, businessmen

How do these models of immigrant adaptation apply to the 1980s Polish immigrants? The urban villager category is not applicable to Polish immigrants due to their urban experience and levels of education and the category of assimilating permanent settlers is equally not applicable to Polish immigrants although this study sample did include a small number of subjects who adapted a strongly conformist attitude to their settlement. Neither is the Transilient category applicable to Polish immigrants mainly due to their length of residence and there was only a small number of Polish immigrants who displayed characteristics fitting into the Alienated category who felt isolated from the mainstream community, had no or poor English language skills and were reluctant to return to Poland either because they cannot afford the trip back or were reluctant to be seen upon return 'as a failure'. According to Goldlust and Richmond, the Pluralist type of adaptation is characterised by average or high education and 'high ethnic social distance' which are, to a certain extent, common characteristics of the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants.

Further, the authors found that immigrants in this group placed considerable importance on maintenance of their linguistic, cultural and religious traditions, had often experienced significant status reduction after arrival which they regain with time, and feel that their situation has not 'improved greatly compared with that in his [her] former country' (1974, p. 221).

These immigrants' social networks were mostly with those from their own ethnic group, they belonged to a number of voluntary organisations, did not identify as Canadians, and had medium levels of satisfaction with their lives in Canada. This research found, when comparing the Solidarity wave to the above conclusions, that these Polish immigrants maintained their Polish language and culture and religious traditions (although church attendance was significantly lower). They experienced significant (at times drastic) status reduction which many have regained with time, often by undertaking further studies. Unlike Goldlust and Richmond's subjects, these Polish immigrants believed that their standard of living has improved.

Goldlust and Richmond (1978), in their later study, also developed a model of immigrant adaptation of which acculturation was one dimension. These authors measured acculturation by a number of variables such as: (i) Acculturation which included English fluency and English Usage, Cognitive Acculturation Index involving 12 questions about Canada, and General Acculturation Index which involved the combination of the first two variables, (ii) Identification in terms of intention to settle permanently in Canada, a sense of belonging in Canada and support of Canadian sports teams versus teams from the former country, (iii) Satisfaction with life and job in Canada, (iv) Homogeneity of Friendship Network referring to the similarity of the respondent's three closest friends, (v) and the Use of Ethnic Media. Authors found that immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds who had ten or more years of education went through a rapid process of acculturation which was then followed by identification. Further, Goldlust and Richmond also found that satisfaction amongst immigrants with higher levels of education remained relatively low and that this factor 'was not a necessary prerequisite for advances in identification or acculturation (1978, p. 10). In addition, the two authors concluded that satisfaction correlated highly 'with membership of a closed network of kith and kin'... and that 'increased acculturation has little direct influence on satisfaction' (1978, p. 11). The authors' overall conclusion was that the level of acculturation was related to the length of residence and that education was a key determinant regarding immigrants' knowledge of Canadian personalities, symbols and institutions.

Achmatowicz-Otok and Otok (1985), on the basis of Johnston⁵⁶ and others as well as their own field observations, grouped immigrants into four categories regarding the process of assimilation: enthusiasts, pacifists, malcontents and neutral.

These authors state that those in the first group were characterised by a deep enthusiasm about Australia and Australians - they identified with them and adopted their lifestyle, and they wanted to remain in Australia. Most of their social interactions were with Australians, they did not belong to Polish organisations, did not believe in maintaining Polish traditions and choose not to teach their children to speak the Polish language. They were permanent assimilates. Pacifists, who more than anything else wanted a quiet and peaceful life, also strongly identified with Australia but continued to maintain Polish traditions. They also had no plans of returning to Poland and were generally pluralistically integrated. On the other hand, malcontents were those who always criticised Australia and everything about it. They did not seek contacts with Australians and preferred to spend time with other Poles. Those in the neutral category, are characterised by a small level of assimilation and find the Australian culture unappealing. Their life style remains Polish, they belong to Polish organisations and listen to Polish radio programs.

Amongst others who have researched immigrant adaptation were Scott and Scott (1991) who developed two models of immigrant adaptation: (i) subjective: eg. satisfaction including self-esteem, job satisfaction, satisfaction with families, and (ii) social adaptation: role performance, material well-being, co-worker-judged job performance, and friend-judged self-esteem. A caution is necessary when comparing the findings of this study to Polish immigrants as the majority of subjects in the Scott and Scott study were from English-speaking backgrounds and had been in Australia no longer than three years. It is not possible to fully apply the Scott and Scott model of immigrant adaptation to these Polish immigrants as certain aspects explored by these two authors, were not explored in this research study. The variables used by Scott and Scott, which can be compared to this research study of Polish immigrants are job

⁵⁶ *Immigrant Assimilation* by R. Johnston, 1965.

satisfaction, satisfaction with families and material well-being - variables on which Polish immigrants scored highly.

When exploring the issue of immigrant adjustment, Richardson (1974) identified three stages in the process of assimilation: satisfaction, identification and acculturation. He argued that in order for immigrants to go from one stage to the next they must attain a certain level of assimilation in each stage first. The findings of this study indicated that the majority of Polish immigrants have achieved the satisfaction stage, a significant proportion of them have reached the identification stage, and a smaller number have also achieved the acculturation stage.

Similarly to Richardson, Luthke and Cropley found that immigrants go through a variety of '...uncertainties, anxieties, sometimes loneliness, a sense of loss, fluctuating hopes, and adjustment of aspirations' (1990, p. 148), during their initial settlement process. These authors concluded that for immigrants a '..."natural" condition is to stay at home and that the act of emigrating is a means to the end of settling down again as soon as possible' (Luthke & Cropley 1990, p. 150). Polish immigrants in this study experienced all of the feelings identified by Luthke and Cropley in the initial years of settlement in Australia. Findings also indicated that they wanted to resettle and regain their status as soon as possible.

A number of previously stated authors (Richmond 1970; Kritz 1987; Beaujot et al. 1988) found that adaptation of immigrants depended on a number of factors including: motive for migration, personal characteristics, and conditions in the new country. These authors concluded that '...obtaining of employment, preferably commensurate with their [immigrants'] skills and educational qualifications is an essential ingredient in their adaptation process (Badasu 1990, p. 71). Kapalka, based on Goldlust and Richmond (1978) also believed that 'reasons for migration can have a significant effect on acculturation' (1989, p. 106).

Analysis of interview data suggests that reasons for migration as a settlement determining factor was applicable to the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants eg. their lack of opportunities in Poland - a reason of migration for many Polish immigrants - versus the availability of opportunities in Australia. Polish immigrants also displayed a variety of personal characteristics eg. tenacity, hard-working, resourcefulness, and so on, which contributed to them being where they are today. Similarly to Kritz (1987) and Beaujot et al. (1985), this study argues that obtaining of employment was one of the most crucial factors in these immigrants' settlement process. As was indicated earlier, Polish immigrants were aware that having a job determined the lifestyle they and their children could have. '*Praca jest najwazniejsza*' (having a job is most important) was a common observation by Polish immigrants during interviews.

5.6.2 Refugees and adaptation processes and models

Egon Kunz (1973) developed a typology of refugees who leave their home country against their will and who plan to return to their country, compared to immigrants who emigrate voluntarily and do not wish to return. The United Nations defines a refugee as:

...an individual who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or, who, not having a nationality or being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (Kunz 1973, p. 130).

Kunz divided the refugee movement into two categories: anticipatory and acute. The anticipatory refugee is characterised by leaving his/her home country and arriving in a new country being prepared for settlement i.e. knowing the language, being well educated, having finances, knowing the process of obtaining a job. Kunz states that this type of refugee can mistakenly be seen as voluntary migrants because of a number of similarities, and that in order to assess this type of movement, it is necessary to know its historical background:

The question of form of displacement does not arise with anticipatory flights, because anticipatory refugee movements, though triggered by refugee motivations, take place in times when freedom of action, safety of movement and planned departure are still possible, and therefore in their form of departure resemble voluntary migrations (Kunz 1973, p. 141).

On the other hand, the acute refugee movement is characterised by suddenness due to massive political changes, with the main aim being an asylum usually in neighbouring countries. Such refugees, who can also be called political refugees, usually oppose certain political systems (Kunz 1973). Furthermore, Kunz states that refugees in this category face barriers or restricted exit and secret actions and 'highly individualistic solutions are part of this type of displacement.

The 1980s Polish immigrants were not refugees because they did not leave against their will; they wanted to leave. Neither did they plan to return once the situation improved in Poland. They fit into the category of immigrants (as per Kunz 1973) because they emigrated voluntarily and did not want to return. They were afraid of returning to Poland. However, nowhere in the literature was it revealed that amongst those who did return to Poland before the fall of communism in 1989, were there incidents of persecution. When the anticipatory and acute refugee movement is applied to these Polish immigrants, it is observed that these Polish immigrants do not fit the two models easily. For example, if they were anticipatory refugees, they were not prepared for settlement, did not know the English language, had little finances, did not know the process of obtaining a job in Australia, but were well educated. In respect of the acute category, these Polish immigrants did not leave suddenly but there were major political upheavals happening in Poland, they opposed the political system and some left secretly due to fear. Findings of this study ring a familiar tone with Kunz's conclusions and it appeared that Polish immigrants show some characteristics of the anticipatory and the acute refugee movements. Careful analysis indicated that none of Kunz's categories fit this group

but each has aspects relevant to the Solidarity wave. Based on this research findings and other research it is difficult to make conclusions if these immigrants left Poland in a voluntary or an involuntary capacity. The unique situation in Poland at that time would suggest that it was a blending of both whereby the push factor was very substantial, though not overwhelming as in genuine refugee situations, and the pull factor in terms of the attractiveness of the West was also very substantial.

The settlement process and outcomes indicate that Polish immigrants were economic and political immigrants but not refugees as such eg. they concentrated on settling in Australia rather than freeing Poland. However, the majority did not have money with them and had no knowledge of their country of destination. Polish immigrants in transit countries did not wait for the situation in Poland to improve and then perhaps return, they concentrated on obtaining a permanent visa to another country. Even if the situation in Poland did improve it is most unlikely that they would have returned to Poland. Kunz classified persons in such situations as refugees by choice.

In 1981, Kunz extended his analysis of exile and resettlement of refugees. The author grouped refugees into three categories in view of their relationship to the home country. The first category - *majority-identified refugees* - enthusiastically identified with the population in their home country but not its government. The second category - *events-alienated refugees* - included those who felt 'ambivalent or embittered in their attitude to their former compatriots' (Kunz 1981, p. 43). And the third category, referred to as the *self-alienated* persons, were those who wish not to identify or have any connections with the mother country. Furthermore, Kunz classified refugee groups into *reactive fate-groups* and *purpose groups* which he subdivided 'into self-fulfilling purpose groups and groups of revolutionary activists' (1981, p. 43). The author states, 'The common characteristic of reactive fate-groups is the nature of their flight; they flee reluctantly, without a solution in sight, they flee because they react to a situation which they perceive to be intolerable' (1981, p. 44). Also, 'the borderline between

political refugees and those dissatisfied economically can indeed be blurred when displacement occurs in reaction to events' (Kunz 1981, p. 44).

Kunz's study developed the following typology of refugees with regard to their nationalistic orientation towards the country of birth:

Table 5.19 Typology of refugees (Kunz 1981)

No.	Type	Typical characteristics
1.	Restoration Activist	actively works to restore situation back home
2.	Passivist	majority of attitudes, we have been through a war, I will bear the hurt within myself, I just want to live in peace
3.	Integrationist (realist)	what has happened is in the past, now we have to integrate, get on living in the new country
4.	Eager assimilationist	wants to forget the old country (small number), they often work a lot to forget the past and settle well in a new country

Refugee groups usually display strong patriotic feeling towards their home countries, however, this did not appear the case with this group of Polish immigrants (perhaps with the exception of a small number of Solidarity activists), and therefore, they do not fit into the category of Restoration Activist. With regard to the applicability of the above types of refugees, the majority of Polish immigrants in this study seemed to fit into the Passive hurt and even more so into the Integration Seeking type. Below is a more extensive analysis of the applicability of settlement models to Polish immigrants.

5.6.3 Polish immigrants and adjustment processes

Since their arrival in Australia, Polish immigrants have been undergoing a process of acculturation and deculturation. Kapalka, based on Szapocznik et al. (1978) defined acculturation as 'accommodation' to the host culture, which involves modification of the following aspects by immigrants:

- person's language usage
- network of social relations
- life style
- habits

- customs
- and values (Kapalka 1989)

As Kapalka did not study deculturation, he provides no definition. However, deculturation can be described as the process through which new settlers adapt their linguistic and cultural traditions.

When the above aspects are applied to Polish immigrants, in terms of deculturation, this group of immigrants retained a balanced level in maintaining their Polish cultural traditions eg. the Polish language and network of social relations. These immigrants have also been successful in taking on aspects of the Australian culture - acculturation - some of which eg. the English language, had been obtained due to practicality and/or necessity as well as willingness. There was no evidence indicating that Polish immigrants were torn between culture maintenance and culture acquisition. As a group, they were satisfied with culture transfer onto their children, which occurred without conflict.

