

# CITIZENSHIP AND INTEGRATION

## A snapshot of the Polish migrant community in Australia

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### INTRODUCTION

Australia has long been regarded as a country of immigration. In 1901, 23 per cent of Australians were born overseas.<sup>1</sup> This share of overseas-born declined to 10 per cent in 1947, but grew again to reach 23 per cent in 1995.<sup>2</sup> Since World War II, Australia's population has grown quickly due to a combination of high fertility and high *net overseas migration* (immigration less emigration).<sup>3</sup> In the 2006 Census, 4.4 million people, more than one-fifth of the total population, stated that they were not born in Australia.<sup>4</sup> The 2001 Census of Population showed that 3.5 million people born in Australia (26 per cent of the total population) had at least one parent born overseas and nearly half of these had both parents overseas-born.<sup>5</sup> If all those Australia-born with at least one parent born overseas were defined as second-generation immigrants, then by the end of the past century, nearly half of all Australians were either first or second-generation immigrants.

The structure of immigration and, thus, the composition of the overseas-born resident population have changed significantly over time. In the early days of Federation, the White Australia Policy ensured

that immigrants were mostly of European origin and predominantly Anglo-Celtic.<sup>6</sup>

In the aftermath of World War II, shortages of labour prompted a change in policy and Australia accepted about 300 000 displaced persons (DPs) from Eastern Europe.

<sup>7</sup> Further policy relaxation was aimed at attracting settlers from other parts of western and northern Europe, from southern Europe (in the 1950s) and Eastern Europe and the Middle East (1960s).<sup>8</sup> The White Australia Policy was gradually relaxed throughout the 1960s and completely dismantled by the 1970s. Since then, the proportion of immigrants of non-European origin, especially from Asia, has grown.

Of the overseas-born population, the United Kingdom continues to be the main migrant source country, accounting for 24 per cent of all overseas-born in 2005. New Zealanders were the second-largest group (9 per cent) and their number had trebled in the past 30 years. Italy was the third migrant source country (5 per cent) followed closely by China (4 per cent). The China-born group has increased nearly eightfold since 1981.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, between 1996 and 2006, of the 50 most common countries of birth, Poland, Hungary and Italy-born groups have recorded

the largest absolute declines: on average, down 2 per cent per annum.<sup>10</sup>

Australian citizenship is especially attractive for those immigrants whose international mobility has been impeded by onerous entry and exit visa requirements (particularly former displaced or 'stateless' people). Not surprisingly, DPs and immigrants from former Soviet-bloc countries (for example, Poland) have had high rates of take-up of Australian citizenship (see below). On the other hand, New Zealand and UK-born residents have been less inclined to take up Australian citizenship (38 per cent and 66 per cent respectively) even though they account for the highest *number* of new citizens in absolute terms.<sup>11</sup> Also, as it is difficult and costly to renounce previous citizenship, a large proportion of immigrants who became Australian citizens by naturalisation or marriage are likely to have retained their home country citizenship. However, surprisingly little is known about the dual citizenship of Australian nationals and there is little systematic information about the extent of migrant identification with 'Australia'.<sup>12</sup>

The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) has long collected data on migrant communities in Australia. The Census provides regular snapshots of these communities and many of them have been profiled and analysed by the ABS and the research arm of the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIC, formerly DIMIA). Most of this research has focused on the extent of integration of migrant communities into the broader Australian society (for example, their English proficiency or propensity to take up Australian citizenship). Some data have also been collected on distinct ethnic and/or national

characteristics of migrant communities (for example, their countries of birth, ancestries and languages spoken at home). Given the impact of immigration on the Australian social make-up and its significance for the national economy, it is important to know whether the process of immigrant absorption into the broader Australian community has been as effective as it might have been. Such knowledge has wide-ranging implications for immigration policies, in particular for the targeting of the most desirable migrant groups. There has also been much debate about conditions that have been and/or should be imposed on those resident immigrants who wish to become Australian citizens and the pros and cons of dual citizenship. The official statistics are incomplete in this respect and additional sources of data are needed to learn about the incidence and significance of dual citizenship and the extent of migrant identification with the broader Australian society.

In 2006, this author conducted a small survey of the Polish migrant community in Victoria, New South Wales, South Australia, Queensland and the Australian Capital Territory, mostly in the capital cities of these states, where 67 per cent of all Australians of Polish ancestry (about 110 000 people) were reported to live. To access members of the Polish migrant community, the study solicited the help of the Polish Community Council of Australia and New Zealand Incorporated. In particular, it was assisted by the Polish Community Councils of New South Wales, Victoria, the Australian Capital Territory, Queensland and South Australia.<sup>13</sup> The purpose of the survey was to probe the community's links with Poland, the likely impact of Poland's accession to the

European Union on people's attitudes to Polish citizenship and the likelihood of reverse migration. A total of 1030 questionnaires were posted to people listed on various 'official' mailing lists and 335 completed questionnaires were returned by mail and processed by the research team (for a brief description of the sample, see the Statistical Annex).<sup>14</sup> Although the size of the study was limited to 335 valid responses (0.003 per cent of all those who stated their ancestry as 'Polish' in the targeted area in 2006) and its findings were biased by exclusion of all those not connected to community councils, the survey yielded a wealth of information on various aspects of the 'Polishness' of the Polish migrant community. There also appears to be a strong concordance between its findings and data drawn from the 2006 Census.

This paper draws on general, census-based information to profile Australians of Polish descent. The survey-based data are used to complement official statistics and, in particular, to shed some light on the dual citizenship of Polish migrants and the extent to which they identify with the broader Australian community. Four 'research questions' are implicit in this exercise:

1. What differentiates Australians of Polish extraction from the broader Australian community?
2. How well are they integrated into that community?
3. How many members of the Polish migrant community are dual citizens and what does it mean to be a dual citizen of Australia and Poland?
4. To what extent do Australians of Polish extraction identify with Australia and/or Poland?

While the absorption of Polish immigrants into the broader Australian community should not be taken as representative of all such adaptive processes, it is nevertheless instructive to consider the experience of a particular group that has blended successfully into the host community and the extent to which Polish migrants and their descendants have retained their ethnic distinctiveness and, in particular, their Polish citizenship.

The paper is organised as follows. The first section introduces the evolving concept of citizenship in Australian and the related debate about the implications of citizenship policy for migrant integration into the broader Australian community. Next, we review 'measures of migrant distinctiveness': these are concepts used to differentiate migrant groups from the broader Australian population (for example, country of birth, stated ancestry and language spoken at home). This is followed by a description of Polish migration to Australia, which examines migrant inflows and outflows and general characteristics of Polish settlers in Australia. The next section focuses on the changing characteristics of Australian residents of Polish ancestry. Finally, citizenship and national identity are discussed: this section draws extensively on the Polish survey data. The paper concludes with a summary response to the four research questions.