Unlike the post World War II wave of Polish immigrants to Australia, the Solidarity wave arrived in Australia at a time of strong emphasis on multiculturalism (and its idealistic aims) and high levels of cultural tolerance. An example of this is reflected in the words of Phillip Lynch (Minister of the Immigration Department in Australia in 1972) in *Immigration - a Story of Nation Building* who states, 'we would like every immigrant to achieve economic and social benefits, that each becomes a fully valued member of the Australian society ... for each to be a link of understanding between their country of birth and their new country - Australia' (in Achmatowicz-Otok and Otok 1985, p. 173). This study revealed that the 1980s Polish immigrants cannot be considered an active link between Poland and Australia, largely due to their lack of involvement in Polish organisations. However, they do maintain links with their families in Poland and go there for holidays. Furthermore, it could be argued that these immigrants cannot be considered fully-participating members of the Australian society because of their lack of involvement in politics and poor representation in business. However,

considering their medium length of residence, these Polish immigrants have achieved significant economic benefits for themselves eg. their level of home ownership.

This study has shown that Polish immigrants varied in their level of assimilation, or preferably called acculturation, and the following change of attitudes was observed: food eating times and type of food, celebrating birthdays not namedays, moving from focusing on material things to focusing on life satisfaction and fulfilment. Also, these immigrants relinquished their preoccupation with prestige and appear to move from group to individual values.

Further, Kapalka (1989) examined adjustment of Polish immigrants in the United States in terms of life style i.e. how an immigrant obtains information about social and world events, his/her recreation, aspects of home life (decor, food and drink). Kapalka's and other studies (eg. Aroian) found that the less acculturated were likely to choose Polish media and Polish entertainment and 'the more acculturated are more likely to abandon the adherence to traditional customs of the culture of origin' (Kapalka 1989, pp. 127-8). This study, although it did not explore Polish immigrants' life style in particular, based on general impression and observations during interview the data collection process, supports Kapalka's conclusion.

It is interesting to note, and contrary to the findings of this study, that Poles in Aroian's study showed a strong desire to belong to and feel at home in the U.S., including forcing themselves to 'learn to accept and derive comfort from "American things"' (1994, pp. 272-3), which appears similar to what Kunz referred to as 'hyperactive search for assimilation' (1981). Correspondingly, Taras makes the following observations of newly-arrived Polish immigrants' adaptation process and assimilatory tendencies in the U.S.:

...one observes amongst those people [new Polish immigrants] a process of assimilation by force (*na sile*) and an intense learning of English, lack of contact with the community and Polish organisations, focusing only on one's own affairs, one's own benefits. If those people do become involved, it is on a political plane, dictated

and brought [from Poland] need for this type of involvement. This is dominated by a totalitarian and univocal attitude. Let's say - a protest against Poland. In their political involvement there is no searching for different values or trying to choose a value in which the Polish common goodness should develop (Taras 1994, p. 155).

Heydenkorn (1988) also notes these immigrants' keenness to immerse themselves into the Canadian life and to raise and maintain their professional and social status. Furthermore, Kay concluded that 'they [the 1980s Polish immigrants] appear extremely anxious to successfully assimilate into Western society' (1985, p. 8), however, the author does not substantiate this view with evidence. This study did not indicate such patterns perhaps because of its retrospective character and only a small number of Polish immigrants were assessed as fitting into the assimilation category. Overall, there did not appear to be strong emphasis on assimilation but immigrants did want to know English well, which was more from a point of convenience and having a fulfilling and quality life in Australia. Given the socio-demographic characteristics of these immigrants and the Polish cultural traditions, it is understandable that they try to adapt to their new society. Perhaps it is easiest to understand the reason for this occurrence through the words of a Polish immigrant in Canada who described the various elements in settling in a new country:

I have to look, in order to see. A shortcoming, which did not bother me in Poland, here could mean failure. I have to learn to look, I have to learn the history of this country, so I can understand the culture of these people, their reactions, framework according to which they behave, their mentality and the way they look at other people (CPRI 1990, p. 431).

With regard to the Australian context, Jamrozik (1983) found that the higher the qualifications and occupational status immigrants had in Poland, the harder the adaptation process. A Polish immigrant, in his memoirs, confirms similar observations by stating that those with high level of education and high aspirations experienced more severe degradation (Poland-

Australia Society c.1983, p. 94). In almost all studies, as well as this study, Polish immigrants stressed that knowledge of the English language is the most important thing in settlement (*Jezyk jest najwazniejszy*).

A researcher on the Polish community in Canada paints a picture of immigrants' position in society after arrival, and suggests a way forward to successful adjustment:

We do not know anything, we are nothing as immigrants after arrival. There is no point in looking back, but to look forward, and that means - to start everything afresh. Do not compare new conditions with those in Poland, do not copy them. Here [in Canada], even if it is worse - it is different, and thus comparisons are useless (Kogler 1992, p. 11).

Nic nie wiemy, niczym nie jesteśmy po przybyciu jako emigranci. Nie należy się oglądać wstecz, ale patrzeć w przód, a to znaczy - rozpocząć wszystko od nowa. Nie porównywać warunków nowych z warunkami polskimi, nie naśladować ich. Tutaj, nawet jak jest gorzej - jest inaczej, a wobec tego na nic porównania.

The same author expresses words of admiration for Polish immigrants who managed to overcome many difficulties through such characteristics as courage, resourcefulness and hard work (Kogler 1992, p. 25).

Zalewski, in Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium, refers to the effort required on the part of immigrants in order to integrate into a new society. He states:

An immigrant entering a new society forms a relationship of exchange with the new community, in which he/she will be involved and which offers its values. It is not only an economic relationship but also cultural. It demands from one human being respect towards those amongst those he/she lives, i.e. respecting their values, accepting their institutions and respecting people's views. Most of all an immigrant is expected to make

an effort to contribute to the new community because it offers him/her a life and asks for respect of its structures. Not accepting those structures would be parasitism, taking without giving, divesting of ethical values. Integrating into that society calls for learning cultural values and often is intertwined with change of attitudes ... During that process, the links with the old culture loosen up (Zalewski 1994, p. 98).

Zalewski concluded that generally, Polish immigrants had a minimal input into their new society (which prevents them from an input into the society where they came from) and no political or economic influence.

Krupko, in her exploratory study on the settlement of Polish immigrants in Melbourne, found that they achieved a reasonable level of acculturation 'through both necessity and choice' (1992, p. 23). In that study, subjects were in the final stages of acculturation which was:

...a combination of obligatory (adapting one's ways in order to be able to live in a particular society) and advantageous acculturation (adopting norms in order to be accepted). However there is no indication that respondents have adopted Australian culture as their own (Krupko 1992, p. 23).

It is difficult to know what the author meant by Australian culture. If it referred to involvement in the Australian sports eg. football or cricket, which are often considered a strong part of the Australian culture, then, from that point of view, Polish immigrants have not adopted the Australian culture. Furthermore, contrary to this and other studies, the author also found that '...the need to achieve everything at once has been proved detrimental to their [Polish immigrants] long term settlement satisfaction level' (1992, p. 24). The author does not give reasons for this conclusion. This study's findings support Krupko's observation that Polish immigrants wanted to achieve everything at once, however, it did not appear that this was detrimental to their satisfaction with settlement. Interview data indicated that immigrants worked simultaneously on a number of areas, but none mentioned any regret about it other than that it was not an easy process at the time.

Further, Kapalka found that 'the more acculturated compared to the less acculturated Polish immigrants are more likely to speak English fluently and at home, have non-Polish and/or English-speaking friends, show no preference for Polish-speaking media coverage and entertainment, and alter traditional customs regarding family events, religion and celebrating holidays' (1989, p. iii). Kapalka, based on Reusch et al. (1948), suggested three types of cultural adjustment:

- a) attempting to re-establish the old culture
- b) disregarding the new surroundings as much as possible
- c) accept the behaviour patterns and values of the new setting (seen as healthy adjustment) (1989, p. 5)

When the above types of adjustment are considered, then, Polish immigrants, in the majority, belong to the third type.

This is how Kapalka concludes his findings on the acculturation of Polish immigrants in the U.S.:

The individual who did not attain a high level of education in the culture of origin is more likely to adopt values of the host society while continuing the education process after culture change...Upward mobility in terms of occupation, and socioeconomic status following culture change may further the acculturation process...The higher the individual's socioeconomic status, the more likely that individual is to adopt behaviour patterns of the host culture. Furthermore, the more satisfied the individual is with his/her social status, the more receptive that individual may be to the values of the host society (1989, p. 55).

In addition, Kapalka concluded that immigrants also consider the receptivity of the host country in the decision on culture maintenance and the acquisition of a new culture with pre-migration characteristics and length of stay being less limited in their influence. Aroian also

identified that the 'degree of cultural differences levels of host receptivity have an effect on immigrant's acculturation' (1988, p. 54). Furthermore, Kunz (1981) believed that 'cultural compatibility' between the previous country and the new one is one of the most important factors influencing settlement satisfaction of immigrants. Kapalka's findings also lead him to conclude that 'the degree to which Poles' expectations are met will influence the degree to which they will consider value change' (Kapalka 1989, p. 131).

A number of authors analysed the adjustment of immigrants using the level of education as a criteria concluding that the more highly educated immigrants become more acculturated than those with lower levels of acculturation. Aroian, however, found no differences in the migration and resettlement experience 'amongst people with different socioeconomic status' (1994, p. 270) of which education is one component. Authors in the USA and Canada also saw occupational status as a key determinant in immigrants' material and psychological adjustment in their new country (Baker 1989; Aroian 1988). This is how Aroian described the effect of work type on adaptation:

Working menial labour extended the novelty period because interviewees' limited perspectives were perpetuated by having access to only one segment of the U.S. population. Lack of language ability and lack of transportation also extended the novelty period (Aroian 1988, p. 143).

Additionally, in Aroian's study the 'interviewees reported that the sense of purpose or access to social relationships offered by satisfactory non-menial jobs contributed to feeling at home' (Aroian 1994, p. 275). Finally, the author concluded that difficulties in occupational adjustment also contributed to other difficulties faced by Polish immigrants in their settlement years (Aroian 1994).

In order to assess how many Polish immigrants continue to experience settlement adjustment and difficulties, criteria chosen were: occupational position and status, English language fluency and life satisfaction. On the basis of this, it is concluded that the majority of Polish

immigrants had already undergone most of their adjustment process and it is predicted that no major changes will take place with regard to this process.

A number of authors (eg. Baker 1989; Aroian 1988) found as did this study that Polish immigrants, in the main, adapted (or were on the way of adaptation) well in their new countries of residence. This study and other studies (eg. Aroian 1994) found some gender differences (eg. see section 4.2.1) regarding settlement and acculturation with women being equally determined to succeed.

5.6.4 Typology of the 1980s wave of Polish immigrants

When immigrants leave their home country to permanently settle in another, they face three possibilities with regards to their adjustment which can be either successful, unsuccessful or somewhere in between i.e. successful in some areas but not in others. As immigrants they will also make a choice about their attitude to the maintenance of their mother culture and involvement with their own ethnic group versus participation in and adoption of the new culture. They may become pro-Australian, pro-Polish, or adopt a balanced pluralistic approach. All of these will depend on a number of factors i.e. who they are when they come to a new country and what are the circumstances (positive or negative) which will either help them with successful settlement or hinder their settlement. It can also be argued that personality characteristics as well as luck i.e. being at the right place at the right time, will also be influential factors.

Table 5.20 Typology of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants

No.	Type	Characteristics
1.	Successful	age (25-35), education or ability to acquire further education (preferably in the first few years after arrival), English language proficiency or willingness to acquire such, urban background, previous travels, confident in pursuing goals, high job and life satisfaction
2.	Unsuccessful	often older at the time of migrating (34 years old or more), lower levels of education (level and type of qualifications) but not necessarily, not acquiring English language proficiency in the initial years, deterioration in health eg. industrial accidents, lack of or loss of confidence in pursuing goals (or having no such goals), sometimes experience loneliness and a sense of loss, some have adjusted their aspirations while others have given up hope of eg. finding employment, from all four types are likely to be most loyal to Poland or even pro-Polish
3.	Pro-Australian	not wanting to have anything to do with Polish organisations and Polish media, limited Polish friends, want to implant themselves into the Australian society, want to forget the past
4.	Balanced Pluralists	Successful transition from one country to another (at times with some initial difficulties), adoption of a new way of life in the adopted country and a 'healthy' retention of mother culture including transmission onto children, overall more emphasis on Australia than Poland

Recognising that people do not easily 'fit into boxes' and that there are always variations within any category, four categories of possible settlement types have been stated for this group of immigrants in relation to job and life satisfaction, English language proficiency and attitudes towards maintenance of cultural tradition and language and acquisition of new traditions and values.

It is a group of immigrants which was quite homogenous compared to immigrants in Goldlust and Richmond's study. For example, except for one, all came from an urban background, all had trade, secondary or tertiary education, and the majority came to live in Australia permanently. Also, their migration journey was similar and they left around the same time and for many similar reasons eg. unhappy with the situation in Poland, lack of opportunities. Further, they are similar in their Australian citizenship acquisition, identity, use of Polish language, being apolitical and having most close friends within the Polish community in Melbourne.

It can be assumed that these immigrants are typical of many people emigrating from Eastern European countries to settle in Western countries. Because of the economic difference

between Eastern European and Western countries, these immigrants often achieve significantly higher standard of living, especially those who migrated in the 1980s.

It is not known but possible, that it is the communist baggage, which plays an important role in these immigrants choosing not to be actively involved in politics but in fact appreciate the opportunity of being able to live in a society where their achievements do not depend on political party affiliation.

The experience of uncertainty, anxiety and fluctuation hopes is behind these immigrants after 10-14 years of residence in Australia. Those who have not been able to settle successfully, have given up and have a pretty good idea of what the future will be.

5.7 Summary

This second last chapter examined the bicultural identity in a multicultural Australia of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants. In particular, it examined their maintenance of links with Poland, view of themselves as a group and their identity. Study results showed that half continue to identify themselves as Polish and 40 per cent as Polish-Australians. No interviewee identified as Australian after 10-14 years of residence in Australia. These immigrants felt strongly about their Polish identity and only moderate or medium strength of feeling about their Australian affiliation. More than half continue to maintain strong links with families in Poland and 80 per cent had invited their families for a holiday to Australia. The majority also had returned to Poland for a holiday where they experienced a mixture of emotions in appraising Poland, the situation of their family and friends, their own evolving ethnic identity and concluded that Australia was their home. Sixty per cent of the interviewees had no family in Australia other than their own.

With regard to typical Polish characteristics, there was a high level of negativity expressed eg. megalomania, jealousy. This study could not determine the reasons for this although similar findings were noted by other authors.

As could be expected, these immigrants continued to eat Polish food, however, there was a significant shift in cuisine preferences eg. towards Asian food. The tradition of celebrating Christmas and Easter in the Polish way was very strong amongst the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants. Equally important was the maintenance of the Polish culture in order to maintain their cultural traditions per se, because of children or identity/belonging reasons. They were not rigid in their Polish culture maintenance and did not impose it on their children.

Readership of books was higher than the readership of Polish newspapers with 40 per cent of these immigrants never or almost never doing so. *Polish Weekly* is the most widely read Polish newspaper followed by newspapers from Poland. Polish immigrants spoke mainly Polish with their partner and their children. Eighty per cent found it important or very important to maintain the Polish language because of their children but also to continue tradition. However, whilst these immigrants were committed to not losing the Polish language, the same cannot be said in regard to their involvement with the Polish community in Victoria and its organisations. Only one third of these immigrants belonged to Polish organisations, the rest either did not have time, did not want to or had no need for it. These immigrants tend to keep to themselves, preferring to interact in small circles of friends rather than belong or be involved in the organised life of the Polish community. Generally, they did not see the Polish community in a positive light, in particular, the inter- and intra-organisational squabbling. Neither did these immigrants have much contact with the two community-based Polish welfare organisations in Melbourne. Only a quarter attended events organised by the Polish community in Melbourne. Some have tried to form new Polish organisations or to solve problems of the Polish community without much success.

Only a quarter of this wave of Polish immigrants listened to 3EA regularly although just over 80 per cent know about it. This rather low percentage is also due to the broadcast time of the Polish program. Overall, these immigrants did not assess the Polish radio programs favourably.

A significant number continued to follow events in Poland either on a regular or occasional basis, however, there was no strong interest in knowing what was happening in their home country. A third assessed the changes in Poland as positive developments.

A large majority identified as Roman Catholics and 65 per cent saw religion as important. Only 15 per cent attend a Polish mass regularly and another 15 per cent attend an English mass regularly. Generally, there was a significant shift away from religion since their migration from Poland.

The 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants acquired a very high level of Australian citizenship which they saw as a natural thing to do and as part of their loyalty to Australia. Travel purposes also played a role in these immigrants' decision to acquire Australian citizenship.

Polish immigrants tended to vote for the Liberal Party with ten per cent believing that the Labour Party is like a communist party. Voting for the Labour Party varied between 20-32 per cent. Almost a quarter felt that there was no difference between the two main parties' philosophies and strategies. Overall, these immigrants had no interest, involvement or commitment to politics and relevant processes. No one belonged to a political party.

There were many views expressed on multiculturalism which was seen as many nationalities living together, having a right to and maintain cultural traditions. Multiculturalism was seen positively by just over half of the Polish immigrants. Dissatisfaction was expressed with some ethnic groups forming ghettos. Polish immigrants highly approved of government assistance to immigrants, especially of interpreters in courts and hospitals. A third focus of disapproval was government support for teaching main community languages and provision of English classes at work. The first was seen as not relevant and the second as excessive at times of economic rationalism. Analysis of Polish immigrants' acceptance of potential new immigrants

revealed high levels of support for immigrants who would be useful to Australia, well educated or who have trade qualifications. The least support was for more immigrants from Asia and Middle East perceiving that Australia already has many Asians and in the case of those from Middle East the prejudice was made because of religion eg. devout Muslims. Polish immigrants' prejudices also showed in responses to their acceptance of other ethnic groups. They were also reluctant to accept other nationalities as family members preferring to guard their privacy instead.

The final section in this chapter looked at immigrant and refugee models and their applicability to the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants.

Chapter Six: Summary and Conclusions

6.1 Summary

This research study on the settlement of the 1980s Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants involved 60 participants (36 women and 24 men) and the majority of subjects arrived in Australia between 25-35 years of age. They came from an urban background, few had shifted within Poland, however, most had travelled abroad previously. Almost all study subjects had first stayed in transit countries in Europe where they sought political asylum and then migrated to Australia under the Special Humanitarian Program. To most, Australia was their first preference as a country of migration. Men were the driving force behind the decision to emigrate from Poland. The majority of Polish immigrants migrated spontaneously. Similar to other findings on this wave of Polish immigrants, they left for political and economic reasons; they did not accept the system and blamed it for all Poland's difficulties. Few had their own accommodation in Poland and this factor also played a significant role in deciding to leave their mother country permanently.

Only two interviewees had been in Australia before; most had little knowledge about the everyday life in their new country and imagined it to be like Europe or North America, especially with regard to the architecture of the cities. The majority of Polish immigrants had negative first impressions after arrival but at the same time they liked the ocean beaches and plants as well as the friendly people. Very few came with savings, most had less than \$100 and only clothing. Although all interviewees had studied foreign languages in Poland, few had studied English and they had no or limited English language skills upon arrival. They found learning the English language and living without being able to communicate the hardest thing to cope with in their initial settlement. Obtaining first jobs was very difficult for these immigrants.

The majority had initially lived in the migrant hostels where food and accommodation was provided for a fee and some also used the post hostel accommodation available to them. Almost all considered their current accommodation much better than what they had in Poland and a significant number had already paid off their homes.

At the time of the interview, most had a good or reasonable command of the English language but a significant number had difficulty with writing English. Only a few Polish immigrants continued to study English formally and amongst those who were not studying, only a few expressed interest in studying English.

This wave of Polish immigrants contained those with university education and those with technical and trade qualifications. No study subject had primary education only. Polish immigrants had various experiences regarding recognition of their overseas qualifications, however, most found the process easy. A large number of Polish immigrants undertook further or additional studies in Australia either at a tertiary level or vocational courses. Many had good jobs in Poland, had to do manual and labourer type of jobs upon arrival, and had now largely regained their previous occupational status in Poland. The majority were satisfied with their jobs in Australia including those who worked below their qualifications. The majority of this Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants believed that job opportunities for immigrants were worse than for the Australian-born with English language difficulties being the main barrier. Occupational prestige had no or less significance to these immigrants now compared to Poland. A small number of immigrants had experienced prejudice in their workplace. With the exception of a few, there was a high or very high level of life satisfaction amongst these immigrants. The aspects of their lives which they like the most were the peace and quiet, the friendly and helpful people, their life stability and an ability to afford what they need. Almost all had achieved a much higher standard of living.

In retrospect, they would have done some things differently regarding their settlement in Australia; most would have put greater emphasis on learning English and/or upgrading their

qualifications. Nevertheless, the majority had assessed their decision to emigrate from Poland as good or very good and only a few had regrets about it.

Polish immigrants hold Australia in a high regard and show strong feelings of loyalty and patriotism towards it.

They are generally of good health, however, a small number experienced deterioration to their health due to physically demanding employment. Their income varied, with only a few earning over \$50,000, and there were many more women on low incomes than men. These immigrants strongly believed that they can only rely on themselves and only one person sought assistance from a charitable organisation when in need. There was no usage of Polish welfare organisations by these immigrants.

The majority of Polish immigrants continue to have regular contact with their families in Poland, either by letters, telephone or visits. Most had invited members of their families to Australia for a holiday. A large number of Polish immigrants who visited Poland did not like the idea of living there and when they were returning to Australia, they felt that they were coming home, which can be seen as an indication of how much these Poles have changed. With regard to their identity, most felt that they were Polish or Polish-Australians and not one person identified as an Australian although almost all had obtained Australian citizenship. About half of the study subjects had family in Australia. Most of their close friends were Polish and only a few had close non-Polish friends. These immigrants had low organisational involvement in Polish or mainstream organisations and clubs. Some indicated that they sometimes experience loneliness.

There was a high level of negativity shown by this group towards the Polish community in Melbourne and about typical Polish characteristics. On the other hand, they considered the maintenance of the Polish culture important, most spoke Polish at home and proudly passed this language onto their children. Listening to the Polish radio programs was not important to

them, however, they usually watched Polish movies and the Polish news on Sundays. Not many followed developments in Poland.

The majority of these Polish immigrants were Roman Catholics and they have not changed religion since their arrival but did not attend church masses as frequently as they did in Poland. They continued to find religion important to them but only one interviewee was actively involved in the Polish church in Melbourne.

There was a significant level of marriage break up amongst these immigrants, usually initiated by women, which is similar to the Australian pattern. Those who remained married, had very high or high levels of marriage satisfaction and often became closer than they were before migration.

Most had a vague understanding of what multiculturalism meant but believed that it was a good thing and they liked the Australian cultural diversity. They indicated strong approval of government support services for immigrants eg. interpreters in courts and hospitals. Polish immigrants were not supportive of the idea of bringing more immigrants to Australia and many were against more immigrants from Asia, Middle East and England. Also, Polish immigrants preferred not to accept people from other nationalities as members of their families or as their close friends. Ethnic groups which Polish immigrants showed reluctance to accept were: Asians, Arabic speakers, in particular Muslims, Turks and persons from the former Yugoslavia. Aboriginals and Australians scored very high levels of acceptance by Polish immigrants. Reasons for liking or disliking certain groups but not others were based on personal experiences of contact with individuals from those groups and perceptions held about those groups based on media portrayal of those groups.

There was little contact with political representatives from all three levels of government and Polish immigrants did not attempt to understand and be involved in the Australian political

process. Polish immigrants had a preference to vote for the Liberal Party, however, no interviewee belonged to that or any other political party.

Children of Polish immigrants spoke Polish well and seemed to have pride in their ethnic background, however, only a few children participated in the life of the Polish community. Parents believed that their children have better prospects for the future in Australia compared to Poland.

There were very few Polish immigrants who were considering a return to Poland. The political changes in Poland have had some impact on these immigrants' view of possible return but most would like to spent the rest of their lives in Australia.

6.2 Conclusions

This research study confirmed some findings by other authors and highlighted a number of new findings about the Solidarity wave of Polish immigrants which provide valuable insights and thus contribute to a more comprehensive knowledge into this wave of Polish migration. The researcher was aware of the danger of drawing conclusions from a 60-person research sample to the whole wave of Polish immigrants. Equally, the researcher was aware that findings were based on recall and thus may not fully reflect the reality at the time.

Findings indicated that new Polish immigrants had to overcome a large number of barriers, they concentrated on the future not the past, and generally worked hard at making Australia home. Upon arrival, they took charge of their destiny and used all their resources, knowledge and skills to rebuild their lives and the lives of their children and are now enjoying the fruits of their efforts. As could have been predicted, and as has been concluded by other authors, the key factor in the settlement process has been time. The longer immigrants resided in Australia, the more advanced were their achievements in: education, employment, home ownership, English language fluency, and the better was their familiarity with the new society, all of which made their lives easier.

It appears that this group of immigrants might have even bypassed the Australian-born in certain aspects eg. the speed of paying off their homes. As was the case on arrival, they continue to have higher levels of education than the Australian-born.

Initially, they experienced lowering of their occupational and social status and made a huge effort at regaining that status. Education and employment were important to this group of immigrants and were seen as key determinants of job and thus life satisfaction.

Overall, these immigrants however did not appear to feel that they are part of the Australian community, in the fullest meaning of the word, for example, not one person identified as an Australian and only a few had identified as Polish-Australians. On the other hand, these immigrants indicated great loyalty and positive attitude towards Australia and were characterised by a very high level of satisfaction with their lives here. It is believed that their poor organisational membership prevents these immigrants from full participation in and their belonging to the Australian society.

These immigrants were also found not to be linked to the Polish community, within which there was limited organisational involvement and limited identification, and only some participation. They, although proudly Polish, were reluctant to become involved in the organised life of the Polish community and also felt that they had no time for such involvement. For a number of reasons, they did not identify with the organised Polish community in Melbourne, and felt most comfortable participating in the life of that community 'from a distance' or amongst a small circle of Polish friends.

They did not abandon their Polish cultural traditions and continue to pass those onto their children. In their everyday life, these immigrants have mainly Polish friends, speak Polish at home, continue to eat Polish food, put great emphasis on a fulfilling family life, and keep in touch with their families in Poland as well as visit Poland in accordance with their financial

means. They also religiously observe Polish traditions during Christmas and Easter. However, the researcher also observed a significant level of deculturation by these immigrants such as food preferences, celebrating birthdays instead of namedays.

Research findings indicated that what was special about this group is the way they established themselves in Australia, their level of education, and their focus on family life including provision of a very supportive environment for their children. What was different about these immigrants is being apolitical and their lack of involvement in the Polish community.

Those who were: unemployed, had poor fluency in English, worked well below their qualifications, or were on Social Security Benefits experienced downward social mobility. Also, those who experienced marriage break up eg. females who were bringing up children, were in financially vulnerable situations and without adequate support services - compounded by lack of close family members. Particularly successful settlement was experienced by those who undertook additional education after arrival, who are now able to work in positions with good income and enjoy high levels of job satisfaction.