## CITIZENSHIP AND INTEGRATION

The concept of 'Australian citizenship' is a relatively recent one, having its origins in the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* (Commonwealth). Before the inception of

the act on Australia Day in 1949, Australians were British subjects.<sup>15</sup> And, until 1 May 1987, when the *Australian Citizenship Amendment Act 1984* (Cth) came into force, 'Australia resisted the move to create a distinct Australian citizenship outside of British subject status' and Australian citizens continued to be both Australian nationals and British subjects.<sup>16</sup> The 1948 *Citizenship Act* was also inequitable in that it allowed, de facto, overseas-born people to retain their former citizenship when granted Australian citizenship, while its Section 17 mandated its loss for an Australian citizen who acquired a citizenship of another country. Consequently, dual citizenship was accepted as a matter of legal reality for those who had another citizenship before becoming Australian citizens. As many countries make it difficult for nationals to renounce their citizenship, pledging allegiance to Australia upon becoming Australian citizens was insufficient to divest immigrants of their former citizenship.<sup>17</sup> This inequity was finally removed in 2002 when amendments to Australian citizenship legislation made it possible for Australian nationals to acquire citizenship of another country, when previously it would have meant forfeiting their Australian citizenship. In 2007, a new *Australian Citizenship Act* was introduced, which repealed the contentious s. 17 and broadened citizenship provisions to include dual citizenship. Thus, the act has made it possible for Australian citizens to maintain their former citizenships or acquire a new one without fear of losing their Australian citizenship.<sup>18</sup>

A further amendment was also introduced in 2007 to allow formal testing of prospective citizens' English language proficiency and civic knowledge. The

amendment requires prospective Australian citizens to *demonstrate* their commitment to 'Australia's common values' and basic 'knowledge of Australia'. A review commissioned by the Rudd Government in 2008 found the test 'flawed, intimidating to some and discriminatory' in that it resembled a general knowledge quiz that required the knowledge of 'obscure historical or sporting facts'.<sup>19</sup> Not surprisingly, some migrant groups have contested the 'prescribed' notion of Australian identity as an attempt to homogenise the inherently hybrid migrant community.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, this uniform national identification will continue to be tested, albeit in a modified form, as '[t]he Rudd Government is committed to the citizenship test' that 'encourages potential citizens to find out more about Australia and understand the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship'.<sup>21</sup> More importantly though, the amendment highlights the duality inherent in the concept of 'Australian citizenship': those born into it may have little commitment to Australian values and a very limited knowledge of Australia, even though they are obliged to vote, while those seeking citizenship-by-grant have to demonstrate their eligibility for the membership of 'Club Australia'. As Kim Rubenstein points out:

If the Government expanded its thinking about citizenship policy for all Australian citizens, not only those seeking out Australian citizenship and indeed considered moving the portfolio of citizenship outside of the Immigration department, it would promote a greater attention to thinking through what is meant by membership of the Australian community.<sup>22</sup>

Elsewhere in this volume, Nolan and Rubenstein argue that a uniform national identification implied by the amended 2007 act sits uneasily with the legal acceptance of dual citizenship in the 2007 act. They also argue that in a hybrid society such as Australia, people should be free to assume a blended, complex identity rather than be expected to fit into a common social mould imposed by the country's dominant ethnic group. This writer is not qualified to discuss the extent to which the *legal* acceptance of dual citizenship is compatible with the uniform national identification implicit in the admittedly ill-conceived and insensitively implemented citizenship test introduced by the Howard Government in 2007. In logic, a degree of 'uniform identity' is implicit in laws about Australian citizenship that differentiate rights and obligations of Australian citizens from those of non-citizen residents of Australia and citizens of other countries. And, regardless of how this uniform identity is determined in practice and embodied in successive pieces of legislation, the membership of Club Australia inevitably restricts members' freedom to assume a blended, complex identity *of their choice*.<sup>23</sup> While the acceptance of social 'diversity' and 'hybridity' implies a broad interpretation of 'uniform identity' (as opposed to a common social mould imposed by the country's dominant ethnic group), no national 'club' is ever diverse and hybrid enough to satisfy all those who demand citizenship rights but resent the notion of reciprocal social obligations.

The 2007 test notwithstanding, membership requirements of Club Australia have been quite liberal by international standards and barriers to entry not partic-

ularly high.<sup>24</sup> This is best demonstrated by the proportion of overseas-born in the total population (about one-fifth) and the proportion of immigrants who acquire Australian citizenship. Since 1949, more than three million overseas-born Australian residents have acquired Australian citizenship and, in 2001, 74 per cent of overseas-born Australian residents (of two years or more) were Australian citizens.<sup>25</sup> Also, of 3.7 million overseas-born people who responded to the 'ancestry question' in the 2001 Census, 76 per cent stated their citizenship as 'Australian' and only 23 per cent as 'Other'.<sup>26</sup>

## MEASURES OF MIGRANT DISTINCTIVENESS

*Country of birth* differentiates those born overseas from those born in Australia. While the concept of 'overseas-born' population is relatively straightforward—that is, it refers to those residents of Australia who were not born in Australia<sup>27</sup>—that of 'country of birth' is often ambiguous. For example, the post-World War II boundary changes in Europe have made it difficult to determine the country of birth of many displaced persons.<sup>28</sup> Not surprisingly, boundary changes and the resultant population displacement make concepts such as 'country of birth' and 'nationality at birth' highly contentious.<sup>29</sup> The ABS approach to these issues is to code people to the country they name as their country of birth—that is, 'all persons who give their country of birth as "Poland" are coded to Poland' and 'Birthplace responses which relate to particular cities or regions which are now in one country, but which may have been in another country at the time of birth,

should be coded to the country, the city or region is in at the time of collection of the data. For example, the response "Dan-zig" should be coded to Poland not to Germany.<sup>30</sup> Thus, a person born in the pre-1939 Polish city of Lvov who lists 'Poland' as his/her *country of birth* is coded as 'Poland-born' while those who are ethnically Polish but give Lvov as their *city of birth* are coded 'Ukraine-born'. Similarly, not all those Poland-born are ethnically Polish. In 1986, 84.7 per cent of Poland-born residents of Australia stated their ancestry as Polish, 7 per cent described themselves as Jewish, 1.7 per cent German, 1.5 per cent Ukrainian and 4.2 per cent 'Other'.<sup>31</sup>

Concepts such as *ancestry* and *ethnicity* may also be used to identify migrant groups within the broader Australian population. In the census, ancestry is self-determined.<sup>32</sup> But, the concept of 'ancestry' is even more ambiguous than that of 'country of birth'. A person may also have more than one ancestry.<sup>33</sup> The concept of ancestry also depends on how it is probed in terms of past generations. For example, the 2001 Australian Census asked respondents to consider their ancestry as far back as three generations.<sup>34</sup> Thus, a person's perception of 'ancestry' may not depend only on where he/she was born but on their nationality, country (or countries) of birth of their parents, language spoken at home, religion and numerous cultural factors. For example, one of our survey respondents described his/her identity as 'by birth: Canadian; by citizenship: Australian; by parentage: Anglo-Polish; by culture: Polish; and by upbringing: European'. In 2001, the most commonly stated ancestries in Australia were Australian (38 per cent of respondents),

English (36 per cent), Irish (11 per cent), Italian (5 per cent), German (4 per cent), Chinese (3 per cent) and Scottish (3 per cent).<sup>35</sup> Polish ancestry was stated by 150 900 respondents (0.9 per cent).<sup>36</sup> The 'revealed ancestry' also depends on how the population at large feels about various national groups and, thus, a person's willingness to reveal their ancestry. Consequently, a person's 'stated ancestry' may change over time.<sup>37</sup>

In the 2006 Census, nearly 164 000 people stated their ancestry as Polish while more than 52 000 gave Poland as their country of birth (see Table 5.1).<sup>38</sup> Although those of Polish ancestry were the thirteenth-largest ancestry group, this was, to use a sporting analogy, only the 'fifth division' in the 'ancestry league' with the 'first division' English ancestry group numbering 6.4 million people and the 'fourth division' Greek ancestry group totalling 376 000 people. And, while the number of Australians of Polish ancestry has increased over time, the number of Poland-born residents has declined (on average by 2 per cent per annum between 1996 and 2006).

*English proficiency* and the *use of another language at home* are also useful measures of migrant distinctiveness. The 2001 Census revealed that 2.8 million people (16 per cent of the Australian population) spoke a language other than English at home.<sup>39</sup> This represents an 8 per cent increase since 1996 and reflects the growing multicultural make-up of the Australian population. It also reflects changes in the prevailing social climate, as, in contrast with the 1950s and the 1960s, migrants to Australia have recently been encouraged to retain their distinct ethnic and cultural identities. In 2001, the five most com-

monly spoken second languages were Italian, Greek, Cantonese, Arabic and Vietnamese. Polish was the twelfth-most common 'other language', with 59 000 people (0.3 per cent of the population) speaking it at home.

The propensity to speak the 'home country' language can also be used as a proxy for the ethnic distinctiveness of a migrant group, in particular when it is spoken by those born in Australia. But, as immigrants assimilate, successive generations tend to lose their command of the 'home country' language. For example, in 2001, 51 per cent of people speaking Greek at home were born in Australia, 43 per cent of those speaking Arabic and Italian were Australia-born, 40 per cent of those speaking Serbian and 39 per cent Macedonian. But only 20 per cent of Polish speakers were Australia-born, 15 per cent Dutch and 9 per cent German.<sup>40</sup> In comparison with their Australian-Greek, Australian-Italian or Australian-Lebanese compatriots, the second generation of Polish immigrants appears to have lost a great deal of its language-related ethnic identity. Nevertheless, people may continue to identify with a particular ancestry or ancestries even if they no longer relate to their ancestral language, religion or culture.

In migrant communities, English language proficiency tends to be age related. For example, 88 per cent of the people aged under twenty-five who spoke a language other than English at home described their command of spoken English as good or very good, compared with 60 per cent of those aged sixty-five years and over.<sup>41</sup> And 91 per cent of those born in Australia who spoke a language other than

English at home described their English as good or very good.

## POLISH MIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA

### Two migrant waves

When 'Polish-born' residents of Australia were first enumerated as a separate migrant group in 1921, the census tallied them at 1780. Their number quadrupled by 1947 to reach 6573.<sup>42</sup> After World War II, two distinct 'waves' of Poland-born immigrants arrived in Australia.

The first wave consisted of Poland-born displaced persons. Between 1947 and 1954, the Poland-born population of Australia increased more than eightfold to 56 594. The total population kept increasing, albeit at a decreasing rate, until the 1966 Census, when it peaked at 61 641 people (see Table 5.1). It subsequently declined to 56 051 in the 1976 Census.

The second wave of migrants started in 1980 and ended in the early 1990s. Between 1980 and 1985, 15 570 Polish settlers arrived in Australia. This more than doubled the number of arrivals in the previous 15 years.<sup>43</sup> In 1981–82, 5732 settlers arrived from Poland (the fourth-largest group of immigrants and nearly 5 per cent of all new arrivals).<sup>44</sup> This rate of inflow continued in the second half of the 1980s. In 1989–90, the number of settlers from Poland increased to 8052 (nearly 7 per cent of all settlers and the fourth-largest group of immigrants).<sup>45</sup> At the 1991 Census, the Poland-born population increased to 68 496 people—an all-time high.<sup>46</sup> The inflow of Polish settlers decreased again in the 1990s: 3998 arrived in 1991–95 but only 1780 followed in 1996–2000.<sup>47</sup>

By the first decade of this century, the stream of arrivals of new settlers from Poland had decreased to a trickle: 2285 arrived in 2001–05 (0.0035 per cent of all immigrants to Australia during that period).<sup>48</sup> In 2005–06, only 338 settlers arrived from Poland while 30 407 arrived from Europe as a whole and 131 593 in total.<sup>49</sup> With the large decline in new arrivals and the natural rate of attrition, the number of Poland-born people decreased to 52 256 in the 2006 Census (see Table 5.1). Not surprisingly, then, the Poland-born population has been one of those overseas-born groups that has recently recorded high rates of absolute decline: decreasing at 2 per cent a year.<sup>50</sup>

## GENERATIONAL CHANGE AND INTEGRATION

Interestingly, this very small inflow of Polish settlers to Australia in the early 2000s occurred during a period of massive outflow (perhaps as many as two million people) of migrants from Poland.<sup>51</sup> Settlers migrating to Australia are normally defined as those arriving with a permanent visa regardless of the intended period of stay.<sup>52</sup> Those who departed Poland after the country's accession to the European Union largely fell into the 'grey' area of transnational job seekers rather than emigrants—that is, they were taking advantage of opportunities provided by the EU labour market enlargement rather than looking for a chance to leave Poland for good.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, we would expect the pull effect of 'chain migration' to be stronger—that is, the established community of earlier immigrants normally helps to attract further arrivals as the cost of settlement (to the settlers) is partially

reduced through access to established ethnic networks and other intra-community support mechanisms.<sup>54</sup> The Australian labour market was also quite strong in the early and mid 2000s.

While Australia has long been perceived as a final destination of choice for international migrants, it appears to be increasingly harder to attract highly skilled immigrants.<sup>55</sup> Global competition for skilled and adaptable migrants intensified in the 2000s, especially for the internationally mobile labour force seeking job opportunities that are not necessarily tied to permanent resettlement.<sup>56</sup> Australia's traditional preference for permanent immigration may be unattractive to those seeking short-term job opportunities. The 'tyranny of distance' is also a factor likely to deter Eastern European job seekers when jobs are available in Western European labour markets since the EU enlargement. Clearly, as a migrant destination, Australia was not attractive enough to divert Polish migrants away from Europe in the early 2000s.

## REVERSE MIGRATION

As G. Hugo observes, 'For most of the twentieth century the dominant paradigm in Australian international migration has been one of permanent settlement.'<sup>57</sup> Polish migrants fit well into this paradigm. By and large, the two waves of migrants arrived in Australia to stay and reverse migration has been negligible. Between 1996–97 and 2006–07, for example, permanent departures from Australia to Poland totalled 862 people, on average fewer than 80 people per annum.<sup>58</sup> In 2005–06, 135 Poland-born people permanently departed from Australia, a very small num-



ber considering that 67 853 people permanently departed Australia during that period and only 88 of all those departing gave Poland as their intended country of residence. Of Poland-bound departees, 14 people were Australia-born and 74 overseas-born (but not necessarily Poland-born).<sup>59</sup> In the early 2000s, the two-way flow of permanent migrants between Poland and Australia was negligible.

## SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS

Polish immigrants have largely concentrated in Victoria and New South Wales. In 1986, 36 per cent of Poland-born people (24 635) settled in Victoria (89 per cent of whom settled in Melbourne), 31 per cent (21 008 people) in New South Wales (80 per cent of those in Sydney), 12 per cent (7934) in South Australia (92 per cent in Adelaide), 10 per cent (6534) in Western Australia (81 per cent in Perth), 7 per cent (4854) in Queensland (69 per cent in Brisbane) and 2 per cent in Tasmania (1301) and the Australian Capital Territory (1275), respectively, with only 150 people settling in the Northern Territory.<sup>60</sup> This broad pattern of settlement has largely continued to the present day, except that, in line with movements of the broader Australian population, the number of those living in Queensland has increased. With the decline of the Poland-born population, 'Polish ancestry' provides a better measure of the dispersion of Australians of Polish descent. At the 2006 Census, 32 per cent of Australians of Polish ancestry lived in Victoria (27 per cent in Melbourne), 28 per cent in New South Wales (21 per cent in Sydney), 13 per cent in Queensland (8 per cent in Brisbane), 11

per cent in South Australia (10 per cent in Adelaide), 11 per cent in Western Australia, 2 per cent in the Australian Capital Territory, 2 per cent in Tasmania and less than 0.5 per cent in the Northern Territory.<sup>61</sup> In sum, Australians of Polish ancestry tend to be big-city dwellers with nearly half of the group living in Melbourne and Sydney conurbations.

## MIGRANT GENERATIONS

Table 5.1 also includes estimates of different generations of Polish migrants.<sup>62</sup> The first generation are Poland-born migrants (column a); the second generation comprises Australia-born people with one or both Poland-born parents; the third and subsequent generations are those with both parents Australia-born. The Polish identity of the second and subsequent generations of Polish migrants depends on the extent to which their members are prepared to state their ancestry as Polish. The second and third generations are shown in columns c and d in the table (no data are available for years before 1986).