Based on these findings, it could be concluded that these immigrants as a group achieved a high level of acculturation and certain level of assets eg. their homes. At the same time, there was a small group of immigrants who require assistance and if adequate and individualised assistance was provided, they might have a chance to contribute to the Australian society rather than be a burden on it, probably for the rest of their lives. Unless they obtain a job, length of residence in Australia will not make a difference to well-being.

All interviewees appeared to fit well into their new community with only a very small number strongly indicating that they would much prefer to live somewhere else. These immigrants did not have difficulties becoming used to living in an urban environment, however, they did have difficulties with the infrastructure of Melbourne. On the whole, they have adapted well,

however, they continue to miss some life aspects of their home country eg. the openness and closeness of human relations in Poland.

As a group they chose to conform rather than stand out. They cannot be accused of having formed ghettos or even enclaves. There is a preference to maintain their Polishness within private domains rather than displaying it overtly. They see themselves as carriers of the Polish culture but only within their own family environment. In a way, they have become invisible within the Australian community; their English language skills and accents being their main 'give aways'. Being involved, in the organisational sense, in the Polish or the general Australian community, could make them more visible. Although this is unlikely, but should they choose so, they could be a vital link eg. for trade and cultural purposes between Poland and Australia.

The researcher did not observe any transmission of Polish cultural traditions onto the general Australian community. These Polish immigrants (as well as previous Polish immigrants) were successful in passing Polish traditions onto their children who according to their parents were proud of their Polish background. However, it is not possible to ascertain if these children will carry their Polishness further.

There was a significant value shift regarding material possessions which initially (and understandably) was a significant focus, while now this focus has shifted to: health, life satisfaction, family, leisure and travel.

When the reasons for these immigrants' leaving their home country are considered, it is important to remember the Poland they left rather than the Poland that exists now. The Poland in the early 1980s was one where people could be arrested and detained without trial. It was a Poland with severe shortages of food and where ownership of goods was associated with prestige. They left because they were afraid and pessimistic about the future; they believed in themselves and their abilities and they also believed that 'they deserve better',

hence migration. Consequently, they adopted an anticipatory refugee mentality i.e. they could foresee further and greater political and economic uncertainty and used migration as a panacea for the situation they found themselves in.

It is important to remember that as part of these immigrants successful settlement, these immigrants also paid a price. For example, the severe and prolonged experience of stress in the initial years in Australia, family separation for extended periods, marriage break up and thus family break up, and most of their parents and siblings are 25,000 kilometres away preventing regular family contact. Those who after 10-14 years found themselves unemployed (although most would have worked during some of that time), migrating to Australia has not benefited them.

There is no doubt that the arrival of the second wave strengthened and enriched the Polish community in Australia. While these Poles continue to adhere to Jamrozik's 'quiet presence', the majority no longer face an uncertain future.

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* * *

Appendices

Polish immigrants survey

Researcher: Elizabeth Drozd

Introduction. Thank you for your time and agreeing to participate in this study.

The purpose of this survey is to collect information on how newly-arrived Polish immigrants have settled in Australia. All information collected through this interview will be strictly confidential and will only be used for statistical analysis. Some of the questions asked will be personal. Others will be difficult to answer because they refer to events which happened 10-12 years ago. Please try to answer each question as accurately as possible.

Date _____ Time _____ Code of person interviewed _____ Interview schedule No. _____

1. PROFILE AND INITIAL SETTLEMENT

1.1 Gender F M

1.2 What age were you when you came to Australia? _____ years

1.3 Suburb _____
E N W S

1.4 SEC status: _____

1.5 In what town did you live at the time of leaving Poland? _____
urban rural provincial city

1.6 How many times did you shift to another city/town within Poland (independently of your parents)?
none 1 2 3 3+

1.7 How many times had you been abroad from Poland before coming to Australia?
more than three
three
two
one
none

a) what was the purpose of your stay abroad? holiday work trading other _____

b) was this an Eastern block country or Western block country both ?

1.8 In which country did you live, even temporarily, before coming to Australia?
Austria
Italy
Germany

- Greece
- Spain
- Other please specify _____

(For those who did not come direct from Poland)

1.9 How many months did you spend in the transit country? _____ months

1.10 Month and year of arrival in Australia _____ 198_____

1.11 Was Australia your first preference? Yes No

1.12 Under what category did you come to Australia?

- Special Humanitarian Program
- Independent
- Family Reunion
- Other _____

2. REASONS FOR MIGRATION

2.1 Who made the decision to migrate? self husband wife both other _____

2.2 How did you make the decision to migrate? _____

2.3 What were your main reasons for migration at the time when you were leaving Poland?

- economic what specifically? _____
 - political what specifically? _____
 - other (please give details) _____
- _____

2.4 Why did you come to Australia and not another country? _____

2.5 Why did you come to Melbourne and not another part of Australia? _____

2.6 Had you been to Australia before coming here to live permanently? Yes No

3. INITIAL EXPERIENCE OF AUSTRALIA

3.1 How much did you know about Australia before coming here?

- a lot
- a fair amount
- a small amount
- virtually nothing

Comment: _____

3.2 What images did you have of Australia before coming here? _____

3.3 On what basis/sources were those images formed? _____

3.4 What did you know about Polonia in Australia? _____

3.5 What were **your very first impressions** of Australia?

- very positive
- positive
- so so
- negative
- very negative

Comment: _____

(a) what did you find most impressive/beautiful? _____
(b) what was your worst impression/most disappointing _____

3.6 What (i) possessions and (ii) amount of money did you have when you arrived in Australia?
belongings _____

\$ USA _____ \$ AUS _____

3.7 Which things did you find the hardest to cope with in the first months/years?
(show card No. and ask to **number the first five** (starting with the biggest difficulty))

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| learning the English language | <input type="checkbox"/> | recognition of qualifications | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| obtaining employment | <input type="checkbox"/> | other (please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> _____ |
| employment in my profession | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| financial difficulties | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| poor social life | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| missing my family and friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| lack of close friends | <input type="checkbox"/> | | |

Comment: _____

3.8 Using your own settlement experience, what advice would you give to newly-arrived Polish immigrant who come to Australia now? _____

3.9 In how many suburbs have you lived since your arrival in Australia, what kind of accommodation?

No	Suburb	Type of accommodation
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

3.10 In what type of accommodation did you live in Poland?

- government flat
 own flat
 own home
 other please specify _____

3.11 How would you compare your current accommodation to the one you had when you left Poland?

- much better
 better
 about the same in what way? _____
 worse
 much worse

4. ENGLISH LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY AND LEARNING PROCESS

Now I will ask questions regarding the English language

4.1 What foreign languages did you study in Poland?

- English German Russian French Other

4.2 Did you do any English language classes/courses before coming to Australia? Yes No

type	which institution	for how many months

4.3 How well did you know English when you came to Australia? (give a card No.)

	none	poor	fair	good	very good
understand					
speak					
read					
write					

4.4 Where, what type and for how long, did you do English classes/courses after your arrival in Australia?

No.	where	type	length
	hostel		
	AMES classes FT		
	AMES classes PT		
	evening classes		
	correspondence		
	other (specify)		
	none(give reasons)		

4.5 How did you find them? v.good good unsatisfactory v. unsatisfactory

If unsatisfactory, give reasons _____

4.6 Now, how often do you experience difficulties in:

	never	rarely	sometimes	often	v. often
understanding eg. listening to the news in English					
reading eg. a newspaper in English					
speaking eg. phone calls to govern. depts.					
writing in English? eg. letter of complaint filling out forms					

4.7 Do you still study (eg. courses or textbooks) English now? Yes No Other _____

If yes, how often? _____

4.8 If there was a possibility what type of English classes/courses you would like?

type? _____
 best time? _____

5. LEVEL OF EDUCATION, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS NOW AND IN POLAND and current job satisfaction

5.1 Your highest qualifications obtained in Poland were:

- primary
- trade please specify _____
- general secondary
- technical secondary field of study _____
- tertiary field of study _____
- some years? _____
- completed
- post graduate field of study _____

5.2 Did you have your qualifications recognised in Australia?

- Yes, fully
- Yes, partially
- No
- Other please specify _____

5.3 How would you assess the process of having your qualifications recognised?

- v. difficult
- difficult
- not too difficult
- easy
- other

Comment: _____

5.4 Did you do any studying, other than the English language, since your arrival in Australia?

- Yes what did you study? _____ where did you study? _____
 part-time full-time
- No _____
- Other please specify _____

a) after how many years after arrival in Australia did you attempt the study? _____

b) after how many years after arrival in Australia did you finish the study? _____

5.5 Please describe your employment history (incl. home duties) in Poland i.e. since you finished school?

	position	industry	years

5.6 Were you ever unemployed in Poland? Yes No

5.7 Please describe your employment history, incl. any unemployment period, since your arrival in Australia?

	position	industry	years

5.8 What is your current employment status?

employed full time

employed part-time

unemployed (looking for work)

How long have you been unemployed? _____ months

housewife

other please specify _____

If employed

5.9 What kind of work do you do now ?

	position	industry
full-time		
self-employed		
part-time		
day shift		
night shift		
second job		

5.10 If employed, how did you find that job?

self how? _____

CES

friends

newspaper

other please specify _____

5.11 How satisfied are you with your current employment?

very satisfied

satisfied

neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

dissatisfied

v. dissatisfied

Why? _____

5.12 How much more satisfied are you with your job now than with the job you last held in Poland?

- much more
- more
- about the same
- less
- much less

Why/in what way? _____

5.13 How would you compare your prestige zawodowy in Australia vs. the one held in Poland?

- much better
- better
- about the same
- worse
- much worse

Why/In what way? _____

5.14 Have you experienced any racism/prejudice towards you at work? Yes No

If Yes, in what way and how often? _____

5.15 Is your husband/wife employed? Yes No

		position	industry
full-time			
part-time			
day shift			
night shift			
second job			

5.16 If not, what do you believe are the reasons for your spouse's unemployment?

- no jobs/recession
- no job in his/her occupation
- qualification not recognised
- inadequate English
- home duties

other

please specify _____

If unemployed

5.17 If unemployed, what do you think are the reasons for your lack of employment?

no jobs/recession

no jobs in my occupation

qualification not recognised

inadequate English

other please _____ specif _____

5.18 What is the hardest thing to cope with? _____

5.19 Which Labour Market Training Programs have you done during your unemployment?

	Yes	No	Don't know about it	Other
Job start				
Job club				
Job train				
PES programs				
Other				
Other				

Comment: _____

5.20 How many job applications have you made in the last 12 months? _____

5.21 How many job interviews have you had in the last 12 months? _____

5.22 Have you ever thought about starting your own business? No _____
Yes what type? _____

If yes, what stops you from starting your own business? _____

6. LIFE SATISFACTION and SATISFACTION WITH THEIR SETTLEMENT AND ITS PROCESS

6.1 How satisfied are you with your life in Australia?

very satisfied

satisfied

neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

dissatisfied

v. dissatisfied

Why? _____

6.2 What do you like most about your life in Australia? _____

6.3 What do you dislike most about your life in Australia? _____

6.4 How good was your decision to come and live in Australia?

v. good

good

neither good nor bad

bad

v. bad

Comment: _____

6.5 Do you have any regrets about it? No Yes

If Yes, what are they? _____

6.6 Your standard of living and your life generally since arrival in Australia compared to Poland has:

improved in what way? _____

got worse in what way? _____

about the same

other please specify _____

6.7 What do you think of Australia, as a country, generally? _____

6A. ACCOMMODATION

6a.1 Do you live in:

own house/flat

own house-flat/still paying off

rented accommodation

Housing commission house/flat

Other _____

6a.2 For how many years have you lived at this place? _____ years

6a.3 How do you find your present accommodation?

v. satisfactory satisfactory unsatisfactory (why? _____)

6B. HEALTH

6b.1 How is your health

very good
good
poor

6b.2 Since your arrival in Australia, has your health:

improved
stayed the same
became worse
became much worse

6C. INCOME

6c.1 What is your source of income:

Salary/wages
UE Benefit
Own business
Special benefit
Sickness benefit
Invalid pension
Single's parent's pension
Money from Poland
Other

6c.2 What is your income?

\$5,000-9,999
\$10,000-14,999
\$15,000-19,999
\$20,000-24,999
\$25,000-29,999
\$30,000-34,999
\$35,000-39,999
\$40,000-44,999
\$45,000-49,999
\$50,000 +

6c.3 Which of these describes your income?

I have v. comfortable income
I never have financial difficulties
I have just enough to make ends meet
I do not have enough to get by
I am in a very difficult financial situation
Other please specify _____

6c.4 In the last five years have you ever sought assistance from any of the welfare agencies eg. Salvatio Army, St. Vincent de Paul, Red Cross, Brotherhood of St. Laurence, ?

Yes No

Comment: _____

7. SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORKS

7.1 How often do you keep in touch with your family in Poland?

	v. often	often	rarely	never	other
by letters					
phone					
other					

7.1a Do you have any close family back in Poland Yes No
close family = parents, brothers and sisters, children

Comment: _____

7.2 Have you invited family members here for a holiday? Yes No

7.3 How many times have you been to Poland for a holiday? 0 1 2 3 3+

How would you assess Poland, after your visits there? _____

7.4 Do you have any relatives in Australia?

No Yes who? ...parent/s
brother/s or sister/s
aunty/uncle
cousin/s

7.5 How often do you have contact with your relatives in Australia?

v. often
often
occasionally
rarely
never

7.6 How many close friends do you have (with whom you have regular contact)?

No	Polish	non-Polish	what nationality?	how did you become friends?
1				
2				
3				
4				

7.7 Who is the person closest to you? (wait before suggesting the following answers)

no-one

husband/wife

son

daughter

other relative

friend/s

other please specify _____

7.8 What are your interests/hobbies? _____

7.9 Do you belong to mainstream clubs/organisations? No Yes which ones? _____

7.10 Do you, and if so how often do you feel isolated or lonely?

very often

often

sometimes when? _____

rarely

never

Comment: _____

7.11 When in need, where or to whom do you turn for help? _____

7.12 If your child/spouse became sick and needed care at home for eg. 3 weeks, what would you do in that situation?

8. THEIR IDENTIFICATION, VALUES and MAINTENANCE OF POLISH TRADITIONS

8.1 Do you see yourself as:

Polish

Australian

Polish-Australian

other please specify _____

8.2 How strongly do you feel about being Polish?

v. strongly

strongly

so so

not strongly

not v. strongly

8.3 How strongly do you feel about being Australian?

- v. strongly
- strongly
- so so
- not strongly
- not v. strongly

8.4 Do you have an Australian citizenship?

Yes (year acquired) 198_____ 8.4a What were your reasons for acquiring the Australian citizenship?

No why not? _____

8.5 Some people think that there are certain characteristics typical to each nationality. Which characteristics would you consider as **most typical to Poles**?

	positive	negative
1.		
2.		
3.		

Comment: _____

8.8 How often are you a customer of Polish services/shops?

- Yes which ones? _____
- No why not? _____
- Other please specify _____

8.9 Is your usual GP a Polish-speaking doctor? Yes No

8.10 How often do you eat Polish food at home? always usually rarely

8.11 Which type of food (cuisine) do you prefer? _____

8.12 How often do you observe:

	always	usually	sometimes	rarely	never
traditional Polish Christmas Eve?					
traditional Polish Easter?					

8.13 How important is it for you to maintain your Polish culture and traditions?

- very important
- important
- not very important

- not important at all
 not sure

Why? _____

9. THE USE AND MAINTENANCE OF THE POLISH LANGUAGE

9.1

	Very often	Often	Sometimes	Almost never	Never
How often do you read Polish books?					
How often do you read Polish newspapers?					

9.1a Which newspapers? _____

9.2 What language do you usually speak at home?

	Polish	English	Polish and English (%) show card No.
with your partner			
with your children			

9.3 How important is it for you to maintain your Polish language?

- very important
 important
 not very important
 not important at all
 not sure

why? _____

10. INVOLVEMENT IN THE MELBOURNE'S POLISH COMMUNITY LIFE

10.1 Do you belong to any Polish clubs or organisations,

- yes which ones? _____
 no why not? _____

10.2 What is your view about the Polish Community in Melbourne and Polish organisations in general?

Polish Community _____

Polish organisations _____

10.3 Some Polish-Australians think that there are certain characteristics of Polonia, its people, and its organisations which they would like to see changed. If you are one of these people, which characteristic would you like changed? _____

10.4 How often do you go to Polish events/functions?

- v. often which ones? _____
- often which ones? _____
- sometimes which ones? _____
- rarely why not? _____
- never why not? _____

10.5 Have you ever worked, by yourself or with others, in Australia, to try and solve some of the Polish community's problems? Yes No

If yes, what did you want to achieve? _____

10.6 Have you ever taken part in forming a new group or a new Polish organisation in Australia to try and solve some of the Polish community's problems? Yes No

If yes, what was/is its purpose? _____

10.7 Have you sought assistance from Polish welfare agencies?

Yes what was your nature of inquiry? _____

How did you find them? v. satisfactory satisfactory unsatisfactory v. unsatisfactory

No why? _____

10.8 Which Polish radio programs do you know about? (pause, then read out)

3EA 3ZZZ 3RIM 3CRN 3WRB 3IRN

10.9 How often do you listen to Polish Radio Program?

	v. often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
3EA					
3ZZZ					
3RIM					
3CRN					
3IRN					
Other					
.....					

10.10 How would you assess the Polish media?

	informative	interesting	accurate	little variety	other
radio program 3EA					
radio program 3ZZZ					
radio program					
newspaper Polish Weekly					
newspaper Kurier Zachod					
newspapers					

Comment: _____

10.11 What would you like more of in the Polish media? _____

10.12 Do you generally watch Polish movies on SBS?

always usually sometimes rarely never

Comment: _____

10.13 Do you know about the Polish news on SBS and if so, how often do you watch it? Yes No

always usually sometimes rarely never

11. ATTITUDES TO SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES IN POLAND

11.1 To what degree do you follow what is happening in Poland in regards to political, social and economical changes?

I follow it regularly

I follow it every now and then

I do not follow it at all

Other _____

11.2 What are your sources of information about what is happening in Poland? _____

11.3 What do you think of those changes? _____

11.4 What is your view on the recent (Sept. 1993) election result in Poland? _____

12. POLISH CHURCH - ATTITUDE AND PARTICIPATION

12.1 What is your religion?

Roman Catholic
 other please specify _____

If other, have you changed your religion since coming to Australia? Yes No

12.2

	v. often	often	sometimes	rarely	never
b) how often did you go to Mass in Poland?					
c) how often do you go to Polish Mass?					
d) how often do you go to English Mass?					

12.3 Are you actively involved with the Polish church?

yes how? _____
 no

Comment: _____

12.4 How important is religion or faith in your life?

v. important
 important why? _____
 not important
 I do not know

12.5 In what area do you think the Polish priests could do more for the Polish Community

12.6 How has your outlook on religion changed since you migrated to Australia?

changed very much towards religion
 changed a little towards religion
 has not changed at all
 changed a little away from religion
 changed very much away from religion

If Yes, in what way? _____

12.7 How does the Catholic Church in Australia differ from the Church in Poland? _____

13. MARRIAGE BREAKDOWN - REASONS AND PATTERN

13.1 If married on arrival, did you come with your spouse and children?

Yes No after how many years did she/they come? _____ Other _____

13.2

Marital status	Poland	Australia	How many years?
Single/never married			
Married/de facto			
Separated			
Divorced			
Widowed			

13.3

Nationality of spouse	1st marriage	2nd marriage	3rd marriage
Polish			
Other			
Other			

The following questions are personal, please answer only if you feel comfortable with it.

13.4 How was your marriage in Poland? v. good good average no good at all

Comment: _____

13.5 How is your marriage now? v. good good average no good at all

Comment: _____

13.6 How do you think your marriage was affected by migration? _____

13.7 Do you feel that migration has brought you closer together? Yes No

If Yes, in what way _____

13.8 How long after arrival in Australia did marital problems start to occur and what do you think were the reasons?

how long after? _____
reasons? _____

If separated

13.9 Who made the decision to separate?

husband
wife
mutual

13.10 Did you or your previous partner seek counselling, help/advice?

Yes from whom? _____

No why not? _____

Other _____

13.11 How long were you married? _____ years

13.12 If separated or divorced, please describe:

your present living circumstances _____

your previous partner's present living circumstances _____

14. ATTITUDES TO MULTICULTURALISM and ITS UNDERSTANDING, ATTITUDES TO OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

14.1 What do you understand by multiculturalism? _____

14.2 How do you like the Australian cultural diversity? _____

14.3 People have differing opinions about what steps the government should take to help the different ethnic groups in Australia. Looking at Card 3 (pause), please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the government helping in the following ways.

- Strongly approve of government helping 1
- Approve of government helping 2
- Disapprove of government helping 3
- Strongly disapprove of government helping 4
- Neither approve nor disapprove 5

- a) Radio and television programs in languages other than English
- b) Providing money to ethnic organisations to teach their language and cultures to their young people

1	2	3	4	5

- c) Providing intensive English courses for immigrants' children
- d) Providing interpreters in hospitals and the courts to help people who do not speak English very well
- e) Centres where immigrants can learn English and receive information about government programs and services
- f) Providing intensive English courses for adult immigrants at work
- g) Teaching in schools the language of our major cultural groups in Australia
- h) Providing information leaflets about government services in languages other than English
- i) Providing nursing homes specially for aged immigrants, speaking the same language
- j) Providing money to ethnic organisations for music, dance and other cultural activities

14.4 Do you think job opportunities in Australia are, in general, better or worse or no different for migrant than for other Australians with similar education and experience?

- much better
- better
- about the same in what way? _____
- worse
- much worse
- don't know

14.5 Do you think that the Government should accept more or less of the following groups of migrants?

- Accept a lot more 1
- Accept some more 2
- Stay about the same 3
- Accept some less 4
- Accept a lot less 5
- Do not accept at all 6

Read out each statement and note answer

		1	2	3	4	5	6
Migrants who:	have relatives in Australia						
	are well educated						

	are Asian						
	have a skilled trade						
	are from communist countries						
	could be useful to this country						
	are British						
	are Southern European						
	do the work no Australian wants to do						
	are from the Middle East						

14.6 I would like you to tell me how you feel towards various ethnic groups?

Would welcome as a member of my family Would have as close friends Would welcome as workmates Would allow as Australian Citizens Would have as visitors to Australia only Would keep out altogether Would have as next door neighbour of Aust.

	Yes	No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Yes No	Y N	Yes	No
British people									
Vietnamese									
German									
Asian									
Catholic									
Greek									
Indian									
Lebanese									
Aboriginal									
Muslim									
Italian									
Japanese									
Chinese									
Black									
Jewish									
Australian									
Turkish									
Yugoslav(former)									
European									
Buddhist									

14.7 What are the reasons for you liking some ethnic groups more and liking other group less? _____

15. AUSTRALIAN POLITICAL PROCESS AND PARTIES

15.1 Have you or your spouse ever contacted an elected representative about a problem concerning you or your local community? No Yes (local state federal)

Comment: _____

15.2 When you had to vote for the first time, how did you decide for which party to vote

15.3 Can you tell me how you voted at the last 2 elections?

	Federal	State
liberal		
labour		
democrats		
independent		
other		

15.3a why did you vote that way? _____

15.4 What do you think the main difference (philosophy and strategies) between the two main parties is?

15.4a Labour

philosophy _____

strategies _____

15.4b Liberal

philosophy _____

strategies _____

15.5 Do you and how do you follow the political process? No Yes

federal, how? _____

state, how? _____

15.6 Generally, how would you compare politics in Australia vs politics in Poland? _____

15.7 Are you a member of any political parties? No Yes how long? _____

15.8 Do you feel that the people in government usually know what they are doing, or do you feel that there are too many who do not seem to know what they are doing?

know what they are doing

don't know what they are doing

some do, some do not

15.9 Do you believe that with the current Federal government Australia is well governed? Yes No

If no, what is it that you do not like? _____

If yes, what is it that you like about it? _____

16. CHILDREN

16.1 What age and how many children do you have?

Age	How many?	Their place of birth?
2-5		
6-12		
13-15		
16-20		
21+		

16.2 What school do they go to?

	Course	1st child (oldest)	2nd child	3rd child	4th child
primary Catholic State Private					
secondary: Catholic State Private					
university					

16.2a if not Catholic school, why not? _____

16.3 How do you, as a parent, find the school/s?

	v. satisfied	satisfied	dissatisfied	v. dissatisfied
quality and methods of teaching				
staff				
discipline				
other aspects (specify)				

16.4 If children are not at school or university, what do they do?

1st child _____
2nd child _____

16.5 Do your children live with you? Yes No

Comment _____

16.6 How important is it for you that your children speak Polish?

- v. important
- important
- not important
- other

why? _____

16.7 How well do your children speak Polish?

	v. good	good	so so	poorly	not at all	other
1st child (oldest)						
2nd child						
3rd child						
4th child						

16.8 What language do they usually speak with their brothers and sisters?

- English
- Polish
- Both, Polish and English
- Other _____

Comment: _____

16.9 If you speak to your son/daughter in your home language and he/she responds in English, what is your reaction? Do you say anything about it? _____

16.10 How do you encourage your child/ren to speak your home language well _____

16.11 (mark for all children)

	yes	in what?	no	do not want to	other
Do they participate in the life of the Polish community?					
Do they go to the Polish school?					

Comment: _____

16.12 How do they see themselves in terms of nationality? (note differences between children)

	1st child	2nd child	3rd child	4th child
as Polish				
as Australian				
Polish-Australian				
other				

16.13 Do you think that your children have better prospects for the future in Australia than if they had stayed in Poland?

Yes No

If yes, in what way? _____

17. FAMILY BACKGROUND

17.1 Are your parents retired or still working?

	retired	working
mother		
father		

17.2 In what area/town in Poland did/do your parents live? _____
 urban rural provincial town

17.3

Parents' level of education	mother	field of study	father	field of study
primary				
trade				
general secondary				
technical secondary				
tertiary				
some				
completed				
post graduate				

17.4 What was/is their main job in Poland?

	mother	father
position		
industry		
full-time		
part-time		
home duties		
other		

17.5 How many brothers and sisters did you have in the family you grew up in, including any step and adopted brothers and sisters? No. _____

18. RETURN MIGRATION

18.1 Are you considering going back to Poland to live there permanently?

	interviewee	spouse
yes		
no		
maybe		
would like to but...		
other		

Comment: _____

18.2 How seriously are you considering it?

- v. seriously
- seriously
- not seriously
- not seriously at all

18.3 What made you start thinking about it? _____

18.4 Have you been considering moving to another country? Yes No

18.5 If you had a choice, in which country would you like to live?

- Poland why? _____
- Europe which country? _____ why? _____
- North America which country? _____ why? _____
- Other please specify _____ why? _____

18.7 Is there anything you would do differently if you migrated again? _____

18.8 Would you like to spend the rest of your life in Australia?

- definitely yes
- probably yes
- not sure
- probably not
- definitely not

19. FUTURE

19.3 When you sick and old who do think should be looking after you? _____

19.4 Is there anything that has happened to you or your partner eg. accidents, that has made your settlement very different from other Polish immigrants who arrived at about the same time? Yes No

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

Time taken _____

Would you like a copy of my thesis when it is finished? Yes No

Could you put me in contact with any people that you know who could participate in this study? (those who came between 1980-84)

Would you mind if I ring back in case I missed any questions?