As migrant streams age, the first generation of settlers decreases, mostly due to deaths, while the second and subsequent generations are normally expected to increase. In the early 2000s, the second generation of Polish migrants outnumbered the first generation. With the growing third, and soon fourth, generation of Australians of Polish ancestry, and no new arrivals from Poland to replace the loss of Poland-born settlers, the share of Poland-born in all those who claim Polish ancestry has declined and will continue to decline in the years to come (see Table 5.1, column f).

## POLISH ANCESTRY

About one-third of people of Polish ancestry also stated another ancestry, which suggests the relative 'openness' of the Polish settler community.<sup>63</sup> The corresponding figures for Greek and Croatian communities are 21 per cent, Chinese 15 per cent, Macedonian 10 per cent and Vietnamese 6 per cent.<sup>64</sup>

Intermarriages provide another measure of the ability and willingness to melt into the broader host society. In 2001, 41 per cent of men and 38 per cent of women of the first generation of Polish migrants had a spouse of different ancestry. For the second generation, the corresponding figures were 83 per cent for men and 81 per cent for women, and for the third generation, 95 per cent for men and 94 per cent for women.<sup>65</sup> In comparison, only 68 per cent of third-generation Greek men and 26 per cent of women marry someone of different ancestry. Intermarriages between those of Polish and Australian ancestry are also indicative of the extent to which different generations of Polish settlers have 'gone native'. In 2001, 8 per cent of men and 10 per cent of women of the first Polish generation married partners of Australian ancestry. For the second generation, the corresponding figures were 22 per cent and 19 per cent; and for the third, 13 per cent and 16 per cent.<sup>66</sup>

## LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

### English proficiency

In 1996, the Bureau of Immigration, Multicultural and Population Research (BIMPR) introduced the concept of English Proficiency (EP) Country Groups.<sup>67</sup> The EP index is defined in terms of migrants'

(self-assessed) ability to speak English. EP1 is the highest level of deemed English proficiency (migrants from countries such as the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Ireland, Canada or South Africa) and EP4 is the lowest. In the 2001 Census, 57 450 Poland-born people who answered the English proficiency question scored 87.6 per cent on the English proficiency scale, which ranked them as EP2. In five years before the census date, arrivals from Poland numbered 2038, and 1487 people spoke good English. This gave the recent arrivals the score of EP3—that is, 73 per cent of them met the 'good English' criterion.<sup>68</sup>

Overall, Poland-born Australians speak English relatively well. In the 2006 Census, 18 per cent of Poland-born people revealed that they speak 'English only' at home, 64 per cent speak 'other language' (mostly Polish) and very good or good English, and only 11 per cent stated that while they speak another language at home their English is poor.<sup>69</sup> Proficiency in English appears to be more of a problem for the older Poland-born people who arrived in Australia relatively recently. For example, at the 1996 Census, of those aged sixty-five and above who arrived in Australia before 1986, 84 per cent claimed to be proficient in English. For those in the same age group who arrived between 1986 and 1996, only 34 per cent claimed to be proficient in English.<sup>70</sup>

The census-based findings are supported by the results of the Polish survey: 17 per cent of survey respondents described themselves as 'native English speakers'. Of these, 60 per cent were aged twenty–twenty-nine, 24 per cent aged thirty–fifty-four and, somewhat surprisingly, 18 per cent aged over fifty-five.

Australia-born native English speakers accounted for 66 per cent of the group, Poland-born for 18 per cent and elsewhere-born for 16 per cent. Further, 47 per cent of respondents described themselves as very proficient in English, 28 per cent as proficient, 5 per cent as not very proficient and 1 per cent as not at all proficient.<sup>71</sup> Of those not proficient in English, 94 per cent were aged over fifty-five and all those with no English at all were over sixty-five. These numbers are similar to those drawn from 'official' statistics and confirm the relatively high level of English proficiency in the Polish migrant community. Of the 6 per cent of respondents whose English was poor, half considered themselves to be native Polish speakers and another quarter to be very proficient in Polish. And of the 17 per cent who are native English speakers, 63 per cent are also proficient or very proficient in Polish while 7 per cent claim to be native Polish speakers (completely bilingual).

### Polish proficiency

Not surprisingly, given the tendency of Polish migrants to assimilate more easily than many other migrant groups, the ability to speak Polish as the 'second language' has declined in the second and subsequent generations. At the time of the 2001 Census, 40 per cent of those stating Polish ancestry spoke Polish at home but only 20 per cent of those born in Australia continued to speak it at home.<sup>72</sup> This is a much smaller proportion than that for Greek, Italian or Arabic-speaking groups. Overall, the number of those speaking Polish at home peaked in the early 1990s, and has been declining since (see Table 5.1, column g).

The census does not probe the proficiency of those who speak Polish at home:

59 per cent of Polish survey respondents described themselves as 'native Polish speakers', 19 per cent stated they were 'very proficient' and 13 per cent were 'proficient' in Polish. Only 8 per cent described their command of Polish language as poor and 1 per cent as no Polish at all. Of those who stated their national identity as Polish (see below), nearly three-quarters considered themselves to be native Polish speakers, 22 per cent were very proficient Polish speakers and 4 per cent were proficient. Of those who stated their national identity as Australian, 27 per cent considered themselves as native Polish speakers, 16 per cent were very proficient in Polish, 22 per cent were proficient, 30 per cent were not proficient and only 5 per cent had no Polish at all. Some 89 per cent of native Polish speakers had parents speaking Polish at home, 95 per cent were born in Poland and 90 per cent spoke either Polish only or Polish and English at home. Also, 53 per cent of those who have lived in Australia for at least 20 years considered themselves to be native Polish speakers and another 21 per cent were very proficient in Polish. These survey-based figures suggest that regardless of their *actual*, as opposed to *stated*, command of the Polish language, Polish migrants appear to be very *confident* about their Polish language proficiency.

## RELIGION

We have left out 'religion' as a factor *differentiating* the Polish community in Australia. While Poland is predominantly Catholic and Catholicism is the dominant religion of the Polish immigrant community in Australia, Poland-born Catholics accounted for less than 1 per cent of all

those who stated their religion as 'Catholicism' in the 2001 Census.<sup>73</sup>

## CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

### Australian citizenship

In 1981, 85 per cent of Poland-born Australian permanent residents were Australian citizens. The proportion was about the same in 1986, although the number of Poland-born increased (see Table 5.1, columns a and h). In comparison with other overseas-born groups, these numbers are above average.<sup>74</sup> With the recent slowdown in arrivals from Poland, relatively few Poland-born residents have acquired Australian citizenship in the past decade.<sup>75</sup>

In 1981, 14 per cent of those who were Poland-born had 'other' (that is, non-Australian) citizenship and a similar proportion had no Australian citizenship in 1986.<sup>76</sup> In 2001, only 4171 (7 per cent) of Poland-born people had 'other' citizenship.<sup>77</sup> However, it is very likely that many Poland-born people who have acquired Australian citizenship by marriage or naturalisation have also retained their Polish citizenship (see below).<sup>78</sup> In Polish law, those born in Poland who have not renounced or been deprived of Polish nationality are deemed to be Polish nationals regardless of whether they are Polish passport-holders or not.

Some 323 Polish survey respondents (96 per cent of all) were Australian citizens, 10 were not (3 per cent) and two did not describe their citizenship. The proportion of Australian citizens in this sample is somewhat larger than that for the Polish community in Australia while the proportion of non-citizens is smaller. Of those

respondents who were Australian citizens, 82 per cent acquired it through naturalisation, 12 per cent at birth and 2 per cent by marriage.<sup>79</sup> Again, these figures are broadly consistent with the 'official' citizenship data that show high rates of Australian citizenship-by-naturalisation in the Polish migrant community.

### Polish citizenship

The Polish survey complements official statistics in that it provides data on dual citizenship, in particular the dual Australian-Polish citizenship of respondents.