Wstep

Celem tej ankiety jest zbior informacji na temat jak osiedlili sie nowo przybyli Polacy w Australii. Wszystkie informacje zebrane podczas tej rozmowy beda scisle poufne i uzyte tylko do statystycznej analizy w tymze badaniu. Niektore pytania sa osobiste. Inne moga byc trudne do odpowiedzenia poniewaz odnosza sie do wydarzen ktore mialy miejsce 10-12 lat temu. Prosze starac sie odpowiedz na pytania tak dokladnie jak jest to mozliwe.

Dzien i czas rozmowy _____ Kod osoby _____ Numer rozmowy _____

1. DANE OSOBISTE I POCZATKI OSIEDLENIA SIE

1.1 Rodzaj meski zenski

1.2 Wiek _____ lat

1.3 Dzielnica _____
W P Z Pold

1.4 Poziom ekonomiczno-socjalny: _____

1.5 W jakim miescie mieszkal/a Pan/i przed wyjazdem z Polski? _____
miasto wioska male miasteczko

1.6 Ile razy zmienial/a Pan/i miejsce zamieszkania w Polsce (inna miejscowosc) (niezaleznie od rodzicow)?
nigdy 1 2 3 3+

1.7 Ile razy byl/a Pan/i poza granicami Polski przed wyjazdem do Australii?

wiecej niz trzy
trzy razy
dwa razy
raz
nigdy

a) jaki byl cel Pana/i podrozy za granice? urlop praca handel inny _____

b) czy byl to kraj Europy wschodniej? czy kraj bloku zachodniego? czy obydwu?

1.8 W ktorym kraju mieszkal/a Pan/i przed przyjazdem do Australii?

Austria
Wlochy
Niemcy Zach
Grecja
Hiszpania
Inny w jakim _____

(Dla tych którzy nie przyjechali prosto z Polski)

1.9 Ile miesiecy spedzil/la Pani w kraju tranzytowym? _____ miesiecy

1.10 Miesiac i rok przyjazdu do Australii _____ 198 _____

1.11 W jakiej kategorii przyjechal/la Pani do Australii?

Program humanitarny

Niezalezna kategoria

Laczenie Rodzin

Inna _____

2. POWODY EMIGRACJI

2.1 W jaki sposob podjal/ela Pan/i decyzje emigracji? _____

2.2 Kto podjal decyzje zeby wyemigrowac? maz zona obydwaje inne _____

2. Jakie byly glowne powody Pana/i emigracji, w czasie wyjazdu z Polski?

ekonomiczne _____

polityczne _____

inne (prosze wyjasnic) _____

2.4 Czy Australia byla dla Pana/i krajem pierwszego wyboru? Tak Nie

2.5 Dlaczego wybral/a Pan/i Australie a nie inny kraj? _____

2.5 Dlaczego przyjechal/a Pan/i do Melbourne a nie innego miasta Australii? _____

3.2 Czy byl/a Pan/i w Australii przed przyjazdem tutaj na stale? Tak Nie

3. PIERWSZE DOSWIADCZENIA W AUSTRALII

3.1 Co wiedzial/a Pan/i o Australii przed przyjazdem tutaj?

duzo

dosc duzo

troche

prawie nic

Komentarz _____

3.2 Jak Pan/i wyobrażala sobie Australie przed przyjazdem tutaj? _____

3.3 Na podstawie czego uformuowal/la Pan/i te wyobrazenia? _____

3.4 Co wiedzial/a Pan/i o Polonii w Australii? _____

3.5 Jakie byly Pana/i pierwsze wrazenia w Australii?

b. pozytywne

pozytywne

take sobie

negatywne

b. negatywne

Komentarz: _____

(a) co sie najbardziej Panu/i podobalo? _____

(b) co Pana/ia najbardziej rozczarowalo? _____

3.6 Co Pan/i przywiozl/a ze soba do Australii?

bagaz/rzeczy osobiste _____

pieniadze \$ _____

3.7 Co bylo najtrudniejsze w pocztkowym etapie (pierwsze miesiace/lata) osiedlania sie w Australii?

uczenie sie jezyka angielskiego

otrzymanie pracy

otrzymanie pracy w swoim zawodzie

trudnosci finansowe

brak zycia towarzyskiego

tesknota za rodzina i znajomymi

brak bliskich znajomych

uznanie kwalifikacji

inne jakie? _____

Komentarz _____

3.8 Biorac wlasne doswiadczenie i patrzac wstecz, jaka rade dalby/aby Pan/i obecnym nowo przybyly emigrantom z Polski? _____

3.9 W ilu roznych miejscach mieszkal/la Pan/i od czasu przyjazdu do Australii i w jakim rodzaju mieszkan?

nr	dzielnica	rodzaj mieszkania
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		
5.		

3.10 Jaki rodzaj zakwaterowania miał/a Pan/i w Polsce?

- mieszkanie spółdzielcze
własne mieszkanie w bloku
własny dom
inne jakie? _____

3.11 Jak by Pan/i porównała Pana/i obecny rodzaj mieszkania do tego jakie miał/a Pan/i przed wyjazdem Polski?

- duzo lepsze
lepsze
takie same w jakim sensie? _____
gorsze
duzo gorsze

4. NAUKA I ZNAJOMOSC JEZYKA ANGIELSKIEGO

Teraz bede zadawala pytanie dotyczace jezyka angielskiego.

4.1 Jakich obcych jezykow uczyl/a sie Pan/i w Polsce?

- angielski niemiecki rosyjski francuski inny jaki? _____

4.2 Czy uczyl sie Pan/i jezyka angielskiego przed przyjazdem do Australii? Tak Nie

rodzaj	jaka instytucja	ile miesiecy

4.3 Jak dobrze znal/a Pan/i jez. angielski przed przyjazdem do Australii?

	w ogole	podstawowo	srednio	dobrze	b. dobrze
rozumienie					
mowienie					
czytanie					
pisanie					

4.4 Gdzie, jaki rodzaj i jak dlugo robil/a Pan/i kursy jez. angielskiego po przyjezdzie do Australii?

gdzie?	rodzaj kursu?	jak dlugo?
w hostelu		
osrodki nauczania jez. ang FT		
osrodki nauczania jez. ang PT		
kursy wieczorowe		
kursy korespondencyjne		
inne (jakie)		
zadne (podaj przyczyny)		

FT = pelny wymiar godzin

PT = czesciowy wymiar godzin

4.5 Jak by je Pan/i ocenil/a? b.dobre dobre niedobre b. niedobre

Jesli niedobre, prosze podac przyczyny _____

4.6 Obecnie, czy ma Pan/i kiedykolwiek klopoty ze:

	nigdy	rzadko	czasami	czesto	b. czesto
rozumieniem np. sluchajac dziennika w jez ang.					
czytaniem np. czytajac angielska gazete					
mowieniem np. telefonujac do instytucji rządowej					
pisaniem po ang. np. piszac zazalenie wypelnieniem form					

4.7 Czy obecnie uczy sie Pan/i jeszcze jez. ang.? Tak Nie Inne

prosze wyjasnic _____

Jesli tak, to jak czesto? _____

4.8 Jesli by Pan/i mial/a mozliwosc nauki jez. ang jaki rodzaj kursu by Panu/i najbardziej odpowiadal?
rodzaj kursu? _____

najbardziej odpowiedni czas? _____

5. WYKSZTALCENIE, ZAWOD W POLSCE I W AUSTRALII I OBECNE ZADOWOLENIE Z PRACY

5.1 Pana/i najwyzsze wykształcenie otrzymane w Polsce bylo:

podstawowe

zawodowe kierunek _____

ogolne srednie

techniczne srednie kierunek _____

wyzsze kierunek _____

nieskonczone lat _____

skonczone

podyplomowe studia kierunek _____

5.2 Czy kwalifikacje Pana/i były uznane w Australii?

- Tak, w pełni
Tak, częściowo
Nie
Inne prosze wyjasnic _____

5.3 Jak by Pan/i oceniła proces uznania kwalifikacji?

- b. trudny
trudny
niezbyt trudny
łatwy
Inny

Komentarz _____

5.4 Czy studiował/a lub uczył/a się Pan/i, oprócz uczenia się jęz. ang., od czasu przyjazdu do Australii?

- Tak co się Pan/i uczył/a? _____ gdzie się Pan/i uczył/a? _____
 (part-time) (full-time)
Nie
Inne prosze wyjasnic _____

- a) po ilu latach po przyjeździe do Australii zaczął/ela się Pan/i uczyć? _____
b) po ilu latach po przyjeździe do Australii skończył/a się Pan/i uczyć? _____

5.5 Proszę określić historię pracy (włącznie z pobytem w domu np. na urlopie macierzyńskim) w Polsce, od czasu skończenia szkoły

	pozycja	przemysł	lat

5.6 Czy kiedykolwiek był/a Pan/i bezrobotny/a w Polsce? Tak Nie

5.7 Proszę określić Pana/i historię pracy, włącznie z okresami bezrobocia, od czasu przyjazdu do Australii

	pozycja	przemysł	lat

5.8 Jaki jest Pana/i rodzaj etatu zatrudnienia teraz?

- pelny etat
 czesciowy etat
 na bezrobociu - szukam pracy Jak dlugo na bezrobociu? _____ miesiecy
 w domu (housewife)
 Inny prosze wyjasnic _____

Jesli zatrudniony/a

5.9 Jaki jest Pana/i rodzaj pracy teraz?

	pozycja	przemysl
pelny etat		
wlasny business		
czesciowy etat		
dzienna zmiana		
nocna zmiana		
druga praca		

5.10 Jesli zatrudniony/a, jak znalazl/a Pan/i ta prace?

- sam/a
 biuro zatrudnienia
 przyjaciel/e
 z gazety
 inny prosze wyjasnic _____

5.11 Jak zadowolony/a jest Pan/i z obecnej pracy?

- b. zadowolony/a
 zadowolony/a
 ani zadowolony/a ani niezadowolony/a
 niezadowolony/a
 b. niezadowolony/a

Dlaczego? _____

5.12 Jak wiecej jest Pan/i zadowolony/a z obecnej pracy w porownaniu z ostania praca w Polsce?

- duzo wiecej
 wiecej
 tyle samo
 mniej
 duzo mniej

Dlaczego/w jakim sensie? _____

5.13 Jak by Pan/i porownal/a swoj prestiz zawodowy w Australii vis a vis ten ktory mial/a Pan/i w Polsce?

- duzo lepszy
 lepszy

- taki sam
 gorszy
 duzo gorszy

Dlaczego/w jakim sensie? _____

5.1 Czy kiedykolwiek doswiadczył/a Pan/i rasizmu/uprzedzenie w stosunku do Pana/i w pracy? Tak Nie

Jesli tak, to jak czesto i w jaki sposob? _____

5.15 Czy maz/zona Pani/a pracuje? Tak Nie

	pozycja	przemysl
pelny etat		
wlasny business		
czesciowy etat		
dzienna zmiana		
nocna zmiana		
druga praca		

5.16 Jesli nie, jakie uwaza Pan/i sa powody braku pracy Pana/i zony/meza?

- brak pracy/recesja
 brak pracy w jego/jej zawodzie
 nieuznane kwalifikacje
 niewystarczajaca znajomosc jez. ang.
 opieka nad dzieckiem
 Inne prosze wyjasnic _____

Jesli nie pracuje

5.17 Jesli nie pracuje, jakie uwaza Pan/i sa powody braku pracy przez Pana/Pania?

- brak pracy/recesja
 brak pracy w jego/jej zawodzie
 nieuznane kwalifikacje
 niewystarczajaca znajomosc jez. ang.
 opieka nad dzieckiem
 Inne prosze wyjasnic _____

5.18 Co jest najtrudniejsze bedac na bezrobociu? _____

5.19 Ktore programy dla bezrobotnych podjal/ela Pan/i w czaie bezrobocia Pana/i?

	Tak	Nie	Nie wiem o nim	Inne
Job start				
Job club				
Job train				
PES programs				
Inne.....				
Inne.....				

Komentarz _____

5.20 Ile podan o prace zlozyl/a Pan/i w ciagu ostatnich 12 miesiecy? _____

5.21 Ile rozmow o prace mial/la Pan/i z pracodawcami w ciagu ostatnich 12 miesiecy? _____

5.23 Czy myslal/la Pan/i o zalozeniu swojego biznesu? Nie _____
Tak _____

Jesli tak, co powstrzymuje Pana/ia od zalozenia tego biznesu? _____

6. ZADOWOLENIE Z ZYCIA I ZADOWOLENIE Z OSIEDLENIA SIE I PRZEBIEGU TEGO PROCESU

6.1 Jak zadowolony/a jest Pan/i z zycia w Australii?

- b. zadowolony/a
zadowolony/a
ani zadowolony/a ani niezadowolony/a
niezadowolony/a
b. niezadowolony/a

Dlaczego? _____

6.2 Co najbardziej lubi Pan/i jesli chodzi o Pana/i zycie w Australii? _____

6.3 Czego Pan/i najbardziej nie lubi jesli chodzi o Pana/i zycie w Australii? _____

6.4 Jak by Pan/i ocenila Pana/i decyzje przyjazdu do Australii?

- b. dobra
dobra
ani dobra ani zla
zla
b. zla

Komentarz: _____

6.5 Czy ma Pan/i jakis zal w zwiazku z ta decyzja Nie Tak

Jesli tak, to co to jest? _____

6.6 Pana/i stopa zyciowa i zycie ogolnie od czasu przyjazdu do Australii w porownaniu z Polska sie:

- polepszylo w jakim sensie? _____
pogorszylo w jakim sensie? _____
jest taka same
inne prosze wyjasnic _____

6A. ZAKWATEROWANIE

6a.1 Czy mieszka Pan/i w :

- własnym domu/mieszkanie
własnym domu/mieszkanie - splacając
wynajmowanym mieszkaniu
rządowe mieszkanie
Inne _____

6a.2 Ile lat mieszka Pan/i w tym mieszkaniu? _____ lat

6a.3 Jak zadowolony/a jest Pan/i z obecnego mieszkania?

b. zadowolony/a zadowolony/a niezadowolony/a (dlaczego?) _____

6B. STAN ZDROWIA

6b.1 Jak by Pan/i oceniła swoje zdrowie?

- b. dobre
dobre
niezbyt dobre _____

6b.2 Od czasu przyjazdu do Australii, Pana/i zdrowie się:

- poprawiło
pozostało takie samo
pogorszyło się
b. się pogorszyło

6C. DOCHOD

6c.1 Jakie jest Pana/i źródło utrzymania:

- Pensja
Zasilek dla bezrobotnych
Własny biznes
Specjalny zasilek (DSS)
Zasilek chorobowy
Renta inwalidzka
Zasilek dla samotnej matki
Pieniądze z Polski
Inny _____

6c.2 Jaki jest Pana/i roczny dochód (brutto)?

- \$5.000-10.000
\$11.000-15.000
\$16.000-21.000
\$22.000-27.000
\$28.000-32.000
\$33.000-38.000
\$39.000-44.000
\$45.000-49.999
\$50.000+

6c.3 Jak by Pan/i oceniła swój dochód?

- Mam b. wygodny dochód
Nigdy nie mam trudności finansowych
Mam tylko wystarczająco żeby złączyć dwa konce
Nie mam wystarczająco żeby przeżyć

Jestem w b. trudnej sytuacji finansowej

Inne

prosze wyjasnic _____

6c.4 Czy w ostatnich 5 latach szukal/a Pan/i pomocy w biurach opieki społecznej takich jak: St. Vincent d Paul, Czerwony Krzyz, Brotherhood of St. Lawrence?

Tak

Nie

Komentarz: _____

6c.5 Jesli by Pan/i potrzebowała pomocy/informacji, do jakiego rodzaju agencji wolal/aby sie Pan/i zwrócic (prosze ponumerowac pierwsze dwie - w kolejnosci preferencji)

Polskie biuro

biuro pomocy emigrantom

koscielne/ksieza

rada dzielnicowa

agencja rządowa

Komentarz: _____

7. SOCIAL SUPPORT NETWORKS

7.1 Jak czesto utrzymuje Pan/i kontakt z rodzina w Polsce?

	b. czesto	czesto	rzadko	nigdy	inne
listownie					
telefonicznie					
inne.....					

7.1a Czy ma Pan/i bliska rodzine w Polsce? Tak

Nie

bliska rodzina = rodzice, bracia, siostry, dzieci

7.2 Czy zaprosil/a Pan/i kogos z rodziny tutaj na urlop? Tak

Nie

7.3 Ile razy byl/a Pan/i w Polsce na urlopie? 0

1

2

3

3+

Jak by Pan/i ocenil/a Polske by pobycie tam? _____

7.4 Czy ma Pan/i krewnych/rodzine w Australii?

Nie

Tak kogo? ...rodzicow

brata/ci lub siostry/y

ciotke/wujka

kuzyna/ke

7.5 Jak czesto ma Pan/i kontakt z nimi?

b. czesto

czesto

czasami

rzadko

nigdy

7.6 Ilu bliskich znajomych ma Pan/i (z ktorymi ma Pan/i regularny kontakt)?

	Polskich	nie Polskich	jakiej narodowosci?	w jaki sposob sie z nim/i zaprzyjaznil/a Pan/i?
1				
2				
3				
4				

7.7 Kto jest Panu/i osoba najblizsza?

- nikt
- maz/zona
- syn
- corka
- inni krewni
- przyjaciel/e
- inne prosze wyjasnic _____

7.8 Jakie ma Pan/i zainteresowania/hobby? _____

7.9 Czy nalezy Pan/i do jakis (mainstream) klubow/organizacji? Nie Tak jakie?

7.10 Czy i jesli tak to kiedy czuje sie Pan/i odizolowana czy samotna?

- b. czesto
- czesto
- czasami kiedy? _____
- rzadko
- nigdy

Komentarz: _____

7.11 Kiedy w potrzebie, gdzie i do kogo zwraca sie Pan/i o pomoc? _____

7.12 Jesli by Pana/i dziecko/maz lub zona potrzebowali opieki w domu np. przez 3 tygodnie, co by Pan/i zrobil/a w takiej sytuacji?

8. INDENTYFIKACJA, WARTOSCI, PODTRZYMYWANIE POLSKICH TRADYCJI

8.1 Pan/i widzi/identyfikuje sie jako:

- Polak/a
- Australijczyk/a

Polak/a-Australijczyk/a

Inne prosze wyjasnic _____

8.2 Jak mocno czuje sie Pan/i Polakiem/Polka?

b. mocno

mocno

nie mocno

nie b. mocno

8.3 Jak mocno czuje sie Pan/i Australijczykiem/ka?

b. mocno

mocno

nie mocno

nie b. mocno

8.4 Czy ma Pan/i Australijskie obywatelstwo?

Tak (rok wziecia obyw.) 198_____ 8.4a Jakie byly powody wziecia Austral. obywatestwa przez Pana/ia?

Nie dlaczego nie? _____

8.5 Niektore osoby mysla ze sa pewne cechy typowe dla kazdej narodowosci. Ktore 3 cechy uwaza Pan/ za najbardziej typowe dla Polakow?

	pozytywne	negatywne
1.		
2.		
3.		

WARTOSCI

8.6 Ktore 3 rzeczy uwaza Pan/i za najbardziej wazne w zyciu?

prawdziwa przyjazn

postep w karierze zawodowej

wygodne zycie

dobre zdrowie

milosc

dobrze platna praca

ciekawa praca

religia/wiara

malzenstwo

rodzina

inne prosze wyjasnic _____

8.7 Czy i jeśli tak to w jaki sposób zmieniły się Pana/i wartości od czasu przyjazdu do Australii porównaniu z Pana/i wartościami w Polsce?

Tak Nie

Jeśli tak to w jaki sensie? _____

8.8 Jak często korzysta Pan/i z Polskich sklepów/usług?

Tak które? _____

Nie dlaczego nie? _____

Inne proszę wyjaśnić _____

8.9 Czy Pana/i lekarz ogólny mówi po polsku? Tak Nie

8.10 Jak często je Pan/i Polskie jedzenie w domu? zawsze zazwyczaj rzadko

8.11 Jaki rodzaj kuchni Pan/i woli? _____

8.1 Jak często obchodzi Pan/i?

	zawsze	zazwyczaj	czasami	rzadko	nigdy
tradycyjne Święta Bożego Narodzenia					
tradycyjne Święta Wielkanocne					

8.13 Jak ważne jest dla Pana/i podtrzymywanie Polskiej kultury i tradycji?

b. ważne

ważne

nie b. ważne

w ogóle nie ważne

nie jestem pewna

dłaczego? _____

9. UZYWANIE I PODTRZYMYWANIE POLSKIEGO JEZYKA

9.1

	b. często	często	czasami	prawie nigdy	nigdy
Jak często czyta Pan/i polskie książki?					
Jak często czyta Pan/i polskie gazety?					

9.1a które gazety? _____

9.2 Jakim językiem mówi Pan/i zazwyczaj w domu?

	po polsku	po angielsku	po polski i po angielsku (%)
z zona/mezem			
ze swoim dzieckim/mi			

9.3 Jak wazne jest dla Pana/i potrzyzymanie polskiego jezyka?

b. wazne

wazne

nie b. wazne

w ogole nie wazne

nie jestem pewny/a

dlaczego? _____

10. UDZIAL W ZYCIEU POLSKIEJ SPOLECZNOSCI W MELBOURNE

10.1 Czy nalezy Pan/i do jakis polskich klubow lub organizacji?

Tak ktore? _____

Nie dlaczego nie? _____

10.2 Jaka jest Pana/i opinia na temat polskiej spolecznosci i polskich organizacji w Melbourne?

polskiej spolecznosci _____

polskich organizacji _____

10.3 Czesc Polako-Australijczykow uwaza ze sa pewne cechy Polonii, jej czlonkow, jej organizacji, ktor chcieliby zmienic. Jesli jest Pan/i jedna z tych osob, ktore cechy chcialby/aby Pan/i zmienic?

10.4 Jak czesto chodzi Pan/i na polskie imprezy?

b. czesto

czesto ktore? _____

czasami

rzadko

nigdy dlaczego nie? _____

10.5 Czy kiedykolwiek probowal/a Pan/i, sam/ lub z innymi, w Australii, rozwiacz jakies problemy polskie spolecznosci?

Tak Nie

Jesli tak, co probowal/a Pan/i osiagnac? _____

10.6 Czy kiedykolwiek bral/a Pan/i udzial w zakladaniu nowej grupy lub nowej polskiej organizacji Australii zeby rozwiacz jakies problemy polskiej spolecznosci? Tak Nie

Jesli tak, jaki byl/jest tego cel? _____

10.7 Czy korzystal/a Pan/i z pomocy polskich biur opieki społecznej?

Tak jakiego rodzaju byla to prosba? _____

Jak zadawalajace byly te uslugi? b. zadawal. zadawal. niezadawal. b. niezadawal.

Nie dlaczego nie? _____

10.8 O ktorych programach radiowych wie Pan/i?

3EA 3ZZZ 3RIM 3CRN 3WRB 3RIN

10.9 Jak czesto slucha Pan/i polskich programow radiowych?

	b. czesto	czesto	czasami	rzadko	nigdy
3EA					
3ZZZ					
3RIM					
3CRN					
3RIN					
Inne					

10.9 Jak by Pan/i ocenila polskie srodki masowego przekazu?

	informujace	interesujace	dokladne	malo roznorodne	inne
radio 3EA					
radio 3ZZZ					
radio					
Tygodnik Polski					
Kurier Zachodni					
inna gazeta.....					

Komentarz: _____

10.11 Czego chcial/aby Pan/i wiecej jesli chodzi a polskie srodki masowego przekazu? _____

10.12 Czy zazwyczaj oglada Pan/i polskie filmy na SBS?

zawsze zazwyczaj czasami rzadko nigdy

Komentarz: _____

10.13 Czy Pan/i wie a polskich wiadomosciach na SBS i jesli tak to jak czesto je Pan/i oglada?

Tak Nie

zawsze zazwyczaj czasami rzadko nigdy

11. PODEJSCIE DO SOCJALNYCH, EKONOMICZNYCH, I POLITYCZNYCH ZMIAN W POLSCE

11.1 Do jakiego stopnia sledzi Pan/i to co sie dzieje w Polsce, jesli chodzi o zmiany polityczne, ekonomiczne, i socjalne?

Sledze je regularnie

Sledze je od czasu do czasu

W ogole ich nie sledze

Inne _____

11.2 Jakie sa Pana/i zrodla informacji o tym co sie dzieje w Polsce? _____

11.3 Co Pan/i mysl o tych zmianach? _____

11.4 Jaka jest Pana/i opinia jesli chodzi o rezultat ostatnich wyborow (we wrzesniu 1993 roku) w Polsce _____

12. POLSKI KOSCIOL - STOSUNEK I UDZIAL

12.1 Jaka jest Pana/i religia?

Rzymsko-katolicka

Inna prosze wyjasnic _____

Czy zmienil/a Pan/i religie od czasu przyjazdu do Australii? Tak Nie

12.2

	b. czesto	czesto	czasami	rzadko	nigdy
a) jak czesto chodzil/a Pan/i na msze w Polsce?					
b) jak czesto chodzi Pan/i na polskie msze teraz?					
c) jak czesto chodzi Pan/i na msze angielskie?					