As expected, a large proportion of Polish survey respondents (66 per cent) has retained their Polish nationality and of these 94 per cent are Poland-born (see Table 5.2). Since 96 per cent of all respondents have Australian nationality, most of those who are Polish nationals are also dual Australian-Polish nationals. Only 3 per cent of Australia-born respondents are Polish nationals. And of those who are not Polish nationals (one-third of all respondents), 8 per cent have a third-country nationality (for example, British).

Polish passport-holders tend to include many of those dual nationals who are likely to travel to Poland.<sup>80</sup> In the five-year period immediately preceding the survey, 80 per cent of Polish passport-holders travelled to Poland at least once. Of those, 59 per cent of Polish passport-holders visited Poland once or twice, 16 per cent three or four times and 5 per cent at least five times. After Poland's accession to the European Union, we expect a larger proportion of Polish nationals to acquire Polish passports as the possession of a valid Polish passport will make it easier to travel to, reside and work in all EU member states.

Of those who are Polish nationals, 68 per cent are also Polish passport-holders (see Table 5.3) and 29 per cent are not.<sup>81</sup> Polish passport-holders can be described as the *de facto* dual citizens as opposed to those who are dual citizens but who have no active involvement with Poland. Some 93 per cent of Polish passport-holders are Poland-born and only 4 per cent are Australia-born. However, only 21 per cent of Polish nationals vote in the Polish elections.<sup>82</sup>

## NATIONAL IDENTITY

Polish survey respondents were also asked to state their 'national identity' (see Table 5.4), and 11 per cent of them described their identity as 'Australian', 33 per cent as 'Australian-Polish', 7 per cent as 'Polish', 44 per cent as 'Polish-Australian' and 4 per cent as 'Other'.<sup>83</sup> Interestingly, half of those who described themselves as 'Australian' and 70 per cent of those 'Australian-Polish' were Poland-born. Nearly all (96 per cent) of those who considered themselves to be 'Polish' were Poland-born and only 4 per cent were born in Australia. Of those who stated they were 'Polish-Australian', 93 per cent were born in Poland and only 3 per cent in Australia. Surprisingly, of those aged twenty-nine or less, only one-fifth described themselves as 'Australian', nearly one-third as 'Australian-Polish', 11 per cent as 'Polish' and 26 per cent as 'Polish-Australian'. Those over thirty are more evenly spread across all identity groups compared with those over sixty-five.

## CONCLUSION

Four 'research questions' were posed in the introduction to provide focus for this paper. I conclude by briefly responding to each of these questions.

Although the number of Poland-born Australian residents has been declining with deaths of first-generation migrants and insufficient new arrivals to replace them, ancestry data help to differentiate Australians of Polish extraction from the broader Australian community. The total number of those of Polish ancestry is increasing slowly as the second and third generations of Polish migrants replace Poland-born arrivals (see Table 5.1). There has been very little reverse migration, but the number of people speaking Polish at home peaked in the mid 1990s and only one-fifth of those born in Australia continue to speak Polish at home. Unless a new migrant wave arrives from Poland, those of Polish extraction will increasingly blend with the broader Australian community. Descriptors such 'country of birth' or 'language spoken at home' are less useful as a means of differentiating second and subsequent generations of migrants as ethnic groups intermarry and people reveal multiple ancestries.

Overall, Polish migrants have integrated well into the broader migrant community and appear to represent the type of migrant stream that Australian policymakers have tried to attract. This is reflected in particular in the ability of first-generation migrants to speak English as the second (and in some cases first) language. But, as is evident from the decline in new arrivals of permanent migrants from Poland in the 2000s, this type of migrant stream is becoming increasingly

difficult to attract away from other host nations. This has major policy implications as the emphasis shifts from permanent immigration to policies aimed at attracting more mobile international job seekers.

The 2006 Polish survey provides new insights into the nature and incidence of dual citizenship. As expected, a large proportion of new Australian citizens have retained their previous (mostly Polish) citizenship. With Polish accession to the European Union, the propensity to retain or seek Polish citizenship is likely to increase for the second and third generations of Australians of Polish extraction. But, for many dual Australian-Polish citizens, the retention of Polish citizenship appears to be a matter of convenience (for example, the ease of travel to Poland and the European Union) rather than a commitment to Poland as a home country. For example, only one-fifth of Polish passport-holders voted in Polish elections.

The latter point is further emphasised by the extent to which Australians of Polish extraction identify with Australia. Even though nearly 80 per cent of our survey respondents were Poland-born, 44 per cent of them described their national identity as 'Australian' or 'Australian-Polish' rather than 'Polish' or 'Polish-Australian'. Relative to some other migrant groups, Polish migrants have been more ready to embrace the uniform national identity of the host community.

## STATISTICAL ANNEX—POLISH COMMUNITY SURVEY

Of 335 respondents in the Polish survey, 47 per cent were male, 50 per cent female and 3 per cent did not state their gender. One respondent was under nine-

teen years of age, 19 (6 per cent) were aged twenty–twenty-nine years, 115 (34 per cent) were aged thirty–fifty-four, 92 (28 per cent) were aged fifty-five–sixty-four and 97 (29 per cent) were aged sixty-five and over.<sup>84</sup> This age distribution was broadly similar to the age profile for the Poland-born community in the 2006 Census, of whom 5 per cent were under twenty-five, 42 per cent were aged twenty-five–fifty-four, 16 per cent were aged fifty-five–sixty-four and 37 per cent were over sixty-five.<sup>85</sup>

A total of 263 people in the sample were Poland-born (79 per cent), 41 (12 per cent) were born in Australia and 27 (8 per cent) were born in another country.<sup>86</sup> Table 5.A1 shows the age distribution of respondents by their country of birth. The sample is more representative of the Poland-born population of Australia than of those of Polish ancestry, as only 32 per cent of Australians of Polish ancestry were born in Poland (see Table 5.1).

A majority (92 per cent) of respondents had their mother born in Poland and 90 per cent had a Poland-born father. Only 2 per cent had an Australia-born mother and 1 per cent an Australia-born father; 4 per cent had their mother and 6 per cent their father born in another country. Less than 1 per cent of the respondents had both parents born in Australia and 85 per cent had both parents born in Poland.

Three-quarters of the respondents had lived in Australia for at least 20 years and 18 per cent for between 10 and 19 years. This reflects the 'vintage' structure of Polish migrant inflows: the two major waves of Poland-born arrivals (1947–66 and 1980–91), with a very small inflow since the 1990s. Table 5.A2 shows the length of residence by the country of birth

of respondents. Interestingly, 17 per cent of those who lived in Australia between only five and nine years were born in countries other than Poland or Australia.

Table 5.A3 shows the distribution of respondents by language spoken at home, their country of birth and age. Only 21 per cent of respondents speak 'English only' at home, 22 per cent speak 'Polish only' and 56 per cent are bilingual English-Polish speakers. Of those who speak only Polish, 93 per cent are Poland-born. However, those who speak only English are more likely to be born in Poland (54 per cent) than Australia (36 per cent). Polish-only speakers are concentrated in two age groups: thirty–fifty-four (32 per cent) and over sixty-five (35 per cent). English-only speakers are predominantly aged thirty–sixty-four and the bilingual group is spread quite evenly across all age groups. Of those who speak English only, 79 per cent have lived in Australia for at least 20 years and 10 per cent for 10–19 years. Also, broadly similar proportions characterise Polish-only speakers (69 per cent and 22 per cent, respectively). Of the bilingual group, 76 per cent have lived in Australia for at least 20 years and 20 per cent for 10–19 years.

Not surprisingly though, of those born in Poland, 82 per cent grew up in households where parents spoke Polish at home and only 9 per cent in households where both English and Polish were spoken by parents. Another 9 per cent had their parents speak a language other than Polish or English. Of those born in Australia, 5 per cent grew up in households where parents spoke only English and 51 per cent where they spoke only Polish. Some 44 per cent of Australia-born respondents

had parents that spoke both English and Polish at home.