12.3 Czy jest Pan/i aktywnie wlaczony/a w zycie polskiego kosciola?

Tak w jaki sposob? _____

Nie

Komentarz: _____

12.4 Jak wazna jest religia lub wiara w Pana/i zyciu?

b. wazna

wazna dlaczego? _____

nie wazna

12.5 W jakiej dziedzinie uważa Pan/i że polscy księża mogliby zrobić więcej dla polskiej społeczności tutaj?

12.6 Czy Pana/i poglądy na religię zmieniły się od czasu przyjazdu do Australii?

- dużo więcej się zbliżyłem/am do religii
- trochę więcej się zbliżyłem/am do religii
- w ogóle się nie zmienił
- trochę się oddaliłem/am od religii
- dużo się oddaliłem/am od religii

Jeśli tak to w jakim sensie? _____

12.7 Jak Kościół katolicki w Australii różni się od Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce? _____

13. ROZKŁAD MAŁZENSTW - PRZYCZYNY I PATTERNS

13.1 Jeśli żonaty/zamężna w czasie przyjazdu, czy przyjechał/a Pan/i do Australii z mężem/żoną i dziećmi?

Tak Nie po ilu latach ona/oni przyjechali? _____ Inne _____

13.2

Stan cywilny	w Polsce	w Australii	Ile lat?
kawaler/panna			
żonaty/zamężna/de facto			
w separacji			
rozwódziony/a			
Wdowiec/wdowa			

małżeństwo = de facto

13.3

Narodowość żony/męża	pierwsze małżeństwo	drugie małżeństwo	trzecie małżeństwo
Polak/ka			
Inna			
Inna			

Następujące pytania są osobiste, proszę odpowiedzieć na nie tylko i wyłącznie jeśli Panu/i to nie przeszkadza

13.4 Jak by Pan/i ocenił/a swoje małżeństwo w Polsce?

b. dobre dobre niezbyt dobre w ogóle nie dobre

Komentarz: _____

13.5 Jak by ocenił/a Pan/i swoje małżeństwo teraz?

b. dobre dobre niezbyt dobre w ogóle nie dobre

Komentarz: _____

13.6 Jak uważa Pan/i emigracja wpłynęła na Pana/i małżeństwo? _____

13.7 Czy uważa Pan/i że emigracja zbliżyła was do siebie? Tak Nie

Jeśli tak, to w jakim sensie? _____

13.8 Po jakim czasie po przyjeździe do Australii zaczęły się Pana/i problemy małżeńskie i jakie były tego powody?
po jakim czasie? _____
jakie powody? _____

Jeśli w separacji lub po rozwodzie

13.9 Kto podjął decyzję separacji?

mąż

żona

wspólnie

13.10 Czy Pan/i lub Pana/i poprzedni współmałżonek szukał poradnictwa, pomocy lub porady?

Tak od kogo? _____

Nie _____

Inne _____

13.11 Jak długo był/a Pan/i żonaty/meżatka? _____ lat

13.12 Jeśli w separacji lub rozwiedziony/a, proszę określić:

Pana/i obecne warunki mieszkaniowe _____

Pana/i poprzedniego partnera warunki mieszkaniowe _____

14. PODEJSCIE DO WIELOKULTUROWOSC I JEJ ZROZUMIENIE, PODEJSCIE DO INNYCH GRUP ETNICZNYCH

14.1 Co rozumie Pan/i przez wielokulturowość? _____

14.2 Jak lubi Pan/i ta Australijska różnorodność kulturowa? _____

14.3 Ludzie mają różne opinie na temat jakie kroki rząd powinien przedsięwziąć jeśli chodzi o pomoc różnym grupom etnicznym. w Australii. Patrząc na tę kartę (Nr.....) (przerwa), proszę powiedzieć mi czy Pan/i popiera czy nie popiera następujący sposób pomagania przez rząd.

Mocno popieram ten rodzaj pomocy przez rząd	1	
Popieram ten rodzaj pomocy przez rząd	2	
Nie popieram tego rodzaju pomocy przez rząd		3
Mocno nie popieram tego rodzaju pomocy przez rząd		4
Ani popieram ani nie popieram tego rodzaju pomocy przez rząd	5	

- a) fundowanie programow radiowych i telewizyjnych w jez. innych niz angielski
- b) fundowanie organizacji etnicznych azaby nauczaly swojego jezyka i kultury wsrod mlodych osob z grup etnicznych
- c) fundowanie intensywnych kursow jez. ang. dla emigranckich dzieci
- d) fundowanie tlumaczy w szpitalach i sadach azaby pomoc osobom ktore nie mowia dobrze po angielsku
- e) fundowanie osrodkow gdzie emigranci moga sie uczyc jez. ang. i otrzymywac informacje o rzadowych programach i uslugach
- f) fundowanie intensywnych kursow jez. ang. dla doroslych emigrantow w czasie godzin pracy
- g) nauczanie w szkolach jez. glownych grup etnicznych w Australii np. wloski, grec
- h) fundowanie broszur informujacych o rzadowych uslugach (w jez. innych niz angi)
- i) organizowanie domow starcow dla starszych emigrantow, mowiacych tym samym jezykiem
- j) fundowanie organizacji etnicznych w celach takich zajec jak muzyka, taniec, i inne tradycje kulturowe

1	2	3	4	5

14.5 Czy uwaza Pan/i ze szanse na prace w Australii, tak ogolnie mowiac, sa lepsze, gorsze, czy be rozniczy dla emigrantow w porownaniu z Australijczykami ktoryzy maja podobne wykształcenie doswiadczenie zawodowe?

- duzo lepsze
- lepsze
- takie same
- gorsze
- duzo gorsze
- nie wiem

14.4 Czy uwaza Pan/i ze rzad powinien przyjmowac wiecej czy mniej nastepujacych grup emigrantow?

- przyjmowac duzo wiecej 1
- przyjmowac troche wiecej 2
- przyjmowac tyle samo 3
- przyjmowac troche mniej 4
- przyjmowac duzo mniej 5
- w ogole nie przyjmowac 6

		1	2	3	4	5	6
Emigranci ktorzy:	maja krewnych w Australii						
	sa dobrze wykształceni						
	sa z Azji						
	maja zawod rzemieslniczy (trade)						
	sa z krajow komunistycznych						
	moga byc pozyteczni dla tego kraju						
	sa z Wielkiej Brytanii						
	sa z Europy Poludniowej						
	beda wykonywac prace ktorej Australijczycy nie chca wykonywac						
	sa z krajow bliskiego wschodu						

14.6 Chce zeby mi Pan/i powiedziala jakie Pan/i ma podejscie/uczucia jesli chodzi o nastepujace grupy etniczne

- Przyjal/a bym
- Przyjal/a bym
- Przyjal/a bym
- Pozwolil/a bym
- Tylko bym
- Wyrzucil/a
- Przyjal/a bym

14.7 Jakie sa powody ze lubi Pan/i jedne grupy bardziej niz inne? _____

15. AUSTRALIJSKI PROCES POLITYCZNY I PARTIE POLITYCZNE

15.1 Czy Pan/i lub Pan/i wspolmalzonek/ka kiedykolwiek kontaktowali sie z politykiem w zwiazku z jakim problemem dotyczacym Pana/i lub srodowiska w ktorym mieszka Pan/i?

Nie Tak (z rady dzielnicowej stanowy federalny)

Komentarz: _____

15.2 Kiedy Pan/i musiala glosowac pierwszy raz, w jaki sposob zdecydowal/a Pan/i na jaka parti glosowac?

15.3 Czy moze mi Pan/i powiedziec w jaki sposob glosowala Pan/i w ostatnie 2 elekcje?

	wybory federalne	wybory stanowe
partia liberalna		
partia pracy		
demokraci		
niezalezni kandydaci		
inni		
.....		

15.3a Dlaczego glosowal Pan/i w ten sposob? _____

15.4 Jaka uwaza Pan/i jest glowna roznica (jesli chodzi o filozofie i strategie dzialania) pomiedzy dwoma glownymi partiami w Australii?

15.4a Partia Pracy

filozofia _____

strategia dzialania _____

15.4b Partia Liberalow

filozofia _____

strategia dzialania _____

15.5 Czy i jesli tak to w jaki sposob sledzi Pan/i proces polityczny? Nie Tak

na poziomie federalnym, w jaki sposob? _____

na poziomie stanowym, w jaki sposob? _____

15.6 Jakie sa Pana/i zrodla informacji? _____

15.7 Ogolnie mowiac, jak by Pan/i porownal/a polityke w Australii do polityki w Polsce?

15.8 Czy jest Pan/i czlonkiem partii politycznej? Nie Tak jak dlugo? _____

15.9 Czy uwaza Pan/i ze osoby w rzedzie zazwyczaj wiedza co robia, czy uwaza Pan/i ze jest za duzo tych ktorzy wydaja sie ze nie wiedza co robia?

wiedza co robia

nie wiedza co robia
niektorzy wiedza, niektorzy nie wiedza

15.10 Czy uwaza Pan/i ze obecny rzad federalny dobrze rządzi Australja? Tak Nie
Jesli nie, co Pan/i nie lubi? _____
Jesli tak, co Pan/i lubi? _____

16. DZIECI

16.1 W jakim wieku i ile dzieci ma Pan/i?

Wiek	Ile?	Ich miejsce urodzenia
2-5		
6-12		
13-15		
16-20		
21 +		

16.2 Do jakiej szkoly chodza?

	kierunek	pierwsze dziecko	drugie	trzecie	czwarte
podstawowa					
srednia: katolicka stanowa prywatna					
uniwersytet					

16.2a Jesli nie katolicka, to dlaczego nie? _____

16.3 Jak by Pan/i jako rodzic ocenil ta szkole?

metoda i jakosc nauczania	b. zadawal.	zadawalaj.	niezadawal	b. niezadawal.
nauczyciel				
dyscyplina				
inne aspekty				

16.4 Jesli Pana/i dzieci nie sa w szkole lub studiuja, to co robia?

pierwsze dziecko _____
drugie dziecko _____

16.5 Czy Pana/i dzieci mieszkaja z Panem/nia? Tak Nie

Komentarz: _____

16.6 Jak wazne jest dla Pana/i zeby Pana/i dzieci mowily po polsku?

b. wazne
wazne
nie wazne
inne

16.7 Jak dobrze Pana/i dzieci mówią po polsku?

	b. dobrze	dobrze	tak sobie	slabo	w ogole	inne
1-sze dziecko						
drugie						
trzecie						
czwarte						

16.8 Jakim językiem mówią zazwyczaj ze swoim rodzeństwem?

- po angielsku
- po polsku
- po polski i po angielsku
- Inne _____

Komentarz: _____

16.9 Jeśli Pan/i mówi do swego syna/córki w Pana/i po polsku i on/ona odpowiada po angielsku, jaka jest Pana/i reakcja? Czy zwraca Pan/i na to uwagę? _____

16.10 W jaki sposób pomaga Pan/i swemu/swojej synowi/córce żeby dobrze mówili po polsku? _____

16.11 (zaznacz dla każdego dziecka osobno)

	Tak	w czym?	Nie	nie chcą	inne
Czy oni biorą udział w życiu polskiej społeczności?					
Czy chodzą do polskiej szkoły?					

Komentarz: _____

16.12 Jak Pana/i dzieci widzą się jeśli chodzi o ich narodowość?

	1-sze dziecko	drugie	trzecie	czwarte
jako Polak/a				
jako Australijczyk/a				
jako Polak-Australijczyk				
Inne				

16.13 Czy uważa że Pana/i dzieci mają lepsze szanse na przyszłość w Australii niż gdyby zostały w Polsce?

Tak Nie

Jeśli tak, to w jakim sensie? _____

17. RODZINNE POCHODZENIE

17.1 Czy Pana/i rodzice jeszcze pracują czy są już na emeryturze? Tak Nie

	na emeryturze	pracuja
matka		
ojciec		

17.2 W jakiej okolicy w Polsce Pana/i rodzice mieszkaja? _____

duze miasto wioska male miasteczko

17.3

Rodzicow poziom wykształcenia	matka	kierunek	ojciec	kierunek
podstawowe				
rzemieślnicze				
średnie ogólne				
średnie techniczne				
wyższe				
nieskończone				
skończone				
podyplomowe				

17.4 Jaka była ich główna praca w Polsce?

	matka	ojciec
pozycja		
przemysł		
pełny etat		
częściowy etat		
w domu		
inne		

17.5 Ile rodzeństwa miał/a Pan/i, włącznie z przyrodzonym i zaadoptowanym rodzeństwem? _____

18. POWROTNA EMIGRACJA

18.1 Czy rozważa Pan/i stały powrót do Polski, żeby tam mieszkać?

	interviewee	współmałzonek/ka
Tak		
Nie		
Może		
chciał/a bym ale.....		
Inne		

18.2 Jak poważnie rozważa Pan/i nad tym?

- b. poważnie
poważnie
nie poważnie
w ogóle nie poważnie

18.3 Kiedy zaczął/ela Pan/i o tym myśleć? _____

18.4 Czy rozważał/a Pan/i przeniesienie się do innego kraju? Tak Nie

18.5 Jeśli miałaby by Pani wybór, w jakim kraju chciał/a by Pan/i mieszkać?

Polska
Europa który kraj? _____
Ameryka Południowa który kraj? _____
Inny proszę sprecyzować _____

18.5 Jakie umiejętności byłyby najbardziej przydatne gdyby Pan/i emigrowała ponownie? _____

18.6 Czy jest coś co by Pan/i zrobił/a inaczej gdyby Pan/i emigrowała ponownie do Australii? _____

18.7 Czy chciał/a by Pan/i spędzić resztę życia w Australii? Tak Nie

19. PRZYSZŁOŚĆ

19.1 Co by Pan/i chciał/a robić za 5 lat jeśli chodzi o:

praca _____

życie osobiste _____

inne _____

19.2 Jak widzi Pan/i swoją przyszłość tutaj? _____

19.3 Kiedy będzie Pan/i w podeszłym wieku, kto uważa Pan/i powinien się Panem/ia opiekować? _____

19.4 Czy jest coś co chciał/a by Pan/i jeszcze powiedzieć? _____

DZIEKUJE BARDZO ZA ZGODĘ NA BRANIE UDZIAŁU W TYMŻE BADANIU

Ile czasu zajęło przeprowadzenie ankiety? _____

Czy chciał/a by Pan/i kopie mojej pracy magisterskiej gdy będzie skończona? Tak Nie

Czy mógł/a by mnie Pan/i skontaktować z innymi osobami które mogły by brać udział w tym badaniu?
(te które przyjechały między 1980-1984)

Czy ma Pan/i coś przeciwko temu gdy zadzwonię do Pana/i jeśli przeoczyłam jakieś pytania?

Name: questio8.air