**Table 5.1** Australian residents of Polish ancestry

	Poland-born persons (no.) 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	1 <sup>st</sup> generation: +/- change since previous census date	Polish ancestry: Australia-born with at least one Poland-born parent (no.) 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	Polish ancestry: Australia-born with Australia-born parents <sup>3</sup> (no.) 3 <sup>rd</sup> generation	Polish ancestry total (no.)		Persons speaking Polish language at home <sup>4</sup> (no.)	Australian citizenship: number and percentage of all Poland-born citizens no. (%) h
	a	b	c	d	e		g	
1921	1780	-	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1933	3239	1459	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1947	6573	3334	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1954	56 594	50 021	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1961	60 049	3455	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1966	61 641	1592	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1971	59 700	-1941	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1976	56 051	-3649	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	-
1981	59 442	3391	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	49 615 (83%)
1986	67 691	8249	49 636	-	142 173	47.6	48 594	56 643 (84%)
1991	68 496	805	53 161	n/a	n/a <sup>1</sup>	n/a <sup>1</sup>	c.67 000	-
1996	65 113	-3383	n/a <sup>1</sup>	n/a <sup>1</sup>	n/a <sup>1</sup>	n/a <sup>1</sup>	62 771	-
2001	58 110	-7003	57 946	18 582	150 900	38.5	59 056	53 939 (93%) <sup>5</sup>
2006	52 256	-5854	79 005 <sup>2</sup>	27 119	163 802	31.9	53 389	-



<sup>1</sup> The 'ancestry' question was first asked in the 1986 Census but no ancestry data were collected in the 1991 and 1996 Censuses.

<sup>2</sup> For 2006, the second-generation estimate was obtained by subtracting Poland-born persons from all persons of Polish ancestry who had at least one parent born in Poland (that is, 133 972 less 52 256 less 2711; country of birth of either/both parents not stated). This is likely to be an overestimate of the second-generation total.

<sup>3</sup> This category represents third and subsequent generations of persons of stated Polish ancestry. Also, Polish ancestry means that at least one parent had Polish ancestry.

<sup>4</sup> These figures may be overstated as some Poland-born people who speak another language at home are not Polish speakers. However, changes over time—that is, the first increasing and then declining numbers of Polish speakers—reflect the declining proportion of first generation immigrants in all those claiming Polish ancestry. Figure for 1991 from Jupp, op. cit., Table 1.

<sup>5</sup> This figure has been calculated by subtracting those of Polish ancestry who stated their citizenship as 'Other' at the 2001 Census (4171 persons) from those who described themselves as Poland-born (column a).

Sources: For 1921–86: Bureau of Immigration Research 1991, *Community Profiles Poland Born*, Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research, Canberra, Tables 1, 4 and 17; for 1991: Jupp, J. 1995, 'Ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia', *Year Book Australia*, 1995, 1301.0–1/01/1995, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, Table 1; for 1996–2006: Australian Bureau of Statistics 2007, *2006 Community Profile Series*, Cat. no. 2003.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, Tables T08–10; Australian Bureau of Statistics 2003, *Australian Social Trends*, 2003, 4102.0–03/06/2003, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, for second generation in 2001; and Australian Bureau of Statistics 2004, *Year Book Australia*, 2004, 1301.0–27/01/2004, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, Table A.2, p. 92.

**Table 5.2** Polish nationality by country of birth and age

Polish nationality	Born in				Respondents	
	Poland (%)	Australia (%)	Other (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no)	Per cent of respondents (%)
No	48	32	19	1	109	33
Yes	94	3	2	1	220	66
Not stated	75	0	0	25	6	1
Total	79	12	8	1	335	100

  

Polish nationality	Age groups (years)				Respondents	
	≤ 29 (%)	30–54 (%)	55–64 (%)	≤ 65 (%)	Count <sup>a</sup> (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
No	9	23	31	34	109	33
Yes	5	41	26	26	220	66
Not stated	0	25	25	50	6	1
Total	6	34	28	29	335	100

<sup>a</sup> This count also includes all those who did not state their age (11 people or 3 per cent of the sample). Thus, percentages in rows may not add up to 100 per cent.

**Source:** Polish survey.

**Table 5.3** Polish nationality, Polish passport-holders and voters

Polish nationality	Polish passport-holders (%)			Respondents	
	No (%)	Yes (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
No	100	0	0	109	33
Yes	29	68	3	220	66
Not stated	0	0	100	6	1
Total	52	44	4	335	100

  

Polish nationality	Vote in Polish elections (%)			Respondents	
	No (%)	Yes (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
No	100	0	0	109	33
Yes	65	21	14	220	66
Not stated	0	0	100 <sup>a</sup>	6	1
Total	76	14	10	335	100

<sup>a</sup> One person was a Polish voter but did not state his/her Polish nationality and has therefore been excluded from the group of Polish voters.

**Source:** Polish survey.

**Table 5.4** National identity by country of birth and age

Stated national identity	Born in (%)		Respondents			
	Poland (%)	Australia (%)	Other (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
Australian	54	27	16	3	37	11
Australian-Polish	70	19	11	0	110	33
Polish	96	4	0	0	23	7
Polish- Australian	93	3	3	1	146	44
Other	40	27	27	6	15	4
Not stated	75	0	25	0	4	1
Total	79	12	8	1	335	100
Stated national identity	Age groups (years)				Respondents	
	<29 (%)	30-54 (%)	55-64 (%)	≤65 (%)	Count <sup>a</sup> (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
Australian	11	27	32	30	37	11
Australian-Polish	6	40	31	21	110	33
Polish	9	44	9	35	23	7
Polish- Australian	4	32	25	34	146	44
Other	13	27	33	27	15	4
Not stated	0	0	50	50	4	1
Total	6	34	28	29	335	100

<sup>a</sup> This count also includes all those who did not state their age (11 people or 3 per cent of the sample). Thus, percentages in rows may not add up to 100 per cent.

**Source:** Polish survey.

**Table 5.A1** Country of birth by age group of sample respondents and country of birth of their parents

Age group (years)	Survey respondent born in (%)				Respondents	
	Poland (%)	Australia (%)	Other (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no.)	Per cent of all responses (%)
20–29	53	37	5	5	19	6
30–54	77	19	3	1	115	34
55–64	72	11	16	1	92	28
65 and over	93	1	6	0	97	29
Not stated	82	-	9	9	11	3
Total	79	12	8	1	334 <sup>a</sup>	100

  

Parent	Respondent's parent born in (%)				Respondents	
	Poland (%)	Australia (%)	Other (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no)	Per cent of all responses (%)
Mother	92	2	4	3	335	100
Father	90	1	6	3	335	100

<sup>a</sup> As there was only one respondent in the 'age under 20' group, this age group has been excluded from the table.

**Source:** Polish survey.

**Table 5.A2** Length of residence in Australia by country of birth

Length of residence in years	Born in (%)				Respondents	
	Poland (%)	Australia (%)	Other (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
Less than 5	0	0	0	0	1	0
5–9	75	8	17	0	12	4
10–19	93	2	3	2	60	18
20 and over	76	15	9	0	252	75
Not stated	60	20	10	10	10	3
Total	79	12	8	1	335	100

**Source:** Polish survey.

## Citizenship and integration

**Table 5.A3** Language spoken at home by country of birth and age

Language spoken at home	Born in (%)				Respondents	
	Poland (%)	Australia (%)	Other (%)	Not stated (%)	Count (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
English only	54	36	10	0	70	21
Polish only	93	3	4	0	74	22
English and Polish	82	7	9	2	186	56
Other	60	20	20	0	5	2
Total	79	12	8	1	335	100 <sup>b</sup>
Language spoken at home	Age groups (years)				Respondents	
	< 29 (%)	30–54 (%)	55–64 (%)	< 65 (%)	Count <sup>a</sup> (no.)	Per cent of respondents (%)
English only	7	40	33	19	70	21
Polish only	10	32	19	35	74	22
English and Polish	4	33	29	30	186	56
Other	0	20	40	40	5	2
Total	6	34	28	29	335	100 <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This count also includes all those who did not state their age (11 people or 3 per cent of the sample). Thus, percentages in rows may not add up to 100 per cent.

<sup>b</sup> Percentages of respondents do not add to 100 per cent due to rounding errors.

**Source:** Polish survey.

## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2007, *Year Book Australia, 2007*, 1301.0–24/01/2007, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> In the 1980s and 1990s, the annual contribution of net migration to population growth in Australia varied between 17 per cent (1992–93) and 56 per cent (1987–88 and 1988–89). This strong inflow has continued in the 2000s. Between 1996 and 2006, the number of Australians born overseas increased, on average, by 1.5 per cent per annum while the Australia-born population increased by 1.1 per cent and total population by 1.2 per cent (ABS, *Migration, Australia, 2005–06*).

<sup>4</sup> ABS, *2006 Community Profile Series*, Cat. no. 2003.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, Table T01.

<sup>5</sup> ABS, *Year Book Australia, 2007*.

<sup>6</sup> Jupp, J. 1995, 'Ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia', *Year Book Australia, 1995*, 1301.0–1/01/1995, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

<sup>7</sup> Hugo, J. G. 2002, 'Centenary article—a century of population change in Australia', *Year Book Australia 2002*, 1301.0–2002, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, p. 11.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> ABS, *Year Book Australia, 2007*, Table 5.40.

<sup>10</sup> ABS 2007, *Migration, Australia, 2005–06*, 3412.0–29/03/2007, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

<sup>11</sup> ABS 2004, *Year Book Australia, 2004*, 1301.0–27/01/2004, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

<sup>12</sup> The third longitudinal survey of immigrants to Australia, for example, has focused mainly on recent migrant employment, qualifications, earnings, asset transfers, location, housing and command of English. However, it also reports the degree of migrant satisfaction with 'Australian life' (for example, the extent of feeling welcome and the ease of settling into Australian society). The survey shows very high levels of satisfaction (96–98 per cent) (2007, *New Migrant Outcomes, Results from the Third Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia*, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra, August 2007).

<sup>13</sup> This study was funded by a special research grant provided by the University of New South Wales. Detailed (10 pages, 63 variables) postal questionnaires were circulated through the Polish Community

Councils. All responses were anonymous and questionnaires were designed to be completed in English in about 20 minutes. Of the many people who helped to circulate the questionnaire, this author would like to acknowledge special assistance of Messrs Arkadiusz Fabjanowski (ACT), Jerzy Krajewski (NSW), Krzysztof Lancucki (VIC), Leszek Wikarjusz (QLD), Krzysztof Balcerzak (SA), Aleksander Gancarz (ACT) and Dr Halina Zobel-Zubrzycka (ACT). He also wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Ms Rissa Raymundo and Ms Nives Klesnik, who coded the responses, checked the consistency of the main data matrix and transformed it into the SPSS format, and Dr Sandra Burchill, who used the SPSS Win PC V14 package to cross-tabulate the data. Professor Marek Okolski of the University of Warsaw and Dr Terri Joiner of La Trobe University offered many useful comments on the format and content of the questionnaire and data processing.

<sup>14</sup> A further 25 questionnaires were received, most of which were returned blank either because of being wrongly addressed or because addressees declined to complete them but nevertheless sent them back. Descriptive responses were in part post-coded to enter into the main database and in part recorded on their original format in a separate database. While the rate of response was high (nearly 33 per cent), given the nature of questionnaire distribution, the sample was biased in that the majority of respondents were either Poland-born, first-generation immigrants or those members of the Australia-born second generation who had strong enough 'Polish identity' to be included in the councils' mailing lists. In particular, the sample excluded all those second and third-generation Australians of Polish ancestry who had no direct involvement with the Polish Community Councils.

<sup>15</sup> ABS, *Year Book Australia, 2004*.

<sup>16</sup> Rubenstein, K. 2008, 'From supranational to dual alien citizen: Australia's ambivalent journey', in S. Bronitt and K. Rubenstein (eds), *Citizenship in a post-national world: Australia and Europe compared*, Law and Policy Paper, no. 29, Centre for International and Public Policy, The Federation Press, Canberra, p. 40.

<sup>17</sup> See Nolan and Rubenstein elsewhere in this volume.

<sup>18</sup> However, as the concept of 'Australian citizenship' is not included in the Australian *Constitution*, the power of the Commonwealth to enact laws about Australian citizenship derives primarily from the 'alien's power'. It is thus possible for those who are defined as 'aliens' (that is, those who owe an obligation to a sovereign power other than Australia) to be citizens and aliens at the same time. This applies to all dual citizens (Rubenstein, 'From supranational to dual alien citizen').

<sup>19</sup> Berkovic, N. 2008, 'Howard's migrant test to be dumped', *The Weekend Australian*, 22–23 November 2008.

<sup>20</sup> See Nolan and Rubenstein elsewhere in this volume.

<sup>21</sup> Senator Evans, Immigration Minister, cited in Berkovic, 'Howard's migrant test to be dumped'.

<sup>22</sup> Rubenstein, 'From supranational to dual alien citizen', p. 49.

<sup>23</sup> Indeed, the extent to which migrant communities have been able to voice their particular concerns about 'national common values' is itself a measure of Australia's openness as a host country, as such groups have no voice in less tolerant societies.

<sup>24</sup> Hugo, 'Centenary article'.

<sup>25</sup> Children born in Australia acquire Australian citizenship at birth, if at least one parent is an Australian citizen or a permanent resident of Australia, while those born overseas may be registered as Australian citizens by descent if at least one of their parents is an Australian citizen (ABS, *Year Book Australia*, 2004). The propensity to acquire Australian citizenship increases, *ceteris paribus*, with the age of immigrants and the length of their residence in Australia. For example, in 2001, Greece-born residents had a 97 per cent citizenship rate as 83 per cent of them arrived in Australia before 1971 and 75 per cent were at least fifty years old (*ibid.*, Table 5.52).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Table A2, p. 94.

<sup>27</sup> However, this simple concept becomes somewhat blurred when an overseas-born person is registered at birth as an Australian citizen. In this paper, as in most census-based publications, the concept of 'overseas-born' residents of Australia tends to imply the first-generation immigrants rather than foreign-born, 'returned' Australians.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Poland lost a large part of its territory to its eastern neighbours but expanded westward by taking over some former German lands. An ethnic Pole born in the pre-World War II Polish city of Lvov, which is now a part of Ukraine, is likely to describe himself/herself as a Polish person born in Poland. However, an ethnic Ukrainian born in the pre-1939 Lvov is likely to describe himself/herself as a Ukrainian person born in Ukraine. On the other hand, an ethnically Jewish person born in Lvov, who may resent the notion of being referred to as either 'Polish' or 'Ukrainian', may be indifferent between being labelled 'Poland-' or 'Ukraine-born'. For example, of the 22 600 people who stated their ancestry as Jewish in the 2001 Census, 7 per cent gave their place of birth as Poland and 8 per cent as Ukraine (ABS 2003, *Australian Social Trends*, 2003, 4102.0–03/06/2003, Australian Bureau of Statistics,

Canberra). Ukraine became an independent nation only after the collapse of the USSR.

<sup>29</sup> The chosen self-description may also depend on the prevailing 'sentiment' and social climate in the destination country. For example, some ethnically German DPs who arrived in Australia in the late 1940s were reluctant to declare Germany as their country of birth as they did not wish to be identified with the country's Nazi past—that is, a Danzig or Breslau-born ethnically German person could easily describe his/her country of birth as Poland.

<sup>30</sup> ABS 1999, *Standards for Statistics on Cultural and Language Diversity*, 1999, 1289.0–22/11/1999, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.

<sup>31</sup> Bureau of Immigration Research (BIR) 1991, *Community Profiles Poland Born*, Statistics Section, Bureau of Immigration Research, Canberra, Table 16, p. 35.

<sup>32</sup> A question on 'ancestry' was first asked in the 1986 Census (Jupp, 'Ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia'). This question had not been included in the census until 2001 when 93 per cent of the population responded to the 'What is the person's ancestry?' question (ABS, *Australian Social Trends*, 2003).

<sup>33</sup> The proportion of the Australian population who reported more than one ancestry increased from 12 per cent in 1986 to 22 per cent in 2001 (ABS, *Year Book Australia*, 2007). In 2001, nearly one-quarter of those who declared their ancestry as Australian also stated another ancestry (for example, English, 13 per cent, and Irish, 3 per cent, of all Australian ancestry groups).

<sup>34</sup> ABS, *Australian Social Trends*, 2003.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup> Of those who stated their ancestry as 'Polish' in the 2001 Census, 49.8 per cent were Australia-born, 34.1 per cent were Poland-born, 5.8 per cent were Germany-born, 2.1 per cent were UK-born, with 0.7 per cent born in New Zealand, 0.7 per cent in the United States, 0.5 per cent in Israel, 0.4 per cent in France, 0.4 per cent in South Africa, 0.3 per cent in Austria and 0.3 per cent in 'Other' countries.

<sup>37</sup> For example, in the 1986 Census, only 6 per cent (900 000) of respondents described their ancestry as 'Irish'. But the Irish ancestry group increased to 1 920 000 people (more than 11 per cent) in the 2001 Census.

<sup>38</sup> However, the Poland-born population also includes small groups that describe their ancestry as Jewish, German and Ukrainian.

<sup>39</sup> ABS, *Year Book Australia*, 2007, Table 12.35.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Table 12.36.

- <sup>42</sup> BIR, *Community Profiles Poland Born*.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. vi.
- <sup>44</sup> ABS 1991, 'Recent trends in overseas migration', *Australian Economic Indicators*, Oct 1991, 1350.0–18/11/1991, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, Table 2.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> The age distribution of this population reflects the influence of the two migrant waves: nearly 37 per cent of Poland-born in 2006 were aged sixty-four and over, 37 per cent were aged forty-five–sixty-four, 20 per cent were aged twenty-five–forty-four, and 6 per cent were aged twenty-four or younger (ABS, *2006 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tables*, Table 'Country of Birth of Person by Age by Sex').
- <sup>47</sup> ABS 2007, *2006 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tables*, Cat. no. 2068.0, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, Table 'Country of Birth of Person by Year of Arrival in Australia'.
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>49</sup> Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIC) 2007, *Immigration Update, July–December 2006*, Research and Statistics Section, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra, Table 1.7, pp. 20–1.
- <sup>50</sup> ABS, *Migration, Australia, 2005–06*.
- <sup>51</sup> Bunda, M. 2006, 'Wielki odjazd [Big departure]', *Polityka*, vol. 8, 2006.
- <sup>52</sup> DIC, *Immigration Update, July–December 2006*.
- <sup>53</sup> However, there was also a more modest outflow of temporary job seekers to North America (ibid.).
- <sup>54</sup> See Carrington, K., McIntosh, A. and Walmsley, J. (eds) 2007, *The Social Costs and Benefits of Migration into Australia*, Centre for Applied Research in Social Sciences, University of New England, Armidale.
- <sup>55</sup> Productivity Commission 2006, *Economic impacts of migration and population growth*, Productivity Commission Research Report, Productivity Commission, Australian Government, Melbourne, 24 April 2006.
- <sup>56</sup> Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2002, *International Mobility of the Highly Skilled*, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris.
- <sup>57</sup> Hugo, 'Centenary article', p. 14.
- <sup>58</sup> DIC 2007, *Emigration 2006–07 Australia*, Programme Statistics and Monitoring Section, Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra, Table 6.
- <sup>59</sup> Ibid., Tables 1.10 and 1.13, pp. 24–5, 29.
- <sup>60</sup> BIR, *Community Profiles Poland Born*, Tables 1–2, pp. 1–2.
- <sup>61</sup> ABS 2008, *2006 Census Data by Location, 2006 Census Tables*, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra, Table 20680.
- <sup>62</sup> 'A normal immigration pattern is for arrivals to be in their mid-twenties and to produce most of their children after arrival' (Jupp, 'Ethnic and cultural diversity in Australia'). For example, in 1959, 68 per cent of settlers were twenty-nine or younger and, in 1990, 59 per cent were (ABS, 'Recent trends in overseas migration', *Australian Economic Indicators*, Oct. 1991).
- <sup>63</sup> For example, of those who stated their ancestry as Polish in 2001, nearly 7.5 per cent gave 'Australian' as their other ancestry.
- <sup>64</sup> ABS, *Year Book Australia, 2004*, Tables 2.6 and 2.7, pp. 22–3.
- <sup>65</sup> Ibid., Table 4.1, p. 46.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., Table 4.2, p. 50.
- <sup>67</sup> Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) 2003, *Statistical Focus, 2001: Classification of countries into English proficiency groups*, C01.2.0, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Canberra, July 2003.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid, Tables 1 and 2, pp. 16, 19.
- <sup>69</sup> ABS, *2006 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tables*, Table 'Country of Birth of Person by Proficiency in Spoken English/Language by Sex'.
- <sup>70</sup> ABS 2002, *Australian Social Trends, 2002*, 4102.0–09/05/2002, Australian Bureau of Statistics, Canberra.
- <sup>71</sup> Some 2 per cent did not state their proficiency.
- <sup>72</sup> ABS, *Australian Social Trends, 2002*, Table A.1:90; and ABS, *Year Book Australia, 2007*, Table 12.35.
- <sup>73</sup> There were more than 3.7 million Catholics in Australia in 2001, of whom 74 per cent were Australia-born (DIMIA 2003, *The People of Australia, Statistics from the 2001 Census*, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Canberra, July 2003, Table 10, p. 48).
- <sup>74</sup> BIR, *Community Profiles Poland Born*.
- <sup>75</sup> For example, in 2001–02, only 328 Poland-born people acquired Australian citizenship (ABS, *Year Book Australia, 2004*, Table 5.53).
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid., Table 1.1.
- <sup>77</sup> Ibid., Table A.2, p. 92.



<sup>78</sup> Also, as some of those Poland-born people are not Polish, they may hold dual citizenship with countries other than Poland.

<sup>79</sup> Some 3 per cent did not state how they became Australian citizens.

<sup>80</sup> Travelling to Poland on a Polish passport simplifies entry requirements while the use of an Australian passport is advantageous on re-entry to Australia.

<sup>81</sup> Some 44 per cent of Polish passport-holders are aged thirty–fifty-four, 29 per cent are fifty–five–sixty-four and 20 per cent are over sixty-five.

<sup>82</sup> During parliamentary elections in Poland, polling stations are open at Polish consular offices overseas.

<sup>83</sup> The 'Other' category included self-descriptions such as: 'I am an Australian of Polish descent', 'I am primarily Australian but proud of my Polish heritage', 'Of Polish descent, born in England, now living in Europe', 'Australian-Polish-Latvian', 'Australian with Polish parents', 'Australian with dual nationality and Polish background', and the aforementioned, 'By birth: Canadian, by citizenship: Australian, by parentage: Anglo-Polish, by culture: Polish, by upbringing: European'.

<sup>84</sup> Some 11 people or 3 per cent of the sample did not state their age.

<sup>85</sup> ABS, *2006 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tables*, Table 'Country of Birth of Persons by Age by Sex'.

<sup>86</sup> Four people did not state their country of birth.